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THE
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM

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POLITICAL ECONOMY, POLITICAL SCIENCE, SOCIOLOGY, AND
STATISTICS, COVERING ANARCHISM, CHARITIES, CIVIL
SERVICE, CURRENCY, LAND AND LEGISLATION
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To
William L. Bull,
WHOSE LOYAL FRIENDSHIP AND DEEP SYMPATHY
IN THE AIMS OF THIS WORK
HAS LARGELY MADE IT POSSIBLE.

P R E F A C E .

THE two main requisites of an encyclopedia are reliability and serviceableness in information. The first of these requisites has been sought in this encyclopedia by having every article either written or revised by some specialist on each particular subject. In the case of all proposed reforms the statement of the reform has been written, or at least revised, by a believer in the reform ; but, together with this, or by reference to a corresponding article on the opposing side, a statement of the opposing view will be found. Individualists and socialists, gold monometal- lists, bimetallists, and believers in free silver, protectionists and free traders, prohibitionists and high-license advocates, believers and disbelievers in woman suffrage, appear in this ency- clopedia side by side. Historical, bibliographical, biographical, and statistical articles have been prepared and carefully revised by adequate authorities, mainly university professors and specialists.

Serviceableness has been sought by making the work, while, as shown above, accurate and scholarly, yet popular and not technical. The encyclopedia is for general workers and students in social reform. It has been prepared by specialists for those who are not specialists. Its references to books are therefore in the main only to books available to English readers. Articles have been arranged as to length and quality with this idea of serviceableness in view. No articles, for example, will be found upon Presidents Washington and Lincoln. This is not because they did not contribute to social reform, and to a much larger degree than many who are considered in this encyclopedia, but because the general reader in reform does not need the story of Washington's or Lincoln's life. The space allotted to articles, therefore, has considered the needs of the reader more than the absolute importance of the subject.

This work is a pioneer, the first of its kind. Its aim has been to give on all the broad range of social reform the experience of the past, the facts of the present, the proposals for the future.

The subject is so vast, and may be made so inclusive, that almost any subject might have been included here ; but this encyclopedia aims to distinguish sharply between subjects that belong mainly to the individual and those that belong mainly to society. A few subjects, such as religion, science, etc., that concern both the individual and society, are treated only in their social aspects. The biographical portions will be found to be especially full. Of living persons the encyclopedia treats only those having national recognition, and has thus been compelled to pass by many earnest and often more useful and successful workers in local fields.

To the important articles are appended brief bibliographies of the best available books upon the subject. There has been no attempt to make these exhaustive, but they will serve to guide the student in his search for more complete information. A general bibliography of social and economic bibliographies will be found in the appendix.

The editor desires to express his indebtedness to a large number of writers who have most

materially aided him by contributing or revising articles and by reading proof. The names of those who have contributed or revised signed articles will be found below. But there are many others whose names do not appear who have aided equally with these. A list of the firms who have granted courteous permission to quote from their publications is also appended. The editor desires to express his especial indebtedness to Mr. Louis E. Van Norman, A.M., for valued help in seeing the work through the press.

If this work shall aid at all those who desire the truth in finding and in acting upon it, its aim will have been realized.

BOSTON, 1897.

W. D. P. BLISS.

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THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL REFORM.

ABANDONED FARMS.—The growth of modern commercial centers, the development of factory towns, the increasing part played in economic life by the railroad, the general drift of population from the country to the cities (see **CITIES**) have led, in certain sections of the country, to the abandoning of farms. The extent to which this has taken place has been by some exaggerated, and the prominence given to the subject a few years ago led to investigations which have shown the exaggeration; nevertheless, the number of abandoned farms is not small, and the fact has a significance of the most serious character. As we shall see in this article, the evil is not confined to New England, altho most attention has been called to the fact in that section of the country.

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts have made careful statistical investigations into the subject, with the result (1) of finding that the extent to which farms in New England have been abandoned has been somewhat exaggerated; and (2) of inducing the State to take steps to aid the sale and development of such farms, steps which have culminated in practical results. These States print lists of such farms for sale at favorable terms and send them free to any person who applies to the proper authorities of the respective States. Many farms have been thus sold and land developed and homes maintained.

Altho, perhaps, New Hampshire and Vermont have been most active in thus selling farms, Massachusetts has most carefully investigated and reported upon the subject. The twenty-first annual report (1890) of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor gives 78 pages to the subject, from which we quote the prominent points.

"Many farms in the commonwealth have been abandoned by their owners, but not abandoned as to cultivation. Such farms have been leased to their present occupants, who derive a

Definition of Abandoned Farms. living from them, or have been sold to other farmers and incorporated with other farms. The result of the transfers last indicated is to reduce the number of farms in the State, but not the number of acres of cultivated land.

Many farms formerly cultivated for various crops are now mainly devoted to the production of hay or dairy

products; and, in some cases, land formerly cultivated is now to be classed as woodland. Such changes are merely changes in the form of crop, and if made by the farmer for the reason that, all things considered, it is found more profitable at present to raise hay, dairy products, or wood than vegetables or grain, do not involve an abandonment of the farm, altho possibly the abandonment of the mode of cultivation formerly employed. In order to secure uniformity and the greatest possible accuracy in the returns, and to eliminate as far as possible the effect of differences of judgment, in replying to our inquiries as to what should be considered an abandoned farm, the following definition was placed upon the blanks sent out to the assessors:

"By 'Abandoned Farms' in this inquiry are meant those formerly cultivated, but now deserted, upon which cultivation is now abandoned, and the buildings, if any, unoccupied and permitted to fall into decay. In some cases the grass is still cut on these farms, but nothing is done in the way of enrichment of the soil, and the land is practically unproductive and left to run wild."

Abandoned farm land in Massachusetts is principally confined to the western counties. Such land aggregates 3.45 per cent. of the total farm acreage of the State, outside the limits of cities, and about 0.87 per cent. of the value of such farm land. In Nantucket and Suffolk counties no abandoned farm land is returned. The percentage of acreage of abandoned farm land of total farm acreage, for the counties returning abandoned farm land, is highest in Hampshire County, reaching therein 6.85 per cent. It is lowest in Essex County, being therein only 0.06 per cent.

The average size of abandoned farms with buildings is 86 acres, and for those without buildings 87 acres. The average value of abandoned farms with buildings is \$894, and for those without buildings \$561. The average value of buildings on abandoned farms is \$337 per farm, ranging much less than the average value of buildings upon farms under cultivation. Much of the abandoned land may be bought for less than \$10 per acre.

While some of the towns containing abandoned farms show a recent decline in the value of agricultural products and property, this is not universally true, and the decline in certain localities is overbalanced by increase in others in the same county; so that, notwithstanding the existence of abandoned farms, each county, except Nantucket, shows an increase since 1875 in the value of agricultural products, and every county shows an increase in the value of agricultural property. In some counties, also, an increase in the acreage of land under cultivation appears.

Except in Barnstable and Dukes counties, the towns reporting abandoned farms show an aggregate increase in population since 1865; and, except in Barnstable, Dukes, and Franklin counties, an increase since 1855. The increase is not usually so great, however, as appears in the other towns in the counties respectively. In the towns containing abandoned farms, and having no important manufacturing industries, a decline in population generally appears.

Summary of Results.

The abandonment of farming land is not entirely of recent date, altho it is still going on. Replies respecting this phase of the subject, made to the

Causes for Abandonment of Farms.

Secretary of the Board of Agriculture from 77 different localities, indicate that in 43 of these the number of abandoned farms is no greater than existed 10 years ago; in 25 the number was considered greater, in five it was believed to be less, while in four instances the replies indicated conditions similar to those prevailing at the earlier date.

The following language may be thought appropriate to the present day:

"Where is that long line of noble farmers that were so industrious and prosperous, extending from North River over Christian Hill to the Green Mountains, and those cattle drovers and merchants that did more business than all the stores in a half dozen Western towns to-day? All are gone. . . . Look over this town, and see the once expensive private dwellings going to ruin in strange hands. They show that far back a high order of architecture existed here, and that a wealthy and prosperous set of farmers and mechanics occupied them. They are now in decay. The same thing may be seen, in a greater or less degree, in most of the rural districts of New England."

However appropriate this may now appear, it was written 23 years ago, and formed part of an address delivered to his neighbors by a citizen of western Massachusetts.

If the evil is not recent, neither is it local. It is not confined to Massachusetts, to New England, to the West, wherein, it is said, more farms have been deserted by their owners than in the East, nor to the United States. It is one of the features of modern civilization. While it is possible to accept that civilization is, upon the whole, good, no one, unless ultra-conservative, can accept it as a finality, or refuse to recognize the evils peculiar to it.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the causes which have led to the abandonment of farming land. No single cause can be given. If it were otherwise a remedy might be easily suggested. There are many factors which have contributed to the result, either directly or indirectly. Among others, which admit of no dispute, are the inadaptability of some of the land to the use of machinery and modern modes of cultivation, the poorer quality of the soil in one locality as compared with that in another, or its remoteness from markets or from the railway which communicates with markets; and beyond these, everything which has aided the growths of cities has at the same time tended to reduce the population of the remote towns.

It must be remembered that the abandonment of farming land does not always imply either the abandonment or the decline of agriculture. On the contrary, notwithstanding this decline in some sections, an increase in other sections appears. A careful study of the tables relative to agricultural products and property will show that the increase is generally greatest in the vicinity of the large towns. These towns afford a ready market for perishable products, and this fact has led to a gradual change in the agriculture of the State, which, developing along the lines of easiest resistance, has found its greatest profits in the products of the market garden and the dairy. Of this sort of agriculture there is considerable within the territorial limits of the cities themselves. The farmer near the large towns has frequently an advantage over those in the remote places, in his ability to sell his crops directly without the intervention of the middleman. There are economic reasons, therefore, growing out of the changed conditions of modern life, which have operated to draw some who have not yet abandoned agriculture into the proximity of cities.

Every new census discloses a larger proportion of our population within city limits, and nothing provokes more criticism than the failure of a city or large town to maintain in the census returns its expected percentage of growth. This growth is considered an evidence of progress, but it should be remembered that rapid growth in cities cannot be secured without retarding the growth in the country districts. In Massachusetts the immigrant seeks the city and factory town. Often he comes from an agricultural life, and desires a change. A movement from the city toward the country would perhaps correct the evil of abandoned farms, but it would also check the growth of the city. In the present state of public opinion, which is largely controlled by the cities, and will be so controlled to a still greater extent in the future, any such movement, if extensive enough to be effective,

would at once be regarded as evidence of decadence in the cities affected by it.

The larger towns and cities are constantly engaged in organized efforts to attract population by the introduction of new industries, by improving their systems of water supply and drainage, by increasing the efficiency of their public schools, by the establishment of public libraries and parks—that is, by making it possible to improve one's pecuniary position by residence within them, through the opportunity afforded for regular and remunerative employment, not, like agriculture, subject to the contingencies of the seasons, and by enlarging the social advantages which are to-day deemed essential. Such efforts are considered commendable. It ought to be recognized, however, that their success involves a drain upon less favored municipalities.

The concentration of population and wealth in cities and large towns, while it has its dangers, unquestionably opens enlarged social opportunities to all classes, even the poorest. There is, too, a strange fascination in city life which has always existed, and which leads many who are under its spell to poverty and privation in the city to independence and comfort in the country. This fascination is intensified by the undoubted benefits which the modern city offers to those within or near it.

The delights of a country life and the independence of the farmer are prolific themes of poets everywhere. Unfortunately, the masses of the people have usually, for various reasons, declined to take the same view. No doubt the poets are right, but men have to be raised above the ordinary level to enable them to accept such a conclusion. It is probably the existence of conditions more or less artificial that makes a city life seem preferable to so many, but these conditions have prevailed so long, and tend in so many ways to perpetuate themselves, that they cannot at once be changed.

And yet it must be admitted that the promise which leads to the abandonment of country life is frequently unfulfilled. The movement from the country toward the city may affect, indeed, has affected, the labor market in two ways: it may lead to a dearth of agricultural labor in the depleted districts, thus adding to the burdens, which in too many cases the farmer already bears, and it may intensify the competition to which the city laborer is subjected, both as to employment and as to wages. This competition reacts upon those who come to the city for the purpose of improving their fortunes only to find the opportunities open to them constantly growing less. On the other hand, the life of the farmer, notwithstanding its burdens, was never so easy in many respects as at present. . . . It could be easily shown that the hardships and poverty among farmers in the early part of the century were much greater than they are to-day. The improvements due to modern invention have lightened farm labor, while the railroad, the telegraph, and the press have brought the most retired farms into communication with the activities of the age. The farmer may not be able to amass wealth, nor can the majority of those in cities hope to do so. He is generally sure of a comfortable living as the reward of his toil, and the contingencies that affect his employment are usually no greater than those affecting employment in cities. If opportunities for large profits are not open to him, he is relieved from the risk incidental to such opportunities. That some of the burdens under which he suffers might be and ought to be removed is undeniable, but there are those in the city, working for low wages, liable to periodical unemployment, to whom life upon the abandoned farms would offer an agreeable change; only they must first be convinced that such a change is desirable.

It is sometimes assumed that there are many in our cities who would gladly go back to the land, if land were obtainable. This report shows that such land exists. Much of it is in towns which for natural beauty of scenery and healthfulness of situation are unsurpassed in Massachusetts. These towns have an honorable past and still possess possibilities of growth. In many of them, as we have shown, agriculture still flourishes, and, presumably, many of the abandoned farms could be brought back to fertility, and become once more the sites of prosperous and happy homes. If this could be accomplished it would be a public benefit. Can legislation afford any aid?

Many of the towns containing abandoned farms have small opportunity, compared with that possessed by the larger places, to make their advantages known.

Can the Abandoned Farms be Reclaimed?

These advantages are by no means inconsiderable. Some of the abandoned land is no doubt rocky and poor, but it is not all of this class. In some cases, where its reclamation for agricultural purposes is impracticable, it could be developed for summer residence by those who would be glad to avail themselves of it, if its exact condition were known. Occupancy of this sort would be of benefit to the town inviting it. For most of the land the price is low, and probably much of it could be bought for occupation at a small outlay in cash.

The States of New Hampshire and Vermont have undertaken to colonize their abandoned land, which is more extensive than exists in Massachusetts, and have invited immigration especially to that end.

So far the Massachusetts Bureau. The Maine Labor Bureau for 1890 (p. 96) reports in that State 3318 abandoned farms and an average acreage of 767. The Legislature of Vermont in 1892 ordered a complete report as to its 376 farms said to be unoccupied, but found only 200 to be really so. New Hampshire in 1892 published a list of 322 farms for sale with vacant buildings, the list being entitled "Secure a Home in New Hampshire."

In certain localities the abandonment of farms is still more marked.

In 1889 the Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interests in Vermont issued a circular, stating that in the town of Reading there were 4000 acres of land offered for sale at \$1 or \$2 per acre. One half of these, he says, "are lands which formerly comprised good farms, but with buildings now gone, and fast growing up to timber; and some of this land is used for pasturage, and on other portions the fences are not kept up, leaving old cellar-holes and miles of stone walls to testify to former civilization." In the town of Vershire "there are from 35 to 40 farms, contiguous or nearly so, abandoned and unoccupied." In the town of Wilmington there were 5000 acres in the same condition (*The Nation*, No. 1266).

Statistics. But the condition is by no means peculiar to New England. A correspondent of the *New York Nation*, under date of November 23, 1889, wrote: "In the rural districts in Wayne County (New York) there are no less than 400 empty houses. The town of Sodus alone has over 50 deserted houses, and Huron has 30 or more."

In Michigan there were 7419 fewer farmers in 1890 than in 1880, tho the population had meanwhile increased 457,000 (Ninth Annual Report of Bureau of Labor Statistics for Michigan, 1892).

Concerning the general depletion of agricultural sections, Dr. Josiah Strong gives the following statements and tables taken from census reports. (*The New Era*, pp. 167 and 164).

Of the 1502 townships in New England, 932, or 62 per cent., were more or less depleted. In New York 69.5 per cent. lost population; in Ohio, 58 per cent.; in Indiana, 49 per cent.; in Illinois, 54 per cent. The accompanying table shows that the movement was common to the South and West as well as to the Middle and Eastern States, tho the rural districts in the region of large cities naturally felt their attraction most.

	Number of Townships.	Number of Townships which lost Population, 1880-90.
Nebraska.....	526	58
Nevada.....	18	13
New Hampshire.....	241	152
New Jersey.....	250	117
New York.....	622	641
North Carolina.....	863	100
Ohio.....	1,331	775
Oregon.....	329	83
Pennsylvania.....	2,075	918
Rhode Island.....	26	12
South Carolina.....	407	21
Tennessee.....	1,392	571
Texas.....	572	137
Utah.....	211	80
Vermont.....	244	187
Virginia.....	424	177
West Virginia.....	324	43
Wisconsin.....	977	398
Total.....	25,746	10,063

The following table shows this movement of population for 100 years:

CENSUS YEARS.	Population of United States.	Population of Cities.	Per Cent. of Urban Population.	Per Cent. of Rural Population.
1790.....	3,929,214	131,472	3.35	96.65
1800.....	5,308,483	210,873	3.97	96.03
1810.....	7,239,881	356,020	4.93	95.07
1820.....	9,633,822	475,135	4.93	95.07
1830.....	12,866,020	867,509	6.72	93.28
1840.....	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52	91.48
1850.....	23,191,876	2,807,586	12.49	87.51
1860.....	31,443,321	5,070,256	16.13	83.87
1870.....	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93	79.07
1880.....	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57	77.43
1890.....	62,622,250	18,235,670	29.12	70.88

(See AGRICULTURE.)

Reference: Reports of Labor Bureaus, Massachusetts, 1890; Maine, 1890; articles in *Garden and Forest* (vol. vi.); *Chautauquan* (vol. xvi.); *The Nation* (vol. xlix.); *Granite Monthly* (vol. xiii.). See also *Abandoning an Adopted Farm*, by Kate Sanborn (1894); *Hunting an Abandoned Farm*, by W. H. Bishop, *Century*, 47, p. 915.

	Number of Townships.	Number of Townships which lost Population, 1880-90.
Alabama.....	704	244
Arizona.....	13	4
Arkansas.....	805	185
California.....	352	132
Connecticut.....	153	79
Delaware.....	32	15
Florida.....	161	44
Georgia.....	1,181	414
Illinois.....	1,441	792
Indiana.....	998	489
Iowa.....	1,513	686
Kansas.....	1,047	268
Kentucky.....	803	293
Louisiana.....	402	96
Maine.....	540	348
Maryland.....	221	101
Massachusetts.....	298	154
Michigan.....	1,088	407
Minnesota.....	1,297	271
Mississippi.....	360	79
Missouri.....	1,115	324

ABBOTT, Rev. LYMAN, D.D., born December 18, 1835, at Roxbury, Mass., was the third son of Rev. Jacob Abbott. He graduated at New York University in 1853, and studied and practised law with his elder brothers Benjamin Vaughan and Austin. He wrote various law articles, and together the brothers published law books, and under the *nom de plume* of "Benauly" they wrote the novel *Concutt Corners*, advocating the prohibitory temperance laws. Lyman Abbott later withdrew from the firm, and after studying theology with his uncle, the Rev. John S. C. Abbott, accepted a ministerial charge over the Congregational Church of Terre Haute, Ind., in 1860. In 1865 he became associated with the American Freedmen's Union Commission as its general secretary. In 1866 he received and accepted a call to the New England Congregational Church in New York City, resigning in 1869. In 1871 he became editor of the *Illustrated Christian Weekly*, resigning it in the autumn of 1876 to assume, with

Henry Ward Beecher, the joint-editorship of the *Christian Union* of New York City. The paper was published under the double management until the autumn of 1881, when Mr. Beecher withdrew and Mr. Abbott became editor-in-chief.

It is here that Dr. Abbott has done his main work for social reform, his paper being the *first general religious journal* in the United States, if not in the world, to take up in any decisive way the labor question. Early articles in the *Christian Union* by Drs. Washington Gladden, P. S. Moxom, J. H. Rylance, Professors R. T. Ely, W. S. Clarke, E. J. James, and others, with constant editorials and leaders by Dr. Abbott, have formed almost an epoch in the development of Christian social thought in this country. Of this journal, the name of which has lately been changed to *The Outlook*, Dr. Abbott still remains editor-in-chief; and, in harmony with its rechristening, it is now giving greater attention than ever to social Christianity and the signs of the times. After Mr. Beecher's death (1887), Dr. Abbott was in due time chosen his successor in the pastorate of Plymouth Church, a position he still holds—a leader in progressive Christian thought. His recent lectures on *Evolution and Christianity* have elicited special interest.

ABOLITION MOVEMENT. Abolitionist is a term used in the United States specifically for those who favored and sought to effect the abolition of slavery. We here consider the subject simply in its relation to the United States. (For a general sketch of the history of the abolition of slavery through the world, see SLAVERY.) It should not be forgotten, however, that the abolition movement in the United States was but a part of this more general movement.

Christianity, as expressed by its followers, while not until modern times doing away with slavery, has always tended more or less, and at times very directly and effectively, to ameliorate the condition of the slave. The position of St. Paul in regard to Onesimus is well known. It seems probable that, outside of Palestine at least, Christianity was largely propagated among the slaves and despised classes that so abounded through the Roman Empire. When Christianity became dominant, while it still did not abolish, it did limit and check and endeavor to control. Council after council legislated on the subject. Very many Christians voluntarily freed their slaves. Church moneys and benefactions were used for the purchase of the freedom of slaves, notably by Gregory the Great. In England herself, slavery had disappeared by the fifteenth century. England's greatest sin in this respect seems to have been in the trading and carrying of slaves for others rather than in importing or capturing them for herself. The philosophy, too, of natural rights, and the social compact theory, which, beginning in England, found their most logical and their most fearful expression in France, asserted the inherent right of each individual to his own person, and the natural wrong, therefore, of slavery in any form.

It was these two tendencies, the one from

Christianity, the other from French, so called, naturalism and revolutionism, that contributed mainly to the abolitionist movement in America. Its first open expression, however, was among the Society of Friends or Quakers. As early as 1671 George Fox, in England, had spoken **Early Abolitionists.** against slavery, and in 1696 the Pennsylvania Quakers advised their members against the slave trade. In 1774 all persons engaged in the traffic, and in 1776 all who would not emancipate their slaves, were excluded from membership among the Friends. John Woolman (1720-73) and Anthony Benezet (1713-84) were prominent in this stage of the movement. In 1774 a Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed by James Pemberton and Dr. Benjamin Rush, and in 1787 was reconstructed under the presidency of Franklin.

The arguments of these earliest anti-slavery writers and workers were drawn mainly from general philosophic, humanitarian, and Christian principles. With Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, and other Southerners, all of whom deplored and often spoke against, altho most of them practising slavery, other reasons entered in. While not insensible to the humanitarian arguments, they based their position largely on the above-mentioned French political principles then spreading through this country, and thus regarded slavery as a giant evil, inconsistent alike with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of Christianity. Other abolition societies were organized in New York (1785), Rhode Island (1786), Maryland (1789), Connecticut (1790), Virginia (1791), New Jersey (1792). The abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain in 1807, and by the United States in 1808, was a great advance. In 1777 Vermont formed a constitution abolishing slavery, and was soon followed by Massachusetts and other States, while many others gradually abolished it.

In 1819-20 the opponents of slavery made a stern resistance to the admission of Missouri as a slave State, but were defeated. The struggle, however, resulted in the so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), whereby slavery was legalized to the south of 36° 30' N. Lat., and prohibited in all States that might be formed north of it (Mason's and Dixon's line). California, however, tho lying partly south of this line, was admitted as a free State (1850), the Southern party obtaining in compensation the amendment of the Fugitive Slave Law, making it penal to harbor runaway slaves or to aid in their escape. But this is to anticipate. From 1801-47 there were various efforts participated in by Jefferson, Henry Clay, James Madison, in the South, and Bishop Hopkins, Rufus King, President Harrison, and Dr. Channing in the North, to colonize the blacks in Africa. Liberia was declared independent in 1847. In 1831-32 the insurrection of Nat Turner in Virginia excited a strong desire for gradual abolition.

The first leader in *immediate* abolition was William Lloyd Garrison (see GARRISON), a Massachusetts printer, who (1829-30) worked with Lundy, in his *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published at Baltimore. In 1831 he be-

gan publishing *The Liberator* in Boston, and by 1832 the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed. In 1833 Garrison visited England and secured from Wilber-

Immediate force, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Abolition. Brougham, and others, a condemnation of the colonization societies.

Garrison's principles were, in his own words—and they soon became the principles of all abolitionists, however they differed in method—that “the right to enjoy liberty is inalienable;” that “to invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah;” that “every man has a right to his own body, to the products of his labor, to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society.” He said: “We plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock. We shall send forth agents to lift up everywhere the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke. We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively anti-slavery tracts and periodicals. We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb. We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery. We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.” Such were the principles, and such, at least in the earlier stages, were the methods of the abolitionists. Garrison was a firm believer in Christ. He proclaimed himself a follower of the Prince of Peace. Human life he came to regard as sacred above all things. Capital punishment and war, as well as slavery, were to him and to most abolitionists an abhorrence. Viewing the subject thus from the standpoint of morals rather than of any political expediency, slavery was to him a sin not to be gradually abolished, but to be left. In the *Liberator* (vol. i., No. 1, Saturday, January 1, 1831), he wrote: “I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think or speak or write with moderation. No, no! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen, but urge me not to use moderation in a case like the present! I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard.”

From the beginning, Garrison had declared for no union with slaveholders, and proclaimed the Constitution “a covenant with death and an agreement with hell.” In December, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed, with Beriah Green as president and Lewis Tappan and John G. Whittier, secretaries. Theodore D. Weld, Samuel J. May, and Wendell Phillips began lecturing. In 1833 Miss

Prudence Crandall, in Connecticut, opened her school to negro girls. She was ostracized, the Legislature forbade such schools, and she was imprisoned. Riots against abolitionists became frequent. Prices were reported to be set by the South on the heads of several of the leading abolitionists, ranging from \$3000 to \$20,000 each. The

latter sum was offered by six Mississippians for Garrison's head, and the same amount, made up publicly in New Orleans, was offered for the person of Arthur Tappan. In 1837 a slave was burnt to death over a slow fire in St. Louis; and for his words in denouncing this, Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, a Presbyterian minister who had established an abolitionist newspaper in Alton, Ill., was mobbed and killed. Garrison, in Boston, was seized by a mob, dragged by a rope half naked through the streets, and was only rescued by a *posse comitatus* and conveyed to the mayor's office. Abolitionist lecturers and sympathizers were denounced from the pulpit and subjected to every indignity. Judge Birney declared that “the American churches were the bulwarks of American slavery.” Such were some of the obstacles that abolitionist “apostles” had to contend with. Yet while the majority of pulpits either denounced the Garrisonian agitation or else were silent on the subject of slavery, there were ministers in all denominations who were outspoken in their denunciation of this great wrong, and valiantly espoused the cause of the slave. In the Unitarian denomination alone 170 ministers signed a protest against slavery, many of them preaching fearlessly against it, and willingly sacrificing favor and popularity in the cause of freedom.

As a not unnatural result of the popular prejudice and indifference, the Garrisonian wing now became very radical. They were accused of advocating every kind of innovation, from woman's rights to free love, and were freely denounced as “come-outers” and “infidels.” Birney, the Tappans, Gerrit Smith, Whittier, John Jay, Edward Beecher, Thomas Morris, and others left the original organization of the Garrisonians, and in 1840 organized the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They felt that the time was come for the organization of a new political party, while the Garrisonians continued to radically urge their doctrines through all parties. As a result, in 1840 the Liberty Party (*q.v.*) was organized, and in 1840 J. G. Birney was nominated for President, and F. J. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, Vice-President, polling 7059 votes. In 1844 Birney and Morris polled 62,300 votes. These were drawn mainly from voters for Clay. As a result, Polk was elected, Texas annexed, and a vast amount of slave soil added to the United States. The policy then began to prevail in the North of advocating limiting of the slave area, and this led to the formation of the Free-Soil Party. (See FREE-SOILERS.) In this the Liberty Party was mainly merged, though a few continued to vote a Liberty Party ticket to a much later date. In 1848 ex-President Van Buren was nominated as President by the Free-Soilers, and polled 291,363 votes.

Meanwhile, the agitation over the Fugitive Slave Law was coming to a head. The Constitution having recognized slavery by Art. 4, Sec. 2 of that document, it was declared that persons held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, and escaping to another, should be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor might be due. To this was added the amendment referred to above on

the admission of California as a free State. The demand was made by the Free-Soil Party that this be repealed; yet in 1852 they polled a diminished vote. The same year Harriet Beecher Stowe published her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which at once produced a remarkable effect in enlightening the people in general, and arousing in them a sense of the injustice and evil of slavery. In 1855 Captain John Brown went to Kansas to vote, and to fight as well, against the efforts of Missouri border ruffianism and squatter sovereignty to establish slavery in Kansas. The leading abolitionists were eagerly engaged in helping slaves to escape to Canada by means of the "underground railroad," or a series of houses whose inmates were willing to shelter and aid slaves in their secret flight to the North. In 1856 the Free-Soil Party was largely merged in the newly formed Republican Party, with General John C. Fremont as standard-bearer. (See REPUBLICAN PARTY.) He polled, however, only 114 electoral votes to 174 by James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate.

In 1856, May 19 and 20, Charles Sumner delivered his speech in the United States Senate on *The Crime against Kansas*. The speech was an exposure of the cruel injustice of the Government of the United States toward the free citizens of Kansas, and was strong and fearless both in its argument and its invective. Whitier said that "it was the severe and awful truth which the sharp agony of the national crisis demanded." It caused intense excitement among the pro-slavery members of the Senate. After the adjournment of the Senate, as Sumner sat writing at his desk, he was assaulted by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina. He was so severely injured that it was four years before he could again take his place in the Senate, which Massachusetts had left unfilled during his absence; and he suffered from the effects of the murderous assault as long as he lived.

In 1857 the validity of the Missouri Compromise was rejected by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision. (See DRED SCOTT.) In 1859 John Brown made his effort to rouse the slaves at Harper's Ferry, was captured, and on December 2, hung.

In 1860 the success of the Republican Party led to the firing upon Fort Sumter (April 12, 13, 1861) and the opening of the war. The war at

first was not fought to abolish slavery, but simply to put down the rebellion. But the anti-slavery feeling grew. The fugitive slave laws were abolished in 1864. January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued, as a war measure, his emancipatory proclamation; and finally, in 1865, Congress passed the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery in the United States. On April 9, 1870, the American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded, believing its work fully done. (See NEGRO; SLAVERY; PHILLIPS; GARRISON, ETC.)

The War of the Rebellion.

References: Among the best are Von Holst's *United States* (vol. i.); Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*; Greeley's *American Conflict*; Garrison's *Speeches*; McPherson's *Political History of the Rebellion*; Mrs. H. B. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; John E. Cairne's *The Slave Power—Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs*; Parker Pillsbury's *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles*; *Biographies of Garrison, Phillips, Brown, etc.*, etc.

ABSENTEEISM, the practice of absenting one's self from one's country, station, estate, etc. In sociology it is used mainly of landlords absenting themselves from their lands and letting them out to tenants, the landlords giving no time nor care to their possessions except to receive the rents, which they spend in other places and communities. It has been an especial evil in Russia, France, and Ireland; but it is becoming common in the United States, where, through mortgage investments and foreclosures, many Western farms have fallen into the hands of companies or wealthy investors who have never seen the farms, but live on their rents, perhaps themselves residing in London or in Paris.

The evils of absenteeism are not hard to discover. There is, first, the loss of interest which a resident is apt to take in the things and persons about him. Thus he may be prompted to invest capital in local improvements, or to act as an employer of workmen. "It is not the simple amount of the rental being remitted to another country," says Arthur Young, "but the damp on all sorts of improvements."

The good feeling which is apt to grow up between a resident landlord and his tenantry has, again, material as well as moral results, which are generally beneficial. The absentee is less likely to take account of circumstances (*e.g.*, tenant's improvements), which render rack-renting unjust. He is less likely to make allowance for calamities which render punctual payment difficult. "Miseries of which he can see nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make no impression" (A. Young). He is glad to get rid of responsibility by dealing with a "middleman" or intermediate tenant. Without the softening influence of personal communication between the owner and the cultivator of the soil, the "cash nexus" is liable to be strained beyond the limit of patience. There can be little doubt but that absenteeism has been one potent cause of the misery and disturbances in Ireland. The same cause has produced like effects in cases widely different in other respects. The cruellest oppressors of the French peasantry before the Revolution were the *fermiers*, who purchased for an annual sum the right to collect the dues of absentee seigneurs; and this evil it is not hard to trace in American life. The proverbial hardness and harshness of the agent who collects rents for absent owners is not invariable, but is frequent. There is, too, the not-to-be-forgotten effect upon the absentee himself of collecting rents from strangers to whom he pays no duties. Sometimes it may be indeed for the good of a community that a rich and luxurious, and perhaps immoral, landlord be absent from it, but this brings us to another subject. (See LUXURY.)

Perhaps the safest generalization is that made by Senior, that "in general the presence of men of large fortune is morally detrimental, and that of men of moderate fortune morally beneficial, to their immediate neighborhood;" but at least where holdings are at all equally distributed, it is generally best both for the occupier and the owner that the latter should be not far away. It must be remembered, too, that to those who hold that land should be held only by those who

use it, or that all land should be taxed to its full rental value, absenteeism is an evil incident to the present system that is to be overcome only by the overthrow of the present system. To others it is an **Industrial Absenteeism**, evil to be overcome by the greater insistence upon the *duties* as well as the *rights* of wealth. A strong statement of a different but very real form of absenteeism we quote from the report of the Church League of Lowell, Mass., made October 9, 1893:

"It is largely true that the labor of Lowell earns the dividends, but they are mostly spent elsewhere, because the stock of the mill corporations is owned elsewhere. Thus we are confronted by the worst kind of absenteeism. The profits earned here go from here, while the mass of poverty, want, and vice that accumulates in every large manufacturing center is dumped on the charity of our churches and the hospitality of our poorhouse. We see the dreary dwellings of the earners of scanty wages; we see the premature age and disability of those broken down by the rapidly increasing speeding of machinery; we confront the intemperance and vice that follow from the hard conditions and hopeless despair of their bettering. The note-books of our ministers are filled with sad, sad cases of destitution, sickness, and death, made peculiarly sad by the life history of the mill operative."

Professor Hadley, in his *Railroad Transportation* (1886), p. 133, has some pertinent remarks on absentee shareholders.

ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF, an expression in political economy, first used by Senior (*q.v.*) to denote the profits which he considered to be the "natural" reward of the capitalist for the use of capital which he had abstained from using in immediate consumption. The phrase is called "well chosen" by Mill, and has been widely adopted, and undoubtedly contains some element of truth; but it is, nevertheless, considered to be inapt by most economists to-day, since it is at least in great danger of misleading. Thus, when Jevons says, in his *Political Economy Primer*, that "Capital is the result of saving or abstinence," he either expresses a mere truism, or states what is very frequently not the fact. If he means that capital is wealth that has not been consumed in other ways, he says what goes without saying; but if he means that capital is the result of saving and abstinence, so that the capitalist deserves to be rewarded because of his self-sacrifice, he implies what is very often *not* the case. All capital is by no means the result of careful saving and economy. It is notoriously very often the result of shrewd and fortunate investment by those who have lived at the same time in the utmost luxury and self-indulgence. It is made frequently by speculation and financiering in the "bulling" and "bearing" of stocks, in the engineering of some corner or combination in the market, in land speculation, and in a hundred other similar ways. Many fortunes have been begun as the result, perhaps, of saving and abstinence and economy at the very start, but after this, have been made by the bold, shrewd, and fortunate investment of the little sum. If the reliance had been *simply* on abstinence and economy, there would have been no fortune. G. Bernard Shaw, in the Fabian Essays, calls "reward of abstinence" that "gleam of humor which still enlivens treatises on capital."

ACADEMIC SOCIALISTS. See SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. See AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE.

ACCIDENTS. See EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY LAWS; CHILD LABOR; INSURANCE.

ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH. See WEALTH.

ADAMS, FRANCIS, born in Malta, 1862; educated for the civil service. He became, however, a teacher and writer, issuing a volume of verse in 1884. He went the same year to Australia for his health, and threw himself into the labor movement, issuing his *Songs of the Army of the Night* in 1887. He returned to England in 1890 broken in health, yet continued to write for the cause of labor to the last in the *Fortnightly Review*, and issued *The New Egypt* just before a final hemorrhage. On September 4, 1893, he calmly and deliberately shot himself in the presence of his wife, and was buried "with clenched hands" in Margate Cemetery.

ADAMS, HENRY C., was born in 1852, in Davenport, Ia., and received his education at Iowa College, from which institution he graduated with the degree of A.B. in 1874. After teaching for awhile he studied at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, taking the degree of Ph.D. in 1878; he then went to Europe, where he stayed nearly two years. Returning to this country, he lectured on political economy and finance in Cornell University, Johns Hopkins University, and the University of Michigan, until finally, in 1887, he settled permanently at the University of Michigan. In that year he was elected statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and from that time, in addition to the university work, has had charge of the railway statistics of the United States.

He would not be considered a member either of the historical or the *a priori* school of political economy, to the exclusion of the other. While denying that there is such a thing as a historical school which is to endure, or that it is logical to recognize the existence of an *a priori* school, he believes most thoroughly in a study of industrial history to prepare one for the consideration of economic doctrines. On the question of the tariff, Mr. Adams believes in free trade. He does not believe in the nationalization of natural monopolies, but in the control of them through commissions. He has always been an advocate of bimetallism, and may be considered to believe in this now (1895) from a theoretical point of view. As to what may be found in the present existing state of affairs in the United States he is not so clear.

Mr. Adams is the author of *Outlines of Lectures on Political Economy*; *Public Debts: An Essay on the Science of Finance*; and *The State in Relation to Industrial Action*, besides pamphlets and magazine articles.

ADDAMS, JANE. Daughter of the Hon. John H. Addams, State Senator of Northern

Illinois. Miss Addams graduated at Rockford Female Seminary in 1881. In 1889, with Miss Ellen G. Shaw, she founded Hull House, in Chicago, and has continued at its head to the present, developing it into its phenomenal and unequalled usefulness and success. (See HULL HOUSE.) Miss Addams is author of numerous magazine articles, among which are *The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements* and *The Objective Value of a Social Settlement*. She has also contributed to the volume, *Hull House Maps and Papers*.

ADDERLEY, The Hon. and Rev. JAMES.

Born July 1, 1861, and educated at Oxford, he left popularity there to become the first head of Oxford House, in East London. During the great dock strike he aided the dockers, raising £800 for them. He wrote *Stephen Remarx* (1893), a Christian socialist novel, which has passed through many editions, and which outlines a church brotherhood of sacrifice and social effort, somewhat similar to one that "Father Adderley" has now formed in Plaistow (a working class suburb of London). Fr. Adderley is a leader in the London Christian Social Union, and editor of *Goodwill*, a Christian social monthly, adapted to parish use, with a present circulation of 24,000. He has also written *The New Floreat* and *Christ and Social Reform*, a tract for workmen. Address (1895), 128 Edgeware Road, London, W.

ADLER, FELIX, born August 13, 1851, in Germany, emigrated to the United States in 1857, and since that time has been a resident of New York. For a short time he attended the public schools, and was prepared for college in the Columbia Grammar School, whence he entered Columbia College in 1866, and was graduated in 1870. Afterward he spent three years at the University of Berlin, where he took the degree of Ph.D. in 1873. Returning to America in the fall of that year, Dr. Adler was appointed lecturer or non-resident professor at Cornell University in the spring of 1874. He founded the Society for Ethical Culture in New York on May 15, 1876, and has ever since been the leader and lecturer of that society. More or less similar societies have been founded in Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, in London, England, and Berlin, Frankfurt, Strassburg, and elsewhere in Germany. Dr. Adler is also the head of the Department of Ethics in the Plymouth School of Applied Ethics.

He has written a collection of lectures, published under the title of *Creed and Deed*, in 1877, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and the *Moral Instruction of Children*, published in their International Educational Series by the Appletons; he has contributed to the *North American Review*, *Forum*, *Popular Science Monthly*, etc.

On the labor question he is of the opinion that the science of ethics, as such, has a distinct and important contribution to make toward the solution of this question, and agrees with Keynes, that a distinction is to be drawn between the ideal of economics, the science of economics, and the art of economics. He holds that it is the business of ethical science to supply the economic ideal, and disagrees with those who

expect to draw the economic ideal from the study of social science. It is the function of sociology to formulate the laws which have governed the development of society, but it cannot be expected to point out the direction which the development of society ought to take. Social science can tell us what has been and is; ethical science alone can tell us what ought to be.

Dr. Adler favors a low tariff, but is not a free-trader; he is in favor of more and more socializing, but not of nationalizing, the use of natural monopolies, and is opposed to all schemes looking toward an irredeemable currency.

ADLER, VIKTOR, a leading Austrian socialist, born in Prague, June 24, 1852. Educated a physician, he has given up his profession for socialist propaganda. In 1866 he started the *Gleichheit*, and succeeded in uniting the divided Austrian Socialist Party. He is now editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party; he is author of many socialist tracts and short books on labor chambers, universal suffrage, etc.

ADMINISTRATIVE NIHILISM, a phrase first used by Professor T. H. Huxley in an address before the members of the Midland Institute, 1871, to describe the doctrine (which he opposed) of those who believe that the State should be limited in its functions to the protection of its subjects from aggression. The address has since been published under this name of *Administrative Nihilism*. Professor Huxley quotes approvingly Locke's maxim, that "the end of government is the good of mankind," and defines the good of mankind as "the attainment by every man of all the happiness which he can enjoy without diminishing the happiness of his fellow-men." The question, then, of what the State should and should not do, he regards as to be decided, not *a priori*, but simply on the ground of whether it can be done better by the State or by private initiative—a conclusion to which to-day almost all sociologists adhere.

ADULTERATION OF FOOD, in political economy, means "the act of debasing a pure or genuine article for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or taking one of its constituents away." In England, as early as the thirteenth century, the legislature attempted, though with but partial success, to strike a blow against it, showing that it existed even then; but it is modern invention and still more modern commercialism that has mainly produced it. Between 1851 and 1854 in England a sanitary commission, instituted in connection with *The Lancet* newspaper, and most ably conducted by Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, made revelations of so startling a character that parliamentary action took place; and this, tho at first ineffective, has been improved, till it is now somewhat effective, and has been followed by legislation in other countries.

The most notable kinds of adulteration at present are the following: (1) The addition of a substance of inferior value, for the sake of adding to the bulk and weight of one more precious; as the mixing of water with milk, fat with butter, or chicory with coffee. (2) The addition of a substance with the view of heightening the color and improving the appearance of an

article, as well as to conceal other forms of adulteration; example, the coloring of pickles or preserves with salts of copper. (3) The addition of a substance designed to aid or increase the flavor or pungency of another; example, the addition to vinegar of sulphuric acid. (4) The addition of a substance designed to insure that a larger quantity of another one shall be consumed; example, beer, one of the chief adulterants of which at present is salt, put into the liquor to insure that when one employs it to slake his thirst, the more he drinks the more thirsty will he become. Some of the substances used for adulterating articles of food—the salts of copper and sulphuric acid, for instance—are poisonous; but Mr. Harkness, F.C.S., of the Laboratory, Somerset House, who has had much experience in analyzing specimens sent thither on appeal, considers that at present adulteration does not prevail as extensively as the public believe, and that, as a rule, the purchaser of a debased article is more likely to suffer in purse than in health.

AGAPE, a love feast, or feast of brotherhood and social communion, in the early Christian Church. The name comes from the Greek word *ἀγάπη*, signifying love. At these feasts the rich Christians presented their poorer brethren with gifts, and all sat around the tables and ate together as a token of their equality before God. The utmost harmony and fellowship prevailed. Prayer opened and closed the meeting, and a bishop or presbyter presided. A portion of Scripture was read, expounded, and discussed; and during the feast spiritual songs were sung. If any communication had been received from another church, or from an absent member or bishop, it was publicly read. Money was collected for widows, orphans, prisoners, the poor, and those who had suffered shipwreck. At the close the members embraced, and a "philanthropic prayer" was pronounced. A spirit of practical sympathy and benevolence prevailed. The participants did not seek for private spiritualities nor for personal enjoyment, but acted as "members one of another." In the second century persecutions checked the agape, and in the third and fourth centuries they degenerated into a kind of banquet, where the deaths of relatives and martyrs were commemorated, and where the clergy and the poor were guests. The increase of wealth at last rendered their original purpose abortive, and transformed them into positive evils, and too often scenes of iniquity. Councils denounced them for their riotousness and debauchery, and finally banished them altogether.

The agape have been revived by the Moravians, who hold solemn feasts where wheat bread and tea are set before the participants, and where prayer and praise are offered up.

See GUILDS. SEC. I., ANCIENT LABOR GUILDS.

AGE OF CONSENT. Age of consent laws, in their usual acceptation, refer to the crime of rape, and designate the age at which a young girl may legally consent to carnal relations with the other sex. Statutes pertaining to rape provide, in varying phrase, for the punishment of "whoever ravishes and carnally knows a female by force and against her will," at any age; and also penalties for whoever unlawfully and carnally knows a female child, with or without consent, under a given age. That age varies in different States in the United States and in different countries. Under the old English common law, the age was 10, sometimes 12 years. Until within the last decade the old Common

Law period of 10, sometimes 12 years was the basis of the age of consent legislation of most of the States, and also of the law of Congress pertaining to rape in the District of Columbia and other territory under the immediate jurisdiction of the National Government. It still continues the basis of the age of consent laws of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, wherein the age remains at 10 years, and in Texas, Kentucky, Wisconsin, and Louisiana, wherein the age is 12 years.

It was not until after the astounding revelations made by Mr. Stead, in 1885, of the crimes against young girls in London that the age of consent laws in the United States began to attract attention, except in courts of law, on this side of the Atlantic. Even then the age of consent in England was 13 years. One outcome of Mr. Stead's shocking exposures was the speedy raising of the age by the British Parliament from 13 to 16 years, Mr. Gladstone and others advocating 18. The New York Committee for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice has been at work for 10 years to thwart the periodical efforts made to introduce in New York and other American cities the odious old world system of licensed and State-regulated vice; but its members were quite unaware, until Mr. Stead's startling London revelations suggested the inquiry here, that, by the age of consent laws of New York and of most of the States, young girls of 10 years were made legally capable of consenting to their own ruin, and that at that time in one State (Delaware) the age was at the shockingly low period of 7 years! Bad as English law had been shown to be in its inadequate protection of girlhood, our own legal position in relation to exposed young girls was found to be still worse. The New York Committee, as soon as the facts were known, inaugurated a campaign of petitions to sundry State legislatures and to the Congress of the United States, asking that the age be raised to at least 18 years, and the work was also entered into earnestly and effectively by the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions and the White Cross societies. Changes in the age of consent laws soon followed in many States.

In New Hampshire and Utah the age is now (June, 1895) 13 years, the same as in England before Mr. Stead's investigation. In 19 States the age is now 14 years—viz., Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Michigan, Indiana, Missouri, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, North Dakota, Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada, California, and Oregon. In Montana the age is 15 years. In 6 States the age is 16 years—viz., Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, South Dakota, Arkansas; and also in the District of Columbia. In Tennessee the age is 16 years and one day, the one day having been added as a facetious amendment while the matter was under consideration in the Tennessee Legislature. In Florida the age is 17 years. In four States—Wyoming, New York, Colorado and Kansas—the age is 18 years. In Delaware "an act for the better protection of female children," passed March 29, 1889, fixed the age at 15 years, now raised to 18 years. In Texas, in 1890, the age was reported by the Secretary of State as

12 years ; in Louisiana, 12 years ; and in Mississippi, 16 years. Official answers to our last inquiries from these four States have not yet come to hand.

Several attempts have been made in different States to lower the age of consent again after it had been raised. Thus far, fortunately, they have not been successful. In the New York Senate, in 1890, a bill was introduced to lower the age of consent from 16 to 14 years. It was reported favorably by the Senate judiciary committee, but vigorous protests against the proposed retrograde legislation were promptly sent to Albany by the friends of purity, and the disreputable scheme was defeated. It was understood to have originated with Rochester attorneys, who sought thus to provide a way of escape for a client, a well-to-do debauchee guilty of despoiling a young girl under the legally protected age of 16. Another attempt was made in the New York Legislature, in 1892, this time in the Assembly, to lower the age of consent from 16 to 14 years. A motion made to amend thus the penal code was adopted by a *vive voce* vote, and was about to be declared carried, when the chairman of the judiciary committee, realizing its serious import, called for the yeas and nays, declaring that on such a measure the constituents of every member should know how his vote was cast, and that all should therefore go on record. This effectually killed the unworthy amendment, proposed, it was understood, in the interest of the brothel-keepers of New York. In the Kansas Senate, in 1889, a bill was introduced and passed to lower the age of consent in that State from 18 to 12 years. The house was flooded with earnest protests, and its judiciary committee reported adversely the disgraceful Senate bill.

According to the New York law, unless it can be shown in court that the girl resists to the uttermost limit of exhaustion the man who assaults her, the man can successfully plead her "consent."

In noting the changes of the last decade in the age of consent laws of this country, it is a suggestive fact that the two States in which the age of legal protection for girlhood was first raised to 18 years are States in which women vote—in Wyoming, upon equal terms with men, and in Kansas, in municipal elections, while they have been followed by Colorado, another State that has enfranchised women.

Under French and other continental common law the minor under the age of 21 cannot legally consent to her own corruption, and the adult who debauches her cannot plead "consent" in defence, and is subject to punishment.

AARON M. POWELL.

Says Emily Blackwell, M.D., in the *Arena*, January, 1893 ;

"By fixing the age of legal majority the State declares that under this age young people have not the experience nor the maturity of judgment which would qualify them for independent action in matters of importance affecting their own interests. They are in consequence made incapable of such action. Their consent cannot relieve a guardian from responsibility in the management of their property. Except in a few exceptional cases they cannot make a contract which

will be binding when they come of age. A minor cannot legally marry without the consent of the guardian. Surreptitious marriage with a minor is an offence punishable by law, and such a marriage can be annulled upon the application of the guardian. Thus their power of action is, in their own interest, so limited that their consent is not sufficient to make valid even perfectly legitimate transactions, nor does it avail to protect adults who assume it as sufficient authority.

"Even in crime youth is allowed as an extenuating circumstance, from the general feeling that the young are less able to resist external influences, and are less responsible for their actions than the adult. The establishment of reformatories for juvenile offenders testifies to the belief that their characters are still unformed for good or for evil.

"In the case of girls, the State has not only extended exceptional protection to them as minors in reference to their legitimate social relations, it has also established a sort of legal majority in reference to those that are illegitimate. It has fixed an age below which girls are held to be incompetent of assent to such illegitimate relations. 'Consent,' as it is termed, varied in all the different States, until recently, from the age of 7 to 12 years, and in many of them it is still only 10 or 12. This arrangement amounted virtually to the protection of children only of the years during which the physical abuse of children is so brutal an offence as to excite indignation even among the majority of persons of vicious life. The protection accorded in other respects to minors was distinctly and emphatically withdrawn from girls during the first few years of early womanhood, when it is most needed.

"Such legislation is directly in the interest of vice. The line is drawn just where those who are interested in vice would have it. It is certainly as illogical as cruel that at an age when a girl's consent is not held sufficient for legal marriage, it should be held sufficient to justify her destruction. A man may not legally marry the minor daughter of another without his consent, but he is legally free to seduce her if he can. . . .

"Wherever the age of protection has been raised the result has been for good only. It acts as a deterrent upon those who would mislead youth. It strengthens the hands of the individuals and societies who work for the protection and help of friendless youth. It would seem sufficient to state the case fairly to accomplish the end, but the great, long-continued effort that has been needed to partially accomplish this end testifies to the contrary."

The following is the present age of consent in the different States :

State	for males, 18 years ;	for females, 14 years.
Arizona,	17	16
Arkansas,	17	14
California,	15	14
Colorado,	14	18
Connecticut,	14	14
Delaware,	15	18
Dist. Columbia,	14	16
Florida,	14	17
Georgia,	17	10

The Age of Consent in the Different States.

Idaho,	for males, 18 years; for females, 14 years.
Illinois,	" " 17 " " " 14 "
Indiana,	" " 18 " " " 14 "
Iowa,	" " 16 " " " 14 "
Kansas,	" " 15 " " " 18 "
Kentucky,	" " 14 " " " 12 "
Louisiana,	" " 14 " " " 12 "
Maine,	" " 14 " " " 14 "
Maryland,	" " 14 " " " 14 "
Massachusetts,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
Michigan,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
Minnesota,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
Mississippi,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
Missouri,	" " 15 " " " 14 "
Montana,	" " 18 " " " 15 "
Nebraska,	" " 18 " " " 16 "
Nevada,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
New Hampshire,	" " 14 " " " 13 "
New Jersey,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
New Mexico,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
New York,	" " 13 " " " 18 "
North Carolina,	" " 15 " " " 10 "
North Dakota,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
Ohio,	" " 13 " " " 14 "
Oklahoma,	" " 13 " " " 15 "
Oregon,	" " 18 " " " 14 "
Pennsylvania,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
Rhode Island,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
South Carolina,	" " 14 " " " 17 "
South Dakota,	" " 13 " " " 16 "
Tennessee,	" " 14 " " " 16 "
Texas,	" " 15 " " " 12 "
Utah,	" " 14 " " " 13 "
Vermont,	" " 14 " " " 14 "
Virginia,	" " 14 " " " 12 "
Washington,	" " 21 " " " 16 "
West Virginia,	" " 14 " " " 14 "
Wisconsin,	" " 13 " " " 12 "
Wyoming,	" " 18 " " " 18 "

them to refer not to private, but only to public lands. They referred to the lands acquired by military conquest.

"It was the practice at Rome," says Dr. Arnold, "and doubtless in other States of Italy, to allow individuals to occupy such lands, and to enjoy all the benefits of them, on condition of paying to the State the tithe of the produce, as an acknowledgment that the State was the proprietor of the land, and the individual merely the occupier. Now, although the land was undoubtedly the property of the State, and although the occupiers of it were in relation to the State mere tenants-at-will, yet it is in human nature that a long undisturbed possession should give a feeling of ownership; the more so as, while the State's claim lay dormant, the possessor was, in fact, proprietor, and the land would thus be repeatedly passing by regular sale from one occupier to another."

The very idea of a citizen in ancient times conveyed the idea of a land-owner, and as new citizens were admitted to all Roman privileges, they received an allotment of land from the public domains. This necessitated an interference by the State with those who temporarily occupied the land; and as these occupiers were generally Roman aristocrats, the interference was resisted. It was to the interest of the aristocrats to keep the lands public property, and therefore they opposed all agrarian legislation. Their opposition to this distribution of land, together with economic tendencies that favored the wealthy, resulted in producing a large proportion of landless citizens; and the endeavor by some of the noblest Roman statesmen to provide these dispossessed citizens with the land that rightfully belonged to them, occasioned some of the most notable struggles in Roman history. One of the first consuls to propose an agrarian law was Spurius Cassius, who, at a time of great poverty among the Roman workingmen, desired to have the public lands divided among them. The aristocracy defeated him, and finally secured his death for daring to propose an infringement upon their privileges.

The first important agrarian legislation of a permanent nature actually passed was that proposed by the tribune Licinius Stolo, and carried, after a struggle of five years, in the year of Rome 383. The provisions of Licinius's bill, or *rogation*, were as follows: "Every Roman citizen shall be entitled to occupy any portion of the unallotted state land not exceeding 500 jugera, and to feed on the public pasture-land any number of cattle not exceeding 100 head of large, or 500 head of small, paying in both cases the usual rates to the public treasury. Whatever portions of the public land beyond 500 jugera are at present occupied by individuals shall be taken from them, and distributed among the poorer citizens as absolute property, at the rate of 7 jugera apiece. Occupiers of public land shall also be bound to employ a certain number of freemen as laborers."

For a time this law was enforced with very good effect. Poverty and inequality decreased. But by the year 621 the law was neglected; and although large tracts of land had been acquired, there were large numbers of landless citizens in Rome. Wealthy capitalists secured the public lands and had them tilled by hired labor for profit. For 100 years there was no distribution of land. The pauper population of the city increased at one end, and the wealth and pride and luxury of the aristocracy increased at the other. A few

It should be remembered, however, that these ages are continually being changed by legislation.

Reference: For the latest information, see *The Philanthropist*, published monthly for the promotion of social purity, the better protection of the young, the repression of vice, and the prevention of its regulation by the State. Editors, Aaron M. Powell and Mrs. Anna Rice Powell, United Charities Building, New York.

AGIO (It. *agio*, exchange). A commercial term, used principally in Europe, to denote (1) the rate of exchange between the currencies of two countries. (2) The percentage of difference in the value of (a) two metallic currencies, or (b) a metallic and a paper currency of the same denomination and in the same country, hence premium on the appreciated currency. (3) An allowance made in some places for the wear and tear of coin. Adam Smith uses the word sometimes in the first and sometimes in the second sense, saying, for example, that the *agio* of the Bank of Amsterdam over the currency of Amsterdam was generally about 5 per cent.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION. All laws or measures tending toward the abolition or limitation of private property in land are often termed agrarian legislation, in reference to the famous agrarian laws of Rome, which were till recently supposed to have operated strongly in this direction, and to some extent probably did so. This conception of agrarian legislation was common even among scholars as late as the beginning of this century. In 1793 the French convention introduced legislation to punish with death any one who should propose an agrarian law, by which they meant equal division of the soil among the citizens. The German scholars Heyne, Niebuhr, and Savigny first declared the true purpose of these Roman laws, discovering

nobles began to practically own the greater part of the land, while most of the citizens were in want. Long occupation of public lands had confused public with private property, and given the capitalists and nobles a kind of proprietary claim to the land they occupied; so that, while there was no doubt as to the wisdom and justice of a division of public land, there were many obstacles in the way. It was Tiberius Gracchus who at last had the boldness to propose an agrarian law. He proposed that every father of a family might occupy 500 jugera of the State land for himself, and 250 jugera additional for each of his sons; but that, in every case where this amount was exceeded, the State should resume the surplus, paying the tenant a price for the buildings, etc., which he had been at the expense of erecting on the lands thus lost to him. The recovered lands were then to be distributed among the poor citizens, a clause being inserted in the bill to prevent these citizens from selling the lands thus allotted to them, as many of them would have been apt to do.

His proposition was strictly in accord with the laws and spirit of the Roman constitution; but it was nevertheless furiously opposed by the wealthy classes, who went as far in their lawless opposition as to assassinate Gracchus and his brother in cold blood. His measure was, however, carried into effect; but its enforcement was so greatly hindered and evaded as to render it of little value to the suffering people. The aristocrats passed other laws directly opposite to that of Gracchus, and securing them in their usurpations. C.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND EXPERIMENT STATIONS.

The first agricultural school was founded by Fellenberg at Hofwyl, Switzerland, in 1806, and endured 30 years, educating 3000 pupils. The Albert Institution, a great agricultural college, was founded at Glasnevin, near Dublin, Ireland, in 1838. A private experimental station was started at Rotham, England, in 1843. The Royal College of Agriculture at Cirencester, England, was commenced in 1845, and a college of agriculture at Downton in 1880. The English government gives small grants to chairs of agriculture at South Kensington, the University of Edinburgh, and a few other less important institutions. In Prussia almost every province has its State-supported school of agriculture. In France the Government gives large grants for agricultural education. The school at Gregnon occupies an old palace and possesses 1185 acres.

In the United States, the first agricultural college was established at Cleveland, O., in 1855.

Under the provisions of the acts of Congress of July 2, 1862, and August 30, 1890, colleges having courses in agriculture are in operation in all the States and Territories. In 14 States separate institutions are maintained for white and colored students. The total number of institutions having courses in agriculture in the United States is 65. The organization of these institutions is so varied that an exact classification of them is impracticable. In a general way, however, they may be classified as follows: (1) Universities having colleges or departments of agriculture; (2) colleges of agriculture and me-

chanic arts; (3) colleges of agriculture; (4) secondary schools of agriculture. In these institutions the college course in agriculture leading to a degree covers four or, in some cases, three years. Shorter courses of one or two years, or of a few months, are also provided in many institutions. Special courses in dairying and in other agricultural industries have been recently established at a few of the colleges.

The total number of officers in the faculties in 1893 was 1282. The total number of students was 17,623, of whom 3160 were in the courses in agriculture. The graduates from the courses in agriculture in 1893 numbered 265, and the total number of graduates in those courses since the establishment of the colleges is 3016.

The total revenue in 1893 was \$4,024,132, from the following sources: United States (including income of land grant of 1862 and appropriation under act of Congress of 1890), \$1,463,215; State, \$1,093,870; local communities, \$10,003; individuals, \$60,906; fees, \$301,141; farm produce, \$116,625; miscellaneous, \$953,372. The value of additions to equipment in 1893 is estimated as follows: Farm implements, \$26,559; buildings, \$1,035,589; library, \$84,638; apparatus, \$151,900; live stock, \$16,276; miscellaneous, \$66,675; total, \$1,451,637.

The Wisconsin dairy school, the first of its kind in America, grew out of the belief that it might be of direct and great help to dairy interests. A study of the dairy instruction imparted in Denmark showed that the system there adopted was not suitable for Wisconsin. These students are given the theory of dairying at the school and the practice by placing them one or two in a factory, where they serve an apprenticeship. While many of the factories in Wisconsin were excellently managed, it was felt that the student should have actual practice while studying in the manufacture of butter and cheese under skilled instructors. The result was the Hiram Smith Hall, named in honor of Regent Hiram Smith, of the State University, who had worked faithfully in the upbuilding of Wisconsin's dairy interests, and especially for this school.

Agricultural experiment stations are now in operation under the act of Congress of March 2, 1887, in all the States and Territories. Alaska is the only section of the United States which has no **Agricultural Stations**. In each of the States of Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York a separate station is maintained wholly or in part by State funds, and in Louisiana a station for sugar experiments is maintained mainly by funds contributed by sugar planters. In several States sub-stations have been established. Excluding the branch stations, the total number of stations in the United States is 55. Of these 49 receive the appropriation provided for in the act of Congress above mentioned. The total income of the stations during 1893 was \$950,073, of which \$705,000 was received from the National Government, the remainder coming from State governments, private individuals, fees for analyses of fertilizers, sales of farm products, and other sources. In addition to this the Office of Experiment Sta-

tions has an appropriation of \$25,000 for the current fiscal year. The value of additions to equipment in 1893 is estimated as follows: Farm implements, \$8330; buildings, \$59,578; libraries, \$11,216; apparatus, \$17,672; live stock, \$7085; miscellaneous, \$29,927; total, \$133,858.

The stations employ 532 persons in the work of administration and inquiry. The number of officers engaged in the different lines of work is as follows: Directors, 70; chemists, 119; agriculturists, 54; horticulturists, 62; farm foremen, 25; dairymen, 7; botanists, 37; entomologists, 42; veterinarians, 26; meteorologists, 13; biologists, 11; physicists, 4; geologists, 4; mycologists and bacteriologists, 5; irrigation engineers, 4; in charge of sub-stations, 33; secretaries and treasurers, 25; librarians, 8, and clerks, 27.

For further details see report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1893, from which the above has been in the main abridged.

AGRICULTURALISTS. See **PHYSICRATS.**

AGRICULTURE. (See also **LAND**; **FARMERS' MOVEMENT**; **COOPERATION**; **ABANDONED FARMS**; **GRANGE**, ETC.) We here consider:

1. The history of agriculture.
2. The statistics of agriculture.
3. The economics of agriculture.

I. History.

(a) IN ANCIENT TIMES.

The history of agriculture reaches back to the earliest times. On Egyptian hieroglyphs, Assyrian rolls, in Bible records, we have glimpses of its earliest history. It was agriculture that first produced civilization, since it first gave to man an abiding home. (See **LAND**.) Asia was probably its birthplace.

To-day in Central Asia the tribes of pastoral nomads are made up of groups, each under the authority of the head of a family, and nothing is the subject of separate ownership except clothes and weapons (Le Play, *Ouvriers Européens*). When a group becomes too large a division is made by the head in a manner suggestive of the division made between Abraham and Lot.

It was probably thus that land was first held, tilled by little groups of men, gathered for defence around or enslaved by some strong head of the family or group. We are probably, however, not to think of these as little communistic groups, as suggested by De Laveleye (*Primitive Property*). It is more probable, as suggested by later writers (see **LAND**) that while the land was in one sense held in common, it was rather held by one strong man in despotism over the rest, whom he made to toil for him under conditions little removed from the lowest slavery. The implements of agriculture were of the rudest description—such as those used in Turkey even to-day—a crooked stick or curved beam serving for a plough, and other implements of proportional simplicity. Nevertheless, in Egypt, for example, considerable progress was made. Diodorus Siculus bears explicit testimony to the skill of the farmers of ancient Egypt. He informs us that they were acquainted with the benefits of a rotation

Egypt.

of crops, and were skillful in adapting these to the soil and to the seasons. The ordinary annual supply of corn furnished to Rome has been estimated at 20,000,000 bushels. From the same author we also learn that they fed their cattle with hay during the annual inundation, and at other times tethered them in the meadows to feed on clover. Their flocks were shorn twice annually (a practice common in several Asiatic countries), and their ewes yeaned twice a year. For religious as well as economical reasons, they were great

rearers of poultry, and practised artificial hatching, as at the present day. Wilkinson's *Egypt*, giving many of the pictures and inscriptions from the tombs, etc., discloses a state of advancement which we little realize: "An Egyptian villa comprised all the conveniences of a European one of the present day. Besides a mansion with numerous apartments, there were gardens, orchards, fish-ponds, and preserves for game. Attached to it was a farmyard, with sheds for cattle and stables for carriage horses. A steward directed the tillage operations, superintended the labourers, and kept account of the produce and expenditure. The grain was stored in vaulted chambers, furnished with an opening at the top, reached by steps, into which it was emptied from sacks, and with an aperture below for removing it when required. Hand-querns, similar to our own, were used for grinding corn; but they had also a larger kind worked by oxen. In one painting, in which the sowing of the grain is represented, a plough drawn by a pair of oxen goes first; next comes the sower scattering the seed from a basket; he is followed by another plough; while a roller, drawn by two horses yoked abreast, completes the operation. The steward stands by superintending the whole."

The prominence given to agriculture among the Jews is well proven. Says Schaff's *Bible Dictionary*: "Agriculture was recognized and regulated by the Mosaic law as the chief national occupation. Inalienable ownership—under God—of the soil was a fundamental provision, and renting the ground till the year of jubilee was alone possible. 'The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me' (Lev. 25:8-16, 23-35). The encouragement such a provision gave to agricultural improvements cannot be exaggerated.

Palestine.

"That the land must rest one year in seven was another remarkable and most beneficent requirement (Lev. 25:1-7). The Jews were forbidden to sow a field with divers seeds (Deut. 22:9). For example, wheat and lentils must not be mixed, nor areas of them meet. The rabbis describe with minuteness how to vary the position of crops, yet avoid actual contact between them, and prescribe at least three furrows' margin between such divers kinds. The yoking together of an ox and ass was prohibited, but is common enough among the present inhabitants. Horses were never used for farm-work.

"Vineyards are enclosed in walls, and gardens are usually protected in the same way, or by banks of mud taken from ditches. Otherwise, in agricultural districts the absence of all fences or enclosures is and always was in striking contrast to our own practice. A brook or cliff may serve as a boundary, but ordinarily large stones almost covered by the soil are the landmarks (Deut. 19:14). Exceedingly beautiful to the eye are the vast fertile areas of Palestine, checked only by cultivation. As cattle find pasture through most of the year, there are no proper barns to be seen. Grass is cut in watered places with a sickle for 'soiling,' and stock is fed with this or with grain when the fields are dried up. More commonly, during periods of scarcity, the flocks and herds are driven to other feeding-grounds. Booths are sometimes provided for inclement weather, and at night cattle are driven into caves or folds.

"The permission to pluck and eat a neighbor's grapes or grain, but not to put the former in a vessel nor use a sickle on the latter, is not to be forgotten (Deut. 23:24, 25). There was also merciful provision that the poor might glean in the vineyard and harvest-field, and that something should be left for them (Lev. 19:9, 10; Deut. 24:19).

"... Oriental ploughing does not turn a sod, but merely scratches the earth to the depth of 3 or 4 inches at most, which is all the primitive and light plough and the small cattle of the East can do. Often—always in the case of new ground—a second ploughing crosswise was practised; and this is referred to by the word 'break' in Isa. 28:24. Steep hill-sides were prepared for planting with the mattock or hoe, an iron-pointed instrument of wood resembling in shape the modern 'pick' (Isa. 7:25). Good farmers ploughed before the rains, that the moisture might be more abundantly absorbed. The seed, being scattered broadcast upon the soil, was ordinarily ploughed in, as is still the custom. Light harrowing, often with thorn bushes, completed the process. In wet ground the seed was trampled in by cattle (Isa. 32:20). After its planting there was commonly little further labor bestowed upon the crop till it was ready for the harvest. Weeds were removed by hand when it was safe to do so (Matt. 13:28, 29). Irrigation was sometimes necessary,

As the ingathering drew near, the fields must be protected by the watchman in his lodge from the wild boar and other beasts, and from human marauders. The newly scattered seed and the ripening crop also required to be defended against great flocks of birds (Matt. 13: 4).

"Grain when ripe was in more ancient times plucked up by the roots. Later, it was reaped by a sickle resembling our own, either the ears alone being cut off or the whole stalk. Laborers, animals, or carts bore the harvest to the threshing floor, where the grain was separated from the ears and winnowed."

Of Grecian agriculture little is known. The Greece that we know is the Greece of conquerors, who lived on the labors of slaves in mines, in fields, and in industries. The cultivation of the soil was despised, and has made little impress upon Greek literature. With the Romans it was different. Says Schlegel (*Philosophy of History*, p. 253): "It was in land and in the produce of the soil that their principal and almost only wealth consisted. They were a thoroughly agricultural people, and it was only at a later period that commerce, trades, and arts were introduced among them, and even then was separated by a subordinate place."

The Roman Empire.

They occupied but a subordinate place." Their passion for agriculture survived very long; and when at length their boundless conquests introduced an unheard-of luxury and corruption of morals, the noblest minds amongst them were strongly attracted towards the ancient virtue of the purer and simpler agricultural times. Cicero puts into the mouth of Cato a fine picture of the ancient Roman enthusiasm in agriculture: "I come now to the pleasures of husbandry, in which I vastly delight. They are not interrupted by old age, and they seem to me to be pursuits in which a wise man's life should be spent. The earth does not rebel against authority; it never gives back but with usury what it receives. The gains of husbandry are not what exclusively commend it. I am charmed with the nature and productive virtues of the soil. Can those old men be called unhappy who delight in the cultivation of the soil? In my opinion there can be no happier life, not only because the tillage of the earth is salutary to all, but from the pleasure it yields. The whole establishment of a good and assiduous husbandman is stored with wealth; it abounds in pigs, in kids, in lambs, in poultry, in milk, in cheese, in honey. Nothing can be more profitable, nothing more beautiful than a well-cultivated farm."

Mr. Hoskyn, in his *History of Agriculture*, quotes the following interesting passage from Pliny, commenting on Virgil: "Cato would have this point especially to be considered, that the soil of a farm be good and fertile also, that near it there be plenty of labourers, and that it be not far from a large town; moreover, that it have sufficient means for transporting its produce, either by water or land. Also, that *the house be well built*, and the land about it as well managed. But I observe a great error and self-deception which many men commit, who hold opinion that the negligence and ill-husbandry of the former owner is good for his successor or after purchaser. Now, I say, there is nothing more dangerous and disadvantageous to the buyer than land so left waste and out of heart; and therefore Cato counsels well to purchase land of one who has managed it well, and not rashly and hand-over-head to despise and make light of the skill and knowledge of another. He says, too, that as well land as men, which are of great charge and expense, how gainful soever they may seem to be, yield little profit in the end, when all reckonings are made. The same Cato being asked what was the most assured profit rising out of land, made this answer: 'To feed stock well.' Being asked again what was the next, he answered: 'To feed *with moderation*.' By which answer he would seem to conclude that the most certain and sure revenue was a *low cost of production*. To the same point is to be referred another speech of his, 'that a good husbandman ought to be a seller rather than a buyer'; also, 'that a man should stock his ground early and well, but take long time and leisure before he be a builder'; for it is the best thing in the world, according to the proverb, 'to make use and derive profit from other men's follies.' Still when there is a good and convenient house on the farm, the master will be the closer occupier, and take the more pleasure in it; and truly it is a good saying that 'the master's eye is better than his heel.'"

In the later days of the empire the land was tilled only by slave labour, under landlords of gigantic wealth, who cared nothing for agriculture. Corruption set in, leading to the famous dictum of Pliny that it was the *latifundia* which overthrew Rome. The evil was fur-

ther aggravated by the policy that the Romans pursued towards the inhabitants of the conquered provinces; there none of the land was held as freehold, but it was solely vested in the Roman people, being all let out for the benefit of the State. On the conquest of Sicily the wealthy Romans flocked over and farmed the rents, as well as cultivated the lands by means of slave-labour. Indeed, the chief supplies of grain sent to Rome from Sicily, Sardinia, and Carthage were raised by means of slaves.

(b) THE MIDDLE AGES.

Agriculture in the middle ages was largely modified by the system of feudalism (*q.v.*). (See also MIDDLE AGES.) Under the incursions of the Goths, Vandals, and other tribes, it sank into the lowest condition. The rural condition of Europe in the tenth century was pitiable in the extreme. Universal rapine and violence made it unsafe to till open land, and unprofitable to undertake improvements. The impression that the year 1000 would see the end of the world, which was widespread, caused the fields to be still more deserted, industry still more abandoned. After the year 1000 there was some revival of industry. The monasteries (see MONASTICISM), cultivating little tracts of ground, worked by the monks with their own hands, did much to spread the knowledge and practice of agriculture.

In Spain the Saracens did more. By them and their successors, the Moors, agriculture was carried in Spain to a height which perhaps has not yet been surpassed in Europe. It is said that so early as the tenth century the revenue of Saracenic Spain alone amounted to £6,000,000 sterling—probably as much as that of all the rest of Europe at that time. The ruins of their noble works for the irrigation of the soil still attest their skill and industry, and put to shame the ignorance and indolence of their successors.

In England agriculture seems to have been a little more prosperous than on the continent. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*: "Among the early Saxons the soil had been tilled by village communities. The land held by the association was divided into two main divisions: (1) round the homesteads lay permanent inclosures held as private property (cp. Tacitus, *suum quisque domum spatium circumdat*); (2) beyond the village lay the common lands of the association. This latter portion consisted of (a) arable fields, sometimes two generally three, and in later times four, in number; (b) meadowland for hay; (c) rough wild pasture for live stock. Of the three arable fields, one was cultivated each year for wheat or rye, another for oats, barley, peas, and beans, and the third lay fallow. Thus each field every third year was fallow. Both the meadow and arable lands were cut into strips and annually allotted to the use of individuals from putting up for hay or from seed-time. Each partner held scattered intermixed parcels in each of the arable fields, so as to equalize the quality of the land, and to give each a share in the different crops cultivated. The farming was regulated by a system of 'field-constraint,' or later by the reeve of the manorial lord. After the crops were cleared, separate use terminated and common rights recommenced, the cattle and sheep of the community wandering over the fields before the common herdsman or shepherd (for a detailed account of the system, see Seebohm's *The English Village Community*). Co-tillage remained a feature of English farming after the Norman Conquest. Up to the close of the eighteenth century half the soil of England was thus cultivated, and in 1879, 600 acres at Stogoursey, near Bridgewater, were farmed on this system. By the close of the eleventh century the immediate lordship of the soil was vested in lords of manors, subject to regulated rights of user enjoyed by the co-operative farmers. The manorial estate was divided into three parts—the demesne, the tenemental land of the associated farmers, and the lord's wastes, over which the live stock of the tenants grazed. The soil was tilled by serfs, by freemen, and by semi-serville tenants, who paid for their land by military or agricultural services. Out of these grades in the rural population sprang the freeholder, the copyholder, and the

England.

free wage-earning labourer. The most striking features in mediæval farming were the violent alternations from perpetual cropping to barrenness, from indolence to intense labour, from famine to feasting. Scarcely anything was grown for markets; nearly all the produce was consumed at home by the producers. Arable land exceeded grassland. No manure was employed; horses were scarcely ever used; oxen were more economical; their food, harness, and shoes were cheaper; when dead they were meat for man. The crops were wheat, oats, barley, rye, beans, peas, flax, and hemp."

Thorold Rogers (*q.v.*) gives in his *Work and Wages* a picture of rural mediæval England. We give it here in abridged form. He says:

"The first information which we get as to the occupations of the people in rural districts discloses to us the fact that almost every one not only possessed land, but that he cultivated it. The king was not only the largest landowner in the realm, but the most extensive agriculturist, the wealthiest owner of live and dead stock" (p. 47).

"In the thirteenth century there was no rent paid, in the ordinary economical sense of the word. There was no competition for holdings in that state of society in which the great landowner cultivated his property with his own capital, and the smaller tenants had a genuine fixity of tenure under traditional, customary, and certain payments. There were occasions, it is true, in which from an early period lands were let to farm. But these tenancies, to which allusion has been made above, were land and stock leases, on really beneficial terms to the tenant; for the estimated value of the stock, or its compensation, in case the tenant failed to restore it at the termination of his lease, was from 30 to 40 per cent. below the market value, unless, as is highly improbable, the stock on such land was far inferior in quality to that for which market prices are recorded" (pp. 56, 57).

"In point of fact, the rent of the tenant in the time immediately before me may have been, and probably was, in its origin, as the Dialogue on the Exchequer (l. 10) states, a license to live on and cultivate the soil, always, indeed, less than a competitive rent, and perhaps, in its beginning, a precarious tenure. But in course of time the tenancy became permanent, the rent remained fixed. It was as full, indeed, as could be obtained, for I find that when land is let on lease for short periods, or for life, the rent is no higher than that paid by freeholders and copyholders, but it is not as much as could be paid, seeing that the tenants were constantly able to add to their tenancies, and were frequently called upon for extraordinary payments, which could not have been yielded from a genuine rack rent. And it is a proof of Adam Smith's sagacity, that without the materials before him from which the facts could be demonstrated, he saw that rent was originally a tax, and that a long interval must have occurred before farmers' rents became real and oppressive" (pp. 57, 58).

"There is a general impression that the Englishman in the days of the Plantagenets lived on the coarser and inferior kinds of grain. That most of the best wheat went to market, supplied the towns, and was even exported to foreign countries, is probable, or even certain, especially during the fifteenth century. But over the greater part of England, over all, indeed, which has come under my inquiry, even as far north as the county of Durham, the staple produce of agriculture, and by implication the staple food of the people, was wheat, though oats are also consumed as the food of man in those northern regions. From the earliest times wheat has been the principal grain on which the English have lived" (p. 59).

"I have dwelt in detail on these facts, and have given this evidence of the condition of the English peasantry, in order that I may, if possible, once for all show how untenable is the opinion which doubts that, as far as the mere means of life were concerned, the Englishman of the middle ages lived in ordinary times in coarse plenty" (p. 63).

"The houses of these villagers were mean and dirty. Brick-making was a lost art, stone was found only in a few places, and, though cheap enough, was certainly not generally employed, even where it was plentiful and within reach. The better class of yeomen had timber houses—housebote was a customary right of the tenants—built on a frame, the spaces being either lathed and plastered within and without, or filled with clay kneaded up with chopped straw. The floor was the bare earth, though it was sometimes pitched with split flints. The sleeping apartments under the thatched roof were reached by a ladder or rude staircase. A few

chests were ranged round the walls, the bacon-rack was fastened to the timbers overhead, and the walls of the homestead were garnished with agricultural implements. The wood fire was on a hob of clay. Chimneys were unknown, except in castles and manor houses, and the smoke escaped through the door or whatever other aperture it could reach. Artificial light was too costly for common use, for the hard fats were four times as dear as the meat of animals, and a pound of candles could only have been procured at nearly the price of a day's work.

"The floor of the homestead was filthy enough, but the surroundings were filthier still. Close by the door stood the mixen, a collection of every abomination—streams from which, in rainy weather, fertilized the lower meadows, generally the lord's several pasture, and polluted the stream. Two centuries and a half after the time of which I am writing the earliest English writer on husbandry comments on the waste, the unwholesomeness, and the agricultural value of these dunghills.

"The house of the peasant cottager was ruder still. Most of them were probably built of posts wattled and plastered with clay or mud, with an upper story of poles, reached by a ladder. In the taxing rolls of Edward I., preserved numerously in the Record Office, the household furniture of such cottages is inventoried, and valued at a very few shillings. It consists of a few articles of furniture, generally of home manufacture, some coarse bed-Rude Houses. ding, and a few domestic implements, mostly earthenware. The most valuable articles in use were copper or brass pots and a few common iron utensils, all metals being exceedingly dear; and iron, relatively speaking, being the dearest of all.

"Rude, however, and coarse as village life was, it must not be imagined that it was without its hopes and aspirations. The serf could arrange with his lord to remove to a neighboring town, and there prosecute his fortunes, perhaps emancipate himself" (pp. 67, 68).

"The tenants of the manor had a right generally to the use of wood from the lord's timber for the repair or enlargement of their homesteads, for their agricultural implements, and, to a limited extent, for their fires. On the other hand, they are prohibited from cutting oak or ash, even on their own holdings, without the lord's consent.

"Generally the use of the common pasture was without stint—*i.e.*, any tenant could put as many beasts as he liked on it" (p. 74).

"The arable land of the manor was generally communal—*i.e.*, each of the tenants possessed a certain number of furrows in a common field, the several divisions being separated by balks of unploughed ground, on which the grass was suffered to grow. The system, which was all but universal in the thirteenth century, has survived in certain districts up to living memory, though generally it gave way to inclosures, effected at a more or less remote period. The system has been traced back to remote antiquity. The ownership of these several strips was limited to certain months of the year, generally from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and for the remaining six months the land was common pasture. The communal cultivation had its advantages for the poorer tenants, since the area of their pasture was increased" (p. 88).

"The rarity of payment by the laborer is indirect evidence that the great majority of the laborers were occupied on their own holdings during a considerable part of the year. Omitting exceptional rates paid for piecework, the wages of an agricultural laborer would be at a rate of £2 11s. 8d. a year, or taking, besides Sundays, 20 days for church holidays, £2 10s. In harvest and hay-making time, which may have well lasted 5 weeks, his wages would be doubled, and this would raise them to £2 15s. His wife was paid for harvest piecework as well as he was, and could earn another 5s., raising his amount to £3. If he had 2 children fit for employment, at their rates they might raise the total earnings of the family to £3 15s., or £4.

"When the hinds were hired by the year, they received a quarter of corn, at say, 4s. every 8 weeks, and 6s. money wages—*i.e.*, about the value of 32s. a year. They were always, however, boarded in harvest-time and at periods of exceptional employment. This board, as I find from other sources, was reputed to cost from 1½d. to 1¼d. a day, and if we take 6 weeks as the time thus employed, the real wages which they received would be in the aggregate about 35s. 8d. a year. Such hinds were undoubtedly single men. Occasionally the laborer serves more masters than one, and his allowances and money are therefore reduced. Thus the swineherd is the servant of the whole village; the deye,

or dairy servant, of more than one or two; the shepherd frequently of two persons. During the harvest quarter the money wages are always three times the amount of what is paid in the other quarters. This rule is of course adopted in order to prevent the hind from deserting his employment during the most profitable time of the laborer's year, and is indirect evidence of the voluntariness of the engagement. Had the labor of the resident serf been entirely at his lord's discretion, such a distribution of money wages would have been a superfluous precaution" (pp. 170, 171).

"But though a few persons became opulent in the middle ages—exceedingly opulent by way of contrast with their countrymen—the mass of men in the rural districts were removed equally from excessive poverty and from the prospect of much wealth. They could and did make their savings add strip to strip, accumulate the wages of the harvest, and—there being little to tempt them to expenditure—constantly invest their earnings in plots of land.

"I am far from forgetting that in many material points the man in our day, who lives by manual labor, is better off than his ancestor of the thirteenth century, just as he is better off than his ancestor of the eighteenth. . . . I am aware also that all classes, though at a period long after that of which I am now speaking, shared the benefits of those great improvements in agriculture, under which fresh food is supplied all the year round; and that many forms of inveterate disease, which once afflicted humanity, have been banished, and life has been rendered easier and longer. The means of life were as plentiful, considering the population, in the thirteenth century as they were in the eighteenth, the continuity of labor was secured, and the prospects of those who lived by manual toil as good. The age had its drawbacks, as every age has, but it had its advantages; and I hope to be able to show that the peasant of the thirteenth century, though he did not possess, and therefore did not desire, much that his descendant had in the eighteenth, had some solid elements of present advantage and not a few hopes of future advancement" (pp. 68, 69).

One should not, however, be misled by Professor Rogers's somewhat highly colored view into forgetfulness of the fact that the English medieval agricultural laborer was, like his brother on the continent, a little better than the slave of the *manor*, even tho he was to an extent a well-kept slave. The manorial system furnished the framework of English medieval agricultural society, as is brought out in Professor Bohm's *The English Village Community* and Professor W. J. Ashley's *Economic History*, vol. 1., pp. 7-9. (For the details of this system, see MANORS.) It was only after the Black Death and the rising of the peasants that, altho the leaders of the revolt were defeated and the Statute of Laborers tried to tie the laborer to the soil, the serfs, nevertheless, became really free, and for a little while enjoyed what some have called the Golden Age of Merry England. Soon, however, the exhaustion of the nobles in the Wars of the Roses led them to claim as private property the lands which they had held before only as feudal rulers; they commenced to turn their lands into sheep-walks and dispossess their former feudal dependents. The confiscation of the monasteries and the turning out of the monks swelled the number of the landless class. Currency clipping and other circumstances increased the hard times, and the Golden Age soon became a leaden one.

(c) MODERN ENGLAND.

In tracing the development of agriculture from medieval to present times, there are in England two main epochs to be noted—the Tudor period and the latter part of the eighteenth century. (For full notice of the former see LAND; on the latter see POOR LAWS.)

With the close of the Wars of the Roses and the commencement of the fifteenth century begins the era of farming for profit, which characterizes the Tudor period. Feudalism was extinct; commerce progressed; the wool trade flourished; landlords required money, not retainers. Two great changes were introduced: (1) individual for common occupation; (2) the conversion of arable land into pasture.

The nobility, exhausted by the French wars

and the Wars of the Roses, began to raise wool for the Flemish wool market. They began to turn out their peasantry and to fence in the common. The landless man, the tramp, was produced. In the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries there was some improvement, but the English Poor Law (*q. v.*) was working its dire result. Says Rogers (*Work and Wages*, p. 424):

"The legislature strove to tie the peasant to the soil, not, indeed, as a mere serf, for the act of 1589 prescribed that every laborer's cottage [to be erected] in future should have 4 acres of land attached to it—a law which roused the wrath of Arthur Young in 1770, and was no doubt habitually broken. But it also gave him, as a compensation for the policy which permitted entails and the accumulation of land in few hands, the right to be a pensioner on the soil, from all real and permanent share in which he was practically excluded. He had been robbed by the landowner, and he was to be hereafter quartered on the occupier. He had been impoverished by misgovernment, and was to be degraded by a charity which was to compensate him for the losses which he had sustained and for the hard measure which was being dealt out to him, but which would ultimately degrade him and make him helpless and hopeless. I can conceive nothing more cruel, I had almost said more insolent, than to condemn a laborer to the lowest possible wages on which life may be sustained, by an act of Parliament, interpreted and enforced by an ubiquitous body of magistrates, whose interest it was to screw the pittance down to the lowest conceivable margin, and to inform the stunted recipient that when he had starved on that during the days of his strength, others must work to maintain him in sickness or old age. Now this was what the Statute of Apprenticeship, supplemented by the Poor Law, did in the days of Elizabeth."

It should be noted, however, that there is another side to this. The Government did undoubtedly in many of its laws attempt to aid the laborer. (See POOR LAWS.) The fact was, that the claim of the lords of the soil to own the soil was creating new conditions, which the laws could not change. The landless man had appeared, and the Government knew not whether to suppress the tramp or to aid the poor. It attempted to do both, and in both largely failed.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, there was another change. Says Rogers (*id.* p. 437):

"The English Poor Law would have ultimately devoured the rent of all open parishes—that is, those in which there were many owners, and consequently the possibility of housing the poor, and have enormously exalted the rent of all close parishes—*i. e.*, those in which there was one owner only, who cleared off every cottage on his domain, had it not been for the almost simultaneous discovery of steam power and the substitution of machine for hand-loom weaving. The capitalist inventors of these processes found that they wanted labor (though at first it appeared that the discoveries would dispense with labor), and were therefore indifferent to the contingencies of an unlicensed settlement. But it may be doubted whether their discoveries were an immediate boon to labor."

Agriculture was deserted. There was a rush into manufactures. Says Professor A. R. Wallace (*Land Nationalization*, p. 111):

"From that time till within the last few years the wealth of the landlords and, in a less degree, the profits of the farmers have been steadily increasing. The rent of even agricultural land has nearly doubled, and the price of much agricultural produce has doubled also. In the latter part of the last century meat was *4d.* a pound, cheese, $\frac{3}{4}d.$, butter, $\frac{6}{8}d.$, and skim-milk could be had for a halfpenny a quart, or was often given away, while wages were then about 8s. a week. In 1850 all these articles of food were much dearer, while in some parts of England wages were actually lower; and whereas during the last 20 years the above articles have been usually more than double the price, wages have been less than half as high again. But the laborer has now to pay much higher house rent, he has generally no gar-

den, and, being usually a weekly tenant, is so dependent on his landlord that he cannot make the most of what he has; the commons and roadside wastes from which he formerly obtained fuel for winter, with food and litter for a cow, a donkey, geese, or poultry, have almost all been inclosed; and the result is that he has few means of adding to his scanty wages, and is reduced to live mainly on bread and weak tea, with a little cheese or bacon and cheap artificial butter, while his children are brought up almost without knowing the taste of milk. His sole relaxation is to be found at the wayside tavern, his only prospect to end his days in the workhouse."

In a remarkable letter to the *Daily News* in 1869, Sir George Grey gave a striking picture of the social and physical degradation of the English agricultural laborer. He quotes the reports of their medical officers to the Privy Council, which tells us that: "Besides the extreme cases where houses of a parish were pulled down in the teeth of an increasing population, there were also innumerable parishes where the demolition of houses was going on more rapidly than any diminution of the population could explain. When the process of depopulation is completed, the result is a show village, where the cottages have been reduced to a few, and where none but persons who are needful as shepherds, gardeners, or game-keepers are allowed to live. But the land requires cultivation, and it will be found that the labourers employed upon it are not the tenants of the owner, but that they come from a neighbouring open village, perhaps three miles off, where a numerous small proprietary had received them when their cottages were destroyed in the close villages around." To the hard toil of the labourer there will then have to be added the daily need of walking six miles or more for the power of earning his daily bread. "But he suffers a still greater evil in the kind of dwelling he is obliged to inhabit. In the open village cottage speculators buy scraps of land, which they throng as densely as they can with the cheapest of all possible hovels, and into these wretched habitations (which, even if they adjoin the open country, have some of the worst features of the worst town residences) crowd the agricultural labourers of England." The habitual overcrowding of these wretched hovels leads to scenes and conditions of life too painful to dwell upon, and we need only quote the concluding statement. "To be subject to such influences is a degradation which must become deeper and deeper for those on whom it continues to work. To children who are born under its curse it must be a very baptism into infamy."

The Bishop of Manchester states that out of 300 parishes which he visited in Norfolk, Essex, Sussex, and Gloucestershire, only two had good cottage accommodation. . . . "The majority of the cottages that exist in rural parishes are deficient in almost every requisite that should constitute a home for a Christian family in a civilized community." Details are then given of parishes and estates of 2000 acres with one or two cottages only and sometimes none at all; and as a result 10 or 11 persons sleeping in a single bedroom.*

These are the main economic events that stand out in the history of English agriculture down to the present century. For the present condition, see part 2 of this article, section (b). No sketch of the history of

English agriculture, however, would be complete without a reference to the literature of the subject, such as *The Book of Husbandry* (1534), *Book of Surveying* (1539), *Tassier's Five Hundred Points of Industry* (1562), and Sir Richard Weston's *Discourse on the Husbandry of Brabant and Flanders* (1645) which marks the dawn of improved methods in agriculture. In 1723 a *Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland* was formed; and so we reach Arthur Young and the present century. (See references at the end of this article.)

(d) THE UNITED STATES.

Tillage was a chief occupation of the first settlers of the United States. In 1602 Captain Gosnold grew peas and beans in Massachusetts, and in 1611 wheat was grown in Virginia. Potatoes were introduced into Massachusetts from England in 1629. Stebbins relates that in 1637 there were 100 ploughs at work in Virginia and 37 in Massachusetts. South Carolina exported 700 bush. of potatoes in 1749, New York 70,000 bbls. of flour in 1750. Mulhall gives the following table of the increase of the grain product:

YEAR.	MILLION OF BUSHELS.			Value of Crop in Million Pounds.
	Pro-duction.	Home Con-sumption.	Exported.	
1700.....	5	5	....	1
1750.....	20	20	....	3
1775.....	60	60	....	8
1790.....	120	120	....	14
1800.....	160	160	..	18
1820.....	343	336	7	34
1830.....	463	455	8	46
1840.....	616	621	15	62
1850.....	867	855	12	97
1860.....	1,240	1,220	20	173
1870.....	1,629	1,560	60	168
1880.....	2,718	2,425	293	276
1889.....	3,454	.....	....	243

The *World Almanac* gives the following table of the various kinds of grain production in the United States, taken from the United States census reports of the productions of the principal cereals in the United States in the several census years, together with the reports of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1885-92:

YEAR.	Indian Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Rye.	Buckwheat.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>
1850.....	592,071,104	100,485,940	146,584,179	5,107,015	14,188,813	8,956,912
1860.....	838,792,742	173,104,924	172,043,185	15,825,808	21,101,380	17,571,818
1870.....	760,944,549	287,745,626	282,107,157	29,701,305	16,918,795	9,821,721
1880.....	1,754,861,535	459,479,503	407,858,900	44,113,495	19,831,595	11,817,327
1885.....	1,926,176,000	357,218,000	629,499,000	58,306,000	21,756,000	12,626,000
1886.....	1,695,441,000	457,320,000	624,134,000	59,428,000	24,480,000	11,869,000
1887.....	1,456,161,000	455,320,000	659,618,000	55,812,000	20,591,000	10,844,000
1888.....	1,937,709,000	415,868,000	701,735,000	63,984,593	28,113,911	12,000,000
1889.....	2,112,802,000	490,560,000	754,515,000	165,000,000	30,000,000	11,000,000
1890.....	1,489,970,000	390,262,000	523,621,000	163,000,000	28,000,000	11,000,000
1891.....	2,060,154,000	611,780,000	738,394,000	175,000,000	33,000,000	12,000,000
1892.....	1,628,464,000	515,949,000	661,935,000	179,000,000	†39,000,000	†11,000,000

The importance of the agricultural interests

* Appendix to First Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of women and children employed in agriculture.

† Estimated by the Cincinnati *Price Current*.

may be also seen from the proportion of our people engaged in agriculture. The decennial censuses furnish the following figures as to the employment of the people. The first column refers to the total of those engaged in definite occu-

pations—i.e., those specified in the other columns :

	Total engaged in Occupations.	Agriculture.	Manufacturing, Mechanical, and Mining Pursuits.	Commerce and Transportation.	Personal and Professional Services.
1840....	4,796,407	3,717,756	806,748	206,667	65,236
1850....	5,371,876	2,400,586	1,034,469	561,796	99,038
1860....	8,287,043	3,305,135	1,311,446	529,335	.....
1870....	12,505,923	5,922,471	2,707,421	1,191,238	2,684,793
1880....	17,392,099	7,670,493	3,837,112	1,810,256	4,074,238

According to the Report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1893, there are in the United States to-day about 6,000,000 farms on which dwell over 30,000,000 people.

The history of agriculture in the United States divides itself naturally into four main periods : I. The colonial period ; II. From the War of Independence to about 1840, when railroads began to be built ; III. From 1840 to the War of the Rebellion ; IV. To the present time.

In the early colonial period tools were scarce, population sparse, labor often dangerous and usually expensive and unremunerative.

An English writer, Gee (*On Trade*, London, 1750), says: "If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations and our own, it will appear that not one-fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit ; for out of all that comes here they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all of which is of the merchandise and manufacture of this kingdom. . . . All these advantages are received from the plantations, besides the mortgages on the planters' estates and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable ; and therefore very great care ought to be taken that they are not put under too many difficulties, but encouraged to go on cheerfully."

Indian corn was the main native crop, wheat, oats, and rye being introduced from England. Slave labor was common, and in portions of the country, North as well as South, all but universal.

The War of Independence affected the development of agriculture seriously, but after the close of the war it began to revive. Attention was given to the breeding of horses, and about 1825 to neat cattle. The invention of the cotton-gin in 1794 by Eli Whitney, and the care taken by American planters to improve the stock by careful selection and cultivation of seed, soon placed the country in the foremost rank in the production of this great staple.

A notable fact of this period was the great extension of the national area by the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803 and of Florida in 1821. From 899,615 square miles in 1783 the country was enlarged to more than 2,000,000 square miles in 1833. To utilize the northern part of the Mississippi Valley two great routes westward were created—the National Road through Wheeling and Columbus by the United States Government, and the Erie Canal by the State of New York.

The third period, from 1840 to the War of the Rebellion, began under great financial depression (see CURRENCY), but soon developed great prosperity.

The spread of railroads and the extent of the national domain developed a new West. The American reaper was invented by Hussey in 1833, and McCormick in 1834. Hereafter inventions and improvements in agricultural machinery became continuous. Improvements in cattle and horses and swine were rapid. Land speculation set in, but was checked by the passage of the Homestead Law (*q.v.*). The production of sugar became an American industry by the annexation of Louisiana. In 1839 Congress voted \$1000 for the investigation and collection of agricultural statistics and to procure seeds and cuttings for gratuitous distribution. This was the beginning of Government reports, which were issued through the Patent Office until the Department of Agriculture was organized in 1862. Between 1840 and 1850, five State societies were

formed, and from this time State and district associations increased rapidly.

The first agricultural paper was *The American Farmer*, begun at Baltimore in 1830.

The period of the war affected the South badly, but nevertheless aided it in one direction, by making it agriculturally independent of the North. The North did not materially suffer. Prairies ploughed, planted, tilled, and their crops harvested by machinery raised crops which fed our people, our armies, and began to feed Europe. The Homestead Law became law in 1862, and rapidly accelerated the development of the new West. Immigration from Europe at once set in. Agricultural education was developed. The first American agricultural college was established at Cleveland, O., in 1855. In 1862 Congress granted from the public domain to each State 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress, "in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes." In some States this was given to regular colleges and used to endow an agricultural department. In others it was used to found agricultural colleges or to endow those already existing. In New York it availed for the endowment of Cornell University. The United States Department of Agriculture was organized in 1862, and State boards have developed rapidly since. Experiment stations also contributed their help. In 1867 the organization of the Patrons of Husbandry, or Grangers, was established (see GRANGERS); but this already brings us to the present time. (See FARMERS' MOVEMENT.)

II. Statistics of Agriculture.

(a) THE UNITED STATES.

Census Bulletin 378, prepared under the supervision of Mr. W. H. Olcott, in charge of the division of agriculture of the Census Office, shows for the United States, by geographical divisions and by States and Territories, the principal statistics of agriculture as obtained at the Eleventh Census.

In enumerating farms, no farm was reported of less than three acres unless \$500 worth of produce had been actually sold from it during the year ; and all land once plowed was considered improved, unless afterward abandoned for cultivation.

The value of products was estimated by the farmers when there was no exact account kept of the same.

The statistics relating to the cultivation of potatoes and hay do not appear in this bulletin, as their revision has not been completed.

The table shows the number, area, and valuation of farms in 1890, live stock on hand June 1, 1890, and the agricultural products for the year 1889. The figures are preliminary and subject to modification in the final report.

FARMS.

The total number of farms enumerated in 1890 was 4,564,641, as compared with a total of 4,008,907 in 1880, an increase of 555,734, or 13.86 per cent.

The total area of land in these farms in 1890 was 623,218,619 acres, 357,616,755 acres of which were improved. In 1880 there were 536,081,833 acres in farms, 284,771,042 acres of which were improved. Therefore, there was an increase of 87,136,784 acres, or 16.25 per cent., of the total land in farms, and 72,845,713 acres, or 25.58 per cent., improved.

The percentage of the total land surface in farms in 1890 was 32.79, as compared with 28.20 in 1880, and the percentage of the total farm area that remained unimproved at the latter date was 42.62, as compared with 46.88 at the former.

The value of these farm lands, including fences and buildings, was in 1890, \$13,279,252,649 and in 1880 \$10,197,006,776, showing an increase of 30.23 per cent. in their valuation since 1880.

The value of farm implements and machinery in 1890 on these farms was \$494,247,467 and in 1880, \$406,520,055, showing an increase of 21.58 per cent. since 1880.

The value of live stock on hand June 1, 1890, on these farms was \$2,208,767,573 and the value in June, 1880, was \$1,500,384,707, showing an increase of 47.21 per cent. since 1880.

In the year 1889 the value of farm products was \$2,460,107,454 and in the year 1879 the value was \$2,212,540,927, showing an increase of 11.19 per cent. since 1880.

LIVE STOCK AND LIVE-STOCK PRODUCTS ON FARMS.

There were 14,959,467 horses on farms in 1890, which was an increase of 4,611,979, or 44.53 per cent., over the number reported in 1880. Of this number, 8,571,177, or 57.26 per cent., were reported in the North Central division. There were 289,316 horses reported on ranges in 1890, making the total number, including both those on farms and on ranges, 15,258,783.

There were 2,295,532 mules and asses on farms in 1890, which was an increase of 482,724, or 26.63 per cent., over the number reported in 1880. Of this number, 1,093,722, or 47.65 per cent., were reported in the South Central division. There were 19,253 mules and asses returned as on ranges in 1890, making the total number, including both those on farms and on ranges, 2,314,785.

There were 57,499,583 swine on farms in 1890, which was an increase of 9,727,883, or 20.40 per cent., over the number returned in 1880. Of this number, 37,624,632, or 65.54 per cent., were reported in the North Central division. There were 15,704 swine reported as on ranges in 1890, making a total, including both those on farms and on ranges, of 57,425,287.

There were 1,117,494 working oxen, 16,511,950 milch cows, and 33,734,728 other cattle, making a total of 51,363,572 neat cattle on farms in the United States on June 1, 1890, as compared with 993,841 working oxen, 12,443,120 milch cows, and 22,488,550 other cattle, making a total of 35,925,511 in 1880. There is therefore an increase of 123,653, or 12.44 per cent., in the number of working oxen, of 4,068,830, or 32.70 per cent., in the number of milch cows, and of 11,245,578, or 50.01 per cent., in the number of other cattle, the increase in the total number of neat cattle on farms being 15,438,061, or 42.97 per cent. In addition to the above there were 6,285,220 neat cattle reported on ranges June 1, 1890, making a total of neat cattle on farms and ranges of 57,648,792.

The total production of milk on farms in the United States in the year ending December 31, 1889, was 5,200,125,567 gals., equivalent to 315.48 gals. for each milch cow reported on June 1, 1890, and to 83.78 gals. per head of population.

Statistics.

The total production of butter on farms in the year ending December 31, 1889, was 1,024,223,498 lbs., as compared with a total of 777,250,287 lbs. in 1879, and the total production of cheese 18,726,818 lbs., as compared with a total of 27,272,489 lbs. in 1879, an increase of 246,973,181 lbs., or 31.73 per cent., in the production of butter on farms and a decrease of 8,545,671 lbs., or 31.33 per cent., in the production of cheese on farms.

It should be borne in mind that the above figures for butter and cheese represent only that which has been produced on farms, and does not include the amount made in cheese and butter factories, the returns of which will appear in the report on manufactures, although the total of milk produced is shown.

The total number of sheep, exclusive of spring lambs, on farms in the United States on June 1, 1890, was 35,935,364. The number of fleeces shorn in the fall of 1889 and spring of 1890 was 32,126,868, yielding 165,449,239 lbs. of wool, or an average of 5.15 lbs. per fleece.

The total number of sheep on farms in 1880 was 35,192,974, yielding 155,681,751 lbs. of wool, or an average of 4.42 lbs. per fleece.

There was therefore an increase from 1880 to 1890 of 743,299, or 2.11 per cent., in the number of sheep and of 9,707,488, or 6.27 per cent., lbs. of wool.

In addition to the sheep and wool reported on farms there were 4,940,948 sheep and 25,828,845 lbs. of wool reported on ranges, which would make a total of 40,876,312 sheep and 191,278,034 lbs. of wool in the United States.

The figures appearing in this bulletin as to the amount of wool clipped are from the definite returns made to the Eleventh Census, and do not include the estimated amount of pulled wool or of wool that might have been clipped in the summer of 1890 after the enumeration of June 1.

As the live stock on ranges in 1880 was largely estimated, there are no comparisons made in this bulletin except for the live stock on farms. The following statement will show the live stock on ranges in the United States in 1890 as gathered by special agents :

Horses.....	289,316
Mules and asses.....	19,253
Swine.....	15,704
Neat cattle.....	6,285,220
Sheep.....	4,940,948

FIBERS.

The total area devoted to the production of cotton in the United States in 1889 was 20,175,270 acres, and the total production in the fall of 1889 and the early winter of 1889-90 was 7,472,512 bales of 477 lbs. net, amounting to 3,564,387,747 lbs., an average of 176.67 lbs. to the acre.

In 1879 the total area devoted to cotton was 14,480,019 acres and the total production, 6,755,359 bales of 453 lbs. net, amounting to 2,607,177,627 lbs., an average of 180.05 lbs. to the acre.

There is, therefore, an increase of 5,695,251 acres, or 39.33 per cent., in the area and 957,210,120 lbs., or 36.71 per cent., in the production.

The returns which were made to the Census Office in bales have been reduced to pounds in accordance with the figures appearing in the statistical abstract prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Treasury Department in 1890. It will be noted that the weight per bale is heavier in 1890 than in 1880.

There were 1,318,698 acres devoted to the cultivation of flax in the United States in 1889, 1,301,137 acres, or 98.67 per cent., being in the North Central division. There were 10,250,410 bush. of flaxseed produced, 98.40 per cent. of which was in the North Central division. There were 241,389 lbs. of fiber produced, 72.09 per cent. of which was in the North Central division.

There were 25,054 acres devoted to the cultivation of hemp in the United States in 1889, 23,468 acres of which, or 93.67 per cent., were in the State of Kentucky, the total production in the United States being 11,511 tons, 10,794 of which, or 93.77 per cent., were in the State of Kentucky, Illinois being the only other State producing over 100 tons.

CEREALS.

The area devoted to the cultivation of cereals in the United States in 1889 was 140,217,545 acres, and the total production of cereals, 3,518,316,904 bush., such acreage and production being distributed among the different cereals as follows :

PRODUCTS.	Acres.	Bushels.
Corn.....	72,087,752	2,122,327,547
Wheat.....	33,579,514	468,373,968
Oats.....	28,320,677	809,250,666
Barley.....	3,220,834	78,332,976
Rye.....	2,171,604	28,421,393
Buckwheat.....	837,164	12,110,349

This area of 140,217,545 acres is an increase of 21,585,766 acres, or 18.20 per cent., since 1879. This increase, however, is not keeping pace with the growth of population, which increased 24.86 per cent. between 1880 and 1890, the area per capita being 2.24 acres as compared with 2.37 at the Tenth Census, a decrease of 0.13 acres per capita. There has been an increase in the production of cereals since the Tenth Census of 821,236,675 bush., or 30.44 per cent., the total production per capita being 56.19 bush. as compared with 53.78 bush. at the Tenth Census, showing an increase of 2.41 bush. per capita.

Of the area under cereals in the United States in 1889, 51.41 per cent. was under corn, 23.95 per cent. under wheat, 20.20 per cent. under oats, 2.29 per cent. under barley, 1.55 per cent. under rye, and .60 per cent. under buckwheat, as compared with 52.57 acres under corn, 20.87 acres under wheat, 13.61 acres under oats, 1.63 acres under barley, 1.55 acres under rye, and .72 acres under buckwheat in every 100 acres under cereals in 1879.

TOBACCO.

There were 695,301 acres devoted to the cultivation of tobacco in the United States in 1889, yielding a product of 488,256,646 lbs., an increase of 15,595,489 lbs., since 1879.

RICE.

There were 161,312 acres in the United States in 1889 devoted to the cultivation of rice, all of which were reported from 10 States, principally from Louisiana and South Carolina, the production amounting to 128,590,934 lbs.

VARIOUS STATISTICS.

The following statements are all taken from the report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1893 (printed in 1894).

The expenses of the Department of Agriculture dur-

ing the first quarter of the present year aggregate but \$345,876.76, as against \$402,012.42 for the parallel period of the fiscal year 1893.

The first United States Commissioner of Patents, Henry L. Ellsworth, in the year 1836 conceived the idea of distributing new and improved varieties of seed among the farmers of the United States, and from that time he patriotically procured the seed and distributed it at his own expense until the year 1839, when, upon his recommendation, Congress appropriated \$1,000, to be taken from the Patent Office funds, for the purpose of collecting and distributing rare and improved varieties of seeds, and prosecuting agricultural investigations and procuring agricultural statistics. And from this small beginning, 54 years ago, the Seed Division of the Department of Agriculture has grown to its present unwieldy, unnecessary, and extravagant proportions, so that in the year 1892 there was appropriated the sum of \$135,400 for the purpose of purchasing seeds, bulbs, and cuttings for gratuitous distribution.

The State Weather Service Division supervises 42 State weather services, covering the whole of the United States, except Alaska. It also establishes and supervises all voluntary observations and forecast display stations, and the services in the cotton, sugar, and rice regions, and publishes the National Weather Crop Bulletin.

Weather Service.

The 2500 voluntary observers forward copies of their records to the central stations of their respective local services for use in the preparation of the reviews published monthly. Many of these State reviews are of a highly creditable character and valuable in determining the climatic characteristics of the various States and Territories. For distributing weather forecasts and special warnings all available means have been utilized, and while the number of stations supplied at Government expense by telegraph or telephone has been materially decreased during the year, the number of those to which forecasts, etc., are furnished at little or no cost has been largely augmented.

Full forecasts are now received at 1622 stations, a reduction of 200 during the year; but nearly 5000 places received them gratuitously, an increase of over 1000 in the same period. Plans now being perfected will, it is believed, increase the number of stations receiving forecasts without expense to the Government by 1500 to 2000 in the near future. A number of railroad companies are effectively cooperating with the Bureau in the distribution of forecasts by telegraph. It is believed that during the coming year it will be possible to extend the system to every community having interests to be benefited.

The daily weather map is now issued at 72 stations of the Weather Bureau outside of Washington, D. C. The average issue is about 8000 copies, or about 2,500,000 copies annually—a slight increase over last year. These figures by no means express the demand, which has grown to such proportions that it has sorely taxed the capabilities of the station force and the store of supplies.

The exports of agricultural products from the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1892, attained the enormous figure of \$809,000,000 in round numbers, being 78.7 per cent. of our total exports. In the fiscal year following this aggregate was greatly reduced, but nevertheless attained the very respectable figure of \$615,000,000, being 74.1 per cent. of all American commodities exported. The value of the foreign markets to our farmers and to the entire population of the United States can, therefore, hardly be overestimated.

There are in the United States more than 6,000,000 of farms. Upon them dwell more than 30,000,000 of the population of this republic. Those farm dwellers furnish more than 74 per cent. of the value of the exports of this country.

At present a review of our agricultural exports, with special reference to their destination, will show that in almost every line the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland absorbs by far the largest proportion. A few figures, showing exports of our principal agricultural products, will emphasize this very clearly.

Of cattle, the total exports aggregated in value, for 1892, \$35,000,000, of which Great Britain took \$34,000,000; and in 1893, \$26,000,000, of which the same country took considerably over \$25,000,000.

Of beef products of all kinds, our total exports for 1892 exceeded in value \$31,000,000, of which \$25,000,000 went to Great Britain; and in 1893, \$28,000,000, of which Great Britain took \$24,000,000.

Of pork products, the total exports for 1892 aggregated in value \$85,000,000, of which Great Britain took \$47,000,000; and in 1893, \$84,000,000, of which Great Britain took \$53,000,000.

Nearly the same average proportions prevail in breadstuffs and minor products, while in cotton they are even more conspicuous.

Our total exports of corn for 1892 were \$41,000,000, of which \$20,000,000 went to Great Britain; and in 1893, \$24,000,000, of which \$9,000,000 went to Great Britain.

Our total exports of wheat for 1892 were valued at \$161,000,000; of this, Great Britain paid \$68,000,000. For 1893 the total exports of wheat were of the value of \$93,000,000; Great Britain took of this \$58,000,000.

Of wheat flour, the total exports for 1892 were \$75,000,000; to Great Britain, \$47,000,000. In 1893 the total exports were about the same as for 1892, while Great Britain took \$48,000,000.

The total exports of cotton for 1892 were \$258,000,000; to Great Britain, \$146,000,000. In 1893 the exports of cotton were valued at \$188,000,000; to Great Britain were sent \$99,000,000.

These figures prove not only how large a proportion of our total agricultural exports find their way to Great Britain and Ireland, but also how very large a proportion of our total agricultural exports is made up of a comparatively few leading crops. It must not be forgotten that in the universal competition for enlarged trade constant efforts are being made, and will continue to be made, by other countries producing a surplus of agricultural products, to wrest from us the supremacy we now hold in supplying Great Britain and a few other countries that are not self-providing in such products; that many of these other countries are British colonies, and that, except as regards cotton, there are none of which we enjoy the practical monopoly.

A review of our agricultural exports prompts a consideration of our agricultural imports.

This reveals a large value in our imports of agricultural products. The question then comes up whether some, perhaps much, of this great total of annual agricultural imports, aggregating in value some \$350,000,000, ought not to be produced upon our own soil, in proximity to those of our own markets, where this immense demand exists?

The time will surely come when, under the favorable conditions of soil and climate which this country possesses, a very large share of agricultural products now imported will be raised by American farmers. Our large imports of hides, fruits, nuts, and wines, aggregating an average of over \$60,000,000 annually, could all be produced in this country. A considerable share of the fibers, including wool and silk, and, no doubt, a large portion of the tobacco now imported, could also be produced in the United States.

PRINCIPAL CROPS, 1893.

Corn.

The area devoted to corn as estimated for the crop of 1893 makes an increase over that of 1892 of 1,409,807 acres, and was less by 40,737 acres than the census crop of 1889.

Wheat.

The total breadth harvested is estimated at 34,629,418 acres, as against 38,554,430 in 1892, a falling off of about 3,925,000 acres. This is the lowest average estimate of acreage in the 14 years from 1880, inclusive, except that of 1885, and but 440,000 acres more than for that year. It is less than 2,640,744 acres than the average of the period 1880-89, and 3,556,742 acres less than the average of the three years 1890-92. This diminution in the breadth was due in part to abandonment and a devotion to other crops of parts of the acreage sown, because of the unfavorable winter and the dry summer season. It was also, to some extent, an effect of low prices. The reduction of area was greatest in such surplus winter wheat States as Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, and California, and the range of decrease in the spring-wheat States of North and South Dakota and Minnesota was from 5 to 10 per cent.

The total product as estimated amounts to 396,131,725 measured bush, which is about 3,000,000 bush less than the crop of 1890, 215,648,275 less than that of the crop of 1891, and 119,818,275 less than that of 1892. This aggregate production falls below the average for the 10 years 1880-89 to the amount of 533,563,634 bush, and is 84,648,956 bush less than the average crop for the four years 1890-93, inclusive.

Notwithstanding this remarkable falling off in the total product, there has been a fall in the price per

bushel, so that the farm value of the crop is estimated at the comparatively low amount of \$213,171,381, which is the lowest recorded since 1863. The average farm price per bushel is estimated at 53.8 cents, making an average farm value per acre to the cultivator of \$6.16,

which is \$6.84 less than the average for the period 1870-79; \$3.81 less than the average for the decade 1880-89, and \$3.11 below the average for the four years 1890-93, inclusive.

Wheat crops of the 14 years 1880-93, with averages for two decades:

YEARS.	Total Production.	Total Area of Crop.	Total Value of Crop.	Average Value per Bushel.	Average Yield per Acre.	Average Value per Acre.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>		<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	
1880.....	498,549,868	37,986,717	\$474,201,850	95.1	13.1	\$12.48
1881.....	383,280,090	37,709,020	456,880,427	119.2	10.2	12.12
1882.....	594,185,470	37,067,194	444,602,125	88.2	13.6	11.99
1883.....	421,086,160	36,455,593	383,649,272	91.1	11.6	10.52
1884.....	512,705,000	39,475,885	330,862,200	64.5	13.0	8.38
1885.....	357,112,000	34,189,246	275,320,390	77.1	10.4	8.05
1886.....	457,218,000	36,806,184	314,226,020	68.7	12.4	8.54
1887.....	456,329,000	37,641,783	310,612,960	68.1	12.1	8.25
1888.....	415,868,000	37,336,138	385,248,030	92.6	11.1	10.32
1889.....	499,500,000	38,123,859	342,491,707	69.8	12.9	8.98
Total.....	4,496,953,588	372,791,619	\$3,718,095,041	....	....	....
Average for 10 years—1880-89.....	449,695,359	37,279,162	\$371,809,504	82.7	12.1	\$9.97
Average for 10 years—1870-79.....	312,152,728	25,187,414	327,497,258	104.9	12.4	13.00
1890.....	399,262,000	36,087,154	\$334,773,678	83.8	11.1	\$9.28
1891.....	611,780,000	39,616,897	513,472,711	83.9	15.3	12.86
1892.....	515,049,000	36,354,439	322,111,881	62.4	13.4	8.35
1893.....	396,134,725	34,629,418	213,171,381	53.8	11.4	6.16
Total.....	1,923,122,725	149,187,899	\$1,383,529,651	....	....	....
Average for 4 years—1890-93.....	480,780,681	37,296,975	\$345,882,413	71.9	12.9	\$9.27

The following table shows the breadth, product, value per bushel and per acre of corn for the past year (farm), average yield per acre and average value per bushel and per acre of corn for the past 14 years:

Corn crops of the 14 years 1880-93, with averages for two decades.

YEARS.	Total Production.	Total Area of Crop.	Total Value of Crop.	Average Value per Bushel.	Average Yield per Acre.	Average Value per Acre.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>		<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	
1880.....	1,717,434,543	62,317,842	\$679,714,409	39.6	27.6	\$10.01
1881.....	1,104,916,000	64,262,025	759,482,170	63.6	18.6	11.82
1882.....	1,617,025,100	65,659,545	783,867,175	48.5	24.6	11.94
1883.....	1,551,066,895	68,301,889	688,051,485	42.4	22.7	9.63
1884.....	1,795,528,000	69,683,780	649,735,560	35.7	25.8	9.10
1885.....	1,936,176,000	73,130,150	335,674,630	32.8	26.5	8.69
1886.....	1,665,441,000	75,694,208	610,311,000	36.6	22.0	8.06
1887.....	1,456,161,000	72,392,729	646,106,770	44.4	20.1	8.93
1888.....	1,987,799,000	75,672,763	677,561,580	34.1	26.3	8.95
1889.....	2,112,892,000	78,319,651	597,918,829	28.3	27.0	7.63
Total.....	17,034,439,538	795,434,573	\$6,689,423,698	....	....	....
Average for 10 years—1880 to 1889.....	1,703,443,954	70,543,457	\$668,942,370	39.3	24.1	\$9.48
Average for 10 years—1870 to 1879.....	1,184,486,954	43,741,331	504,571,048	42.6	27.1	11.54
1890.....	1,489,970,000	71,970,763	\$754,433,451	50.6	20.7	\$10.48
1891.....	2,060,154,000	76,204,515	836,439,228	40.6	27.0	10.98
1892.....	1,628,464,000	70,626,658	642,146,630	39.4	23.1	9.09
1893.....	1,619,496,131	72,036,465	591,625,627	36.5	22.5	8.21
Total.....	6,798,084,131	290,838,401	\$2,824,644,936	....	....	....
Average for 4 years—1890 to 1893.....	1,699,521,033	72,709,600	\$706,161,234	41.6	23.4	\$9.71

Oats.

The estimated area of oats shows an increase of about 209,000 acres over the crop of 1892. No advantage, however, was obtained from the enlargement of the area, as the aggregate yield was 22,180,150 bush, less than that obtained from the crop of the year previous. The average yield to the acre was 23.4 bush, against 24.4 in 1892. It was a little more than 3 bush, less per acre than the average yield for the 10 years 1880-89, and was slightly less than the average yield of the last four years, 1890-93, inclusive. The farm value of the

crop, \$187,576,092, was \$21,677,519 less than that of 1892. The average value per acre was \$6.88, the lowest since 1889, and was \$1.34 below that of the decade 1880-89.

Hay.

The estimates for hay place the acreage at 49,613,469 acres, from which were harvested 65,766,158 tons, valued at \$570,882,872. This is an increase in acreage over the estimates of 1888 of 11,021,566 acres, which is made up mostly in States beyond the Mississippi. The increase in product was something over 10,000,000 tons, the increase in aggregate value being \$161,383,307. The dif-

ference between the acreage of 1888 and that of 1893, if the figures be accepted as correct, would show a greater increase than can reasonably be accounted for in view of the conditions surrounding agricultural growth in the last five years. It must, therefore, be accounted for by the supposition that the figures of 1888 were greatly below the actual acreage at that date.*

SUPPLY AND DISTRIBUTION OF WHEAT FOR 25 YEARS.

It has for many years been assumed in all estimates of food consumption made by this department that the average quantity of wheat consumed in the United States is 4½ bush. per capita. On this basis, with a population estimated for September 1, 1893 (midway between March 1, 1893, and March 1, 1894), at 67,188,250, the total quantity of wheat consumed for food in the United States would be, in round numbers, 214,000,000 bush. The consumption for seed in the spring and fall of 1893 is estimated at 49,000,000 bush., making a total of 263,000,000. Adding to this the exports, the visible supply on March 1, 1894, and the supply in farmers' hands at the same date, as shown by recent returns to this department, we get the following statement as to the distribution of the wheat supply during the year ending March 1, 1894:

Millions of Bushels.

Consumption for food.....	314
Consumption for seed.....	49
Exports.....	176
Visible supply March 1, 1894.....	76
Supply in farmers' hands March 1, 1894.....	114

Total distribution..... 729

The supply, on the other hand, was reported as follows:

Visible supply March 1, 1893.....	79
Supply in farmers' hands March 1, 1893.....	135
Crop of 1893.....	390

Total supply..... 610

Apparent discrepancy..... 119

There is reason to doubt, however, whether the consumption of wheat for food during the year ending March 1, 1894, has been as great as 4½ bush. per capita. It is not probable that there has been any reduction in the quantity of wheat bread actually eaten, but in the matter of waste there was a wide margin for retrenchment. During the pinching times of the past fall and winter many a crust and many a fragment of stale bread which ordinarily would have found its way to the swill-barrel has undoubtedly been used to satisfy human hunger or to ward it off. This has been the case not merely in occasional instances, but in thousands of families; for, besides the cases of pinching want arising from actual loss of employment, there has been a still larger number in which employment has been only partial, or in which wages have been materially reduced. Even among many of those in comfortable circumstances there has been increased care in the saving of food for the benefit of the needy, on whose behalf the appeals for help have been so frequent and so urgent. If the cheapness of wheat during the period in question may seem to have been favorable to a continued use of an unstinted supply of bread, it must be observed, on the other hand, that the price of baker's bread has not generally fallen, and that the large proportion of our urban populations who depend on such bread have not received the normal benefit due them as a result of the low price of wheat.

IMPORTANT WHEAT CROPS OF THE WORLD.

The following table shows the world's production of wheat by countries for the year 1893 as compared with that of 1892 and 1891. The latest official returns for the different countries were used wherever available. In certain cases these official statements are preliminary and may be changed by the corrected estimates. There is little doubt, for instance, that the estimates for Germany and Russia will be reduced by the final

returns. Many countries make no official estimate of wheat production, and in such cases the most trustworthy commercial estimates were taken. The bushel used is the Winchester bushel, which has a capacity of 2,150.42 cubic inches. Where quantities were given by weight they were reduced to bushels under the assumption that 60 lbs. of wheat make a Winchester bushel. The crops of the countries in the Southern Hemisphere are those gathered in November and December, 1892, and in January and February, 1893.

In North America the total production of wheat in 1893 was 447,479,000 bush., a decrease of nearly 127,000,000 as compared with the preceding year and of 237,000,000 as compared with 1891. The large extension of the wheat area in Argentina brought up the production of South America from 51,000,000 in 1892 to 82,000,000 in 1893, an increase of 61 per cent. Europe produced 27,000,000 bush. more in 1893 than in the preceding year. Asia's share of the world's wheat production was 346,000,000 bush. as against 299,000,000 in 1892 and 345,000,000 in 1891. Africa's crop was 35,500,000, an increase of 1,000,000 bush. over 1892. Australasia's outturn stood at 41,000,000 bush. as compared with 36,000,000 in 1892 and 33,000,000 in 1891. The total world's crop of wheat for 1893 is estimated at 2,385,360,000 bush., which is less by 7,000,000 than the crop of 1892 and exceeds the crop of 1891 by about 21,000,000 bush.

Cost per acre of raising wheat and corn in the United States.

(See also table on next page.)

	Wheat.	Corn.
Rent of land.....	\$2.81	\$3.03
Manure.....	2.16	1.86
Preparing ground.....	1.87	1.62
Seed.....	.96	....
Sowing or planting.....	.37	.42
Cultivating.....	....	1.80
Harvesting or gathering.....	1.19	1.22
Thrashing.....	1.20	....
Housing.....	.37	.50
Marketing.....	.76	1.26
Total.....	\$11.69	\$11.71

CANE SUGAR.

In regard to this kind of sugar Mr. Licht makes the following estimate for the principal countries which have a surplus for exportation:

Cane-sugar production.

COUNTRIES.	1893-94.	1892-93.
	<i>Metric tons.</i>	<i>Metric tons.</i>
Cuba.....	850,000	682,768
Puerto Rico.....	60,000	48,714
Trinidad.....	50,000	50,764
Barbados.....	65,000	65,383
Jamaica.....	26,000	27,000
Martinique.....	32,000	33,228
Guadeloupe.....	49,000	41,296
Lesser Antilles.....	25,000	25,000
Demerara.....	110,000	99,092
Réunion.....	37,000	35,991
Mauritius.....	125,000	70,732
Java.....	480,000	482,007
Brazil.....	260,000	215,000
Philippine Islands.....	265,000	273,988
United States.....	265,000	245,000
Peru.....	65,000	60,000
Egypt.....	70,000	65,000
Sandwich Islands.....	135,000	125,000
Total.....	2,960,000	2,645,963

BEET SUGAR.

The following table presents Mr. Licht's estimate of the beet-sugar production of Europe for the season 1893-94 as compared with preceding campaigns:

* Since this paragraph was written the figures of the last census, though not yet published, have been obtained from the Census Office, and show the area mown in 1889 to have been 52,948,797 acres, and the product obtained to have been 66,831,480 tons.

European beet-sugar production.

COUNTRIES.	1893-94.	1892-93.	1891-92.	1890-91.	1889-90.	1888-89.
	<i>Metric tons.*</i>	<i>Metric tons.*</i>	<i>Metric tons.*</i>	<i>Metric tons.*</i>	<i>Metric tons.*</i>	<i>Metric tons.*</i>
Germany.....	1,350,000	1,225,331	1,108,156	1,331,965	1,204,607	990,604
Austria-Hungary.....	845,000	802,577	786,566	778,473	753,078	523,242
France.....	575,000	588,838	650,377	694,037	787,989	466,767
Russia.....	650,000	455,000	550,994	544,102	456,711	526,387
Belgium.....	235,000	196,699	180,377	205,623	221,480	145,804
Holland.....	75,000	68,070	46,815	76,635	69,765	56,047
Other countries.....	111,000	92,000	88,635	80,000	80,000	87,000
Total.....	3,841,000	3,428,515	3,501,920	3,710,895	3,633,630	2,795,851

Supply and distribution of cotton (bales of 400 lbs. each).

YEARS.	Visible and In-visible Beginning of Year.	CROPS.			Total Actual Consumption.†	BALANCE OF YEAR'S SUPPLY.		
		United States.	Supply of Other Countries.	Total.		End of Year.		Burned, etc.‡
						Visible.	Invisible.	
1870-71.....	1,725,000	4,733,000	2,025,000	6,758,000	5,820,000	1,696,000	882,000	85,000
1871-72.....	2,578,000	3,241,000	3,276,000	6,517,000	6,312,000	1,785,000	668,000	90,000
1872-73.....	2,453,000	4,283,000	2,083,000	6,366,000	6,425,000	1,591,000	729,000	74,000
1873-74.....	2,320,000	4,597,000	2,320,000	6,917,000	6,632,000	1,682,000	843,000	80,000
1874-75.....	2,525,000	4,216,000	2,309,000	6,525,000	6,656,000	1,619,000	705,000	70,000
1875-76.....	2,324,000	5,171,000	2,018,000	7,189,000	7,082,000	1,732,000	614,000	85,000
1876-77.....	2,346,000	4,933,000	1,897,000	6,830,000	7,140,000	1,318,000	643,000	75,000
1877-78.....	1,961,000	5,425,000	1,505,000	6,931,000	7,272,000	1,214,000	326,000	80,000
1878-79.....	1,540,000	5,037,000	1,398,000	7,035,000	7,223,000	1,068,000	199,000	85,000
1879-80.....	1,267,000	6,556,000	1,894,000	8,450,000	8,081,000	1,499,000	49,000	88,000
1880-81.....	1,548,000	7,519,000	1,837,000	9,356,000	8,646,000	1,922,000	246,000	90,000
1881-82.....	2,168,000	6,073,000	2,510,000	8,583,000	9,035,000	1,362,000	254,000	100,000
1882-83.....	1,616,000	8,058,000	2,350,000	10,408,000	9,499,000	1,704,000	701,000	120,000
1883-84.....	2,055,000	6,485,000	2,434,000	8,919,000	9,290,000	1,595,000	434,000	95,000
1884-85.....	1,939,000	6,420,000	2,007,000	8,427,000	8,597,000	1,230,000	449,000	90,000
1885-86.....	1,679,000	7,480,000	2,100,000	9,580,000	9,371,000	1,210,000	590,000	88,000
1886-87.....	1,800,000	7,450,000	2,478,000	9,028,000	9,757,000	1,248,000	593,000	130,000
1887-88.....	1,841,000	8,000,000	2,100,000	10,100,000	10,167,000	965,000	640,000	160,000
1888-89.....	2,614,000	8,079,000	2,350,000	10,429,000	10,524,000	902,000	597,000	120,000
1889-90.....	1,499,000	8,525,000	2,580,000	11,105,000	11,055,000	1,140,000	294,000	115,000
1890-91.....	1,434,000	10,170,000	2,488,000	12,658,000	11,726,000	1,706,000	560,000	100,000
1891-92.....	2,266,000	10,800,000	2,399,000	13,109,000	11,816,000	2,093,000	607,000	100,000
1892-93.....	3,540,000	8,044,000	2,600,000	10,644,000	11,470,000	2,400,000	263,000	50,000

Estimated cost of the principal items and total cost in the production of wheat and corn in the United States by sections per acre for 1893.

(Consolidated from returns from nearly 30,000 leading farmers scattered throughout the United States.)

STATES AND SECTIONS.	WHEAT.										
	Rent of Land per Acre.	Manure.	Preparing Ground (Ploughing, Harrowing, etc.).	Seed.	Sowing.	Harvesting.	Threshing.	Housing.	Marketing.	Total.	Amount Sown per Acre.
New England.....	\$3.52	\$4.41	\$1.32	\$2.16	\$52	\$2.27	\$2.02	\$73	\$1.27	\$20.22	\$2.1
Middle.....	4.01	5.16	2.70	1.40	.48	1.40	1.43	.03	.88	18.18	2.0
Southern.....	2.79	2.00	1.71	.93	.41	.94	.95	.33	.79	10.94	1.2
Western.....	2.62	1.85	1.80	.92	.36	1.18	1.18	.32	.66	10.89	1.4
Mountain region.....	3.88	2.70	2.29	.95	.37	1.78	1.66	.58	1.59	15.80	1.3
Pacific.....	3.31	2.62	2.02	1.03	.32	1.41	1.41	.55	1.31	13.98	1.4
Total.....	\$2.81	\$2.16	\$1.87	\$96	\$37	\$1.19	\$1.20	\$37	\$76	\$11.69	\$1.4

* One metric ton is equal to 2204.6 lbs., only a few pounds less than our long ton of 2240 lbs.

† Consumption in Europe and the United States.

‡ This column covers cotton exported to countries not covered by figures of long ton of consumption, and cotton burned in United States, on sea, and in Europe.

Approximate statement of the world's wool product according to the latest attainable data.

COUNTRIES.	Year.	QUANTITY PRODUCED.	
		Millions of Killograms	Pounds.
In Europe :			
Russia	1888	118.62	261,509,652
Great Britain and Ireland	1891		147,474,238
France	1892		107,222,264
Spain	1880	30.00	66,138,000
German Empire	1892		55,000,000
Hungary	1884	19.57	43,144,022
Italy	1891		21,214,537
Austria	1891		9,044,488
Portugal	1882	5.21	11,485,066
Belgium	1890	.50	1,102,300
Sweden	1890	1.80	3,968,280
Other European countries		35.24	77,690,104
Total for Europe ..			805,093,851
Outside of Europe :			
Australia	1890		505,712,887
United States	1892		293,000,000
Argentine Republic ..	1892		349,098,398
Uruguay	1892		61,666,699
Cape Colony	1892		79,335,193
British India	1892		24,717,907
Natal	1892		29,887,888
Asiatic Turkey	1892	7.94	17,504,524
British North America ..	1892		10,000,000
Other extra European countries	1891		88,184,000
Total extra European countries		40.00	1,432,917,496
Summary .			
Total for Europe			805,093,851
Total extra-European countries			1,432,917,496
Grand total			2,238,011,347

(b) BRITISH EMPIRE.

Great Britain.

Up to the middle of the last century agriculture in Great Britain was fairly prosperous ; since then the development of the manufacturing and commercial interests has on the whole reacted unfavorably on English agriculture. The careful studies of Arthur Young in the latter part of the last century created much progressive thought on the subject, and a Board of Agriculture was established in 1793, while the Napoleonic wars unduly stimulated English agriculture ; but then came a sudden reaction. The farmers suffered severely by sheep rot and bad harvests, and the condition of the agricultural laborers was pitiful. In 1845 a General Inclosure Act was passed, and a commission appointed which has since become the English Land Commission. The repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) temporarily depressed but did not permanently hurt the land interest, as was feared. The terrible condition of the agricultural laborers was slightly alleviated, and down to 1873 English agriculture was more prosperous. Since 1873, however, agriculture has been very much depressed. Down to 1882 there were a succession of bad

crops, accompanied by falling prices in corn, and since 1882 there has been a general decline in prices. Scientific farming has, however, been considerably developed, and landlords have done somewhat to improve their estates. The fall of agricultural land rents has been great. According to the evidence of Sir James Caird before the Commission on the Depression of Trade in 1886, the annual income of landlords, tenants, and laborers was £42,800,000 less in 1886 than in 1876. The cultivated land of Great Britain occupied by owners was, June 5, 1893, 4,672,077 acres, or only 14.3 per cent. of the whole, and by tenants, 27,971,632, or 85.7 per cent.

The official agricultural returns for 1886 state that the proportion of land held by tenants is slightly increasing.

The following table from the same returns for 1893 (p. xxvii.) shows the areas devoted to different crops in 1873 and 1893 :

CROPS.	1873.	1893.
Cultivated area, acres	46,927,000	47,980,000
Permanent grass, "	23,364,000	27,700,000
Corn crops, acres, "	11,423,000	9,171,000
Wheat, "	3,670,000	1,955,000
Oats, "	4,198,000	4,436,000
Cattle, number	10,154,000	11,208,000
Sheep "	33,982,000	31,775,000
Pigs "	3,564,000	3,278,000

The following table (p. xxix.) tells the story of prices :

YEAR.	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>Per Quarter.</i>	<i>Per Quarter.</i>
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1873	58	8	40	5	25	5
1878	46	5	40	2	24	4
1883	41	7	31	10	21	5
1888	31	10	27	10	16	9
1893	26	4	25	7	18	9

The total number of people engaged in England and Wales in agriculture and fishing, taken together, in 1891 was 1,336,945. The total value of the principal crops produced in Great Britain in 1893 and Ireland in 1892 in thousands of bushels was as follows :

CROPS.	Gt. Britain.	Ireland.
Wheat	49,247	2,214
Barley	59,535	6,454
Oats	112,867	51,886

In 1892 there was imported into the United Kingdom £24,857,902 of wheat, £12,267,433 of wheat flour, £9,425,211 of maize, £5,013,546 of oats, £4,313,902 of barley.

The amount of live stock in the United Kingdom in 1894 was : Horses, 2,067,549 ; cattle, 11,510,417 ; sheep, 33,672,208 ; pigs, 3,265,898. The condition of the agricultural laborer is stated by the Royal Commission on Labour to be much improved since the terrible days before 1834 or even 1850. Even yet, however, his wages, as based upon 38 estimates of the mean rates for all the districts inquired into by the Assistant Commissioners on Agricultural Labor, is stated to be only 12s. 5d. per week. The Richmond Commission of 1870-81 put it 13s. 2d. per week. The average earnings of the Scotch agricultural laborers are said to be about 18s. 0d. per week. Much attention has been given to allotments in England. The Allotment Act of 1887 appointed a com-

mission on the subject, and authorized compensation for growing crops, etc. The Local Government Act of 1894 empowers the parish-councils to acquire, compulsorily if necessary, land to be given out in allotments. The number of British allotments, detached from cottages and under one acre, was: In

1873.....	246,308
1888	357,795
1890.....	455,005

Rents for small cottages in England vary from 0/2 to 7s. per week. In Scotland they are usually let with the farms. A Board of Agriculture was established in 1889. A National Agricultural Union has recently been formed to aid land-owners, give State-aided pensions to workmen, to establish a Produce Post, improve the Agricultural Holdings Act, etc. The English Land Restoration League (*q.v.*) is working, on the other hand, through the Red Van movement to preach collectivist ideas among the agricultural laborers.

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN EACH CLASS.*					PROPORTIONAL NUMBER PER CENT OF HOLDINGS.							
Classification of Holdings.					England.	Wales.	Scot-land.	Great Britain.	England.	Wales.	Scot-land.	Great Britain.
From	1/4 acre	to	1 acre	....	No.	No.	No.	No.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
"	1	"	5 acres	....	21,069	11,083	1,360	23,512	5.08	1.80	1.69	4.23
"	5	"	20	....	103,220	11,044	21,463	135,736	24.88	18.35	26.59	24.42
"	20	"	50	....	109,285	17,380	22,132	148,806	26.34	28.89	27.42	26.77
"	50	"	100	....	61,146	12,326	10,677	84,149	14.74	20.48	13.23	15.14
"	100	"	300	....	44,893	10,044	9,778	64,715	10.82	16.69	12.11	11.64
"	300	"	500	....	59,180	7,844	12,549	79,573	14.26	13.03	15.55	14.31
"	500	"	1,000	....	11,452	380	2,034	13,875	2.76	0.65	2.52	2.50
"	1,000	"	.....	....	4,131	63	632	4,826	0.99	0.10	0.78	0.87
"	1,000	"	.....	....	565	8	90	663	0.13	0.01	0.11	0.12
Total					414,950	60,190	80,715	555,855	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

ACREAGE OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN EACH CLASS.					AVERAGE SIZE OF HOLDINGS.							
Classification of Holdings.					England.	Wales.	Scot-land.	Great Britain.	England.	Wales.	Scot-land.	Great Britain.
From	1/4 acre	to	1 acre	....	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
"	1	"	5 acres	....	9,988	530	677	11,195	1/2	3/8	1/2	1/2
"	5	"	20	....	286,526	34,532	68,619	389,677	2 3/4	3 3/4	3 1/4	2 3/4
"	20	"	50	....	1,219,663	200,169	236,995	1,656,827	11 1/2	11 1/2	10 1/2	11
"	50	"	100	....	2,042,370	420,482	361,675	2,824,527	33 1/2	34	33 1/2	33 1/2
"	100	"	300	....	3,285,350	735,671	725,499	4,746,520	73 1/2	73 1/2	74 1/2	73 1/2
"	300	"	500	....	10,285,988	1,323,374	2,139,133	13,658,495	173 1/2	157 1/2	170 1/2	171 1/2
"	500	"	1,000	....	4,328,722	143,623	768,823	5,241,168	378	360 1/2	378	377 1/2
"	1,000	"	.....	....	2,697,794	39,793	499,641	3,147,228	653	631 1/2	648 1/2	652 1/2
"	1,000	"	.....	....	735,138	10,373	137,104	882,615	1,301 1/2	1,206 1/2	1,523 1/2	1,331 1/2
Total					24,891,539	2,818,547	4,848,166	32,558,252	60	46 1/2	60	58 1/2

THE COLONIES.

India is chiefly an agricultural country. Since 1870, the Indian Government has systematically worked to foster and improve Indian agriculture. The following table, taken from the Official Statistical abstract relating to British India for 1892

(p. 143), shows the amount of land held direct from Government in 10 provinces of British India; and also the number of estates, of holders, the average area of each estate, and its average assessment in rupees. Statistics for Bengal and Bombay are not available:

ADMINISTRAT-ION.	No. of Estates.	No. of Holders.	Average Area of each Es-tate.	Average Assess-ment.
			Acres.	rs. a. p.
Madras	3,389,508	5,648,504	158	15 9 4
N. W. Provs.	124,728	2,712,293	360	375 0 0
Oudh	124,490	182,871	1,237	1,168 0 0
Punjab	36,814	3,146,631	1,510	688 0 0
Central Provs.	120,026	108,401	355	57 0 0
Berars	381,236	300,874	21	67 15 1
Coorg	31,326	18,132	4.93	9 8 10
Assam	78,3744	.....	9.65	5 6 1
Lower Burma ..	942,159	712,026	6.05	8 10 0
Upper Burma ..	508,017	506,804	5.13	.....

The Statesman's Year-Book gives the following statement of land tenure and revenue in India:

"In provinces where the zamindari tenure prevails (*i.e.*, where single proprietors or proprietary brother-hoods possess large estates of several hundreds or thousands of acres), the State revenue is assessed at an aliquot part (usually about one half) of the ascertained or assumed rental. The revenue is payable on each estate as a whole; the assessment remaining unchanged for the period of settlement. In provinces where the rayatwari tenure prevails (*i.e.*, where each petty proprietor holds directly from the State, as a rule cultivates his own land, and has no landlord between him-self and the government), the revenue is separately assessed at an acreage rate on each petty holding, and land revenue becomes payable at once (or after a short term of grace in the case of uncleared lands) on all ex-tensions of cultivation. The rayatwari proprietor may throw up his holding, or any portion of it, at the begin-ning of any year after reasonable notice, whereas the zamindar, or large proprietor, engages to pay the re-venue assessed upon him throughout the term of the set-tlement."

The following table, from the same source, shows, so far as returns are available, the class of tenure in each province:

* From official agricultural returns for 1886.

	ZAMÍNDÁRÍ AND VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.			RÁYATWÁRÍ, ETC.		
	Area Surveyed. Acres.	Population of Surveyed Area.	Revenue Rx.	Area Surveyed. Acres.	Population of Surveyed Area.	Revenue Rx.
Northwest Provinces.....	52,604,874	33,802,188	4,481,581	.....	.....	.....
Oudh.....	15,337,846	12,050,831	1,369,100	.....	.....	.....
Punjab.....	71,576,576	20,860,913	2,441,807	.....	.....	.....
Berárs.....	.....	.....	.....	11,340,244	2,850,009	645,699
Coorg.....	.....	.....	.....	1,012,260	173,055	22,557
Lower Burma.....	187,641	.....	8,181	55,934,676	.....	923,800
Upper Burma.....	8,899	.....	.....	51,355,983	.....	.....
Madras.....	30,067,323	10,336,536	517,590	59,869,505	25,296,866	4,404,183
Bombay.....	.....	.....	.....	47,602,321	15,163,506	2,549,362
Sind.....	.....	.....	.....	29,998,314	2,871,774	822,341
Ajmere.....	980,172	.....	12,889	734,601	297,889	24,650
Bengal.....	244,469	No	statistics	available.	.....	.....

The Statistical Abstract relating to British India (p. 191) gives the crops as follows, in acres devoted to each :

Rice.	Wheat.	Other Food Grains.	Sugar-Cane.	Tea.	Cotton.	Oil Seeds.	Indigo.	Tobacco.
27,225,102	18,573,982	76,452,323	1,040,332	266,219	8,859,429	8,498,058	541,308	1,327,121

The following table shows the staple articles of import from India into the United Kingdom in the years 1887-91 :

YEARS.	Cotton.	Wheat.	Jute.	Seeds.	Tea.	Rice.	Indigo.
1887.....	£ 4,815,185	£ 3,102,964	£ 3,670,253	£ 2,843,562	£ 4,211,051	£ 1,467,479	£ 1,447,868
1888.....	3,063,002	3,060,808	3,890,315	3,492,640	4,426,566	1,409,952	1,456,740
1889.....	5,223,808	3,495,284	5,403,651	3,618,980	4,566,496	1,774,761	1,612,684
1890.....	4,740,232	3,461,071	4,916,509	2,534,959	4,768,340	1,984,121	1,386,196
1891.....	1,850,331	5,507,526	4,193,832	3,485,455	5,045,121	2,209,157	888,736
1892.....	1,164,813	4,812,180	3,871,927	3,099,235	4,872,675	2,075,938	1,192,821

AUSTRALASIA.

According to the *Australian Handbook* for 1894 (p. 121), by the returns collected for 1892 in Australasia, 9,468,049 acres of land were under cultivation. The principal crops were: Wheat, 3,822,950 acres; oats, 566,072 acres; barley, 88,322 acres; hay, 1,329,902 acres; potatoes, 109,005 acres; other, 3,552,698 acres. The live stock in 1892 was: Horses, 1,832,815; cattle, 12,437,165; sheep, 121,884,669; pigs, 1,112,316.

Concerning the land tenure and condition of agriculture, the report on Australasia of the Royal Commission on Labour says of the different colonies:

"Under the Land Act of 1890 pastoral lands are leased in Victoria in allotments capable of carrying from 1000 to 4000 sheep and 150 to 500 head of cattle, for any term not exceeding 14 years, from December, 1884. The rent of these allotments is computed at 1s. per head of sheep and 5s. per head of cattle. On the expiration of the lease the lessee is paid by the incoming tenant for the value of all improvements. The lessee may purchase 320 acres as a homestead during the currency of his lease. Agricultural and grazing lands are leased in areas not exceeding 1000 acres for the same term of years; at the end of the term the land reverts to the Crown, and an allowance is made for improvements. Agricultural allotments, not exceeding 320 acres, may be selected after the issue of a grazing lease, which must be improved during the first five years to the value of £1 an acre. The holder pays rent at the rate of 1s. an acre, and at the expiration of six years may purchase his holding at 14s. an acre, or lease it at 2s. an acre for 14 years, after which it becomes freehold. In New South Wales the territory is divided into three zones—eastern, central, and western. The maximum territory allowed in the eastern division is 640 acres, in the central, 2560. In addition to the selection, an area, not to exceed three times that of the selection, may be leased at an annual rental, with right to purchase

during the currency of the lease. A first payment of 2s. an acre must be made in advance, and after an interval of three years the next instalment of 1s. an acre is payable. In Queensland the maximum area which may be selected is 100 acres for homesteads and from 320 to 1280 for other selections. The selector occupies the land under a licence at a rental of not less than 3d. an acre. If he complies with conditions as to fencing and similar matters, he may obtain a lease for 50 years, and his rent will be fixed by the Land Board every five years. He may purchase at not less than 20s. an acre on proving residence for five years, rent already paid being reckoned as purchase-money. In South Australia leases with the right to purchase are issued for 21 years, and the purchase may be made after six years' rental, at not less than 5s. an acre. In the southwestern district of Western Australia the maximum area which may be selected is 100 acres, but in the other divisions of the colony land may be taken up by selectors, who need not reside, in areas of from 100 to 5000 acres at not less than 10s. an acre, payable in 10 yearly instalments. If selections are made without residence in the southwestern division, double the amount must be paid. Selections may be made in New Zealand of not more than 620 acres of first-class, or 2000 acres of second-class land; the price varies from 5s. to 40s. an acre. Deferred payment is permitted at 25 per cent. advance on cash prices, and perpetual leases are granted for 30 years, with right of renewal for 21 years at a rental of 5 per cent. on the cash price. A bill has, however, been introduced into the New Zealand Parliament, which is designed to take away the right of purchase in perpetual lease. . . .

"Corn-growing is not as yet of the same value to the Australasian colonies as the breeding of sheep and cattle, but with the spread of irrigation it will probably increase. Wheat is principally cultivated in South Australia, Victoria, and New Zealand, oats in Victoria and New Zealand, barley in Victoria, and maize in

New South Wales and Queensland. The value of agricultural produce throughout Australia in 1890-91 is estimated at £76,000,000. Within recent years irrigation colonies, on the model of those established successfully in Southern California, have been formed at Mildura in Victoria and Denmark in South Australia, for the purpose of fruit-growing. The land is granted to cultivators in blocks of one square mile and upwards, and the colony, as a whole, shares in the expenses of the irrigation works, which fertilize the whole domain. Upward of 90 miles of main irrigation have already been constructed, with 120 miles of subsidiary channels, and some 6000 or 7000 acres of fruit orchards planted. The results already achieved after four years of existence are remarkable, and it is proposed to found an agricultural and horticultural college to promote improved methods of culture. Wages paid to agricultural labourers in Victoria for 1890 averaged 22s. 1d. a week for ploughmen, 11s. 11d. for female servants, 10s. 9d. for farm labourers, 3s. 6d. for mowers, 25s. 8d. for married couples, and 30s. 4d. for reapers. In all these cases rations were also given; threshers and hop-pickers, who are paid by the bushel, do not receive rations, and get 9d. and 3d. a bushel respectively. In 1891 these wages had decreased from 1 to 3 per cent., except in the case of married couples and dairymaids, whose wages showed a small increase.

"The importance of the pastoral industry is shown by the fact that there are in Australia and New Zealand 116,037,360 sheep and 10,953,551 cattle, whilst the capital invested in the industry amounts to £300,000,000. About 50,000 persons are employed in ordinary pastoral labour, whilst in the shearing season this number is doubled. The total amount of wool produced in New Zealand and Australia in 1889 was 535,435,633 lbs., worth £21,887,754—viz., 49,500,000 lbs. more than in 1888. In 1890-91, 618,052 bales of wool were exported from Australia, 83 per cent. of which were shipped to London. Nevertheless, the profits of the industry have greatly diminished in recent years, and the governments of the different colonies are endeavouring to let their land in smaller areas and to encourage the growth of food-stuffs and the rearing of cattle. This diminution in the profits of pastoralists has been brought about in part by changes in the land laws. Settlers, who took up large areas when land was cheap, thinking that they would have the pre-emptive right to other large tracts, find that the loss of this right has diminished the value of their holdings. Indeed, station property is said to have decreased 50 per cent. in value during the last few years. Again, other settlers have suffered much loss from rabbits and muskittails, though one squatter spent £10,000 on wire netting, he lost his sheep through allowing one hill to remain unfenced. In 1890-91 the Victorian Government spent £37,000 in attempting to exterminate rabbits on the Crown lands."

CANADA.

The chief industry of Canada is agriculture; 45 per cent. of her people are engaged in agriculture. According to the census of 1891, the area of improved land in Canada was 28,537,242 acres, of which 10,904,826 were under crop. Only 10 per cent. of the land is yet under crop or pasture. The wheat crop of 1890 was 42,144,779 bush., of which 21,314,582 came from Ontario and 16,092,220 from Manitoba.

The live stock in 1891 was: Horses, 1,441,037; cattle, 4,060,662; sheep, 2,513,977; swine, 1,702,782. The export of wheat from Canada into the United Kingdom was in 1892, 10,668,284 bush., India sending 23,324,825 and the United States 12,317,977.

The timber wealth of Canada is very great. According to Government returns in 1891, it amounted to 4,942,462 cubic feet, besides railroad poles, ties, shingles, etc.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Up to December, 1891, 94,265,893 acres had been alienated, leaving 40,979,890 acres.

In the year ending March 31, 1891, the products were: Wheat, 2,727,490 bush.; oats, 1,810,130; barley, 923,065; Kafir corn, 1,387,710 bush.; 6,012,522 gals. of wine; 1,239,043 of brandy; 56,038,659 lbs. of wool; 6,823,660 of mohair; 3,228,004 of hides and skins, 2,801,398 of butter; 2,599,147 of raisins; 30,344,400 oranges.

(c) AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Austria-Hungary is an empire where such different forms of tenure and such different conditions obtain in various parts of the empire that general statistics are misleading. The revolution of 1848, abolishing the old feudal burdens on the land, practically transformed the small peasant farmers into independent proprietors, while the great proprietors, unprovided with capital to

hire farm hands, had to divide their large demesnes to a considerable extent into small holdings. The Report on Austria of the (English) Royal Commission on Labour says (p. 72):

"Large manorial landed estates, or *latifundia*, are chiefly found in Bohemia, which has been called 'the stronghold of the feudal aristocracy,' and in Galicia, Moravia, and Lower Austria. They are very rare in Carinthia and Salzburg, and in Dalmatia, where the large properties are chiefly in the hands of the merchant or capitalist class, they are practically unknown. Adopting the division of Professor von Inama Sternegg, who estimates as large landed proprietors (*Grossgrundbesitzer*) all who pay a yearly land tax of at least 1000 florins within one administrative area, the following table may be drawn up to illustrate the distribution of these great estates in the various provinces of the Empire:

Distribution of Large Landed Estates in Austria.

TERRITORIES.	No. of large Landed Estates.	Percentage of Total Number of large Landed Estates in Austria.	Percentage of Land Taxation.
Lower Austria.....	194	10.7	11.97
Upper Austria.....	36	2.0	7.20
Salzburg.....	5	0.3	0.90
Styria.....	50	2.6	6.49
Carinthia.....	14	0.8	1.81
Carniola.....	7	0.4	1.71
Coast Lands.....	23	1.3	1.81
Tyrol and Vorarlberg	10	0.6	3.29
Bohemia.....	678	37.6	30.83
Moravia.....	247	13.7	14.82
Silesia.....	60	3.8	2.19
Galicia.....	440	24.4	14.85
Bukowina.....	25	1.4	1.27
Dalmatia.....	7	0.4	0.86
Total.....	1,805	100.0	100.0

The large landed proprietors of Austria form one of the main electoral groups in Austria's at present (1895) very limited suffrage, a condition which is bitterly attacked by the Socialists. In Hungary, according to an official statement of 1893, quoted in *The Statesman's Year Book*, the ownership of land was as follows:

OWNERSHIP.	Acres.	Percentage of total Area.
State.....	3,963,391	5.68
Foundation.....	353,991	.51
Railways.....	59,704	.10
Fideicommiss.....	3,342,597	4.79
Districts and parishes.....	12,338,930	17.60
Companies.....	617,615	.89
Church.....	3,229,257	4.63
Educational.....	189,145	.27
Private.....	45,631,549	65.44
Total.....	69,726,170	100.00

According to a statement of 1888, the size of properties in Hungary and the number of proprietors was:

	Number.	Total Area Acres.
Under 43 acres	2,348,107	21,489,900
43 — 286 "	118,081	9,639,600
286 — 1,439 "	13,757	20,363,200
1,439 — 14,300 "	4,695	9,523,800
Over 14,300 "	231	5,619,900

According to the *Oesterr. Stat. Handbuch* (1892, pp.

126-127), the average area devoted in Austria for 10 years (1881-90) was as follows:

Wheat.....	1,109,421
Rye.....	1,976,950
Barley.....	1,096,057
Oats.....	1,833,128
Maize.....	360,921
Leguminous produce.....	267,248
Potatoes.....	1,063,598
Vines.....	224,451
Beet-root (for sugar).....	204,541
Grass and clover for hay.....	3,938,943

Concerning the general condition of the agricultural population in Austria the Report of the (English) Royal Commission on Labour says (pp. 74-75):

"It appears that the agrarian question is, not without reason, a matter for serious anxiety in Austria. The decay of peasant proprietorship (*Bauernstand*) is especially regretted by politicians and economists. In 1881, in a single district (*Bezirk*) in Styria, no fewer than 700 small farms were put up for sale, and in one commune (*Gemeinde*) the peasant proprietors had diminished by 33 within a very few years. Large numbers of peasant holdings have been bought up by the great land-owners, by corporate associations (*Genossenschaften*), or, as has been particularly the case in Galicia, by the Jews. 'Large estates,' says Dr. Michael Hainisch, referring specially to the Alpine districts, 'accumulated in a few hands, the free peasant proprietor (*Bauer*) leaves the home of his fathers, which falls to a dependant tenant farmer (*Meier*) unless the new possessor prefers to turn the fields into forest. . . . One hears everywhere of the distress of the small farmer, seldom of his prosperity.' At a general meeting of peasant proprietors, which was held at Wiener-Neustadt in March, 1892, a small farmer from Pottendorf (Lower Austria) described the position of his class in strong terms. 'Things cannot go on,' he said, 'as they are. We are no longer able to bear the burden of taxation. Our families live on potatoes and dumplings (*Knodel*), and meat is only seen upon our tables once a year.'"

"Where the small independent farmer is not actually driven from the land by the pressure of competition and the burden of land taxation, which is said to fall comparatively more heavily on the small than on the large landed proprietors, he is often forced to sink into the position of a tenant, or to see his estate broken up into small holdings. The old patriarchal system, in which master and man 'ate at the same board,' and shared the same hearth, still prevails in the Alpine districts, but has almost disappeared elsewhere, more especially in Bohemia and Moravia. Custom is everywhere giving place to competition. Dr. Hainisch is of opinion that except in the neighbourhood of the towns, where intensive farming brings in rich returns, or in those mountainous regions where the homesteads are large enough to make cattle-farming profitable, the peasant farm in Austria is destined either to be absorbed by the large landed estate or to be broken up into a number of small holdings (*Parcelles*). As education and the means of communication spread, many peasant proprietors will, he thinks, voluntarily exchange their immediate interest in the land for trade investments, or for tenant-farming under a landlord, while many others will sink into the position of day labourers, and those who remain on their estates will lose their conservative character, and adopt new methods and ideas. A recent writer in the *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* also states that 'the very conditions of existence (*Existenzbedingungen*) of the smaller land proprietors seem to be threatened, and thereby one of the strongest supports of the whole constitutional system (*Staatswesen*) to be shaken.'"

"The condition of the agricultural day labourer is also far from satisfactory. Writing in 1872, Dr. Krafft stated that at that time this class, at least in Bohemia, was chiefly recruited from the ranks of the cotters (*Häusler*), market-gardeners (*Gärtler*), and landless workmen (*Miethsleute*). Their wages were very low, while prices were so high that they were forced to live on water gruel, potato soup, bread, and dumplings."

The report also gives the following table of daily wages for agricultural laborers in 1891 as taken from official calculations:

TERRITORIES.	Without Board.	With Board.
	<i>Kreutzer.</i>	<i>Kreutzer.</i>
Lower Austria.....	121	66
Upper Austria.....	101	54
Salzburg.....	102.5	53.5

TERRITORIES.	Without Board.	With Board.
	<i>Kreutzer.</i>	<i>Kreutzer.</i>
Styria.....	86	46
Carinthia.....	87	40
Carniola.....	82	52
Coast Lands.....	88	50
Tyrol and Vorarlberg.....	100	67
Bohemia.....	72	63
Moravia.....	58	34
Silesia.....	66	34.5
Galicia.....	59	29
Bukowina.....	58.7	36.5
Dalmatia.....	122	66

(d) BELGIUM.

Belgium is a land of very small holdings. In 1846 there were 572,550 holdings; in 1880, 910,396. In size they were:

Less than 1 hectare.....	594,376
From 1 to 5 hectares.....	226,088
" 5 to 10 ".....	48,390
" 10 to 20 ".....	25,893
" 20 to 50 ".....	12,186
Above 50.....	3,403

Hectare = 2.47 acres.

In 1880, 713,019 hectares were worked by owners, 1,270,512 by farmers.

The main crops are wheat, oats, rye, potatoes. Agricultural statistics are at present collected by the Government only once in every 10 years, and the most recent which have as yet been published are those for the year 1880. At that date the total number of men and woman engaged in agriculture throughout the kingdom was 1,199,319, or 21.77 per cent. of the whole population of the country; 44.02 per cent. of the persons employed were women.

(e) DENMARK.

There is much subdivision of the soil in Denmark. The law is such as to prevent the formation of large estates out of small ones, while it is favorable to the division of land. The tenant has by law complete control of the land he rents.

Twenty per cent. of the area of Denmark is unproductive, and of this about one sixth is peat bogs. Six per cent. of the productive area is forest, and of the remainder more than one half is pasture and meadow land.

The area under the different crops is divided as follows: Corn, 3,029,404 acres; potatoes, 128,849 acres; clover, 456,385 acres. In 1891 the principal crops were: Oats, 33,050,265 bush.; barley, 22,571,447 bush.; potatoes, 13,913,122 bush.; rye, 18,677,262 bush.

The value of the crops in 1891 was 355,214 kroner. Live stock in Denmark in 1888 were in numbers as follows: 1,459,527 head of cattle, 375,533 horses, 1,225,106 sheep, 770,785 swine. In 1892 Denmark exported 108,988 head of cattle, 11,578 horses, and 185,844 swine.

The total production of brandy in Denmark in 1892 was 7,435,388 gals.

(f) FRANCE.

Agriculture in France, according to the most recent statistics (census of 1886), employs 17,693,402 persons. Of the total area (52,857,199 hectares), 36,977,003 hectares are under crops, fallow, and grasses; 8,397,131 are forests; 6,086,678 are devoted to wheat; 3,812,852 to oats; 1,541,836 to rye; 1,512,136 to potatoes; 1,792,876 to vines; 1,120,764 to clover; 5,228,680 to pasture.

According to the *Annuaire de l'Economie Publique* for 1894, edited by Maurice Block, the wheat crop was 97,023,075 hectolitres; the rye was 22,802,805 hectolitres; wine was produced of a superior quality, valued at 149,518,000 frs., and of the ordinary quality at 1,107,009,000 frs. Silk culture is carried on in 24 departments, employing 141,500 persons.

The land is divided into small holdings. According to *La Grande Encyclopedie*, vol. xvii., p. 1006, the number of land holdings in 1891 was about 14,000,000, owned by about 8,000,000 persons, of which about 5,000,000 own agricultural holdings.

According to official report for 1882, the agricultural holdings were as follows:

Proportion of the whole agricultural area.		
From 1.5 hectares.....	1,866	11
" 5.10 "	769	12
" 10.20 "	431	13
" 20.30 "	198	10
" 30.40 "	98	7
Over .40 "	142	45
Total.....	3,504	98

The small holdings are mainly in the departments of the Seine, the Rhone, Belfort, the North, Puy-de-Dôme, Haute-Garonne, Gard.

(g) GERMANY.

Of the area of Germany, 94 per cent. is classed as productive and only 6 per cent. as unproductive. The acres given to the principal crops in 1892 were as follows: Wheat, 4,879,860; barley, 4,174,537; oats, 9,849,666; rye, 14,026,470. In 1891 there were raised 18,558,379 tons of potatoes, 18,715,112 of hay, 9,488,002 of beet-root (sugar), 743,462 gals. of wine. In 1882 the total number of agricultural inclosures of all kinds, each cultivated by one household, was as follows:

Under 1 Hectare.	Between 1 and 10 Hectares.	Between 10 and 100 Hectares.	Above 100 Hectares.	Total.
2,323,316	2,274,096	653,941	24,991	5,276,344

These farms supported 18,840,818 persons, of whom 8,120,518 were actually working upon them.

The system of land tenure and the condition of agricultural population is very different in different portions of the empire. In Prussia complete free trade in land exists. Of the various portions of the empire the report on Germany of the (English) Royal Commission on Labour says:

"In Westphalia and Oldenburg the agricultural labourer rents a small plot of ground from his employer on condition of giving him a certain number of days' work in return for a lower rate of wages than would otherwise be paid in the district. The labourer (*Huerling*) is a small cultivator on his own account, not as a rule rich enough to possess a team of horses, but allowed the use of his employer's team when necessary, and receiving other assistance in kind. The relations between the two parties are reported to be more favourable than in any other part of Germany; the employer is secure of a sufficient amount of labour, and the labourer in most cases contrives to amass considerable savings. Many families remain for centuries upon the same farms, and although their holdings are only on short leases, renewable at will, they come to regard them as their own property. Many of them add to their income by home industries, such as weaving, and occasionally, when there is little for them to do at home, they cross the border into Holland for a few months and work for wages.

"In Southern Germany the same system of small holdings prevails, but here the labourer is himself a small freeholder, who ekes out the scanty resources of his own property by performing service for the farmers (*Bauer*) with more land than they can cultivate themselves. This becomes the more necessary, because on the death of the small freeholder any land which he has accumulated does not pass intact to his appointed heir, as in Westphalia. It is, as a rule, subdivided amongst his children, who must recommence the laborious process of saving, if they are ever to be in a position of independence.

"Mid-Germany—*i.e.*, the district between the Weser and Elbe, is the home of the different classes of peasant farmers (*Bauer*), and of what are known as free labourers (*freie Landarbeiter*). These are drawn from different classes of the village population, possessing larger or smaller plots of land held on different systems of tenure handed down from feudal times, and known as Kötter, Brinksitzer, Häusler, or Anbauer. To the larger farmer (*Bauer*), or to the large landed proprietor (*Gutsbesitzer*), they are all merely day-labourers in the strictest sense of the term.

"In the wide expanse of territory east of the Elbe the contract between the agricultural labourer and his employer takes a great variety of forms; but in what Professor Knapp calls the most typical districts, where great estates (*Rittergüter*) are numerous and settle-

ments of peasant farmers (*Bauernhörfer*) few, the most usual form has hitherto been that known as socage-tenancy (*Instenwesen*). Here 'the landowner enters into a contract for a lengthened period, which assures him of the services not of an individual merely, but of a family. The family is settled in a cottage upon the landlord's estate, and must be prepared to provide a man and an assistant—a so-called socager (*Scharwerker*)—to perform the agricultural labour required upon the estate. A very small daily wage is paid in return; the socage tenant generally receives a portion of garden ground for his own use in addition to his house, and a few acres of land are cultivated for him within the estate; whatever these produce, whether corn, other kinds of produce, or potatoes, belongs to the socage tenant (*Inste*). Finally, the socage tenant has a right to thresh his landlord's corn during the winter in return for a certain proportion of the yield.' This remuneration in kind is often more than he can use, but he is at liberty to sell it, and the proceeds, together with a very small daily wage, represent the extent of his pecuniary resources. As a rule he owns a cow or a few sheep, and in all cases he keeps one or two pigs. As far as health and good nourishment are concerned the condition of such a labourer leaves little to be desired, and lately much has been done to remedy the miserable character of the cottages."

Forestry in Germany is an industry of great importance, conducted under the care of the State on scientific methods. About 34,347,000 acres, or 25.7 per cent. of the area of the empire, were estimated to be occupied by forests in 1889. In South and Central Germany from 30 to 38 per cent. of the surface is covered with forests; and in parts of Prussia 20 per cent. From forests and domains alone Prussia receives revenue of about 4,000,000 sterling.

(h) ITALY.

Of the total area of Italy, 86.9 per cent. is considered productive. In 1892 11,188,048 acres were given to wheat, 773,485 to barley, 1,112,532 to oats, 354,774 to rye.

Silk culture, though flourishing most extensively in Piedmont and Lombardy, is carried on all over Italy. In 1892 there were 537,869 persons employed in rearing silk-worms, and 175,000 skilled and other workers (including 120,386 women and 36,586 children) were employed in the treatment and manufacture of silk.

In the census of December 31, 1881, there were 5,024,836 males of 15 years of age and upwards described as engaged in agriculture. The entire agricultural population, male and female, of 15 years of age and upwards, was thus about 10,000,000. According to last census, the number of persons of 15 years of age and upwards was to the whole population in the ratio of 698 to 1000; thus the whole agricultural population was computed to be 14,000,000.

Concerning the general condition of the agricultural population the report on Italy of the (English) Royal Commission on Labour says (abridged):

"Agriculture has been called 'the backbone of Italy.' Very few parts of the civilized world, indeed, have a more distinctly agricultural character than this country, where 'the rural labourers may be counted by millions, while the industrial operatives are only numbered by thousands.' Great as is the importance of the agricultural question, however, it is extremely difficult to grasp, owing to the extraordinary complexity and variety of the conditions of Italian land tenure. It includes the mediæval manor (*latifondo*), cultivated on the most primitive extensive system, the most perfect system of intensive cultivation on a large scale; 'petite culture' pushed to the extreme of specialisation, and the same methods applied to the most heterogeneous mixture of products; rents varying from 5 lire to 2000 lire per hectare; peasant proprietorship, 'metayer' farming, feudal tenancies, and hired labour. In every separate district the phenomena of rural economy have special, exclusive, characteristic features, arising from an infinite diversity of local circumstances.

"The net income of agricultural Italy is rather over 1,000,000,000 lire. Its direct taxes amount to 300,000,000, exclusive of the tax on salt, of the income tax (*ricchezza mobile*), of the tax on cattle levied in many communes, of the indirect taxes, and, according to Sir D. Colnaghi, of 'the house tax,' which with the local surtaxes amounts to about 139,000,000 lire.

"There are three typical forms of agrarian contract in Italy—the 'metayer' system (*mezzadria*, *mezzeria*, *colonia*), in which the principle of profit-sharing finds its simplest expression; the leasehold system (*affitto*), and the system of home cultivation by means of hired labourers (*salario*). Each of these systems has given

rise to innumerable deviations in practice, and each passes by insensible gradations into the other. Many agriculturists cultivate part of their land as metayers, part as leaseholders, and part as the farm servants of a landlord.

"The 'metayer' system, according to the Italian Civil Code, is a contract by which the cultivator of a farm (*mezzaiulo*, *mezzadro*, *colono*) has the right to divide with the proprietor the produce of the farm (Art. 1647 of the Civil Code); the loss through accident of the whole or part of the harvest is borne in common by the proprietor and the metayer.

"The wages of day labourers and farm servants vary in the different provinces, and according to capacity and occupation, from about 150 lire to some 300 or 400 lire per annum, but the general question of wages is complicated by the prevalence of the custom of making payments in kind, or partly in kind and partly in money, while some kinds of work, as, for instance, ploughing, manuring, and mowing, are often paid by the piece. Signor Bodio gives the average daily wages of an adult agricultural labourer at about 2 lire in summer and about 1½ lire in winter. As during certain portions of the year outdoor labour is at a standstill, the average daily pay of an adult labourer during the whole year may be put at about 1 lire. Dairy-men get from 250 to 400 lire annually, with board; cow-herds receive from 15 to 90 lire per annum; and casual labourers can earn about 450 or 500 lire in the course of the year, though they sometimes almost double this sum by odd jobs, and not unfrequently by rural thefts, while owing to their frugal habits their real wages are fairly high. Women earn about half as much as men, but they are often able to eke out their scanty wages by spinning, plaiting straw, as in Tuscany, or working in the silk-reeling mills, as in Piedmont and Lombardy.

"Sicily, connected with the Italian kingdom, and yet separated from it, has special economic conditions complicated by the comparatively lawless state of society, and by the survival of ancient customs. The great stretches of treeless pasture land, cornfields, and fallows, which are found in the western provinces of the island, from Palermo to Girgenti, and from Trapani to Nicosia, are divided into large semi-feudal estates or fiefs (*latifondi ex-feudi*) held by the descendants of the old nobility, or by rich *bourgeois* families. Most of these estates range from 500 to 1000 hectares in extent, but there are some 2000 or even 6000 hectares. On each fief there is a manor house (*casamento*), usually in a state of dilapidation. The proprietors generally let the land for a money rent to rich manufacturers, for terms of years varying from three to six, or nine. These leaseholders, who are called *gabellotti* or *arbitranti*, sometimes rent several properties, which they in turn sublet to other tenants. Somewhat primitive methods of cultivation prevail, and a fourfold rotation of fallow, wheat, barley, and pasture, which recalls mediæval systems of agriculture, is commonly observed. The peasants (*villani*) usually contract to plough and sow the lords' fields.

"Turning now to the conditions under which the labouring classes in Sicily live, it appears that as a rule they are still very wretched and degraded. The day labourers are herded together in the towns in cottages, which are mere windowless hovels, where the common room is shared by the pigs and the poultry, and even occasionally by an ass or a mule. They have to go long distances each day to their work, and often, especially when they are engaged by the week, they do not return to their homes in the evening, but sleep in the farmyard in which they are employed, or camp out in the fields. They migrate also from the plains to the mountains, as the different crops ripen in succession. In times of difficulty they have recourse to money-lenders, who exact a high rate of interest from them."

(f) MEXICO.

Agriculture in Mexico is still in a very primitive condition. Provision is made for the sale and occupation of public lands by a law of 1863. From 1877 to 1892, 15,689,631 hectares had been adjudicated for agricultural purposes, under 6093 titles. The Government has introduced into Mexico 1,381,000 vines, 26,000 olive trees, etc. The chief agricultural products are maize, barley, wheat, beans. Other products are coffee, tobacco, cotton, sugar-cane, rice, cocoa, etc. Large numbers of cattle are exported to the United States.

(g) THE NETHERLANDS.

The principal divisions of the area of the Netherlands, according to the statistics of 1888, are as follows (in hectares, 1 hectare = 2.47 acres): cultivated land,

859,844; pasture land, 1,144,066; gardens and orchards, 54,124; forest, 226,068; uncultivated land (heath), 712,523.

The small estates are chiefly found in North Brabant, Guelders, Limburg, and Overysseel, while in South Holland, North Holland, Zealand, and Groningen large estates are more common. In 1891, 57.9 per cent. of all estates was held by the owners and 42.1 by the farmers. The estates in that year were in number as follows:

Above 100 Hectares.	From 75 to 100 Hectares.	From 40 to 75 Hectares.	From 20 to 40 Hectares.	From 10 to 20 Hectares.	From 5 to 10 Hectares.	Under 5 Hectares.
206	441	6,426	18,361	29,775	34,023	77,201

There were in the Netherlands in 1891, 271,900 horses; 1,532,100 cattle, 810,600 sheep, 987,900 swine.

(h) NORWAY.

Of the area of Norway, only 3 per cent. is under cultivation, 22 per cent. is forest, and 75 per cent. is considered unproductive. Most of the land is worked by owners in small holdings. In 1890, 10,478 acres were given to wheat, 122,040 to barley, 234,657 to oats.

(i) ROUMANIA.

The soil of Roumania is one of the most fertile in Europe, and the annual export of wheat, rye, maize, barley, rape-seed, pease, and wine is both large and increasing. The following table shows the chief cereals grown in 1882:

CEREALS.	Hectares of Cultivated Land.	Output in Tons.
Wheat	550,560	895,257
Rye	110,773	110,162
Barley	226,964	366,899
Oats	129,930	282,024
Maize	1,034,755	1,885,020

(m) RUSSIA.

In Russia, in 1892, according to official data, 410,801,867 acres belonged to the State, 373,310,406 to peasants, 294,504,582 to proprietors, and 19,890,835 to the imperial family; 210,058,770, largely belonging to the State, was unfit for culture. *The Statesman's Year Book* gives the following statement as to the Russian village communities. (See RUSSIA.)

The state of the redemption operation among the village communities of liberated serfs is seen from the following accounts up till October 1, 1893. The accounts are shown separately for Russia and the western provinces, where the conditions of redemption were more liberal for the peasants, according to the laws of 1863.

	Russia.	Western Provinces.
Number of male peasants who redeemed the land with State help	6,637,073	2,526,514
Number of acres redeemed	61,544,610	27,905,195
Value of the land, in roubles ...	703,645,091	185,572,593
Average price of the allotment.	106r. 0c.	64r. 50c.
Average size of allotment, in acres	9.4	10.0
Average price of the acre	11r. 40c.	6r. 50c.
Average former debt of the landowner to the State mortgage bank, per allotment	37r. 33c.	26r. 99c.
Average sum paid to the land-lord, per allotment	68r. 67c.	37r. 57c.

Moreover, 102,396 leaseholders redeemed their allotments (1,882,574 acres) for the sum of 21,243,401 roubles,

in South Russia and the western provinces, according to the laws of 1868-88, which recognize private ownership of land.

In 1892 the total land and that held in private ownership was as follows:

NATURE OF LAND.	Total.		In Private Ownership.	
	Acres.	Per cent.	Acres.	Per cent.
Arable.....	287,969,552	26.2	80,063,271	27.3
Orchards, meadow, grazing, etc.	174,958,734	15.9	68,628,269	23.2
Forests, etc.....	425,520,714	38.8	110,697,486	37.6
Unfit for culture, roads, etc.....	210,058,770	19.1	35,115,566	11.9
Total.....	1,098,507,780	100.00	294,504,582	100.00

From 1883 to 1887 in Russia in Europe, exclusive of Poland, an average of 28,882,440 acres were devoted to wheat, 12,442,950 to barley, 34,886,700 to oats, 64,611,810 to rye. In 1888 there were 19,633,340 horses, 24,609,260 horned cattle, 44,465,450 sheep. The North Caucasus is becoming more and more a granary for Russia, and the crops of 1892 in the three provinces of Kuban, Stavropol, and Terék were: Wheat, 7,654,800; rye, 1,185,200; barley, 2,333,000; oats, 2,054,300; various, 1,069,300; total, 15,206,600 quarters; potatoes, 714,600 quarters.

The amount of hay gathered in 1892 attained 30,000,000 tons in European Russia and 335,000 tons in Poland.

(n) SERVIA.

Servia, though yet in a backward state, raised in 1891 wheat valued at £1,780,200; maize, £1,272,900; rye, £388,800; barley, £345,216; oats, £226,592, besides large quantities of cattle, sheep, and pigs.

(o) SPAIN.

The productive area of Spain, reckoned at 70.65 per cent. of the whole, may be classed as follows: 1.6 per cent. olive culture, 3.7 vineyards, 19.7 grass, 20.8 fruits, 33.8 agriculture and gardens. The vine is the most important feature in agriculture, and the area under vines was in 1888, 5,000,000 acres, the total production of wine being 616,000,000 gals. Oranges, grapes, nuts, and olives are raised also in large quantities for export. The leading crops are wheat, rye, barley, maize, hemp, flax, and pulse.

The soil in Spain is greatly subdivided, and this subdivision has much increased of late years. In the year 1800 there were 273,760 proprietors, owning 677,520 farms, and there were 403,760 farmers. Now under the property tax the 3,426,083 assessments may be divided as follows:

Properties paying

From 1 to 10 Reales.	From 10 to 20 Reales.	From 20 to 40 Reales.	From 40 to 100 Reales.	From 100 to 200 Reales.	From 200 to 500 Reales.	From 500 to 10,000 Reales and upward.
624,920	511,666	642,377	788,184	416,546	165,202	279,188

(p) SWEDEN.

Only 8.1 per cent. of the area of Sweden is under cultivation, but the valuable forests cover 44.8 per cent., and the meadows 4.0 per cent. There are 328,646 cultivated farms, which may be classed as follows:

Farms of

2 Hectares and under.	2 to 20 Hectares.	20 to 100 Hectares.	100 Hectares and above.
70,652	210,586	32,280	3,129

In 1892 the value of all the cereal crops of Sweden was about 271,000,000.7 kronor.

In 1891 the area under the principal crops was as follows (in thousands of hectares): Wheat, 71.0; oats, 806.2; rye, 395.9; potatoes, 156.5. The yield of the principal products in 1892 was (in thousands of hectolitres): Oats, 24,472.2; rye, 9,306.1; barley, 5,015.3; wheat, 1,607.0; potatoes, 20,931.0.

In 1891 there were in Sweden 2,420,110 head of cattle, 1,345,337 sheep, 489,045 horses, and 655,373 swine. In 1891, 30,000 cattle and 27,000 sheep were exported.

(q) SWITZERLAND.

The Report on Switzerland to the (English) Royal Commission, affording the most recent information, says:

"The total area of Switzerland is 15,964 square miles, and of this nearly one fourth is unproductive. Of the remainder, 5,378,122 acres are under cultivation; the arable land covers an area of 1,533,093 acres, or 28.5 per cent. of the whole; 31.9 per cent. is meadow land (*Wiesen*), 36.5 per cent. pure pasturage (*Weiden*), vineyards cover 1.6 per cent., and gardens 1.5 per cent. of the total area. The number of persons employed in the various branches of agriculture is 1,168,137, or more than half of the total population. The most important branches of agriculture are cattle-breeding, grass and fodder growing, and the milk and cheese industries, but though these occupations form the chief support of the agricultural population, it is a rare thing to find a peasant family which subsists solely on the produce of the land. Industry and agriculture are very closely connected in Switzerland; 'the peasant when unoccupied by his land easily finds some useful employment in a multiplicity of other labours, varying from tree-felling and wood-carving to the manufacture of watch-springs. The artisan or factory-hand is, on the other hand, generally half a peasant, possessing some few square yards of land, with a cow or a few goats.'

"The Swiss system of land tenure, which is favourable to the formation of small freeholds, also contributes to the prosperity of the agricultural population. By far the greater part of the land is held in farms varying in size from 2 to 5 hectares, and in many industrial districts an innumerable quantity of minute holdings are to be found cultivated by members of the working class. The subdivision of property is in many districts carried to excess. This system is the foe to agricultural enterprise and one of the causes of the constant emigration from the pastoral districts. No Federal land code exists, but each canton possesses the power of framing its own laws relating to the tenure of land. In Aargau, Thurgau, and certain other cantons, therefore, the Government has passed laws fixing the limit to the subdivision of the land at a minimum ranging from 5000 to 20,000 square feet. The question of rent is an unimportant one in Switzerland, as it is rare to find a farm which is not worked by the owners; but owing to the continual subdivision of property the land is in many cases heavily mortgaged.

"The existence of large areas of common land (*Allmend*) in Switzerland is of great benefit to the agricultural classes. These lands are said to be a survival from the times when the whole soil of the country was held by the nation in common. The first departure from this custom was made by the Romans, who granted lands to veteran soldiers; gifts of land to religious foundations—to the Abbey of St. Gall, for example, in the eighth century—did still more to establish the principle of private property; but even as late as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by far the greater part of the soil of Switzerland was held in common. In 1803, under the influence of ideas which found expression in the French Revolution, the common lands were to a great extent sold by the communes to private persons. It was believed that private ownership would lead to better cultivation and to the eventual decrease of poverty, but the result showed that the step had led in most cantons to the increase of pauperism. The common lands now existing include (1) gardens, orchards, and vineyards, situated for the most part in valleys or on hill-sides; (2) pasture lands both in the lowlands and on mountains; (3) forests, where the inhabitants of the commune have the right of gathering firewood; (4) marshes, ponds, peat bogs, and the shores of lakes.

"Where farms are large enough to absorb more labour than the family of the owner can supply, they are cultivated by a staff of permanent labourers, who live with their employer and practically form part of his family. These labourers are engaged for long periods, and the best relations subsist between them and their employers. Day labourers, on the other hand, find themselves

in a very unstable position, as the demand for extra labour is not continuous, but confined to certain seasons of the year, such as the hay harvest. The wages of farm labourers are paid either entirely in cash or partly in cash and partly in food, etc. The money wage varies between 7 and 10 frs. a week, while the cost of maintenance probably amounts to from 90 cents to 1.25 per day. A non-contract labourer, working from 280 to 290 days a year, makes a daily average of from 2 frs. 50 c. to 3 frs. 50 c. The wages of boys and women may be reckoned at about 85 per cent. of the wages earned by adult males. Considerable differences are of course noticeable in different cantons: in Berne the average wages of male labourers are from 260 to 365 frs. a year, but good cowherds and stablemen are not to be had for less than from 400 to 600 frs. or even more. The average wages in Berne, Neuchâtel, and Vaud are 2 frs. 50 c. a day in winter, 3 frs. 50 c. in summer, and about 4 frs. during the harvest. The wages of contract labourers were formerly paid by the year; now, however, monthly or even weekly payments are more general, and the mobility of labour which this change implies does not contribute to the advantage of the farmer.

"The depressed state of agriculture has already caused considerable emigration from the rural districts; in 1866 the agricultural population of Zürich was estimated at 107,000 persons, including women and children; in 1870 this number had sunk to 104,000, and in 1880 further emigration had reduced it to 94,000. This state of things causes much uneasiness, and both the Cantonal and Federal governments have recently been called upon to determine the best means of fostering the agricultural interests of the country. In 1883 a Federal department of agriculture was established, and nearly every canton has framed laws which tend to the advancement of agriculture. During the years 1883-87 the grants made towards this object have been £12,120 per annum."

(r) TURKEY.

Of Turkey it is impossible to get exact statistics. The *Statesman's Year Book* says:

"Land in Turkey is held under four different forms of tenure—viz.: (1) as 'miri,' or Crown lands; (2) as 'vacouf,' or pious foundations; (3) as 'mulikaneh,' or Crown grants, and (4) as 'mülk,' or freehold property. The first description, the 'miri,' or Crown lands, which form the largest portion of the territory of the Sultan, are held direct from the Crown. The Government grants the right to cultivate an unoccupied tract on the payment of certain fees, but continues to exercise the rights of seigniorship over the land in question, as is implied in the condition that if the owner neglects to cultivate it for a period of three years it is forfeited to the Crown. The second form of tenure, the 'vacouf,' was instituted originally to provide for the religion of the State and the education of the people, by the erection of mosques and schools; but this object has been set aside or neglected for several generations, and the 'vacouf' lands have mostly been seized by Government officials. The third class of landed property, the 'mulikaneh,' was granted to the sphis, the old feudal troops, in recompense for the military service required of them, and is hereditary and exempt from tithes. The fourth form of tenure, the 'mülk,' or freehold property, does not exist to a great extent. Some house property in the towns and of the land in the neighbourhood of villages is 'mülk,' which the peasants purchase from time to time from the Government."

"Only a small proportion of arable land is under cultivation, owing principally to the want of roads and means of conveyance, which preclude the possibility of remunerative exportation."

"The system of levying a tithe on all produce leaves no inducement to the farmer to grow more than is required for his own use or in his immediate proximity. The agricultural development of the country is further crippled by custom dues for the exportation of produce from one province to another."

"The system of agriculture is most primitive. The soil for the most part is very fertile; the principal products are tobacco, cereals of all kinds, cotton, figs, nuts, almonds, grapes, olives, all varieties of fruits. Coffee, madder, opium, gums are largely exported. It is estimated that 44,000,000 acres of the empire in Europe and Asia are under cultivation. Since the ravages produced by the phylloxera in France, Turkish wines have been largely exported to that country; 20,308,521 litres in 1887-88, at an average cost of 31 francs the hectolitre. The forest laws of the empire are based on those of France, but restrictive regulations are not enforced, and the country is being rapidly

deprived of its timber. About 21,000,000 acres are under forest, of which 3,500,000 acres are in European Turkey. The culture of silkworms, which had fallen off considerably, owing to disease among the worms, is again becoming an important feature. The value of cocoons produced in 1892 was over £800,000, and of raw silk £1,200,000. The produce of 1893 was 20 per cent. superior. Most of the silk produced is exported, but some is used in the manufacturing of native dress material."

III. The Economics of Agriculture.

The importance of the part played in the social and industrial life of man by agriculture and by the persons actively engaged in or directly dependent upon agricultural employments it would be hard to overestimate. In the United States 44 per cent. of the population employed in gainful occupations are engaged in agriculture directly. Since 1820 the proportion of agricultural exports from the United States, compared with all its other exports, is as 78 to 22.

But this shows only its direct influence. Indirectly it influences all occupations. If 44 per cent. of our population are prosperous, it must affect the remaining 56 per cent. On the other hand, let the 44 per cent. engaged in agriculture be in distress, and it must affect every other class. This is not only because every man and woman and child in the country must consume the products of agriculture, but because the size of the farm population makes it the one great market for almost all manufactured articles which relate to the necessities of life, and because the agricultural element affects our politics and furnishes the great bulk of our materials of commerce. In every way it would be hard to overestimate the importance of this greatest industry of the world. It was not until the tribes of the world first commenced agriculture, and so gave up their nomadic habits and settled down in fixed homes, that civilization can be said to have really commenced. On the other hand, there is probably no occupation so affected by the varying social and political conditions of man as agriculture, because no occupation so depends for its life on settled habits, peaceful life, and general prosperity. Let war break out, and commerce and manufacture seem often aided; agriculture, however, suffers; men eat as much in time of peace as in war, and there are more to eat. Again, agricultural communities widely scattered over large areas are affected by politics and legislation, but are not so easily able to affect legislation.

As to what is needed for proper agricultural conditions political economists are still somewhat disagreed, tho the teaching of facts is now bringing the various schools somewhat together. Early political economy, especially among the Romans, had much to say about agriculture. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

**Early
Economic
Ideas.**

Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Pliny, Varro, and Colomella treat agriculture in a half patronizing, half *dilettante* way, but yet give some good suggestions and teach the importance of all men having something to do with agriculture, and recommend small farms and free labor. It is a sad comment on their lack of earnestness that Rome fell largely on account of its large farms, tilled by slave labor.

The middle ages were too stormy to develop

much thought on agricultural lines, tho many of the monasteries and some of the noblest and greatest monks and bishops gave good examples of Christian cooperation and community life in the tilling of fields with their own hands and for the common good. (See MIDDLE AGES.)

But it is the school of the physiocrats (*q.v.*) in France, headed by Quesnay and Gournay, who have put the most importance upon agricultural production. With them

Physiocrats. agriculture (including mining, as, in a sense, the cultivation of the soil) is strictly the only industry that produces wealth. Commerce and manufacture, they held, only change the form and place of wealth. All taxes, therefore, they taught should be placed on land; hence they are the true progenitors of the single tax. Their doctrine, too, fell in with the tendency to revert to nature and simplicity, as taught by Rousseau and his "natural" school. Adam Smith brought thought back to more balanced views; but the rising industrialism, developed by the invention of machinery and steam power, drew men away from agriculture. There was a rush into industry, and agriculture was neglected. The land, in England especially, fell into the ownership of great land-owners, who leased their farms out, usually to tenants at will, and left the agricultural laborer somewhat more poorly paid and less cared for than the slave. Slaves cost money; laborers could be had for the asking. The chain-gang and the lash were common sights on English fields, and the homes of the English laborers were more rotten than slave pens. (See ARCH; KINGSLEY.) The more balanced views of Adam Smith were forgotten in carrying out his principle into the doctrinaire position of Ricardo and the orthodox school. Malthus' conclusions as to the law of population, that it was necessary that the poor perish, stilled England's conscience. To buy in the cheapest and to sell in the dearest market was considered a law of God. Labor was a commodity that must obey this "natural" law. The repeal of the Corn Laws marked an epoch in the development of agriculture and in the world.

Mill is the first writer to treat the agricultural question from both a moral and an economic basis, yet, in his economic teachings, as contrasted with his socialistic philosophizings, he scarcely departs from the orthodox position.

He compares the English system of large farms owned by lords (*la grande culture*) with the French, Flemish, and Rhenish systems of peasant proprietorship, or small farms owned and operated by peasants, and draws a strong argument in favor of the latter, saying, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." He shows also that small farms owned by their operators increase production, because more labor and more fertilizing are expended upon each farm than would be on the same land less divided. Following Mill, economic writers have taken one side or other of this question, either favoring *la grande culture* or peasant proprietorship, but, until very recently, for the most part conforming to the view

of Mill. *Metayage* (see METAYER), or the system of the peasant leasing and operating a farm on the condition of giving the landlord half of the produce—a system prevailing mainly in Italy and other southern European countries—has had some advocates, but not many.

Facts, however, are leading many minds today in another direction. It is being found that small farming does not pay. Mr. D. A. Wells says "that the only possible future for agriculture, "**La Grande Culture.**" prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities, both in the United States and Europe" (*Recent Economic Changes*, p. 460).

Mr. Wells adds in a note :

"An American practical farmer, the owner and manager of 7000 acres (Mr. H. H.—, of Nebraska), to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information, communicates the following additional review of this subject from the American (Western) standpoint: 'The average Western farm is now recklessly managed, but capital will come in greater volume and set up processes which will displace these wasteful methods. The revolution is certain, even if the exact steps cannot now be precisely indicated. At present the hay, and much of the grain, and nearly all of the tools and implements are unsheltered; and more than 50 per cent. of the hay is ruined for a like reason, while the animals themselves (I do not mean now on the wild-stock ranges, but even on the trans-Missouri farms) have no roof over their heads, except the canopy of heaven, with the mercury going occasionally 20° and even 30° below zero. These wasteful methods in farming are in part promoted by the United States Homestead law and the occupation of the hitherto inexhaustible expanse of cheap lands. When the ignorant, degraded, and impecunious can no longer acquire 160 acres upon which to employ their barbarous methods, and when the land already taken up shall have risen from the low prices at which it now stands to \$50 or more per acre, a new dispensation will arrive. Neither the cattle nor the food which the cattle consume will then be raised by any such methods as now prevail; neither will they be exposed to the elements in winter. True enough, the opening up of other virgin fields in Australia, South America, Africa, and elsewhere may retard this rise in the value of the land in the western part of our continent, and thus to a certain extent delay the passing of the land exclusively into the hands of larger capitalists and better managers; but it must be considered that not all climates are suitable for energetic, capable farming populations, and likewise that the best forage plants are restricted to temperate latitudes.'"

Already the process of displacing the small farms by large farms, operated by capitalistic labor, is far along in the United States. (See ART; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; MORTGAGES.) Says a writer in the *Fabian Essays* :

"Even agriculture, that one occupation in which old-fashioned individualism might be supposed safe, is being subjected to capitalism. The huge farms of Dakota and California, containing single fields of wheat miles long, are largely owned **Capitalism.** by joint stock corporations and cultivated exclusively by machinery. These huge farms, combined with the wheat 'corners' in New York and Chicago and the great railway corporations of America, have played havoc with many of the small farmers of the Mississippi valley, as the statistics respecting mortgaged farms will show. And when it is

remembered that the American farmer will be more and more obliged to meet the growing competition of the wheat of India, produced by the cheapest labor in the world, his prospect does not appear to be very bright."

Says Mr. Wells (*Recent Economic Changes*, p. 99):

"The following statements have recently been made in California, on what is claimed to be good authority (*Overland Monthly*), of the comparative cost of growing wheat in that State on ranches, or farms of different sizes. On ranches of 1000 acres the average cost is reported at 92½ cents per 100 lbs.; on 2000 acres, 85 cents; on 6000 acres, 75 cents; on 15,000 acres, 60 cents; on 30,000 acres, 50 cents; and on 50,000 acres, 40 cents. Accepting these estimates as correct, it follows that the inducements to grow wheat in California by agriculturists with limited capital and on a small scale are anything but encouraging."

It seems clear that the future will demand large farms carried on with the best machinery. Therefore many, fearing the development of "capitalistic" farming, advocate associated or cooperative farming on a large scale.

The idea is not a new one. In a sense it is as old as the beginnings of society. The primitive

form of land-holding and land-tilling was probably not communal, as

Cooperation. asserted by De Laveleye in his

Primitive Property, but rather paternal or patriarchal, and often

tyrannical—that is, the land was held by one chief or lord, and tilled for him by his vassals,

slaves, subjects, or whatever the relation may have been; nevertheless, it was associated agriculture, altho not democratic. Remnants of

this still appear in the Russian *mir*, the Javan *dessa*, the German *mark*, and in several communities like the *faults*, *Guitiards*, and *Gariotts* in Nivernais and Auvergne, and among the *massari* of Northern Italy. Recent experiments

in cooperative farming, like those of Mr. Guerdon, at Assington, in Suffolk, England, or the communal farming of the Shakers and other communities, especially that at Amaná, with its

25,000 acres, and property of over \$1,000,000 (see AMANA), show what can be done. For a full presentation, however, of cooperative farming, we must refer the reader to the article COOPERATIVE FARMS.

There are others who hold that the only way out is not through cooperative agriculture, but through agriculture under social-

ism. They argue that against capitalistic agriculture, with its great

Agriculture wealth and often with its secret

under "pull" upon the railroads, agricultural cooperators cannot succeed.

Socialism. The condition of the farmers, they say (see FARMERS' MOVEMENT), is for many of them too unfavorable to allow them to successfully cooperate. The only way out, they assert, is through the cooperation of the whole community, so as to do away with all competition. Till all industrial competition is removed, they argue that farmers cannot prosper. Perhaps the best brief presentation of agriculture under socialism is that of Mrs. Annie Besant, who says in the *Fabian Essays*:

"Then can begin the rural organization of labor on county farms, held by the County Councils. The Council will have its agricultural committee, charged with the administrative details; and this committee will choose well-trained, practical agriculturists as directors of the farm business. To the County Farm will be drafted from the unemployed in the towns the agricultural laborers who have wandered towardward in search of work, and many of the unskilled laborers. On these farms every advantage of machinery and every discovery in agricultural science should be utilized to the utmost. The crops should be carefully chosen with reference to soil and aspect—cereals, fruit, vegetables—and the culture adapted to the crop, the one aim being to obtain the largest amount of produce with the least expenditure of human labor.

"To these farms must also be sent some skilled laborers from among the unemployed—shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, etc.; so that the County Farm may be self-supporting as far as it can be without waste of productive power. All the small industries necessary in daily life should be carried on in it, and an industrial commune thus built up. The democracy might be trusted to ordain that an eight hours' day and a comfortable home should be part of the life-conditions on the County Farm. Probably each large farm would soon have its central store, with its adjacent railway station, in addition to the ordinary farm buildings; its public hall in the centre of the farm village to be used for lectures, concerts, and entertainments of all sorts; its public schools, elementary and technical; and soon, possibly from the outset, its public meal-room, saving time and trouble to housewives, and, while economizing fuel and food, giving a far greater choice and variety of dishes." (See SOCIALISM, *pro and con*.)

Still others hold that the only relief for agriculture lies in the adoption of the single tax.

Farmers to-day, it is asserted, are taxed indirectly on all they purchase, while the land is often of such little value that a tax equal to the full rental value would be a less tax than what directly or indirectly the farmer pays now, while the freeing of industry from its taxation and the concentration of all taxes on land would send such prosperity through the community as to give the farmers a ready market for abundant crops. (See SINGLE TAX, *pro and con*.)

The
Single
Tax.

Reference: *Primitive Property*, by Émile de Laveleye, translated by G. R. L. Marriott (London, 1878); *Rural Economy of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by Leonce de Laveygne, translated with notes by a Scotch farmer (Edinburgh, 1835); *Farmers' Tour through the East of England, Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales, Tour in Ireland, Travels in France*, all by Arthur Young (1741-1820); *History of Agriculture and Prices* (6 vols.), by J. E. Thorold Rogers; *Work and Wages* (1 vol.), by the same author; also the same condensed and with charts, by W. D. P. Bliss; *The English Village Community*, by F. Seebohm (1880); *Early History of Institutions*, by Sir H. J. S. Maine; *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, by R. T. Prothero; Reports of the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States; *American Farms: Their Condition and Future*, by J. R. Elliot; *Land and Labor in the United States*, by W. G. Moody. (See also FARMERS' MOVEMENT; COOPERATIVE FARMS; LAND, etc.)

ALBRECHT, an early German communist and so-called "prophet," who with Weitling (*g.v.*) spread through Germany the gospel of communism. Imprisoned for his utterances six years, he had as his only reading the Bible, and left the prison and escaped to Switzerland in 1841, thenceforward to devote himself to preaching, often in Old Testament prophetic language, the gospel of Bible communism. He wrote numerous tracts, among others: *Die Wiederherstellung des Reiches Zion* (*The Restoration of the Kingdom of Zion*); *Das baldige Wiedersehen am Alter der Frei-*

heit ; Herausforderung der Priesterwelt, etc.

ALDEN, PERCY. See UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS.

ALIENS, AND ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—I. Alien. A person born in or belonging to another country who has not acquired citizenship. In the United States and England children born and remaining within the country, tho born of alien parents, are generally considered citizens ; and the children of citizens or subjects, tho born in other countries, are deemed natural-born citizens.

II. Alien and Seditious Laws were laws adopted by the United States Government in 1798, during a controversy with France. The second and most famous of them (1 Stat. 570) conferred power on the President to order out of the country such aliens as he might judge dangerous to its peace. It expired by limitation in two years, tho at the time the subject created such excitement as to lead to the overthrow of the Federal Party.

ALLAN, WILLIAM, born of Scotch parents in Ulster, Ireland, in 1813, died in 1874. Upon his father's removing to Glasgow, William became a piecer in a cotton factory there, and later was apprenticed to an engineering firm in that city. In 1835 he began working as a journeyman engineer at Liverpool. He became the general secretary of his union in 1847, and retained this office even after the society was merged in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, being annually elected secretary for more than 20 years. William Allan was the originator of the "new unionism" of his time. He was remarkable for executive ability, and built up out of the fragments of organization in the engineering trade a great national society.

ALMSHOUSE.—A house appropriated for the use of the poor who are supported by the public or by a revenue derived from private endowments—a poorhouse. In the United States almshouses and poorhouses are synonymous, meaning only houses for the common residence of the publicly supported paupers of a town or county. In Great Britain almshouses are generally a number of small dwellings built together, supported by private endowment, for the use of respectable persons reduced to poverty, buildings for public paupers being called workhouses or poorhouses. The following is abridged from the chapter on *The Almshouse and its Inmates in American Charities* (1895), by A. G. Warner, Ph.D.

In 1880 there were 66,203 inmates of almshouses in the United States, or one almshouse pauper to 758 inhabitants ; in 1890 there were 73,025 almshouse inmates, or one to 857 inhabitants.* The decrease in proportion to population does not indicate a general diminution of pauperism, but merely that a historical development, already in progress, has been continued. When the work of relief is first begun by the newly formed political units of an American settlement, it is usual to board out such dependents as must be supported entirely. Farmers or others are paid to

care for old people, for imbeciles, and even for sick persons who have no homes of their own. Chiefly with a view to providing a place for the better care of the dependent sick, especially incurable cases, and also to economy, a public almshouse is established. During the first stage of its development it acts as the charitable catch-all for the community. Idiots, epileptics, incurables, incompetents, the aged, abandoned children, foundlings, women for confinement, and a considerable number of the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb are all dumped together into some old farmhouse that has been bought by the authorities, and put to this use.

In some populous cities the almshouses are still hardly more than enlarged specimens of this same type.

The next step is differentiation, removing first the deaf, dumb, and blind to special institutions. Next the insane are placed by themselves. It was early seen that a sure way to train up paupers was to rear children in almshouses. There was consequently much agitation and some **Inmates.** legislation to get children out of the almshouses, either into special institutions, public or private, or into suitable homes.

This differentiation of charitable work has left the old, the infirm, the decrepit, and the chronic invalids and paupers for the almshouse of the present time. A comparison of the figures of the Tenth Census with those of the Eleventh will show this change in progress, and indicate how far it has gone. The average age of almshouse paupers in 1880 was 45.1 years. In 1890 it was 51.03. The average age is lowest in the South Atlantic and the South Central divisions, where differentiation is least advanced, and highest in the Western division, where, as a rule, it is most advanced. In the far West one half of all the almshouse paupers are between 60 and 80 years of age.

Probably the completest picture of an American almshouse population ever presented was that set forth, statistically and otherwise, by the New York State Board of Charities in response to a legislative resolution passed in May, 1873. Regarding the 12,614 inmates, 422 were born in the almshouses, and 1650 were admitted when less than 10 years old. At the time of examination, nearly 13 per cent. were under 10 years of age, and almost exactly the same proportion was over 70. From the body of the report it is learned that 385 of the inmates had been in the almshouses less than one year, while 38 persons had been inmates more than 40 years. The average time of previous dependence for all inmates amounted to 4.88 years, not including time when they had been public charges in other institutions or as out-door paupers. This gives a total of 61,595 years of almshouse care for the benefit of the persons examined. Estimating the number of temperate and intemperate persons from those whose habits were ascertained, it was concluded that 84.36 per cent. of the males and 47.97 of the females over 16 years of age were intemperate. Among the insane the percentages were 79.21 and 21.44 respectively. Of the parents of the insane, reckoning, however, from a much smaller basis of exact information, it was estimated that 45.59 per cent. of the fathers and 17.72 per cent. of the mothers were intemperate. As to the prospects of the inmates some day becoming independent the following conclusions, based on a very careful study of each case, were reached :

	Number.	Percentage.
Permanently dependent.....	8,145	64.57
Will probably recover	1,116	8.85
May recover under proper training.....	1,379	10.93
Future doubtful.....	1,974	15.65

"In all the poorhouses were found at the time of examination more or less inmates whose ancestors were paupers, and who also had living or dead, other near pauper relatives. The information upon this subject was obtained with considerable fulness in the rural counties, where the history of pauper families was generally well known to the officers and others assisting in the examination. In the cities, however, but little could be learned bearing upon the subject."

The report further says that the popular impression that the almshouses of the State give shelter to persons who, through misfortune in business or otherwise, have fallen from high estate, is not borne out by the facts. But **Abuses.** few of the inmates had ever owned property to any extent. With few exceptions the mass of inmates owe their presence there to early idle and shiftless habits. In San Francisco, the jail, the hospital, and the almshouse is each, in turn, the resort of the typical inmate. They come to the lat-

* Bulletin, Eleventh Census, No. 90, p. 3.

ter to recuperate so long as any vitality remains, and finally return there to die, when completely wrecked by dissipation and irregular living. The women are much completer wrecks than the men, because prostitution gives the idle and vicious an alternative career until the last.

The disgrace that attaches to almshouse relief will not be lifted until differentiation has been carried a step farther, and there is some classification of inmates on the basis of character as disclosed in individual and family history. Reformatory institutions to which habitual drunkards, prostitutes, and other misdeameanants can be sent, and in which they must remain until reformation or death supervenes, would relieve the almshouse of many inmates, and the worthy poor of a very considerable portion of the disgrace which attaches to going there.

Among almshouse abuses may be enumerated dishonest or wasteful management of the funds; culpable stinginess on the part of the appropriating power, resulting in inadequate or unhealthful food, lack of proper buildings, heating apparatus, clothing, and so forth; insanitary conditions, including dirt and vermin; and finally, actual cruelty, resulting from either brutality or neglect on the part of the officials in charge. Few understand how easy it is for an official in charge of the utterly helpless to do cruel things without intentional cruelty. In the rural districts especially abuses are apt to arise because so few persons concern themselves with the institution. The superintendent has dreary work, small pay, and practically no general recognition of his services, whether they be good or bad. A sensitive, high-minded, ambitious man is not likely to apply for or accept such a place. The incumbent is, therefore, almost of necessity a tolerably stolid, unsympathetic person, and one who has not been very successful in other lines. The officials under whom he works send to him a miscellaneous assortment of the diseased, defective, and incapable, but do not give him the proper facilities for providing for these various classes. They cut his appropriations to the lowest possible point, and he fears that any vigorous protest would lose him the place. He therefore concludes that he may as well get along as best he can, since to object would only bring some more docile man into his place. On the other hand, most of the inmates with whom he has to deal are bad-tempered, unreasonable, and inveterately querulous. They would complain no matter what might be done for them; and he gradually acts on the unrecognized impression that it does not matter what is done for them—that anything is good enough for them. He becomes brutal unconsciously, and almost in self-defence. After a few years he does, without question, things that would have seemed absolutely awful to him when he first entered on his duties. There are also evils resulting from our American administration of almshouses even under competent officials. The first of these is the already referred to lack of classification: 1. The separation of the sexes. In small institutions their constant and complete separation involves practical difficulties, and occasionally a hideous condition of affairs is brought to light. 2. Classification by color, resulting in almost duplicate institutions. 3. Isolation of defectives. It is partly because this separation is so frequently out of the question that they ought not to be here huddled together. 4. Special provision for the sick. From one tenth to one half the inmates are often practically bedridden. A special ward for syphilitics is often necessary, even in small institutions. 5. Classification by age. This is especially necessary where there are children, but is usually not practised.

The second great evil which springs not from the character of the officials, but from the nature of our almshouse organization, is laxness regarding admission and discharge of inmates. Since every person is entitled to be saved from starvation and death from exposure, and as that is nearly all that the almshouse does for its beneficiaries, any one that will to claim its shelter can have it. On the other hand, as it is not a penal institution, and as it is to the interest of no one to have persons stay there who can support themselves outside, an inmate wishing to discharge himself is allowed to do so.

The results of this apparently defensible practice are thoroughly bad. Of the abuses to which it gives rise we may mention as first and least the support by the county of persons having pensions or property, or relatives able to support them. Secondly, it turns the almshouse into a temporary winter resort for tramps, or places where drunkards and prostitutes can recuperate between debauches.

The final and worst result of permitting the destitute to admit and discharge themselves at will is that it enables the dissolute and degenerate to have offspring "after their kind." The results are most manifest in the cases of feeble-minded women.

A third very prevalent evil in the management of American almshouses is lack of a work-test, and a failure to enforce proper discipline among the inmates.

In small rural communities an almshouse is sometimes self-supporting. This usually means that the county or town owns a farm of moderate size, and that a thoroughly good farmer has been employed as superintendent. As a rule, not more than 20 per cent. of the expenses of an almshouse can be defrayed by the work of the inmates. (See FAUPERISM; DEGENERATION; JUKES; PRISONS; CHARITY ORGANIZATION; TRAMPS, etc.)

Reference: The one complete book on the subject is *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner, Ph.D., from which our statement is abridged; see also reports, etc., especially the *Tenth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities*.

ALTGELD, JOHN P., Governor of Illinois (1895), was born in Prussia in 1848, and when a boy emigrated to the United States with his parents. His father settled on a farm near Mansfield, O. When the farm work was not pressing he attended the district school, but at the age of 16 enlisted in Company C, One Hundred and Sixty-third Ohio Infantry, and participated in the closing campaign of the Civil War. Returning home, he spent the next few years in teaching, studying, and working as a farm hand. Then he went to St. Louis, where he read law in a desultory way, and subsequently continued this in a law office at Savannah, Mo. His industry and faculty for getting to the heart of a subject soon brought him clients and prosperity. In 1874 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Andrew County, but in October of the succeeding year he resigned this office and removed to Chicago. Here he took little interest in politics for several years, but in 1884 accepted a nomination for Congress in an overwhelming Republican district, and was defeated, tho by a much reduced Republican majority. In 1886, without his solicitation, he was nominated for Superior Judge of Cook County, which at that time gave a Republican majority of about 12,000. He hesitated some time, but finally accepted, and his canvass and organization was so thorough that, notwithstanding defections from the Democratic Party and quarrels within its ranks, he was elected by a large majority, the laboring men being especially active in his interests. He was on the bench nearly five years, being Chief Justice of the Superior Court for one year. A multiplicity of private interests compelled him to resign this position in August, 1891. He has become quite wealthy, principally by the buying and selling of real estate in Chicago and investments in street railways. He designed and built a number of the finest business blocks in Chicago. He was nominated for Governor of Illinois on the first ballot in the Democratic convention of 1892, and made two efficient canvasses of the State—a preliminary one, in which he visited every county to ascertain its political condition and give instructions for organization, and another to address the people on the issues of the day. He was triumphantly elected, to the surprise of even his own party. For over 30 years Illinois had been considered safe for 25,000 to 50,000 Republican plurality. As a business man, he applies business principles to the dis-

charge of his official duties. He has recently gained the hostility of many of the wealthy classes through his pardoning, on June, 1893, of the so-called "Chicago anarchists," Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab. Governor Altgeld's ground for doing this was his belief that their trial had not been a fair one. (For a full account of Governor Altgeld's position in the matter, see CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.) Whether right or wrong, there is no question among those who know him that Governor Altgeld has acted in this matter from conscientious principles and contrary to his political interests. In the great Pullman strike of 1894 he publicly addressed President Cleveland, protesting against the Presidential policy of sending United States troops to keep the peace in Illinois when not requested to do so by the Governor, he believing that Illinois was abundantly able to protect its own citizens, and asserting that such action on the part of the Federal Government overrode the Constitution, and set up what might easily lead to a military absolutism. Governor Altgeld has written a book on penal machinery, pamphlets in favor of the 8-hour movement and similar problems, and a volume entitled *Live Questions* (1892).

ALTRUISM.—A term used in sociology and philosophy to denote the benevolent instincts and emotions in general, or action prompted by them; and more specifically used of that theory of life which would make the living for others the central thought of life and the essence of religion. It was first employed by Comte, but has passed into general use. Herbert Spencer says: "If we define *altruism* as being all action, which, in the normal course of things, benefits others instead of benefiting self, then from the dawn of life altruism has been no less essential than egoism." (See also INDIVIDUALISM and SOCIALISM.)

ALTRUIST COMMUNITY.—The Altruist Community was first organized in 1868, and established and incorporated as a benevolent society in Jasper County, Mo., where it remained about five years, having there 160 acres of land on payments, and an average membership of from 10 to 20 members. Not being able to complete its payments, its members were scattered for a time, until another place of 500 acres was bought on 10 years' time, in Dallas County, Mo., where it again had from 10 to 30 members, and again lost its place at the end of the 10 years. Still another place was found and paid for, of 120 acres, in Bollinger County, Mo., where it had from six to 12 members, and continued until 1887. This place was lost by a mortgage given to raise money to return investments of withdrawing members. In each place it had a different name, the first being the Reunion Community, the second the Friendship Community, and the third the Mutual Aid Community.

Since 1887 it has borne the name the Altruist Community, and has been located at 901 Olive Street, St. Louis, Mo., having at three different times six to eight adult members, both men and women, and a few children—there being one or two families and the others single persons. In 1894 still another place was offered in Arkansas, and the members accepted there with those

in the city numbered 10 in all, with about 12 more expected to come; but the place was found to be encumbered, and operations discontinued, which has left its members scattered and uncertain until sufficient means can be obtained to buy a place with permanent investments near St. Louis.

In the mean time the president of the community still holds the organization intact and (1895) publishes its monthly paper, *The Altruist*, and a book of 424 pages, containing a full exposition of its principles and organization. The community owns its own printing material and does all its own printing. It designs to continue its operations hereafter both in St. Louis and in the country near by.

AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.—This association was organized August 3, 1876, by representatives of previous organizations in the iron and steel industry—*viz.*, the Iron and Steel Roll Hands; the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers and Roughers; the United Sons of Vulcan, and the Nailers' Association. Of these there were respectively in the organizing convention 6, 15, 46, and 1. The first president and secretary was Joseph Bishop, with a salary of \$1500 for the first year, proving a most fortunate selection. The object of the association was set forth in a preamble closing with these words:

"We ask, is it charitable, is it humane, is it honest to take from the laborer, who is already fed, clothed, and lodged too poorly, a portion of his food and raiment, and deprive his family of the necessaries of life—by the common resort—a reduction of his wages? It must not be so. To rescue our trades from the condition into which they have fallen, and raise ourselves to that condition in society to which we, as mechanics, are justly entitled, and to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to secure us from further encroachments, and to elevate the moral, social, and intellectual condition of every iron and steel worker in the country, is the object of our national association, and to the consummation of so desirable an object we, the delegates in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to unceasing effort."

Sec. 2 of the constitution stated that the objects of this association shall be to obtain by conciliation, or by other means that are fair and legal, a fair remuneration to the members for their labor; and to afford mutual protection to members against broken contracts, obnoxious rules, unlawful discharge, or other systems of injustice or oppression. The convention decided against arbitration by a majority of 50, because they preferred boards of conciliation (*q. v.*), but took strong ground against resort to strikes, if they could be possibly averted.

The first year was one of great success, and the convention that met in Columbus in 1877 was one of the best ever held in this country by workers in this trade. The next year was one of great depression in the trade. Prices kept going lower to October, 1878. Strikes began to multiply. These were not only against lowered wages, but against the "con-

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tract system," whereby a company kept back the first four weeks' wages and also 25 per cent. of the wages after that to the end of the year, then to be paid to the men, if profits would "justify such payment." As these were found, in the opinion of the company, rarely to do so, it naturally produced great opposition. The association has always been in favor of a high protective tariff, and did much up to this year to induce Congress to increase the duty on tin and tin-plate, to prevent old rails being admitted under existent duties, and to defeat the Wood tariff bill. In 1879 the trade began to revive and strikes to cease. The president's salary was reduced to \$1000, and he resigned, saying that if the men's wages had been reduced 33 1/2 per cent., they would all strike. John Jarrett was elected president January, 1880. The association grew rapidly; 43 new lodges were organized before August. The boom in the trade, however, soon ended. In four weeks, commencing April 8, prices fell from the highest point reached in the boom to the lowest—about 50 per cent. Strikes became prevalent, the majority ending in the defeat of the men, especially in the East. The West was more successful. The convention that met in Pittsburg August, 1880, was the largest yet held—192 delegates and officers being present. The next year was one of great trial. Strikes grew larger, ending in a general strike, which was totally defeated.

At the Cleveland convention in 1881 Canada was added to the jurisdiction of the national lodge, and colored men were made eligible to membership. This year the association was represented at the convention of the Federation of Labor in Pittsburg, but not after this, because of the striking out by the federation from its platform of resolution 11, which favored protection. The year 1882 was a critical one. Many strikes took place, including an important one at Homestead, which was practically successful. Severe jealousies broke out between the boilers and finishers. In December, 1882, the Bessemer steel-rail manufacturers proposed a cut in wages of 20 per cent., which the president, Mr. Jarrett, advised the members to accept. They refused, and the manufacturers made a cut of 33 1/2 per cent. The men struck, but after months were compelled to accept the 33 1/2 cut. In August, 1883, Mr. Jarrett resigned the presidency, to the universal regret, and William Weihe was elected. The next year was one of decadence. In 1885 the nailers withdrew from the association, but in 1886 rejoined it. In June, 1885, the association agreed to a reduction of 10 per cent. in all departments except that of the sheet mills. For the next three years strikes were few, and there are few events to be chronicled up to the great Homestead strike, which began on June 30, 1892. On account of the importance of this, we consider it in an article by itself. (See HOMESTEAD.)

The association is not a beneficial order. In case of disabled members, voluntary subscriptions are taken up, and sums of \$1000 to nearly \$3000 have been raised in this way. *The National Labor Tribune* has long been their organ. The Amalgamated Association has never advocated arbitration as a means of settling disputes or regulating wages. It is somewhat singular, too, to observe that though a strong sentiment in favor

of arbitration existed among the iron and steel workers up to the period of the organization of the Amalgamated Association, since then it has steadily been growing weaker, until at the present time the feeling is one of strong opposition. The association is, however, heartily in favor of conciliation. By conciliation is meant the right to settle or prevent labor differences by conferences between the parties interested, or their authorized representatives, these conferences having no power to reach a decision save as the result of mutual agreement. Arbitration provides for a third party. The association maintains that arbitration does not and cannot protect the workmen; because, in the first place, there is no fixed point that can be considered as fair profits to the employer; and secondly, no provision is made to fix a minimum of wages or prices, and consequently under free competition wages may go to the lowest point. As an illustration of this they point to the operation of arbitration among the iron-workers of the north of England, where prices of iron have become so low as to leave the wages of the workmen so meager that respectable living is out of the question. Under arbitration in England, the price of puddling is reduced to 6s. and 3d., or \$1.50 per ton, with the possibility that it may be yet further reduced; when with conciliation, in this country, the price of puddling is \$5 per ton, which is the minimum, based on a two cents manufacturers' card.

Conciliation Preferred to Arbitration.

The iron and steel workers have always preferred conciliation. The appointment of conference committees representing each side dates from January, 1865. The result of this—the first meeting of what many term the Conciliation Board—was the adoption of the following scale of prices:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT,

made this 13th day of February, 1865, between a committee of boilers and a committee from the iron manufacturers, appointed to fix a scale of prices to be paid for boiling pig iron, based on the manufacturers' card of prices, it being understood either party shall have the right and privilege to terminate this agreement by giving 90 days' notice to the other party, and that there shall be no deviation without such notice. When the manufacturers' card of prices is at the rate named below, the price for boiling shall be at the prices opposite, per ton of 2240 lbs.:

<i>Manufacturers.</i>	<i>Boilers.</i>
8 1/2 cents per lb.....	\$9.00
8 1/4 " " ".....	8-75
8 " " ".....	8-50
7 3/4 " " ".....	8-25
7 1/2 and 7 1/4 cents per lb.....	8.00
7 " 6 1/2 " " ".....	7-50
6 1/2 " 6 1/4 " " ".....	7.00
6 " 5 1/2 " " ".....	6-50
5 1/2 " 5 1/4 " " ".....	6.00
5 " 4 1/2 " " ".....	5-75
4 1/2 " 4 1/4 " " ".....	5-50
4 " 3 3/4 " " ".....	5.00
3 1/2 " 3 1/2 " " ".....	4-75
3 " 2 3/4 " " ".....	4-50
2 1/2 cents per lb.....	4.00

This was the adoption of the famous sliding scale of prices. It was hailed by all as an era of peace; but, as subsequent events showed, they were disappointed. Iron declined from 7 1/2 cents in February to 4 cents in July; and, as a consequence, the price for puddling declined in the proportion stipulated by the scale. Impressed with the belief that the basis of the scale was too low, the puddlers gave the required 90 days' notice in the summer of that year to terminate the agreement. At the expiration of the notice the price of iron had advanced slightly, giving the puddlers \$6.00 per ton, whereupon they demanded and received \$2.00 per ton of an advance, making the price \$8.00 per ton. The latter figure prevailed as the price for puddling from October, 1865, to October, 1866, when the puddlers, believing that the price of iron justified their action, demanded an advance of \$1.00 per ton, which was, with considerable reluctance, conceded by the manufacturers. About two months later the manufacturers gave evidence of an unwillingness to continue paying the prices, and finally served notice of a reduction of \$2.00 per ton. This the workmen promptly rejected, when a general lockout resulted in all the Pittsburg and adjacent mills. The lockout lasted from December, 1886, to May, 1867, when the employees gave in. And so it has gone with varying changes and conflicts and successes and failures, according to the history given above.

June 25, 1886, an agreement was entered into between the committee of the Manufacturers' Association and a committee of the Amalgamated Association. This scale of prices covers every possible detail of boiling, muck or puddle mill, bar and nail-plate mill, guide, 10-inch, hoop and cotton-tie mills, with its different departments of nut iron, channel iron, "T" iron, angles, clip, or wagon strap, hame iron, 10-inch mill, and hoop and cotton-tie mills; also plate and tank mills, sheet mills, Birmingham wire-gauge, and nail-cutting.

Notwithstanding the action in deciding not to affiliate with the Federation of Trades, the iron and steel workers are in hearty accord with all the great questions of the day, as advocated in the platform of the Federation, and the declaration of principles of the Knights of Labor. They are especially in favor of the compulsory education of children, and forbidding the employment of children under 15 years of age, and the reservation of the land for actual settlers. The only essential point of difference is on that of arbitration. The association attaches much importance to the question of temperance. It regards intemperance as a prolific source from which spring many of the evils which the workingman has to endure. Great care has always been taken to impress upon the minds of the members the necessity of properly husbanding their resources. It is not only necessary that the workmen should receive good wages, but also necessary that they judiciously spend them. In brief, the sole aim of the association is the social, moral, mental, and financial improvement of its members.

Among trade-unions the association has been marked for its reliance upon and support of protection. It has been thus, while one of the largest and wealthiest, one of the most conservative, and in many ways

the most progressive of trade-unions—a fact all the more noteworthy, considering the result of the last great Homestead strike. Since that strike its membership has diminished. Its membership to-day (June, 1895) is reported to be 34,000 in 290 unions, with J. C. Kilgallon, 108 Fourth Ave., Pittsburg, for secretary. See TRADE-UNIONS.

AMANA COMMUNITY.—A German religious community on the Iowa River, in Iowa, reached at the station of Homestead, on the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad. The community numbers some 2400 souls, owns about 25,000 acres, is rated at over \$1,000,000 in capital, and is in every way an economic and an industrial success. Mainly agricultural, it has herds of blooded cattle, sheep, hogs, and a large number of fine horses. It also does a growing manufacturing business. The two largest woolen mills in Iowa are owned and operated by the community. The famous colony blue prints are made here; 80 pieces of these, containing 45 yards each, are turned out in a day. The community has, moreover, two large flouring-mills, with full roller process and elevators, manufacturing pearl barley and hominy. There are also three large machine-shops, where most of the farm machinery used by the community is made. Besides these there are dye-shops, blacksmith-shops, sawmills, a printing-office, and other lesser industries. Their business is growing because their patrons are well treated. Their goods are all honest goods, the Amana brand telling its own story.

The community lives in eight villages, two or three miles apart, Amana being the center, and Homestead the most important railroad office.

Each village has its own doctor, school, post-office, store, hotel, and

Organization. place of meeting. The government of the community is vested in a president—now Dr. Jacob Witmer—and a board of 13 directors, elected by the community for life. Family life is preserved inviolate, each family living alone, except where two or three

prefer to live in the same house. They come together, however, for common meals in little boarding-houses, one for every four families. The fare is simple, but abundant and healthy. The houses are pleasant and homelike, tho unpainted, being covered in summer with vines and surrounded by little flower gardens. The communism is absolute, all the necessities of life being provided freely for all, and the industries being operated for the equal advantage of all. The life is simple and quiet, there being few amusements and little variety; national holidays and memorial days, however, are observed. The community is very religious. A prayer-meeting is held in each village every night of the week, where the men sit

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on one side and the women on the other, and quietly sing their German Lutheran chants, or pray, or read from the Bible or the books of their prophets or leaders. They call their communities True Inspiration Congregations, and believe in the Trinity, justification by faith, the resurrection of the dead, the gradual purification of the impenitent by fire, the communism of all saints as a necessary part of Christianity. They believe that an era of inspiration began in the eighteenth century, the Holy Ghost speaking to their founder, Erasmus Gruber, and other "prophets." They drink wine made by their own labor, formerly brewing the best beer of the State, and deriving quite a profit from this, which practice, however, they quietly ended when Iowa became a prohibition State, doing this out of respect to the law and the opinions of their neighbors. Wine, however, they give to their employees in harvest-time as freely and generously as to themselves. The life being so simple and quiet, and without great educational advantages, many of the young people leave, and are allowed to do so, but usually are glad to come back to the peace and quiet plenty of the communal home. They do not seek new members, but elect to membership those who come and after trial prove themselves of the right spirit. The universal language is German. The beginning

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of the sect was in Wurtemberg, Germany, where it was founded in 1714 by Erasmus Gruber. At his death Christian Metz became their leader, and he brought them to this country in 1843. First settling in Ebenezer, Erie County, N. Y., they moved to their present site in 1855-64.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.—Congress at its first session under the Constitution proposed to the States 12 articles of amendments. Of these 12 articles, 10 were ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States, and became part and parcel of the Constitution from December 15, 1791. These amendments constitute the first 10 of the amendments to the Constitution. They, in general, relate to the rights of the people and to limitations of government.

ART. I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to as-

semble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ART. II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. III. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ART. VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ART. VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The eleventh amendment was proposed at the first session of the Third Congress, in 1794, and was declared adopted as a part of the Constitution January 8, 1798. It is as follows:

ART. XI. "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."

The twelfth amendment was proposed at the first session of the Eighth Congress, in 1803, and was adopted by the requisite number of States the next year. At present there are three other amendments—the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth—all of which have grown out of the Civil War.

ART. XII. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a

member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ART. XIII. Sec. 1. "Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

SEC. 2. "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

This amendment was proposed by Congress in 1865 and ratified by the constitutional number of States the same year.

ART. XIV. Sec. 1. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

SEC. 2. "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, including Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State."

SEC. 3. "No person shall be a Senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability."

SEC. 4. "The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void."

SEC. 5. "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article."

This amendment was proposed by Congress in 1866, and was declared to be a part of the Constitution in July, 1868. It need not be further discussed here.

ART. XV., Sec. 1. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

SEC. 2. "The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The object of this article was to secure suffrage to the colored race, especially to the freedmen of the South. It specifies three points in respect to which the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged, either by the National or State Governments:

1. On account of race.

- 2. On account of color.
 - 3. On account of previous condition of servitude.
- It was at first proposed to add two other points, nativity and religion, but these were stricken out before the proposed amendment was sanctioned by Congress. This amendment was proposed by Congress in 1869, and was declared to be ratified in 1870.

WILLIAM A. MOWRY.

(See his *Studies in Civil Government*.)

Concerning amendments to the Constitution, Professor Bryce says in his *American Commonwealth*, chap. xxxii.:

"There are therefore two methods of framing and proposing amendments.

Methods of Making Amendments. "(A) Congress may itself, by a two-thirds vote in each house, prepare and propose amendments.

"(B) The legislatures of two thirds of the States may require Congress to summon a Constitutional convention. Congress shall thereupon do so, having no option to refuse; and the convention when called shall draft and submit amendments. No provision is made as to the election and composition of the convention, matters which would therefore appear to be left to the discretion of Congress.

"There are also two methods of enacting amendments framed and proposed in either of the foregoing ways. It is left to Congress to prescribe one or other method as Congress may think fit.

"(X) The legislatures of three fourths of the States may ratify any amendments submitted to them.

"(Y) Conventions may be called in the several States, and three fourths of these conventions may ratify.

"On all the occasions on which the amending power has been exercised, method A has been employed for proposing and method X for ratifying—i.e., no drafting conventions of the whole Union or ratifying conventions in the several States have ever been summoned. The preference of the action of Congress and the State legislatures may be ascribed to the fact that it has never been desired to remodel the whole Constitution, but only to make changes or additions on special points. Moreover, the procedure by national and State conventions might be slower, and would involve controversy over the method of electing those bodies. The consent of the President is not required to a constitutional amendment. A two-thirds majority in Congress can override his veto of a bill, and at least that majority is needed to bring a constitutional amendment before the people.

"There is only one provision of the Constitution which cannot be changed by this process. It is that which secures to each and every State equal representation in one branch of the legislature. 'No State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate' (Art. V.). . . . The amendments made by the above process (A+X) to the Constitution have been in all 15. . . .

"Many amendments to the Constitution have been at various times suggested to Congress by Presidents, or brought forward in Congress by members, but very few of these have ever obtained the requisite two-thirds vote of both houses. In 1780, however, and again in 1807, amendments were passed by Congress and submitted to the States for which the requisite majority of three fourths of the States was not obtained; and in February and March, 1861, an amendment forbidding the Constitution to be ever so amended as to authorize Congress to interfere with the 'domestic institutions,' including slavery, of any State, was passed in both houses, but never submitted to the States, because war broke out immediately afterward. It would doubtless, had peace been preserved, have failed to obtain the acceptance of three fourths of the States, and its effect could only have been to require those who might thereafter propose to amend the Constitution so as to deal with slavery, to propose also the repeal of this particular amendment itself. . . .

Attempts at Amendments. "Why, then, has the regular procedure for amendment proved in practice so hard to apply?

"Partly, of course, owing to the inherent disputatiousness and perversity (what the Americans call 'cussedness') of bodies of men. It is difficult to get two thirds of two assemblies (the houses of Congress) and three fourths of 38 commonwealths, each of which acts by two assemblies, for the State legislatures are all double-chambered, to agree to the same practical proposition.

Except under the pressure of urgent troubles, such as were those which preceded the acceptance of the Constitution itself in 1788, few persons or bodies will consent to forego objections of detail, perhaps in themselves reasonable, for the mere sake of agreeing to what others have accepted. They want to have what seems to themselves the very best, instead of a second best suggested by some one else. Now, bodies enjoying so much legal independence as do the legislatures of the States, far from being disposed to defer to Congress or to one another, are more jealous, more suspicious, more vain and opinionated, than so many individuals. Nothing but a violent party spirit, seeking either a common party object or individual gain to flow from party success, makes them work together.

"If an amendment comes to the legislatures recommended by the general voice of their party, they will be quick to adopt it. But in that case it will encounter the hostility of the opposite party, and parties are in most of the Northern States usually pretty evenly balanced. It is seldom that a two-thirds majority in either house of Congress can be secured on a party issue; and, of course, such majorities in both houses and a three-fourths majority of State legislatures on a party issue are still less probable. Now, in a country pervaded by the spirit of party, most questions either are at starting, or soon become, controversial. A change in the Constitution, however useful its ultimate consequences, is likely to be for the moment deemed more advantageous to one party than to the other, and this is enough to make the other party oppose it. Indeed, the mere fact that a proposal comes from one side rouses the suspicion of the other. There is always that dilemma of which England has so often felt the evil consequences. If a measure of reform is immediately pressing, it becomes matter of party contention, it excites temper and passion. If it is not pressing, neither party, having other and nearer aims, cares to take it up and push it through. In America, a party amendment to the Constitution can very seldom be carried. A non-party amendment falls into the category of those things which, because they are everybody's business, are the business of nobody.

"It is evident, when one considers the nature of a rigid or supreme constitution, that some method of altering it so as to make it conform to altered facts and ideas is indispensable. A European critic may remark that the American method has failed to answer the expectations formed of it. The belief, he will say, of its authors was that while nothing less than a pretty general agreement would justify alteration, that agreement would exist when obvious omissions preventing its smooth working were discovered. But this has not come to pass. There have been long and fierce controversies over the construction of several points in the Constitution, over the right of Congress to spend money on internal improvements, to charter a national bank, to impose a protective tariff—above all, over the treatment of slavery in the Territories. But the method of amendment was not applied to any of these questions, because no general agreement could be reached upon them, or indeed upon any but quite secondary matters. So the struggle over the interpretation of a document which it was found impossible to amend passed from the law courts to the battle-field. Americans reply to such criticisms by observing that the power of amending the Constitution is one which cannot prudently be employed to conclude current political controversies, that if it were so used no constitution could be either rigid or reasonably permanent, that some latitude of construction is desirable, and that in the above-mentioned cases amendments excluding absolutely one or other of the constructions contended for would either have tied down the legislature too tightly or have hastened a probably inevitable conflict."

(For a different view, however, see CONSTITUTIONALISM, also REFERENDUM.)

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, THE, formed in Philadelphia, December 14, 1889, for the purpose of promoting the political and social sciences.

While it does not exclude any portion of the field indicated in its title, yet its chief object is the development of those aspects of the political and social sciences which are either entirely omitted from the programs of other societies,

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or which do not at present receive the attention they deserve.

Among such subjects may be mentioned sociology, comparative constitutional and administrative law, philosophy of the State, and such portions of the field of politics, including finance and banking, as are not adequately cultivated by existing organizations.

A special effort is made to collect and publish material which will be of use to students, and which does not now reach the public in any systematic way, as, for example, the texts in English of the constitutions of leading foreign countries; regular accounts of current instruction in political and social topics at home and abroad; descriptive bibliographies; discussions of municipal government, etc.

The plan of the academy includes regular scientific meetings for the presentation of papers and communications, establishment of a library, and the dissemination of knowledge on political and social topics through its publications, and by such other means as may seem suitable.

The income of the academy at present is derived from the annual membership fee, which is \$5, the life-membership fee, which is \$100, and from the contributions of those who may be willing to assist in its work. It is desired to secure the establishment of prizes and fellowships.

Any one may become a member on being approved by the council and paying the annual or life-membership fee. Members are entitled to receive the regular publications of the academy, submit papers and communications, and to attend and take part in all scientific meetings. Life members are exempt from all annual fees. Its annual meeting is held in January.

The list of members now (1895) includes about 300, and the names of nearly all the prominent thinkers and writers on political, economic, and social topics in the United States and Canada, and many in Europe.

The proceedings of the academy are published in the form of a periodical called the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, which, together with such other matter as may be published for that purpose, is sent to all members of the academy free of charge.

The articles in the annals more important for permanent use are usually reprinted in separate editions and sold at low price. Over 160 have been reprinted in five years, such as Professor Gedding's *Province of Sociology*, Dr. J. S. Billings' *Public Health and Municipal Government*, Professor Common's *Proportional Representation*, G. K. Holmes' *A Decade of Mortgages*, Professor Patten's *The Theory of Social Forces*.

AMERICA. See UNITED STATES; AGRICULTURE; ARMY, etc.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.—This body was organized at Saratoga, September 9, 1885. The declared objects of the association are:

1. The encouragement of economic research, especially the historical and statistical study of the actual conditions of industrial life.

2. The publication of economic monographs.

3. The encouragement of perfect freedom of economic discussion. - The association, as such, will take no partisan attitude, nor will it commit its members to any position on practical economic questions.

4. The establishment of a bureau of information designed to aid members in their economic studies.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from annual dues.

Each member is entitled to receive all reports and publications of the association.

The membership is now about 700, and is still growing. Valuable monographs have been published by the association since its start, and are still published six times a year, at \$4 per year. Prizes are also offered by the association for the best monographs on appointed subjects, and they have produced some of the best papers yet written on Child Labor, the Tenement Problem, etc. The association has annual meetings, usually in December, and standing committees on the following subjects:

1. On Labor.
2. On Transportation.
3. On Trade.
4. On Public Finance.
5. On Industrial and Technical Education.
6. On Exchange.
7. On General Questions of Economic Theory.
8. On Statistics.
9. On Teaching Political Economy.

Besides the above-mentioned monographs, the association has recently commenced issuing a series of somewhat more popular *Economic Studies*. The monographs are to appear at irregular intervals. The subjects for the studies are such as: The Relation of Changes in the Volume of the Currency to Prosperity; The Adjustment of Wages to Efficiency; The Populist Movement. Among the monographs are: *The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply*, by Professor E. J. James; *Relation of the State to Industrial Action*, by Professor H. C. Adams; *Socialism in England*, by Sidney Webb; *An Honest Dollar*, by President E. Benjamin Andrews; *Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States*, by Professor E. W. Remis; *The Silver Situation in the United States*, by Professor F. W. Taussig; *The Housing of the Poor in American Cities*, by M. T. Reynolds.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE.—Originally organized in Baltimore, August 20, 1866. The trade assemblies of New York City and Baltimore had issued a call for a national congress of trade-unions, and over 100 delegates responded, representing 60 different organizations. The result was the formation of what was called the National Labor Union. Resolutions were passed in favor of the eight-hour day, labor journals, cooperative stores, agriculture in the South, improved artisans' dwellings, mechanics' institutes, against unpaid prison labor, deprecating strikes, advising the unemployed to go on public land, asserting that land should go to

the actual settler, pledging support to sewing women, etc. The resolution which was perhaps most significant of both the weakness and the strength of this union was one declaring against existing political parties, and for the organization

of an independent National Labor Party, the object of which should be

Origin. to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours a day's work.

On the political question the National Labor Union was, ere long, to go to pieces. The eight-hour policy was to become the distinctive policy of the Federation of Labor. The New York *Tribune* declared the convention to represent the intelligence, education, and enterprise of the working men of the Union.

Subsequent conventions were held at Chicago (1867), where 200 delegates were present; at Pittsburg (1868); New York (1868); Chicago (1869); Boston (1870); Philadelphia (1871), and Columbus (1872). At this convention the union undertook to nominate a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, an attempt which led to such discussions and dissensions, that, in connection with the financial crisis of 1873, the order was broken up. An important industrial congress, however, met at Rochester, N. Y., April 14, 1874, Robert Schilling presiding, and the congress adopted a Declaration of Principles drafted by George E. McNeill, which is of significance, as the Declaration was afterward adopted by the Knights of Labor (*q.v.*), which organization had been founded and was for a while to rival the Federation.

After the Columbus convention it was nine years, however, before any national federation of trade-unions was formed. But in 1881, 107 delegates, representing nearly 250,000 workers, met in convention in Pittsburg, Pa., and established the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, now known as the American Federation of Labor. A clear exposition of the general policy was made in a document read at the second convention of the Federation, held in Cleveland, O., on November 21, 1882. This document urged not political, but industrial unity as the prime object that the Federation should aim at—"not by prescribing a stereotyped, uniform plan of organization for all, regardless of their experience or necessities, nor by antagonizing or aiming to destroy existing organizations, but by preserving all that is integral in them and widening their scope, so that each, without submerging its individuality, may act with the others in all that concerns them. The benefit of this Federation was not only to render pecuniary and moral assistance in case of strikes or lockouts, but to lessen the number of these conflicts by causing unscrupulous employers to hesitate before declaring war on employees reinforced by such a body. A systematic plan of propaganda was inaugurated. Its aim was to place a check on the transportation of labor and to get an enactment by the workmen themselves that on a given day eight hours should constitute a day's work, and that they ought to enforce it themselves."

The Federation held from the start a distinctive policy from that of the Knights of Labor. Whereas the Knights strove to bring all working people not only into one order, but largely into one form of organization, and did not respect the autonomy of trade organizations, the Federation of Labor has always stood for allowing each trade to organize and control its craft in its own

way. It has always been literally a federation of trade-unions, and on this policy has steadily acted. For awhile, however, the Knights of Labor was the more popular organization, and sprang into rapid growth. The effort, however, to mould various trades and degrees of development into one form proved eventually the weakness of the order, and it has of late years gone rapidly down, while the Federation, with its wiser policy, has steadily grown in strength and in numbers. The difference of principle, however, between the two organizations, and unfortunate personal issues and jealousies that grew out of it, long retarded the development of organized labor. To-day, however, the policy of the Federation is almost everywhere triumphant, though the Knights still (1895) in certain sections and certain trades have considerable strength.

The third convention was held in New York City on August 21, 1883. At this convention the Legislative Committee was instructed to present a bill to Congress creating a National Department of Labor; and a committee was also appointed to confer with the Knights of Labor with a view to the unification and consolidation of all labor efforts. This attempt has been made almost every year since, but never with success.

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The fourth convention was held in Chicago, Ill., on October 7, 1884, when steps were taken for a general propaganda in behalf of the eight-hour system, and May 1, 1886, was fixed upon as the date of the general inauguration. It will be remembered, however, that the Anarchists at Chicago took advantage of this movement to rouse the people with their incendiary ideas, and that on May 5, 1886, the bomb was thrown at Haymarket Square, Chicago. This act very much hindered the legitimate work of organized labor. Nevertheless, some unions succeeded at this time in gaining the eight-hour day.

The fifth convention was held in Washington on December 8, 1885, and was marked by measures which were taken to prevent the abuse of the boycott, the usefulness of which had become impaired by unscrupulous persons and rival factions, who resorted to that legitimate and powerful weapon upon every frivolous, trivial, or imaginary grievance, and was often levied upon goods of firms that employed none but union workmen and paid the highest rate of wages in their line of manufactures.

The sixth convention was held in Columbus, O., on December 8, 1886. This convention had been originally called to meet in St. Louis, but the necessity of taking defensive measures against the unwarranted aggressions upon trade-unions, in some instances even denying them the right of existence, and a considerable accession to the ranks of the Federation resulting therefrom, led to considerable modifications. At this convention 25 affiliated national organizations were represented, with an aggregate membership of 316,469 workmen; a more perfect plan of organization was adopted and the title changed to the American Federation of Labor.

The next annual convention was held in Baltimore, Md., on December, 1887. The roll of this convention exhibited 58 delegates, representing 40 national and international unions and central organizations. Including the local trade-unions having no national head and the "federal labor unions" affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but, for economic reasons, not sending delegates, this convention represented 242 unions or branches, and a total membership of 600,340 members in good standing.

The third convention of the American Federation of Labor, but the eighth consecutive annual gathering of the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, was held in St. Louis, Mo., on December 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, 1888. The proceedings, which were marked by the greatest unanimity and enthusiasm, will be held memorable by the adoption of a resolution fixing the date for the general inauguration of the eight-hour work-day at May 1, 1890. Looking to this end, it was decided to call simultaneous mass-meetings in all cities of the country on four important national holidays—*viz.*, Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1889; Independence Day, July 4, 1889; Labor Day, 1889, and Washington's Birthday, 1890.

The ninth convention was held in Boston, Mass., December 10-14, 1889. Among the important measures adopted were to extend an invitation to the labor organizations of the world to attend an International Labor Congress at Chicago during the World's Fair; resolutions of thanks to European working men for their cordial indorsement of the proposed inauguration of the eight-hour work-day, and steps to further such cooperation; indorsement of the Australian system of ballot reform; the employers' liability law, and the rejection of a resolution looking to "the formation of a political labor party." The Executive Council were empowered to select such trade as they might deem best for the concentration of effort to secure the adoption of the eight-hour work-day on May 1. The plan was for all unions of some one trade to strike on May 1 for the eight-hour day, while all other trades were to support them. The next year some other trade was to strike, and all other trades to support it. As is well known, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America were selected to strike the first year, and the movement was successful in 137 cities, and benefited 46,197 workmen of that trade. In some other cities it was partly successful, and in others not at all. At least much was gained and agitation very much increased.

The tenth annual convention was held in Detroit, Mich., on December 8, 1890, and remained in session six days; 103 delegates were present, representing 83 organizations. Since the previous convention 282 charters had been issued, and the national trade-unions reported having established 913 branches in the same time; these also reported 1163 strikes, of which number 939 were successful, 76 lost, and 98 compromised. All reported an increase of wages from 7 to 25 per cent., except one, which was owing to dullness of trade. The action of the Executive Council in selecting the miners as the next trade to move toward eight hours was concurred in.

The action of the convention producing the most interest, for the time being, and occupying a large share of time, was that of again defining the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward political parties seeking affiliations. A charter had been refused to the Central Labor Federation of New York City upon the ground that among the list of bodies attached to that body

Political Attitude.

was the name of the American Section of the Socialist Labor Party. After protracted debates said action was indorsed by a large majority. In taking this step it was clearly understood that the character of the party did not enter into the question any more than if they had been Prohibitionists, the Farmers' Alliance, or a mixed Local Assembly of the Knights of Labor, all of whom make similar claims of seeking solely the economic welfare of the toiler. It was a reaffirmation of the traditional policy since organization to restrict their united efforts solely to industrial ends without doing aught to awaken either political or religious dissensions among their diversified membership, and the necessity of confining membership in a Federation of "Trade and Labor Unions" to such only.

It was distinctly declared by the supporters of the position that they opposed neither socialism nor independent political action, but simply the introduction of politics into the Federation. Nevertheless, since this vote the leaders of the Federation and supporters of the position have been denounced by the socialists as reactionary and traitors to the cause of labor.

The strike of the miners on May 1, owing to strongly unfavorable conditions in their industry, was only very partial and accomplished little more than the agitation of the idea.

The eleventh annual convention was held in Birmingham, Ala., the first time in the history of the general labor movement that one of its conventions has met in the South. The influences were vastly beneficial to organization in that section of the country. At this convention it was resolved to test the constitutionality of the conspiracy laws and the rights of the courts to issue writs of injunction on wage-workers charged with no offense against the law, but engaged in a contest with their employers. An investigation of the "sweating" system and the abolition of this social crime were demanded at the hands of Congress. Renewed pledges to attain the eight-hour work-day were made and action taken for its enforcement. Protests against convict labor coming in competition with free labor were entered. Selection of organizer for woman's labor was authorized. The abolition of child labor was demanded. Counter propositions to the Knights of Labor were made, which if accepted would avoid disputes between the two organizations.

The twelfth annual convention was held at Philadelphia, Pa., December 12-17, 1892; 67 organizations were represented. Since the previous convention 277 charters had been issued. Strong ground was taken as regards the restriction of undesirable immigrants. It was unanimously resolved to adhere to the plan of operations that had been followed in the past—organization of trade-unions. President Gompers in his opening address said: "We should rather be a *unit in our demands* than a political party." A resolution in favor of Government ownership of all telegraph and telephone systems was adopted. Protests were made against Sunday labor and convict labor. It was agreed to memorialize Congress in order to secure a law providing protection to the trade-marks and labels of organized labor. Direct legislation—initiative and referendum—was indorsed. Strong resolutions were passed concerning the Homestead strike.

The convention was marked by a strong spirit of patriotic feeling at a meeting in Liberty Hall, coupled with a sense that the Federation was battling to-day for liberty as truly imperiled as 100 years before.

The thirteenth convention met in Chicago December, 1893. Perhaps the most important subject before the convention was the following resolution, which was introduced, discussed, and referred to the various unions. to be voted on during the year:

Whereas, the trade-unionists of Great Britain have, by the light of experience and the logic of progress, adopted the principle of independent labor politics as an auxiliary to their economic action; and

Whereas, such action has resulted in the most gratifying success; and

Whereas, such independent labor politics are based upon the following program, to wit:

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation.
3. A legal eight-hour work day.
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine, and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body, or life.
6. The abolition of the contract system in all public work.
7. The abolition of the sweating system.
8. The municipal ownership of street-cars, and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat, and power.
9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines.
10. The collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution.
11. The principle of the referendum in all legislation.

Therefore, *Resolved*, that this convention hereby indorses this political action of our British comrades; and

Resolved, that this programme and basis of a political labor movement be, and is hereby, submitted for the consideration of the labor organizations of America, with the request that their delegates to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed on this most important subject.

The fourteenth annual convention met in Denver December, 1894. At this convention the above resolutions were discussed and the first nine adopted with little discussion, and with substantial unanimity and with substantially no change. Plank 11 was incorporated with plank 2, making that plank read: "Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum." Plank 3 was made to read "a legal work-day of not more than eight hours." In Plank 8 the words "water-works" were substituted after the words "street cars." The great discussion came on plank 10. After a long debate it was defeated, and three resolutions substituted for it, as follows: (1) The abolition of the monopoly system of land-holding and the substitution therefor of a title of occupancy and use only (carried by a vote of 1217 to 913). (2) The repeal of all conspiracy and penal laws affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the Federal and State laws of the United States. (3) The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people. The socialists, however, who favored plank 10 held that it had only been defeated by delegates disobeying their instructions, and so on the vote to adopt the resolutions as a whole they voted no, and the vote was lost by 1173 to 735, the socialists hoping that next year (1896) they may carry the plank.

The convention also adopted a resolution demanding the re-enactment of the Silver Coinage Law of 1893 upon a ratio of 16 to 1. The committee on the president's address reported, indorsing the position of the executive council in the American Railway Union strike, and.

recommending the fixing of May 1, 1896, as the date for an effort to establish the eight-hour day.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, who had been for many years the capable president of the Federation, was defeated, and Mr. John McBride, the head of the Miners' Union, elected in his place. At the meeting in New York, however (December, 1895), the Federation reelected Mr. Gompers and voted to confine its main attention to the eight-hour movement.

December, 1893, the following national trade-unions were represented in the American Federation; the first figure representing the number of local unions in the trade, the second the total membership: Bakers, 120—13,300; barbers, 82—1800; blacksmiths, 19—1500; boiler-makers, 32—9000; bookkeepers, 15—1100; box-makers, 22—900; brewers, 75—11,000; bottle-blowers, 61—7000; bricklayers, 230—33,500; brass-workers, 33—4000; carpenters, 824—65,700; cigar-makers, 329—27,500; carriage-makers, 15—1800; coopers, 36—2600; clerks, 81—3200; coal-miners, 260—21,000; conductors, 255—8000; cloak-makers, 10—2500; electrical-workers, 46—5200; engineers (locomotive), 420—30,500; (stationary), 130—6400; firemen, 472—24,000; furniture-workers, 41—6500; furriers, 7—1200; garment-workers, 44—7500; glass employees, 4—800; glass-workers, 117—8100; grinders, 18—1400; granite-cutters, 133—1700; haters, 25—5800; harness-makers, 22—1500; horse-collar-makers, 26—2800; horseshoers, 289; members; iron-molders, 278—26,000; iron and cornice-workers, 68—2500; iron and steel-workers, 340—45,000; knife-makers, 6—500; laborers, 54—9500; machinists, 154—10,900; musicians, 58—10,500; pattern-makers, 34—6000; painters and decorators, 201—15,000; piano-makers, 46—5500; plasterers, 83—13,000; plumbers, 36—6500; polishers, 26—1100; printers, 359—32,300; quarrymen, 26—2400; railway employees, 33—16,500; seamen, 16—3500; shoe-lastors, 76—10,500; shoemakers, 61—7500; silk-workers, 12—1000; spinners, 14—10,200; stone-cutters, 14—1500; switchmen, 120—6500; trainmen, 486—24,000; tack-makers, 6—450; tailors, 220—18,500; tanners, 9—800; telegraphers, 74—3500; textile-workers, 18—8000; tile-fayers, 10—3000; waiters, 23—1900; weavers, 5—350; woodworkers, 5—300; watch-case engravers, 5—300; wood-carvers, 600 members.

Statistics.

This represents a total of 7037 local unions and an aggregate membership of 652,300. This list does not include 1500 local unions affiliated with the American Federation, and several thousand other unaffiliated local unions, all of which have no national head. A few of these unions are not yet formally affiliated with the Federation of Labor, yet all are united by virtue of a common polity.

At present, owing to the hard times, the number standing as paid upon the books of the Federation is probably somewhat less, but the real strength of the Federation is undoubtedly greater than in 1893. During 1894 charters were given to five new national unions and 167 local unions, while \$22,493.78 were received.

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor, in its features of general interest, is as follows :

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the trades and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade-union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—Name.

This association shall be known as the American Federation of Labor, and shall consist of such trade and labor unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—Objects.

SEC. 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local trade and labor unions and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of central trade and labor unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of national and international trade-unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. An American federation of all national and international trade-unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—Convention.

SEC. 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A.M., on the second Monday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

ARTICLE IX.—Revenue.

SEC. 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From international and national trade-unions a per capita tax of one fourth of one cent per member per month; from local trade-unions and federal unions, one cent per member per month; and from central labor unions of city and State federated bodies, \$25 per annum. All moneys shall be payable to the secretary of the Federation.

ARTICLE X.—Miscellaneous.

SEC. 3. Any seven wage workers of one trade of good character, and favorable to trade-unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a Federal Labor Union, and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the trades-union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the president of this Federation, provided the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest local or national trades-union officials connected with this Federation.

The Federation publishes a monthly, *The American Federationist*, at 50 cents a month, and considerable tract literature. For all information address the secretary (1895), Aug. McCraith, De Soto Block, Indianapolis, Ind. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION.—The American Forestry Association (formerly Congress), composed of delegates from all the States, meets annually. The twelfth annual meeting was held at Washington, D.C., December, 1893. J. D. W. French, Boston, Mass. (1895), is corresponding secretary. Local or State associations have been formed in Colorado, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Minnesota, Texas, South Carolina, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and New Jersey. (See FORESTRY.)

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY, THE.—Founded at Chautauqua July 20, 1893. The objects of the society, as stated in the constitution, are :

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.

2. To study in common how to apply the principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

3. To present Christ as the living Master and King of men, and His kingdom as the complete ideal of human society to be realized on earth.

The institute is interdenominational, and aims to carry out its objects by publications, by lectures and addresses, by the establishment of libraries, professorships, etc., and especially by the formation of local institutes following prescribed courses of study. It holds at least one general meeting in each year, thus far in Chautauqua. There have been also institutes of the society held at Grinnell, Ia., Oberlin, O., and other places, largely under the guidance of Professor George D. Herron (*q.v.*), of Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

—Organized in 1885. The purposes of this institution, briefly stated, are to promote everywhere and through all practicable agencies, including home influences, educational institutions, the press and the platform, the integrity, intelligence, patriotism, and vigilance, which are essential to the common weal under the rule of the people. The membership includes councilors in every State, whose high character, commanding influence, and subordination of selfish considerations to the public good qualify them for the high service in which the institute seeks to enlist them. The president of the institute (1895) is Henry Randall Waite, Ph. D.

Control is vested in 33 trustees, chosen for periods of one, two, and three years, who elect their own successors. Provision is made for a faculty, an advisory body, composed of members specially qualified for assistance in the formation of plans. The immediate supervision of its affairs is intrusted to its president and the executive committee of the board of trustees. It has corresponding members of its faculty in a majority of colleges, a corps of 230 lecturers, and the co-operation of a steadily growing body of councilors, composed of citizens of the highest character in all parts of the country, chosen with a view to their willingness and ability to render useful service unitedly or as individuals.

The work of the institute is carried on in several departments, as follows :

I. EXTENSION DEPARTMENT.

Department of Popular Work.

The chief purpose of this department is to secure the cooperation, in efforts to promote good citizenship, of suitable organizations, of either adults or youths, in cities, villages, and rural communities. The institute seeks to bring such organizations, already existing or effected for the purpose, into relation with itself as auxiliaries, and to interest them in provisions for the intelligent consideration of current events and all questions vitally related to good government, the maintenance of law and order, and the welfare of society. An important feature of the department is its corps of lecturers, numbering upward of 225 citizens, all exceptionally qualified for useful service, through the delivery of addresses before lyceums, secular and religious associations of young people, teachers' institutes and other educational assemblies, religious meetings, students in colleges and public schools,

working men's societies, law and order societies, municipal leagues, good government clubs, and other civic associations, and especially before the various organizations related to the institute as auxiliaries.

II. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

This department has recently been formed by the consolidation of the departments of Public School Work, of College and Professional School Work, and of Business Schools. It is devoted to the promotion, in cooperation with the officers and teachers of schools and colleges, of such instruction as shall most fully qualify American youth for the discharge of civic obligations.

III. DEPARTMENT OF THE PRESS.

Through this department the institute seeks to disseminate information as to its purposes, to enlist the cooperation of daily, weekly, and other publications and writers for the press; and also to present to the members and the public generally, through its official organ, the *American Journal of Politics*, the best thought of the day upon public questions, a record of the progress of efforts for political and social advancement, and other valuable information.

IV. DEPARTMENT OF LEGISLATION.

Civil Service and Law Reform.

In cooperation with members in the several States, it is sought, through this department, to promote legislation calculated to secure the proper administration of public affairs, to protect and elevate the suffrage, and to give, in all the States, such form to laws affecting the social order as shall make them uniform, just, and effective in their operation.

The institute has also established a department of Christian Citizenship, through which it seeks to promote activities as the result of which the ideas and obligations representative of Christianity may be made more largely contributory to the betterment of civic and social conditions. Professor Lawrence Phelps, principal of the Berkeley Temple of Applied Christianity, Boston, and Professor Daniel Fulcomer, of the University of Chicago, are associated in the direction of this department. It will seek to promote local conferences of Christian citizens for the discussion of the best means of giving greater power and usefulness to Christian citizenship; and will also seek to establish Christian citizenship classes in connection with Young Men's Christian Associations, Societies of Christian Endeavor, and similar organizations. The institute is represented by the *American Magazine of Civics* (formerly *American Journal of Politics*), a monthly publication of 125 pages, which is its official organ. Its membership has extended until it has a sufficient nucleus for organized and efficient work in some 600 of the more important centers of influence throughout the country.

AMERICAN PARTY.—The name chosen by three political parties at different periods in

United States history. I. In 1852, when the Whig Party was breaking up, a secret organization had been formed, said to have been called the Sons of '76, or the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Any member on being asked about the society was made to answer, "I don't know;" hence the society was called the society of Know Nothings. It carefully avoided the subject of slavery, and tried to draw attention from that subject by confining itself to vigorous opposition to Catholics and aliens. Its first principle was "Americans must rule America." In February, 1856, it held a convention, called itself the American Party, and nominated Millard Fillmore for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson for Vice-President—nominations which were indorsed by the Whig convention in September. Fillmore, however, carried but one State, Maryland, while his total vote was about 850,000. In 1860 Presidential candidates were nominated again, but under the name Constitutional Union Party; but the movement was practically merged in the growth of the Republican Party.

II. A party under this name was organized in 1872 by some members of the National Christian Association at Oberlin, O. It was opposed to secret societies, demanded prohibition of the saloon, recognition of the Sabbath, introduction of the Bible into the public schools, restriction of land monopoly, specie payments, justice to the Indians, and a direct popular vote for President and Vice-President. Charles Francis Adams was nominated for President. Nominations continued to be made down to 1884, when the nominee, S. C. Pomeroy, withdrew in favor of the Prohibition candidate, St. John, on his assurance that "he stood on every plank of the American platform," since when the party has been practically merged into the Prohibition Party.

III. Another party was organized under this name in Philadelphia September 16-17, 1887. It declares for the limitation of immigration; exclusion from citizenship of "anarchists, socialists, and other dangerous characters;" free schools, absolute religious freedom, the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and condemns the granting of land to aliens or to corporations.

AMERICAN PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION LEAGUE, THE.—For a discussion of PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION see that subject. August 11, 1893, a Proportional Representation Congress was held in Chicago, and as a result the American Proportional Representation League was founded. Its constitution is as follows:

"Article I. Name. This Society shall be known as the American Proportional Representation League.

"Art. II. Object. Its object shall be to promote the reform of legislative assemblies by abandoning the present system of electing single representatives from limited territorial districts by a majority or plurality vote, and by substituting the following:

"1. All representatives shall be elected at large, on a general ticket, either without district divisions or in districts as large as practicable.

"2. The election shall be in such form that the respective parties, or political groups, shall secure representation in proportion to the number of votes cast by them, respectively.

"Art. III. Membership. Any person in the United States or Canada who shall subscribe to the purpose of this League may become a member. The dues shall

be \$1 per annum. Members are entitled to the publications of the League without charge.

"Art. IV. Officers. The officers shall be a President, a Secretary, who shall also be Treasurer, and a Committeeman from each State and Territory in the United States and province of Canada. The officers shall be elected annually by ballots, to be forwarded to the Secretary by mail. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be chosen by the whole membership, and the Committeemen by the members of their respective States, Territories, and provinces.

"Art. V. Publications. An official bulletin shall be issued under the direction of the Secretary as often as the funds of the League will permit."

The League has issued the following address to the public:

"The political, social, and economic agitations which have taken hold of this generation, and turned the civilized countries into debating societies, betray a spirit of restless inquiry after truth which must sooner or later produce tangible results. And as the discussion nears the end, and the time for action approaches, thoughtful, earnest citizens are confronted with the fact that wherever reform must be obtained through political action, that action is delayed, if not prevented, by a system of representation which fails to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended. The various reformers as they approach the law-making bodies, whether they be city councils, State legislatures, or national congresses and parliaments, find that that branch of government which should reflect in miniature the whole country, instead mirrors the opinions of only a privileged few. Tho these reformers may number a considerable part of the body politic, they find it impossible to secure representation in the halls of legislation.

"The effect of this state of affairs has been to create a feeling of recklessness on the part of some men and of apathy on the part of others. Some propose to right their grievances by force; others give up the fight and withdraw from the field in disgust. All are prone to despair when they realize the Herculean task of securing a hearing of the so-called representatives of the people. They see that Iowa, with 210,215 Republican votes and 207,923 Democratic votes, at the election of 1892 sent 70 Republican Congressmen and one Democrat to Washington; that every 21,921 Republicans of that State has a representative, while the whole 207,923 Democrats have but one. In Kentucky the case is reversed. The Democrats have a Congressman for every 17,436 votes, while the Republicans have one for 122,308. In Maine the vote was 65,637 Republicans and 57,778 Democrats, but the Republicans got all the four Congressmen. In Maryland the vote was 91,762 Republicans and 113,931 Democrats, but the latter got the six Congressmen. The Republicans of Texas have not had a representative in Congress since 1882. The Democrats of Kansas have not had a representative since the State was admitted to the Union, tho they have polled from a third to two fifths of the vote of the State during that time. And even the votes of the successful parties only mean that the persons who cast them merely preferred one of the party candidates to another; instead of a free choice, they had a forced alternative.

"Many people attribute this state of affairs to the gerrymander. But while the practice of making dishonest districts cannot be too strongly condemned, the gerrymander has been made the scapegoat for a system which of itself is wrong; for it must be apparent that if one party has a majority in the whole State there is a tendency for it to have a majority in each district, no matter how its boundaries be made. If there be 40 Democrats and 51 Republicans in each township, the Republicans will have all the representatives any way the districts are made, though the Democrats have 49 per cent. of the votes. Should there be 33 Republicans, 33 Democrats, and 34 Populists in each township, the latter would have all the representatives, tho they had but 34 per cent. of the votes. It is only because the voters are not evenly distributed that the minority of a city, county, or State can secure any representation at all. Let this be expressed in tabular form:

Districts.	cc	bb	aaa	Representatives.
1.	cc	bb	aaa	A
2.	cc	bb	aaa	A
3.	cc	bb	aaa	A
4.	cc	bb	aaa	A
5.	cc	bb	aaa	A
6.	cc	bb	aaa	A
7.	cc	bb	aaa	A

"Supposing each letter to represent 1000 votes, the 'a's' with 21,000 votes secure all the representation, while the 'b's' and 'c's' with 14,000 votes each, or considerably more than half the total, have none. The fault lies in the system itself. While dishonest men can sometimes increase the evil effects, it is impossible for the wiser and more honest to secure good effects. It must make way for a system which is not only scientific and just in principle, but which is working to perfection in Switzerland to-day—proportional representation.

"Proportional representation is based upon the principle that if a certain political unit, whether it be State, city, or county, has a given number of representatives, each proportionate part of the voters in that political unit should have one representative. That is to say, if a State with four Congressmen has 100,000 votes, each 25,000 voters should have one Congressman. Proportional representation accomplishes this by wiping out the district lines and allowing the citizens to vote as they please in the State. The total number of votes cast at the election is divided by the number of representatives to be chosen, which gives the electoral quotient, or quota, which is the number of votes necessary to elect one representative. Each party or group of voters is then given as many representatives as the electoral quota is contained times in their vote. Nominations may be made as at present by parties or by petition,

A Declaration of Principles.

and the voting done as at present, the only difference being that the successful candidates are taken from the various parties in proportion to their respective votes, instead of taking them all from the majority party. Take as an example the Congressional election of Indiana in 1892. The total vote cast for Congressmen was: Republican, 253,640; Democratic, 259,184; Prohibition, 12,358; Populist, 24,223, making a total of 549,405 votes. If 549,405 votes elect 13 representatives, one thirteenth of that number should elect one. Hence, dividing the total number of votes cast, 549,405, by the number of representatives to be elected, 13, gives as the electoral quota 42,262. The 253,640 Republican votes divided by this quota give six full quotas and a remainder of 68 votes. The 259,184 Democratic votes divided by the quota give six full quotas and a remainder of 572. As neither of the remaining parties has enough votes to fill a quota, the remaining representative is taken from the party having the largest unfilled quota, the Populist. This would make the Indiana delegation six Republicans, six Democrats, and one Populist, instead of the two Republicans and 11 Democrats who were elected.

"In the one case the districts are so constructed by nature or by parties that a small handful of voters holds the balance of power. By voting as a unit they are able to throw the election one way or the other. Hence these men have great influence with the two dominant parties; each feels that it must do everything to capture this vote, and as the independent controlling vote is almost invariably of the lowest moral type, the tendency is to nominate men of that stamp. In the other case the districts are abolished and the State votes as a whole, dividing the candidates proportionately among the various political parties. Then it is found that these professional politicians, who before controlled the elections, are not numerous enough all combined to fill a quota, and whatever their number, they can secure only such representation as their numbers entitle them to. As the tendency now is to nominate men acceptable to the worst elements of our political life, so under proportional representation the tendency would be to nominate men who were acceptable to the mass of the people. If the mass be good they will elect good men, if it be evil they will elect evil men; they can elect whatever kind of representatives they wish, which they cannot now do. As under the present system candidates are nominated because of their cowardly, time-serving traits, under proportional representation only those can hope for success who openly declare themselves for some definite policy.

"The great mass of the voters of this country are divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, but in most of the districts throughout the country one or the other has such a decided majority that the election is a mere formality. General Garfield, in a speech before the House of Representatives, in 1870, said:

"In my judgment it is the weak point in the theory of representative government, as now organized and administered, that a large part of the people are permanently disfranchised. There are about 10,000 Democratic voters in my district, and they have been voting there for the last 40 years without any more hope of

having a representative on this floor than of having one in the Commons of Great Britain."

"Twenty-three years have been added to the forty, and still the Democrats of that district maintain the forlorn hope. If this be so of the Democrats in Iowa and Maine, and of the Republicans of Texas and Kentucky, what can be said of the new parties, the independent movements here and there throughout the country? Tho they poll many times more than enough votes to fill an electoral quota they are absolutely disfranchised. In the election of Congressmen in 1892 there were 12,032,203 votes polled, and yet 5,531,965 of these voters can say, as they look upon the House of Representatives: 'There is not one among all these 356 members who represents us.' If the 356 members should vote unanimously upon any question, they would represent but 54 per cent. of the voters who voted at their election. And should a bare majority of the members pass a law it would represent only 21.4 per cent. of the citizens who voted at that election. Thus, in a government in which the majority is supposed to rule, it is found that the representatives of a trifle over one fifth of the people can make the laws for the remaining four fifths.

"It will be said, of course, that these four fifths are not absolutely disfranchised, because, tho they failed to elect the man they voted for in their district, their party fellows elected one in some other district. Cold comfort, indeed! What consolation is it to the gold-money Democrat of Maine to know when his candidate fails of election that the free silver Democrat of Missouri was successful? What does the free trade Republican of Kentucky care for the success of the protection Republican of Massachusetts? And even if these should be comforted by the fact that men bearing the same party name, tho professing different principles, are successful, what can be said of the million or more voters throughout the country who voted for the independent tickets? And what of the still greater number who voted not at all, or for the lesser of two or several evils? What of the intelligent citizens who long for fit representatives in the halls of legislation and proclaim popular government a failure because they have hoped in vain?

"The fact that minorities will secure representation is the least important of all the good which will result from the adoption of proportional representation. While it is true that an intelligent representative of the various reform movements would tempt to the arbitrary action of the majorities and be an educational force of great value, and should therefore be striven for by all men who wish to better the condition of society through legislative action, yet the great end to be gained by proportional representation is the direct representation of all the people. When every citizen votes with the full assurance that each individual vote bears directly upon the final result, the men who have withdrawn in despair from politics, as something with which an honest man can have nothing to do, will return to their duty. There will be no wasted majorities and hopeless minorities cooped up in political slave pens; each and every party will secure representation in proportion to its numbers, and a majority of the representatives in the Assembly will always represent a majority of the people. Then, and not till then, will legislative bodies become quickly responsive to the will of the people; then, and not till then, will the citizen realize the power of his single vote; then, and not till then, will honest government be possible; then, and not till then, shall we have in fact what we have now in theory—a government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

The President of the League (1895) is Hon. Wm. Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.; Secretary, Stoughton Cooley, 22 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION, THE.—This association, commonly called the A. P. A., is a secret association, and is said to have somewhat changed its name recently, so that members sometimes declare that they are not members of the A. P. A., and that there is no such organization. Nevertheless, the organization admittedly continues known to the public as the A. P. A., and contends for the principles identified with that name. Its platform, as announced to the public, adopted by

the Supreme Council at Des Moines, Ia., May 4, 1894, is as follows:

"1. Loyalty to true Americanism, which knows neither birthplace, race, creed, nor party, is the first requisite for membership in the American Protective Association.

"2. The American Protective Association is not a political party and does not control the political affiliation of its members, but it teaches them to be intensely active in the discharge of their political duties in or out of party lines, because it believes that all the problems confronting our people will best be solved by a conscientious discharge of the duties of citizenship by every individual.

"3. While tolerant of all creeds, it holds that subjection to and support of any ecclesiastical power, not created and controlled by American citizens, and which claims equal if not greater sovereignty than the Government of the United States of America, is irreconcilable with American citizenship. It is, therefore, opposed to the holding of office in National, State, or Municipal Government by any subject or supporter of such ecclesiastical power.

"4. We uphold the Constitution of the United States of America, and no portion of it more than its guarantee of religious liberty; but we hold this religious liberty to be guaranteed to the individual and not to mean that under its protection any un-American ecclesiastical power can claim absolute control over the education of children growing up under the Stars and Stripes.

"5. We consider the non-sectarian free public school the bulwark of American institutions, the best place for the education of American children. To keep them as such we protest against the employment of subjects of any un-American ecclesiastical power as officers or teachers of our public schools.

"6. We condemn the support out of the public treasury by direct appropriation, or by contract of a sectarian school, reformatory, or other institutions not owned and controlled by public authority.

"7. Believing that exemption from taxation is equivalent to a grant of public funds, we demand that no real or personal property be exempt from taxation, the title to which is not vested in the National or State Governments, or in any of their subdivisions.

"8. We protest against the enlistment in the United States army, navy, or the militia of any State, of any person not an actual citizen of the United States.

"9. We demand for the protection of our citizen laborers the prohibition of the importation of pauper labor, and the restriction of all immigration to persons who can show their ability and honest intention to become self-supporting American citizens.

"10. We demand the change of the national naturalization laws by a repeal of the act authorizing the naturalization of minors without a previous declaration of intention, and by providing that no alien shall be naturalized or permitted to vote in any State in the Union who cannot speak the language of the land, and who cannot prove seven years' continuous residence in this country from the date of his declaration of intention.

"11. We protest against the gross negligence and laxity with which the Judiciary of our land administer the present naturalization laws, and against the practice of naturalizing aliens at the expense of committees or candidates, as the most prolific source of the present prostitution of American citizenship to the basest uses.

"12. We demand that all hospitals, asylums, reformatories, or other institutions in which people are under restraint, be at all times subject to public inspection, whether they are maintained by the public or by private corporations or individuals.

"13. We demand that all National or State legislation affecting financial, commercial, or industrial interests be general in character, and in no instance in favor of any one section of the country, of any one class of people."

The organization was founded at Clinton, Ia., about 1887, by H. F. Bowers, and has now grown to large numbers. It has spread into Canada, and has crossed to England and Australia, and is now organized as an international movement with a general platform as far as nationality is concerned, but contending for the same general principles. A member of the order says, in a printed circular:

"The A. P. A. is not a 'benefit' order—it gives neither life insurance, sick benefits, nor any other financial aid, as an order. The membership is not confined to natives of the United States; but all Protestants—after rigid scrutiny and if satisfactory—are eligible for membership—that is, men of 18 years and upward. The order is, first of all, American and Protestant. It is, at the same time, aggressive—it means fight!—with the ballot and with every other legitimate weapon.

"Of the men who make up its membership, it should be said that recent inquiry developed the fact that in the order there were nearly 1800 clergymen of various Protestant denominations; college presidents and professors, editors by scores, school-teachers by hundreds; bankers, railroad magnates, merchants, manufacturers, professional men of every description; artists, mechanics, salesmen, soldiers, and sailors. In some of the Western cities, every official, from mayor down, is a member of the order.

"Of course it is a secret order, because it is fighting a secret foe—the Jesuits. Would it be wise for a commander to make his plan of attack public before the battle? What success would Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, or others have had, had they given to the newspapers all their plans?

"The members are men who are sick of the apathy and supineness so prevalent in Protestantism, in Americans generally, who allow Rome to trample in the dust their most cherished institutions without a word of protest and allow the many-tentacled monster to seize and control city after city, without even a murmur."

The reasons given for the existence of the order are stated by the same writer to be as follows:

"The Roman Catholic attack on our public-school system.

"The attempted foreignizing, by force, of whole communities, in language and religion, by Romish priests.

"The complete control of our great cities by Romanism.

"The fact that our army and navy are almost wholly Romanized.

"The remarkable increase of untaxed church property.

"The frequent desecration of the American flag by priests.

"The Jesuit control of the heads of the Government at Washington.

"The well-known public declaration of the Pope that the United States is his one bright hope for the future.

"The universal brag and bluster of Romish orators and newspapers that Americans are cowards, and that all the good which has ever come to this nation has come from Romanists."

We give these quotations, not as coming officially from the order, but as unquestionably correctly showing the feeling of the order. As a proof of the need of the order, the Rev. James B. Dunn, Secretary of the Committee of One Hundred, of Boston, Mass., in a tract published by the committee, quotes from the papal encyclical of January 10, 1890, where the Pope bids Roman Catholics

"Even in politics, always to serve first the interests of Catholicism, and to submit themselves in obedience to the will of the Pontiff as to God Himself, and that the civil laws are binding on them only so long as they are conformable to the Roman Catholic religion. In that same encyclical the Pope says it is a duty to resist all civil laws hostile to anything ordered by the Church, and a crime to obey them. These being the facts, is it not quite certain that whatever his private or personal opinion and feelings may be as an American citizen, every good Roman Catholic must support the Church as against the State?"

"That cases happen in which the State demands one thing from the citizen, and religion the opposite from Christians, and this undoubtedly for no other reason than that the heads of the State pay no regard to the sacred power of the Church, or desire to make it subject to them. No one, however, can doubt which is to receive their preference."

It is an impious deed to break the laws of Jesus Christ for the purpose of obeying the magistrates, or to transgress the laws of

**Papal
Encyclicals.**

the Church under the pretext of observing the civil law.

"If the laws of the State are in open contradiction with the Divine law, if they command anything *prejudicial to the Church*, or are hostile to the duties imposed by religion, or violate in the person of the Supreme Pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then indeed it is a duty to resist them and a crime to obey them—a crime fraught with injury to the State itself.

"Furthermore, in politics, which are inseparably bound up with the laws of morality and religious duties, men ought always and in the first place to serve, as far as possible, the interests of Catholicism. As soon as they are seen to be in danger, all differences should cease between Catholics. Since the fate of States depends principally on the disposition of those who are at the head of the Government, the Church cannot grant its patronage or favor to men whom it knows to be hostile to it, who openly refuse to respect its rights; who seek to break the alliance established by the nature of things between religious interests and the interests of the civil order. On the contrary, its duty is to favor those who, having sound ideas as to the relations between Church and State, wish to make them both harmonize for the common good. These principles contain the rule according to which every Catholic ought to model his public life."

Dr. Dunn also quotes Vicar-General Preston, in a sermon, as saying :

"Every word Leo speaks from his high chair is the voice of the Holy Ghost, and must be obeyed. To every Catholic heart comes no thought but obedience. It is said that politics is not within the province of the Church, and that the Church has only jurisdiction in matters of faith. You say, 'I will receive my faith from the Pontiff, but I will not receive my politics from him.' This assertion is disloyal and untruthful. . . . You must not think as you choose; you must think as Catholics. The man who says, 'I will take my faith from Peter, but I will not take my politics from Peter,' is not a true Catholic. The Church teaches that the supreme Pontiff must be obeyed, because he is the vicar of the Lord, Christ speaks through him."

And from one of Cardinal Manning's sermons on ecclesiastical subjects, representing the Pope as saying :

"I acknowledge no civil superior; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong."

Of these and other similar quotations Dr. Dunn says :

"In view of such declarations and teachings, we ask, Can a good Romanist be at the same time a loyal American citizen?

"Many Romanists, no doubt, mean to be loyal citizens of the Republic, and honestly think they are; yea, we are quite willing to believe that the great body of them have no wish to interfere with the liberties and institutions of America, and that if called upon to choose between serving our Government and the power at Rome, think they would abjure Rome. But it must be remembered that they belong to a system in which free agency is impossible. As we have seen, the Vatican claims absolute and supreme authority in all things, civil as well as spiritual, and every member of that Church is bound to render to the Pontiff absolute and unquestioning obedience. This being true, is it not quite certain that whatever his private or personal opinions and feelings may be as an American citizen, he must support the Church as against the State? . . . Can any person who is loyal to Romanism be true to Republicanism? Can a Romanist be a good citizen of America? . . .

The United States Supreme Court has decided that the law of one of our States, disfranchising Mormons, is constitutional, on the theory that the man who takes the oath the Mormons are required to take cannot be a good citizen. Why should not this principle be applied to those who confess allegiance to the Papal hierarchy? How much longer will this flagrant violation of citizenship be permitted in America?

"Is it not high time for the nation to decide which is supreme, the Church or the State—to which authority citizens owe allegiance?"

"How long would the nation allow one eighth of her population to enjoy all the rights and privileges of American citizenship, while owing allegiance to any other foreign power, say Austria or Russia? Why permit this to be done with those who own allegiance to the Pontiff at Rome?"

"Let Romanists who would become citizens of the United States be required not only to take the oath of allegiance to the Government, but to take an oath also renouncing all primal allegiance to the Pope. This is not a question of religious intolerance, nor is it one of antagonism to foreigners who are willing to homologate with us in accordance with the spirit of our institutions. We would not cut down by a single span the splendid proportions of national freedom; we would not abridge the liberty of party, sect or individual. But this is a question of self-protection and self-preservation, and the law of self-preservation is supreme in all social and political organizations. We would guard and preserve our liberty from the hands of hate and the assaults of foes.

"Romanism is a political system. It is a political power; as a political power it must be met, as a political force it must be treated when viewed in its relation to our institutions. It does not make any difference whether the political power that assails our institutions is on the shores of the Baltic, on the shores of the British Channel, or on the shores of the Tiber, it must be met. We can have no divided citizenship. No man should be allowed to participate in the political affairs of this country who is the subject or ally of a foreign power that is at war with our national institutions. No ballot for the man who takes his politics from the Vatican!"

Such is probably as good a statement of the position of the A. P. A. as can be made. The order claims to-day (1895) about 2,000,000 members in the United States. Its prominent (1895) members are said to be: Supreme President, W. J. H. Traynor, of Detroit; Vice-President, Adam Fawcett, of Ohio; Secretary of State, O. B. Jackson, of Boone, Ia.; Chaplain, J. J. Gosper, of San Francisco; Secretary, C. J. Beatty, of Saginaw, Mich.; Treasurer, H. M. Stark, of Milwaukee; Trustees, F. C. Campbell, of Minneapolis; N. D. McDonald, of Cheyenne, Wyo.; and W. H. Nichols, of Braddock, Pa.

There are various minor orders of a similar nature, some started as a split from the A. P. A., some much older than the A. P. A., and of a somewhat similar nature, such as the Order of American Mechanics and the Junior Order of American Mechanics, which number some 200,000 members, and the Patriotic Order of Sons of America—these three admitting only natives of the United States to membership. Then there are the Knights of Malta, the Alfredians, the Order of Deputies, and that oldest and universally known Protestant order, the Orangemen.

The National League for the Protection of American Institutions (*q. v.*) is an unsectarian league to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards against any appropriation of public funds for sectarian schools or any sectarian purposes.

(For an answer from the Roman Catholic standpoint to the statements of the A. P. A. see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) But Romanists are by no means the only ones who criticise and oppose the attitude of the Arguments A. P. A. The Rev. H. K. Carroll, against the D. D., a Methodist clergyman, and A. P. A. one of the editors of *The Independent*, writes, in the *Methodist Review* for March-April, 1895, a strong plea for Protestants to conquer their prejudices and to

remember that the Church of Rome is a Christian Church; and, as far as its fundamental doctrines go, orthodox. Concerning the assertion that Roman Catholics cannot be good citizens, Dr. Carroll says :

"1. Are Catholics disloyal? I do not remember ever to have seen the affirmative of this question supported by the citation of any act. It is commonly argued from the doctrine of papal supremacy. Catholics, it is urged, know no higher law than obedience. The people obey the priests implicitly, the priests are in complete subjection to the bishops, and the bishops are bound to do whatever the Pope tells them. This Pope is a foreign potentate who assumes to be superior to kings and governments; and he would, if he could, subordinate the State to the Church. In answer let me ask, Is it not obvious that he could not if he would? Where is there a State over which he exercises even a shadow of sovereignty? There are countries, like Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, which are overwhelmingly Catholic. Surely there, if anywhere, this assumed prerogative would be asserted. It is not. The Pope has no quarrel, even with the Government of Italy, on this point. All that he asks of King Humbert—and he asks this less and less often and more perfunctorily—is that the seat of his spiritual empire be made papal or neutral territory, so that he shall be independent of all governments. Everybody admits that this concession will never be made. Now, if the Pope cannot obtain control over a Catholic power, what possible chance has he of doing so over a great Protestant power like the United States? The idea of such a thing seems to me preposterous. If the Church is as cunning, as unscrupulous, as adept in trickery as it is sometimes said to be, why has it not carried its point in Italy, where the Church has its seat of government, and where the people are intensely Catholic? If the Pope really desired to subvert our Government, of which there is not the slightest evidence, what object could he have in view? The establishment of a monarchy? This is inconceivable. It is true enough that the idea at Rome used to be that monarchies were of divine right; but this idea has been modified, and the Pope has recognized in France—the oldest son of the Church—the divine right of republics. If our own republic were ever intolerable to the Holy See, why were Catholics allowed to assist in establishing it?"

Dr. H. K. Carroll's views.

"A hypothetical case is sometimes put, thus: Suppose an issue were to arise in which Catholics had to choose between their country and their Church, between their patriotism and their religion—what then? I reply, that this question is just as pertinent respecting members of other denominations as of Catholics. It is often said by way of condemnation that if a Catholic had to choose between his faith and his country's requirements, he would sooner give up his allegiance to his country than to his religion. Well, who wouldn't? Religion embraces our duty to God. Isn't that our highest duty? And if conflict comes, who that is worthy of the Christian name would abjure his faith? This is only an idle question; such an issue is in the highest degree improbable; but our prejudice provokes our fears, and our fears are wild and unreasoning."

Concerning the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to our public schools, Dr. Carroll says :

"2. Does the Church of Rome desire to destroy our public school system? 'Destroy' is a strong word. I doubt whether it is right to apply it even to the most hostile opinion that prevails among the hierarchy. The most any Catholic has asked for is exemption from payment of the public school tax or division of the school funds. In neither case would the system be destroyed. If the first alternative were adopted it would impair the integrity of the system and limit it. It would not be for all the people, as it is now, but only for the larger part of them. If the second proposal were accepted we should have in this country the conditions that prevail in England and elsewhere. We should have both the secular and religious elements represented in our public schools. The system would be greatly changed and impaired, but it would not be destroyed. It would not be fair, I think, to say that the hierarchy would destroy our public school; but it is fair to say that they are not satisfied with it as it is."

Concerning a much-quoted passage from the Boston *Pilot*, which says that "no good government can exist without religion; and there can be no religion without an Inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith," Dr. Carroll explains that this does not call for a revival of the tortures of the Middle Ages, but refers to one of the present sacred congregations, *Congregatio Sacri Officii*, or *Romanæ et Universalis Inquisitionis*, bodies "whose duty it is to examine and repress heretical and depraved doctrines and offenses."

Another strong argument against the position of the A. P. A. not used by Dr. Carroll in this article is, if there be danger to American liberty in the Roman Catholic Church, that danger comes from the ignorance of many in her communion, and that the best way to overcome this is not to organize against Roman Catholics, and so drive their children from our public schools into parochial ones, where they will simply grow more subservient to their priests, but rather to welcome them to our schools, giving them a fair share of the teachers, treating them in every way fairly, and so to educate the children away from whatever there may be that is false in the Romish system.

It can be shown that democratic ideas are making fatal inroads into the Church of Rome. In this encyclopedia we are concerned only with social and political questions, but if any hold that the Church of Rome is dangerous to democratic liberty, it is asserted that they have only to look at statistics to see that the one way to increase the power of Rome is to organize against her. She appears to be growing in this country simply because so many Roman Catholics have immigrated to our shores. As a matter of fact, she does not retain even those who are naturally her own. From 1850-94, 13,462,367 immigrants have landed in this country; of these, at least three fifths, or 8,077,419, have been Roman Catholics, while, according to the census of 1890, there were only 6,231,417 Roman Catholic communicants or members in the whole country. Roman Catholics themselves know that they are not holding their own against democratic institutions. Cardinal Gibbons, in his pastoral letter of 1883, says: "While we are gratified with the number of converts who embrace the true faith, we have reason to be appalled in considering the vast number of souls that are straying away from the fold. If we look for the descendants of those families that have been immigrating from Catholic Europe to this country in one uninterrupted march from the beginning of the present century, how many of them shall we now find ranking among the most bitter and unrelenting enemies of the Church?" The *Catholic Mirror*, of Baltimore, in 1885 stated that the Catholic population of this country naturally ought to be 20,000,000, and was only 8,000,000. Therefore many who are by no means favorable to the political influence of the Roman priesthood argue that the one way to defeat it is to let Rome alone and to spread democratic education, and that the one way to extend the power of Rome is to organize against her and drive her children into parochial schools.

References: For literature and recent information favorable to the American Protective Association, see *The Patriotic American*, Detroit, Mich., W. J. H. Traynor, publisher. See also arguments *pro* and *con* in the *North American Review*.

AMERICAN PURITY ALLIANCE, THE, was incorporated under this name only in 1895, but is the continuation of the New York Committee for the Prevention of State Regulation of Vice, which commenced its work in 1870, and has held 19 annual meetings. Its constitution in its articles of public interest is as follows:

"In view of the widespread suffering, physical disease, deplorable hereditary results, degradation of manhood and womanhood, and the peril to the home, society, and the State, involved in the prevalent immorality, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance upon Divine aid, to form ourselves into an Association, to be governed by the following Constitution: "Article I. This association shall be called the American Purity Alliance.

"Art. II. The objects of this Alliance are the repression of vice, the prevention of its regulation by the State, the better protection of the young, the rescue of the fallen, the extension of the White Cross among men, and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women.

"Art. III. Any person who consents to the principles of this constitution, and who contributes annually \$1 or more to its funds, may be a member of this Alliance, and shall be entitled to a vote at the meetings.

"Art. VIII. Any purity or White Cross association founded on the same principles may become auxiliary to this Alliance by contributing annually the sum of \$5 to its treasury."

Says the latest report of the Alliance (1895):

"As we enter upon the twentieth year of our work in behalf of a high and equal standard of morality, alike for both sexes, we are reminded, in a retrospective view, that the past 19 years of service have made a history for which we had no plan in our informal beginning. It was in the summer of 1876 that a few of us organized as a Committee, with the revered Abby Hopper Gibbons as our president, to respond to an appeal brought to us by a deputation from the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, an organization of which Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, of England, is the heroic, consecrated leader. The grave and painful message which these delegates—the Rev. J. P. Gledstone and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., of England—brought to us to warn us of the danger to which we were exposed, was intensified by the fact that an effort was made about that time to establish the old-world system of State-sanctioned vice in New York. We found local work to do at once to thwart the evil scheme, and it has proved that we have had need to keep continued and unremitting watch and guard over legislation in our own and other States all these intervening years. Meanwhile, we have also done what we could to spread a knowledge of the important mission of the International Federation and the principles involved in the movement, which were very little understood in this country. We have worked in quiet ways, chiefly through the types. *The Philanthropist*, published monthly for nearly a decade, has reached and awakened the interest of a valuable constituency of earnest, thoughtful people scattered throughout the country, who have given us their helpful cooperation, and our work has thus extended and broadened. We therefore find it desirable now to give ourselves a more fitting title, hence the change of name to that of *The American Purity Alliance*, by which we can also give those who have become our allies their proper recognition in auxiliary societies and otherwise."

History.

The League works by the dissemination of literature, meetings, the holding of purity congresses, the careful watching of legislation, etc., and has devoted itself especially to raising the age of consent, to preventing attempts to lower the age, and to agitation against the State control or licensing of prostitution. Its President (1895) is Aaron M. Powell; the Chairman of its Executive

Committee, Emily Blackwell, M.D.; its Corresponding Secretary, Anna Rice Powell, 243 East Sixth Street, Plainfield, N. J.; its Treasurer, Elizabeth Gay, West New Brighton, N. Y.; its office, 39 Nassau Street, Room 37, New York.

See also AGE OF CONSENT; PROSTITUTION; SOCIAL PURITY; WHITE CROSS MOVEMENT, etc.

AMERICAN RAILWAY MASTER MECHANICS' ASSOCIATION.—See RAILWAY, ORGANIZATIONS OF.

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.—See RAILWAY EMPLOYEES, ORGANIZATIONS OF.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, THE.—This association was founded in 1865. Its present constitution is as follows:

I. This society shall be called the American Social Science Association.

II. Its objects shall be classified in five departments: The first, of Education; the second, of Health; the third, of Trade and Finance; the fourth, of Social Economy; the fifth, of Jurisprudence.

III. It shall be administered by a president, as many honorary vice-presidents as may be chosen, a treasurer, a secretary, and a council, charged with general supervision; five department committees, established by the council, charged with the supervision of their respective departments; and such local committees as may be established by the council at different points, to serve as branch associations. The council shall consist of the president, treasurer, and secretary, the chairman and secretary of each department, and 10 directors, with power to fill vacancies and to make their own by-laws. The president, vice-presidents, treasurer, chairman, and secretaries of departments, and directors shall be chosen annually by members of the association, and shall hold office till their successors are chosen. The president, or in his absence a director, shall be chairman of the council. The chairman of the local committees shall be chosen at the pleasure of their respective committees. Whenever a branch association shall be organized and recognized as such by the council, its president shall be *ex-officio* one of the vice-presidents of the American Association, and, together with the secretary and treasurer, shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership in that association. And whenever a local department shall be organized and recognized as such by the council, its chairman shall become *ex-officio* a member of the parent association. The chairman and secretary of each department, with the consent of the president of the association, may appoint such special department committees as they may think best. The general secretary shall be elected for three years, unless he resigns, or is removed by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting in a regular meeting of the council; and out of his compensation he may pay the salary of an assistant secretary, who may also be secretary of one department.

IV. Any person may become a member by paying \$5, and may continue a member by paying annually such further sum as may be fixed at the annual meeting, not exceeding \$10. On payment of \$100, any person may become a life member, exempt from assessments. Honorary and corresponding members may be elected and exempted from the payment of assessments. **Constitution.**

V. The council shall have sole power to call and conduct general meetings, and to publish the transactions and other documents of the association. The department committee shall have power to call and conduct department meetings.

VI. No amendment to this constitution shall be made, except at an annual meeting, with public notice of the proposed amendment.

It has not been the practice of the association to elect members, but to extend a particular or a general invitation (as now) to all who are interested in social science, and wish to promote the spread of sound knowledge on the important topics involved in education, health, finance, jurisprudence, and social economy. Founded

at the very close of the Civil War, it has since aided, directly or indirectly, in the formation of other valuable societies—the National Prison Association, the Civil Service Reform Society, National Conference of Charities, several of the State conferences and charity organization societies, the American Historical Association, American Economic Association, etc. It has also been instrumental in promoting departments or professorships of social science in many universities and colleges which are now doing an extensive work of instruction.

Its present officers (1895) are : President, F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury, Conn. First Vice-President, H. L. Wayland, Philadelphia, Pa. Vice-Presidents, Francis Wayland, New Haven, Conn. ; Daniel C. Gilman, Baltimore, Md. ; William T. Harris, Washington, D. C. ; Carroll D. Wright, Washington, D. C. ; Mrs. John E. Lodge, Boston, Mass. ; Lucy Hall-Brown, M.D., Brooklyn, N. Y. ; Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, Washington, D. C. ; S. W. Dike, D.D., Auburn, Mass. ; Charles A. Peabody, New York ; Andrew Dickson White, Ithaca, N. Y. ; Grace Peckham, M.I., New York ; Henry B. Baker, Lansing, Mich. ; Dorman B. Eaton, New York ; Henry Villard, New York ; H. Holbrook Curtis, M.D., New York ; R. A. Holland, St. Louis, Mo. ; John Eaton, Washington, D. C. General Secretary, F. B. Sanborn, Concord, Mass. Treasurer, Anson Phelps Stokes, 45 Cedar Street, New York.

The secretary says of the founding of the association :

"It was the scarcity of material for the investigation of social questions, indeed, which suggested to the founders of this association the importance of bringing together in this way the persons interested in the development of civilization here, and in setting forth its results and its unsolved problems for the information and guidance of each other. However the conception of such a society as ours originated—and I fancy it was obtained from the earlier society of the same name in England, now unhappily defunct—the idea was communicated in practical form to the American public by my colleagues of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, in August, 1865. This board, the earliest of some 15 which now exist in the United States, and which convene every year in the National Conference of Charities, had found since October, 1863, when it was established, that the general information it sought in regard to

Its Object.

the topics of Poverty, Industry, Insanity, Pauperism, Crime, and Disease were very hard to obtain, because there was no common center to which such facts would naturally be drawn. Its seven members, therefore, after nearly two years of active service, united in summoning those persons interested in these and in other social topics to meet in convention at the Massachusetts State House in Boston, and there organize an association similar to that existing in England, and to another in Belgium. To this invitation about 300 persons, from all parts of the Northern States except the extreme West, responded ; and the American Social Science Association was then and there founded, under the presidency of Professor William B. Rogers, then at the head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but extending his regard over the whole field of science as much as any man in America."

Speaking of the development of social science in this country, after referring to the development of the census and of national and State labor bureaus, the secretary says :

"Not a single lunacy commission, State board of health, labor bureau, or prison commission existed, I think, in the United States when we organized the association in 1865. There was but one State board of charities, as I have said, and that had made but one report. It existed till it had made 15, all more or less valuable for the facts they contained. It was then succeeded by another State board in Massachusetts,

with fuller powers—among them those of a lunacy commission—and this second board has made 12 reports. The New York State Board of Charities has made 23 annual reports ; that of Rhode Island as many ; that of Pennsylvania, 21 ; that of Ohio, 15 ; and the other States a smaller number, because they report only biennially. Now, all these volumes, if brought together, make a library by themselves ; and if we add to them the 18 volumes, small and large, of the National Conference of Charities, and the publications—some of them very valuable—of the New York State Charities Aid Association, the New York Prison Association, and the National Prison Association, a great collection of material of much variety and importance is available in a dozen libraries throughout the country for the use of students."

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION, THE.—This association was organized in 1839, and has a membership of about 600. A quarterly publication was begun in 1888, by means of which special statistical monographs are being presented to the public, and in addition this journal contains a record of current statistical literature, which is intended to inform the members concerning the most important and recent statistical inquiries made in foreign countries. With this in view there is now prepared a *résumé* of the foreign periodicals and journals devoted to statistics. This publication has reached its twenty-fourth number, and is already recognized as a valuable record of statistical work. The present constitution of the association is as follows :

ART. I. This association shall be denominated the American Statistical Association.

ART. II. The objects of the association shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse statistical information in the different departments of human knowledge.

ART. III. The association shall be composed of fellows and honorary members.

ART. IV. All members shall be chosen by ballot ; nomination for membership shall first be submitted to the Board of Directors ; if approved by them, the names shall be presented to the association, and for election the affirmative votes of four fifths of the members present shall be necessary. Each fellow shall pay annually \$2, or \$20 at some one time.

ART. V. Fellows only shall be entitled to vote, but honorary members shall have the right to sit and deliberate in all the meetings of the association.

ART. VI. The officers of the association shall be a president, five vice-presidents, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a treasurer, a librarian, and three counselors, who, together with the president and secretaries, shall form a Board of Directors for the government of the institution, three of whom shall constitute a quorum at any meeting regularly convened. There shall be also three standing committees of three members each—*viz.*, on Publication, on Finance, and on the Library.

ART. VII. The association shall meet in the city of Boston on the third Friday in January, April, and October, and at such other times as the Board of Directors shall appoint. At the annual meeting in January the association shall hear reports of the Board of Directors, of the treasurer, of the librarian, and of the standing committees, elect officers, and transact other business. Vacancies may be filled at any regular meeting. Five members shall be necessary to form a quorum for transacting business and the election of members, but a less number may adjourn the meeting.

ART. VIII. No alteration in this constitution shall be made except on notice at a previous meeting, and by a vote of three fourths of the members present.

NOTE.—Each member shall be entitled to receive all reports and publications of the association.

Its presidents have been Hon. Richard Fletcher, A.M., LL.D. ; George C. Shattuck, M.D., LL.D. ; Edward Jarvis, A.M., M.D.

Its present officers (1895) are : President, Francis A. Walker, Ph.D., LL.D. Vice-Presidents, Hamilton A. Hill, A.M. ; Hon. Carroll D. Wright ; Richmond Mayo-Smith, A.M. ; Hon. Horace G. Wadlin ; Henry C. Adams, Ph.D. Correspond-

ing Secretary, E. R. L. Gould, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. Treasurer, John S. Clark, Esq., 646 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. Secretary and Librarian, Davis R. Dewey, Ph.D., Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. Assistant Secretary, Gary N. Calkins, Columbia College, New York. Counselors, John Ward Dean, A.M.; Samuel W. Abbott, M.D.; S. N. D. North, Esq. Committee on Publication, Davis R. Dewey, Ph.D.; Walter C. Wright, Esq.; Roland P. Falkner, Ph.D. Committee on Finance, Hamilton A. Hill, A.M.; Lyman Mason, A.M.; George O. Carpenter, Esq. Committee on Library, Hon. Julius L. Clarke; Rev. Robert C. Watterston; Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D. (See also AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION and INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTION.)

AMSTERDAM, BANK OF. See BANK OF AMSTERDAM.

ANABAPTISTS, a name commonly given to that body of Christians who reject the baptism of infants and administer the rite only to adults. The doctrine first arose amid the discussions as to infant baptism which were held in the early Church. Thomas Munzer (1520), the leader of a set of enthusiasts called the prophets of Zwickau, did much to spread the beliefs of Anabaptism through Saxony and Switzerland. Waldshut became one of their centers of propagation. Revolting from the rigid rule of the State and from the false formalism of the Church, they carried their opposite principles too far; and it is certain that in some places the movement, guided by ambitious and licentious men, broke loose from all moral principles into lawlessness and lust; but for the most part Anabaptists have been a much maligned and misrepresented class of people, who earnestly desired and sought for a greater fullness of truth and brotherhood than any institutions then existing could provide. Their doctrines were: The equality of all Christians, the community of goods, the baptism of the Spirit, adult baptism, and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth. About 1525 the "peasant war" broke out, partially caused and largely supported by these doctrines. The laboring classes were at this time very cruelly oppressed by the government, and the teachings of Anabaptism spread rapidly through Holstein, Westphalia, and the Netherlands. Again and again they were checked, and scattered, and persecuted even to death; but traveling preachers continued the agitation, and organizations sprang up wherever persecution turned its back.

In 1534 they became masters of Münster; they destroyed all churches, and appointed 12 judges to rule over the city. A tailor named Bockhold had himself crowned king, and for a year the city was given over to every kind of madness and licentiousness. At

the end of that time several Protestant princes conquered the city and restored peace and order by executing the ringleaders of the uproar. In Amsterdam and other cities Anabaptists, who had little in common with the lustful fanaticism of Bockhold, began to spread their doctrines. The *Revelations of St. John*

was their chief source of doctrine; and their main desire was to found a new kingdom of pure and primitive Christians. David Joris (1501-56), one of the chief of these, united Liberalism with Anabaptism, introduced much mystical theology, and strove to unite the different Christian sects. Another prominent leader was Merno Simons. In spite of dangers and persecutions he gathered together the scattered and disheartened Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands. He explained his belief in a book published in 1556, *Elements of the True Christian Faith*, which is still an authoritative book among the Mennonites. His adherents believe in strictly following the teachings of Scripture, in rejecting the taking of oaths, every kind of revenge, war, divorce (except for adultery), infant baptism, and the undertaking the work of a magistrate. Their belief is that while magistracy is necessary for the present time, it is foreign to the kingdom of Christ. The education and theology of the colleges they set very little value upon. Menno called his adherents "God's congregation; poor unarmed Christian brothers." In Germany the Mennonites are called *Taufgesinnte*, and in Holland, *Doopsgezinden*.

The church is the literal communion of the saints, which must be kept pure by strict discipline. They are Universalists in regard to grace and Zwinglians in their view of the Lord's Supper. They celebrate the rite of feet-washing. Their bishops, elders, and teachers serve gratis. They are split into many divisions, mainly the strict and the mild Mennonites. The latter are known as Waterländers, from a place in Holland. Some of their divisions take names from the peculiarities of their dress—Buttoners, Hook-and-eye-ers, etc. The purity of their lives, however, commands respect, and their industry makes them prosperous.

References: *The Social Side of the Reformation*, by E. B. Bax; *A Valuable Chapter in Ethic of Free Thought*, by Karl Pearson; also Ranke and other writers on the Reformation.

ANARCHISM (Gr. *an*, privative, and *ἀρχή*, government), the social doctrine of the abolition of government of man by man, and the constitution of society without government.

Under this general definition of anarchism there are, however, two schools of anarchists, so totally distinct and even opposed in their doctrines, their methods, and general characteristics, that we must consider them separately and distinguish between them at every point. The two schools are those of the individualist anarchists (often called in this country philosophical anarchists), and, secondly, the school of anarchist communists. The individualist anarchists, though perhaps the fewer in number, are, in this country especially, the abler body of thinkers, and carry out to their fullest logical results the principles which a great many individualists accept but do not fully carry out. Individualist anarchists do not believe in the use of force—not because they hold that it is wrong to use it, but simply because they are aware that the use of force never truly liberates, while their aim is absolute liberty—their motto being "Liberty, not the daughter, but the mother of order." They

start from the philosophy of individual sovereignty, and apply it to the problems of social science with relentless logic. While by no means objecting to organization and cooperation, provided it be voluntary, they would have all organization spring from the individual.

Anarchist communists, on the other hand, form a wholly different school of thought. They do not believe in government, and they do believe in overthrowing it by force. On its ruins they would plant a communal life, whose ideal is very little different from that of the socialists, except that it is not to be realized through the State. Most of the men who are called anarchists in the press, particularly of Europe, and almost all the bomb-throwers and dynamiters of recent years on either continent have been anarchist communists. The school is mainly European, as individualist anarchism is mainly American. Anarchist-communism counts among its followers names favorably known to science and letters, such as Krapotkin and Reclus, while many, even of the dynamitards, have been men of education and sometimes refinement. Nevertheless, it is mainly a movement among the working classes, particularly of France, Italy, Spain, and, to a less extent, Germany and Austria. In England there are but few anarchist communists. In America they are found only in a few cities. The so-called Chicago anarchists were anarchist communists. Individualist anarchism, on the other hand, is not a class movement, but almost purely intellectual, naturally drawing its strength largely from the classes possessed to-day of intellectual advantages. It will thus be seen that in philosophy, method, and general characteristics the two classes of anarchists are carefully to be distinguished. Both are distinctly revolutionary and opposed to the State; but the one starts from the individual, and advocates a revolution through ideas; the other starts from the community, and advocates a revolution through force. We print a statement of individualist anarchism by Victor Yarros, one of its foremost American representatives; and a statement of anarchist communism, by Pierre Krapotkin, perhaps its most distinguished representative. Says Mr. Yarros:

I. INDIVIDUALIST OR PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISM.

The individualistic or philosophical anarchists favor the abolition of "the State" and government of man by man. They seek to bring about a state of perfect freedom—of anarchy. To comprehend the precise import of this statement it is essential to grasp and bear in mind the definitions given by the anarchists to the terms employed in their expositions. The current misconceptions of the anarchistic doctrines are chiefly due to the persistent, though largely unconscious, habit of interpreting them in the light of the popular definitions of the terms "State," "government," etc., instead of in the light of their own technical use of these terms. The average man, on being told that the anarchist would abolish all governmental restraints, not unnaturally concludes that the proposition involves the removal of the restrictions upon *criminal* conduct, the relinquishment

of organized defense of life, liberty, and property. Those who are familiar with the doctrine of non-resistance to evil, preached by the early Christians and by the modern Tolstoians, generally identify anarchism with it. But such interpretations are without any foundation. The anarchists are emphatically in favor of resistance to and organized protection against crime and aggression of every kind; it is not greater freedom for the criminal, but greater freedom for the non-criminal, that they aim to secure; and by the abolition of government they mean the removal of restrictions upon conduct intrinsically ethical and legitimate, but which ignorant legislation has interdicted as criminal. The anarchistic principle of personal liberty is absolutely coincident with the famous Spencerian "first principle of human happiness," the principle of "equal freedom," which Mr. Spencer has expressed in the formula, "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man." It is, in fact, precisely *because* the anarchist accepts this principle without reservation, and insists on the suppression and elimination of *all* aggression or invasion—all conduct incompatible with equality of liberty—that he declares war upon the "State" and "government." He defines "State" as "the embodiment of the principle of invasion in an individual or band of individuals, assuming to act as representatives or masters of the entire people within a given area."* Government he defines as "the subjection of the non-invasive individual to an external will;" and "invasion" as conduct violative of equal freedom.

Perhaps the clearest way of stating the political program of the anarchists will be to indicate its relation to other better known theories of government. The anarchists, agreeing with the view of the true Jeffersonian Democrats, that the best government is that which governs least, sympathizing with the position of the old Manchester individualists and *laissez-faire-ists*, who believed in a minimum of government interference, as well as with the less vague doctrines of the more radical modern individualists of the Spencerian school, who would limit the State to the sole function of protecting men against external and internal invaders, go a step farther and demand the dissolution of what remains of "government"—*viz.*, compulsory taxation and compulsory military service. It is no more necessary, contend the anarchists, that government should assume the protective military and police functions, and *compel* men to accept its services, than it is that government should meddle with production, trade, banking, education, and other lines of human activity. By voluntary organization and voluntary taxation it is perfectly possible to protect liberty and property and to restrain crime. It is doubtless easy to imagine a society in which government concerns itself with nothing save preservation of order and punishment of crime, in which there are no

Program.

* The definitions here given are those formed and consistently used by Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of the philosophical anarchistic movement.

public schools supported by compulsory taxation, no government interference with the issue of currency and banking, no custom-houses or duties on foreign imports, no government postal service, no censorship of literature and the stage, no attempt to enforce Sunday laws, etc. The *laissez-faire-ists* of the various schools have familiarized the thinking public with such a type of social organization. Now, the anarchists propose to do away with the compulsory feature of the single function reserved for government by the radical *laissez-faire-ists*. In other words, they insist on the right of the non-aggressive individual to "ignore the State," to dispense with the protective services of the defensive organization and remain outside of it. This would not prevent those who might desire systematic and organized protection from combining to maintain a defensive institution, but such an institution would not be a government, since no one would be compelled to join it and pay toward its support. Anarchy, therefore, may be defined as a state of society in which the non-invasive individual is not coerced into cooperation for the defense of his neighbors, and in which each enjoys the highest degree of liberty compatible with equality of liberty.

With regard to the question of putting down aggression, the jurisdiction of the voluntary defensive organization would of course extend to outsiders, and not be limited by its membership. The criminal are not to secure immunity by declining to join defensive associations. As the freedom of each is to be bounded by the equal freedom of all, the invader would be liable to punishment under anarchism no less than under government. Criminals would still be tried by juries and punished by executive officers. They would not be allowed to set up ethical standards for themselves and to do what is right in their own eyes. Such a doctrine involves not the *abolition* of government, but the widest possible extension of it. It repudiates all ethical principles and abandons all attempts at enforcing justice and protecting rights. Every man is allowed under it to govern his fellows, if he has the will and the power, and the struggle for existence in the simplest and crudest form is revived. Anarchism, on the other hand, posits the principle of equal liberty as binding upon all, and only insists that those who refrain from violating it should not be interfered with in any way, either by individual governors or combinations of would-be rulers.

Anarchists reject governmentalism because they find no ethical warrant and no practical necessity for it. It appears to them self-evident that society, or the community, can have no greater claims upon the individual than the component members of it have. The metaphysical and misleading analogies between society and organism, upon which is usually founded the governmentalist's theory of the prerogatives of the State, anarchists reject with undisguised contempt. "The community," or "the State," is an abstraction, and an abstraction has neither rights nor duties. Individuals, and individuals only, have rights. This proposition is the corner-stone of the anarchistic doctrine, and those who accept it

are bound to go the full length of anarchism. For if the community cannot rightfully compel a man to do or refrain from doing that which private and individual members thereof cannot legitimately force him to do or forego, then compulsory taxation and compulsory cooperation for any purpose whatever are wrong in principle, and government is merely another name for aggression. It will not be pretended that one private individual has the right to tax another private individual without his consent; how, then, does the majority of the members of a community obtain the right to tax the minority without its consent? Having outgrown the dogma of the divine right of kings, democratic countries are unconsciously erecting the dogma of the **Government** divine right of majorities to rule. **Aggression.** The absurdity of such a belief is apparent. Majorities, minorities, and any other combinations of individuals are entitled to insist on respect of their rights, but not on violating the rights of others. There is one ethical standard, not two; and it cannot be right for government to do that which would be criminal, immoral, when committed by individuals. Laws of social life are not made at the polls or in legislative assemblies; they have to be discovered in the same way in which laws of other sciences are discovered. Once discovered, majorities are bound to observe them no less than individuals.

As already stated, the anarchists hold that the law of equal freedom, formulated positively by Spencer and negatively by Kant, is a scientific social law which ought to guide men in their various activities and mutual relations. The logical deductions or corollaries of this law show us at once our rights and our duties. Government violates this great law not only by the fact of its very existence, but in a thousand other ways. Government means the coercion of the non-invasive, the taxation of those who protest against being forced to join the political organization set up by the majority. It enacts statutes and imposes restraints which find no sanction in the law of equal freedom, and punishes men for disobeying such arbitrary provisions. It is true that governments profess to have the public welfare in view, and to enforce nothing save what morality and justice dictate. Justice, however, is invariably confounded by governments with legalism, and by the enforcement of justice they often mean the enforcement of the very laws which they enact in violation of justice. Thus laws in restraint of trade and of exchange are enforced in the name of justice, whereas justice demands the fullest freedom of trade and exchange. Strictly speaking, the enforcement of justice cannot be undertaken by government at all, since a government that should attempt to enforce justice would have to begin by signing its own death-warrant. A government that would enforce equal freedom and let the inoffensive alone would be, not a government, but a voluntary association for the protection of rights.

In republican countries men loosely speak of their "free government," their "government by consent." In reality there is no such thing as government by consent. Majorities rule, and the minorities are forced to acquiesce.

Arguments for Anarchism.

The principle of consent is clearly fatal to governmentalism, for it implies the right of the non-invasive to ignore the State and decline to accept its services. Ethically a man has a perfect right to do this, for the mere refusal to join the political organization (which is merely an insurance association) is not a breach of the principle of equal freedom. Our "free governments" deny this right, hence they are immoral. They cannot become moral except by ceasing to be governments and becoming purely voluntary associations for defense.

Apart from the question of compulsory taxation and compulsory military service, on the abolition of which anarchists alone lay stress (although they readily admit that the police functions of government will be the last to disappear), there is little, if any, difference between anarchists and Spencerian individualists on the question of government interference. The cessation of such interference with economic relations—with the issue of money, banking, wages, trade, production, etc.—is advocated on the ground that the solution of the social problems is to be found in liberty rather than in regulation, in free competition rather than in State monopoly. On the subject of public education, postal service, poor laws, sanitary supervision, etc., anarchists, in common with advanced individualists, hold that government interference is as pernicious practically as it is unwarranted ethically. Corruption and inefficiency are evils inseparable from government management, and there is nothing which government does that could not be done better by private enterprise under free competition.

In short, the anarchists object to government-alism because it is unethical, as well as unnecessary and inexpedient. Government is either the will of one man or the will of a number of men, large or small. Now, the will of one or many is not a criterion of right and justice, while for the adjustment of the conflicting interests of the members of society such a criterion is an absolute necessity. Majority rule, and even the rule of a despot, may be, under certain conditions, preferable to a state of civil chaos; but as men advance and study the facts of their own development, they begin to realize the truth that there is no relation whatever between right

and numbers, justice and force. Majority rule is discredited along with despotic rule, and ethical science becomes the sole guide and authority. The social laws require to be applied and enforced as long as predatory instincts and invasive tendencies continue to manifest themselves in human relations, and this necessitates the maintenance of associations for the protection of freedom and the punishment of aggression. But the governmental method is not adapted to the promotion of this end. Government begins by coercing the non-invasive individual into cooperation for defense and offense, regardless of the fact that a benevolent despotism is not a whit more defensible than a selfish despotism.

In general, it may be stated that any methods not in themselves invasive are regarded as legitimate by the anarchists in the furtherance

of their cause. But they rely chiefly, if not entirely, on the methods of education—theoretical propaganda of their views—and of passive resistance to government. In violence, so-called propaganda by deed and subterranean plotting against existing institutions, they do not believe. **Methods.**

Political changes may be brought about by revolutions, and possibly also such economic changes as are contemplated by the State socialists. But freedom can rest only on ideas and sentiments favorable to it, and revolutionary demonstrations can never abolish ignorance and the spirit of tyranny. Freedom cannot be forced on those who are not fit for it. The emancipation of the people from the aggression of government must come through their own deliberate choice and effort. Anarchists can but disseminate true political teachings and expose the nature and essence of governmentalism. Anarchists, however, do not believe that it is necessary to convert the whole people in order to carry their principles into practice. A strong and determined minority could, while remaining passive, successfully resist the attempt of government to tax them and otherwise impose its will upon them. Public opinion would not approve of a government campaign of violence against a number of intelligent and perfectly honest individuals banded together for the sole purpose of carrying on their legitimate activities and asserting their right to ignore injunctions and prohibitions having no authority from an ethical point of view.

Even if anarchists believed in the use of violent methods, and if they thought that violent resistance to government would hasten their emancipation, they would certainly resort to it, since it is not immoral or invasive to use force against invaders—there would be one important difference between them and other schools of reformers. Anarchists would not prevent others from living under government side by side with them, while other reformers seek to impose their schemes on the whole community in which they live. Thus the State socialists, in pursuance of their program of State monopoly of capital, intend to suppress all competition and all rivalry on the part of individual owners of capital. The anarchists, on the other hand, if allowed to remain outside of the governmental organization, would force no one to join them or follow their example. Still, as a matter of fact, anarchists abjure violence even in their own interests, vividly realizing the truth that the progress of justice and freedom is arrested in a state of war. Peace is an essential condition to the spread of rational ideas and the growth of the sentiment of toleration. Appealing as they do to the ideas and feelings of justice, it would be suicidal for anarchists to encourage violence and excite the lowest passions of men by revolutionary tactics.

To reform by ordinary political methods the anarchists are also opposed, at least under present conditions. As they do not seek any new positive legislation, they can expect nothing from politics. They demand the repeal of the legislation which improperly restricts men's freedom of action, and such repeal they cannot secure while being in a minor-

ity. Whether they would cooperate with other parties in attempting to carry specific measures of repeal, would depend largely on circumstances. It is to be remembered that, while the anarchists are strenuous in their opposition to every vestige of government, they do not expect to realize their entire program at one stroke. They are prepared for very slow and gradual reform, and would welcome the success of any single libertarian proposal. They would rejoice in the triumph of the free-trade idea, the repeal of the laws perpetuating land monopoly and monetary monopoly, and the abolition of special privileges. If they do not form themselves into a political party for the purpose of attaining one or more of these objects, it is because they can do more by other methods. Moreover, to enter into the political arena is to recognize, by implication, the principle of government. To vote is to coerce or to threaten coercion. Behind the ballot is the bullet of the soldier, ready to force the defeated minority into submission. The voter does not merely assert his right to self-government; he sets up a claim to govern others. The anarchist cannot employ a method which would put him in such a false light.

Thus the anarchist is neither a government bomb-thrower nor a revolutionary bomb-thrower. He objects to the use of violence by the government as well as against it. He restricts himself to the method of education and such passive resistance as is exemplified by a refusal to pay taxes or rent or import duties on commodities purchased in foreign countries.

VICTOR YARROS.

Historical Sketch of Individualist Anarchism.

Philosophical anarchists usually regard Proudhon as the founder of their school of social science; but there were in America, altho far less widely known, men entertaining anarchistic views before Proudhon's time. We will, therefore, first notice the anarchist movement in America, and then consider it in other countries. America, or at least the United States, with its early extreme individualism and fear of the State (see CENTRALIZATION), was the fitting birthplace of anarchistic thought.

Josiah Warren, a plain and only moderately educated New Englander, but of unusually independent and earnest spirit, was probably the first to enunciate precise anarchistic conceptions. He had become interested in the social views and plans of Robert Owen (*q.v.*), at this time first taking root in the land; had joined the Owenite community at New Harmony; had carefully studied its principles and mused upon its failure, till finally, about 1828, he reached the conclusion that its principles were exactly the opposite of the true ones, and that, instead of the communistic idea of each working for all, as Owen taught, the true way to produce order, harmony, and well-being, was for each to live, in his own way, absolutely untrammelled by others, so far as he did not intrude upon the similar privileges of others. His thoughts took especially a financial turn, and he came to the conclusion that cost was the true limit of price; that usury and profit in all their forms were, therefore, economically wrong, and, moreover, that they would disappear under perfectly free competition. He sought to put his ideas into practice, to actually test them before giving them to the world, and therefore started, and for two years successfully carried on, a store in Cincinnati, where cost was the limit of price, and where usury and profit were eliminated. Finding that he was doing a business of \$150,000 a year—a large amount for Cincinnati in those days—he was convinced of the practicality and correctness of his idea, and therefore closed his business to devote his life to the propagation of his ideas. His main writings were *True Civilization*, a short work, first published in 1846, and *Equitable Commerce*,

in which he elaborated his ideas of cost as the limit of price. These books found at least a few thoughtful readers. Stephen Pearl Andrews declared at a later day that the *True Civilization* was the text and basis of all his own writings, and John Stuart Mill refers to Warren with expressions of deepest interest and respect.

Others, however, were thinking in the same line. Lysander Spooner, who has but recently passed away, may be called the Nestor of anarchism, of the extreme individualistic school. Commencing public life as a young lawyer in Worcester, Mass., he first showed strong analytic and argumentative powers in several pamphlets defending Deism against Christianity, but soon passed more and more into sociological studies and controversy, coming to hold and defend extreme views as to individual sovereignty and the tyranny of the State. As early as 1844 he established a private mail between Boston and New York, and later extended it to Philadelphia and Baltimore, achieving success, until at last compelled to stop, owing to petty and constant persecution and annoyance from the Government. From that time he devoted his great abilities to the promulgation of his ideas. During the anti-slavery contest he did good work as an abolitionist, and incorporated his views in *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery*. His legal acumen appears in his *Trial by Jury*, in which he reverts to the early and true meaning of the phrase—a trial by one's peers; and protests against the absurd and monstrous system (as he claims it to be) of ignorance and injustice now passing under that name. How far he carried his ideas appears in an unsigned monograph from his pen, entitled *Revolution*.

Stephen Pearl Andrews was a disciple of Warren. As Warren especially studied economic questions, so Andrews studied the family and marriage. His *Science of Society*, published in 1850, is still considered by philosophical anarchists a classic on the subject. Warren himself declared it a better statement of his own ideas than he himself could write. (For further account, see ANDREWS.)

We now first come to the influence of Proudhon in America, Colonel William B. Greene, of Boston, being the first in this country known to have declared himself a follower of the great Frenchman. Colonel Greene's book on *Mutual Banking* is one of the most acute and searching inquiries into the monetary problems to be found in the literature of the subject. Colonel Greene was a keen, logical thinker and a profound scholar. He was a remarkably witty speaker and writer, and his book, entitled *Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualistic, and Financial Fragments*, shows his power and versatility. E. H. Heywood, a writer on various subjects, was another disciple of Warren. He is the author of a number of very able pamphlets. Charles T. Fowler, also a disciple of Warren, was a Unitarian minister when he first fell under the influence of Warren. He studied Proudhon, and after leaving the church, devoted himself to the propaganda of anarchistic doctrines. He died a few years ago, leaving an admirable series of pamphlets on social and economic problems.

These men, however, while holding essentially anarchist views, and contributing, severally, to the development of anarchism in the United States, did not adopt the name anarchist, and did not really start the movement which has taken such definite shape under that distinctive denomination. The man who, assimilating and profiting by the teachings of Proudhon, Warren, Greene, and the American and English individualists, formulated a consistent and comprehensive anarchistic philosophy, and started the practical anarchistic movement, is Benjamin R. Tucker, the editor of *Liberty*, the organ of anarchism. Mr. Tucker was a young man, a student of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, when he, becoming interested in social reform, sought the acquaintance of Warren and Greene. The latter called his attention to Proudhon's *What is Property?* and so impressed was he with the originality and value of that revolutionary (in an intellectual sense) and epoch-making work, that he set himself the task of translating it into English. No work has ever enjoyed the privilege of a more competent rendering into another language. The vigor and eloquence of Proudhon's style was fully preserved in the translation, and to this is due a large share of the influence exerted by Proudhon's work in America and England. A few years later Mr. Tucker started his paper, *Liberty*, which has been for more than a decade the recognized authority on anarchism. Mr. Tucker does not strictly

Other
Americans.

Present
Writers.

follow Proudhon, any more than he strictly follows Warren. He rejects the inconsistencies of the former as he does the crudities of the latter. He may be said to have organized the various anarchistic ideas—economic, political, etc.—into a coherent and systematic whole. Where Proudhon was vague and Warren inadequate, Mr. Tucker is clear, logical, consistent, and scientific. Mr. Tucker has influenced a considerable number of able men in journalism and other professions, as well as some of the prominent men in the labor movement. We will only mention here the name of Dyer D. Lum, one of the leaders of the early Greenback movement, who died a few years ago. Mr. Lum, while sympathizing to some extent with the methods of revolutionary reformers, was for several years before his death a vigorous and scholarly champion of the economic and political ideas of anarchism.

The growth of anarchism has not been rapid, and its history is not eventful or sensational. Its indirect influences, however, have wrought great changes in social science and in the intellectual attitude of sociologists and reformers.

In Europe, the real history of philosophic anarchism begins with Proudhon. (For a fuller notice of his life and teachings, see PROUDHON.) We study him here but in brief, in relation to the movement of anarchism. Born in 1809, after a bitter personal experience with poverty and ill-paid work, he published in 1840 his great work, *What is Property?* Of this

an admirer says: "He first with genius, and with learning and acumen rarely equalled, pleaded for absolute liberty of the individual and the doing away of all government. Property in its modern sense he showed to be not the product of individual labor on the part of the owner of the property, but the product of the labor of others, taken from them by legalized wrong, or by aid of monopolies and class legislation created by the State. Hence the truth of his celebrated sentence, 'Property is theft.'" The cure, he argued, was to do away with all government, and then each individual could retain that which he had produced, so that justice and order and well-being would be the result of liberty."

The book exposed him to new persecution from the Government and learned societies, which continued more or less to his death in 1865. He passed much of his life, banished from France, in Belgium. Yet he was ever active and at times popular in France. He was elected in 1848 to the Constituent Assembly by 77,000 votes, which, together with his frequent imprisonments and banishments, as well as the suppression of books, shows his power and influence in his generation. Yet few followed him understandingly. Proudhon himself declared that even those who voted for him did not understand his views. He believed that in America (as seems to be the case) his thoughts would first take root. His principal writings besides the above named are: *The Creation of Order in Humanity* (1843); *A System of Economical Contradictions* (1848); *Justice in the Revolution and in the Church* (1858); *Justice* (revised edition, 1859-60).

Proudhon was right; few followed him understandingly. The movement that sprang from his teachings has in the main, in Europe, been anarchist communism, which is no more like philosophic anarchism than Proudhon was like Bakounin. The real followers of Proudhon and philosophical anarchism, in Europe, can almost be counted on one's fingers, tho their influence has been more marked than this might seem to indicate.

In Germany Caspar Schmidt, better known under his *nom de plume* of Max Stirner, laid what some regard as the ethical foundations of anarchism in his *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (1845). John Henry Mackay, a Scotchman by birth, but with a German mother, and brought up in Germany from boyhood, has developed philosophic anarchism in poems, a novel (*The Anarchists*, translated into English, 1891), and other works. In England philosophic anarchism under this name has had scarcely any development at all; but perhaps this is only because so much of its individualism, of which there has been considerable development, has come so near to philosophic anarchism in such writers as Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Thomas Mackay, Frederick Millar, and others. A notice of the first three will be found under each name.

II. ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

The following statement of anarchist communism is abridged from a tract on *The Place*

of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution, by Pierre A. Krapotkin:

"All things belong to all, and provided that men and women contribute their share of labour for the production of necessary objects, they are entitled to their share of all that is produced by the community at large. 'But this is communism,' you may say. Yes, it is communism, but it is the communism which no longer speaks in the name of religion or of the State, but in the name of the people. . . . The tendency of this closing century is toward communism, not the monastic or barrack-room communism formerly advocated, but the free communism which places the products reaped or manufactured in common at the disposal of all, leaving to each the liberty to consume them as he pleases in his own home.

"This is the solution of which the mass of the people can most readily take hold, and it is the solution which the people demand at the most solemn epochs. In 1848 the formula 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs' was the one which went straight to the heart of the masses, and if they acclaimed the republic and universal suffrage, it was because they hoped to attain to communism through them. In 1871, also, when the people besieged in Paris desired to make a supreme effort to resist the invader, what was their demand? That free rations should be served out to every one. Let all articles be put into one common stock and let them be distributed according to the requirements of each. Let each one take freely of all that is abundant, and let those objects which are less plentiful be distributed more sparingly and in due proportions—this is the solution which the mass of the workers understand best. This is

also the system which is commonly practised in the rural districts of France. So long as the common lands afford abundant pasture, what commune seeks to restrict their use? When brushwood and chestnuts are plentiful, what commune forbids its members to take as much as they want? And when the larger wood begins to grow scarce, what course does the peasant adopt? The allowing of individuals.

"Let us take from the common stock the articles which are abundant, and let those objects whose production is more restricted be served out in allowances according to requirements, giving preference to children and old persons—that is to say, to the weak. And, moreover, let all be consumed not in public, but at home, according to individual tastes and in company with one's family and friends. This is the ideal of the masses.

"But it is not enough to argue about 'communism' and 'expropriation'; it is furthermore necessary to know who should have the management of the common patrimony, and it is especially on this question that different schools of socialists are opposed to one another, some desiring authoritarian communism, and others, like ourselves, declaring unreservedly in favour of anarchist communism. In order to judge between these two, let us return once again to our starting point, the Revolution of the last century.

"In overturning royalty the Revolution pro-

claimed the sovereignty of the people ; but, by an inconsistency which was very natural at that time, it proclaimed not a permanent sovereignty, but an intermittent one, to be exercised at certain intervals only, for the nomination of deputies supposed to represent the people. In reality it copied its institutions from the representative government of England. The Revolution was drowned in blood, and, nevertheless, representative government became the watchword of Europe. All Europe, with the exception of Russia, has tried it, under all possible forms, from government based on a property qualification to the direct government of the little Swiss republics. But, strange to say, just in proportion as we have approached nearer to the ideal of a representative government, elected by a perfectly free universal suffrage, in that same proportion have its essential vices become manifest to us, till we have clearly seen that this mode of government is radically defective. Is it not, indeed, absurd to take a certain number of men from out the mass, and to intrust them with the management of *all* public affairs, saying to them, 'Attend to these matters ; we exonerate ourselves from the task by laying it upon you ; it is for you to make laws on all manner of subjects—armaments and mad dogs, observatories and chimneys, instruction and street-sweeping ; arrange these things as you please and make laws about them, since you are the chosen ones whom the people has voted capable of doing everything !' It appears to me that if a thoughtful and honest man were offered such a post he would answer somewhat in this fashion :

" You intrust me with a task which I am unable to fulfil. I am unacquainted with most of the questions upon which I shall be called on to legislate. I shall either have to work to some extent in the dark, which will not be to your advantage, or I shall appeal to you and summon meetings in which you will yourselves seek to come to an understanding on the questions at issue, in which case my office will be unnecessary. If you have formed an opinion and have formulated it, and if you are anxious to come to an understanding with others who have also formed an opinion on the same subject, then all you need do is to communicate with your neighbours and send a delegate to come to an understanding with other delegates on this specific question ; but you will

Argument. certainly reserve to yourselves the right of taking an ultimate decision ; you will not intrust your delegate with the making of laws for you. This is how scientists and business men act each time that they have to come to an agreement.'

" But the above reply would be a repudiation of the representative system, and nevertheless it is a faithful expression of the idea which is growing everywhere since the vices of representative government have been exposed in all their nakedness. Our age, however, has gone still further, for it has begun to discuss the rights of the State and of society in relation to the individual ; people now ask to what point the interference of the State is necessary in the multitudinous functions of society.

" Do we require a government to educate our

children? Only let the worker have leisure to instruct himself, and you will see that, through the free initiative of parents and of persons fond of tuition, thousands of educational societies and schools of all kinds will spring up, rivalling one another in the excellence of their teaching. If we were not crushed by taxation and exploited by employers, as we now are, could we not ourselves do much better than is now done for us? The great centres would initiate progress and set the example, and you may be sure that the progress realised would be incomparably superior to what we now attain through our ministries. Is the State even necessary for the defence of a territory? If armed brigands attack a people, is not that same people armed with good weapons the surest rampart to oppose to the foreign aggressor? Standing armies are always beaten by invaders, and history teaches that the latter are to be repulsed by a popular rising alone. While government is an excellent machine to protect monopoly, has it ever been able to protect us against ill-disposed persons? Does it not, by creating misery, increase the number of crimes instead of diminishing them? In establishing prisons into which multitudes of men, women, and children are thrown for a time, in order to come forth infinitely worse than when they went in, does not the State maintain nurseries of vice at the expense of the tax-payers? In obliging us to commit to others the care of our affairs, does it not create the most terrible vice of societies—indifference to public matters? . . .

" Let others, if they will, advocate industrial barracks or the monastery of authoritarian communism, we declare that the tendency of society is in an opposite direction. We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting themselves for the satisfaction of all the varied needs of human beings—some of these groups organised by quarter, street, and house ; others extending hands across the walls of cities over frontiers and oceans. All of these will be composed of human beings who will combine freely, and after having performed their share of productive labour will meet together, either for the purpose of consumption, or to produce objects of art or luxury, or to advance science in a new direction. This is the tendency of the nineteenth century, and we follow it ; we only ask to develop it freely without any governmental interference. Individual liberty ! 'Take pebbles,' said Fourier, 'put them into a box and shake them, and they will arrange themselves in a mosaic that you could never get by intrusting to any one the work of arranging them harmoniously.'

" Now let me pass to another part of my subject—the most important with respect to the future.

" There is no more room for doubting that religions are going ; the nineteenth century has given them their death-blow. But religions—all religions—have a double composition. They contain, in the first place, a primitive cosmogony, a rude attempt at explaining nature, and they furthermore contain a statement of the public morality born and developed within the mass of the people. But when we throw religions overboard or store them among our public rec-

No Need of the State.

ords as historical curiosities, shall we also relegate to museums the moral principles which they contain? This has sometimes been done, and we have seen people declare that as they no longer believed in the various religions, so they despised morality and boldly proclaimed the maxim of *bourgeois* selfishness, 'Every one for himself.' But a society, human or animal, cannot exist without certain rules and moral habits springing up within it; religion may go, morality remains. If we were to come to consider that a man did well in lying, deceiving his neighbours, or plundering them when possible (this is the middle-class business morality), we should come to such a pass that we could no longer live together. You might assure me of your friendship, but perhaps you might only do so in order to rob me more easily; you might promise to do a certain thing for me, only to deceive me; you might promise to forward a letter for me, and you might steal it, just like an ordinary governor of a jail. Under such conditions society would become impossible, and this is so generally understood that the repudiation

of religions in no way prevents public morality from being maintained,

Ethical Side. developed, and raised to a higher and ever higher standard. This fact is so striking that philosophers seek to explain it by the principles of utilitarianism, and recently Spencer sought to base the morality which exists among us upon physiological causes and the needs connected with the preservation of the race.

"Let me give you an example in order to explain to you what *we* think on the matter.

"A child is drowning, and four men who stand upon the bank see it struggling in the water. One of them does not stir; he is a partisan of 'Each one for himself,' the maxim of the commercial middle class; this one is a brute, and we need not speak of him further. The next one reasons thus: 'If I save the child, a good report of my action will be made to the ruler of heaven, and the Creator will reward me by increasing my flocks and my serfs,' and thereupon he plunges into the water. Is he, therefore, a moral man? Clearly not! He is a shrewd calculator, that is all. The third, who is an utilitarian, reflects thus (or at least utilitarian philosophers represent him as so reasoning): 'Pleasures can be classed in two categories, inferior pleasures and higher ones. To save the life of any one is a superior pleasure, infinitely more intense and more durable than others; therefore, I will save the child.' Admitting that any man ever reasoned thus, would he not be a terrible egotist? and, moreover, could we ever be sure that his sophistical brain would not at some given moment cause his will to incline toward an inferior pleasure—that is to say, toward refraining from troubling himself? There remains the fourth individual. This man has been brought up from his childhood to feel himself *one* with the rest of humanity; from his childhood he has always regarded men as possessing interests in common; he has accustomed himself to suffer when his neighbours suffer, and to feel happy when every one around him is happy. Directly he hears the heart-rending cry of the mother, he leaps into the water, not through reflection, but by

instinct; and when she thanks him for saving her child, he says, 'What have I done to deserve thanks, my good woman? I am happy to see you happy; I have acted from natural impulse, and could not do otherwise!'

"You recognise in this case the truly moral man, and feel that the others are only egotists in comparison with him. The whole anarchist morality is represented in this example. It is the morality of a people which does not look for 'the sun at midnight—a morality without compulsion or authority, a morality of habit. Let us create circumstances in which man shall not be led to deceive nor exploit others, and then by the very force of things the moral level of humanity will rise to a height hitherto unknown. Men are certainly not to be moralized by teaching them a moral catechism; tribunals and prisons do not diminish vice—they pour it over society in floods. Men are to be moralized only by placing them in a position which shall contribute to develop in them those habits which are social, and to weaken those which are not so. A morality which has become instinctive is the true morality, the only morality which endures while religions and systems of philosophy pass away.

"Let us now combine the three preceding elements, and we shall have anarchy and its place in socialistic evolution.

"Emancipation of the producer from the yoke of capital; production in common and free consumption of all the products of the common labour.

"Emancipation from the governmental yoke; free development of individuals in groups and federations; free organization ascending from the simple to the complex, according to mutual needs and tendencies.

"Emancipation from religious morality; free morality, without compulsion or authority, developing itself from social life and becoming habitual.

"The above is no dream of students, it is a conclusion which results from an analysis of the tendencies of modern society; anarchist communism is the union of the two fundamental tendencies of our society—a tendency toward economic equality and a tendency toward political liberty. **Fundamental**

So long as communism presented itself under an authoritarian form, which necessarily implies government, armed with much greater power than that which it possesses to-day, inasmuch as it implies economic in addition to political power—so long as this was the case communism met with no sufficient response. Before 1848 it could, indeed, sometimes excite for a moment the enthusiasm of the worker who was prepared to submit to any all-powerful government, provided it would release him from the terrible situation in which he was placed, but it left the true friends of liberty indifferent.

"Anarchist communism maintains that most valuable of all conquests—individual liberty—and moreover extends it and gives it a solid basis—economic liberty—without which political liberty is delusive; it does not ask the individual who has rejected God, the universal tyrant, God the king, and God the Parliament, to give unto himself a god more terrible than any

of the preceding—God the community, or to abdicate upon its altar his independence, his will, his tastes, and to renew the vow of asceticism which he formerly made before the crucified God. It says to him, on the contrary, 'No society is free so long as the individual is not so! Do not seek to modify society by imposing upon it an authority which shall make everything right; if you do, you will fail as popes and emperors have failed. Modify society so that your fellows may not be any longer your enemies by the force of circumstances; abolish the conditions which allow some to monopolize the fruit of the labour of others; and instead of attempting to construct society from top to bottom, or from the centre to the circumference, let it develop itself freely from the simple to the composite, by the free union of free groups. This course, which is so much obstructed at present, is the true, forward march of society; do not seek to hinder it, do not turn your back on progress, but march along with it! Then the sentiment of sociability which is common to human beings, as it is to all animals living in society, will be able to develop itself freely, because our fellows will no longer be our enemies, and we shall thus arrive at a state of things in which each individual will be able to give free rein to his inclinations, and even to his passions, without any other restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him.'

"This is our ideal, and it is the ideal which lies deep in the hearts of peoples—of all peoples. We know full well that this ideal will not be attained without violent shocks; the close of this century has a formidable revolution in store for us; whether it begins in France, Germany, Spain, or Russia, it will be a European one, and spreading with the same rapidity as that of our fathers, the heroes of 1848, it will set all Europe in a blaze. This coming revolution will not aim at a mere change of government, but will have a social character; the work of expropriation will commence, and exploiters will be driven out. Whether we like it or not, this will be done independently of the will of individuals, and when hands are laid on private property we shall arrive at communism, because we shall be forced to do so. Communism, however, cannot be either authoritarian or parliamentary, it must either be anarchist or non-existent; the mass of the people does not desire to trust itself again to any Savior, but will seek to organize itself by itself."

HISTORY AND METHODS OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Anarchist communism, tho more or less indebted to the thoughts of Rousseau, Proudhon, Ruge and others, owes its origin as a movement to the Russian Bakounin. Born of aristocratic and even princely parentage, Michael Bakounin, at first an officer in the Russian Army, threw up his commission at the age of 21, disgusted by the oppression of the Government and the consequent sufferings of the poor, and studied philosophy, reading Hegel and Schopenhauer in St. Petersburg and Berlin. Coming into revolutionary circles mainly under the influence of Arnold Ruge, who represented the extreme Hegelian left, Bakounin took part in the Dresden insurrection of 1848, and was arrested and condemned to death, but eventually handed over to the Russians and imprisoned in Schlüsselberg and in 1852 sent to Siberia. Hence, however, he eventually escaped, through Japan and the United States, and, in 1861, appeared in London, a revolutionist, declared by his enemies to be half-crazed by his years

of suffering and imprisonment. Be this as it may, he threw himself into revolutionary propaganda of every kind, mainly as an Internationalist, but sometimes inconsistently as a Pan Slavist, and occasionally as a Nihilist. Switzerland, Italy, and Southern France were the main scenes of his efforts, but he contrived to fill all Europe with his spirit of revolution. Gradually his utterances became wilder and his position more extreme. He commenced to preach the gospel of pandestruction. When the International (*q. v.*) was founded in London under the presidency of Marx in 1864, Bakounin did not at first connect himself with it. But later, realizing what capital could be made of it, he threw himself into the movement, and almost captured the International for anarchism. He did capture it in Italy, Spain, Southern France, Belgium, and to a large extent in Switzerland and other countries. In 1872, however, Marx as president contrived to have the congress of the International called at the Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he was only secure in Switzerland, and would have been arrested in traversing any country through which he could have reached the Hague. At this congress, therefore, the adherents of Bakounin were defeated, and the General Council of the International was transferred to New York City. It resulted in the death of the International; but out of the split came the modern movements of democratic socialism and anarchist communism, economic schools which, altho previously to 1872 they had been more or less confounded, are now utterly distinct and even opposed. The ultimate ideals of the followers of Marx and Bakounin were not, however, so different. They both believed in communism, and communism was the early name for all socialism as well as for anarchist communism; but the split came in methods. The followers of Bakounin believed in destroying the State; Marx stood for capturing the State by legitimate political means, and through the State establishing the Social Democracy, or communism. Both opposed the present State; but one sought to overturn it at once by force, the other sought to capture it and use it. For a while it seemed doubtful which policy would win.

For a considerable time, the anarchist communists, especially in the southern countries, were stronger than the socialists. The working classes did not see the strength of the socialist programme. Anarchist communism, if it appealed less to their heads, appealed more to their instincts. It appealed to revolutionary deed. Words, its advocates declared, were cheap; it is the propaganda by deed that makes men think. The propaganda by deed has ever been the favorite policy among anarchist communists, being defended, though not practised, even by such men as Krapotkin and Reclus. But organization among anarchists has never prospered. Their policy lends itself to individual deed. Bakounin did not quietly accept his defeat by Marx at the Hague. He and his adherents called another congress in Switzerland, and declared that they were the true International. From this time anarchist communism had an organized existence. (For further details as to the preceding period, see BAKOUNIN; INTERNATIONAL.)

In 1876 Bakounin died, Elisée Reclus, Paul Brousse, and others gathering around his grave, ready to carry on his work. In October of the same year a congress was held at **Organization**. Berne, and enunciated the principles of anarchist communism, altho still under the name of socialism. It denounced even the Paris Commune, as not having entirely eliminated the principle of authority. At this congress two Italian delegates were present, Carlo Cafiero and Enrico Malatesta, and went home to head a revolution in April, 1877, in the Italian province of Benevento. They burnt the archives and laid their hands on what arms and money they could find, and distributed them to the people. The same year a congress was held at Verviers, where Krapotkin first appeared on the scenes under the name of Scrachoff. In 1878, Brousse and Krapotkin commenced publishing the *Avant Garde*, the first anarchist organ. The same year Nobelung and Hodel made their attack upon Kaiser Wilhelm at Niederwald; the cooper Broncasi attempted the life of Alphonso XII., and Passanante the life of the King of Italy, Humbert I. At a congress at Freiburg that year, a letter from Reclus made the following succinct statement of anarchist communism: "We are revolutionaries," he said, "because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution; it has always been an outcome of a sudden revolution. The necessary preliminary preparation of the minds of men may be a gradual process; but the realization of their hopes comes abruptly and as a surprise. . . . We are anarchists, who recognize no one as

our master, as we are ourselves the masters of nobody. There is no morality without liberty. . . . We are also international collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping." The congress voted for the appropriation by the community of all wealth, the abolition of the State, and even of any central administrative agency; and as regards means of propaganda, the congress favored the dissemination of anarchist ideas, and even rebellion and revolutionary deed. In 1879 the *Avant Garde* ceased to appear, and Krapotkin and others started a new paper, the *Révolution*, at Geneva (later moved to Paris). The same year Johann Most, expelled from Germany and driven from the socialist meetings, arrived in London, December, 1878, and in January, 1879, began publishing his paper, *Freiheit*.

In 1880 Ottero Gonzales attempted the life of Alfonso XII. At a congress in Switzerland of this year, Krapotkin advised the adoption of the name anarchist communism in the place of collectivism. In 1881 the French anarchists and socialists finally separated, and a congress of anarchists was held at London. Krapotkin was banished from Switzerland for his utterances; Most, in London, was sentenced to 16 months' hard labor for his words concerning the assassination of the Czar. At the close of 16 months he removed, with his paper, to the United States. There were outbreaks in southeast France, and many discoveries of dynamite plots were reported. Anarchists were arrested all through southern France. In the north, Louise Michel delivered a series of lectures. The daughters of Elisée Reclus ostentatiously contracted "free marriages." Krapotkin himself was arrested. In 1883 the anarchist trials in France took place, and 47 were sentenced, among them Louise Michel. All through Europe at this time anarchists were being arrested and sentenced. In Spain a campaign was undertaken against the Black Band. In December Vyvot was tried at Lyons for having caused the explosion at Bellecour Theatre, and was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted by President Grévy. The year 1884 was comparatively calm, though dynamite was found laid against the Federal Palace at Berne, and led to the expulsion of anarchists from Switzerland. In 1885 German anarchists were tried. Krapotkin published this year his *Paroles d'un Révolté* and Reclus his *The Products of the Earth*. An attempt was also made to blow up the English House of Parliament. In 1886 there were several riots in Europe, especially at Charleroi, and the great strike at Chicago took place, with the famous Haymarket meeting, the arrest of eight anarchists, and the condemnation of seven of them to death (in 1887). (See CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.) In 1887 *L'Idée Ouvrière* was started at Havre. In 1888

History.

the Père Peinard was started at Paris, a paper in the slang of the French streets. In 1889 Most, Malato, and Grave all issued anarchist pamphlets. In 1890 the first international May-day demonstration took place, and the anarchists took advantage of it in incendiary speeches and gatherings. Merlino, Malato, and Louise Michel were imprisoned. The *International*, an anarchist paper, was started in London. In 1891 the French anarchists agitated chiefly against the army and the police. At Levallois the black flag was unfurled. Several anarchist papers were started, the *Pot à colle* and the *l'En-dehors*. In 1892 bombs were exploded in France in private houses of deputies and at cafés, among others at the Café Rich. In June one of the dynamiters, Ravachol, was condemned to death, and executed in July. In 1893 there was more violence in Spain. Pallas was tried and executed for throwing a bomb at Marshal Campos at Barcelona, and there was also a terrible bomb explosion at the El Lyceo Theatre in Barcelona. On December 9, Vaillant threw a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies. In 1894 severe laws against anarchists were passed in France and other countries; 100 anarchists were arrested in France alone and several deported. The papers *Révolution* and *Père Peinard* were seized and compelled to discontinue. Jean Grave, the leading anarchist communist after Krapotkin and Reclus, was imprisoned. Vaillant was executed. Émile Henry threw a bomb in the Café Terminus. Bombs were exploded also in the Hôtel St. Jacques and other houses. An attempt was made to murder the prefect of Barcelona. An Italian anarchist, Cesario Santo, assassinated the French President, Carnot, at Lyons. Restrictive legislation in Italy sought not only to arrest all anarchists, but to close all trade-union meetings. In Germany the Kaiser introduced severe measures against both anarchism and socialism, which have been, however, rejected by the Reichstag. Such is a brief sketch of the anarchist-communist movement. There is no general organization. Anarchists meet in little

groups, which are forever changing, dissolving, and reforming. Communication between groups is simply conducted through individuals. The party is without leaders. Anybody, even detectives, can easily join anarchist groups, but detectives learn little, for the groups as groups do nothing, and serve simply to bring individuals together. Thus the group that Vaillant belonged to did not know his project of throwing the bomb in the Chamber of Deputies. Till recently *Le Révolté* has been the chief literary and *Le Père Peinard* the chief popular organ; but these have disappeared without successors. In 1893 an attempt was made to hold an anarchist-communist congress in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago, but it had to meet surreptitiously on account of the police, and when it met its members could agree upon no program nor declaration of principles, though it is said that an international committee was chosen. In America anarchist communism has held on to the name of the old International. **America.** longer than in Europe. In 1872, as we have seen, the general council of the International was transferred at Marx's suggestion to New York City. But in this country it never thrived. The fundamental differences between the socialists and the anarchists soon showed themselves here, as in Europe. In 1877 the socialist wing, in a meeting at Newark, took the name of the Socialist Labor Party (see SOCIALISM), and practically left the International to the anarchists. The split, however, was not at once complete. In 1883 the socialists met at Baltimore and the anarchists at Pittsburg, and these took the old name of the International Working People's Association. By 1885 the split with the socialists was complete, and since then in America, as in Europe, anarchists and socialists have had nothing in common. The congress at Pittsburg adopted unanimously a manifesto or declaration of motives and principles, often called the Pittsburg proclamation, in which they describe their ultimate goal in these words:

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

"1. Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means—i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

"2. Establishment of a free society based upon cooperative organization of production.

"3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

"4. Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

"5. Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

"6. Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations resting on a federalistic basis."

In 1881, however, another association was formed, designated by the initials I. W. A., or International Workmen's Association, differing in a few particulars only from the I. W. P. A. It lays greater stress on education and is somewhat less inclined to favor violence in the present, holding that a revolution in the minds of men must precede the political revolution. The following explanation of its principles and methods is taken from the *First Report of the Kansas Bureau of Labor Statistics*.

"To print and publish and circulate labor literature; to hold mass-meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyciums for discussing social science; to maintain the labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations; to aid the establishment of unity and the maintenance of fraternity between all labor organizations; to bring about an alliance between the manufacturing and agricultural producers; to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and interdependence among all producers of every State and country; to ascertain, segregate, classify, and study the habits and acts of their enemies; to secure information of the wrongs perpetrated against them, and to record and circulate the same; to arouse a spirit of hostility against and ostracism of the capitalist press; to prepare the means for directing the coming social revolution by enlightening public opinion on the wrongs perpetrated against the producers of the world; to obliterate national boundary lines and sectional prejudices, with a view to the international unification of the producers of all lands; and to eradicate the impression that redress can be obtained by the ballot. The organization is formed on the "group" system—that is, any person who subscribes to these principles may become an organizer. He organizes a group of eight besides himself. When this group becomes thoroughly

conversant with the principles and methods of the organization, each member becomes an organizer and forms a group of his own; and this goes on indefinitely. North America is divided into 10 divisions—the Canadian, the British Columbia, the Eastern States, the Middle States, the Western States, the Rocky Mountains, the Pacific Coast, the Southern States, the Mexican, and the Missouri Valley. Each division is presided over by a division executive of nine persons. The International was organized on its present basis on July 15, 1881, with 54 delegates, representing 320 'divisions,' or groups, composed of 600,000 members. The countries represented were France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, Siberia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Turkey, Egypt, England, Mexico, and the United States."

It is the agitation of these groups of the I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. which have produced what popular anarchistic communism there is in this country. But the movement has come to naught. The I. W. A. and the I. W. P. A. no longer exist save in the minds of a few half-crazed persons, and the only present activity is the publication of a paper and the occasional delivery of speeches by Most and others, which make "a good copy" for the newspapers. There have been also a few attempts of devoted but fanatical men to assassinate men of wealth and influence, like Frick and Russell Sage; but these acts have been very rare. When an agitator like Most speaks, he will often get a large audience, who will cheer his utterances, but the movement has no power.

Among English working men, too, there is little, if any, anarchism. The head of Oxford House, in East London, recently testified that there were no anarchists among the English working people and that the last place possible for a man to arrive with a bomb was East London. Among the foreign residents in London there are some anarchist clubs, and there is some anarchist communism among the intellectual radicals, but it has little force. The only countries in which anarchist communism at all thrives to-day are in the southern countries of Europe, under the despotism of Russia, and among some of the inflammable French and Belgians; but even in these countries it is giving place to the organized political movement of Social Democracy. It can only thrive on such governmental persecution as the Italian Government is now attempting against the whole labor movement.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST ANARCHISM.

I. The argument against individualist anarchism is, first, that it starts from a false basis. The individual, say the philosophical opponents of anarchism, is not sovereign; he does not even exist. Man is not born to and never attains, nor can attain, individual sovereignty. From his birth to his death he is dependent upon his fellow-man, and ever must be so long as he is a social being. Society is not made up of units, but is one; and the sooner this is realized, and man no longer attempts an impossible individual sovereignty, the sooner will the individual find his true freedom in developing his inmost personality in the unity of a perfect state. Anarchism is opposed thus, first, because it misreads the *facts* of individual life. Second, the opponents of anarchism assert that for anarchists to define the State as *necessarily* invasive, because States always have been more or less invasive, is to be illogical. The State, according to the anarchist's own admission, is a power, and has been, as at least most anarchists admit, in the past a necessary power. Why, then, throw away that power? Why—since some co-operative organization for defense and other purposes anarchists themselves declare necessary—not use the State, making it non-invasive? To say that the State cannot be harnessed to do the will of the people, because it never has been wholly so harnessed in the past, is as if a man before the discovery of the uses of electricity should declare that electricity always *must* be harmful, since it always had done harm. The

fact is, say these critics, that the State, with all its evils—and they are to be admitted, every one—has in the past been immeasurably useful and beneficial, and should not be thrown away, but captured and improved and made to do the will of freemen.

II. As to the anarchist assertion that States have no right, for example, to compel any man to pay a tax, since no individual has a right to tax another, and the mere multiplying individuals into a majority cannot make that right in many persons which is wrong in one, it is said that this is purely a doctrinaire position of unproven ethics. That it seems axiomatic and convincing to a certain class of minds by no means proves its truth. The opposite assertion that the individual is born in society, and has as his only right to take his place in society, which is a natural unit, and not made up of individual units, and has rights and duties of its own, among others that of ordering the conditions of society according to the will of the majority, and compelling others to support it, is, it is claimed, as plausible a dogma as the anarchist dogma, and a good deal more deducible from facts. The truth is, that the science of social ethics is as yet so utterly undeveloped that to talk of what is ethically right in society is to say nothing. One man holds this opinion; another that; and neither can convince the other. The only possible way out of social problems, unless one takes the religious ground of theism, and find in that a law of procedure, is to slowly learn by experience; believers in government, therefore, base their main arguments against anarchism on the facts of experience. They say:

III. It will not work. Said President Andrews, in a discussion with Mr. Tucker at Salem:

"Suppose the citizens of Salem to constitute an anarchistic group under the beautiful social compact which Mr. Tucker describes. Not many days will elapse before some of the parties to that compact will show how useless it is. Let some rioters from Beverly or Beverly Farms invade the Salem group. The foreman of the town calls all hands to turn out and put them down. One man replies that he does not care to come out; he has the rheumatism, or he is reading a book, or engaged in some other work, and says, 'I pray you, have me excused.' What is going to be done? I know of no way in which the anarchistic group named Salem can defend itself—as Mr. Tucker says is legitimate—except by coercing Meroz to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. The anarchist must here renounce his theory and resort to some of those species of action which Mr. Tucker denounces as not permissible because of the nature of coercion, aggression upon individual rights."

Says another writer: "Some rule there must be under any theory. You cannot escape law. If it is not the rule of brotherhood, it must be the rule of might. You do not escape rule by flying to anarchy. Says Mr. Donisthorpe, in his *Individualism: a System of Politics*: 'It is a mistake to suppose that anarchism is lawless. Nothing of the kind. Where there is no ruling body; where there is no governmental

Impracticable, say its Opponents.

authority, as in San Francisco within the memory of many of us, what happens? Did the marauders and pests of society carry all before them? Not a bit of it. Those who had inherited the habits of a social and methodical mode of life, owing to its greater average economy, banded themselves together and straightway lynched those who were desirous of violating the principles of order and method.' This, says Mr. Donisthorpe, was anarchism. Exactly; and most people prefer Uncle Sam, with all his faults, to Judge Lynch."

Concerning the economic impossibilities of anarchism, G. Bernard Shaw says:

"The full economic detail of individualist anarchism may be inferred with sufficient completeness from an article entitled *State Socialism and Anarchism: How far they agree, and wherein they differ*, which appeared in March, 1888, in *Liberty*.

"The economic principles of modern socialism,' says Mr. Tucker, 'are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his *Wealth of Nations*—*vis.*, that labor is the true measure of price. From this principle these three men [Josiah Warren, Proudhon, and Marx] deduced "that the natural wage of labor is its product."

Now the socialist who is unwary enough to accept this economic position will presently find himself logically committed to the Whig doctrine of *laissez-faire*. And here Mr. Tucker will cry, 'Why not? *Laissez-faire* is exactly what we want. Destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly. Enforce then only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultivation,* and the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by every one minding his own business.'

"Let us see whether it will or not. Suppose we decree that henceforth no more rent shall be paid in England, and that each man shall privately own his house, and hold his shop, factory, or place of business jointly with those who work with him in it. Let every one be free to issue money from his own mint without tax or stamp. Let all taxes on commodities be abolished, and patents and copyrights be things of the past. Try to imagine yourself under these promising conditions with life before you. You may start in business as a crossing-sweeper, shopkeeper, collier, farmer, miller, banker, or what not. Whatever your choice may be, the first thing you find is that the reward of your labor depends far more on the situation in which you exercise it than on yourself. If you sweep the crossing between St. James' and Albemarle Streets you prosper greatly. But if you are forestalled not only there, but at every point more central than, say, the corner of Holford Square, Islington, you may sweep twice as hard as your rival in Piccadilly, and not take a fifth of his toll. At such a pass you may well curse Adam Smith and his principle that labor is the measure of price, and either advocate a democratically constituted State socialist municipality, paying all its crossing-sweepers equally, or else cast your broom upon the Thames and turn shopkeeper. Yet here again the same difficulty crops up. Your takings depend not on yourself, but on the number of people who pass your window per hour.

"It is useless to multiply instances. There is only one country in which any square foot of land is as favorably situated for conducting exchanges, or as richly endowed by nature for production, as any other square foot; and the name of that country is Utopia. In Utopia alone, therefore, would occupying ownership be just. In England, America, and other places, rashly created without consulting the anarchists, Nature is all caprice and injustice in dealing with labor. Here you scratch her with a spade; and earth's increase and foison plenty are added to you. On the other side of the hedge so steam-diggers will not extort a turnip from her. Still less adapted to anarchism than the fields and mines is the crowded city.

"Now Mr. Tucker's remedy for this is to make the occupier—the actual worker—the owner. Obviously

* See Mr. Tucker's article entitled *A Singular Misunderstanding in Liberty* of September 10, 1892. "Regarding Land," writes Mr. Tucker, "it has been steadily maintained in these columns that protection should be withdrawn from all land titles except those based on personal occupancy and use."

the effect would be not to abolish his advantage over his less favorably circumstanced competitors, but simply to authorize him to put it into his own pocket instead of handing it over to a landlord. He would, then, it is true, be (as far as his place of business was concerned) a worker instead of an idler; but he would get more product as a manufacturer and more custom as a distributor than other equally industrious workers in worse situations. He could thus save faster than they, and retire from active service at an age when they would still have many years more work before them. His ownership of his place of business would of course lapse in favor of his successor the instant he retired. How would the rest of the community decide who was to be the successor—would they toss up for it, or fight for it, or would he be allowed to nominate his heir, in which case he would either nominate his son or sell his nomination for a large fine?

To such problems as these individualist anarchism offers no solution. It theorizes throughout on the assumption that one place in a country is as good as another."

Such, in brief, is Mr. Shaw's argument. Anarchism aims to establish individual liberty; but as long as any occupier can have the best lands in agriculture and the best building lots, he can, under free competition, receive enormous gains over his competitor—can with these gains buy machinery that others cannot afford, and run his competitors out of business, re-enacting under anarchism all or most of the industrial evils that we have to-day—the development of great monopolies, the oppression of the small producer, wage slavery, the unemployed, etc. It is not government, but the natural inequalities of land and of human ability that are the fundamental source of the economic differences, and under competition the under dog must always serve the upper. The only way to individual freedom for all men is, then, to pool the difference of land and talent and have all work for all, which is collectivism. Such is, in brief, the "socialist" argument against anarchism.

IV. As to the anarchist communists, who are collectivists, it is said that for the poor, ignorant, and downtrodden to attempt to overthrow the State by force is but folly, no matter what the aim. To appeal to force will simply call out force, and the strong and rich and powerful will surely win. Moreover, to appeal to force without organization, as anarchist communists do, is to appeal to force in the weakest possible way. It may kill a few kings; it can never overthrow kingdoms. If it could overthrow the State it would simply produce a chaos, in which the strongest would rule and enact anything but equality on earth.

References: INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHISM: *Instead of a Book*, by B. R. Tucker (New York, 1893), the fullest exposition of individualist or philosophical anarchism; *Anarchism: Its Aims and Methods*, by Victor Yarros, the best brief statement; *What is Property?* by P. J. Proudhon, translated by B. R. Tucker (1876); *System of Economical Contradictions*, by Proudhon; translated by Tucker (1888); Proudhon's *Complete Works* (33 vols., Paris, Lacroix, 1868-76); *Political Justice* (on property), by William Godwin, edited by Salt (London, Sonnenschein, 1891); *Free Political Institutions*, an abridgment of Lysander Spooner's *Trial by Jury*, edited by Victor Yarros, a book treating of the administration of justice under anarchism and showing the difference between a voluntary association and government; *The vindication of Natural Society*, the famous pamphlet written by Edmund Burke, the English statesman, in his radical days; *Social Statics*, first edition, by Herbert Spencer, which contains the chapter on *The Right of the Individual to Ignore the State*, omitted from recent revised editions; *The Economics of Anarchy*, by Dyer D. Lum; *A Politician in Light of Haven*, by Auberger Herbert, a plea for voluntary taxation and a criticism of government and politics; *A Letter to Grover Cleveland*

and *No Treason*, by Lysander Spooner, books showing that the United States Constitution is of no authority and that government is essentially tyrannical; *Mutual Banking*, by Colonel William P. Greene, a clear and admirable exposition of anarchistic finance. The best philosophical anarchist papers are first and foremost *Liberty* (edited and published by B. R. Tucker, Gold Street, P. O. box 1312, New York City, headquarters for all literature and information as to philosophical anarchism); *Lucifer*, a weekly (published by Moses Harman in Topeka, Kan.), and *Egoism*, a monthly (in Oakland).

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: *God and the State*, by Michel Bakounin, translated by B. R. Tucker (Boston, 1883); *Appeal to the Young* (1890); *Coming Anarchy* (*Nineteenth Century*, 1887, vol. xxii., p. 149); *Law and Authority* (1886); *Paroles d'un Révolté* (1885); *Place of Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution* (1886); *Scientific Basis of Anarchy* (*Nineteenth Century*, 1887, vol. xxi., p. 238)—all by Prince P. A. Krapotkin; *Anarchy*, by an anarchist (1884), and *Evolution and Revolution*, by J. E. Reclus (London, Reeves, 1891); *Die Anarchie* (1888) and *Social Monster* (1890), by Johann Most (New York); *Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Scientific Basis*, by Albert R. Parsons (Chicago, 1887); *The Red International*, by Zaeker (1880); translated (London, Sonnenschein, 1886). For historical notices of anarchist communism, see *Contemporary Socialism*, by John Rae, revised edition; the *Anarchist Peril*, by Felix Dubois, translated by Ralph Derechiff (1894).

The present anarchist communist papers in this country are: Most's *Die Freiheit* (published weekly in New York City); *Der Anarchist*, the organ of the movement in New York City, also weekly; the *Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung*, a Chicago daily, with an especial Sunday edition, *Die Fackel*, and weekly edition, *Der Vorbote*. The principal editor of the *Chicagoer Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *Der Vorbote* is Robert Steiner; of *Die Fackel*, H. C. Bechtold. In England, *Freedom*, Mrs. C. M. Wilson's monthly (published at 26 Newington Green Road, London, N.), and *The Commonweal*, just restarted, with *Die Autonomie* (in German), represent communist anarchism. The best work against anarchism is *The Impossibilities of Anarchism*, by Bernard Shaw (Fabian Tract, No. 45).

ANDOVER HOUSE, THE, IN BOSTON.

—The Andover House commenced its work in January, 1892. The movement began among a group of the younger graduates of Andover Seminary who had been under the instruction of Professor William J. Tucker, now President of Dartmouth College. President Tucker himself first proposed the plan, and has all along been its leader.

The Andover House Association, which stands responsible for the work, has, however, represented from the beginning a large variety of persons having no identity of interest except that in the more progressive lines of social activity.

The House is located at 6 Rollins Street, in the south end of the city, which is destined to be the metropolitan poor quarter of Boston. The location was selected so as to allow the work to reach both ways—toward the better grades of working people and toward the laboring and casual classes.

In the first instance, the House is the home of a group of educated men, who in one way and another enter actively into all the better interests of the immediate neighborhood. The keynote of every effort is personal friendliness. As far as possible the attitude of patronage is completely avoided.

At the beginning the work of the House has necessarily had to be somewhat ill-defined. Indeed, the work of a university settlement can never take on the exact and highly organized form of an institution; however, the purpose of making the work regular and continuous is held

strongly in mind. The original purpose included not only well-meaning effort, but careful study of actual conditions to accompany and inform such effort.

As a rule, each resident visits a certain group of families and makes it his duty to become thoroughly acquainted with them. As he learns about the life of the families, not as a canvasser learns, but as a friend learns about a friend, he makes out a complete schedule, covering every significant point. There will thus be at the House in the course of a few years a body of accurate knowledge which will greatly aid intelligent action. Much time is also given to careful investigation of social problems, affecting the life of the city as a whole. In several instances, through such study, residents have done useful work in the way of the improvement and development of some of the larger forms of philanthropic work in Boston.

The residents cooperate with the various local agencies in the way of self-help, as well as of charity and philanthropy. They have participated in certain local societies of the people's own; they serve on a local committee of the associated charities; they act upon the managing board of different charitable institutions, besides rendering a large amount of irregular service in such causes; they cooperate as far as possible, according to their particular inclination, with the work of the churches in the neighborhood, tho they avoid the very appearance of proselytism; and this not merely as a matter of policy, but of principle.

It is held to be very important to do everything through cooperation with existing agencies that can be done in that way.

The House is not meant to be an institution foisted upon the neighborhood, but simply an influence which shall act in support and confirmation of such good influences as are already in action; thus, the House undertakes very little formal educational work, because the educational system of Boston, including evening elementary schools and the evening high school, so well fill the need in that particular.

The gatherings at the House, while they are by regular appointment, are very informal in their nature, beginning with recreation of various kinds, and leading always toward the mental and moral improvement of those who come.

There are clubs for boys and girls, for little children, for young men and young women, and there is a weekly meeting for mothers of the neighborhood; but in all these the numbers are small, and the effort is constantly to have the influence of a personal rather than a mechanical one. In connection with this work much aid is given by persons from other parts of Boston, both men and women.

The residents of the House and a number of other persons who are actively interested arranged two Free Art Exhibitions, held by permission, in 1895, in a large hall owned by the city. Each exhibition lasted for four weeks, including Sundays, and was attended by over 40,000 people.

ROBERT A. WOODS.

ANDREWS, ELISHA BENJAMIN, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University, was

born at Hinsdale, N. H., January 10, 1844. He served in the United States Army from 1861-64, and rose from private to second lieutenant; he was wounded at Petersburg August 24, 1864, losing an eye. He graduated at Brown University, Providence, R. I., in 1870, and at Newton Theological Institute, Newton, Mass., in 1874; was principal of the Connecticut Literary Institution, Suffield, Conn., 1870-72; pastor of the First Baptist Church, Beverly, Mass., 1874-75; President of Denison University, Granville, O., 1875-79; Professor of Homiletics in Newton Theological Institution, 1879-82; Professor of History and Political Economy at Brown University, 1882-88; Professor of Political Economy and Finance in Cornell University, 1888-89; President of Brown University, 1889. President Andrews was appointed one of the commissioners sent by the United States to the monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. He is of the new or historical school. On the question of the tariff, he believes in the infant industry argument, and would carry it further than Mill. Industries being firmly established, Professor Andrews believes that protection and, if necessary, prohibition should be used to wage war upon injurious *foreign* monopolies, and free trade to wage war upon injurious domestic monopolies. A tariff commission will, he considers, be needed to arrange this. On questions of currency he is an ardent bimetalist. On questions of industry he would neither nationalize nor municipalize any industry, monopoly or otherwise, till every available resource in the way of regulation had been tried in vain; he would then nationalize or municipalize without hesitation, tho with care. He is the author of *Institutes of our Constitutional History, English and American* (1887); of *Institutes of General History* (1889); and of *Institutes of Economics* (1889); *An Honest Dollar* (1893); *Wealth and Moral Law* (1893); *History of the United States* (1894).

ANDREWS, STEPHEN PEARL, author, born in Templeton, Mass., 1812; died in New York City in 1886. Studying at Amherst College, he later removed to New Orleans, and became a lawyer. He was an ardent abolitionist, and in 1839 removed to Texas, where he converted many of the slave-owners, who were also land-owners, by showing them that they would become rapidly rich from the sale of land if immigration were induced by throwing the country open to free labor. His impetuous and logical eloquence gained him a wide repute and great personal popularity; but, on the other hand, his seemingly reckless and fanatical opposition to slavery aroused an intense feeling of opposition, and his life was seriously endangered. In 1843 he went to England in the hope that, with the aid of the British Anti-Slavery Society, he might raise sufficient money there to pay for the slaves and make Texas a free State. He was well received; but the plan was finally abandoned through fear that it would lead to war with the United States. Returning to America, he went to Boston and became a leader in the anti-slavery movement there.

While in England he learned of phonography, and after his return wrote and published exten-

sively on that subject and on the philosophy of language in general. He was the founder of the present system of phonographic reporting. He is said to have been familiar with 30 languages. He was a prominent member of the Liberal Club of New York, and for some time its vice-president. In later life he wrote more on sociology, especially on the family, taking an extremely individualistic position. He is claimed by the American philosophical anarchists as one of their great writers. (See ANARCHISM.) His most important works on that subject are: *Cost the Limit of Price* (New York, 1851); *The Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual* (1851); *Love, Marriage, and Divorce, and the Sovereignty of the Individual*: a discussion by Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews, edited by the latter (1853).

ANGLICAN POSITION IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—There is a church position in relation to political and social reform so different from either the accepted Protestant or Romanist positions that it is entitled to a presentation by itself. We call it Anglican, first, because it goes logically with that conception of the Church which is generally called Anglican, and, secondly, because it has been, as a matter of fact, most developed in the Church of England. Nevertheless, it is a conception by no means necessarily confined to the Anglican communion, and, as a matter of fact, many, perhaps the majority, of parishes of the Anglican communion do not hold to this position. What position in social reform *is* occupied by the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States we consider under CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, etc.; here we are concerned not with what they have done, but with a statement of a certain view of the relation of the Church to political and social problems. The position may be summed up in two points: *First*, that the only difference to be admitted between Christians, as far as organization goes, is one of *geography*, and, *secondly*, that in each geographical division the Church is responsible for the Christianizing of the whole secular as well as spiritual life of that division.

On the first point the holders of this view conceive of the Church not as a society formed by men who hold to particular articles of religion, but as a society founded by Christ, the members of which are those who have been initiated into it by baptism. They may be pious or impious, educated or uneducated, but if they have been once initiated (baptized) they are members of it. It matters not whether they have been baptized as Romanists, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, or what not; if baptized they are members of the Church. As far as membership goes, it does not matter what their views are—Trinitarian, Unitarian, orthodox, unorthodox, vegetarian, socialist, anarchist, or aught else. Church *membership* is not a question of character or belief, but of whether one has or has not been initiated into the society, and to this initiation, Anglicans hold that every child is entitled in virtue of his humanity. Once within the Church, it is indeed the duty of the

individual and the duty of the Church to aid the individual to grow up in the right way; but his *membership* depends not on how he grows up, but on the fact of initiation. This being so, the only difference, *as far as organization* goes between Christians, is one of geography. In one place there can only be one Church. Anglicans recognize only parish, diocesan, and national divisions. It is here that they differ from Romanists. Anglicans hold that parishes are associated in dioceses, and dioceses in national churches, and national churches in one oecumenical Church, but

The Church. with no parish, diocese, or national church having supremacy over any other. Under the One Head of the

Church, Christ, they hold the Church to be democratic, with no human superior or head. So conceiving the Church, they hold that in each parish the Church of that parish is responsible for all the life in that parish, be it political, social, industrial, or aught else. They believe that the Church is a secular institution as truly as a spiritual one, because they recognize no divorce between the secular and the spiritual. Hence work is one form of worship, and worship is one form of work. This position by no means necessitates the union of Church and State. It is not necessary that the Church have temporal power to influence a community. Let the State legislate, but let the Church be the inner controlling and animating power. Such is the position.

That it is different from Rome in being essentially democratic and catholic, as it believes the Roman position to be imperial and sectarian, we have seen. That it differs essentially from the usual Protestant position, which forms the Church upon some especial creed, and groups around that all who hold its creed, is equally apparent. The Anglican position would recognize no opinionative differences and organize no opinionative churches. In the labor movement it would not organize a labor church nor a working man's church any more than a rich man's church, but would recognize all the baptized as belonging to one Church, whose creed, laws, and forms of worship are to be neither fixed nor changed by individuals, but to be voted on democratically by all the initiated and by none else. This united power it would set to work, in dependence upon Divine life, to influence all life. Such is the position.

As we have said, it is by no means wholly realized in the Church of England or in any country. The Church of England often acts like the narrowest sect. But the holders of this view contend that it was originally the catholic or universal conception of the Church, and that it has been, tho' abused and confused, best preserved in England. Says Professor E. A. Freeman (*Growth of the English Constitution*, p. 10), speaking of the English social unit: "That unit, that atom, the true kernel of all our political life, must be looked for in Switzerland, in the *Gemeinde*, or commune; in England—smile not while I say it—in the parish vestry." The holders of this Anglican view would have the parish vestry, or, rather, the whole parish perhaps, purged of entangling alliance with the State, freed from dependence upon wealthy patrons, delivered

from the narrowness which to-day makes the system often a scandal and a derision, reassert its true function of influencing the whole broad life of the community.

References: *The Kingdom of Christ*, by F. D. Maurice; *Laws of Eternal Life*, by Stewart Headlam; and the tracts, *The Church of the World*, by R. H. Holland, and *The Social Faith of the Catholic Church*, by W. D. P. Bliss. See also *The Church Reformer*, 8 Duke St., Adelphi, London, W. C., England, and *The Dawn*, Boston, Mass.

ANSEELE, EDWARD, born 1856; son of a shoemaker in Ghent; became a clerk in a notary's office, and then a painter, in order to work for socialism. He founded the papers *Volkswel* and *Vooruit*. His great work, however, was the foundation of the *Vooruit*, the Socialist Co-operative Bakery, and Socialist Club of Ghent, and precursor of the important socialist cooperative movement in Belgium (*q.v.*). He is author of a Flemish socialistic novel, for the writing of which he suffered six months' imprisonment.

ANTHONY, SUSAN BROWNELL, was born at South Adams, Mass., February 15, 1820. Daniel Anthony, her father, a cotton manufacturer, was a liberal Quaker. After completing her education, Miss Anthony taught in New York State from 1835-50. She first spoke in public in 1847, and from that time took part in the temperance movement, organizing societies and lecturing. Through her exertions and those of Mrs. E. C. Stanton women came to be admitted to educational and other conventions, with the right to speak, vote, and serve on committees. About 1857 she became prominent among the agitators for the abolition of slavery. In 1858 she advocated the co-education of the sexes. Her energies have been chiefly directed to securing equal civil rights for women. In 1854-55 she held conferences in each county of New York in the cause of female suffrage, and since then she has addressed annual appeals and petitions to the Legislature. She was active in securing the passage of the act of the New York Legislature of 1860, giving to married women the possession of their earnings, the guardianship of their children, etc. During the war she devoted herself to the Women's Loyal League, which petitioned Congress in favor of the Thirteenth Amendment. In 1860 she started a petition in favor of leaving out the word "male" in the Fourteenth Amendment, and worked with the National Woman Suffrage Association to induce Congress to secure to her sex the right of voting. In 1867 she went to Kansas, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone, and there obtained 9000 votes in favor of woman suffrage. In 1868, with the cooperation of Mrs. Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, and with the assistance of George F. Train, she began in New York City the publication of a weekly paper called *The Revolutionist*, devoted to the emancipation of women. In 1872 she cast ballots at the State and Congressional election in Rochester, in order to test the application of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution. She was indicted for illegal voting, and was fined by Justice Hunt; but, in accordance with her defiant declaration, never paid the penalty. Between 1870 and 1880 she

lectured in all the Northern and several of the Southern States more than 100 times a year. In 1881 she wrote, with the assistance of her co-editors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, in two volumes.

ANTI-MASONS, a name given to a political party formed in New York and other States in 1827. William Morgan, a tailor of Batavia, N.Y., it was said, intended to betray the secrets of the Masonic order. He disappeared suddenly, and his fate has never to this day been discovered. It was rumored that he had been murdered by the Masons, and in the excitement that followed the above-named party was formed. Legal investigation as to Morgan's whereabouts was made, but nothing proved. The Governor and most of the public officers of the State were Masons, and this fact heightened the excitement. In 1828 the Anti-Masons cast a vote of 33,000, 70,000 the year following, and 128,000 in 1830. In New York, William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and Millard Fillmore were Anti-Masonic leaders. The party nominated William Wirt for President in 1832, but carried only one State—Vermont. In 1835 they elected the Governor of Pennsylvania. After this date the party rapidly fell to pieces, most of its members joining the Whigs.

ANTI-MONOPOLY PARTY, a party organized at Chicago May 14, 1884. It nominated Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, for the Presidency. Its platform demanded economical government, the passage and enforcement of equitable laws, including an interstate commerce law (since passed), labor bureaus, industrial arbitration, a direct vote for Senators, a graduated income tax, payment of the national debt as it matures, and "fostering care" for agriculture. It denounced the tariff and the grant of land to corporations. Its nominee was also indorsed by the Greenback Party (*q.v.*), and polled 130,000 votes.

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY, THE, was founded in New York City in connection with the Henry George movement of 1885-87. On March 26, 1887, a few men met in the office of *The Standard*, Mr. George's paper, to form a society, under the auspices of which "Father McGlynn" could conduct his work for land reform, which was then assuming large proportions. According to the account published in *The Standard*:

"They were of various creeds and shades of belief. One was a Catholic priest, another a Congregationalist clergyman, another a Presbyterian minister; some were Catholics, some Protestants, some agnostics, the strong band of union between them all being a deep religious conviction that poverty, with its attendant evils of vice and criminality and greed, is not an unavoidable curse inflicted on humanity by a cruel and offended deity, but altogether the result of a neglect by man of the beneficent laws of God. At this meeting and by these gentlemen the Anti-Poverty Society was organized, its principles and purposes being embodied in the following brief declaration:

"Believing that the time has come for an active warfare against the conditions that, in spite of the advance in the powers of production, condemn so many to degrading poverty, and foster vice, crime, and greed, the undersigned associate themselves together in an or-

ganization to be known as the Anti-Poverty Society. The object of the society is to spread, by such peaceable and lawful means as may be found most desirable and efficient, a knowledge of the truth that God has made ample provision for the needs of all men during their residence upon earth, and that poverty is the result of the human laws that allow individuals to claim as private property that which the Creator has provided for the use of all."

The President was Dr. McGlynn; the Secretary, Michael Clarke. Weekly meetings were held. The first public meeting was held May 1, 1887, in Chickering Hall, and public meetings were continued for many months amid intense excitement. This was largely due to the personal interest taken in Dr. McGlynn (*q.v.*) and in his contest with his archbishop and the papal authorities. As that passed away the excitement of the movement gradually dwindled, but the principles voiced in the movement were scattered and are still being scattered far and wide by the lectures of Dr. McGlynn and in other ways. (See SINGLE TAX; GEORGE; MCGLYNN; LAND, etc.)

ANTI-RENTERS (IN UNITED STATES HISTORY).—An organization which from 1839 to 1849 resisted the collection of rent on certain manorial estates in New York State. Mr. Alexander Johnston writes of them in *Lalor's Cyclopaedia*: "Large portions of Columbia, Rensselaer, Greene, Delaware, and Albany counties, in the State of New York, belonged to manors, the original grants of which were made to "patroons" by the Dutch Company, and renewed by James II., the principal being Rensselaerswyck and Livingston Manor. The tenants had deeds for their farms, but paid annual rental in kind, instead of a principal sum. This arrangement caused growing dissatisfaction among the tenants after 1790. When Stephen Van Rensselaer, who had allowed much of the rent to remain in arrears, died in 1839, the tenants, who longed to become real land-owners, made common cause against his successor, refused to pay rent, disguised themselves as "Injuns," and began a reign of terror, which for 10 years practically suspended the operations of law and the payment of rent throughout the district. An attempt to serve process by militia aid, known as the Helderberg War, was unsuccessful. In 1847 and 1849 the Anti-Renters "adopted" a part of each State ticket, and thus showed a voting strength of about 5000. In 1850 the Legislature directed the Attorney-General to bring suit against Harmon Livingston, to try title. The suit was decided in Livingston's favor in November, 1850, but both parties were then ready to compromise—the owners by selling the farms at fair rates and the tenants by paying for them."

References: Jay Gould's *History of Delaware County, N. Y.*; Mrs. Willard's *Last Leaves of American History* (16-18); Jenkin's *Life of Silas Wright* (179-226); Cooper's *Littlepage Tales*.

ANTI-TENEMENT-HOUSE LEAGUE.

—This is a league formed in Boston March 6, 1891, to preserve and protect the home, to abolish the tenement; and since it believes the making of clothing under the contract or sweating system in tenements (see SWEATING SYSTEM)

to be the worst industrial evil in tenement life, the League has given its first and main efforts to fighting this sweating system.

By the by-laws adopted the objects of the League were said to be :

To encourage the manufacture and sale of goods made under healthful conditions, and to secure the final abolition of the tenement-house and sweating system of manufacturing clothing.

Its methods were said to be :

To call attention, by means of lectures and the distribution of literature, to the danger to public health and morals consequent upon the herding of people together, and the turning of the family into a factory, and to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary to secure the objects of the League.

On June 8, 1891, Mr. Crowley, the secretary, who for several years had been carrying on a crusade against the sweating evil, both in Boston and New York, arousing much interest by his revelations, addressed a letter to the clergy of Boston, urging them to take up the theme. In response many sermons were preached, among them those by Mr. Banks, since published under the title *White Slaves*. Another phase of the agitation was the addressing of a letter to Postmaster Hart, of Boston, advising him that the letter-carriers' uniforms were being made in tenement-houses by sweaters. This was denied ; but it was found that Mr. Crowley was right, and the contract was taken away and awarded to a clean firm, who were underbid the next year by a firm prominent in the sweating system. The result of this agitation was the present law in Massachusetts requiring all clothing-makers in tenements to have a license, creating two commissioners to see that the law is not violated, and making other provisions.

In December, 1891, the League invited the clothing dealers of Boston to cooperate with it in suppressing the sweating system ; but only a few firms responded, and these in a lukewarm way, it being only too evident that the average clothing dealer was more interested in maintaining than in suppressing the sweating system.

The League then proceeded, at the suggestion of the secretary, to memorialize Congress upon the sweating system, and as a result Senator Hoar presented a bill suggested by Secretary Crowley, and Congress appointed a committee of investigation, whose report has since been published.

On June 7, 1892, the League held a joint meeting with the Industrial Aid Society of Boston and the stockholders of the Working Men's Building Association, to consider a plan presented by Mr. H. K. Hannah for building cheap suburban residences, to be sold on instalments to working men. As the result, a society has now been incorporated to build such homes. Other work of the League has been to give lectures and hold mass-meetings over the country, to spread literature and create public sentiment against the evil.

A. P. A. See AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

APPLEGARTH, ROBERT, born at Hull,

England, in 1833. Tho unapprenticed, he picked up the trade of a joiner and cabinet-maker. He moved to Sheffield in 1852, and soon became the most prominent member of the local Carpenters' Union, inducing it to unite with the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in 1861. From 1862-71 he held the office of general secretary of this organization, voluntarily resigning at last. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the London School Board from Lambeth in 1870, polling a large vote ; and was invited to be a candidate for Parliament at Maidstone, but retired in favor of Sir John Lubbock. In 1871 he was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on the Contagious Diseases Act. Upon resigning his secretaryship he entered journalism for a time, but before long became foreman to a firm manufacturing engineering and diving apparatus. Eventually he became the proprietor of the business. He still retains (1895) his interest in trade-unionism. Mr. Applegarth sought to win for the trade-union organization a social and political status, and was, in his day, an ideal representative of the labor movement in the political world.

APPRENTICESHIP, a contract whereby one person, called the master, binds himself to teach some trade or profession to another person, called the apprentice, the latter being bound to serve the master for a specified period of time at low wages, and often for a season at no wages. This custom arose in the middle ages, and played an important part especially in the ancient guilds (*q. v.*). It did not merely apply to such occupations as are now followed by artisans. It was common and correct in the middle ages to speak of the university of smiths, or tailors. Toward the end of the medieval period and the beginning of industrialism, as the arts and trades became gradually established, each assumed the form of a college or corporation of masters and scholars. The term *apprentice* was then applied not only to mechanics, but to art students as well. The length of apprenticeship during the middle ages was seven years, the same length of time taken by undergraduates in the liberal arts. After this time the apprentice became a full member of the corporation, and was qualified to practise the business for himself and to teach others.

The rules of apprenticeship were much more strictly observed on the Continent than in England ; nevertheless, guilds were formed in England as early as the twelfth century. In the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted that no person should carry on any trade without having first served a seven years' apprenticeship. London became the stronghold of the guilds, which were frequently involved in political struggles and local tumults. During the reign of Charles II. the apprentice laws were limited and subverted by the judges.

Adam Smith and most of his school disapproved of apprenticeship, believing it to restrict the rightful liberty of the workman and restrain the full freedom of competition. There is no doubt that at that time there were many unwise and troublesome customs regarding apprenticeship that merited this antagonism ; but it is also certain that many of the charges brought

against the institution were too sweeping. The old trade corporations, however, were obliged to make way for the new trade-unions.

In the United States the English precedent has generally been followed in regard to apprenticeship. The division of labor has tempt-

European Guilds.

ed many masters to keep their apprentices busy at some one branch of the trade, and thus to fail in their agreement to teach them the whole business. This neglect has brought on suits for damages by the apprentices; and the Pennsylvania courts have decided that the master is bound to teach the apprentice every necessary part of the trade.

There have been no corporations in this country exactly similar to the European guilds, the one nearest approaching them being, perhaps, the Carpenters' Company, of Philadelphia. In the earlier part of this century efforts were made to enforce the apprentice laws, and to capture and punish runaways; but the establishment of the factory system and development of machinery undermined effectually the whole institution of apprenticeship. The division of labor has so simplified the labor of each worker that after a few weeks or even days of apprenticeship a boy or girl can learn almost any separate part of the trade. There is still great demand for skilled mechanics, but more especially for those of an inventive turn. It is only in the smaller towns and villages that the custom of apprenticing at present prevails; and it is to be noticed that it is from these towns and villages that the skilled mechanics of the cities come. It has been estimated that out of 4,000,000 skilled manufacturers and mechanics there are 3,000,000 in small towns and villages or cities of less than 20,000 inhabitants. Some large manufacturing cities still retain in a greatly modified form a system of apprenticeship; but generally there is no written agreement between employer and employee, and boys are hired under a verbal agreement, which permits them to leave or be discharged at any time. This plan results in creating large numbers of half-skilled workmen.

In the biography of James Nasmyth, of Manchester, England, the inventor of the steamhammer, the author says:

"But the arrangement which we greatly preferred was to employ intelligent, well-conducted young lads, the sons of laborers or mechanics, and advance them by degrees according to their merits. They took charge of the smaller machine tools, by which the minor details of the machines in progress were brought into exact form without having recourse to the intricate and costly process of chipping and filing. A spirit of emulation was excited among them. They vied with each other in executing their work with precision. Those who excelled were paid an extra weekly wage. In course of time they took pride not only in the quantity, but in the *quality* of their work, and in the long run they became skilful mechanics. . . . Every one of these lads was at liberty to leave at the end of each day's work. This arrangement acted as an ever-present check upon master as well as apprentice. The only bond of union between us was mutual interest. The best of them remained in our service, because they knew our work and were pleased with the surroundings; while we, on our part, were always desirous of retaining men we had trained, because we knew we could depend upon them. Nothing could have been more satisfactory than the manner in which this system worked."

Mr. Nasmyth found much carelessness in the

work of those employees who could not be discharged, and endeavored to prevent it by dividing the period of apprenticeship into half-yearly lengths. Other manufacturers have sought to retain apprentices by bonuses, or by establishing a rising scale of wages according to time served; but most success in fully training mechanics is expected from better general education. (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

The American trade-unions, striving to raise wages, and therefore to limit the number of competitors for work, have often attempted to limit the number of apprentices which can be allowed to learn any trade; and this not unnatural step has tended to diminish the number of American skilled workmen, mechanics from Europe being allowed to enter this country with scarcely any limitation on immigration, and the trade-unions have been powerless to prevent their introduction. The only thing they could do was to take these men into their unions as rapidly as possible. Hence, without any ill will of unions against native-born workmen, but merely from their desire to raise their wages, has risen a state of things which some writers, not understanding the cause, have utterly misunderstood; as, for example, the conductors of the recent agitation on the subject in the *Century Magazine*, where (May, 1893) one finds such statements as these:

"Shall American boys be permitted to learn trades, and, having learned them, shall they be permitted to work at them? . . . Most persons thus interrogated would reply at once: 'Why do you ask such unnecessary questions?' We ask them because under the present conditions of trade instruction and employment in this country the American boy has no rights which organized labor is bound to respect. He is denied instruction as an apprentice, and if he be taught his trade in a trade school, he is refused admission to nearly all the trade-unions, and is boycotted if he attempts to work as a non-union man. The questions of his character and skill enter into the matter only to discriminate against him. All the trade-unions of the country are controlled by foreigners, who comprise the great majority of their members. While they refuse admission to the trained American boy, they admit all foreign applicants, with little or no regard to their training or skill. In fact, the doors of organized labor in America, which are closed and barred against American boys, swing open, wide and free, to all foreign comers. Labor in free America is free to all save the sons of Americans.

Apprenticeship and American Trade-unions.

Shall American Boys Learn Trades?

"These are neither idle nor exaggerated statements. They are sober, solemn truths, expressed with studied moderation. So-called American labor to-day is a complete misnomer, as far as the trades are concerned. How has it come about that the United States alone among the nations of the earth has not merely surrendered possession of her field of mechanical labor to foreigners, but acquiesces when the foreign possessors exclude from that field her own sons?"

Professor E. W. Bemis, at the time of Chicago University, in an article first appearing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, contends that these statements cannot be substantiated. He says:

"Most of our trade-unions have so little prejudice against any nationality, native or foreign, that they keep no records of the number of each in their membership. . . .

"While the foreign born are in the majority in many of the hard-handed industries, this is not because of our labor organizations, but often in spite of their efforts, of late increasing, to prevent by restricting immigra-

tion this form of competition of those with a lower standard of living. Where the American born are not in our unions, it is either because the American boy does not like manual labor, and so is not engaged in the trades in which there are unions, or else he refuses to join the union of his trade. Many unions write that the Germans take most readily to labor organization, while in Chicago the native farmers' boys from the Atlantic seaboard States are least responsive. An intense, self-sufficient individualism, which was more fitted to our earlier history, where organization of capital was also little developed, than to the present era of the corporation and the trust, keeps a large, but of late, decreasing percentage of the American boys actually in our trades from joining the unions of those trades."

Nor can it be even shown that the majority of trade-unions seek to unduly limit apprenticeship. In 1891 Professor Bemis investigated this question, embodying the results in a paper which appeared in the proceedings of the American Social Science Association for that year. Mr. Bemis says :

"Of the 60 to 70 trade-unions in the United States then having a national or international organization, 48, with a membership of over 500,000, made returns to the writer. Most of the other unions are small and known to place no restrictions on apprentices. Now of these 48 unions, 28, embracing 222,000 members, or 45 per cent. of the above 500,000, had no restrictions upon apprenticeship; in 10 unions, with 107,000 members, or 39 per cent. of all, restriction was left to the locals. Nearly all of these 107,000 were carpenters, printers, cigar-makers, painters, and decorators. No returns were received from most of the building trades aside from the carpenters, but it is known that where they have any restrictions upon apprenticeship, they are usually a matter of local regulation. Let us examine a little the restrictions in these unions. Only those branches of the cigar-makers' organization which make the better grade of cigars attempt any restriction at all of apprentices. Where restriction is attempted, it is usual to allow one apprentice to a shop and two apprentices

Statistics.

where from five to 10 journeymen are employed. The term of apprenticeship being three years, and the natural working life of cigar-makers over 15 years, there is, in the application of this rule, opportunity for a considerable yearly increase in the number of cigar-makers. It may be a sufficient evidence that the cigar-makers do not unduly restrict the number of apprentices if I state that the Chicago union, with a membership of 1900, has between 700 and 800 apprentices.

"Of the 11 local typographical unions in New York State investigated in 1886 by the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, eight reported some restriction of apprentices. The very moderate rule common to most of these was one apprentice to four or five journeymen, the term of learning being four years. But such rules are of comparatively little avail in keeping down the number of apprentices because of the large number trained in the country newspaper offices, where, in the absence of unions, no rules are applied. All of the 11 unions, as stated in the report, admitted to their membership on equal terms with any others those boys who had learned their trades in non-union establishments. The Chicago Typographical Union allows one apprentice (in newspaper and two in job offices) to the first 10 journeymen and one apprentice to every five journeymen thereafter. A veteran printer of the union has found this rule would allow for the 1700 membership of one of the Chicago unions about 250 apprentices, but the number employed is only about 140, very clearly proving that not as many boys desire to be apprentices in the printing trade by nearly one half as the union rules would allow.

"In view of the common belief that the building trades are successful in limiting the number of apprentices, it is very significant to note the fact brought out in the Massachusetts census for 1885, that in none of the building trades was there one half, and in most cases not one fourth, as many apprentices as the union rules would allow. Among the blacksmiths there was one apprentice only to 23 journeymen; among the carpenters, 1 to 62; among the machinists, 1 to 20; among the masons, 1 to 105; among the painters, 1 to 89; among the plumbers, 1 to 44; among the printers, 1 to 10; among the tinsmiths, 1 to 16. In Wisconsin, in 1880, according to the fourth biennial report of the Commissioner of Labor and the industrial statistics of that State, there was only one apprentice to every 13 among the masons; one to every 12 among the carpenters; one to every 12½ among the painters, while there were three apprentices to every four journeymen among the plumbers.

"Two of the most exclusive unions in this country are the Tile-Layers and the Flint Glass-Workers. The former, with a small membership, requires a learner to serve two years as an apprentice, and then he must be able to secure a two years' contract as a laborer at \$3 a day for the first year and \$3.50 for the second. He must then be able to earn \$4 a day and pay an initiation fee of from \$25 to \$100, according to the locality.

"The Flint-Glass Workers allow only one apprentice to every 20 men, unless there are less in a shop, and he must serve four years. By adding an initiation fee of \$100 in case of emigrants, and having other stringent shop rules, they keep up wages to from \$6 to \$9 a day for their members in this skilled trade during the 10 months' work season. But these examples of a labor trust modeled after the increasing examples of the same among capitalists are the exception in the labor world.

"Only 17 of the 48 unions making returns as above stated had any national rules restricting apprentices, and only 14 of these unions, with 71,000 members, or 14 per cent. of the 500,000 in the 48 unions, reported any success in the enforcement of such rules. Of these 71,000, 9500 were glass-workers, 5417 were hat-makers, 20,000 were iron-moulders, and 20,000 were journeymen tailors."

Mr. Bemis continues in his article in the *Annals of the American Academy* :

"Altho the writer of the *Century* articles charges the trade-unions with the downfall of the apprenticeship system—the only system known until very recently for imparting trade instruction—he says in the June number, 1893: "At the sixth annual convention of the Pennsylvania Association of master house painters and decorators, held at Scranton in January last, one of the delegates read a paper on the apprenticeship system as observed in his trade. He said that after a personal investigation among at least 600 master painters and decorators of Philadelphia and vicinity, he had discovered that not an average of one in 15 had a single apprentice in his business, and that the larger the workshop or establishment, the greater seemed the abhorrence with reference to the employment of boys to learn the trade, many of the masters going so far as to say that in all their experience as masters, extending over 15 to 35 years, and employing from 15 to 50 and as high as 80 workmen, they had never bothered their brains teaching a boy the business."

"The downfall of the apprenticeship system is due largely to the introduction of machinery and the consequent subdivision of work in large shops. This renders it impracticable for the employer to take a personal interest in each of his men, or to give them an all-round training. It is more profitable to set the learner at work upon a single machine or branch of work, where he will soon acquire speed. The boy prefers this, because he is eager to begin earning as soon as possible. But the apprenticeship system as managed under modern conditions is at best a poor method of trade instruction. It is a picking-up process. Scores of wage-earners have assured me that very little actual teaching is done for the boy in the apprenticeship, but he must do a great deal of drudgery, run more or less danger of moral contamination, and can only learn what he may incidentally pick up by watching others. This is a great waste of time. There is no awakening of keen ambition and love of the work; no adequate training or imparting of dignity to the work. A journeyman is hardly ever paid, as he should be, when on piece-work for the time lost in teaching an apprentice. This alone accounts for much of whatever opposition there may be among journeymen to a large number of apprentices."

Such seem to be the facts as to the situation. For a discussion of the question of industrial education, see article under that name.

A suggestive treatment of the problem of apprentices is reported from Neuchâtel in Switzerland :

"A new law for the regulation of apprenticeship in Neuchâtel came into force in February, 1891, from which much good is expected. The aim of the law is to raise the status of apprentices and to develop industrial skill in the different trades practised in the canton, but especially in the watch-making industry. To this end all apprentices are placed under the supervision of the communal authority, which can delegate its powers to a select committee, composed of equal numbers of employers and employed. Where *Conseils de Prud'*

hommes or trade syndicates exist this supervision can be entrusted to them. The committee must from time to time visit the workshops where apprentices are employed and see that the latter are properly taught and treated. Masters are forbidden to take apprentices without a written contract, or to employ them in other than their proper occupation, and they are also required to allow them sufficient time for religious and secular instruction. The hours of labor are fixed at 10 per day for apprentices between the ages of 13 and 15, and at 11 hours a day for those over 15, the hours devoted to education being included in these limits. As a rule, no apprentice can be required to work at night or on Sundays or holidays. The Council of State of the canton appoints a commission in connection with the cantonal department of industry and agriculture, which must be as representative as possible of the trade-unions recognized by the State. The function of the commission is to consider all schemes which may result in the improvement of the position of apprentices, and to examine all apprentices on the expiration of their apprenticeship.

The persons admitted to these examinations must be apprentices of Neuchâtel or other Swiss cantons who have served at least half of their time with an employer resident in the canton. The examinations include theoretical knowledge, but lay greater stress upon the practical work turned out by the apprentice. Candidates who satisfy the examiners are provided with certificates from the Minister of Industry and Agriculture, stating the results of the examination. Prizes consisting of books, tools, or a savings-bank account are given to the best candidates, and exhibitions are provided for those who are desirous of further perfecting themselves in their trade. The sum of 3000 frs. is to be devoted annually to prizes from the cantonal budget, and the work executed by the candidates who pass their examination is to be publicly exhibited. All the provisions of this law are equally applicable to women."

Foreign Report on Switzerland of the English Royal Commission on Labor.

References: *Labor Reports, General Subject of Apprenticeship* (New York, 1886; Maine, 1888); *Statistics of Apprentices* (Kansas, 1890; Missouri, 1884); *Apprenticeship in Europe* (New York, 1886); *Apprentice Schools* (New York, 1886); *Trade-Unions and Apprentices* (California, 1887-88; Ohio, 1881; New York, 1886; Pennsylvania, 1889; Michigan, 1889); *Laws Relating to Apprentices* (North Carolina, 1888). See also the *Century*, 1893, *passim*, and Professor E. W. Bemis, reply in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1894.

AQUINAS, ST. THOMAS, the chief representative of the theology, philosophy, and economic teaching of the medieval Church. He was born in 1225 or 1227, at the castle of his father, the Count of Aquino, in the territories of Naples; and he received his education at Monte Cassino and the University of Naples. When but 17 years old, in spite of the opposition of his family, he took the habit of the Dominican order at Naples, and was afterward sent away to study theology and philosophy under the famous Albertus Magnus at Cologne and Paris. Aquinas early gained distinction as a student of theology, and began his lectures, which were given at Paris, Rome, Bologna, and other places. He was on familiar terms with many princes of his time, and especially honored by the kings of France and of Naples, who frequently sought advice from him. The Popes also were not slow to recognize the merit of Aquinas; and Clement IV. offered him the archbishopric of Naples and the abbacy of Monte Cassino, both of which were declined. It was on the route to the Council of Lyons, whither he had been specially summoned by Gregory X., that Aquinas died, March 7, 1274. He was canonized in 1323 by Pope John XXII. In his life there was a union of simple piety with the greatest philosophical power. He fulfilled the ecclesiastical ideal of a saint and a Father of the Church. As

a theologian his name stands with that of Augustine.

To us Aquinas represents scholasticism, the philosophy of the middle ages. From the beginning the Christian Fathers, like the later Alexandrians, had made philosophy the handmaid of religion; and we find in scholasticism the same exaltation of theology over all other knowledge. Scotus Erigena, the earliest schoolman, said: "There are not two studies, one of philosophy and one of religion; true philosophy is true religion, and true religion is true philosophy." Hence the greatest work of Aquinas, the *Summa Theologiæ*, aimed to give a summary of all the science of the time. Into the philosophical and theological part of the *Summa* it is not necessary to go at length in this article. It may be said that the whole philosophical effort of the middle ages was to reconcile the demands of reason with the dogmas of the Church. So in the *Summa* Aquinas asserts the existence of two sources of knowledge—revelation and reason. Revelation includes Scripture and Church tradition and teaching. Reason, in this sense, is natural truth, such as came to men through the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. Natural truths are to be apprehended by the individual reason and the supernatural truths of revelation by faith. Yet these two kinds of truth are not at variance, since they rest on the Absolute One, who is God. Philosophy and theology are, therefore, harmonious. There are three principal divisions of the *Summa Theologiæ*, which may be said to treat respectively of God, man, and the God-Man. The latter part of the third division was added after the death of the author. Of the other works of Aquinas, his commentaries on Scripture and on Aristotle, and the *Adversus Gentiles*, dealing with Mohammedan science, it is not necessary to speak further. All his writings lead up to the *Summa*.

To Aquinas theology is the sum of all science, and hence he is little interested in economics. But since the scope of the *Summa* was so wide, he naturally was obliged to deal to a certain extent with both politics and economics. His statements have great value to students of social questions, because he so thoroughly represented medieval Church thought. Most of his teaching on these subjects may be found in various passages of the *Summa*.

In regard to private property, Aquinas justified individual ownership. He argued that the results of private ownership were beneficial, and he adopted from Aristotle the theory that property should be owned separately, but used for the common good. Aquinas, however, had to deal with the fact that the Christian Church at first seemed to condemn private property and to glorify communism. There was even in the canon law itself an apparent approval of common ownership, and in one place a declaration, quoted from Clement of Rome, that all men ought to have the use of the things of this world in common. Hence some explanations and qualifications were necessary, if he wished to harmonize his own position with that of the early Church. By natural law, in one sense,

there was no reason why a piece of land should belong to one person rather than to others. But in another sense, Aquinas says, since it was desirable that the land should be cultivated without interruption by violence, the private ownership might be called natural. It is natural by way of consequence, tho not natural absolutely. Private property was due to positive enactments of law; but the natural law did not introduce it, neither did it forbid it. Thus Aquinas justifies, tho with the qualifications mentioned, the principle of individual ownership. In dealing with the subject of property as it concerned the monastic orders, or as it affected the highest sort of Christian living, Aquinas takes the conservative view. He holds, in opposition to many in the monastic orders who wished for absolute poverty, not only individual, but corporate, that property is only injurious when it hinders the spiritual life. A moderate property, especially if possessed by a religious order, is not necessarily an evil.

Following naturally from his views as to poverty and private property comes the position of Aquinas in regard to the bestowal of charity. He does not unduly exalt almsgiving, as some Church writers had done. The practice is obligatory; but at the same time alms need only be given, as a general thing, after a man has provided for himself and his family in a proper way. The giving should usually be from the superfluity—what remained after legitimate expenses.

One example of Aquinas' teaching on politics may be referred to. On the question of the right of government to tax its subjects, he favors the subjects rather than the prince. He says

that rulers should seek the common good of the people in preference to their own advantage. Hence they

Right of Taxation.

should not take from their subjects by taxation save when some public need arises. Their revenues should

be derived from their own special possessions. But it is right that they should tax their subjects for such purposes as the common defense against an enemy, etc. This opinion was advanced in answer to an inquiry put to Aquinas by the Duchess of Brabant.

In treating of commercial ethics, Aquinas follows generally the teaching of the earlier Church Fathers, and stands firm for the application of Christian principles to trade. He agrees with the old views as to usury, and especially with those of his instructor, Albertus Magnus. Usury is wrong. Money is a *consumptible*; the borrower has a natural right to make use of it when loaned, and the lender should not ask a payment for its use in addition to the return of the original sum, as this would be a double charge. Aquinas, however, allows the right of the lender to make a charge for any loss that might occur from the payment of the money being deferred beyond the set time. Though usury is a sin, it is not wrong, he teaches, for a man to borrow from a usurer for some good purpose, or for one to lend money to a usurer for safe-keeping, having no desire of gain.

Trade was, in Aquinas' view, a base thing, and even sinful when carried on for the sake of gain. But it was not so when the trader pur-

sued it as a means of livelihood, and was content with a moderate profit, which he used for good purposes. Further, trade was also right when it served the public interest and provided a country with the necessities of life. The civil law was wholly imperfect, then as now, from a Christian standpoint, in its provisions regarding business. The Christian principle was, according to Aquinas, that no one should ever demand or pay more than a just price. He was conscious of the opposition between his teaching and the civil law, but he explains that human law has its necessary limitations, and does not prohibit everything that is wrong. Divine law is higher, and must forbid all things that are opposed to justice and virtue. It was necessary, therefore, for Aquinas to protest against applying the principles of the civil law only to business, and to assert the pre-eminence of the Christian and Divine law. He makes competition subsidiary to justice.

The scholastic philosophy reaches its culmination in Aquinas, and no medieval writer has had more influence than he. The *Summa Theologiæ* was meant to be exhaustive, to be a compendium of all knowledge, and it remains the most complete body of moral and theological science ever written. It is even now, to a great extent, a recognized manual of the theology of the Roman Catholic Church.

References: There is no adequate account of the economic teaching of Aquinas; which may be best collected from Aquinas himself. See the *Summa Theologiæ* as to private property, *Secunda Secundæ*, *Quæstio 77*, *Articulus 3*; *Q. 66*, *Art. 1, 2*; as to voluntary poverty, *Q. 188*, *Art. 7*; as to alms, *Q. 32*, *Art. 5, 6*; as to slavery, *Pars Prima*, *Q. 96*, *Art. 3*; *Prima Secundæ*, *Q. 94*, *Art. 5*; as to price, *Secunda Secundæ*, *Q. 77*; as to usury, *Q. 78*; as to taxation, *De Regimine Judæorum* among the *Opuscula*. The best brief account will be found in C. Jourdain, *La Philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin*, 1858. See also W. J. Ashley, *Economic History*, vol. 1., part 1, 1888, and his article on Aquinas in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, to which article we are in the main indebted for that portion of our article bearing on Aquinas' economic teaching.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION (INDUSTRIAL).—(For courts of conciliation other than industrial, see **CONCILIATION, COURTS OF**. See also **STRIKES AND PULLMAN STRIKE**. For arbitration between nations, see **INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION**.) We are concerned in this article with arbitration and conciliation as applied to the settlement of industrial disputes alone. We consider, first, *definitions*; secondly, *the history of the subject*; thirdly, *the difficulties, advantages and various views of the different kinds of arbitration and conciliation*.

I. DEFINITIONS.

Arbitration and conciliation are not identical. Says Mr. Henry Crompton in his *Industrial Conciliation*:

“Arbitration is not the same as conciliation, but may be used when conciliation has failed, or where there has been no attempt at conciliation. Arbitration is ‘after the fact,’ and implies that a cause of difference and a dispute have arisen. By arbitration this may be settled, a compromise effected, and war averted; and that whether the dispute relates to past arrangements, as to what are the terms of an existing contract, the just application of those terms to a new state of things, or whether the difficulty is to agree upon future prices or conditions of labor. Desirable as this obviously is, conciliation aims at something higher—at doing before the fact that which arbitration accomplishes after.

It seeks to prevent and remove the causes of dispute before they arise, to adjust differences and claims before they become disputes."

There are various kinds of both arbitration and conciliation. There is, in the first place, the general distinction between *voluntary* and *compulsory* arbitration and conciliation.

Voluntary arbitration takes place when the parties to the dispute, *of their own will*, refer the matter at issue to the decision of a board or body of arbitrators, or even to one arbitrator, as may be agreed upon

Voluntary Arbitration. may do this of their own desire, or be induced by the mediation of outside parties or by public sentiment.

It is, nevertheless, voluntary arbitration, unless they are compelled *by law* to have recourse to such arbitration. The appeal may be made to arbitrators or to an arbitrator chosen in a great variety of ways. The arbitrating body may be chosen for the occasion, or it may be a standing board chosen by one employer and his employees, or by the united employers and employees, either of one trade or of one city or geographical section, or, again, the appeal may be to a board of arbitration appointed by the State or by outside parties. In all these cases it is still *voluntary* arbitration, even though the appeal be to a board appointed by the State.

Compulsory arbitration arises only when the law *compels* any employer or employee to *submit the question at issue to arbitration, and to abide by the result*. Unless the law compel *both* the submission of the question and the abiding by the

Compulsory Arbitration. judgment it cannot be called actually compulsory arbitration. An intermediate form of arbitration

may, however, be conceived of, and in a sense actually has been developed, where the law compels parties at strife to appear before a board of arbitration upon summons and to state their case and submit to examination, with or without evidence, yet where the law does not compel the parties to accept the decision. In such a case the hope is that by compelling the parties at strife to state and argue the case before responsible men, the judgment arrived at by such men and the publication of their decision will induce, or, perhaps, by the power of public sentiment even compel, the acceptance of the decision without compulsion by law. Again, the case may be conceived of, though we believe it has not been developed, where the law compels parties who have voluntarily resorted to arbitration to abide by the result. In full compulsory arbitration, however, both the resort to and the abiding by the decision of arbitrators must be required under the penalty of the law.

Such are some of the forms that *arbitration* may assume. *Conciliation* has, or may have, a similar variety of forms. Compulsory conciliation in its full sense may seem a contradiction of terms; nevertheless, the law may require, and often has required, as in France particularly, the maintenance of boards of conciliation, by which all questions liable to create strife must be decided, subject to appeal to various higher courts of law or of arbitration. Conciliation, too, when voluntary, may be of many kinds. A particular employer or firm may agree with his

or its employees on a board of conciliation to determine all matters on which differences are likely to arise, or a board of conciliation may be chosen by the united employers and employees either of a particular trade or of a particular town or geographical section; or government (national, municipal, or State) may appoint boards of conciliation; or, finally, private parties—a church (as in New York City) or any body of men—may appoint a board or committee of conciliation.

Once more, in *combinations* of both arbitration and conciliation there is chance for still more variety, while finally, as to the methods of choosing, constituting, and conducting boards, the differences are beyond computation, and cannot at length be noticed here. The main differences, however, *must be kept in mind*. There are often extreme objections raised against and difficulties encountered in the way of one form of arbitration and conciliation which do not apply to another. Of scarcely any industrial problem is it more difficult or more dangerous to make general statements. Before attempting any general consideration, therefore, the history should be carefully studied in considerable detail.

II. HISTORY.

The history of modern industrial arbitration and conciliation belongs almost wholly to the last quarter of a century, yet finds its origin in France early in the century, and there connects itself in an interesting way with the medieval methods of settling industrial disputes. (See GUILDS.) We shall study the history by countries, commencing with France.

In the silk trade of Lyons there existed, in the last century, created by the trade guild or corporation, a *Tribunal Commun*, for the settlement of industrial disputes, which was a part of the recognized guild system of the medieval period. It was broken up by the law of March, 1791, abolishing all the French guilds.

The silk manufacturers, however, felt its loss, and taking advantage of a visit of Napoleon to their city, they petitioned for an institution similar to their old court. This was granted by the law of March 18, 1806, and Lyons thus saw the first of what became the famous French *Conseils des Prud'hommes* (boards of conciliation, composed of skilled men of a trade). This first *conseil* and its immediate successors were not composed, as the *conseils* are now, equally of employers and employees. The employers were in the majority, and in a sense the working men were not really represented at all, for this first *conseil* consisted of five merchants and four *chefs d'ateliers* or overseers, and thus was representative of all the early *conseils*. They were what their name implied, councils of the heads, or skilled men of the trade. Nevertheless, they attempted the work of modern boards of conciliation, and with considerable success. Similar *conseils* were started at Rouen in 1807; Nîmes, 1807; Avignon and other places, 1808. By the law of 1809 workmen themselves were admitted to the *conseils*, tho' not in equal number with the manufacturers, this not being granted till 1848, and then being soon withdrawn. In 1810 a *conseil* was formed in the soap manufacturing trade in Marseilles, and from this time entered other trades. After 1810 the system spread through all France and into the adjacent countries. There are at present 117 *conseils* in France, four in Paris alone handling some 24,000 cases annually.

The *conseils* at present in France consist of two committees, or bureaux: a bureau of conciliation, called a *bureau particulier*, and a bureau of arbitration, called a *bureau général*. The bureau of conciliation is composed of one employer and one workman, whose office is to form a tribunal to which, without the cost, delay, or vexation of legal process, can be referred disputes

French
Conseils des
Prud'hommes.

between working men themselves or between working men and their employers. The jurisdiction of this bureau, however, is limited at present to the interpretation of contracts and disputes involving amounts not over \$40, though a bill has already passed the Chamber of Deputies to raise the limit to \$100. Two thirds of the cases that come before them are stated by the Report on France of the (English) Royal Commission on Labour, to be settled at a cost not exceeding 30 centimes (6 cents), the cost of issuing a citation notice; 75 per cent. of the cases refer to wages. The bureau is compelled to sit at least three times a week.

The bureau of arbitration (*bureau général*) is composed of three employers and three workmen, and considers cases that cannot be settled by the bureaus of arbitration. Witnesses may be called, and are compelled to appear. Counsel may not appear. Appeal can be taken to the Tribunal of Commerce if the sum involved is over \$40. Workmen and employees alternately preside. In each commune (township) or *circonscription*, the employers elect their representatives and the working men theirs. Details vary, but usually any working man of 25 years, who has worked three years in the place, has a right to vote for the workmen's representatives. The *conseils* have jurisdiction alone in the trades for which they are appointed. From 1879 to 1888 the bureaus of conciliation tried 470,280 cases, of which 66 per cent. resulted in conciliation, or were withdrawn before judgment, and 33 per cent. proved irreconcilable. The bureaus of arbitration heard 119,487 cases, of which 67,222 were withdrawn before judgment, 40,659 were finally decided, and 9886 were admitted to appeal. Less than one fifth of these ever came up for appeal, and of these only 32 per cent. were reversed. The difficulty of settlement, however, appears to be on the increase. In 1887, of 41,017 cases before bureaus of conciliation, 15,656 were not conciliated. In 1888, out of 41,117 cases, 16,319 were not conciliated. In 1889, out of 43,141, 16,178 were not. In 1890, in the *conseil* for the textile trade in Paris, 312 cases came up and 1124 could not be conciliated, and in 1891, 281 cases came up and 949 could not be conciliated. According to Maurice Bloch's *Annuaire de l'Economie Politique*, of the cases appearing before the bureaus of conciliation from 1876-89, 71 per cent. of the cases were conciliated; in 1881, 61 per cent.; in 1882, 64 per cent.; in 1883, 64 per cent.; since 1883, not over 53 per cent. This is perhaps due to the increasing size of industrial disputes. The *conseils*, it will be remembered, are limited to the comparatively minor matters of personal or implied contracts between employers and workmen, such as payment of wages, absence from work, poor workmanship, apprenticeship; but the increasing need has led to the question whether the *conseils* could not be made to settle more important matters, as in the cases of strikes, etc. It has been generally felt, however, in France, that their machinery was not adequate to such cases, and organizations of both employers and workmen have endeavored to construct machinery of their own to this end, while latterly the State has tried its hand. The most important of French strikes—that of the Carmaux miners in 1892—was settled by the intervention of M. Loubet, the prime-minister. According to the English Report on France (1894), out of 1212 employers' associations in France, 144 had provision for conciliation or arbitration, and out of 1588 working men's associations, 648 (in 1891).

French Conciliation.

On December 27, 1892, a law was promulgated in France providing for a new form of arbitration. In case of industrial disputes (strikes, etc.), it is the duty of the justice of the peace to urge (not require) having recourse to conciliation or arbitration, and he may organize a board of arbitration if he choose. Conciliation, however, must be voluntary and unanimous, not imposed by a majority vote. The law has scarcely had time to work, but in 1893 634 strikes are reported, and in 1903 conciliation or arbitration was tried. Of these attempts, 43 were initiated by the employees, 40 by justices of the peace, five by employers, and two by mutual agreement. Employers declined conciliation 33 times, employees five. In 54 cases, committees of conciliation were appointed; 33 led to conciliation, 21 being compromised. In 17 cases unconciliated disputes were referred to arbitration, but objections to the decision were raised six times by employers, three times by the employed, and twice by both. In 16 cases, strikes were continued after attempts at conciliation, but 10 were initially compromised.

Arbitration and conciliation in Belgium has little that is new. *Conseils des Prud'hommes* were established in Belgium, as in France, on the basis of the French law of 1806, but were so controlled by the employers and

by head workmen, whose interests lay more with the employers than with *bona fide* workmen, that they gave little satisfaction. The workmen's grievances were somewhat allayed by the law of 1859 and still more by the law of 1889. At present the Belgian *Conseils des Prud'hommes* resemble very closely the French. In Belgium, too, as in France, the difficulty of settlement seems to be rising, as appears in the following figures taken from the *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique*, 1892, and quoted in the Report on Belgium of the English Royal Commission on Labour.

Belgium.

YEAR.	Cases.	Conciliated.	Arbitrated.	Not Settled.
1882.....	3,545	1,951	589	558
1883.....	3,314	2,183	275	560
1884.....	3,272	2,287	301	497
1885.....	3,336	2,305	322	488
1886.....	3,509	2,333	336	554
1887.....	4,171	3,079	425	650
1888.....	4,333	3,071	507	717
1889.....	4,578	3,391	477	695
1890.....	4,531	3,399	457	667
1891.....	5,078	3,250	838	967

As in France, again, there has been recent effort in Belgium to establish courts of arbitration and conciliation other than the *Conseils des Prud'hommes*. In 1876, after the strike at Marrinout, M. Weiler, mining engineer for the collieries, organized what were called chambers of explanations, which were practically boards of conciliation. They were somewhat successful, and in 1886, after the riots of that year, the Government passed a law establishing councils of industry and labor to act as boards of conciliation. Up to May 30, 1892, 50 councils had been established. But their success has not been great. The mining industry in Belgium is one where the miners work under very severe conditions, and strikes are constantly arising too bitter and too large for courts of conciliation to effect to any marked degree.

Passing from Belgium to other continental European countries our account is abridged from the very valuable and recent reports of the various countries made to the English Royal Commission on Labour.

Special courts for the settlement of industrial disputes have in some form or other been provided for by the German law since the beginning of the century. . . . **Germany.** incorporation into France of the left bank of the Rhine during the Napoleonic wars brought the Rhine provinces under the Napoleonic Code, which provided for the formation of *Conseils de Prud'hommes*. . . . Councils of this kind were instituted in 1808 for Aix-la-Chapelle and Burscheid, and in 1811 for Crefeld and Cologne; when the provinces reverted to Prussia the councils were left intact, and an effort was made to extend the system to other parts of the country. . . . By an Order in Council of August 7, 1846, they were called "Royal Councils," and empowered to deal with all disputes arising between manufacturers and their foremen, workmen, and apprentices; home workers were also included under their jurisdiction. . . .

The restriction of the power of the guilds effected by the Prussian Industrial Code of 1845 had led to dissatisfaction among artisans with the legal provisions for settling industrial disputes. The tendency of Prussian legislation appeared to be in the direction of relegating all disputes to the ordinary courts, while the artisans demanded special industrial courts on the model of those existing in the Rhine provinces. A committee of employers and employed, summoned by the Government to Berlin to consider the matter, drew up a bill for the establishment of industrial courts, which became law on February 2, 1849. Only 11 courts were established. . . . The procedure of these courts was not laid down with any exactness, and their constitution was not very clearly defined in the Act; these defects, combined with the delay attending their decisions, go far to account for their comparatively small success.

The Industrial Code of 1869, which regulated the industries of the empire, contained a section, since repealed by the Act of 1890.

In the amendment to the Industrial Code of 1881 concerning the guilds, provision was made for the establishment of courts of arbitration, for the settlement of

disputes between members of the guild and their journeymen or apprentices, and a further amendment of 1887 extended the jurisdiction of these courts in some cases to non-members. Further, the insurance laws of 1883 and 1884 provided for arbitration in disputes between employers and their work-people with regard to the amount which the employers should contribute to the sick funds, or the compensation due under the Accident Insurance Law. On the whole, however, the State provision for arbitration and conciliation in Germany has proved ineffective, and the advocates of this method of settling industrial disputes have, ever since 1873, made repeated efforts to secure additional powers. . . . In 1886 a resolution was passed "To request the Chancellor of the Empire to introduce a bill for the compulsory establishment of industrial courts, with the condition that the assessors in such courts shall be elected in equal numbers by employers and employed separately, and by ballot." The insertion of the word "compulsory" was due in a great measure to the influence of the socialist members, and it was omitted in the further resolution passed in 1889.

The law, finally passed on July 29, 1890, which came into effect on April 1, 1891, holds to the old principle of leaving the institution of industrial courts in the main to the communal authorities. It differs from the sections of the Industrial Code, which it supplants, by including a series of provisions for the formation, under certain circumstances, of a board of conciliation. The preamble states that "in many recent strikes it has been felt that, altho both sides were ready to treat, negotiations could not be initiated without long delay, because no regular and authoritative body existed which could undertake the conduct of such negotiations. The present law attempts to establish a body of this kind. . . ." The authorities of a commune, or of a number of communes combined, may establish such a court; should they prove remiss, the employers and workmen concerned may appeal to the central Government to order the establishment of a court. All expenses not covered by fees, costs, and fines must be met by the commune. The court consists of a president, nominated by the communal authorities and approved by the Government, and at least two assessors; but whatever be the number, half must represent the employers and half the employed. They are elected by ballot, and must be over 30 years of age; neither paupers nor persons under any legal disability are eligible, and all persons elected must have resided or been employed for two years in the district. Women may neither vote nor be elected. The electorate includes all persons over 25 years of age, who possess the qualifications required for assessors. The assessors, who cannot refuse election, except for special reasons, are compensated for traveling expenses and for loss of time. The contending parties may not be represented by lawyers or by persons who are professionally engaged in legal proceedings. The courts may take the evidence on oath both of the parties concerned and of witnesses or experts. If the matter in dispute exceeds the value of 100 marks (65), an appeal may be made against the decision of the court to the regular courts of the district. Any industrial court may convert itself into a board of conciliation when appealed to by both parties. . . . The decisions of the court, when acting as a board of conciliation, are not legally binding, and cannot be enforced; in other cases the court notifies its decision to the parties concerned, who must declare within a given time whether they accept it or not. . . . In any case, the result of the negotiations must be public. The court must give its opinion on industrial questions when required to do so by the Government or the communal authorities, and it is empowered to make suggestions to these authorities on matters relating to the persons or establishments under its jurisdiction. The law recognizes the existing rights of the guilds and their courts, but calls upon all other industrial courts to revise their constitution before April 1, 1892, and to remodel it in accordance with the existing law.

German Law. of age, who possess the qualifications required for assessors. The assessors, who cannot refuse election, except for special reasons, are compensated for traveling expenses and for loss of time. The contending parties may not be represented by lawyers or by persons who are professionally engaged in legal proceedings. The courts may take the evidence on oath both of the parties concerned and of witnesses or experts. If the matter in dispute exceeds the value of 100 marks (65), an appeal may be made against the decision of the court to the regular courts of the district. Any industrial court may convert itself into a board of conciliation when appealed to by both parties. . . . The decisions of the court, when acting as a board of conciliation, are not legally binding, and cannot be enforced; in other cases the court notifies its decision to the parties concerned, who must declare within a given time whether they accept it or not. . . . In any case, the result of the negotiations must be public. The court must give its opinion on industrial questions when required to do so by the Government or the communal authorities, and it is empowered to make suggestions to these authorities on matters relating to the persons or establishments under its jurisdiction. The law recognizes the existing rights of the guilds and their courts, but calls upon all other industrial courts to revise their constitution before April 1, 1892, and to remodel it in accordance with the existing law.

So far 179 courts have been formed in the six largest German States, or 133 in Prussia, 13 in Bavaria, 13 in Saxony, nine in Württemberg, seven in Baden, and four in Hesse. Alsace and Lorraine, in spite of their great industrial development, have as yet taken no advantage of the Act, and the fact that Saxony has no more courts than Bavaria seems to show that there is no definite relation between the provision for arbitration and the probable need of it.

The *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* calls attention to the very few cases in which industrial courts have exercised the power given to them by the Act of resolving themselves into boards of conciliation. One

successful instance is, however, recorded in Kiel, in September, 1892, when a pending dispute between brewers and their work-people was averted. The Leipzig court has established an information office which furnishes advice gratis to workmen. The assessors attend in turns and give the workmen the benefit of their experience; and tho the office has lately been in difficulties, owing to the complaints of the unorganised workmen that its benefits were confined to those who were organised, it continues to exist and to do useful work. It was established in April, 1890, and in the first year of its activity gave advice to over 1000 workmen.

Efforts have been made from time to time in Germany to organise voluntary boards of arbitration and conciliation in the different industries, but except in the printing trade little has been achieved in this direction. In 1873 the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*) issued a report on the subject, and presented a petition to the Reichstag praying for the "speedy promulgation of a (normal) law authorising boards of conciliation." The trade-unions were in favour of establishing such boards, and, about 1870, boards seem to have been formed in Grünberg, Guben, Danzig, Berlin, Stralsund, Barth and Zingst, Rostock, Offenbach, and Biebrich. The details recorded of these boards are both meagre and contradictory; and their history does not appear to have contributed much to the records of successful arbitration.

In Switzerland, boards of conciliation and arbitration have already been instituted in connexion with 25 trade-unions, and in some cantons they have been established and supported by the cantonal governments.

The principal object of these boards is to draw up wages lists and workshop rules, which employers and employed both agree to observe. The unions in which they have been established have found them both active and efficient. The board of the Embroiderers' Federation **Switzerland.** considered 665 cases of disputes between October, 1885, and March, 1889, 554 of which it brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The cantons where they have been established are Geneva, Neuchâtel, Vaud, and Urban Bâle.

The *Tribunaux d'Arbitrage Industriel*, which were instituted at Geneva in 1874, consisted of a justice of the peace as president and two arbitrators, elected respectively by the employers and employed. These arbitrators acted from political motives, and hence the boards proved a failure. They were consequently abolished in 1885 to make room for *Conseils de Prud'hommes* on the French pattern. Disputes referred to these courts are first brought before the conciliation board, then before the board of arbitration, while a court of appeal gives the final decision as to all cases in which the damages are estimated at more than 500 frs. The judge and clerks are paid by the State, and the whole process is free both to employers and employed. Besides their judicial functions the *prud'hommes* are authorised to superintend the training of apprentices, the sanitary condition of workshops, and to make recommendations to the Government for the advancement of trade and industry in the canton. They thus form a kind of chamber of commerce.

A peculiar feature in the constitution of these boards is that counsel is not allowed to either side, but plaintiff and defendant are represented by members of the trade to which they belong. To facilitate this representation the *prud'hommes* are divided into 10 trade groups. . . .

In 1888, 753 cases were brought before the board of conciliation, 21 of which were withdrawn, and 522 were settled; the remaining 210 were passed on to the board of arbitration, 203 of which were settled by it and six by the court of appeal. The total number of cases for the first three years amounted to 2182, of which 1995 concerned questions of wages and compensation, 113 were cases of dismissal, 12 were connected with men who had left work without warning, 55 with breach of apprentice rules, five with certificates (*Förderung eines Zeugnisses*), and two with breach of contract. The disputes on wages questions thus form 01.3 per cent. of the total number, and the percentage of disputes settled by conciliation, which in 1885 amounted to 55.6, had risen in 1888 to 69.3. The beneficial results of the board meet with general recognition, and it is proposed to extend its competence to agriculture also.

An Act conferring similar powers was passed at Neuchâtel in 1885, with this difference, that whereas the Geneva boards are compulsory, in the canton of Neuchâtel they are optional, and are only formed in places which obtain the necessary powers from the cantonal Government. Each board consists of from 16 to 30 sworn members, and the president, who is elected for six months, is alternately an employer and

a workman. Each board has a court of conciliation and a court of arbitration. The officials of the board are elected and paid by the cantonal Government. These boards possess the same administrative powers as those of Geneva. Chaux-de-Fonds is the only place which has hitherto availed itself of the powers conferred under this Act, but the court established there has become a fixed institution, and is now regarded as indispensable.

In Italy institutions for the settlement of disputes between labour and capital hardly exist. In the event of strikes, the political authorities are called upon to restore order; after which, by common consent, the question is either referred

Italy.

to the president of the local chamber of commerce, or, as at Rovigo, to the heads of the working men's associations, or, as at Genoa, to some influential person. But the labour chambers are now beginning to assume the position of arbitrators in disputes arising between masters and operatives. The recently organised chamber of Venice proposes in addition, under Art. 31 of its regulations, the establishment of a mixed industrial court of arbitration.

This principle of arbitration has also been adopted by the Government. As the commissioners of 1878 pointed out, boards of conciliation ought to be peculiarly easy to establish in Italy, where traditions of the mediæval trading associations still linger. "From the time of the communes, and throughout the most splendid period of Italian industry, the colleges (*le Università*) of merchants and craftsmen had the right of electing special judicial bodies which exercised both the functions of the modern commercial tribunals and those which are generally relegated to the colleges of *Probi Viri*." The commissioners of 1878, after many inquiries, came to the conclusion that the institution of boards of arbitration (*Collegi di Probi Viri*) would be well received both by employers and employed. Sixteen chambers of commerce and 22 prefects pronounced decidedly in their favour; four prefects and 10 chambers of commerce hesitated; 10 chambers of commerce and eight prefects were hostile. Nevertheless, no bill was agreed upon till June, 1893, and as yet little has resulted.

Of other countries Dr. E. K. L. Gould writes in the *Yale Review* (February, 1895):

"Provisions in Austria for dealing with industrial difficulties are fairly similar to those made in Germany and need not be separately described.

"In the Scandinavian kingdom of Sweden and Denmark disputes have to be decided, in the former country before a police court, in the latter by a suit at law the same as any ordinary breach of contract. A project is now before the Danish Parliament looking to the creation of industrial tribunals, to consist of not less than

Scandinavia.

four members, with a president chosen by them. Representation of both orders is to be equal. The sanction of the communal authorities is requisite. Questions arising under existing contracts are to be tried in these courts. As boards of conciliation only will they deal with collective disputes. There are no voluntary boards of any prominence in either of these two countries."

We come now to the in many ways more important study of arbitration and conciliation in England, and notice

England.

the first, Professor Jevons' summary of the early English legislation on the subject. He says in his *The State in Relation to Labour*, p. 150:

"Under the Elizabethan statutes there was no place for arbitration, because the conditions of labour were placed entirely in the hands of magistrates. But the decadence of that legislation was marked by the statute of the 20 Geo. II., cap. 19, which introduced a new principle by giving summary jurisdiction to justices of the peace in disputes between masters and servants when the term of hiring is one year or longer. A justice of the peace may decide all such disputes, although no rate or assessment of wages has been made that year by the justices of the peace of the shire, etc. Extensive powers were given to the magistrates for coercing refractory servants and apprentices, although there was the alternative of discharging them from their engagements. By the 3 Geo. II., cap. 11, the powers of the act were extended to the case of agricultural servants hired for less than a year; but the magistrate's interference was clearly limited to disputes arising during the currency of a hiring, and no power was given to bind servants beyond that term.

"During the eighteenth century a series of acts was partly the same as those known as the Combination Acts, which provided means for the settlement of disputes in particular trades, especially those engaged with cotton. The act of the 43 Geo. III. (1803), cap. 131, was of a more elaborate character, and enabled disputes between masters and weavers, or such as arise with persons engaged in ornamenting cotton goods by the needle, to be settled by referees appointed by a justice of the peace. Such acts were, however, consolidated and replaced by that of the 5 Geo. IV., cap. 95, which established one general law relating to arbitration of disputes in every branch of trade and manufacture (1824)."

Besides these laws, attempts were early made in England at voluntary arbitration. It is said that disputes were invariably settled in the pottery trade as early as 1836. The carpet-weavers in 1839 adopted a system of voluntary conciliation, consisting of a yearly meeting with their employers to determine wages. The system was still in practice in 1856. A Macclesfield Silk Trade Board of Arbitration was established in 1849, in direct imitation of the French *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, but it lasted only four years. In 1853 and 1854 the National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Industry was successful in conciliating several disputes. But it was not until 1860 that any important and permanent board of conciliation was established, the first being modelled after the French *conseils*, and established through the efforts of Mr. A. J. Mundella in the hosiery and glove trade of Nottingham.

Boards of Conciliation.

The trade had long suffered from disastrous strikes, and in that year had had three strikes, one lasting 11 weeks and threatening a general lockout. Conciliation came as a needed relief. The Nottingham board was soon followed by a similar board in the building trades of Wolverhampton, created by the efforts of Sir Rupert Kettle. The boards were very successful, and were copied rapidly. The action of these boards is purely voluntary; the only power used is the appeal to honour. The boards are made up of an equal number of representatives of employers and employed, the officers usually being a president, vice-president, and two secretaries, one for each class. All have an equal vote. Meetings are held monthly, quarterly, or when needed. The boards have a sub-committee to settle minor difficulties. Expenses are met by both parties.

At first the working men were admitted to the room, only to sit on a rude bench before their employers, and only allowed to speak when spoken to. To-day they sit around one table, employer and employé alternating. Conclusion is not usually reached by show of hands. Mr. Crompton, writing of these boards, says:

"The proceedings of the board are very informal, not like a court, but the masters and men sit round a table, the men interspersed with the masters. Each side has its secretary. The proceedings are without ceremony, and the matter is settled by what the men call a 'long-jaw' discussion and explanation of views, in which the men convince the masters as often as the masters the men. Of course this does not mean that every member of the board is always convinced, though it seems that even this is very often the case; but when they are not they are content to compromise. . . . It is, in fact, conciliation, and is far better than the decision of a court or of an umpire. The 'long-jaw,' ending in agreement, may take a longer time, but is the true practical way out of the difficulty."

Mr. Mundella, in 1868, after eight years' experience on the board, thus speaks on this point:

"When we came to make our rules it was agreed that the chairman should be elected by the meeting, and should have a vote, and a casting vote when necessary. I was chosen the chairman in the first instance, and I have been the chairman ever since. I have a casting vote, and twice that casting vote has got us into trouble, and for the last four years it has been resolved that we would not vote at all. Even when a working man was convinced, or a master convinced, he did not like acting against his own order, and in some instances we had secessions in consequence of that; so we said, 'Do not let us vote again, let us try if we can agree,' and we did agree."

Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* gives the following detail of the board established in 1860 in the manufactured iron trade of the north of England: "The men belonging to the different works select in each case by ballot a delegate, and the employers belonging to a single firm are similarly represented by a single delegate. The members of the board thus constituted elect a president, together with one secretary,

from among the delegates of the masters, and a vice-president, together with a second secretary, from among the delegates of the men. They also elect a standing committee, as it is called, consisting of five representatives of the men and five representatives of the masters (five of whom alone are able to discuss or vote on any question); and of this committee the president and vice-president are *ex-officio* members, without enjoying any power of voting. The standing committee meets every month, or, if occasion demands, more frequently, and the board itself meets twice a year and at other times when summoned by the committee. In the first instance, all questions are laid before the committee. They are submitted in writing to the secretaries seven days before the meeting; the written reply of the other side is usually placed before the same meeting, and an agreement of submission signed by the parties concerned. If the standing committee cannot arrive at an agreement, the referee, who is a permanent official, is called in and can take evidence; and in this way all questions may be settled, except a general advance or reduction in wages, or the appointment of an arbitrator. These questions the board alone can decide, and it also determines matters referred to it from the standing committee, selecting an arbitrator if it cannot itself arrive at an agreement. The necessary expenses of the board are defrayed by the subtraction of a penny every fortnight from the wages of every workman earning upward of half-a-crown a day, and by requiring each firm to pay an amount equal to that thus subtracted from the wages of their employes. Up to September 1, 1889, the standing committee had held 313 meetings and adjusted 850 disputes, and the board itself had met 109 times."

This board has proved to be one of the most important and successful. In 1868 formal boards of arbitration and conciliation were established in the pottery trade in Staffordshire, in the Leicestershire hosiery trade, and the Nottingham lace trade. Legislation, too, was introduced

Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation.

to aid the movement, an act to establish equitable councils of conciliation (30 and 31 Victoria, cap. 105) being passed in 1867, and another in 1872 (35 and 36 Victoria, cap. 46). Neither, however, proved really operative, save as matters of education. In 1872 a joint committee to settle disputes was appointed in coal trade in Durham, and soon after in Northumberland. Of these joint committees, Schulze Gaevernitz, writing in 1890, says that "for 16 years these committees have been uninterruptedly active. Their decisions have scarcely ever been disputed, and neither party has ever raised any objection to the committee as an institution. The Northumberland Joint Committee has since its establishment discussed and decided a total of almost 4000 cases." Nevertheless, alongside of this favorable view must be put an unfavorable view, which we shall consider later. In 1873 a joint committee was established in the Cleveland ironstone mining industry, and has been successful. In 1875, three other boards were established, particularly the South Wales Miners' Sliding Scale and Joint Committee, and almost every year since this some new board, and often more than one, has been organized, the down to 1889 no distinctively new feature was developed. Since 1889, however, a new form of board of conciliation has appeared. Down to this date all boards had been connected with some particular industry, but in 1889 the London Chamber of Commerce took the lead, in connection with the trade-unions of London, in an effort to establish local district boards unconnected with any one trade. In 1890 a board was established, and the same year the chambers of commerce in Bristol, Hull, Leeds, Manchester, Walsall, and Wolverhampton followed the example. Since then the movement has been almost constant.

Yet while we trace this growth of boards of conciliation, we have now to chronicle that many of the older ones are failing. According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour (1892), the board of the Nottingham hosiery and glove trades has, after 20 years, now become "practically extinct, though a desire to revive it is expressed on the side of the operatives." The arbitration portion of the pottery trade board has been given up, tho the committee of conciliation still continues. The board in the wrought-nail trade lasted only one year. Dissatisfaction is reported with other boards, while the existence of some of the boards most successful has not prevented some of the greatest strikes in England has yet known. The Newcastle arbitration agreement, representing "the matured experience of the colliery proprietors and of a compact body of 5000 coal-miners" is often praised, yet the subsequent history of the coal-mining industry, with its gigantic strike, is hardly an advertisement of the suc-

cess of the agreement. Says Mr. W. P. Reeves, Minister of Labour in New Zealand, writing in the *Review of Reviews* (American edition) for August, 1894:

"Even in the case of England one has only to read the dry list of strikes published monthly and yearly by the Board of Trade to see to how great an extent voluntary arrangements and optional conciliation have failed. When one takes up a magazine article or pamphlet by some worthy and optimistic disciple of Sir Rupert Kettle or Mr. Mundella, and reads that in 17 years the board of arbitration for the manufactured iron trade has settled 800 disputes, that the London Chamber of Commerce has drawn up a series of admirable conciliation rules, or that the powerful trade-unions of the boiler-makers has in 13 years never spent more in a year on labor disputes than 9 per cent. of an annual income of \$650,000, one is almost stirred to hope that the industrial millennium is within our horizon. Yet we turn to hard matter-of-fact records, and note that in 1889 the strikes in the United Kingdom numbered 1145; that in 1890 their total was 1028; that in 1891 it was 875; that in 1892 it was 601; and that for 1893 the figures seem certain to be rather higher than for the preceding year. Surely these prove that private voluntary boards are at the best but an imperfect palliative. . . . Thus the attempt a year or two since to form a central board for the British tailoring trade broke down ignominiously at the first award. Equally unfruitful was a well-meant endeavor made in the manufactured steel trade in the west of Scotland. The Macclesfield Silk Trade Board lasted only four years. Such stumbles on the threshold might be looked for. But it is significant to recall the break up of Mr. Mundella's model board establishment for the Notts lace and hosiery trade, and dissolved after 20 years of service. Nor, I read, is Sir Rupert Kettle's elaborate scheme, now resorted to in the Wolverhampton building trade, popular as it was for many years. Seventeen years of usefulness did not save the South Wales Miners' Joint Committee. Nor did a 25 years' life prevent the Conciliation Board for the Staffordshire pottery trade coming to an end in 1892. Like it, the Leicestershire Hosiery Board met the same fate after a long career. I cannot find that more than five of these trade conciliation boards have been newly set up since 1889. Yet the British strikes during the last quinquennial period have averaged nearer 900 than 800 a year. The chambers of commerce in London, Bristol, and other cities have indeed established general conciliation boards. But, except in the metropolis, they would seem to have done little or nothing. A few similar efforts in the colonies have had the like result.

"I must not be understood as wishing to belittle the undoubted usefulness of boards of conciliation. I do but point out that their utility lies chiefly in arranging in a friendly way those minor points of difference which seldom lead to strikes. Nevertheless, he would not be a very acute observer who could not see that it is these same minor points which, left unsettled, occasionally lead step by step to the worst and most embittered conflicts. The causes of some of the most lamentable and heartfelt strikes and lock-outs have been curiously inadequate."

Mr. Reeves goes on to make a plea for compulsory arbitration which we shall consider later. We are now concerned simply with the history of the subject, and of compulsory arbitration there has been no history.

The last point that we must notice in the history of the subject in England, is the distinguished success that has been reached in some important cases, in the settlement of large strikes, by the voluntary interposition of men of unusual influence and unquestioned standing in the community. This was notably the case with the great dock strike of London in 1889. About 150,000 workmen were involved in the strike; it had paralyzed the commerce and affected the trade of all London. It naturally arrested universal attention.

Very great sympathy was felt for the dockers. Support came in from the wealthy and the poor. Australia sent funds. The clergy and members of the nobility contributed. About £40,000 passed through the hands of the strikers' committee. Their side was ably organized and led by John Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, and others. Nevertheless the dock companies were strong and determined. It was a desperate battle. Such were the conditions when Cardinal Manning, the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and Sydney Buxton, M.P., undertook conciliation, and were finally successful, winning most of the points for the dockers. The dock companies yielded, they said, to an "external pressure" which "may have very far-reaching consequences in the future." Cardinal Manning undoubtedly exerted the greatest influence

Strikes.

in securing the result. It was very largely the personal weight of the committee that gave it its success, coupled with the fact that they acted at an opportune time. Similar was the influence of the Bishop of Durham and others in the great coal strike—these, together with other smaller ones, showing what public sentiment can do in settling even vast and heated controversies, when voiced by persons of commanding influence acting at opportune times.

Perhaps even more significant is the part that Government has commenced to play. We give from the *Weekly Times* of November 17, 1893, the text of the Government's invitation to the Coal-owners' and Miners' Federation to submit their differences to a conference, with a member of the Government, the Earl of Rosebery, as chairman. It is a document of historical importance, as the first step of this kind taken in any large way by Government, and because, as is well known, it led to the settlement of a most protracted and widely spread contest. The text is as follows:

"Sir: The attention of her Majesty's Government has been seriously called to the widespread and disastrous effects produced by the long continuance of the unfortunate dispute in the coal trade, which has now entered on its sixteenth week.

"It is clear from information which has reached the Board of Trade that much misery and suffering are caused not only to the families of the men directly involved, but also to many thousands of others not engaged in mining, whose employment has been adversely affected by the stoppage.

"The further prolongation of the dispute cannot fail to aggravate this suffering, especially in view of the approach of the winter, when the greatly increased price of fuel is likely to cause distress among the poorer classes throughout the country.

"Moreover, the Government have little doubt that the effect of the stoppage of industry is rapidly extending and increasing, and that unless an early settlement is effected, lasting if not permanent injury may be done to the trade of the country.

"The Government have not up to the present considered that they could advantageously intervene in a dispute the settlement of which would far more usefully be brought about by the action of those concerned in it than by the good offices of others. But, having regard to the serious state of affairs referred to above, to the national importance of a speedy termination of the dispute, and to the fact that the conference which took place on November 3 and 4 did not result in a settlement, her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to make an effort to bring about a resumption of negotiations between the employers and employed, under conditions which they hope may lead to a satisfactory result.

"It appears to them that an advantage might accrue from a further discussion between the parties of the present position of matters under the chairmanship of a member of the Government, who it is hoped will not be unacceptable to either side.

"Lord Rosebery has consented, at the request of his colleagues, to undertake the important duty which such a position involves.

"I have, therefore, to invite the (Miners' or Coal-owners') Federation to send representatives to a conference to be held forthwith under his chairmanship. In discharging this duty, it is not proposed that Lord Rosebery should assume the position of an arbitrator or umpire, or himself vote in the proceedings, but that he should confine his action to offering his good offices in order to assist the parties in arriving between themselves at a friendly settlement of the questions in dispute,

"I am, etc.,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

The latest significant step in the history of arbitration and conciliation in England took place in the settlement of the great boot trade dispute of this year (1895), and its significance consists in the deposit of money on both sides to assure their abiding by the agreement. Says the *Times* of April 26, 1895:

"There have been many boards of conciliation before to-day, but they have always lacked effective means of enforcing their decisions. It is a novel and important feature in this agreement that an attempt is made to provide a sanction for their decrees. . . . The agreement provides that immediate steps shall be taken to draw up piece-work statements for lasting and finishing piece-workers, and for welved work at Northampton; the employers to have the option of payment by time or piece. These statements are to be drawn up by a joint committee of employers and operatives, and any differences are to be determined by an umpire. Boards of arbitration and conciliation are immediately

to be reconstituted with revised rules, and empowered to settle all questions submitted to them concerning wages, hours of labour, and conditions of labour which cannot be settled mutually by employers and employed. No board is to require an employer to employ any particular workman, or a workman to work for any particular employer. No board is to claim jurisdiction outside its district, or to interfere with the rights of employers to make reasonable regulations for time-keeping or the preservation of order in their factories; or to put restrictions on the introduction of machinery or the output therefrom. Provision is made for financial guarantees for the carrying out of the agreement; and any question as to its interpretation is to be settled by Sir Courtenay Boyle, whose decision is to be final. It is understood that work will be generally resumed not later than the 29th inst.

"The two parties to the settlement have deposited sums of £1000 each with Sir Courtenay Boyle and Sir Henry James in accordance with the terms of the agreement. . . . Mr. Ward, President of the Federation, addressed a meeting of Leicester manufacturers on the terms of settlement, which he described as a charter of rights for the manufacturers, under which three fourths of the disputes which afflicted their industry would be rendered impossible."

Boards of conciliation in connection with trade-unions have existed in Australasia in several industries for many years. The Federated Seamen's Union drew up a scheme for such a board, which was accepted by the Australasian Steamship Owners' Association in 1884.

In case of failure to come to an agreement, the board was empowered to appoint two arbitrators. In 1886 the union refused to submit a case to the board, and the owners declared the agreement broken. The Boot Manufacturers' Association and the Operative Boot-Makers' Union of South Australia have established a board of conciliation consisting of five employers and five employés elected by their respective associations for 12 months at a time. . . . A board of conciliation also exists in connection with the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. Five workmen members meet five employers and endeavour to arrange a settlement; the union's report for 1890 shows that some 30 disputes were settled in that year. In the building trades, if an isolated union fails to settle its difficulties by sending a deputation to the employer, the matter may be referred to arbitration, or to a board of conciliation; where this course is not adopted, or where it proves a failure, a ballot is taken to test the wishes of members in regard to a strike. The conciliation board connected with the Building Trades Council and the Contractors' Association put an end to a strike which arose during the building of the Hotel Australia, owing to an alteration in the hours of work without due notice. After hearing the representations of the board, the contractor agreed to defer the change for seven days; when the men returned to work, however, he reduced this period of notice to 48 hours.

Where no regular board of conciliation has been established, differences are sometimes adjusted by conferences between the two parties. In 1873 the master printers of Victoria entered into an agreement with their employés to hold a series of conferences at regular intervals with satisfactory results. The demands of the Seamen's Union in New South Wales were met by a conference in 1890, and a further conference was held in September of that year between the marine engineers and the shipowners, which for the time settled their differences.

The most frequent method, however, of settling disputes is by the intervention of bodies representing the federated unions in each colony. The majority of unions are now affiliated to some central body, and matters in dispute are accordingly referred to the central council when the lesser unions fail to effect a settlement. It then devolves on the officers of the council to intervene, and, either by sending a deputation to the employers, or by other forms of mediation, to put an end to the dispute. Should these efforts fail, the council again consults the individual unions as to the necessity of a strike. Thus the South Australian United Trades and Labour Council intervened in some 15 disputes of a more or less serious character, and in nearly every instance succeeded in improving the position of their members. In one instance they called a conference and obtained an agreement providing for the closing of butchers' shops at six on all week days except Saturday and abolishing Sunday work, except in the case of Government contracts. In two other instances they obtained reductions of working hours for carriers and for iron-workers.

Such conferences sometimes result in drawing up a

written agreement as to the future conditions of labour, and this method of promoting social peace is strongly recommended by the New South Wales Commission on Strikes. In most industries there have as yet been no such agreements, and in the few cases in which the custom has obtained, the agreement has only lasted a few years.

In New South Wales there have been two arbitration acts, the first passed in 1867, "to make arbitration more effectual," and the second in 1891, to establish councils of conciliation and arbitration in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Strikes of 1890. No other colony has as yet (1893) passed any act on the subject, though a number of schemes have been prepared, and bills have been introduced into the various legislatures. . . . The act of 1891 divides New South Wales into five industrial districts; in each of these a council of conciliation is to be formed, two members of which are to be appointed on the recommendation of the organised employers and two on the recommendation of the organised employés. . . . The act is to continue in force for four years, *viz.*, till March, 1895. At a meeting of the Trade and Labour Council of Sydney, held after the passing of the act, to elect the nominees, a motion was brought forward to postpone such election until a compulsory clause was inserted in the act, on the ground that without such a clause employers would never agree to arbitration. The motion met with some approval, but was rejected on the ground that it was necessary to test the act before condemning it.

The history of arbitration and conciliation in the United States is more varied, but not so encouraging. The following sketch of the history is abridged from the Report on the United States of the English Royal Commission on Labour.

United States.

One very early instance of arbitration is recorded at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a copper arbitration board was established in the mines of Simsbury, now called East Granby, in Connecticut. These mines, however, were soon exhausted, and for a time were converted into a State prison. The next recorded attempts at a peaceful settlement of industrial disputes is not until those of the Sons of Vulcan between 1865 and 1876.

On February 13, 1865, a Committee of Boilers met a Committee of Iron Manufacturers and agreed upon a sliding scale of wages, thus to this extent forming a board of conciliation.

It was agreed that the price for smelting iron was to be \$9 for every ton of 2240 lbs. when iron sold at 8½ cents a pound, and that the price for smelting was to be reduced 25 cents for every fall of a quarter of a cent in the selling price. Ninety days' notice was required to terminate the scale from either side, but it only lasted a few months. In 1867, after a strike in which the men had been successful, another scale was drawn up. By this the price for smelting was to be \$8 a ton when iron sold at five cents a pound, with a 25 cents' reduction for every fall of a quarter of a cent in the price of iron. The agreement could be terminated with 30 days' notice on either side. This scale remained in force for seven years, but was modified so as to allow of an advance in wages whenever the price of a pound of iron varied by a tenth of a cent. It did not provide for any fall in that price below three cents a pound, and when the price did fall below three cents the employers proposed a reduction of \$1 a ton, and the employés one of 50 cents. After a four months' strike the men were, as before, successful, and resumed work on the 50 cents' reduction. In 1876 the various classes of ironworkers united to form the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin-workers of the United States, and several scales were drawn up for different branches, wages rising or falling in most cases with every fluctuation of a tenth of a cent in price. The method of fixing wages by sliding scale has continued among iron-workers up to the present time with more or less success.

In 1870 some of the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts formed a committee of five to meet with the committee of the Knights of St. Crispin, and to draw up a scale of wages for the ensuing year. This was the first board of arbitration or conciliation in Massachusetts, and it was established in an industry which had been harassed more than any other by industrial conflicts. For a time the system worked well. In 1871 the committee met again to determine prices for the second year, but during the year difficulties arose between the employers and the Crispin organization, and at the beginning of 1872 the manufacturers returned no reply to the invitation of the Crispin committee. The collapse of the order, following upon a prolonged strike, led, in 1875, to the formation of the Shoemakers'

League, which again established a board of arbitration; but the league had so little influence, that at the end of the year it was dissolved by a unanimous vote. The next year witnessed a revival of the Knights of St. Crispin and of their board of arbitration, and to prevent a repetition of the previous troubles, it was determined that no strike should be declared except by the vote of the board and the unanimous consent of the employés in the establishment concerned. In 13 months the board settled over 100 difficulties, and its working was regarded with favour by the manufacturers, although they took no active part in its proceedings. It was composed of 11 members, each representing a different branch of labour. The members were elected for one year, and chosen, as Mr. Carroll D. Wright says, "Not alone for their integrity and general intelligence, but also because they were regarded as superior workmen, each being an expert in his branch of the business." In cases referred to them for arbitration, the decision of the board was final, in other cases an appeal might be made to the lodge, or local branch of the order. Meetings were held as often as required, generally twice a week. Members received no payment for evening attendance, but for time deducted from their working hours they were paid at the rate of 30 cents an hour. The order gradually gave way before the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union, so that the attempt to substitute arbitration for strikes was not permanently successful. The work, however, accomplished by this board did much to show the value of the principle. We must notice also efforts of the Miners' National Organization to establish arbitration in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio. Their intention was defeated by the action of the Crawford Coal Company immediately after the award of 1874. In 1887 a second attempt was made, but it had little success. In 1870 the firm of Straiton & Storm, cigar manufacturers of New York, established a board of conciliation among their employés. The constitution of the board is in some respects peculiar. It consisted of two parts, a cigar-makers' board and a packers' board, and each body chose a delegate from the other body to sit with them, the firm being represented on both. The Cigar-Makers' Board of Arbitration, as finally constituted, consisted of four cigar-makers, chosen out of 15 delegates selected by the three departments, one packer, elected from the packers' board, three foremen appointed by the firm, and one member of the firm. The Packers' Board of Arbitration was composed of two packers, chosen out of seven selected by the packers as a whole, one cigar-maker elected from the cigar-makers' board, the packer foreman, and one member of the firm. On both boards, therefore, the employés were in a majority, and one of their number was in a position to give the casting vote in case of a division of interests. Wages were twice advanced by order of this board in 1870, and a further advance was made in 1880, though the board did not then grant the full amount demanded.

As the election of the workmen's representatives took place within the factory, there is some reason to suppose that it was not entirely free. When, after about eight years of existence, the workmen did exercise a free choice, the board was abolished by the firm. It had been combined with a benefit fund, to which all the employés were compelled to contribute a certain sum, but the benefits were only paid to workmen who met with an accident or fell ill while working for the firm. Any workman leaving forfeited all claim to any benefit, as well as to the sum which he had paid into the fund.

In 1878 Mr. Joseph D. Weekes was sent to inspect the English boards of conciliation, and on his return presented a report to the Governor of Pennsylvania. The result was the Wallace act of 1883, by which voluntary boards of arbitration might be established in Pennsylvania. Before the awards of these boards can become binding, they must be accepted by both parties to the arbitration. The Ohio arbitration act of 1886 provided for similar boards for Ohio, but in this case both parties must pledge themselves beforehand to accept the award.

Boards of this character have been established in Massachusetts, New York, and California. The Massachusetts act of 1886, as amended in 1887, provides for the appointment of a State board of arbitration composed of three persons, of whom one represents the employers, another the labour organisations, and the third is an impartial citizen recommended by the other two. The California State Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, appointed by an act of 1891, is similarly constituted. Of the three "competent persons" composing it, "one shall represent the employers of labour, one shall represent labour employés, and the third member shall represent

State Boards.

neither and shall be chairman of the board." The constitution of the New York Board of Mediation and Arbitration, established in 1887, is somewhat different; one of the three arbitrators is to be elected from the party "which at the last general election cast the greatest number of votes for governor of this State," another from the party casting the second greatest number, while a third is to be selected "from a *bona fide* labour organization of this State." In California the members are elected for one year only; in New York, for three, and in Massachusetts all the members serve three years, but only one retires every year, so that the persons composing the board are never all changed at once. By an amendment of 1890 to the act constituting the Massachusetts Board, in cases involving special technical difficulties, the two parties in dispute may each appoint an expert to serve on the board for the particular case. All three boards, though not nominally compulsory, possess very extensive powers. The Massachusetts Board may, upon the application of the employer, or of a majority of his employes, or of their duly authorized agent, open an inquiry, which it may make public or not at its own discretion and at any stage in the proceedings. Where both parties refuse arbitration the board may attempt to mediate between them, and, failing that, may, if it thinks fit, investigate the cause or causes of the controversy and publish a report, finding the causes and assigning the responsibility. When a decision is given, it is binding upon the parties for six months, or until the expiration of a 60 days' notice of an intention not to be bound by it given by one party to the other. Two instances are recorded in which such notice was given in the report of the Massachusetts Board for 1887; but in neither case was the award interfered with at the expiration of the period of notice. The New York Board has also a power of investigation which it may exercise when its services as an arbitrator are refused, and after arriving at the facts of a controversy, it may make them public and lay them before the Legislature. It is also empowered to suggest amendments to the existing laws touching labour questions. The California

State Boards. Board is similarly charged with the duty of investigating all disputes which threaten to end in a strike, and is empowered to publish the results of its investigation. In its report for 1889 the New York Board claims that the extensive powers granted to it by the act deter parties "from making undue exactions or unjust conditions," but neither here, nor in Massachusetts, nor in California, is any provision made in the act for compelling the observance of the award. The decision of the boards is only accepted where the parties are willing to accept it. The reports of the Massachusetts Board for 1888, 1891, and 1892 speak with satisfaction of the number of wage lists drawn up by the board, for which applications are often made afterward by other manufacturers, and which, therefore, serve as a standard of prices. Further, manufacturers often apply to the board for advice in fixing the rate of wages or the price for a new kind of work. The report for 1891 states that the yearly earnings of the employes affected by controversies, which were dealt with by the board in 1890, amounted to \$4,056,195, and that the total yearly earnings of the factories were \$12,044,525. The expense of maintaining the board was \$3,108.86, so that, if successful in preventing strikes, it implies a considerable saving to the community. The report for 1888 states that some firms enter into a written agreement with their employes to submit all differences which may arise to the arbitration of the board.

All the three boards have power in all cases to summon witnesses and to examine them under oath, as well as to require the production of books containing the record of wages paid. They may also appoint experts to assist the arbitrators in cases which present technical difficulties. A special voluntary board may always be substituted for the State board at the wish of the parties concerned, and this temporary body is endowed for the time being with all the powers which the act confers upon the permanent arbitrators. Two instances of the appointment of such a voluntary board are recorded in the Massachusetts report for 1887. . . . Laws providing for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed by arbitration have been enacted by the Congress of the United States, and the legislatures of Colorado, Maryland, New Jersey, Iowa, Michigan, and North Carolina, as well as the States previously mentioned. By an act of 1892, the Governor of New Jersey is authorized to appoint a State Board of Arbitration to hear appeals from local arbitration boards, as well as to arbitrate directly between employer and employed when the parties in dispute desire it, and to hold an inquiry into the cause of the controversy when they do not.

In 1888 Congress passed an act "for the creation of boards of arbitration or commission for settling controversies and differences between railroad corporations and other common carriers engaged in interstate and territorial transportation of property or passengers and their employes." Before such a board of arbitration can be constituted, one of the parties must submit in writing its wish to refer the dispute to arbitration, and this proposition must be accepted by the other party. The railroad company and the employes may then each select an arbitrator, and these two select a third, all three impartial and disinterested persons. The board thus constituted has power to subpoena and compel the attendance of witnesses, to administer oaths, and to require the production of papers and writings; but no witness is to be compelled to disclose the secrets or produce the records of any labour organization, a clause which would effectually protect the officials of the Knights of Labor. The parties examined may be represented by counsel. The President may select two commissioners, one of whom must reside in the district where the controversy has arisen. They, together with the Commissioner of Labour, examine into the causes of the controversy and the best means of adjusting it, and must report the result of such an inquiry to the President and to Congress. All the powers of the board may be delegated to these commissioners, and their decision must be immediately made public. But here, as in other cases in which State arbitration is provided for by law in the United States, no penalties are provided in case the parties refuse to accept the award, and there is, therefore, no sanction attached to the act other than such as may be constituted by a dread of public opinion. . . . It does not compel a settlement. . . . It is always possible for either party to declare that they have nothing to arbitrate. . . . In this case there is nothing to be done, but to publish an official statement of the circumstances, which may or may not have sufficient weight to bring about a settlement. The appointment of the United States Commission in regard to the Pullman strike was simply to investigate the facts and make recommendations for the future. It was not a committee of arbitration.

As regards the separate States, Kansas has an act copied from the Ohio law, but it has been pronounced by the Kansas Labor Commissioner to be a dead letter. The same fate has befallen most of the arbitration acts, and it is really only in Massachusetts and New York that the principle of arbitration can be said to be firmly established.

Even in Massachusetts, however, arbitration cannot be said to be very successful, though this is probably mainly due to the recent industrial depression. So says the last report (1895) of the Board of Arbitration.

Massachusetts' Last Report (1895).

"The differences which have arisen between employers and employes in this commonwealth during the year 1894 have been sufficiently numerous, and have made larger demands upon the time and attention of this board than in any former year. The uncertainty of the financial situation, apprehension of unfavorable results of proposed legislation, and a general failure of confidence throughout the business world were perhaps the principal causes of a depression, the like of which has not been known in this country for a century at least. One result of this unfortunate condition of things, as observed by this board, has been a general reduction in the rate of wages and amount of earnings all over the State.

"In some industries the reduction may be stated more or less definitely as so much per cent. In others, the rate of wages has remained nominally the same, or nearly the same, but a shortening of the working time has also had the effect of reducing the earnings. Reductions in wages, one following upon another, have been met by opposition and protests. Strikes have been frequent, but for the most part without effect.

"In particular instances, when the assistance of the board has been sought, it has succeeded in breaking in some degree the force of the blow, and in securing a promise of better wages when business should improve, but when manufacturers throughout the State were saying almost as one man that the market for their products was lifeless, and that in their judgment, as prudent men, it would be folly—in fact, an impossibility—to continue operations without a reduction in wages, it was very difficult for any one, even the most hopeful, to argue successfully against that position. The board could not be blind to the main facts, uncertainty and want of confidence. It could not alter the general conditions, and in many instances could only counsel a return to work on the ground that it was better to be at work with any wages than to be idle.

"This sort of advice is not always accepted. It looks like an admission of defeat, and generally amounts to that, and therefore is not likely to be accepted until the situation is clearly desperate.

"Whenever the parties to a controversy have been willing to accept a fair settlement, arbitration and conciliation have produced results as beneficial as ever to all concerned. When settlements have been reached in this way, there has been no cessation of business and no loss of earnings while the matters in dispute were under consideration.

"On the other hand, it is safe to say that every strike that has been either wholly or partially successful has cost the winners far more than the results were worth, and subject the employer to great trouble and anxiety as well as pecuniary loss. It is simple justice to add that some of the strikes which have occurred during the year have been preceded by offers from workmen, apparently made in good faith, to submit the questions at issue to arbitration either by the State board or by a board to be selected by the parties for themselves. During the last year, the employés have been relatively more favorable to arbitration than employers."

Very recently the great strikes on railroads and local transit systems have led to a renewed discussion of arbitration in such cases. The commission appointed to investigate the Pullman strike has reported the following recommendations:

"1. The commission would suggest the consideration by the States of the adoption of some system of conciliation and arbitration like that, for instance, in use in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. That system might be re-enforced by additional provisions giving the board of arbitration more power to investigate all strikes, whether requested so to do or not, and the question might be considered as to giving labor organizations a standing before the law, as heretofore suggested for national trade-unions. 2. Contracts requiring men to agree not to join labor organizations or to leave them, as conditions of employment, should be made illegal, as is already done in some of our States. 3. The commission urges employers to recognize labor organizations; that such organizations be dealt with through representatives, with special reference to conciliation and arbitration when difficulties are threatened or arise. It is satisfied that employers should come in closer touch with labor and should recognize that, while the interests of labor and capital are not identical, they are reciprocal. 4. The commission is satisfied that if employers everywhere will endeavor to act in concert with labor; that if when wages can be raised under economic conditions they be raised voluntarily, and that if when there are reductions reasons be given for the reduction, much friction can be avoided. It is also satisfied that if employers will consider employés as thoroughly essential to industrial success as capital, and thus take labor into consultation at proper times, much of the severity of strikes can be tempered and their number reduced."

A bill embodying these recommendations has been introduced into Congress (see PULLMAN STRIKE), and the New York State Board of Arbitration has made similar recommendations in the case of the strike on the Brooklyn trolley cars.

Perhaps the best example of the successful adoption of the principle of conciliation in the United States occurs among the bricklayers of New York City. Mrs. J. S. Lowell says in an article in *The Voice*, April 4, 1895:

"The bricklayers of New York, belonging to eight strong trade-unions, and numbering 4000 men, have not lost one hour of work, either by strike on their own part or lockout on the part of their employers, during the past 10 years. The reason is simple, when one knows it, and the matter for wonder is that the example has not been followed in all other trades in this city.

"In the summer of 1884 the bricklayers struck for three months for a nine-hour day and failed, and that experiment, in addition to others in the past of the same kind, was enough for them and enough for their employers, and in the spring of 1885 there was formed by the Mason Builders' Association and the bricklayers' unions a Joint Arbitration Committee, 'to meet every Wednesday evening, to hear grievances and settle all disputes between employers and employées.' This joint committee has continued in existence until now (10 years on March 24), and each year an agreement as to wages, hours of work, overtime, holidays, and other matters of mutual interest, has been made by the committee, composed of equal numbers of employers and of employées, the former representing the Mason Builders' Association, the latter the eight bricklayers' unions.

An Example in New York.

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"Besides the annual agreements, the committee settles questions arising between individual employées and employés; and the fact that no strike and no lockout has occurred between the members of the organizations represented on the joint committee since its establishment seems to show that these men at least have found the way to avoid 'labor differences.'

"On the formation of the committee, it was provided that in case of non-agreement an umpire should be chosen; but it has never been necessary to choose an umpire, which says much for the reasonableness and justice of the members of the committee.

"When the first annual agreement was made in 1885, it provided that wages to May, 1886, should be 42 cents per hour, and that the working-day should be nine hours; the agreement from May, 1894, to May, 1895, provided that wages should be 50 cents per hour, and that the working day should be eight hours. These gains have been made, as has been said, without loss of work by either strike or lockout, and without ill-feeling on either side."

Gains Under the Agreement.

In New York City also, we find an illustration of what a board of conciliation can do, even though organized by a body outside any one trade. The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, a Protestant Episcopal organization, in New York, organized three years ago a Council of Conciliation and Mediation, with Bishop Potter as its president, with one working man and one business man as other members. It has been active and useful on more than one occasion. Of its last success, *The Outlook* of March 30, 1895, says:

"Through the offices of the volunteer Council of Conciliation and Mediation, of which Bishop Potter is president, an agreement was reached between the Electrical Contractors' Association and the Electrical Workers' Union by which the employers granted an eight-hour day, to begin May 1, while the men consented to the continued employment of all those who had taken their places during the strike, provided these new men could pass an examination as to competency 'in accordance with the rule hitherto prevailing in the trade.' The number of electrical workers involved in this strike was not very great, but the unions in all but one of the allied building trades had decided to support the electrical workers, and at one time the strike threatened to assume disastrous proportions. When the Board of Mediation began its investigation, it found that neither side understood the other's position. Each side had approached the other with statements of how little it was willing to do, but both approached the Council, in which each had confidence, with statements of how much they were willing to do. The difference between these methods turned out to be all the difference between a basis of war and a basis of peace."

III. DIFFICULTIES OF, ARGUMENTS FOR, AND VIEWS HELD AS TO ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION.

Such, in brief, is the history of industrial arbitration and conciliation. It suggests various conclusions to various minds. Of the theoretical and, to a less extent, the practical value of arbitration and conciliation all are agreed, tho to some the difficulties seem insurmountable. A few points in regard to the difficulties must firm- Difficulties.

ly be kept in mind: (1) The opposition to and difficulties in the way of arbitration and conciliation do not spring from either side alone. It is certainly not from the side of the employée that the greatest opposition has come, tho, as we shall in a moment see, there may be especial and not inadequate reasons which make employers particularly unwilling to adopt arbitration. Nevertheless, it should be noted that organized labor almost invariably has been willing to submit to arbitration rather than attempt a strike.

Says Professor R. T. Ely (*The Labor Movement in America*, p. 146):

"The difficulties in the way of arbitration have come chiefly from the side of employers, for it is a rare thing when laborers refuse to arbitrate their difficulties with their employers. Few cases of such refusal have ever come under my notice."

Almost all labor platforms favor arbitration.

"One of the aims of the Knights of Labor, as found in their declaration of principles, is: 'To persuade all employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.'"

Says the Constitution of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Art. 9, Sec. 1:

"Whenever a dispute arises between an employer or employers and members of this brotherhood, the members shall lay the matter before the local union, which shall appoint an arbitration committee to adjust the difficulty; then, if said committee cannot settle the dispute, the matter shall be referred to the union."

The International Typographical Union recommends that—

"When disputes arise between subordinate unions and employers which cannot be adjusted after conference between the parties at issue, the matter be then settled by arbitration." And in another place the constitution of this body contains these words: "Recognizing strikes as detrimental to the best interests of the craft, it directs subordinate unions not to order a strike until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration."

Among the standing resolutions of the Iron Moulders' Union is this:

"Resolved, that strikes are not beneficial to our organization, and that it would be to our interest to evade as much as possible all strikes, and not to resort to them until all other means at our disposal are exhausted."

The question may then be asked, If labor organizations are so much in favor of arbitration and so much opposed to strikes, why do strikes occur so often?

To this it may be answered, (1) just because employers will not arbitrate. (2) Almost all careful thinkers are agreed to-day that occasionally strikes are justified if the laborer is to raise his condition. Under competition only a determined and united stand on the part of the laborer, sometimes carried to the length of a bitter strike, can prevent the lowering of wages. (See STRIKES.) The fact of a strike, therefore, by no means proves the unwillingness of the laborer to resort to arbitration.

Nevertheless, all the fault does not lie by any manner of means on the part of the employers. Strikes, and sometimes great strikes, are often precipitated, not usually, indeed, by the labor agitator or paid secretary (tho this, of course, sometimes happens), but by the heat and passion and ignorant thoughtlessness of the rank and file of a labor union, who, smarting under a real or fancied grievance, will not take into consideration either involved conditions, extenuating circumstances, or the advice of sober leaders, but will rashly vote a strike, and then sometimes appeal to arbitration after they have struck. It not unfrequently happens, as is reported to have been the case with Mr. Debs in the Pullman strike, that the leader of a union does all he can to prevent a strike, is outvoted in the union, and thus finds himself forced, as an officer of an organization, to carry on and manage a strike which he has tried to prevent. Such a situation is held by some to illustrate the tyranny of trade-unionism; but it is to be questioned whether submission to organization and obedience to its vote is

not better in the long run than lack of organization, even tho at times it does compel the individual to act contrary to his own choice. Be this as it may, there is no question that one of the difficulties in the way of arbitration and conciliation, and especially in the way of getting bodies of men to submit to unfavorable decisions of arbitrating bodies, lies in the hasty spirit of embittered members of labor unions smarting under low wages and harsh conditions.

The greater opposition, too, that employers show to arbitration can be easily explained. They argue that, whether the present system be right or not, under this system industry is conducted **Employers' Opposition.** by individuals, and *as long as this be so*, the individual must be left free to manage his own business in his own way. If the community adopts socialism, that is another thing; but unless a community adopts socialism, with all that it involves—of evil as well as of good—the individual, they claim, must be left free to manage his business as best he can. The interference of outside parties, they declare, is intolerable. "We have the responsibility," they say; "we must have the power." Hence they often resent the interference of arbitrating boards even in cases where they may admit there has been injustice on the side of the employer. They argue that the employer should be quietly induced to adjust the wrong; but to adopt arbitration is to adopt a principle contrary to the present system and one that cannot work under it.

In the discussions arising during the great Pullman strike, it was said by many railroad men that when Government control of railroads was proposed, that that was all very well; but that if Government did undertake to control, it must go on and also own. Many business men feel that if arbitration become the rule, private conduct of business is at an end. Still more object to boards of conciliation because of their experience with what they consider the ignorant and unreasonable conduct of labor organizations. They object, not to organizations, but to *such* organizations. They refuse to recognize the organizations of their employees, they assert, simply because they cannot do so and run their business. It is with them not a matter of choice, but of necessity.

This leads to the third and main difficulty with conciliation and arbitration—the difficulty presented by the Massachusetts report, quoted above. Wages fall owing to universal industrial conditions. Wage-earners become dissatisfied and strike, or appeal to arbitration. It may not be the fault of the wage-earners; they may be striking against a lowering of wages that does bring living below the level even of human endurance. The arbitration board to which the wage-earners appeal may feel this. Nevertheless, what can it do? The trouble lies neither with the employers nor employees, but with general conditions, and these arbitration cannot change. All the board can do, then, is to urge the wage-workers to submit, and this but increases the unrest and dissatisfaction. There is no question that this, in such general industrial conditions, is the main reason why, although we find an increasing willingness to arbitrate,

arbitration so often fails. From this state of affairs socialists draw the conclusion that what is needed is not arbitration, but a change of system, and they often denounce arbitration and conciliation as reactionary measures. It is claimed by some that the hope of the movement lies in compulsory arbitration. Says

Mr. Reeves, in the article quoted above :

"I have already shown how unsatisfactory is the result of leaving the parties themselves to be led by their own good sense. That has been earnestly urged and patiently tried for many years in England. What is the outcome? We may sum it up as 4300 strikes in the last five years. In the United States the picture is even darker. There mercenaries shoot down strikers, unpopular managers are assassinated, the militia has to be called out, unionists are put on their trial, charged with poisoning blacklegs. Matters are not so bad in Australia, but is either side in the colonies satisfied with the position? I doubt it; the banking crisis, and the partial collapse following thereupon, having made striking for the present a hopeless game. The employers have been emboldened by their success in refusing arbitration, previous to their victories of 1890, to make a practice of refusal. They do as they did in the Queensland Shearers' strike and at Broken Hill. In New South Wales, as in New Zealand, certain employers have gone so far as to decline to recognize unions, and to avoid engaging unionists. But unionism is neither dead nor dying for all that. The present state of things in Australia cannot last, and the people will be wise to take this opportunity of arranging a substitute for industrial tugs-of-war.

"If any one could show a single settlement of a labor quarrel brought about by the Victorian or New South Wales acts, or by all the well-meaning speeches made in New Zealand in favor of optional conciliation boards, I would admit that there is something to be said both for private conciliation and for legislation of the weak-kneed order. But as the Victorian act has been useless, and the New South Wales act worse than useless, and as a New Zealand employer of standing stated last winter to a Parliamentary committee that he could not recall a single labor quarrel in the colony that had been composed by private arbitration, it would seem that we must be bolder if we wish to be effectual.

"The day is gone by for arguments against the right of the State to intervene in labor disputes or even against the expediency of its doing so. The case for intervention was put so pithily and clearly by the New South Wales Commission on Strikes in 1890 that I need not try to vary their language. 'No quarrel should be allowed to fester if either party were willing to accept a settlement by the State tribunal. Industrial quarrels cannot continue without the risk of their growing to dangerous dimensions, and the State has a right in the public interest to call upon all who are protected by the laws to conform to any provision the law may establish for settling quarrels dangerous to the public peace.' Pity that the commission did not advise, or New South Wales Parliament enact, a law effectual to give force to this admirable declaration of principle. I scarcely need then at this time of day to combat the suggestion, once made by a respectable English statesman, that the sole duty of the State in relation to labor quarrels is to 'keep the ring.' The wisdom of a householder who might allow his family and servants to settle a domestic dispute by smashing the furniture and each other, while he contentedly locked the front door and kept strangers from the door-step, would not impress any one. But it would be about on a par with that of the upholders of absolute non-intervention by the State in the worst class of strikes and lock-outs.

"If we are forced to see that voluntary arbitration by systematic private arrangement has had, at best, a very partial success in England and none elsewhere, we must turn to the State. If we are compelled to admit that State voluntary systems, inadequate in America, have been still-born in England, New South Wales, Victoria, and Germany, we must fall back on compulsion. If we are driven to pronounce the use of compulsion in France in settling minor disputes uniformly successful, we may in reason suggest that the experiment of applying compulsion to major disputes be fairly tried.

"We are told that compulsory arbitration would fail because the arbitrators would be ignorant of the business technicalities of the trades brought into court,

But our law courts go into such details every day, and with the aid of expert evidence usually contrive to comprehend them. It is objected that no compulsion could force an unwilling master to keep his factory open, or men to work unless they choose.

Of course not; but a court can affix a penalty to an award and make a recalcitrant owner or union and its members pay. Moreover, in these countries people do not defy the law. If it is intolerable, they agitate to have it amended; and if it works injustice it is amended. We are assured that business men will not allow a court to regulate their methods of management. But the directors and shareholders of registered companies now constantly submit to the keenest scrutiny of their affairs and the most searching interference therein by judges. We are warned that compulsory arbitration will be resented as an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the subject. The same has been said of Factory acts, Truck acts, Mining, Shop Hours, Employers' Liability, Workmen's Wages, Ten Hours acts, *et hoc genus omne*. Yet all these are accepted and obeyed. In the 'Ann Arbor' case, an American court forbade boycotting on railways. The other day a judge ordered the servants of the Union Pacific Railway to accept a 10 per cent reduction, and not to strike. I cannot learn that these injunctions caused a civil war. Alarming pictures are drawn of tyrannical awards, under which factory owners will be forced to carry on at a ruinous loss or men ordered to labor at less than a living wage. Granted that an arbitration court be insane; given a lunatic president flanked by two crazy assessors, and I will admit that the awards might speedily cause a revolt. But under the same conditions an ordinary law court might do the same. We are justified in assuming that a president appointed by the State would be swayed by reason, and that assessors, elected by unions of employers and workmen respectively, would be men of more than average good sense. To the objection that an examination by arbitrators of a firm's books cannot be thought of, it may be answered that this applies to voluntary arbitration just as much as the other sort. If it is unreasonable in the one case, it is so in the other. But one of the most useful of English voluntary boards reports that the repugnance of employers to this inspection has been slowly overcome. A weightier argument is that reckless and irresponsible workmen might continually harass masters by dragging them before courts and boards. The remedy to this would be found by confining the functions of the arbitration court and local conciliation boards to settling differences between masters and trades-unions or registered associations of laborers. A little reflection will show that to allow any roving workman, or half-dozen workmen, to take their master of a day or a week into court over some twopenny halfpenny quarrel would make a mockery of any arbitration system. Registered unions have something to lose—funds, influence over their members, a character among workers generally. They would not be likely to run the risk of being mulcted in costs for the sake of trifles, and of seeing their union's funds seized or a levy made upon their members. Even were they reckless at the outset, one or two experiences would soon teach them better. The Compulsory Arbitration Act that regulates the Nova Scotia mines allows the court to order

an employer to pay into court a certain sum for himself. Thus can security for costs be obtained from both sides in a case. To such safeguards should be added district conciliation boards elected by masters and unions. These, unfurnished with compulsory powers, would stand as a buffer between disputants and the arbitration court. The latter should be reserved for serious conflicts, and for cases where the good offices of the boards have failed. I am sanguine enough to think that they would not often fail when the alternative to accepting them would be an appearance before the more formal, costly, and distant court of arbitration. In France and Massachusetts, of course, conciliation and arbitration are undertaken by the same body. On the whole, however, it would perhaps be wiser to separate them, excellent as such a board as that of Massachusetts would be with the addition of compulsion. . . .

"The general election in New Zealand has insured the passing of a Compulsory Arbitration act within the next six months, and I venture to think that New Zealand is in this likely to be but a step ahead of the continental colonies. To those of us who think this experiment inevitable, it seems of more moment to study the methods of making it than to attend to primitive out-

Can Awards be Enforced?

Argument.

cries against socialistic interference with the liberty of the subject. . . ."

On the other hand, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor of the United States, makes a strong argument against compulsory and for voluntary arbitration. Says

**Argument
against
Compulsory
Arbitration.**

Mr. Wright in the *Forum* for May, 1893, in an article entitled *Compulsory Arbitration an Impossible Remedy*: "The settlement of disputes arising between employers and employed, by such means as will insure the peaceful cooperation of both parties, is a result which should be hailed by all as a step in advance, and indicates, whenever tried, a desire to adjust those questions which have been so fruitful of strikes and consequent distress."

Mr. Wright then goes on to show how voluntary arbitration can, and compulsory arbitration cannot, work. He says:

"Coming to specific regulations which must exist in some form under any system of compulsory arbitration, the difficulties begin to appear and the obstacles grow apparently insurmountable. In the first place, the court must either be one consisting of judges authorized to hear the facts, determine the law, enter the judgment, and enforce it; or one having the right to summon a jury to determine the facts, the court having the power to pass the judgment and enforce its decision. It does not matter which form might be adopted; the court would have to be one of the rank of the county courts of the country, from which appeals can be made to the highest court of a State, and in interstate difficulties from the lower federal courts to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"In the initiative, let it be supposed that A represents the employer. He issues an order to his employees that wages will be reduced 10 per cent. on a certain day. For the sake of easy calculation, let it be supposed that the wages are \$2 per day, on the average, in A's works. His proposed reduction then, if carried out, would leave wages at \$1.80 per day. The workmen resist this proposition, and insist that they will work no longer for him unless the \$2 per day can be retained. But A issues his order, and the workmen strike. A then appeals to the court of arbitration for his locality, and a summons is issued under the seal of the court, citing the workmen to appear and answer as to why the demands of the order of A should not be obeyed. If they appear and make answer, all well and good. If they do not, then they will be subject to judgment by default; or, in some cases, the proper officers of the court may bring them bodily into court to answer the allegations of A. But they are brought into court. A presents his case, the employees present theirs, the court makes a decision and upholds A, deciding that he is justified in cutting down the wages of his workmen 10 per cent., reducing them from \$2 per day to \$1.80.

"Now two results may follow this action. The men, under the decision of the court, acquiesce and return to work at \$1.80 per day, or they refuse to return to work at that price. Then comes the execution of the judgment of the court if the workmen will not obey that judgment. It is levied on them personally or on their property by proper process and by the proper officers of the court. They may be arrested and brought into the factory. If the sheriff or the single officer authorized to serve the execution cannot do it alone he can summon the *posse comitatus*. If the posse be insufficient he can appeal to the governor. The order of the court must be enforced, and all the power of the government brought to enforce it. This means compulsion, and at the point of the bayonet. The men must accede to the decision of the court of arbitration and work for \$1.80 per day, whether they will or not.

"Let us instance the reverse. The court decides against A, and the judgment is that he shall pay \$2 per day. He declines to do so, or he does not obey the judgment of the court. Execution then follows, and is served by the proper officer. If he cannot serve it alone he summons the *posse comitatus*. If the posse be insufficient the officer appeals to the governor of the State, and A must continue his works and with wages at \$2 per day under the persuading influence of loaded

rifles, or the execution may be levied on his property. He must obey, under the rule of compulsory arbitration, the order of the court." In other words, he must pay \$2 per day when, it may be, the market cannot be supplied with goods on any such basis. He cannot close his works without disobeying the order of the court; he cannot pay the \$2 per day without loss of his property. Compulsory arbitration then works confiscation. In either of these instances law has stepped in to fix arbitrarily, and to enforce its fixing by all the civil and military power of the State, either the price at which a man shall sell his labor, under penalties, or the price at which the producer shall sell his goods, under penalties. But the plan does not provide that the consumer shall purchase goods at the fixed price, under penalties, which should be done if there is any logic in compulsory arbitration.

"What further may occur? The employer submits, it may be, to the judgment of the court, continues the operation of his works, and pays the \$2 per day, as ordered by law, altho he knows perfectly well that he cannot sell his goods if he disobeys the law. He therefore has two things to which he can resort: 1. Adulterate his goods to such an extent that he recoups a loss of 10 per cent. in wages; 2. Make a 'combine' with all other manufacturers of like goods to control prices, in order that whenever a court of arbitration decides that certain wages shall be paid there will be no competition, the trust or 'combine' regulating the price in accordance with the decrees of the court, and therefore caring nothing what the decrees may be, because the consumer must bear the expense of the decree. This means the highest, even prohibitive, rates of duty. Or another economic condition may be the result of the decree of the court. A submits to the decision and continues to pay \$2 per day, and tries to sell his goods in the old way. This allows his neighbor to enter into dangerous competition with him until such time as he is summoned into court and is compelled to abide by the same rules, it thus taking but little time to force the whole industry involved into the trust organization. If the illustration be reversed in all cases to apply to men who strike for higher pay, thus becoming the plaintiff in the action and summoning the manufacturer, the manufacturer must appear or lose the case by default, or, if he does appear, be subject to the decision of the court. It may be a rise of wages would follow, when all the results just indicated would be met.

"It does not require much stretch of the imagination to see that as each industry becomes involved in the economic results of compulsory arbitration, combination grows more and more severe in all its terms. Every great industry would be forced into the trust through the action of the sheriff, or the *posse comitatus* under him, or the military force of the State enforcing the decision of its courts, which it is bound to do. The trust represents consolidation, and, in the minds of leading socialists, is but the stepping-stone to State socialism. If the trust be honest and faithfully administered in the interests of the public—and this must be the result, or the trust must go under—the State socialist asks, Why not create a greater trust and have the Government itself the trustee? This is not the place to argue such a question, but the question may be asked here whether the advocates of compulsory arbitration are ready to accept the full and logical conclusion of their system by forcing, at the point of the bayonet, all industries under State control, and thereby establish, by military force, the rule of State socialism?

"How much simpler it would be to enact a law, with proper penalties, establishing the prices of goods and the wages of all labor. Then when any one, a manufacturer, or a seller, or a laborer, violated the law he could be prosecuted in a criminal court and the proper penalty applied. This would do away with all the cumbersome machinery of the court of compulsory arbitration and accomplish precisely the same result—the death of industry."

What Mr. Wright does advocate may be seen by his recommendation of voluntary arbitration quoted in Part II. of this article. Most trade-unionists agree with Mr. Wright in opposing compulsory arbitration. Mr. John B. Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, writes in *The Independent* for May 2, 1895:

"We believe in arbitration if it be voluntary. But we have more faith in conciliation, in the settling of disputes or threatened disputes before they reach the

stage of the strike. The Federation is unqualifiedly committed against compulsory or legal arbitration. We object to this method of arbitration primarily, because it is not arbitration. Arbitration means a peaceful settlement; compulsion means force. And we do not believe it to be the province of the Government to interfere, or so commence to take part in the settlement of these trade questions, believing that neither Congress nor the State legislatures have the necessary technical knowledge relating to the different crafts; nor is it possible for them to have such knowledge as would enable them to settle trade disputes on just and fair grounds. We object to compulsory arbitration, as the introduction, in a degree at least, of a system of slavery; as, if compulsory, it must be followed by penalties which would probably make it a penal offense for a man to quit work or to continue it if a board of arbitration should have decided against him. We also consider such a method inconsistent with the principles of our American Government and with the actual rights of men."

Such are some of the arguments *pro* and *con* for various kinds of arbitration. Yet arbitration of some kind all would favor, saving only those

extreme socialists who consider everything reactionary which does

Opinions. not immediately introduce socialism.

All others agree that labor and capital must be friends, not enemies, and that this can be reached only by each side understanding each other, to which end nothing can more conduce than coming together, in case of industrial disputes, for friendly arbitration, or, better still, in permanent boards of conciliation before disputes have arisen.

Professor J. B. Clark, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., says:

"Arbitration is in itself an appeal to equity and a departure from the competitive principle."

Professor Henry C. Adams, Lecturer on Political Economy in the University of Michigan and Cornell University, says:

"Arbitration is not the missing coupling between labor and capital, but it is the thing for which, at the present time, it is practical that working men should strive. Its establishment is the first step toward the overthrow of the wages system."

Professor E. J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), says:

"Arbitration has the great advantage of subjecting the acts of the parties to it to the efficient and powerful control of an energetic public opinion. It recognizes indirectly—what is too often overlooked—that the interests at stake are not merely those of the laborer and employer, but also those of the community at large. The latter has such a great stake in the contest that it cannot afford to stand idly by and permit the former to disturb society to its foundations, and destroy in their struggle the very conditions of sound economic progress."

John Jarrett, Esq., Secretary of the American Tinned-Plate Association, says:

"I know of no better remedy, in the adjustment of all differences that may arise between employers and employees, than arbitration and conciliation."

Hon. Joel B. McCamant, Chief of Bureau of Industrial Statistics, State of Pennsylvania, says:

"Arbitration, in my opinion, is the only reasonable coupling between labor and capital."

The first step to arbitration is organization, both of employers and employees.

Says Dr. Gould, in a recent article in the *Yale Review*, February, 1895:

"A ready-made, perfectly adjusted, inelastic method or agency for settling collective industrial difficulties, embodying at the same time ideas of abstract justice, cannot be devised. A *modus vivendi*, however, can be reached, but it must respond to underlying interests and harmonize with national traditions and necessities. Advance must be progressive, for the problem is educational as well as practical. The very first step is organization by both of the two parties to industry."

Says Mrs. J. S. Lowell:

"Labor differences arise because labor or capital (or sometimes both) fail to recognize the fundamental facts of their relationship, which are that they are both interested in all questions of wages, of hours, and of conditions of work; that they both have equal rights in regard to them; and that both must, therefore, have an equal voice in settling them.

"Sometimes it is the employer who posts a notice in the factory that, after a certain date, wages are to be so and so and hours such and such. The changes may be necessary; but it is not to be expected that intelligent, independent American citizens will tamely accept conditions about which they have not been consulted, and which have been promulgated as the Czar of Russia promulgates his decrees, and consequently there follows a strike which might have been avoided by the practise of a little common sense and common courtesy on the part of the employer.

"On the other hand, the same spirit is not infrequently shown by the union or the local assembly. An employer, who has made his business agreements upon the understanding that existing conditions are to continue, is suddenly confronted with the statement that his employees have adopted new working rules, and that within a few days those working rules will go into effect. Here again temper may have something to do with the action of the employer, but the sympathy of the unprejudiced observer must be with him when he resents such arbitrary action and claims his right to be consulted as to the conditions under which work in his establishment is to be done. The fault is exactly the same and exactly equal in these two cases, and arises from a wrong way of looking at the question.

"What is the remedy? A recognition on the part of both employer and employee of the rights of the other side—that is, a sense of justice and a desire to deal justly. Neither side can throw stones; both can show instances of wrongdoing and of rightdoing, but unfortunately when one side is right the other side is apt to be wrong on any particular occasion, and so the 'labor differences' multiply.

"There are instances, however, where both sides have the right spirit, where the equal rights of both sides are mutually recognized, and then there is truly 'nothing to arbitrate,' not because of unwillingness on the part of the employer or employee, but because there really are no 'differences' between them. But where such conditions of mutual confidence and respect exist, the public knows nothing at all about

it, for there is nothing to excite public interest ; and whereas every little strike of a few hundred men is known and chronicled, the peaceful relations of thousands of men and their employers and the sure foundation upon which it is based are scarcely known beyond the walls of the room where the representatives discuss and settle all questions of common interest."

Says Professor R. T. Ely :

"Arbitration is impossible without labor organizations. Capital is combined and is managed by a few persons even in the largest establishments. Take the case of a railway corporation. The capital may be owned by 1000 different persons, but it is massed together, and all its owners, as a rule, treat with the railway employers through a single person. Capital is one of the factors of production ; labor is another, and it also must be massed together to stand on an equal footing, and this can be effected only by organization. As the 1000 capitalists choose one representative, the 10,000 laborers must choose a representative of labor. To ask a single laborer, representing a ten-thousandth part of the labor factor, to place himself against a man who represents all the combined capital, is as absurd as to place a boy before an express train and expect him to stop its progress. As Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, as every one knows, a wealthy employer, has so well said, it is only after labor is organized that the contending parties are in a condition to treat. 'The great result is that capital is ready to discuss. It is not to be disguised that, until labor presented itself in such an attitude as to compel a hearing, capital was not willing to listen, but now it does listen.'"

Many trade-unionists fear boards of arbitration appointed by the State, since government to-day they consider almost wholly in the hands of the dreaded "capitalist." At the recent annual convention of the English Miners' Federation it was stated that the Federation had been started to uphold the right of the miner to a voice in the adjudication of the value of his labor, and they had no confidence in the arbitration of men belonging to the capitalist class. The president said he had never met with any settlement by arbitration which gave general satisfaction. Undoubtedly the first step to making boards of arbitration and conciliation succeed is to make them fair and above suspicion.

References: *Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation*, by Josephine S. Lowell (New York, Putnam, 1893); *Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania*, by Joseph D. Weeks (included in the Twelfth Annual Report, 1880, of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, with comments by Carroll D. Wright, chief); *Industrial Conciliation*, by H. Crompton (London, H. S. King & Co., 1876); *Industrial Peace*, by L. L. F. R. Price (Macmillan, 1887); *Conciliation and Arbitration in Labor Disputes*, by J. S. Jeans (London, 1894); *Compulsory Industrial Arbitration*, by S. Dexter; *American Journal of Social Science*; *Compulsory Arbitration an Impossible Remedy*, by Carroll D. Wright (*Forum*, May, 1893); *Industrial Arbitration*, by Dr. E. R. L. Gould (*Lale Review*, February, 1895).

ARBOR DAY.—A certain day in the year appointed by the State, in which people are asked and encouraged to plant trees in order to counteract the tendency to forest exhaustion. (See FORESTRY.) To the Nebraska State Board

of Agriculture belongs the honor of recommending, in 1879, the first Arbor Day, which was to be the second Wednesday of April in each year. To-day 38 States and Territories celebrate Arbor Day.

ARCH, JOSEPH, leader of the English agricultural laborers' movement, 1870-83, and President of the National Agricultural Laborers' Union (1872), of which he was the chief founder. He was the son of a laborer, and worked on the farm himself from an early age. For some years he used his spare time preaching for the Primitive Methodists, and when the movement began among the agricultural laborers he used his talent on their behalf, soon being recognized as a leader. He was four times a candidate for parliamentary honors, but was successful only when he stood as the nominee of the Liberal Party for Northwest Norfolk in 1885, and again in 1892 and 1895, after a defeat in 1886.

ARISTOCRACY (Gr. *ἀριστος*, best, and *κρατία*, rule) means literally government by the best ; but in ordinary use, by "the best" is too often meant simply "the highest in rank and in opulence;" so that the word has come to mean a government where the supreme power is exercised by those highest in station, inheritance, blood, or wealth. It is in this sense claimed by almost all leaders of reform movements and by many others that the United States is more of an aristocracy to-day than of a democracy. Of the 82 members of the Senate of 1891-92, 69 were lawyers, and of the 335 members of the House 231 were lawyers ; and these lawyers were almost exclusively, by their antecedents, interests, etc., representatives of the possessing classes alone. Dr. Josiah Strong, in his book, *Our Country*, says :

"Every nation has its aristocracy. In other lands the aristocracy is one of birth; in ours it is one of wealth. It is useless for us to protest that we are democratic, and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth. No heraldry offends our republican prejudices. Our ensigns armorial are the trade-mark. Our laws and customs recognize no noble titles; but men can forego the husk of a title who possess the fat ears of power. In England there is an eager ambition to rise in rank, an ambition as rarely gratified as it is commonly experienced. With us, aspiration meets with no such iron check as birth. A man has only to build higher the pedestal of his wealth. He may stand as high as he can build. His wealth cannot secure to him genuine respect, to be sure; but, for that matter, neither can birth. It will secure to him an obsequious deference. It may purchase political distinction. It is power. In the Old World men commonly live and die in the condition in which they are born. The peasant may be discontented, may covet what is beyond his reach; but his desire draws no strength from expectation. Heretofore, in this country, almost any laborer, by industry and economy, might gain a competence, and even a measure of wealth; and tho now we are beginning to approximate the conditions of European labor, young men, generally, when they start in life, still expect to become rich; and, thinking not to serve their god for naught, they commonly become faithful votaries of Mammon. Thus the prizes of wealth in the United States, being at the same time greater and more easily won, and the lists being open to all comers, the rush is more general and the race more eager than elsewhere. . . . Where land is being rapidly taken, and real estate of all sorts is rapidly appreciating in value, men make every possible present endeavor with reference to the future. Under such conditions the race after wealth becomes

peculiarly eager. The gambling spirit, which always prevails in mining regions, exerts a wide influence, even in agricultural States. Farmers often rent land, put their entire capital into a great acreage, and stake everything on a single crop. The sudden wealth often realized in the mines stimulates the general haste to be rich. And where riches are almost the sole object of endeavor, their possession gives greater power. In the Rocky Mountains a man may be to-day a caterer or bartender, fit for that and nothing more; to-morrow, without any good wit of his own, a millionaire; next day, because 'Mammon wins his way where seraphs might despair,' a lieutenant-governor or United States Senator."

But there is another side to this question. It is becoming more and more doubtful whether it is possible, under ordinary circumstances, to acquire wealth to-day, unless one is already born to wealth, inheriting it or acquiring it in some speculative way. Concerning this, see **ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF; WEALTH, etc.** The following passage from John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1879) bears upon this point:

"The very idea of distributing justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit or between success and exertion, is in the present state of society so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance. It is true that the lot of individuals is not wholly independent of their virtue and intelligence; these do really tell in their favour, but far less than many other things in which there is no merit at all. The most powerful of all the determining circumstances is birth. The great majority are what they were born to be. Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich by work, the great majority are born to hard work and poverty throughout life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result; but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number. If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in outgeneraling and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being given, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. . . . The reward, instead of being perfected to the labour and abstinence of the individual, is almost in reverse ratio to it; those who receive the least labour and abstain the most."

(See also **DEMOCRACY; WEALTH, etc.**)

ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.), born at Stageira. He was a pupil of Plato at Athens, and said to have been called "the intellect of the school." After Plato's death (347 B.C.) Aristotle left Athens, and in 342 B.C. was invited to Macedonia by Philip, and became the teacher of Alexander. He remained here till Alexander started on his Asiatic expedition (334 B.C.), when he returned to Athens and opened a school called the Lyceum, and (from his practice of walking as he lectured) the "Peripatetic" school. He died at Chalcis in Euboea, aged 62. His main works are the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Organon* or *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*, *Physics*, and *Politics*. His knowledge for his times was encyclopedic. His thorough knowledge of facts made him much more concrete and scientific, and as objective as Plato was idealistic and subjective. The following sum-

mary of his economic and sociologic positions is abridged from Professor Ingram's *History of Political Economy*, p. 16:

"Aristotle, like all the Greek thinkers, recognizes but one doctrine of the State, under which ethics, politics proper, and economics take their place as departments, bearing to each other a very close relation, and having, indeed, their lines of demarcation from each other not very distinctly marked. When wealth comes under consideration, it is studied not as an end in itself, but with a view to the higher elements and ultimate aims of the collective life.

"The origin of society he traces not to economic necessities, but to natural social impulses in the human constitution. The nature of the social union, when thus established, being determined by the partly spontaneous, partly systematic combination of diverse activities, he respects the independence of the latter while seeking to effect their convergence. He therefore opposes himself to the suppression of personal freedom and initiative, and the excessive subordination of the individual to the State, and rejects the community of property and wives proposed by Plato for his governing class. The principle of private property he regards as deeply rooted in man, and the evils which are alleged to result from the corresponding social ordinance he thinks ought really to be attributed either to the imperfections of our nature or to the vices of other public institutions. Community of goods must, in his view, tend to neglect of the common interest and to the disturbance of social harmony.

"Of the several classes which provide for the different wants of the society, those who are occupied directly with its material needs—the immediate cultivators of the soil, the mechanics and artificers—are excluded from any share in the government of the State, as being without the necessary leisure and cultivation, and apt to be debased by the nature of their occupations. In a celebrated passage he propounds a theory of slavery, in which it is based on the universality of the relation between command and obedience, and on the natural division by which the ruling is marked off from the subject race. He regards the slave as having no independent will, but as an 'animated tool' in the hands of his master; and in his subjection to such control, if only it be intelligent, Aristotle holds that the true well-being of the inferior as well as of the superior is to be found. This view, so shocking to our modern sentiment, is of course not personal to Aristotle; it is simply the theoretic presentation of the facts of Greek life, in which the existence of a body of citizens pursuing the higher culture and devoted to the tasks of war and government was founded on the systematic degradation of a wronged and despised class, excluded from all the higher offices of human beings, and sacrificed to the maintenance of a special type of society.

"The methods of economic acquisition are divided by Aristotle into two, one of which has for its aim the appropriation of natural products and their application to the material uses of the household; under this head come hunting, fishing, cattle-rearing, and agriculture. With this primary and 'natural' method is, in some sense, contrasted the other to which Aristotle gives the name of 'chrematistic,' in which an active exchange of products goes on, and money comes into operation as its medium and regulator. A certain measure of this 'non-natural' method, as it may be termed in opposition to the preceding and simpler form of industrial life, is accepted by Aristotle as a necessary extension of the latter, arising out of increased activity of intercourse, and satisfying real wants. But its development on the great scale, founded on the thirst for enjoyment and the unlimited desire of gain, he condemns as unworthy and corrupting. The his views on this subject appear to be principally based on moral grounds, there are some indications of his having entertained the erroneous opinion held by the physiocrats of the eighteenth century, that agriculture alone (with the kindred arts above joined with it) is truly productive, while the other kinds of industry, which either modify the products of nature or distribute them by way of exchange, however convenient and useful they may be, make no addition to the wealth of the community. . . .

"Like the other Greek social philosophers, Aristotle recommends to the care of governments the preservation of a due proportion between the extent of the civic territory and its population, and relies on antenuptial continence, late marriages, and the prevention or destruction of births for the due limitation of the number of citizens, the insufficiency of the latter

being dangerous to the independence and its superabundance to the tranquillity and good order of the State."

In his *Politics* (Book I, 2, §§ 12-14) Aristotle says: "The State is, by nature, clearly prior to the individual and to the family, since the whole is of necessity prior to the part. . . . The proof that the State is a creation of nature, and prior to the individual, is that the individual, when isolated, is not self-sufficing; and, therefore, he is like a part in relation to the whole. But he who is unable to live in society, or who has no need, because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or a god."

ARMY AND NAVY.—However necessary standing armies and navies have been in the past, and to an extent may still be, the burden of their maintenance is one against which social science is more and more protesting. Just so far as true education and civilization prevail will the necessity for standing armies disappear. The United States, with its continental territory, its developing life, its varied population, and yet small standing army, is the wonder and envy of Europe.

The Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army is the President. The general in command is a major-general, with a salary of \$7500. The appropriation for the army for 1895 is \$23,529,885. The new United States Navy will consist of 28 armored vessels, 25 unarmored vessels, 12 unarmored wooden and iron ships, six torpedo-boats. Of these several are still building. Besides these are over 60 tugs, school-ships, small steamers, old vessels, etc. There are eight navy-yards. The navy of the United States is commanded by six rear-admirals, 10 commodores, 45 captains, 85 commanders and

74 lieutenant-commanders, 325 lieutenants, and 180 ensigns. There are 7500 enlisted men and 750 boys, besides a marine corps of 2175 officers and men. The appropriation for the navy for 1895 is \$25,327,127. The total expense of our government from 1789-1892 was, for war, \$4,824,758,797; for the navy, \$1,236,772,615. The militia of the United States numbers 117,537 officers and men.

The army of the United States in 1894 consisted of the following forces, in officers and men:

	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Aggregate.
Ten cavalry regiments...	430	6,050	6,480
Five artillery regiments.	280	3,975	4,255
Twenty-five infantry regiments	875	12,925	13,800
Engineer battalion, recruiting parties, ordnance department, hospital service, Indian scouts, West Point, signal, and general service	552	2,782	3,333
Total.....	2,136	25,732	27,868

How Europe suffers under her standing armies can be seen by the following statistics, prepared for the *World Almanac* by Lieutenant W. R. Hamilton, Fifth Artillery, United States Army, and corrected from the latest official reports on file at the War Department, December, 1894:

LAND FORCES.

CLASSES.	Germany.	France.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.	Russia.	Great Britain.	Turkey.
ACTIVE ARMY.							
Officers	22,494	26,995	15,285	18,467	30,124	138,410	9,769
Non-com. officers and men	557,093	524,837	247,944	386,588	1,112,684	13,680	179,396
Non-combatants.....	30,474	219,438	16,000	15,000	81,000	3,680	.....
Horses	107,859	158,382	42,240	60,542	198,000	52,000	20,600
Guns	2,836	2,880	1,200	1,882	2,796	464	*2,312
Vehicles	34,000	40,000	15,000	20,000	21,500	.....	.....
RESERVES.							
Officers	23,986	21,820	13,134	15,160	43,830	901,350	270,189
Non-com. officers and men	3,151,389	3,099,733	2,393,359	1,158,993	4,693,761	.....	724,903
Non-combatants.....	3,200	30,000	.....	.....	16,000	.....	.....
Horses	150,000	230,740	14,200	52,390	262,388	119,742	61,860
Guns	1,912	*7,862	*8,900	*10,946	2,172	*4,732	.....
Vehicles	12,640	5,500	.....	.....	14,000	.....	.....
GRAND TOTAL.							
Officers.....	46,480	48,815	28,419	33,627	5,780,399	1,039,760	981,764
Non-com. officers and men.....	3,708,474	3,674,570	2,531,303	1,545,581	4,603,348	171,742	91,460
Horses	257,859	379,122	56,440	112,932	460,348	171,742	91,460
Guns.....	4,748	*10,742	6,100	.....	4,968	4,836	*2,312
PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.							
Infantry.....	357,628	387,911	151,912	198,344	788,346	47,832	128,922
Cavalry.....	69,000	82,669	26,832	60,196	152,968	38,912	28,000
Artillery.....	89,612	65,524	33,578	48,860	112,340	32,300	13,840
Engineers and Train	29,896	31,360	8,363	27,000	59,030	19,366	8,628
Horses.....	107,859	158,382	42,240	87,390	260,348	52,000	29,600
Guns.....	2,836	*6,084	*6,100	*6,294	3,968	*3,576	*2,312
TOTAL PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.							
Men	546,136	567,464	220,685	334,400	1,112,684	138,410	189,165
Horses.....	107,859	158,382	42,240	87,390	260,348	52,000	29,600
Guns.....	2,836	2,280	6,100	1,882	3,968	*3,576	*2,312

* Including fortress and garrison guns.

NAVIES.

CLASS OF VESSELS.	Great Britain.	France.	Germany.	Italy.	Austria-Hungary.	Russia.	Spain.	Denmark.	Netherlands.	Sweden and Norway.	Turkey.	Portugal.
Armored Ships.....	83	58	25	29	8	28	12	10	20	8 4	16	1
Guns of same.....	H. G. 726	393	76	193	174	317	165	70	69	27 8	151	7
	S. B. 2,082	1,035	278	400	182	6812	173	63	14 44	12	122	2
Unarmored Ships.....	142	68	24	20	13	22	23	24	9	4 2	13	10
Guns of same.....	H. G. 726	143	227	80	99	87	141	124	124	48 28	93	56
	S. B. 2,180	4,222	172	276	112	232	169	143	36 26	7 4	40	43
Armored Gunboats.....	2	8	11	.....	.....	.....	1	1	5	9 1	3	.....
Guns of same.....	H. G. 4	16	11	.....	.....	.....	5	1	1	8 2	6	.....
	S. B. 9	56	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	18 2	8	.....
Unarmored Gunboats.....	76	30	21	28	17	36	23	30	59	15 32	24	17
Guns of same.....	H. G. 206	29	22	40	26	39	62	27	97	21 54	24	26
	S. B. 361	127	56	132	87	98	160	41	314	28 47	85	27
Dispatch Vessels.....	4	9	9	8	5	13	2	.....	.....	.. 1	27	.....
Guns of same.....	H. G. 12	32	30	58	29	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	S. B. 18	41	69	143	29	40	2	.....	.....	.. 4	80	.....
Training-ships, Store-ships, Tugs, Transports, etc.....	28	14	7	9	5	18	3	.....	.....	.. ..	.....	.....
Guns of same.....	118	112	56	52	29	61	28	.....	.....	.. ..	.....	.....
Torpedo Boats, No. 1.....	130	190	139	110	30	65	38	10	20	11 6	27	8
" " No. 2.....	99	60	36	40	34	70	46	13	26	15 7	7	5
Total Number of Guns*.....	6,790	6,554	1,361	1,592	893	1,643	1,122	526	756	273 290	698	221
80 tons or over.....	10	.....	.....	34	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40 to 80 tons.....	84	74	18	32	32	44	10	28	4	.. ..	131	1
20 " 40 ".....	96	214	70	66	100	72	114	108	46	16 98	102	22
4 " 20 ".....	1,478	364	340	221	186	328	291	94	266	89 104	81	106
Under 4 tons*.....	5,122	5,902	933	1,239	575	1,199	707	296	446	168 88	381	99
Officers.....	2,719	3,751	1,061	1,301	1,104	2,291	1,690	230	840	212	1,200	611
Seamen.....	46,515	40,021	14,496	20,986	11,900	38,000	14,000	1,894	7,215	7,390	22,000	4,813
Marines—Officers.....	361	1,851	97	18	56	125	356	170	45	232	90	18
" " Soldiers.....	14,211	31,400	2,500	452	620	2,700	8,112	2,000	2,200	1,700	4,500	600
Total Active List.....	63,806	77,033	18,154	22,757	13,680	43,116	24,158	4,294	10,300	9,534	25,590	5,431
Naval Reserves.....	76,700	94,192	38,211	18,000	9,000	44,000	24,618	41,380	10,327	11,318	36,500	31,400

* Including guns of torpedo boats. H. G., Heavy Guns. S. B., Secondary Batteries.
 Torpedo Boats, No. 1—over 100 feet in length. No. 2—under 100 feet in length.

THE EUROPEAN MILITARY AND NAVAL BUDGETS
 For fiscal years ending during 1894 are put by the same authority at

COUNTRIES.	Cost of Armies.	Cost of Navies.	Pensions and Invalid Funds.	Total Military Budgets.	Equivalent in United States Money.
G. Britain and India.	£20,750,620	£15,270,500	£5,086,850	£41,107,790	\$199,794,734
Germany ..	430,350,500 marks.	48,300,720 marks.	69,472,300 marks.	548,123,520 marks.	130,453,398
France ..	646,162,700 francs.	225,381,200 francs.	900,000 francs.	872,443,900 francs.	161,381,073
Russia ..	276,291,300 roubles.	51,200,600 roubles.	.....	327,491,900 roubles.	160,798,523
Italy ..	242,360,119 lire.	105,421,087 lire.	700,000 lire.	348,481,206 lire.	67,256,873
Austria-Hungary ...	129,500,313 florins.	12,592,617 florins.	26,342,800 florins.	168,445,730 florins.	57,439,994

These armies and navies, thus maintained at enormous cost, and increased from year to year—in Germany, for example, only after a long struggle with the representatives of the people—are a crushing burden on the tax-payer and a greater burden on the youth, who have to give their best years to war service. This service accounts largely for the emigration from Europe and the spread of socialism.

Service in all continental armies is compulsory on all able-bodied males between certain ages. The length of service and the age vary in different countries. Thus in France every Frenchman, upon reaching the age of 20, is liable to military service till he reaches the age of 40. In Germany every male is liable on

reaching the age of 17, and continues so till he reaches 45. Military service is of two kinds—active military service and occasional liability to military service. Each year a certain number of males reach the age of liability, and are enrolled for service. From their numbers are excused all who are morally and physically unfit, and then a certain number are transferred to non-combatant corps. All who actually serve throughout the entire year constitute the peace establishment. At the end of five years, their actual service having ceased, they are graduated soldiers, and are transferred to the first reserve; and after a few years' service in that to another reserve. All the graduated soldiers who are under the extreme age of 30 or 32 constitute the

active army—that is, they are the ones who, on breaking out of war, with the peace army, form the first great war army, and all the graduated soldiers between ages of 32 and 45 constitute the reserves to this army, and form second armies. Then all those over the age of 40 or 45 form the last reserves, whose business it is to stay at home and garrison the depots, make the provisions and supplies, ammunition, etc., for the war armies. They are never called out except in case of invasion.

And yet, under the present conditions of Europe, no sooner does one nation increase her army and navy, than all other nations must do the same unless they would court invasion. The burden is more and more hated by the people. In Germany especially the army makes converts to socialism every day. Young men drafted in the army, and fretting under its control, with time on their hands, are exactly in the position to be ripe for socialistic propaganda. In the growing internationalism of socialism there is, however, developing a strong movement for the abolition of all standing armies. The German socialists do not demand the immediate abolition of the army, because they hold that until the present condition of industry can be changed, to immediately disband the army would throw a large body of men out of the means of support, and would end a valuable field for socialistic propaganda. Some European socialists, however, do agitate for immediate abolition. It is a growing question whether, under the spread of international socialism among the working classes European armies could be counted on in the event of war.

In the United States the part played by United States troops and State militia in recent strikes (see PULLMAN, HOMESTEAD, etc.) has led to a very bitter feeling against the institution of the army among working men and others interested in social reform. Two policies on the subject are entertained by the trade-unions. Some working men urge that no working man should enlist; others advise enlistment, in order

Militarism in the United States.

to obtain military drill, to be used, if necessary, against capitalists, as they hold that capitalists desire to use the army against them. As an illustration of the growing hostility to the extension of the army and the building of great city armories, we give the following quotation from an editorial article in *The Arena* for October, 1894:

"Comparatively few people appreciate the magnitude of the preparations for slaughter which have been steadily pushed since the era of class legislation and special privileges which followed the Civil War.

"That the people may gain some idea of the military activity at the present period, I secured the following interesting and suggestive *data* relative to the Massachusetts armories:

"Armories: The State owns none. Buildings and land: Acts of Legislature of 1888, chap. 384, provides for purchase of suitable land and erection of two armories in Boston, and one in every city in the State in which two or more companies are located.

"Title to land and buildings, 'to be vested absolutely in the city forever.'

"Rent: State to pay no rent to cities after debt contracted in buying land and erecting buildings is all paid.

"Running expenses: State pays janitor, lighting, heating, repairs, and incidentals—all.

"Armories: Boston, three (including the Cadets' new armory); Worcester, one; Lowell, one; Fitchburg, one; Lawrence (in process of erection), one; Lynn (in process of erection), one. Total, eight. Springfield also is preparing to erect an armory which will cost nearly \$100,000, and will make in all nine armories. The Boston Cadets have a large granite armory in process of construction, but it is their private property. Estimated cost, between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

"Headquarters or armories: Besides the armories there are 66 'headquarters,' for which the State pays rent to the cities and towns in which they are located.

"Drill ship: Naval battalion is furnished the ironclad *Passaic* by the United States Government.

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"Expenses: Armories—expense of those provided for by the Act of 1888, chap. 384, \$13,001.98; rent to cities and towns, \$34,758.24. Militia: Pay, transportation, supplies, and expenses of militia, \$163,372.85; expended on State camp ground, \$1798.50; equipment of naval militia, \$3690.07. Total, \$216,621.64.

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"United States: Appropriation, militia, \$27,555.50; naval militia, \$3690.07; sale of condemned military property, \$870.11. Total, \$32,115.68.

"Expense to State for 1892, \$184,505.96.
"Beside this is an expense for keeping records, etc., of militia and naval militia of \$7532.25, making in all \$192,038.21. . . .

"But while a rapidly growing State or national militia is a menace to republican institutions, where wealth is rapidly gaining ascendancy in government and securing seats of power, there is another phase of this question which is still more startling and suggestive. Special attention is invited to the Seventh Regiment armory of New York and the Boston Cadets new private armory in course of erection. . . . The Seventh Regiment of New York, not inappropriately termed the 'rich men's regiment,' is free from debt, and, says the New York *Advertiser*, 'nearly \$1,000,000 have been spent on the building and its furnishings. *The State and the county were not asked for a cent. All this money came direct from the pockets of individuals. Who paid this million-dollar bill?*'

"The general feeling of unrest in the labor and socialistic circles throughout the entire country this spring is only another reason why the National Guard should be given stronger support by both the national and State governments."

The feeling of the labor organizations is evidenced by the resolutions passed by an almost unanimous vote of the Boston Central Labor Union, October 21, 1894, as reported by the Boston *Herald*:

"Adjutant-General Dalton and the militia were denounced, both orally and by resolutions, at yesterday's meeting of the Central Labor Union.

"A letter recently issued by Adjutant-General Dalton was severely criticised at the last meeting of the Central Labor Union, with the result that a committee was appointed to draft suitable resolutions concerning the contents of the letter. The committee yesterday presented the resolutions, which are appended:

"Whereas, Adjutant-General Dalton, in a communication to the commanders of the Massachusetts militia, recently issued, has, by implication and insinuation, seen fit to attack the organizations of labor, thereby creating prejudice in the public mind, with the apparent purpose of magnifying the value of the military arm of the government; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we deplore the evident disposition of those in authority to increase and centralize the numbers of State and Federal troops, and to multiply costly and medieval armories, thereby making more onerous the burden of taxation which, in the ultimate, is borne by the producing classes.

"Resolved, that we believe the maintenance of a large standing army, either as a murder machine, an instrument of intimidation, or for purposes of display, to be unworthy of the age in which we live, a relic of barbarism, and of no utility, excepting to assist those who seek to maintain their special privileges by barbaric methods, and that we therefore call upon all legislators, State or national, who have at heart the in-

terest of labor, to strenuously oppose further appropriations for military increase.

Feeling of Labor Organizations.

"Resolved, that we urge upon working men everywhere the propriety of refraining from participation in military service, and, if already attached, of severing their connection as soon as they lawfully and honorably may.

"Resolved, that we repel, with the utmost indignation, the insinuation of General Dalton, which has since been more openly charged by Generals Schofield and Miles, that the peace of the country is threatened by the attempts of working men to better their condition; but we do affirm that such danger as does exist, arises from the arrogance of corporate power, supplemented by the subservency of those entrusted with public office.

"Resolved, that we demand that the arbitrament of the social problem shall be by those free and peaceful methods provided by the founders of our national institutions, and pledge ourselves to oppose all attempts to establish an armed plutocratic government on the soil of America."

At a mass-meeting in the Cooper Union, New York, July 12, 1894, Mr. Henry George, in referring to our army and the spirit now regnant, said, as reported in the *New York World*, July 13, 1894:

"We have a standing army of 25,000 men, and they are demanding that it shall be increased to 50,000 men. In the days when our government was weaker, yet stronger, when we had a hostile people on our frontier lines, and had real fighting to do, we had an army of only 10,000 men.

"What is the reason that we are building ships of war and increasing the size of our army? It is because the millionaire monopolists are becoming afraid of the armies of poverty-stricken people which their oppressive trusts and machinations are creating."

On the other hand, the report of the Secretary of War for 1894 says:

"It was found necessary during the period beginning with March and extending through July of the current year, in various sections of the country, to employ a considerable part of the army to execute the orders of the United States courts, otherwise successfully defied and resisted, to protect the dispatch of the United States mails, to remove restraints to travel and commerce, and to guard the property of the government. The movement of troops thus necessitated was the largest which has taken place since the close of the Civil War.

"The difficult and extraordinary tasks imposed upon the officers and men of the army were discharged promptly, firmly, and judiciously, in a manner which attested to the courage, intelligence, and loyalty of those called into active duty, and the thorough efficiency of every branch of the service. The militia of the States, wherever employed, also proved generally to be composed of qualified and reliable soldiers.

"I earnestly recommend that Congress enact the legislation necessary to establish in the army the battalion formation, now adopted by the armies of every other civilized nation. As necessary to effect that change, I recommend the removal of the limit of 25,000 men fixed by the act of June 18, 1874, and a return to the limit fixed by the act of July 15, 1870. Legislative approval of these two propositions will restore to the effective force about 4000 enlisted men, bringing the actual strength of the army up to the nominal strength now fixed by law. By these changes the army will be increased in efficiency 20 per cent., in numbers about 16½ per cent., and in cost of maintenance only about 6 per cent."

(SEE ALSO WAR; INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION; MILITIA.)

ART AND SOCIAL REFORM.—Art (from Latin root *ar*, to fit) meant originally skill in fitting. The artist was simply the skilled workman, and not different from the artisan. He was the man who could make good houses to live in, and particularly good houses in which to enshrine the public's ideals, good temples, baths, theaters, etc. He was one who could make

good furnishings for the houses—good chairs, good vases, good mosaics, good statues and pictures of the gods. Art was thus developed as soon as and to the extent to which the community was lifted above absolute want and the struggle for mere physical existence—*i.e.*, as soon as people had opportunity to think of the quality as well as the quantity of its work. Hence the great art periods of a nation have been either when the nation was rich and prosperous (*e.g.*, the age of Phidias in Athens, the Renaissance in Italy and France, the age of Merry England) or when the people were at least enjoying the fruits of victory or of success in any line (*e.g.*, periods of Gothic art). If, however, a nation becomes wealthy, not by conquest or slow growth, but by producing commodities and selling them, it is evident that the nation will not produce a great art, because it will be compelled to think more of the quantity than the quality of its work; or, if it think of quality, it will think mainly of commodities as fitted to sell. The rich nations of to-day being commercial nations, we need not be surprised to hear artists complaining of the real dearth of art, altho we have in England and America phenomenal wealth. It is evident, from this consideration alone, how social conditions can affect art. We shall in a moment see how art can affect social conditions. For the moment, however, we must notice another point. If art be the production of commodities worthy expressing a nation's aspirations—public buildings, statues and pictures of its gods, its heroes, its ideals of beauty and of power—it will follow that it will attain to high development where *hand-work* is largely practised, since this allows the expression of ideals, and conversely it will attain meager development where machine-work prevails, since this does not allow of much expression of ideals. Here, too, remembering that the present age is characterized by machine production, we see a very potent cause for the present dearth of art.

Once again, when a community becomes divided into two classes, one having leisure and wealth and not producing commodities, the other class poor and doing the productive work, a desire for art will spring up amid the leisure class and not in the other. But since the leisure class does not itself produce, the desire will not create art, but a dilettante, artificial, unnatural desire for art, while the producing class, not having leisure, and being compelled to think mainly how to get a bare existence, will not be able to produce art, especially when the nation's production is mainly carried on by machinery. In such a community the artist will come to be considered very different from the artisan. The artist will usually become an affected idler and the artisan an unartistic "hand." It is only too evident that this is the state of affairs to-day. Such are but some of the ways in which social conditions affect art.

Let us now see some of the ways in which art affects social conditions. Art we have seen to be the producing of good work. Now, when a community thinks a great deal of producing good work—good houses and furnishings for houses, worthy temples, public buildings, baths, etc.—it follows inevitably that the people do not think so much of merely producing commodities

to sell. As a people primarily commercial cannot be primarily artistic, so a people primarily artistic cannot be primarily commercial. It raises a different ideal. The ideal of good work operates in various ways. It produces a demand for leisure in which to do the work.

Commerce vs. Art.

An artistic nation will never live in a hurry. It will seek freedom in which to work. It will not endure great factories and machine-made work. It is a fact that almost all the great artists, and poets, and idealists to-day are among the bitterest foes of the commercialism and mammonism of the present time, and are, for the same reason, among the most earnest workers for social reform. A high and uncommercial social development develops art, and the art demands and calls for social reform, thus producing action and reaction. Thus, great artists like William Morris and critics like John Ruskin are never weary of condemning the shoddy work and commercialism, and baseness and ugliness which characterize so much of modern life. Nor are they ever weary of comparing it, to the damage of the present, with the beautiful work of ages when commerce was not god, and when machines had not crowded people into slums, nor prevented expression entering into the work of the producer. A somewhat less number of artists, poets, and idealists, and especially the greatest among them, are equally ready to work, not for "the good old times," but to bring in the better new times, when machines shall not be abandoned, but when brotherhood shall rule in society, making all classes workers, but giving to all classes immunity from the mere struggle for bare existence. They long for the day when all men shall have time to think of producing good work, using machinery indeed, but using it mainly in producing materials to be worked upon and made beautiful by the free hand expressive of the free creative soul. A few of these artists and poets have been driven, by their hatred of the present and their passion for personal freedom, into anarchistic views (Byron, Shelley, Walt Whitman, and others). But most of them hold that it is industrial competition which enslaves and debases to-day, and that, therefore, freedom lies not in the path of anarchy, but of socialism, and so they have become in increasing numbers earnest socialists.

William Morris, for example, he who had once described himself as "the idle singer of an empty day," declares that he was forced to see that art cannot prosper till we change our commercial competitive civilization; and so he, who is among the greatest of modern artists and poets, is an out-and-out worker for socialism, writing socialist lectures, tracts, and poems, lecturing himself in the open air in London's parks, and serving on socialist committees. He says in the introduction to his *Signs of Change*:

"My ordinary work has forced on me the contrast between times past and the present day, and has made me look with grief and pain on things which many men notice but little, if at all. The repulsion to pessimism, which is, I think, natural to a man busily engaged in the arts, compelled me once to hope that the ugly disgraces of civilization might be got rid of by

the conscious will of intelligent persons; yet as I strove to stir up people to this reform, I found that the causes of the vulgarities of civilization lay deeper than I had thought, and little by little I was driven to the conclusion that all these uglinesses are but the outward expression of the innate moral baseness into which we are forced by our present form of society, and that it is futile to attempt to deal with them from the outside. Whatever I have written or spoken on the platform on these social subjects is the result of the truths of socialism meeting my earlier impulse, and giving it a definite and much more serious aim."

But Mr. Morris is only one of a group of London artists who take the same position, and who to no small degree look upon Morris as their master. Says Mary Bacon Ford, in an article on *The Art Socialists of London* (*Cosmopolitan*, 8, 125):

"Mr. Morris has no more able and earnest a coadjutor than Mr. Walter Crane, the President of the recently formed Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. His artistic proclivities made themselves known when he was very young, and under the instruction of his father, who was himself an artist, he advanced rapidly in his art work. As a writer Mr. Crane possesses uncommon power. Among his essays, those on *Art and Commercialism* and *Imitation and Expression in Art* are well known, and his poetry is of a fine flavor. As a lecturer he is contained, interesting, and to the point. Founder and President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, he was a representative to the last Liverpool Art Congress, and is an active member of the Socialist League, to which he gives freely of his strength.

"Around Mr. Morris and Mr. Crane are a group of notable men, distinctly representing the progress of the English art industries, and supporters of many, if not of all, of their theories.

"Mr. E. Burne-Jones, the well-known painter, is the designer of nearly all the stained-glass and mosaic work that is made in the Morris factory. Mr. William de Morgan is a potter, and sends forth from his workshop, also at Merton, the exquisite pottery and tiles that can be seen in his shop on Argyll Place, and that surpassed at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition last autumn all other work in this direction.

"Mr. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson is a bookbinder, and lives at Hendon, near London. Mr. Sanderson's books are of course wholly worked and tooled by hand, and represent perfect manipulation combined with a keen artistic vision. He claims that modern bookbinding in essentials has remained unchanged to the present day, tho in those outward characteristics which appeal to the touch and to the eye, and constitute binding in an artistic sense, it has gone through many changes for better or for worse, which have resulted in the main in the exaggeration of technical skill and in the death of artistic fancy. He further has written that, in his opinion, the work as a craft of beauty suffers, as do the workmen, from the allocation of different operations to different workmen.

"Messrs. T. M. Stradwick, Lewis F. Day, Somers Clark, W. A. S. Benson, G. T. Robinson, Emery Walker, Metford Warner, Stephen Webb, J. D. Sedding, Haywood Sumner, J. Hungerford Pollen, Spencer Stanhope, and other well-known men, who, as painters, architects, printers and workers in glass, metal, clay, and wood, deserve mention for their aims and achievements.

"On all sides the movement has given rise to guilds, societies, schools, exhibitions, publications, and lectures, all tending in the same direction, and all more or less at one in a feeling of fellowship and cooperation.

"Allied to it, not as craftsmen, but as supporters and general promoters, are or have recently been such men as Ruskin, Browning, John Morley, James Linton, Philip Magus, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Cust, G. F. Watts, Mr. King, Ernest Radford, called the 'Young Tribune,' and W. B. Richmond, the ardent advocate of the Sunday Opening movement—all of whose names figure as officers or members in the following efforts toward labor emancipation.

"Toynbee Hall, in the east end of London, supports a School and Guild of Handicraft, and conducts admirable lecture courses, in which Mr. Morris, Mr. Richmond, Mr. Day, Mr. Radford, and others take part. Loan exhibitions of pictures and prints are also held in its schoolhouse, always in conjunction with printing-presses and other vehicles for practically illustrating the manufacture of some of the objects on view.

"The Red Cross Hall and Garden, in the south of London, is a somewhat similar institution, and it is here that Mr. Watts' idea of erecting memorials to every-day heroes and heroines is about to be carried out. Nine large panels have been planned for mural decoration, and Mr. Crane has generously offered to undertake them, the subjects to be illustrative of the heroic deeds of contemporaries and, as far as possible, of the inhabitants of that very neighborhood and in the same walk of life as those for whose use the hall is designed. Mr. Crane, who enters upon this work without compensation, has already designed a panel representing the woman Alice Ayres in the act of rescuing two children from a fire, and speaks of the plan with great interest and enthusiasm.

"The Art for Schools Association, of which Mr. Ruskin is President, and which counts among its members Mr. Morris, Mr. Wattle and Mr. Morley, was established in 1883, to circulate among schools photographs and copies of works of art; the Home Arts and Industry Associations, also of recent foundation, conducts classes of art handiwork among the people of remote sections of the country, to prepare them for entrance into trades, while also increasing their resources and enjoyment; and a section of applied art was established in The Society of Arts in 1887, in whose interest Mr. Crane has delivered lectures—notably upon book illustration.

"Another phase of the movement is seen in the formation of the Century Guild, a guild of architects, decorators, printers, and art manufactures of all kinds, a sort of community formed for the production of useful and beautiful things, good workmanship, and for mutual help and advantage. This Century Guild has an organ of its own, a quarterly called *The Hobby-Horse*, which is printed by the Chiswick Press, and is probably the purest current specimen of fine printing."

Outside of England there is no movement of the artists that at all compares with this, but in France, Germany, Italy, and the United States the feeling is growing in this direction.

Poets and musicians and authors take the same position. We need here only refer to the names of Dickens, Victor Hugo, Zola, Ibsen, Howells, Stedman, and Walt Whitman. There are many others. The subject of Richard Wagner's great trilogy, the "Niebelungen Ring," is the curse of gold. (Concerning Ruskin and his *Political Economy of Art*, see RUSKIN.) One other point only is it necessary to make, the opposition of art to those who consider Puritanism a part of social reform. This opposition is usually expressed in some such words as these:

"That the beauty of life is a thing of no moment few people would venture to assert. Beauty, which is what is meant by art, using the word in its widest sense, and the craving for it are no mere accidents of human life, but have been bound up by the closest ties with the whole history of the race from the time of the crudest carved ivories of the paleolithic cavew-dweller to the sculptures of Phidias and the paintings of Raphael. Toward an element of human character so persistent and universal we are, therefore, compelled perforce to adopt one or the other of two attitudes, regarding it either as a vice to be suppressed or as a virtue to be cultivated.

Now the religious temper of the most progressive countries of the world since the middle of the sixteenth century and the industrial conditions of the last century and a quarter have led to a very general triumph, in greater or less degree, of what may best be called the Puritan spirit, of which, as far as art is concerned, the first, the essential characteristic, is its attitude toward the human body and toward all that life of the senses, which is so large a part of the heritage of beings who have not only spirits and minds, but bodies, too. The Puritan, when he is logically true to himself, regards the body, to use his own expression, as a vile body; he has a contempt for it; he has a perpetual suspicion of it, as something to which he is unfortunately tied in this world, but from which he must seek to disengage himself as far as possible. As an obvious consequence of this fundamental view the life of the senses, the delights which come to us from sight or taste or touch, are to him things to be regarded as mere temptation,

as baits to seduce us. Thus, to again quote his own language, the theater is to him, in its very nature, but the gate or 'anteroom of hell,' and dancing but 'an ungodly shaking of the limbs.' All art of any kind thought of as an end in itself is, therefore, *anathema maranatha*, because all sensuous indulgence is sin; or since certain arts are almost indispensable to human existence, they are to be allowed no further than as they may, so to speak, be turned against themselves and made to allure us from this present and visible world to that which is invisible and to come. It is not necessary to inquire here what truth there may be at the bottom of this view of life, tho a truth there certainly is, however ludicrously and pitifully burlesqued. It is sufficient to point out that such a temper of mind has brought about an arrest of the creative arts in every nation exactly in proportion as it has become dominant. What the absence of art may betoken in the long run it is not easy for us to say, since that lack belongs only to these later times of the world's history, of which we cannot yet form any fair estimate, because they are too near to us; but clearly in the present it indicates a transference of the interest of civilized men from the development of the human and intellectual energies of the race to the development of its mechanical energies, and it may be further said that if this tendency is to go on along the logical road of development it must destroy the arts of design and all that is analogous to them in literature."

From such reasoning as this it is easy to see with what vehemence almost all artists oppose even the beginnings of Puritanism in society. They declare that it is even atheistic in failing to recognize God as the Creator of matter as truly as the Creator of the spiritual life. They consider it immoral as tending to a gross conception of the body. Undoubtedly this position may be and has been caricatured and diverted from its proper use to serve the cause of license rather than of beauty. We are concerned here only to point out what is the bearing of art upon social reform. We close our article with one more quotation from William Morris's *Signs of Change* (chapter, "The Aims of Art"). He says:

"It is clear to me that, at the present time, those who look widest at things and deepest into them are quite dissatisfied with the present state of the arts, as they are also with the present condition of society. This I say in the teeth of the supposed revivification of art which has taken place of late years; in fact, that very excitement about the arts among a part of the cultivated people of to-day does but show on how firm a basis the dissatisfaction above mentioned rests. Forty years ago there was much less talk about art, much less practise of it, than there is now; and that is specially true of the architectural arts, which I shall mostly have to speak about now. People have consciously striven to raise the dead in art since that time, and with some superficial success. Nevertheless, in spite of this conscious effort, I must tell you that England, to a person who can feel and understand beauty, was a less grievous place to live in then than it is now; and we who feel what art means know well, tho we do not often dare to say so, that forty years hence it will be a more grievous place to us than it is now if we still follow up the road we are going. . . . Art then is gone, and can no more be 'restored' on its old lines than a medieval building can be. The rich and refined cannot have it tho they would, and tho we will believe many of them would. And why? Because those who could give it to the rich are not allowed by the rich to do so. In one word, slavery lies between us and art."

References: Walter Crane, *Why Socialism Appeals to Artists* (*Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xlix., p. 110, January, 1892); *Modern Life and the Artistic Sense* (*Cosmopolitan*, vol. xiii., p. 172, June, 1892); *Art and Commercialism*; *Art and Industry*; *Art and Labor*; *Art and Social Democracy*, in his *The Claims of Decorative Art* (London and Boston, 1892); T. C. Horsfall, *Art in Large Towns*; *The Work of the Manchester Art Museum* (Manchester, 1891); Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Studies in the Wagnerian Drama* (New York, 1891); William Morris, *The Aims of Art*, in his *Signs of Change* (London, 1888); same in (F. W. Lee, editor) *William Morris: Poet, Artist, Socialist* (New York, 1891); *Hopes and Fears for Art* (London and Boston, 1882); John

Ruskin, almost all his works (see **RUSKIN**), particularly *A Joy Forever; or, The Political Economy of Art* (London); George Bernard Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (London, 1891); Ellen Gates Starr, *Art and Labor*, in *Hull House Maps and Papers* (New York, 1895). See **SOCIALISM**; **IBSEN**; **MORRIS**; **RUSKIN**.

ARTHUR, PETER M.—Head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in the United States; born in Scotland, 1836; came to America when 10 years old, lived on a farm with his uncle in Schenectady, N. Y. When 18 years old he was employed as wiper in the engine-house at Schenectady; became fireman, and then engineer. He was early interested in the organization of his craft, and in 1874 was chosen to its highest office, since when he has been annually reelected. The Brotherhood has, under him, become one of the most powerful altho most conservative trade-unions in the country, numbering some 30,000 men. His residence and the headquarters of the Brotherhood are at Cleveland, O. His policy of using all conciliatory means before appealing to strikes, which, under his lead, have been very few, has given him a strong hold on the confidence of both his order and the public. (See **BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS**.) He has, however, been much criticised by many in the labor movement for not being more willing to combine with other labor organizations. His conception of his position is that he is the head of a business corporation formed to subservise the interests of its members alone, and that, however he or anybody else may feel personally, as head of that organization he must limit his interests to that.

ARTISAN, one skilled in any art, mystery, or trade; a handicraftsman, a mechanic. We distinguish to-day between the art and artisan, but the artist should probably be an artisan and the artisan an artist. William Morris, for example, believes that "art is built up from handicraft," and the decay of art means to him the decay of the power of the average man to make something beautiful with his own hands, not as an isolated event to be talked about for years, but as an every-day occurrence, part of the normal expression of his daily life. When Morris, therefore, sings the dirge of art, it is popular art that he thinks dead or dying. He admits as fully as any one the excellence in technic displayed by many English painters, the admirable drawing, the coloring, and so forth. He laments rather the passing away of the artist workman, of the man so trained, so envired, that he could both design and produce objects of beauty.

It was such men as these who built and beautified many of the great cathedrals and churches of Europe; who sculptured the portals of Chartres and the glorious façade of Amiens, and who have left in a thousand European cities and towns moldings and traceries and foliated capitals, portraits and quaint fancies, quips and jests, as well as dreams of beauty in wood, metal, stone and marble, to be the wonder and admiration of our time. According to Morris, this beautiful work was the result of really free associated human labor, where the worker was his own master, had received a careful training in apprenticeship to his guild, and worked in fraternal equality with others. To-day the aver-

age worker is a machine-minder, the all but soulless agent of an anonymous joint-stock company or syndicate; performing day after day and year after year the same piece of monotonous mechanical drudgery; liable any day to be elbowed out of the field by new inventions, unable to work unless a body of capitalists can make for themselves a profit out of his work, and living amid noisome, sordid, and hideous surroundings. (See **ART**.)

ASHLEY, LORD. See **SHAFTESBURY, EARL OF**.

ASHLEY, WILLIAM JAMES, born in London, 1860; A.B. at Balliol, Oxford, 1881; M.A. 1885; 1885-88 Fellow of Lincoln and Lecturer in Modern History in Lincoln and Corpus Christi colleges; 1888-92 Professor of Political Economy and Constitutional History in the University of Toronto; 1892 Professor of Economic History in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. He is a strong adherent of the historical school in economics, believing that political economy has yet reached few generally accepted conclusions, and cannot reach them until it slowly builds up a body of doctrine based on carefully investigated facts. He believes, with Professor Sidgwick, that there are good *theoretic* reasons in favor of protection, but that the practical difficulties are so great that in *democratic* communities free trade is less dangerous. Bimetallism for a single nation he believes the height of folly. Between international bimetallism and monometallism he delays making a choice, but has the impression that currency questions are of much less importance than the disputants on either side appear to think. He believes in the nationalization and municipalization of natural monopolies only when the state of political morality and the organization of the civil service make it tolerably safe, which he thinks is not likely to be for some time to come. In this class, however, he does not include land, except under very exceptional circumstances. His main works are: *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, part i. (published in the United States as vol. i.), *The Middle Ages*, 1888 (now in third edition), part ii. (published in the United States as vol. ii.); *The End of the Middle Ages*, 1893 (now in second edition; German translation in the press). Some minor writings: *James and Philip van Artevelde*, 1883 (Lothian prize essay); *What is Political Science?* 1888 (inaugural lecture before the University of Toronto); *The English Manor*, an introductory chapter prefixed to the English translation of Fustel de Coulanges' *Origin of Property in Land* (1891); *On the Study of Economic History*, an introductory lecture before Harvard University, in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, January, 1892 (translated in Munich, *Allgemeine Zeitung*); various articles in various quarterlies, journals, etc. Professor Ashley is now (1895) editing Macmillan's series of Economic Classics.

ASSESSMENTS, POLITICAL.—A general term used to designate the pecuniary contributions levied by Congressional, State, and municipal political committees upon the office-

holders or candidates belonging to their several parties, for the stated purpose of defraying the expenses of the political canvass conducted by them. With office-holders it usually takes the form of a request for a specific sum, amounting to a certain percentage of their salaries. The assessment of candidates is not so systematized, unless it be in New York City. An action has been brought in New York against a judge to recover a portion of the assessment levied upon him as a candidate; and it is a matter of common belief that in 1880 a judicial candidate mortgaged his prospective salary to secure the payment of an assessment of \$17,000. The practice is, of course, an outgrowth of the spoils system. (See CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.)

The first specific instance of an assessment of this kind is found in the Swartwout investigation in the twenty-fifth Congress, when a former deputy-collector of New York testified as follows: "I have frequently been called to contribute to political objects while I was deputy-collector, as an officer of the custom-house." The amount was from \$20 to \$100. The tax was *pro rata*, from 1 to 6 per cent. of the salary. It was assessed by a general committee of the Tammany Hall party. If the individual declined to pay, he was reported. From that time at least the process has gone on. The existing system may be described by a statement of what was done in 1880. The Republican Congressional Committee is said to have addressed all persons (except the heads of executive offices) drawing salary from the national Government a letter containing these words: "Under the circumstances in which the country finds itself placed, the committee believes that you will find it both a privilege and a pleasure to make a contribution, which, it is hoped, may not be less than ———. The committee is authorized to state that such voluntary contribution will not be objected to in any official quarter." The blank was filled by writing in a sum equal to two per cent. of the salary of the person addressed. On October 14 the same persons were asked "to promptly contribute to its funds an additional one per cent." There is high authority for stating that at least \$100,000 was thus raised. The assessment varied in different States, being highest in Pennsylvania and New York. In New York three per cent. of a weekly stipend of \$2 was requested from a boy in a rural post-office. In New York City firemen and even school-teachers were assessed. The assessment of candidates in that city is supposed to be—for a judgeship, \$15,000; district attorneyship, the same; for a nomination to Congress, about \$4000; for coroner, \$2000; alderman, \$1500; assemblyman, from \$600 to \$1500. The annual amount thus raised by Tammany may be put at \$125,000. Mr. John Kelly in 1880 defended the large salaries paid to the city aldermen on the ground that it was necessary to enable them to meet the large political demands made upon them. President Hayes made an executive order forbidding these assessments, and bills have been passed forbidding them, but it has not availed. The only cure is probably through a rigid civil service. (See CIVIL SERVICE.) We are indebted for these facts to Frederick W. Whitridge, whose article on this subject in

Lalor's Cyclopaedia we have here abridged. (For the methods and growth of reform upon this subject, see CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; also DIRECT LEGISLATION.)

ASSIGNATS (from Lat. *assignatus*, pp. of assignare, to assign or allot), notes forming the paper currency issued in France during the Revolution, from 1789-96. They were based on the security of the confiscated church lands, and afterward of all the national domains and other property. Issued to the amount of 45,000,000,000 frs., before they were withdrawn they deteriorated to less than one three hundredth of their face value. They are usually used as an instance of the folly of adopting a paper currency irredeemable in gold; but the believers in paper currency answer that the trouble lay not in the assignats, but in the security they represented; that people had small faith in the revolutionary government or its validity of title to the confiscated land, and that, therefore, it is small wonder that the assignats, based on such security, depreciated. To attempt to reason from the France of the Revolution to the United States of to-day, they argue, shows the feebleness of the argument.

The name *assignats* was given by the National Assembly because they represented lands *assigned* to their holders. They consisted chiefly of notes for 100 frs. (\$20), tho many of them were for as small amounts as 10 or even 5 frs. The first issue was for 400,000,000 frs., and bore interest, which the others did not. The amount in all issues reached the enormous sum of 45,578,000,000 frs. They were, besides, so poorly printed that they were easily counterfeited abroad. It was, therefore, small wonder that they began to depreciate, and by June, 1793, 1 fr. in silver was worth 3 in paper; and by August, 6 in paper. The State undertook to enforce their circulation, but only brought them back upon its own hands. By March, 1796, 1 louis d'or (24 frs.) brought 7200 paper francs. In 1796 they were withdrawn and redeemed at one thirtieth of their value by *mandats*—a new paper money which enabled the holder to take immediate possession of the land (the assignats could only be sold). The *mandats* soon also depreciated to one seventh of their face value, and were redeemed by being accepted by the government in payment of taxes or for land.

ASSOCIATED CHARITIES. See CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF PROFIT-SHARING, THE.—This association was organized January, 1892. It had been decided at the preliminary meeting to be undesirable to follow the strict lines of the French society by admitting to membership only business men actually practising profit-sharing. It was thought to be more desirable to unite all who advocate the system, whether practising it or not. Membership in the society is thus open not only to men of affairs, but to professors and students of political economy, journalists, clergymen, and teachers—to all, in fact, who believe in the system and desire to see it extended. The American society does

not intend, however, to be characterized by a less practical spirit than that of the French association. It desires, in the first place, to be useful in furnishing information about profit-sharing in the past and present to any firm or corporation that is thinking of introducing any of the methods mentioned in its constitution. It will arrange for addresses on the general subject before commercial clubs and other organizations in leading cities, from time to time.

For further information address its Secretary and Treasurer (1895), Rev. N. P. Gilman, Boston, Mass. (See PROFIT-SHARING.)

ASYLUMS, FOR THE BLIND, INSANE, etc. See BLIND ASYLUMS, INSANE ASYLUMS, etc.

ATELIERS NATIONAUX (national workshops), a term used in France for the workshops established by the Provisional Government of France in the Revolution of 1848, to give work to the unemployed.

The Provisional Government had scarcely been established (in February, 1848), when a committee of socialists demanded of it the recognition of the right to work. Louis Blanc and one or two others were the only real socialists in the government, and the demand of the men was, therefore, refused, and only when strenuously insisted upon was it reluctantly conceded, for political reasons. And it is doubtful if the government really ever intended to make the shop a success. Louis Blanc says distinctly that the government only nominally yielded, but appointed a committee secretly instructed to make the shop fail. In any case, the state of Paris at the time, the acuteness of the industrial and political crisis, the supposed necessity of doing something at once on a large scale for political, no less than economic reasons, and the jealousies and intrigues of opposing parties both within and outside the Provisional Government were all factors in the situation which tended to make difficult, if not impossible, the execution of any carefully planned scheme. The most cursory examination of the evidence shows that it is impossible to judge correctly of the *ateliers nationaux* on the supposition that they were merely a *bona fide* effort to carry out the decree establishing the "right to work."

However this may be, on February 25 the Provisional Government passed a decree from which the following is an extract :

"The Provisional Government of the French Republic undertakes to guarantee the existence of the workmen by work. It undertakes to guarantee work for every citizen."

For the purpose of carrying out this decree, Louis Blanc advocated the formation of a Ministry of Labor, but this was negatived on the ground that a mere provisional government could not thus anticipate the decision of the future assembly. In place of it, as a compromise, a Government Labor Commission, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, was established by a decree of February 28, with power of inquiry and consultation only. The Commission met at the Luxembourg. Meanwhile, the carrying out of the decree of February 25, by the establish-

ment of national workshops, was confided not to this Commission, but to the Minister of Public Works, M. Marie, by the following decree of February 26 :

"The Provisional Government decrees the immediate establishment of national workshops. The Minister of Public Works is intrusted with the execution of the present decree."

This was followed the next day by a decree specifying various public works to be started.

At the same time the immediate resumption of work on government buildings, etc., was decreed. Besides the works organized by the Minister of Public Works, the Minister of War opened works in the Champs de Mars. From this time the responsibility for the national works as actually organized rested primarily with M. Marie, the Minister of Public Works, while Louis Blanc and the Commission at the Luxembourg organized cooperative societies of tailors, and other trades, to which the State gave certain contracts to execute. The history of these societies has an interest of its own, but they were entirely separate from the national works organized by the State.

All went well while the number of the unemployed was less than 6000, but as soon as that number was exceeded the workmen of each *arrondissement*, after having visited all the open works in succession without result, returned to their *mairie's* offices tired, starving, and discontented.

Louis Blanc soon resigned, and publicly denounced the scheme as not being conducted in good faith. The workmen had been promised bread when work was not to be had. The great mistake was, however, then committed of giving them money, and distributing it in public at the offices of the *maires* instead of distributing assistance in kind.

Each *mairie's* office was authorized to pay every unemployed workman 1.50 frs. per day on production of a ticket showing that there was no vacancy for him in the national works.

The fixed sum of 2 frs. was paid to any workman engaged on the public excavation works, without regard to his age, the work done, or his calling. The workman made the following simple calculation, and he made it aloud : "The State gives me 30 sous for doing nothing ; it pays me 40 sous when I work, so I need only work to the extent of 10 sous." This was logical.

The works opened by the Minister of Public Works being far distant from each other, and the workmen not being able to visit them all in turn to make certain that there were no vacancies for them, two central bureaux were established, one at the Halle-aux-Veaux, under M. Wissocq ; the other near the *mairie's* office in the fifth *arrondissement* in the Rue de Bondy, intrusted to M. Higonnet. The workmen went to have their tickets examined at one of these bureaux ; and the absence of employment having been proved, they returned to get their 30 sous at their *maires'* offices.

As the numbers claiming work or relief rapidly increased the whole organization got rapidly

Louis Blanc
denounces
the Scheme.

out of hand, and both the bureaus and the *maires'* offices became the centers of tumultuous crowds, which those in charge were quite unable to satisfy or keep in order. On March 5, therefore, Émile Thomas, a chemist connected with the *Ecole Centrale*, was commissioned by M. Marie to reorganize the works on a semi-military plan, in which he was aided by some of the senior pupils of the *Ecole Centrale*.

The workmen were divided into companies, each of which, when the organization was fully developed, contained 900 men. Each company was divided into four lieutenantancies, each containing 224 men and a lieutenant, and each lieutenantancy into four brigades, each with 55 men and a brigadier. Finally each brigade was divided into five squads with 10 men and a chief of squad, all belonging to the same *arrondissement*. The brigadiers and chiefs of squads were elected by the men whom they had to control. This complicated organization was not fully developed during the first month.

On March 6, when Émile Thomas took the work in hand, the number of unemployed in Paris was estimated at from 13,000 to 14,000, in addition to 4000 or 5000 already engaged on public works. This number continued steadily to increase day by day, without, however, any corresponding expansion of the public works. The engineer officers were directed by the government to suggest plans for new works, but they appeared unable or unwilling to do so, and day after day slipped by, the director having to exercise all his ingenuity to provide some means of occupying the idle masses of men who had been enrolled, and who were drawing 30 sous a day from the State.

On March 15, after a meeting of the chief engineers, who were still unable to suggest means of employing usefully more than a few hundred of the 14,000 unemployed men, it was resolved to undertake a series of works in the plain of Monceaux, which, if serving no other object, would at least have the advantage of keeping the crowd employed. Already the whole scheme was costing 20,000 frs. a day, and measures were contemplated for reducing and finally extinguishing the pay to the idle. The following is an extract from an order of the day dated March 16:

"From to-morrow, Friday, the 17th inst., the daily pay of workmen who are not working will be reduced to 1 fr. instead of 1½ frs. The director can guarantee to workmen that from this day forward they will be employed at least every other day; in this case their pay will be 2 frs."

Already political feeling between the moderate and the extreme sections of the Provisional Government was running high in view of the elections which were fixed for April. The strength of the "moderate" party centered in the Hôtel de Ville, that of the socialists in the Luxembourg. From the middle of March onward the national works depended politically on the Hôtel de Ville, and were more and more utilized to counteract the influence of the Luxembourg, and to secure the return of the Hôtel de Ville "list" of candidates at the elections. Hence from this time it becomes progressively more difficult to treat the works as a purely economic experiment.

Private industry was practically at a standstill and workshops were closing every day: some for want of capital, others through strikes of their workmen, who had recourse to the national works if their demands were not granted.

Causes of Failure.

The Minister of Public Works vainly issued on March 20 a proclamation urging the workmen to return to their workshops, and pointing out that large workshops had been closed or were threatened with closing owing to the crisis. At this time 12,000 men were actually employed at the national works, and the number of men enrolled was increasing very rapidly.

That the administration of the works was on an altogether unnecessary scale is not denied even by the director, who, however, declared that he was continually under the necessity of finding places for crowds of applicants sent to him with recommendations which he could not resist. Thus a large number of actors, painters, commercial clerks, and others, thrown out of work by the crisis, having been refused tickets for admission to the works as not wearing the workman's blouse, were employed by the director as pay agents. Notwithstanding this army of officials, it is stated that "no serious control was exercised over these crowds of humanity. Many of the workmen had themselves enrolled in several brigades, so as to draw wages from each; others came solely for the purpose of drawing wages, tho they worked as usual in private workshops. Brigadiers exaggerated the number of men in their brigades, in order to appropriate the excess wages which they were supposed to distribute. Workmen who had a disagreement with their employers combined, deserted their own workshops, and went to the national workshops. This was done by the paper-stainers and the hatters."

Toward the middle of April the numbers enrolled again far outran the number for whom work of any kind could be provided. The director, left to his own resources, organized a few special workshops to employ certain classes of workmen at their own trades. Thus a number of wheelwrights and joiners were employed to mend the tools which were constantly being broken by the inexperienced workmen. Workshops of shoemakers and tailors were also established, from which the more needy and ill-clad of the workmen could be supplied with cheap clothes and boots. It was, however, impossible to persuade the shoemakers to accept this arrangement, by which they were compelled actually to work instead of loafing, except by the threat of the alternative of expulsion from the national works. After a time the system, in these special workshops, was changed from time-work to piece-work, but not in most cases without great opposition from the workmen.

The National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, met on May 4. A few days later the Executive Commission was elected, containing all the members of the Provisional Government except Louis Blanc and Albert, the socialist representatives. On May 10 Louis Blanc renewed his motion for a Minister of Labor, which was rejected. On the 15th the Assembly was invaded by the mob, and from that time the

anti-socialist tendency of the government became more marked. The new government immediately determined to reduce and suppress the national works, which were draining the treasury and demoralizing the people, and which were suspected of being centers of intrigue on the part of Louis Bonaparte.

On May 15 M. Marie was transferred to another post in the Provisional Government, and was succeeded by M. Trélat, who at once set about the task of reduction. A commission, including a number of engineers and other practical men, was appointed to inquire into the condition of the national works and to devise measures for reducing their cost "without prejudice to the sacred principle of the *guarantee of work*," and to superintend the carrying out of these measures. M. Lalanne, an engineer of bridges and roads, acted as secretary. The first measure ordered was a complete census of the workmen in the national works. On May 26 the director, Émile Thomas, was compelled to resign, and was sent, practically under arrest, to Bordeaux on the pretext of a commission to study the prolongation of a canal. He was succeeded as director by M. Lalanne.

On May 30 the National Assembly decreed the substitution of piece-work for day-work, but the change was difficult to carry out, and the

results were unsatisfactory. On June 15 the Assembly determined on the suppression of the works; and to guard against the consequences an army under General Cavaignac was concentrated on Paris. On June 22 the proposals for the enlistment of workmen between 18 and 25, and the other measures of reduction detailed in M. Trélat's letter to Émile Thomas of May 24, appeared in the *Moniteur*, and the same day an attempt was made to organize the first batch of departures from Paris. The result was the bloody insurrection of June 23 and following days, which, thanks to the military organization of the national works, was only suppressed after three days of street fighting. In the course of the insurrection the Executive Commission resigned, and General Cavaignac became dictator.

Soon after this Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic. The gigantic schemes subsequently carried out under the Second Empire for the rebuilding of large parts of Paris served for many years to provide employment for Paris workmen, and while they lasted formed an effective substitute for the ill-fated national works.

A full account of the matter can be found in the *Blue Book on the Unemployed*, published by the English Labor Department in 1893. Our account has been abridged from this.

The chief authorities are: *Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, Émile Thomas (1848); *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, Louis Blanc; *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, Lamartine; *Le Placement des Employés (Office du Travail)*, 1892.

ATHENS, SOCIAL POLITY OF.—The capital of ancient Attica and of modern Greece we here consider simply from a sociological point of view. Yet even from this standpoint it affords far more interest and interest than

has been generally recognized. Greek sociology centered around the State (see GREEK SOCIAL POLITY), and they usually meant by the State the municipality, or city; hence, *political* economy, the economy of the *πολις*, or city. Of this social conception Athens is, perhaps, the best and greatest example. In the first place, it was, *with the exception of its slave basis*—of which we shall speak later—well-nigh perfectly democratic. Even during the kingly or traditional period there seems to have been recognition of the popular power in the brotherhoods (*φρατρία*) and clans (*γένη*), believed to rest, and probably actually resting, on consanguinity. This largely disappeared under the Eupatrids, but was more than revived by Solon. He established the *εκκλησία*, or assemblies of the whole people, to elect the archons and councillors; to judge the former at the annual expiration of their office; and to accept or reject all the laws and decrees proposed by the council. (THE REFERENDUM, *q.v.*) Under Clisthenes all free inhabitants of Attica were admitted to citizenship, making Athens and Attica (except for its slave basis) absolutely democratic.

This, however, is the least interesting of Athens' sociological features. It is of far greater interest to see how far-reaching and highly developed was its municipalism. Here, as in all Greek life, the individual was conceived as in a sense subordinate to the State, and yet in such a way as not to quench, but to increase his true individuality. What city can show greater individuals than Athens? The individual was an organic part of an organic whole. The State was omnipresent. It conducted and maintained the religious rites of the city, the Panathenaic and other festivals. It built and cared for the temples, baths, gymnasias, stoa, theaters, market-places, etc. It maintained and conducted these. It cared for the arts. The Parthenon and the Acropolis were the creation of State artists. The State entered into trade. It owned and operated mines in Thrace and Attica. The silver ore of the Laurium mines constituted the first Attic treasury. The revenues of the State were mainly derived not from citizen-paid taxes, but from woods, pasture, lands, houses, and mines, all owned and operated by the State. The State largely watched over and guided the colonial system, which was almost the ruling feature of Athenian financial life. The State built the wharves and warehouses of the Peiræus; it controlled the weights and measures; it examined balances and minted coin. It entered into distribution; providing food at cheap price in time of want; it regulated the price of corn; it saw to it that none of its citizens came to distress. At frequent festivals it distributed provisions gratuitously—bread, and oxen, and fruit. At the theater largesses were made. In the army, the officers at first were not paid, it being considered honor enough thus to serve the State; but the common people were paid. When the city was in funds, division was made among all—not in charity, but as a dividend of the municipal corporation to which they belonged. So far did Athens carry its municipalism. The city succumbed finally, because it was *not* a true socialism; it was free for its citizens,

Municipalism.

but its freedom rested upon slavery. Nor was it federated into a true nationalism. Greece was divided into rival communes and republics, and fell before a centralized power like Rome. (Consult any *History of Greece*.)

The number of slaves in Greece, or even at Athens, can scarcely be determined with any tolerable approach to certainty. It is stated by Athenæus (vi. 20), on the authority of Ctesicles, that the census of Demetrius Phalereus gave for Athens 21,000 citizens, 10,000 metics (resident foreigners), and 400,000 slaves. It is also stated by the same author that Corinth had possessed 460,000 slaves and Ægina 470,000. Hume, in his essay, *On the Populousness of Ancient Nations*, maintained that the assertion of Athenæus respecting Athens is quite incredible—that the number of Athenian slaves “is at least augmented by a whole cipher, and ought not to be regarded as more than 40,000.” Boeckh and Letronne have since made the question the subject of fresh studies. The former has fixed the number of Attic slaves at about 365,000, the latter at 100,000 or 120,000. M. Wallon has revised the labors of these scholars, and adduced further considerations of his own. He estimates the number of slaves employed in all Attica in domestic service at 40,000; in agriculture at 35,000; in the mines at 10,000; in manufactures and commerce at 90,000. To these must be added, for old people and children under 12 years of age, 6000 and 20,000 respectively, and also the public slaves, of whom, as we have said, 1200 were Scythian archers. He thus arrives at the conclusion that the servile population of Attica was comprised between the limits of 188,000 and 203,000 souls, the free population being about 67,000, and the metics amounting to 40,000. The slaves thus bore to the free native population the ratio of 3 to 1.

Professor Ingram, writing in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in the article on *Slavery*, says:

“The condition of slaves at Athens was not in general a wretched one. Demosthenes (*In Mid.*, p. 530) says that, if the barbarians from whom the slaves were bought were informed of the mild treatment they received, they would entertain a great esteem for the Athenians. Plautus in more than one place thinks it necessary to explain to the spectators of his plays that slaves at Athens enjoyed such privileges, and even license, as must be surprising to a Roman audience. The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practice, though not by law, permitted to accumulate a private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; tho in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret.”

Thus Athens may be looked at from the standpoint of social science in at least two opposite ways. Looking at its free population, it may be considered a socialistic city, and the socialists may use it as an illustration of great individualities produced, not by competition, but by socialism. Looking at its large slave population and despite put upon manual labor, Athens may be considered as an oligarchy, intellectual, brilliant, but resting on injustice and immorality.

ATKINSON, EDWARD, economist, born in Brookline, Mass., February 10, 1827. He was educated principally at private schools. His reputation has been made by the numerous pamphlets and papers that he has contributed to current literature on economic topics. The subjects treated embrace such general topics as banking, competition, cotton, free trade, mechanical arts, and protection. The most important of his addresses are *Banking*, delivered at Saratoga in 1880 before the American Bankers' Association; *Insufficiency of Economic Legislation*, delivered before the American Social Science Association; *What Makes the Rate of Wages?* before the British Association for the Advancement of Science; address to the chiefs of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, at their convention in Boston in 1885; vice-presidential address on *The Application of Science to the Production and Consumption of Food*, before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1885; and *Prevention of Loss by Fire*, before the millers of the West in 1885. His pamphlets and books include the following: *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor* (Boston, 1861); *The Collection of Revenue* (1866); *Argument for the Conditional Reform of the Legal Tender Act* (1874); *Our National Domain* (1879); *Labor and Capital—Allies, not Enemies* (New York, 1880); *The Fire Engineer, the Architect, and the Underwriter* (Boston, 1880); *The Railroads of the United States* (1880); *Cotton Manufactures of the United States* (1880); *Addresses at Atlanta, Ga., on the International Exposition* (New York, 1881); *What is a Bank?* (1881); *Right Methods of Preventing Fires in Mills* (Boston, 1881); *The Railway and the Farmer* (New York, 1881); *The Influence of Boston Capital upon Manufactures*, in *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1882), and *The Distribution of Products* (New York, 1885). In 1886 he began the preparation of a series of monographs on economic questions, for periodical publication. Through his efforts was established the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, an association consisting of a number of manufacturers who, for their mutual protection, adopted rules and regulations for the economical and judicious management of their plants. He has invented an improved cooking-stove called the “Aladdin cooker.”

AUSTIN, JOHN, a distinguished writer on jurisprudence, was born March 3, 1790. At the age of 16 he entered the army and served as a subaltern with his regiment in Sicily; but he left the service when peace was declared, and in 1818 commenced practice at the bar. Through the influence of Jeremy Bentham and Mr. James Mill he turned his attention to jurisprudence, and when compelled by loss of health to abandon his practice at the bar, he accepted the appointment of Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of London, which was founded about the same time. He was compelled to resign his appointment a few years later, as no provision had been made for the chair of jurisprudence beyond class fees, and these proved insufficient. In the same year he published his *Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, a work little appreciated at that time by the general public, but

which, in the estimation of competent judges, placed him in the highest rank among writers on jurisprudence. In 1833 he was appointed a member of the Criminal Law Commission. This post was not to his taste, as he had no faith in the efficacy of such bodies for constructive purposes. He was afterward appointed a member of a commission to inquire into the grievances of the Maltese. He returned to England in 1838, but owing to poor health soon removed to Germany with his family, living at Carlsbad in summer and at Dresden and Berlin in winter. The revolution of 1848 compelled him to return to England, and he settled at Weybridge, where he died in December, 1859, universally respected for the dignity and magnanimity of his character. After his death his lectures on the principles of jurisprudence were prepared for publication by his widow under the title of *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, being a sequel to *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, etc. On this work his fame now rests. (For a further statement of his position in political science, see POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

AUSTRALIA AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICAL.

The island-continent of Australia, with its area of about 3,000,000 square miles, or nearly that of the United States exclusive of Alaska, is composed to-day of the five provinces of New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, and Queensland. Says a writer in the *Review of Reviews* (American, May, 1895):

"Australia is the commercial wonder of the nineteenth century. The first white man settled there in 1788, and it was so little known that until 1802 it was called simply 'The Great South Land'; and yet in 1890, only 88 years after the country was named, with a population of only 3,784,000, its foreign commerce for the year amounted to \$642,500,000! . . .

"A bare enumeration of the resources, the commerce, and the enterprises developing in Australasia would fill a volume. For the purpose of this statement, suffice it to say that Australia alone in 1893 owned 10,400 miles of railroad, 75,500 miles of telegraph line, and entered and cleared shipping from foreign ports to the amount of 17,983,000 tons; that it owns 1,500,000 horses, 9,000,000 cattle, and 98,000,000 sheep, the total value of its live stock being \$330,000,000; that it owns a navy of 33 small but modern vessels; that the cities of Sydney and Melbourne compare favorably with Paris and Washington for cleanliness and beauty; that it spends \$5000 a day on telegrams to England alone; that in 1893 it produced \$35,000,000 worth of gold—nearly one fourth of the world's annual production; that its annual production of coal is nearly 4,000,000 tons; that its annual wool clip averages a value of over \$100,000,000; that it is the focus of a system of steamship lines radiating to all parts of the globe; and is inhabited by a people of unsurpassed intelligence and aggressive energy, and is possessed of boundless resources yet untouched."

Mr. Fenton, the assistant Government Statist, Victoria, has issued a comparative return of the population of the colonies for 1891 and 1894, from

which it appears that the population of Victoria, during the three and three quarter years, increased to the extent of 38,699, or 3.39 per cent.; New South Wales increased by 119,216, or 10.53 per cent.; Queensland by 51,437, or 13.06 per cent.; South Australia by 31,971, or 9.98 per cent.; and West Australia by 32,290, or 64.86 per cent. The total population of Australia on December 31, 1894, is estimated at 3,310,183—an increase of 273,613 on 1891, or 9.01 per cent. Victoria is estimated to have a population of 1,179,104, and New South Wales, 1,251,450.

Before passing to a consideration of the separate colonies, it should be noted that there is a strong movement toward the federation of all the Australian colonies. This was first proposed as early as 1852, but no steps were taken till about 10 years ago, when there was so much agitation on the subject that Parliament passed a bill permitting the formation of a Federal Council for deliberation only. Such a council met in 1886 and four times afterward, but being only deliberative, gave little satisfaction. January, 1895, however, the pioneers of the five Australian colonies met at Hobart and adopted a resolution recommending a convention of representatives chosen by the electors of each colony to draft a constitution to be submitted to the electors, and if it be adopted to secure its legislative enactment.

New South Wales, the oldest of the provinces, may be said to have begun, with the founding of Port Jackson, as a penal settlement of England in 1788, 18 years after Captain Cook had explored the east coast. For 50 years it continued more or less of a penal settlement, tho by 1821 the colony had made a fair start in free industrial progress. A constitution establishing a "responsible government" was proclaimed in 1855. There are two houses, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. The former had, in

New South Wales.

1893, 73 life members appointed by the crown; the latter, 141 members chosen by 74 constituencies. The area of the colony is 310,700 square miles, with a population, in 1893, of 1,197,650, of which, in 1891, 8280 were aborigines, 140,041 persons were engaged in industries and 136,375 in agriculture. Education is under State control, tho many private schools and colleges exist. There were, in 1892, of State schools: 5 high schools, 231 superior schools, 1690 primary public, 348 provisional, 341 half-time schools, 85 house-to-house schools, and 15 evening schools. In 1892, the expenditure on State schools was £768,395. There are 723 private schools. The University of Sydney received from the Government a yearly subsidy of £18,100 in 1892. There are 60 jails, and, in 1892, 56,350 convicts, and 1411 sent to higher courts.

On March 31, 1893, there were 56,378 holders of land over one acre, holding 38,156,547 acres of freehold and 4,425,934 of leasehold land. 1,003,625 acres were under cultivation. Wheat had 452,021 acres, yielding 6,817,487 bushels. (See AGRICULTURE.) Gold is largely mined, having been discovered in 1851. The value of gold mined to January 1, 1894, is £39,853,941. In 1893 it was £651,285. The coal-mines are very valuable, producing in 1893 £1,171,722. Silver-mines produced £3,031,720. There were, at the end of 1893, 2501 miles of government railways and 84 of private. The total cost of railway construction and equipment to June 30, 1894, was £35,855,271. The gross earnings for 1893-94 was £2,813,541; the expenses, £1,591,842. Agricultural produce is carried at extremely low rates to develop the country. The tramways are also owned by the Government. There were in 1894, 58½ miles open. The total cost of equipment was £1,248,986; the earnings, 1893-94, was £278,194; the expenses, £229,283. The debt of the colony at the end of 1893 was £58,079,033. The public wealth of the colony, April, 1893, was £172,895,000; the municipal wealth was £6,400,000, and the private wealth, £407,405,000. The imports for 1893 were £18,107,035; the exports, £22,921,223. Wool is the staple export, amounting to £10,449,911 in 1893.

Victoria, first settled in 1835, and originally a part of New South Wales, was separated in 1851; area, 87,884 square miles; population (1891), 1,140,405, including 565 aborigines; acres in cultivation, 2,600,000. Its capital, Melbourne, has a population of 491,378. The government is vested in a governor, an executive ministry of 13 members, a legislative council of 48, and a legislative assembly of 95 members (1892). Victoria is the principal gold-producing colony of Australia, producing from 1850-90, £227,482,300 worth of gold. Its climate is the most genial in Australia. Agriculture, formerly neglected, is now much cultivated.

There were, in 1892, 2140 State schools and 750 private schools. There were 9 prisons in Victoria with 1725 inmates at the end of 1892, and 22,280 convictions in 1891, with 1177 committed for trial. March 1, 1894, there were 34,549 cultivated holdings, wheat occupying 1,469,359 acres. (See AGRICULTURE.) 105,745 people were engaged in agriculture in

1891. The artisans and mechanics numbered 50,994; textile-workers, 47,296; miners, 53,278; laborers, 40,548. The value of the gold-mines from 1851-93 was £234,965,364; in 1893 it was £2,684,504. All the railways belong to the State. There were, June 30, 1894, 3020 miles open, having cost, with equipment, £37,748,563. The earnings for the 12 months previous were £2,726,159; the expenses, £1,635,419. The public debt, June 30, 1894, was £47,297,708, of which £36,443,476 was for railroads. The imports in 1893 were £13,283,814; the exports, £13,308,551. The main exports were wool, £5,103,907; gold, £2,851,179.

South Australia now includes the whole center of Australia, running north and south. It was first colonized in 1836 under the auspices of a company called the South Australian Colonization Association. The conditions were that the land should not be sold at less than £1 per acre; that the revenue arising from the sale of such lands should be appropriated to the immigration of agricultural laborers, and the construction of roads, bridges, and other public works (which provisions have been strictly observed); that the control of the colony's affairs should be vested in a body of commissioners approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the governor be nominated by the Crown.

There are two houses, the Legislative Council of 24 members, and a House of Assembly of 54 members. There were 74,711 registered electors in 1892. The population in 1891 was 220,431 on an area of 993,690 square miles. There are 262 public, 317 provisional schools, and 254 private schools. There were 90 convictions in 1892.

There were 90 convictions engaged in agriculture and pastoral pursuits, 34,820 persons; in commerce, trade, and manufactures, 46,107; in mining, 2196. In 1878, 304 acres were under cultivation in 1893, and in 1892, 5,732,615 acres were freehold and 28,433,268 leasehold. 136,269 square miles were leased for pastoral purposes. June 30, 1894, there were 1665½ miles of railroad open at a cost of £12,154,244. The cost, 1893-94, including interest charged, was £560,592; the revenue, £430,115. The debt, December 31, 1893, was £21,683,250; three fourths for railways waterworks and telegraphs. The imports in 1893 were £7,934,200; the exports, £8,463,936. The principal export is wool, value (1893), £2,001,297.

Queensland, formerly a part of New South Wales, was set apart in 1859. It is the northeastern portion of the island, with an area of 668,497 square miles. The population in 1891 was estimated at 393,863. Of the land, Government has parted with 10,258,657 acres in fee simple; 2,057,063 are in process of alienation, and 285,703,333 have been leased out for cattle-grazing, the chief industry of the colony. The capital, Brisbane, has a population of 93,000. The government consists of a governor, Legislative Council of 42, and Assembly of 72 members.

There were in 1892, 657 public elementary schools, 10 public grammar or middle-class schools, and 135 private schools. There were 203 convictions for serious offenses in 1892. In

1891, 67,992 persons were engaged in agriculture, 47,184 in industrial work, 31,771 in business. December 31, 1893, 252,078 acres were under cultivation. (See AGRICULTURE.) Gold was discovered in 1858, producing up to the close of 1893, £32,365,945. There were, June 30, 1894, 2379 miles of railway, all owned by the Government, having cost £16,980,970. The expenses for 12 months were £508,403; the earnings, £622,807. The public debt, December 31, 1893, was £30,039,534. In 1893 the exports were £9,632,662; the imports, £4,352,783; wool furnish- ing £3,572,917.

Western Australia, formerly called "Swan River Settlement," is all the western portion of Australia; area, 1,066,000 square miles; population, 49,782. A very large portion of the land is heavy timber land of great value. The climate is one of the best. A constitution was proclaimed in 1890. Perth, the capital, has a population of about 9000. The Government consists of a governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly.

December 31, 1893, only 176,378 acres were under cultivation, employing 8746 persons. There were 1184 miles of railway open December 31, 1894, about one half in the hands of the Government. The debt, December 31, 1893, was £2,873,098. The imports in 1893 were £1,494,438; exports, £918,147. The chief exports in 1893 were gold (£421,385) and wool (£244,927).

Western Australia.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Australia in sociology is often spoken of as the land where socialism has been more developed than in any portion of the globe, an idea which has been largely furthered by Sir Charles Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain*. Yet while to an extent **Socialism** this is true, the statement must be most seriously qualified. Australia's reputation for socialism is largely due to two main facts: *first*, the early adoption of the eight-hour day, and *second*, the fact that almost all Australian railroads are owned and operated by the State. But it must be first pointed out that it takes more than the reduction of hours and the nationalization of railroads to establish socialism, and Australia has in some other respects been so unsocialistic as to largely obscure the effects of the socialism it has. The fact is, that it is quite as true to say that there is no socialism in Australia as that there is much. Either phrase is inexact. There is a great deal of State socialism and considerable democratic socialistic sentiment, but little more.

The State ownership of railroads in Australia has even tended to temporarily check the advance of real socialism; for investors, unable to invest or to speculate in railroads, have gone the more extensively into land speculation. Land booms have been universal. As they began to fail, capital poured in from England to keep them up and to defer, tho only finally to intensify, the inevitable collapse. Capital, too, unable to obtain sufficient interest in ordinary production, has been put into banks to obtain five per cent., compelling the banks to invest in all they could that promised more than five per cent. Hence banks bought land, conducted farms, stores, anything that promised dividends. When the bubble finally burst the banks collapsed, the whole community suffered, and Australia, with the rest of the world, has had to struggle with the unemployed. It is said by bimetalists, too, that Australia, like other portions of the globe, has suffered deeply from the appreciation of gold, or the lowering of prices, and the consequent increase of the burden of debt, especially upon the agricultural classes. These evils, bearing particularly upon the land, have given the idea of the single tax a deeper hold on Australia than in most countries, altho thus far little has been accomplished except to raise rates of land taxation, particularly in South Australia. Recently the fact that the government has been in the hands of the capitalist classes has led to the

formation of political parties turning on this issue, and often called directly capitalist and labor parties. Only, however, in South Australia has the Labor Party won much success, so that to use Australia as an example of socialism is inaccurate. It has had simply some State socialism managed by non-socialists.

With this general understanding of the situation we now take up a more detailed sketch of Australian social reform. The first formal recognition of the eight-hour day in Australasia was by the New Zealand

Eight-Hour Day. Company in the settlement of Otago, under the influence of the Rev. Thomas Burns. Its spread through Australia is largely due to the Victorian Operative Stonemasons' Society, who set the movement on foot in Melbourne in February, 1856.

An Eight-Hour League was formed of united trades, and notice given that after April 21, 1856, no union man would work more than eight hours. The strength of the artisans' position at that time in the labor market enabled them to win, and April 22 has annually been kept ever since as a public holiday, and known as the Eight-Hour Day. From Melbourne the movement spread to other parts of the colony and to the neighboring colonies, and the Eight-Hour Day has come to be regarded as normal throughout Australasia. Nevertheless, it is fully realized only by the stronger unions and skilled trades. Gained at first without any legislation, it has been found that legislation is needed to secure and maintain it, and some attempts have been made in this direction in various colonies by extending the factory acts. These are most advanced in Victoria, still leaving, however, very much to be desired. (For further details of the eight-hour movement in Australia, see **SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.**)

Trade-unionism has played a prominent part in Australia, but with few features of especial interest. As early as 1850 a branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was established in Australia, and since that date almost every industry has formed its own organization. Strikes have not been very frequent nor of very great importance till we come to the great strikes of 1890 and 1891, which mark an epoch in the development of the Australian labor movement. For the most part the program followed has been that of the English trade-unions. (See **TRADE-UNIONS.**) In most of the Australian colonies there has been an early closing agitation, particularly in Victoria and New Zealand, but voluntary early closing has not proved a success, and satisfactory legislation has not yet been attained. In providing for the unemployed more has been accomplished. A labor bureau to obtain work for the unemployed was established in Melbourne in March, 1892, and public works undertaken. New South Wales established such a bureau in February, 1892. In Queensland one was established in Brisbane as early as 1886, and has been active ever since.

Cooperation and profit-sharing have had little development in Australia, tho the cooperative butter factories and creameries, established in Victoria in 1888, with government assistance,

have been a greater success, and now number 360. The social reform movement has mainly developed upon more radical lines, agitating for the single tax, for other methods of land reform, for woman's suffrage, for proportional representation, and recently for democratic socialism.

The great strike of 1890, which paralyzed Australian industry from August to October, originated in a difficulty between the pastoralists and the shearers touching the conditions of shearing. The pastoralists desired to conduct their industry according to rules of their own, while the shearers, on the other hand, had determined that none but union labor should be employed. In 1887 the Shearers' Union first endeavored to enforce their rules, and by 1889 relations had become so strained that no agreement could be reached. On August 18 the wharf laborers struck to aid the shearers.

Difficulties had also arisen in the shipping trade, quite apart from the shearers' dispute, owing to the discharge of a fireman named Magan from the steamship "Corinna." The unionists attributed his discharge to the fact that he was a delegate of the Seamen's Union, and called upon the employers for a conference, which was, however, refused. Great discontent had for some time existed among the marine officers, owing to the lack of accommodation on board ship. In June, 1890, they laid their complaints before their employers, and were promised a conference. In July, however, they were informed that no conference could be granted unless the marine officers of Melbourne broke off their connection with the Trades Hall Council, and those of Sydney withdrew their application for affiliation with the Trade and Labor Council. It was alleged by the employers that affiliation with labor councils, and consequent meeting on equal terms with their subordinates, would destroy discipline on board ship, but the unionists regarded this action on the part of the employers as an attack upon their organizations, and all negotiations were broken off.

In August, therefore, the marine officers struck, the wharf laborers came out a few days later, followed by the seamen and draymen, the Newcastle miners were locked out for refusing to hew coal which they believed to be intended for employers engaged in the strike, and in September the shearers were ordered to join the others. The strike spread from Victoria to New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, and there was a general cessation of trade.

The Mayor of Sydney and other gentlemen offered their services as mediators, but for some time with no success. The efforts of labor leaders were at first directed to keep other bodies of men, such as the gas-workers, from joining the strike, because they feared that the funds would prove inadequate if any addition was made to the number of strikers. Eight hundred men, divided into gangs, were appointed to watch the wharves of Sydney, relieving each other every four hours; but in spite of their efforts many non-unionists reached the wharves, and were there provided with food and shelter, that they might

have been a greater success, and now number 360. The social reform movement has mainly developed upon more radical lines, agitating for the single tax, for other methods of land reform, for woman's suffrage, for proportional representation, and recently for democratic socialism.

The great strike of 1890, which paralyzed Australian industry from August to October, originated in a difficulty between the pastoralists and the shearers touching the conditions of shearing. The pastoralists desired to conduct their industry according to rules of their own, while the shearers, on the other hand, had determined that none but union labor should be employed. In 1887 the Shearers' Union first endeavored to enforce their rules, and by 1889 relations had become so strained that no agreement could be reached. On August 18 the wharf laborers struck to aid the shearers.

Difficulties had also arisen in the shipping trade, quite apart from the shearers' dispute, owing to the discharge of a fireman named Magan from the steamship "Corinna." The unionists attributed his discharge to the fact that he was a delegate of the Seamen's Union, and called upon the employers for a conference, which was, however, refused. Great discontent had for some time existed among the marine officers, owing to the lack of accommodation on board ship. In June, 1890, they laid their complaints before their employers, and were promised a conference. In July, however, they were informed that no conference could be granted unless the marine officers of Melbourne broke off their connection with the Trades Hall Council, and those of Sydney withdrew their application for affiliation with the Trade and Labor Council. It was alleged by the employers that affiliation with labor councils, and consequent meeting on equal terms with their subordinates, would destroy discipline on board ship, but the unionists regarded this action on the part of the employers as an attack upon their organizations, and all negotiations were broken off.

In August, therefore, the marine officers struck, the wharf laborers came out a few days later, followed by the seamen and draymen, the Newcastle miners were locked out for refusing to hew coal which they believed to be intended for employers engaged in the strike, and in September the shearers were ordered to join the others. The strike spread from Victoria to New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, and there was a general cessation of trade.

The Mayor of Sydney and other gentlemen offered their services as mediators, but for some time with no success. The efforts of labor leaders were at first directed to keep other bodies of men, such as the gas-workers, from joining the strike, because they feared that the funds would prove inadequate if any addition was made to the number of strikers. Eight hundred men, divided into gangs, were appointed to watch the wharves of Sydney, relieving each other every four hours; but in spite of their efforts many non-unionists reached the wharves, and were there provided with food and shelter, that they might

avoid passing the pickets. The unionists were, however, successful in stopping almost all the steamer traffic, and agriculturists were prevented from disposing of their produce. Food became very dear in consequence, and butter rose to as much as 2s. 9d. a pound. It soon became evident that unless special precautions were taken great disorder would ensue, and additional police were therefore drafted into the large towns, beginning with Brisbane.

Some disorder did prevail, but was put down, and the striking unions gradually found themselves losing.

In Queensland the strike was less serious than in Victoria and New South Wales, because the Queensland Labor Federation ordered the execution of all existing contracts, and the shearers returned to work after being out only one week. In other trades it was found possible after some difficulty to obtain non-union labor; and by October the strike was practically at an end throughout the colonies.

In 1891 the shearing difficulty was renewed in Queensland and New South Wales, and a strike of much longer duration took place. At the end of 1890 the various pastoralist unions became federated, and drew up an agreement, which was rejected by the shearers' unions in January, 1891. The pastoralists, in consequence, procured free labor, and the Queensland shearers went on strike for a period of five months. In June the Shearers' Union of New South Wales refused to accept the pastoralists' agreement, and resolved by ballot to take no part in shearing unless the employers would consent to dispense with free labor. This the employers refused. Victoria remained unaffected by the strike, and in South Australia a conference was called between the two unions, which decided to allow the use of free labor. In Queensland the shearers were enabled to hold out for five months by establishing free camps in the bush, where the men on strike could be maintained at the minimum of cost. Their funds were augmented by contributions from other districts and colonies, especially from South Australia. No measures were left untried to prevent the importation of free labor from Victoria. "Obstacles were placed in the way of trains, bridges were weakened, armed mobs of men traveled about the country burning and destroying the property of the pastoralists." It was soon found necessary to call out the volunteers, and to draft troops and police to the disturbed districts to protect laborers on their way to work against the unionist patrols who watched the borders of Queensland and New South Wales, and to secure the property of the pastoralists.

Armed resistance to the government was advocated as preliminary to a general revolution throughout Australasia, and attempts were made to bring the railway servants and even the military over to the side of the strikers. Throughout March, April, May, and June arrests were frequent. Meanwhile, shearing was carried on by means of free labor, and since the strike could not accomplish its objects and funds were exhausted, it was declared off on June 15. In New South Wales, where the shearing season falls later, many attempts were made to prevent the employment of free labor, but in spite of in-

timidation and violence men were dispatched from Sydney and Melbourne, and the work was accomplished. The pastoralists, in their official statement, state their opinion that the failure of the strike shows clearly that unionism cannot overcome federation on the part of employers.

Such is an account of these strikes, abridged from the account in the report of the English Royal Commission on Labor for Australia. It was the failure of these strikes that crystallized the Australian political labor movement. The movement began in New South Wales.

Previously there had been a few working men elected as trade-unionists, but none on a distinctively labor platform. A great impetus was given to the movement by the vivid and eloquent speeches of the distinguished Radical, "the great Pro-Consul," George Grey, ex-Governor of New Zealand, South Australia, and South Africa. Although nearly 80 years old his speeches drew great crowds and excited wide influence for labor. A ministerial crisis came unexpectedly in May, before the party was ready; yet with little organization and less money the Labor Party succeeded in electing in June no less than 37 members to Parliament. For the 37 Labor members returned no fewer than 75,765 votes were cast, the total polling for all Labor candidates being 103,787; for the 49 Ministerialists returned, 90,349 votes were cast; for the 50 Oppositionists, 65,539 votes; for 5 Independents, 8849 votes. It will thus be seen that a great many more votes were cast for the 37 Labor members than for the 50 Oppositionists. Since then the growth of the party has been steady. To-day, although details of the last elections are not available, the Labor Party nominates candidates for every vacancy. In New South Wales the socialist vote with the Labor Party. The six points of their fighting platform run as follows:

1. Land value taxation.
2. Mining on private property.
3. Abolition of the Upper House.
4. Local government on a democratic basis.
5. National bank, with sole right of issue.
6. Legislative limitation of the working day to eight hours.

South Australia has not been so progressive in independent labor politics, but the first 10 candidates a Labor Party has nominated there were all elected. South Australia, being more largely agricultural than the other colonies, has perhaps in its more scattered population the reason why its labor movement is less organized than in New South Wales. What political success it has gained is due to the fact that alone among the Australian colonies (New Zealand not included) it has manhood suffrage for elections to the Lower House, with the slight property qualification for suffrage on elections to the Upper House. The result is the 10 Labor members of the Lower House above referred to, elected in 1893, and four or five members in the Upper House. All political parties, however, in South Australia bid for the Labor vote, and the Ministry is so far in favor with Labor measures that it has been called a Coalition Ministry.

Victoria has done still less in the development of a distinct Labor Party. "Laggard Victoria"

**Labor
Parties.**

the Australian socialists call the colony. There is, however, there something of a Democratic-socialist movement which has elected five socialist members to Parliament.

Queensland is marked in social reform as having the most uncompromising and revolutionary, tho not the largest socialistic Labor Party in Australia. There are 16 Labor members in the Assembly, and they are influential out of proportion to their number.

The Australian socialists assert that "the great bugbear to progress is the Upper House, or Legislative Council, as it is called. This body is based on the lines of the House of Lords in England. Its members are nominated for life by the ministry in power with the approval of the governor, who as viceregal representative has power of veto over all bills, while an actual change in the constitution itself requires the Queen's sanction."

Political reform, however, has had considerable development in Australia. (See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM; also, for the Australian system of land registration, see TORRENS.) There has

been considerable agitation in Australia for proportional representation, but as yet with slight results.

Political Reform. Currency reform has its various advocates in Australia, and especially bimetalists and others who declare that the great Southern Continent, like the rest of the world, has suffered from the appreciation of gold. Yet little of importance has been accomplished in the way of reform. For good or for evil, Australian finance is still ruled by English gold. Free trade and protection have played a large part in Australian politics.

Says an Australian socialist:

"In the Australian colonies the chief line of party denunciation is the fiscal issue. Either free trade or protection claimed each member of the Legislature as its victim. It was only when labor came upon the scene that a party rose pledged to 'sink' the fiscal issue as being of secondary importance to the great mass of people. Land reforms, and especially the single tax idea, have, as already stated, considerable hold in Australia, tho not at all the hold that they have in New Zealand. In Australia, South Australia leads in this. The peculiar social reform characteristics of South Australia, and especially its favorable attitude to land taxation, are probably due to the fact that it was colonized under the auspices of a company called the South Australian Colonization Association, and largely under the influence of idealists. One of the conditions was that the land should not be sold for less than £1 per acre, and that the revenue thus arising should be used for the immigration of agricultural laborers and the construction of public works. Adelaide preserves the memory of this association in the naming of some of its streets for Mill, Hare, etc."

The single tax idea was much helped in Australia by a visit from Henry George in 1890.

One point in Australia is of special interest. It is said that "Australia is a continent without an orphanage, a country without an orphan. Each waif is taken to a receiving-house, where it is cared for until a country home is found. The local volunteer societies canvass their neigh-

borhoods and send to the Children's Committee of the Destitute Board the names and circumstances of such families as they have found where children may be placed. The Children's Committee selects that home which it judges is best adapted to the development and care of the child in question. No child is placed in a family so poor that the child might suffer hardship. The foster-parents receive a sum averaging \$1.25 per week for the care of the child, and for proper clothing. When of school age the child must be in school. The local volunteer committee looks after its care and culture, and zealous neighbors often assist in watching the growth and education of these happy children. When the child is 14 years old he begins to work. His earnings are placed in the postal savings bank, and at 17 or 18 he goes out into the world an independent man. The State, at an expense of less than \$70 a year, has raised a man or woman to contribute to its wealth, and prevented the manufacture of a criminal, and the expense of courts, prisons, and reformatories."

In Victoria and the other colonies there is a cumulative voting, property owners being entitled to more than one vote. All through Australia, on the other hand, there is a strong agitation for woman's suffrage, it being delayed mainly by the disagreement as to whether to give woman's suffrage with an educational qualification or no. The conservative element favors woman's suffrage, with the qualification affixed, believing that it will serve its interests.

One problem that has vexed Australia considerably is that of the immigration and importation of cheap labor. The importation of Chinese labor is more or less common to all Australia. According to the latest returns, there were 41,000 Chinese in Australia and New Zealand, engaged mainly in mining, agriculture, shopkeeping, and furniture-making. The latter industry seems to have become peculiarly theirs. In Victoria there are 9377 Chinese, 2994 engaged in gold-mining, at weekly wages of from \$5 to \$7.50. The immigration of the Chinese, however, has, after an intense excitement, been carefully restricted in all Australia. The naturalization of the Chinese is forbidden; in New South Wales £100 must be paid for every Chinaman landed; in Queensland £500 must be paid, unless the Chinaman has a special permit.

Kanaka labor has been another "burning question." Particularly has the introduction of Kanaka labor been a source of grievance to the trade-unions of Queensland. The Kanakas have been introduced mainly to work on the sugar plantations. The claim has been that white labor was unsuited to this work in this climate, while it was a good thing for the Kanakas, they going back to their Pacific island to carry home the benefits of civilization. On the other hand, the trade-unionists have asserted that this was simply an excuse to get cheap labor, that the importation of the Kanakas was simply a slave traffic, the Kanakas being decoyed from their island by the promise of *fire water* and being abused on the voyage, as in the horrors of the old slave ship. There is probably some exaggeration in this, but that the system is simply a way to get cheap labor there can be no question.

It was proposed at one time to introduce coolies from India into Queensland, as was done into South Australia in 1882, but the Indian Government would not allow the coolies to be imported to work in the mines, and the Queensland planters preferred Kanakas that had no government to protect them. Finally, however, mainly from the agitation of the trade-unions and the Labor Party, aided in part by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, after a struggle of 20 years Kanaka labor has become so strictly controlled as to be practically ended. In Queensland the latest victory of the Labor Party along this line has been to compel the government to turn the Kanakas out of the mail steamships of the British-India Company and to maké the company carry Europeans in their place. Such are the main developments of social reform in Australia apart from State socialism. To this, however, we must give especial attention. The following account of Australian railroads is abridged from the United States Consular Report for August, 1894, by Daniel W. Maratta, consul-general at Melbourne. He says :

"By way of showing, comparatively, the progress of railways in Australia, it may be remarked that here there is one mile of railway to each 344 inhabitants, as against 1888 in Great Britain, and 350 in the United States.

Railroads. "The aggregate of the national debt of the colonies would appear to be disproportionate when compared with the limited population of Australia, and complaints have frequently been made in the English press that the colonies are unmindful of the *feeling lenté*, and all the good advice that convenient adage is supposed to infer. The adverse criticism has not, however, up to the present had a shadow of justification. Let it be remembered that the money borrowed has not been sunk in undertakings which will give no return, but has been expended in works which are productive, yielding a direct return on the capital, and representing a greater value than the original cost; for instance, the New South Wales lines, costing about £34,500,000 (\$167,870,000), are estimated to be worth more than £40,000,000 (\$194,640,000). Further, the money has been spent in developing large resources, which add to the wealth of the colonies. It is wise to emphasize this point, as it seems to have been overlooked to a large extent. In Europe the national debts of the various countries have been incurred principally through the expenses of prolonged wars, and the money has gone beyond recovery; but in these colonies the expenditure is represented by public works, which are more valuable than the entire national debt, and pay a direct return, in some cases, equal to the interest due upon the capital invested.

"The railways in all the colonies, with the exception of one or two lines, belong to the State. In New South Wales, the first railways were projected as far back as 1846, and a few years afterward a company—the Sydney Tram and Railways Company—was formed. The company undertook the construction of a line from Sydney to Parramatta, a distance of 14 miles; but as the capital became absorbed before the work was completed, the company was unable to carry on operations, and in the end the Government had to take the line, which was finished on September 26, 1855.

"A company also contemplated constructing a line from Newcastle to Maitland, but was unable to surmount the preliminary difficulties.

"There are in New South Wales two important public lines constructed and maintained by private companies: (1) the railway between Deniliquin, in Riverina, and Moama, on the Murray River, 45 miles in length; (2) a private line between Broken Hill, Silverton, and the South Australian border (35 miles), connecting with the South Australian lines, which, owing to the large traffic done with the Broken Hill mines, has been a financial success.

"There is a considerable number of private minor lines, principally running to coal mines. In the Newcastle district there are 200 miles of private lines almost entirely used for the coal traffic.

"In Victoria, the railways are under State control, altho they were initiated by private enterprise. By

March, 1853, three companies had been incorporated and secured extraordinary concessions in the shape of land and guaranteed interest. The Melbourne and Murray River Company was forced to sell to the government in 1855, before any of their lines had been opened for traffic. The Geelong-Melbourne Company followed the same course in 1860, and only the Hobson's Bay Railway Company held its own for some years, but in 1878 it sold its interests to the government for the sum of £1,320,800.

"The system of placing the railways under the management of commissioners, and practically separating them from political control, has been adopted in the four principal colonies, and, as already stated, experience is proving that the change has been a very wise one.

"In Western Australia railway construction is in its infancy. There are 204 miles of line constructed and managed by the Government, and, in addition, about 453 miles of lines are owned by private companies. The first line was opened as recently as July, 1876, and latterly much progress has been shown, the land-grant system having to some extent been adopted.

"In Queensland, the railways are owned by the State, the first line having been opened in July, 1865.

"The railways of the colonies have been comparatively free from terrible accidents. During the period 1892-93 there were no fatal accidents upon New South Wales railways to passengers from causes beyond their own control, and the proportion of injuries to passengers was 0.4 per 1,000,000. . . ."

But this is not a complete view of Australian State socialism. It may be supplemented by the following quotations from Sir Charles Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain* :

"The railways are used for the spread of education, and in New South Wales and some other colonies the school children are carried free of charge. In Victoria remissions of fares are made in the case of students in the schools of mines and in the schools of design. Specially low rates exist in all the colonies for suburban traffic. The fares in the neighborhood of Melbourne, for a district nearly 30 miles across, are, for single journeys, 1*d.* a mile, first-class, and 3/4*d.* a mile second-class; and return tickets are given at 3/4*d.* a mile, first-class, and 3/4*d.* a mile second-class; while monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly tickets are granted at great reductions even upon these low rates. The result is a wonderful spread of suburban railroad traveling, and the custom in Victoria is so developed that out of the large number of persons working in Melbourne who come in by train every day, a considerable proportion come to the town a second time in the evening to visit the theaters. The lowness of railway fares in Victoria is the more striking when we remember that wages are twice as high for shorter hours as they are in England, and that coal costs nearly twice as much. No one in Victoria now advocates private ownership of railways (p. 108).

"Not only have the State railways of Victoria been placed under non-political management, but this has been the case with the public departments generally. The commissioners appointed to free the public service from the former incubus of political patronage are as well paid as the judges, and as free from pressure of any kind. The Civil Service Commissioners of Victoria, who are three in number, began their work some five years ago by visiting every place in the colony where public officers were stationed, learning the nature of their duties, determining their relative importance, and classifying the officers accordingly. Salaries were systematized and made uniform in all departments, and appointments and promotions are now determined by the board (pp. 199-200).

"The principle of Government cooperation with localities has been carried into a large number of different fields in the colony of Victoria: tramways, for example, are constructed by municipalities on Government loans, the State borrowing money for the municipalities on the best terms which the colony can command in the market, but the municipalities ultimately becoming the owners of the lines (p. 203).

"In Victoria the municipalities will become the owners of the tramway lines without purchase and without payment. The tramway companies, in the mean time, are forced to repair the adjoining roads, and the municipalities have not merely the reversion of the lines themselves, but in Melbourne alone have obtained from the companies nearly 40 miles of excellent wood pavement, while the companies are paying a large dividend upon their shares (p. 203).

"But the most notable instance in Victoria of the characteristically Victorian effort to unite central action with local knowledge and local control is seen in the irrigation system, which will change the whole physical aspect of the country, as well as affect its political future (p. 204)."

So far, Mr. Dilke. It must be remembered, however, that there is another side. State socialism is not socialism, and State socialism in Australia has many blots. Perhaps the best statement of the unfavorable view is the chapter on *State Socialism in the Antipodes*, by Charles Fairfield, in *A Plea for Liberty*. Among other things, Mr. Fairfield says :

**Unfavorable
View of
Australian
Socialism.**

"During the last 20 years professional office-holders, paid legislators, half-educated dreamers and enthusiasts in Australasia have attempted to satisfy these new and vague longings ; to enact the part of a State socialist 'stage uncle' toward the Democracy there, but have never had sufficient thoroughness or daring to carry out socialistic or collectivist maxims and theories of government and society, maxims and theories which, at all events, are consistent, precise, and of logical obligation, if once we grant the socialist's premises. State socialism in the Antipodes has therefore been a hybrid affair—the tentative experiment of men who hoped to do partly, and without committing themselves too far, what thoughtful socialists and collectivists tell us they can do completely, if we will only give them a free hand. Experiments in cryptosocialism, tried upon a society at base free, commercial, modern, English, would long ago have broken down on the financial side, had it not been that the legendary repute of those lands for natural wealth, such as gold, wool, a fruitful soil, and a fine climate, has tempted investors in Europe to fling their money at the heads of Australasian borrowers. Latterly, as the frightful cost and necessarily unproductive results of State socialism became apparent to colonial ministers, they have, to prevent a collapse of the whole thing, been driven to apply for ever-recurring loans in Europe on false pretences. . . . (153). The truth is, that nothing definite can be known about the finances of the Australasian colonies.

"State socialism there dares not present a genuine balance sheet. As may also be said of the French Republic at this day, there is in Australasia no system of public accounts similar to that which prevails in Downing Street. In Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and New Zealand the control of expenditure by local parliaments is really very weak. No attempt has been made to introduce the imperial system of simple, methodical, and exact account-keeping. Audit or check upon public expenditure is loose and ineffective in all the colonies.

"If we in England really understand the system of book-keeping, and the object on which debts are spent in Victoria, we know more than the colonists themselves know.

"Meanwhile, for years past reports of imaginary surpluses, as well as misleading and worthless 'official' statistics, have been circulated in the Australasian colonies, and have been carelessly reproduced here. The statement is constantly put forward, for example, that the Victorian State railways, which are supposed to represent an expenditure on productive public works of the bulk of the money borrowed by that colony since 1865, honestly earn a surplus in excess of the interest on their cost. That statement is not and never has been true. The memorandum from the Railway Commissioners read with the budget statement in the Victorian Assembly on July 31, 1890, at last frankly admits that the earnings of the State railways fell short of the accruing interest for the year by more than £220,000." . . . (155).

References : Among the best books on Australia are Blair's *Cyclopedia of Australasia* (1881); *The Statesman's Year Book*; various Australian statistical reports and blue books; Westgarth's *Half a Century of Australian Progress* (1880); Tregarthen's *Australasian Commonwealth* (1893); *The Report on Australia* of the (British) Royal Commission on Labor (vol. II., 1893); Sir Charles Dilke's *Problems of Greater Britain*. For the unfavorable view of so-called Australian socialism, see Charles Fairfield's chapter on *Socialism in the Antipodes*, in *A Plea for Liberty*. *The Journal of the Department of Labor of the New Zealand Government*,

a monthly (ed), published by the Government printer, S. Costall, Wellington, N. Z., gives considerable information about Australia.

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM.—

The Australian ballot system was introduced into the United States in 1888. The purpose of this system is to secure secrecy of the ballot and prevent partisans from intimidating and corrupting voters. It was adopted first by the State of Massachusetts and the city of Louisville, Ky. The so-called Saxton Bill, which passed the New York Legislature in 1888 and 1889, embodied the principle of this system, but it was declared unconstitutional, and vetoed by Governor Hill. By his advice a reformed ballot bill was introduced in the Legislature in 1889, but was not passed. In the following year a compromise of the Hill and Saxton bills resulted in another bill, which was successful, and which was amended in 1891.

In 1889 the Legislatures of several States followed the lead of Massachusetts, and passed laws adopting this system of voting. These States, in the order given, were as follows : Indiana, Montana, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Minnesota, Missouri, Michigan, and Connecticut. These laws were similar to that of Massachusetts, with the exception of that of Connecticut, which differed considerably from it. In 1890 laws were passed by the Legislatures of Washington, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, and Vermont, which were more or less modifications of the Australian system.

In 1891 laws founded upon the Australian system were adopted by the Legislatures of the States of Arkansas, California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, West Virginia, and the Territory of Arizona; and in 1892 Iowa and Mississippi followed suit. Thus there are (1895) but 10 States and Territories which have not adopted this method. These are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and the Territories of New Mexico and Utah. A reformed ballot bill passed one branch of the Kansas Legislature.

The distinctive feature of this system is that the names of all the candidates are placed on one ticket, and the names of all for whom the citizen does not wish to vote are crossed off by a blue pencil, provided by the authorities. Directions are given on each ticket, clearly printed in red ink, as to how many candidates must be voted for. If one votes for more than the limited number of candidates his vote is irregular.

In New York and New Jersey the laws require that each party ticket be printed on a separate ballot, and therefore no marking is required for straight voting. In New York the paper ballot is permitted, for the benefit mainly, it is claimed, of the blind and the illiterate. In all the other States which have adopted this system the single ballot is used. The names of all the candidates are printed on one sheet, and the voter indicates his choice by marking. There are two ways of grouping the names of the candidates. In the Australian plan the titles of the offices are alphabetically arranged, the names of the candidates being attached, and also usually their party connection.

AUSTRIA AND SOCIAL REFORM.—Austria, or Austria-Hungary, its present political name, grew up from the small margraviate Austria (German: *Osterreich, Oesterreich*—*i. e.*, the Eastern Country) founded by Charlemagne in the eighth century, and raised to a duchy by Emperor Frederic I. in the twelfth century, the crown of which is hereditary since 1282 in the family of the Habsburgs (their name deriving from the Habichtsburg or hawk castle in Switzerland) and since 1780 in the branch of Habsburg-Lorraine. It embraces now the kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, Dalmatia, and Croatia-Slavonia; the archduchies of lower and upper Austria; the duchies of Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, and Bukovina; the principalities of Transylvania, Tyrols, and Vorarlberg; the margraviates of Moravia and Istria; and the counties of Goerz and Gradisca. (The Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied after the suppression of the mutiny of 1878, have been since under the administration of Austria-Hungary, but are not yet formally incorporated with it.)

I. STATISTICS AND HISTORY.

Austria has an area of 246,942 square miles, and, according to the estimates of the census of December 31, 1890, a population of 43,000,000. With regard to nationality it consists of 11,000,000 Germans,

Population.

7,000,000 Magyars, 7,000,000 Czechs (Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak), 5,000,000 Ruthenians, 4,000,000 Poles, 3,000,000 Serbs and Croats, 3,000,000 Roumanians, 2,000,000 Slovans, and 1,000,000 Italians. With regard to religious belief there are 27,000,000 Roman Catholics, 5,000,000 Greek Catholics, 4,000,000 Protestants, 4,000,000 Byzantine Greeks, 2,000,000 Jews, and 1,000,000 Armenian Catholics, Unitarians, and non-Christians. With regard to occupation the population consists of 12,000,000 farmers and farm hands, 4,000,000 manufacturers, 2,500,000 day laborers, 1,500,000 house servants, 1,000,000 commercial people, 400,000 proprietors, pensioners, and rentiers, 280,000 active soldiers, 200,000 miners and smelters, 150,000 professors, artists, and authors, 100,000 teachers, 100,000 lower government servants, 90,000 government officials, 60,000 ecclesiastics, 25,000,000 family members, and a remainder of 700,000 of various or unknown occupations.

These statistics show the very great diversity of race, language, religion, and condition which prevail in the empire, and an understanding of which, in part at least, is necessary to understanding the social problems and conditions of the empire. Says the Report on Austria of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor:

"The modern history of Austria is a history of territorial contraction combined with a process of political consolidation, resulting in the increased force that comes from a concentration of energy. The wars which preceded the downfall of the Napoleonic despotism, and the reactionary and autocratic policy of the Emperor Francis and his minister Prince Metternich make the history of the earlier years of the century comparatively unimportant from an economic point of view. It was only with the 'great uprising' of 1848 and the accession of the present emperor that social questions were once more brought prominently forward; and though, when the fear of revolution had passed away, the promises made under the immediate pressure of danger were for the most part forgotten, the interests of the working classes and their claims to consideration were never again entirely neglected, and, as Professor Bryce has said of Germany, 'after the first reaction had spent itself . . . a real though slow progress toward free constitutional life' may be observed. . . .

History.

"When the Emperor Francis Joseph began to reign, the popular movement of 1848 was at its height in his dominions. The revolt and reconquest of Vienna and the national risings in Italy, Bohemia, Croatia, and

Hungary immediately preceded his accession to the throne left vacant by the abdication of Ferdinand II. The declaration of Hungarian independence and the prompt suppression of the Magyar patriots, with Russia's help, the reconquest of Northern Italy, and the abrogation of the constitution granted to Austria in 1849 followed closely on his acceptance of the imperial crown. Then came a period of renewed absolutism, when Austria, in close alliance with the Catholic party, ruled as before over a loosely compacted mass of heterogeneous nationalities and acted as the leading spirit in the Germanic Confederation. The war of Italian independence, however, and the gradual rise of the Prussian power under King William I. and Count Bismarck completely changed the position of affairs. The quarrel over Schleswig-Holstein and the war between Austria and Prussia led in 1866 to the formation of the North German Confederation and the severance of Austria, 'with her German population of 7,000,000,' from the Germanic body. The final loss of Italy followed, but a remnant of the Italian-speaking population still remained in the Adriatic provinces, and thus Francis Joseph was left to rule an empire in which the German nucleus was almost overwhelmed by alien elements—Magyar, Slav, Roumanian, and Italian—and, as Mr. Pyffe puts it, 'the political life of Austria became a series of distracting complications.'

"The period between 1866 and Count Taaffe's accession to power, in 1879, a time when Austria played an important part in European politics, was also marked by many, and, on the whole, salutary changes in the internal constitution of the empire.

"After the war with Prussia the Emperor assumed a still more conciliatory attitude, especially toward Hungary. Count Belcredi, the supporter of Federalism and of the national aspirations of the Slavs, was dismissed from office in February, 1867, and the reconciliation with the Magyars was finally cemented by the coronation of Francis Joseph as King of Hungary (June 8, 1867), and the establishment of the dual system which still prevails in the empire.

"According to this system, the kingdoms and provinces which make up the dual monarchy or empire of Austria-Hungary are divided into two groups, the 'Austrian dominions' and the 'Hungarian dominions,' united under one dynasty and having certain specified home and foreign affairs in common with one another. To Hungary were granted freedom of the press, equality of all citizens before the law, the right of combination and public meeting, and full religious toleration, while the control of taxation and the power of increasing the army were intrusted to the representatives of the people sitting in the Hungarian Reichstag, or Legislative Assembly, and in the Croato-Slavonian Diet. At the same time Austria received a responsible ministry, acting in concert with a bi-cameral Reichsrath. Special delegations, returned by the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian Reichstag, were to legislate for all matters in which both component parts of the empire were concerned, while such subjects as were not expressly reserved to the Reichsrath were to be debated in the provincial diets. In addition to the Imperial Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance, special departments were formed for the government of the dependencies represented in the Reichsrath and of the dependencies of the Hungarian crown. Subordinate to these departments were the provincial authorities, and beneath these again were the district and communal authorities. There were also commercial courts and various provincial and district courts of justice, with appeals to the supreme judicial courts. Industrial questions, as before, usually fell under the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil authorities. The political events which followed the conclusion of the long Hungarian struggle, the Franco-Prussian War, and the consolidation of the German Empire, need hardly be touched on here, since they only indirectly affected the Austrian labor question. More important from an economic point of view is Count Hohenwart's unsuccessful attempt to reconstitute the empire on a 'national' basis and to place Galicia and Bohemia in the same position as Hungary. The separatist tendencies of Bohemia were crushed, but the next few years (1872-74) were marked by a reaction against the influence of the Papacy, and by the passing of an Electoral Reform Bill, which substituted the system of direct election of the members of the Reichsrath for the former system of indirect election through the provincial diets, though it preserved the principle of proportional representation. The Eastern complications, which resulted in the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878), brought an increase of territory to Austria by the cession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and added a new

element to the intricacy of the internal relations with which Count Taaffe was called on to deal when he became Prime Minister in 1879."

Since this event the history of Austria has been closely identified with the social problems of which we treat in the second portion of this article.

The Budget estimate for the common affairs of the monarchy was, in 1895, 152,058,203 florins; the estimate of the total expenditure was 152,058, of which 133,027,338 were for the army and navy. The total debt of Austria in 1893 was 6,064,006,000 florins, the florin being about 50 cents. The revenue of Austria proper for 1893 was estimated at 619,105,779 florins, 110,045,000 from direct taxes, 293,509,632 from indirect, 123,857,130 from railways. The expenditure was estimated at 618,694,237 florins, 4,650,000 for the imperial household, 101,268,120 for the ministry of commerce, 158,328,938 for interest and sinking fund on the public debt.

The peace footing of the Austrian army is 347,297 troops, the war footing 1,753,583. In case of war the number of men who would be obliged to serve in the Landsturm is over 4,000,000. The navy consists of 117 ships, 11 armor-clad.

Austria is principally an agricultural State, her large plains in Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia producing great quantities of surplus grain, mostly exported to Germany and Belgium; fine cattle are raised in her mountainous part, as well as in the "Pusztas" (prairies) of Hungary. Lower Austria, with Vienna, Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, and Styria, are the great manufacturing centers, and export a great amount of hardware, sugar, glassware, flour, woolen goods, gloves, linen goods, and articles of luxury, as amber, meerscham, leather goods, etc. Minerals, poultry, fish, wool, and wine are also produced and exported in large quantities. Unfortunately the profits of all the natural richness and the hard work of the laboring classes go largely into the pockets of a few great estate owners, manufacturers, bankers, and

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trusts. The lower classes are overtaxed, live very poorly, often near starvation, but they are beginning to be aroused by socialistic ideas to claim their share of the profits from the real or seeming vampires, and their malcontentedness is directed principally against the nobility and the Jews.

(For statistics as to the division of the soil, see AGRICULTURE.)

The export and import trade of the Austrian Empire has developed notably during the last two decades, and the total value of the foreign trade has increased almost threefold since 1853. It is true that the rapid increase between 1879 and 1883 was followed by a period of comparative depression, but since the falling off was most marked in the department of manufactured goods, it is probable that it may, in part, at least, be attributed to increased manufacturing activity in Austria itself.

The total exports of Austria, including Hungary, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, were, in 1893, 799,200,000 florins and the imports 683,200,000. There were, January, 1894, 18,038 miles of railway in Austria and Hungary, of which 7124 were owned and 6138 more were worked by the State. (For further consideration of Austrian railways, see the second portion of this article; also RAILROADS, AUSTRIA.)

Austria had, in 1891, 18,666 elementary schools; Hungary, 16,870. Hungary has also 729 institutions for the care of young children, 89 humanistic schools, and 30 prison schools. There are in the empire 437 middle schools, 11 State universities, 45 theological colleges, 7 Government technical high schools, 1500 special technical schools (business, agriculture, art, music, etc.).

According to official statistics, 86 per cent of the children of school age were attending school in Austria in 1891.

There are 16 penal establishments in Austria, and in 1890 there were 29,050 convictions for crime in Austria, 5512 convictions for less serious offenses, 536,301 for misdemeanors; in Hungary, in 1889, 10,880 for crime; 75,964 for less serious offenses. In Austria, 207,915 persons were relieved in 1890, besides 53,152 persons relieved in poorhouses.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

The history of modern social reform in Austria begins with the revolutions of 1848. The years previous to this had been marked in industrial evolution mainly by the decay of the ancient guilds and the development of modern ideas.

The revolutions of 1848 witnessed national political uprisings in Vienna, Italy, Bohemia, Croatia, and Hungary. A constitution was granted to Austria, but was soon abrogated and imperial absolutism in close alliance with the Catholic power reigned supreme. In 1859, however, an industrial code was passed which enjoined upon all manufacturers the maintenance of their relations with the guilds, or the restoration of such relations where they had been discontinued, but the guilds continued to decline in spite of all efforts. Progress was mainly political.

In 1866 Prussia gained the severance of Austria from the Germanic confederation, and Italy soon after gained her freedom. Hungary, too, grew more and more restless, and the Emperor had to grant concessions, till the present dual political system was organized in 1867. Since 1879, when Count Taaffe came into power, the government has been compelled to do more and more for the working classes. This, however, has been forced upon the government by the labor party, which in Austria, more than in most countries of Europe, has been purely socialistic.

A Viennese Working Men's Mutual Improvement Society was started under the influence of Lassalle's agitation in 1867; and on Lassalle's birthday, April 11, 1869, it published the first number of the *Volksstimme*. In 1869 delegates were sent to the German Social-

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ist Congress at Eisenach. The Government now prohibited all socialist meetings, and the socialist agitation had to be concentrated on the effort to obtain freedom of coalition and universal suffrage. In 1872 a Radical Labor Party was formed by a few dissenting members, while the members of the old Labor Party were called the Moderates. The Radicals favored Federalism and the national aspirations of the Czechs, and worked with the Feudal Clerical Party, with whom they had nothing in common save to defeat the Liberals. The Moderates worked with the Liberals, because they believed that nothing could be done for socialism till the old priestly and feudal ascendancy was broken up.

After the German laws against the Social Democrats were passed in 1878, the Austrian socialists, in part, lost heart. The Radicals declared for anarchism and the Moderates for the Liberals. The Austrian Christian socialists supported the Ministry of Count Taaffe in legislative reforms. Between 1882 and 1884 the anarchists attempted much violence in Austria; the Government resorted to strong measures, and the socialist papers suffered much. Nevertheless, work went on, the trade-unions became the camping grounds for the socialists, and much propaganda was carried on. From 1886 the movement has made steady progress. In 1888 the conference at Hainfeld, largely through the influence of the *Gleichheit*, Dr. Adler's paper, the Moderates and those Radicals who were not anarchists came together.

This conference, which sat till January 1, 1889, was attended by representatives of all the divisions of the Austrian Labor Party, in the Slav and Romance, as well as in the German provinces of the empire. The program or declaration of principles then drawn up, and accepted with only three dissenting voices, forms the best illustration of the attitude adopted by the new party. "With this declaration," says Herr Karl Kautsky, who himself took an active part in the conference, "the Austrian Labor Party again took up the position assumed by modern scientific socialism, the same position which German Social Democracy has adopted."

The program of the New Austrian Labor Party, as presented to the Hainfeld Conference, runs as follows: "The Social Democratic Labor Party in Austria aims at winning for the whole people, without distinction of nationality, race, or sex, freedom from the fetters of economic dependence, abolition of political disqualifications (Rechtslosigkeit), and deliverance from intellectual degradation (geistige Verkümmern). The cause of the present unsatisfactory conditions is not to be sought in isolated political provisions, but in the fact which molds and governs the whole state of society, that the instruments of labor (Arbeitsmittel) are monopolized by a few proprietors (Besitzender). The

working classes, who have the power to labor, thus become the slaves of the capitalistic class, who possess the instruments of labor, and whose political and economic supremacy finds expression in the modern State. Private ownership in the instruments of production, which indicates politically a State founded on class distinctions (Klassenstaat), signifies economically the increasing poverty of the masses (Massenarmuth), and the growing degradation of ever-widening sections of the population (Volksschichte)."

The party thus, as was recognized in the speeches which followed the introduction of the program, began by adopting the standpoint of Karl Marx, and recognizing that a certain social and economic development must precede the full acceptance of socialist principles.

The Hainfeld Conference gave the Austrian Labor Party a compact organization and a definite plan of action, and its effects were soon felt in the rapid advance made by the Social Democratic movement. The socialist papers obtained a wider circulation meetings, for the propagation of socialist doctrines were held, and many new workmen's associations were founded. The political and economic conditions of the time further favored this development. In 1889 the Liberal Party in the Government appointed a committee to inquire into the advisability of establishing Labor Chambers in Austria. Altho this committee had no practical result, as far as its immediate object was concerned it appears to have brought together a large number of workmen from all parts of the empire, and to have thus indirectly helped on the cause of Social Democracy by acting as an international Austrian conference on a small scale.

Strikes and agitation became common, and the Government again tried repression. Papers were suppressed and the editors of the *Gleichheit* arrested on charges of anarchism. Nevertheless, a second general congress was held at Vienna, June 28-30, 1891.

According to the report presented by the Austrian Social Democrats to the International Congress held at Zurich in July, 1893, the events of the second conference of Vienna convinced the Austrian bureaucracy that the existence of a powerful and determined Social Democratic organization among the working classes could not be ignored, and, recognizing this fact, the authorities permitted the resolutions of the conference to be quietly carried out, and a Social Democratic party to be formed.

The winter of 1892 was marked in Austria by agitation on the part of the Social Democrats against the censorship of the press.

The early months of 1893 saw the opening of "a campaign in favor of universal, equal, and direct suffrage," which was maintained until the autumn session of Parliament. In April universal suffrage was granted in Belgium, and the victory of the Belgian workmen was hailed by the Austrian Social Democrats as an earnest of their own future success.

It was under these circumstances that the May Day celebrations of 1893 took place throughout the empire, and they developed into a gigantic demonstration, not for the eight-hour day only, but also for the suffrage. In Vienna 150,000 men and women marched in military order through the streets. A few weeks later the political victories gained by the German Social Democracy at the ballot-box were celebrated throughout the empire in a series of magnificent meetings, at all of which the pledge was taken to do battle for the suffrage. In July 500,000 working men and women gathered in the very heart of Vienna and declared they would neither rest nor be deterred by any sacrifice until they had won.

On October 10 Count Taaffe introduced his bill, granting a very much enlarged suffrage. Nevertheless, altho by the provisions of the new bill the number of voters in Austria would be doubled, the Social Democrats would only agree to accept it as a move in the right direction. This was the attitude consistently maintained in the various meetings of the working classes which followed on the introduction of Count Taaffe's scheme; and when the German Liberals, the Feudal Clericals, and the Poles, representing respectively the *bourgeoisie*, the landed interest, and the National Party, combined to oppose the bill and to bring about the resignation of the Ministry, Dr. Adler stated that the Social Democrats would "heartily welcome the new constellation in the political heavens, seeing that it at last united all the propertied and privileged classes against the onslaught of the proletariat," and that "now the brawls and squabbles of the nationalities would cease, and the war of classes would begin." The subject of the suffrage is now the principal one before the Austrian Parliament.

Other evidences of the progress made by the agitation of the Social Democracy are the formation of numerous political clubs and the strength of their press. At present the party owns 13 German, eight Czech, and two Polish political papers, exclusive of trade journals. These papers are all weeklies and semi-weeklies, and their circulation grows rapidly. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, published in Vienna, has an edition of 19,000, the edition of the Vienna *Volks Tribune* is 9,000, the circulation of the *Arbeiterinnen-Zeitung* (female workers' paper) is 4,000.

The great obstacle to the spread of socialism in Austria is the presence of the anarchists, with whom the socialists are continually confounded by the Government, tho the two parties are now completely distinct. Roman Catholic Christian socialism has had considerable development in Austria, under the patronage of Prince Lichtenstein and others, but it has meant little more than the Church of Rome taking an interest in political and social questions from the ecclesiastical paternal standpoint. The distinctive trade-union movement in Austria runs parallel with the socialist movement. The Industrial Code of 1859, trying to compel employers and employees to unite in trade guilds, had failed. In 1869 a demonstration in Vienna won the right of combination for working men, and trade-unions slowly developed. A law of 1883 greatly modified the code of 1859. In June, 1891, an interesting report on Austrian trade-unionism was read before the second conference of the Social Democratic Party. According to statistics furnished by the various associations, for which, however, only approximate accuracy could be claimed, it appeared that while the number of trade-unions and mutual improvement societies (*Bildungsvereine*) in Austria had more than doubled since the Hainfeld Conference of 1888, the number of members belonging to these societies had increased more than threefold during the same period. The report puts the total number of trade-unions at about 300, with a total membership of about 60,000. The report further stated that improved rates of wages, reduced hours of work, and the wider extension of labor agitation had proved that the trade-union organization had not been without effect. The publications of the Labor Press had also increased in number and importance, and their circulation had tripled or quadrupled. A resolution in favor of the support of the trade-union movement by the Social Democratic Party was unanimously adopted, and a proposal was made for the formation of special unions for working women.

According to the *Arbeiter Kalender* for 1893, there were in Austria 148 trade-unions and political associations, 143 benefit societies, 296 mutual improvement societies, 51 social unions, 37 provident and distributive societies. (This does not include Hungary.) The chief centers of Austrian trade-unionism are the industrial and populous districts of Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, while about a fifth of the total number of associations are established in Vienna. The highest organization is found in the printing trade and in the textile and metal industries.

Industrial arbitration has had considerable development in Austria. Industrial courts were established by the code of 1869 and committees of arbitration in 1888. Even compulsory arbitration has been advocated by the factory inspectors. In 1887 an act was passed compelling all employers to insure their employees against accidents. The country is divided into districts for this purpose, and in each district an association of 18 members, one third elected by employers, one third by employees, and one third nominated by the Government, controls the insurance.

Cooperation began in Austria from 1850 to 1860, but has not had great development. A union of cooperative societies was organized in Vienna in 1874, with 217 societies in 1892. The same year there were 2501 cooperative societies in Austria, of which 182 were loan societies and about 300 distributive. Post-office savings banks have had more development. The system was established in 1871 by Herr Schaffle, when Minister of Commerce, and by 1891 had 4767 banks, with 847,716 depositors.

The history of railroads in Austria is of interest, showing how she, a great conservative State, has been forced into the State railroad system almost against her will, and how it has prospered and recently become among the most progressive systems in Europe. We take the history of the early years as it is given in Professor Hadley's *Railroad Transportation*:

"When railroads were first invented Austria was the

home of bigoted conservatism. The Austrian Court and statesmen looked upon the new contrivance with a distrust, which was, from their point of view, well founded. Such rapid movement seemed to savor of dangerous radicalism, not to say revolution. The Emperor, in 1836, made up his mind to sign a railroad charter only on the somewhat dubious ground that 'the thing can't maintain itself, anyhow.'

"Railroads insisted on coming, whether monarchical governments liked them or not; and they did so much good when they came that the Government soon decided that they were a good thing, and gave them paternal assistance, either in the form of guaranty of interest or of direct State construction. This period in Austria lasted from about 1840 to 1848; it was a time of active railroad-building. The revolution of 1848 and the Hungarian war threw all industry into confusion. Under these circumstances Austria pursued exactly the opposite policy to that of Prussia. The Prussian Government tried to help railroads by buying them at low prices; the Austrian Government, by selling them at low prices. There can be little doubt that the Austrian Government during this period was greatly influenced by the example of France, and desired not to own its roads, but to have them owned and built by private companies, in systems radiating from Vienna, as the French lines radiated from Paris.

"The system was one which did not bear transplanting. It had grown up and had been found serviceable in France, because France was so closely knit together and centered around Paris so completely. In Austria it was quite different. The country consists of many distinct States, not even bound together by ties of language or of race. That Vienna is the seat of government for them all is scarcely more than a political accident. The conditions of trade are in many respects like those of the United States. They have their international cattle trade and grain trade; their combined rail and water routes on export business; their interstate commerce troubles and their granger troubles. They have a water route of dominant importance—the Danube, competing with their east and west trunk lines. With these and many other through-business complications, it is easy to see that the example of France could only prove misleading. They succeeded in appropriating some of its evil results, with none of its good ones. The State sold many lines in 1852 at about half their cost of construction. So far was this from stimulating the enterprise of private companies that, in 1859, some of the most important connecting links in Austria's trunk-line system were but half built. Her decisive defeat by France in that year was largely due to the unreadiness of her railroad system; and the same thing made itself felt to a less extent in the war with Prussia in 1866.

"The period of listlessness, which ended about the time of the war with Prussia, was followed by a period of wild speculation, which did not end until the crisis of 1873. In spite of stringent legal provisions the same abuses manifested themselves in Austria that had been found in other countries with fewer laws. Construction companies were numerous, and left such a bad name that to call a man 'a constructor' is, in Germany, far more opprobrious than to call him a liar. One example will suffice to show the recklessness, or rather light-headedness, of Austrian speculation at this time. It is all the more noticeable because Haberer, in his *Railroad History*, related it as if it were the most natural thing in the world.

"The crisis of 1873 brought to light a serious defect in Austrian law. While one concern after another went under, the holders of bonds or debentures were resting quietly in the belief that their interests were secured. But when one and another of these roads became unable to pay their interest, the matter was looked into thoroughly, and it was found that the whole debt was unsecured, for a lho there were nominal mortgages on the property, these mortgages had no legal authority, because they were not recorded in the manner prescribed by law.

"The prostration which followed the crisis of 1873 almost forced Austria into a policy of active State interference. This soon took the direction of extension of State ownership. In Hungary this policy had never been completely abandoned. In Austria itself it had been out of favor for twenty years; and this fact, combined with the not over-prosperous condition of the Austrian treasury, made it impossible to move rapidly. Three quarters of the lines are still in the hands of private companies; but matters unquestionably tend in the direction of State management." So writes Professor Hadley.

Since this time the policy of State management has progressed till now about three quarters of the lines

are in Government hands and return to the Government considerable revenue. The Hungarian roads have shown that State roads can be progressive by introducing the famous Zone system, for details of which see ZONE SYSTEM; also RAILROADS, section Austria.

Political economy to-day is strongly developed in Austria, and the new Austrian school is one of the most prominent in modern thought.

The new school was founded about 1871 by Carl Menger, Professor at the University of Vienna. To this school belong Eugen Böhm-Bawerk, formerly Professor at the Innsbruck University, now Chief of Department in the Austrian Ministry of Finance; also Professors Friedrich von Wieser and Emil Sax, both of Prague; Victor Mahaja, Chief of Department of Statistics of the Austrian Ministry of Commerce; also Professor Eugen von Philippovich, of the Vienna University. This school stands squarely against the classical, and is also the opponent of the historical school.

The Austrians lay much stress upon exact observation and exhaustive description of the facts of social life. Upon these they build their theories. They do not confuse the problems of political economy and psychology, yet they seek a more psychological basis than the English economists. Sax, in his work, *Die neuesten Fortschritte der nationalökonomischen Theorie*, defined political economy as adapted psychology. Böhm-Bawerk in Hildebrand-Conrads' *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 1890, expects that the new school will be called the "psychological school." In their method the Austrians meet, on one side, modern philosophy, and on the other modern natural science. Menger maintains the deductive method, and calls his work the "exact method." Böhm-Bawerk calls the method the "isolating one." Menger distinguishes three branches in political economy: the historic and statistic, which must examine and classify all economic acts of the individual and the State; the theoretic-political, which must reduce the same acts to general laws; the practical-political, which must define the rules for everybody's behavior. In this last group he puts social science and finance. The new school has found many disciples in the United States, England, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden.

The works of Böhm-Bawerk (*q. v.*) upon capital are considered among the best treatments of that subject. For further information as to the Austrian school, see POLITICAL ECONOMY.

III. HUNGARY.

Abridged from the Report on Hungary of the (English) Royal Commission.

Altho there is not a labor question in Hungary in the sense that there is one in more highly developed industrial or manufacturing communities, a movement toward the improvement of the moral, political, and social conditions of the working people is certainly gaining ground. This movement is now finding striking expression, as it did a few years since in the counties of Békés and Csanád, in local outbreaks of violent agrarian socialism. Apart from these events, official reports relating to industrial centers would lead to the conclusion that such socialism as there is does not turn in the direction of communism, but is rather the expression of a national and political impulse.

Hungary has only recently entered into the field of manufacturing industry in the large sense. "The efforts of government and financial institutions to foster the growth of native industry have been determined and strenuous. The progress made has been extremely rapid. Factories are being built in considerable numbers; enterprises—commercial, mining, and manufacturing—are being promoted on every side; railway communication has been extended and improved; and, in short, Hungary has

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set to work with the vigor and exuberant hopefulness of a young colony to further her material prosperity." In spite of all this it is true, and must be borne in mind, on the one hand, that in the strictly industrial sphere Hungary is still chiefly a country of small industries or handicrafts, while development of new and large industries is frequently hampered by a lack of skilled labor; and, on the other hand, that the economic strength, as well as the chief labor problems of Hungary, turn upon the natural agricultural and mineral resources of the country.

The industrial law of 1872 was the first law which quite ended the old guild system. It was "a complete victory for the extreme individualistic tendency, which worked out its influence several years later in Hungary as in the rest of Europe." The draft bill laid before Parliament contained a number of compulsory provisions of a socialist character, which were successfully combated and repelled by the liberal individualist party only, as events proved, to be partially embodied in the law of 1884 later on.

The change in the industrial law of Hungary, introduced by the law of 1884, it is stated by Dr. Mandello, "only affected the labor question in a secondary degree. It did not affect it in the first degree, because in the matters which directly relate to the workers only small alterations were made, and with the exception of the introduction of register of work these have not any great importance. But the indirect influence of the law was important, for it certainly strengthened the position of the employer of handicraftsmen, by the institution of industrial guilds, and consequently increased the dependence of the worker in this sphere."

The beginning of a socialist movement in Hungary can be traced back as far as 1867-68. After the agreement with Austria, which established a free administration in the country, it became possible for the working classes to develop and organize themselves, and an agrarian movement, mainly in the heart of the country

and the pest county, took place at about the same time. The movement, however, has been constantly subject to divisions and party strifes, which have prevented its development into a strong movement.

There are at least two socialist parties in Hungary, not to consider smaller differences. One of the chief subjects of division is, how far a socialist should sympathize with the national and race movements, and questions that play so large a part in Austrian politics. Nevertheless, in spite of division, socialism in Hungary has considerable strength. At a Socialist Congress in Budapest, January, 1893, there were 93 delegates, 33 of them from the provinces.

References: By far the best book on Austria and social reform is the *Foreign Report on Austria-Hungary of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor* (1894, price, 2s. 11d.). The best Austrian magazines and papers on social subjects are the *Statische Monatschrift* (the statistical monthly edited by the Imperial Statistical Office); the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (the weekly organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party); the *Monatschrift für Christliche Social Reform* (the monthly organ of the Austrian Christian Socialists). See also Braun's *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt* and Conrad's *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*. The headquarters in Vienna for social reform literature is (1895) Brand's bookstore, 8 Gumpendorfer Street.

AVELING, EDWARD, was born November 29, 1851, of Irish parentage on both sides. He was educated at various schools and at University College, London, and went to Cambridge as Professor Michael Foster's assistant in physiology. He has been Professor of Chemistry and Physiology at New College, and of Comparative Anatomy at London Hospital. He was a member of London School Board, 1882. An avowed atheist, he is Vice-president of the National Secular Society, socialist lecturer, journalist, author, dramatist. His chief works are: *Student's Marx*; *Student's Darwin*; *Botany for Students*; *Geology for Students*; *Physics*; *Biology*; translations of Marx's *Kapital* (vol. i.); Engel's *Socialism*; Haeckel's *Pedigree of Man*; Titchomiroff's *Russia*. He married Eleanor, daughter of Karl Marx.

AVERAGE WAGES. See **WAGES.**

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BAADER, FRANZ XAVIER (1765-1841), was born at Munich, March 27, 1765. His father was a medical practitioner, who was a friend of some of the liberal German bishops of that day, and shared their views. Young Baader declined to follow his father's profession, and adopted that of mining. At the University of Freiberg he was the friend of Alexander von Humboldt. He became interested in speculative philosophy, without, however, neglecting his profession of engineering, in which he greatly distinguished himself. In 1826 Baader was made Professor of Philosophy and Speculative Theology at Munich. In religious matters he desired the reunion of Protestantism and Catholicism, tho a good Catholic himself; and having uttered a remonstrance against the absolutism of the Roman court in 1838, he was deposed from his professorship. He gradually be-

came more and more interested in social subjects. He recommended a theocracy, a State held together by Christian love, which should be equally free from lawless individualism and from despotism. Kaufman in his *Christian Socialism* has summarized Baader's views as follows:

"Without previous and perfect union between God and man, social union can neither be effected nor maintained. Social coordination and subordination must rest on Divine authority. All members of the social organism are what they are by the grace of God. Physical force without spiritual power, compulsion without conviction, fear without respect, interest without love, cannot permanently secure social order.

"Corporate action and association are essential to the common weal, because they imply organized social life. On the other hand, all attacks on property by way of advocating a communistic redistribution is a crime against the common interests of all. The Christian law of mutual affection is the only safeguard against the disintegrating power of individualism.

With the development of the moral and religious life of the nation, social evolution will become possible also, and thus the unhealthy elements of social progress will be eliminated without the adoption of revolutionary measures. At present, he says, the majority of men are the slaves of capital, the production of wealth is carried on at a gigantic scale, while its distribution is alarmingly uneven and unjust. *The Church must provide a new diaconate* to bring about a more equitable redistribution. The most perfect corporation is the Catholic Church; it is, therefore, the best type of social organization. The Church is altogether opposed to the heathenish view of ownership of property, which is purely selfish, and therefore anti-social, separating private from common interests. The Church regards all men as agents and stewards of their possessions for the common good.¹

Baader was, however, not destined to make any attempt to carry out his views, as he died in 1841, only three years after losing his Munich professorship. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of him :

"Baader is, without doubt, the greatest speculative theologian of modern Catholicism, and his influence has extended itself even beyond the precincts of his own Church. The great work of Rothe, *Theologische Ethik*, is thoroughly impregnated with his spirit; and, not to mention others, J. Müller's *Christliche Lehre von der Sünde* and Martensen's *Christliche Dogmatik* show evident marks of his influence."

It is not strange that such a mind should have had great influence, and that Roman Catholic socialism, as in Bishop Ketteler (*q.v.*), should owe very much to Baader.

BABBAGE, CHARLES (1792-1871), studied at Trinity College, Cambridge; in 1816 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society; in 1831 he helped found the British Association; in 1828 he became Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, and devoted much time and money to the building of two great calculating machines. In political economy he has not contributed to economic theory, but by his full and faithful descriptions of characteristic economic phenomena he nevertheless has won a high place. Especially faithful and discerning were his analysis and portrayal of the benefits and effects of the division of labor. Political economy he was one of the first to declare not an exact science, like the mathematical, altho it did depend on "generals being much more frequently obeyed than violated." He was no blind worshiper of Mammon, and sneers at the notion that no calling is respectable which does not produce wealth. In the public interest he believed that inventors should be generously rewarded by the State.

His main works are: *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (1832); *Thoughts on the Principles of Taxation with Reference to a Property Tax and its Exceptions* [exemptions from it] (1848); *Observations on the Decline of Science in England* (1830); *A Comparative View of the Different Institutions for the Assurance of Life* (1826); *Essay on the General Principles which Regulate the Application of Machinery* (from *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, 1829); *The Exposition of 1851, or Views of the Industry, the Science, and the Government of England* (1851); *Passages from the Life of a Philosopher* (1864).

BABEUF, FRANCOIS NOEL (1764-97), called *Caius Gracchus*, was born at Saint-Quentin. Left alone at the age of 16, his youth and whole life was stormy and wild. From the commence-

ment of the revolution he wrote violent articles, and was tried, but acquitted. He edited a paper which he called *Tribun de Peuple*. This took place after the fall of Robespierre. He gradually became more violent, and gathered round him a body of men whose main idea was to put down inequality of condition. "We desire," said they, "real equality or death." They met at the Pantheon (till their public meetings were broken up by Napoleon), and there counseled how to rouse the people to insurrection. They aimed at a real community of goods. The public authorities were to organize industry. Every one was to have a right to lodging, food, *mediocre mais frugale*, clothes, washing, warming, lighting, medical attendance. In May, 1796, they had planned a general uprising, but their plot was discovered a few hours before its execution, and Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to die February, 1797. They stabbed themselves before the tribunal, but life lingered on, and they were guillotined the next day. Babeuf's last words were said to have been: "I wrap myself in a virtuous slumber." His theory of communism was based largely on Morelly's *Code de la Nature*. According to it, "the aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality." "Let all the arts perish," cried its followers, "provided we obtain real equality." Government was to be absolute. No private individual was to be allowed to trade with foreign countries. Even within the country only such publications were to be allowed as taught the unqualified blessings of equality. All were to be dressed alike save for differences of age or sex. Children were to be removed from the family at an early age, to be taught of "civism" and communism. Comfortable mediocrity was the openly expressed ideal.

BACON, FRANCIS, VISCOUNT ST. ALBANS, was born at London, January 22, 1561. He was sent to the University of Cambridge at the age of 13. He entered diplomacy, and was one of the suite of the English ambassador at Paris. He studied law, became a Member of Parliament, Solicitor-General, Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor. He was made Baron Verulam, then Viscount. In 1621 he was convicted of corruption in office on his own confession. After this he devoted himself entirely to science and literature till his death in 1626.

Altho dishonorable in public life, Bacon's fame as a literary and scientific man is of the first order. His life was contemporary with the birth of modern science, and with it his name has always been associated. Altho he may not be the father of inductive philosophy—as he was for long considered—yet his scientific works were wonderful efforts of reasoning for a period when science was in its infancy. As a literary man Bacon always exhibits profound thought expressed in a remarkable and splendid style. There are few subjects with which he did not occupy himself. In his day economic questions did not form a separate study, nor were they of much account. Bacon, however, here and there touches on them, as in *Essay XXXIV., Of Riches*, and in the essay on *Plantations*. He discusses the government of colonies, and says: "Let there be freedom from custom till the plantation

be of strength, and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution." In the *History of Henry VII.* and in other shorter works he shows himself a deep student of human and social philosophy. *The New Atlantis* is a brief Utopia, written between 1614 and 1617, and published after his death in 1627.

Bacon's chief works were his *Essays*, *The Advancement of Learning*, the *Novum Organum*, and the *History of the Reign of Henry VII.*

BAGEHOT, WALTER (1826-77), was born and died at Langport, Somersetshire. He was the son of a banker, and was educated at London University. Called to the bar, he chose to enter his father's bank. He first became known as a brilliant and buoyant literary critic and general writer. In 1858 he married the eldest daughter of James Wilson, editor of *The Economist*, and two years later succeeded to the editorship, continuing thus till his death. He was considered one of the best financiers of his day. His especial service in economics may be said to have been to have reconciled them with history. He had almost unbounded admiration for Ricardo, with whom as a successful man of business he had many points of agreement. "Adam Smith," he said, "discovered the country (of political economy), but Ricardo made the first map." He considered himself the last man of the ante-Mill period. Mill and Cairns had already shown that the old political economy was hypothetic, dealing not with real, but imaginary "economic men," who were simply conceived "as money-making animals." Bagehot showed that the world in which these men were supposed to act was a very limited and peculiar world. "What marks off this special world," he tells us, "is the promptness of the transfer of capital and labor from one employment to another." In history and life, as Bagehot showed, this is not the case. Bagehot therefore endeavored to confine the theoretical portion within its true bounds and to modify it by an appeal to the actual and the concrete. He named his great treatise *Lombard Street*, not *The Money Market*, because he desired to show that he dealt with the concrete and not the abstract. His sympathies were with the capitalists, the people "who spend their minds on little else than on thinking whether other people will pay their debts." Yet to the working classes and trade-unions he was never hostile. His only remedy was *laissez-faire*. As was natural from his position, his best detailed work was in elucidating the orthodox teaching concerning banking and finance.

His main writings are: *Letters on the Coup d'État of 1851*, written to the *Inquirer* (Unitarian organ), 1852, and reprinted in vol. i. of *Literary Studies*; *Parliamentary Reform*, reprinted, with additions, from the *National Review* (1858); *History of the Unreformed Parliament*; *Estimates of Some Englishmen and Scotchmen* (1858); many articles in the *Economist* (1860-77); *Physics and Politics*; or, *Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society* (1872, International Scientific

Series); *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market* (1873); various articles in the *Fortnightly Review*—e.g., *Postulates of Political Economy* (February and May, 1876); *The English Constitution* (1867); *International Commerce: A Practical Plan for Assimilating the English and American Money as a Step toward a Universal Money* (1869; second edition, 1889); *On the Depreciation of Silver* (1877); *Literary Studies* (with a biography of the author), edited by R. H. Hutton, 2 vols., (1879); *Economic Studies* (1880); *Biographical Studies* (1881).

BAKOUNIN, MICHAEL (1814-76).—Bakounin, the father of revolutionary anarchist-communism, was born in Torschok, Russia, of aristocratic and even princely family. Educated for the military service, he became an artillery officer, and was stationed in Poland; but by 1835 became disgusted with Russian militarism, and went to Moscow to study philosophy, reading mainly Hegel and Schopenhauer, in company with Alexander Herzen, the later notorious Russian revolutionist, and others of similar type. In 1841 he went to Berlin and joined the Hegelians **A Communist.** there, becoming particularly acquainted with Arnold Ruge, and writing in his *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, at Dresden. He was led by Ruge to be a communist. In 1843 Bakounin went to Paris, and there made the acquaintance of Proudhon and his writings, and learned to give to his communistic views an anarchistic basis. Going for a while to Switzerland, he identified himself with every revolutionary movement—now advocating the cause of Poland, now declaring a revolutionary internationalism, then appearing and taking part in the Panslavist Congress at Prague in 1848. These inconsistencies won for him the nickname of "the mysterious Russian;" but he went on, consistently or inconsistently, identifying himself with every revolutionary movement. In 1849 he resided for a time in Leipsic, surrounding himself with Czech students, and endeavoring to provoke a fresh rising in Bohemia. When in that year the revolution broke out in Dresden, Bakounin joined it. He was, however, captured during a skirmish and condemned to death. On the eve of being shot he was handed over to the Austrian authorities, and tried by them for his part in the Czech rebellion. Again sentenced to death, he was claimed, this time by Russia, and handed over to her and imprisoned in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, and in 1852 transported to Siberia. These mysterious transfers were said to be on the ground of the *jus prima executionis*; but there were not lacking enemies who declared that he obtained his transfers by betraying his fellow-exiles. Be this as it may, in 1860 Bakounin reappeared in London, having escaped from Siberia by the way of Japan and the United States. He immediately resumed his advocacy of Panslavism, and became more revolutionary than ever. He wrote in Herzen's journal, *Kolokol* (*The Bell*), and exerted wide influence, among other ways, by his brochure, *Romanoff and Pugatcheff*. In 1863 he made his last efforts to aid a Polish insurrection. By

1864 he had renounced Panslavism and declared for revolutionary internationalism alone, and in 1865 went to Italy to organize the revolution there. When the International was formed in London in 1864 Bakounin

The International.

did not at first join it; but soon realizing its power, he threw himself into it and became the leader of its anarchist wing against Marx, the leader of the socialist wing. The names anarchist and socialist were not then used save in a vague way; both Marx and Bakounin called themselves communists, but gradually around these two leaders arose the two distinct movements which have since become the socialist and anarchist-communist movements existing to-day, and completely opposing each other in all European countries. The difference, however, only gradually asserted itself. The International at first was simply an effort to unite the workers of all countries. It stood in various countries for what the workmen of that country made it. In England it meant little more than international trade-unionism; in Germany it meant socialism; in the Latin countries it soon came to mean anarchist-communism. (See INTERNATIONAL.)

At a congress of a so-called peace league in 1867 in Geneva, Bakounin had favored the abolition of centralized States, and the substitution of voluntary federations of independent communes. At the next congress, in 1868, held at Berne, under the presidency of Victor Hugo, he urged joining the International. Failing to convince the assembly, he formed his supporters into a Social Democratic Alliance, the aim of which was to make land and capital the collective property of society, to be used only by agricultural and manufacturing associations. All existing States were to "disappear in the universal union of free associations." The Alliance desired to be recognized as part of the International, but its claim was rejected, whereupon it dissolved after six months' existence, during which it had been active in Spain and Italy, and its sections joined the International separately. At the beginning of 1869 the groups of the International in French-speaking Switzerland organized themselves as the Romance Federation. This speedily split into two sections, one of which, under James Guillaume, a disciple of Bakounin, became the Federation of the Jura. Its members called themselves Federationists, or Autonomists, and stood for Bakounin's extreme views.

On September 28, 1870, Bakounin organized an insurrection at Lyons, which failed. He had prepared the decree which was to pronounce the abolition of the State, but, as his opponent Marx said, two companies of *bourgeois* national guards were sufficient to send him flying to Geneva. In a pamphlet entitled

Letters to a Frenchman (September, 1870) he set forth the line of action that he wished to see adopted by the revolutionists in France, and which the revolution of March 18 was, in fact, about to follow to the letter. The principal points of this program are the following: "The insurgent capital forms itself into a commune. The federation of the barricades is maintained in permanence. The communal

council is formed of delegates, one for each barricade or ward, deputies who are responsible and always revocable. The council chooses from its members separate executive committees for each department of the revolutionary administrative of the commune. The capital declares that, all central government being abolished, it renounces the government of the provinces. It will invite the other communes, both urban and rural, to organize themselves 'revolutionarily,' and to send to a place to be named delegates, with imperative and revocable mandate, in order to establish the federation of the autonomous communes and to organize the revolutionary force necessary to triumph over the reaction. This organization is not limited to the insurgent country. Other provinces or countries may join in it. The communes which pronounce for the reaction shall be excluded from it."

Failing in France, Bakounin resorted to Italy. He had already in 1865 formed a group of active communists in Naples, and this became the Neapolitan group of the International.

In a letter written from Locarno on April 5, 1872, to Francesco Mora, at Madrid, Bakounin thus described the socialistic movement in Italy: "You are doubtless aware that the International and our dear Alliance have lately taken a great development in Italy. Hitherto it was not revolutionary instincts that were wanting, but organization and the revolutionary idea. Both are now established so thoroughly that, next to Spain, Italy is perhaps the most revolutionary country in the world. There is in Italy what is wanting elsewhere—a youth, ardent, energetic, without career, with no outlet, and which, in spite of their *bourgeois* origin, are not morally and intellectually worn out as in other countries. To-day they throw themselves headlong into revolutionary socialism, and our whole program, the program of the Alliance. Mazzini, our 'genial' and powerful antagonist, is dead and the Mazzinian party completely disorganized; while Garibaldi allows himself more and more to be drawn along by this youth of Italy, who bear his name indeed, but who go ahead infinitely faster and farther than he."

This same year, however, Bakounin was to make his break with the Marxian wing of the International. When the congress of the International was to be held in 1872, Marx succeeded in having it called at The Hague, where Bakounin could not come, since he would have been arrested in passing through either France or Germany. At the congress, therefore, Marx had it all his own way. The partisans of Bakounin were defeated, and the general council of the International was transferred to New York City, to remove it from the influence of Bakounin. The Federation of the Jura immediately raised the standard of revolt. They convoked at St. Imier a separatist congress, which declared that it refused to abide by the decisions of The Hague, and that it continued to consider Bakounin and Guillaume as members of the International.

In September, 1873, both the Marxists and the Autonomists held a congress at Geneva, each claiming to be the true International. The autonomists were the stronger. Bakounin appeared to have conquered. It was the last con-

gress of the Marxist International. The real triumph of Marxian socialism was not then apparent. Bakounin retired to Lugano, in Italy, but returned to Switzerland, and died in Berne July 1, 1876, Elisée Reclus, Paul Brousse, J. Guillaume, and others gathering round his grave, and uniting in October of the same year to carry on his work, organizing the cause to which Reclus later gave the name of anarchist-communism. (For the future history of that movement see ANARCHISM.)

Bakounin is said, by Reclus, to have been a man of great thought, strength of will, and untiring energy. By Felix Dubois he is described as a man of no original thought, hungry only for a notoriety to be obtained by any means. He was the embodiment of the revolutionist. He wrote of the International :

"It desires a universal revolution, at once social, philosophical, economical, and political, in order that the existing order of things—which is founded on property, on exploitation, on the principle of authority, whether religious, metaphysical, doctrinaire after the manner of the *bourgeoisie*, or revolutionary after the manner of the Jacobins—may be absolutely overthrown, so that not one stone of it shall remain upon another, first throughout Europe, and then in the rest of the world. Raising the cry of 'Peace for the workers! Liberty for the oppressed!' and 'Death to tyrants, exploiters, and patrons of all kinds!' we wish to destroy all States and all churches, with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, magisterial, academical, economical, and social, in order that all these millions of poor human beings, who are cheated, enslaved, overworked, and exploited—having been at last delivered from their masters and benefactors, whether official or officious, whether associations or individuals—may henceforth and forever breathe in absolute freedom."

His ideal of the future was not formulated. He wrote :

"All reasonings about the future are criminal, because they hinder destruction pure and simple, and fetter the progress of the revolution. . . . The revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no feelings, no property. He ought to be entirely absorbed in one single interest, one single thought, one single passion—the Revolution. . . .

The Revolutionist.

He has only one aim, one science—destruction. For that, and for nothing else, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and sometimes medicine. With the same object, he observes men, characters, the situations, and all the conditions of the social order. He despises and detests existing morality. For him everything is moral that helps on the triumph of the Revolution, everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it. Between him and society there is war—war to the death, incessant, irreconcilable. He ought to be ready to die, to endure torture, and with his own hands to kill all who place obstacles in the way of the revolution. So much the worse for him if he has in this world any ties of relationship, of friendship, of love! He is no true revolutionist if these attachments stay his arm. Nevertheless, he must live in the midst of society, feigning to be what he is not. He must penetrate everywhere among the upper classes, as well as among the middle—into the merchant's shop, into the church, into the Government offices, into the army into the literary world, into the detective force, and even into the imperial palace. . . . He must prepare a list of those who are condemned to death, and dispatch them in the order of their relative misdoings. A new member can only be admitted into the association by a unanimous vote, and after his qualities have been proved, not by words merely, but by deeds. Each 'companion' should have under his control several revolutionists of the second or third degree, not wholly initiated. He should consider them as part of the revolutionary capital placed at his disposal, and he should expend them economically and so as to abstract the greatest possible profit out of them. . . . The most valuable element are women who are completely initiated, and who accept our whole program. Without their aid we can effect nothing."

Bakounin was not a voluminous writer. His best work is probably *God and the State*, which has been translated by B. R. Tucker (1883). His other writings were mainly attacks upon Marx and Mazzini, or violent *Bulletins of the Federation of the Jura*.

BALANCE OF TRADE, the difference between the amount or value of the commodities exported from and imported into a country. The balance is said to be favorable to a country when the value of its exports exceeds that of its imports, and unfavorable when it is *vice versa*. This is derived from the old idea long prevalent, but especially developed by the mercantilists (*q. v.*), that wealth consists only, or at least mainly, in money, and that therefore that country which exports more commodities than it imports must be rich, since it receives money to pay for the excess of its exports. Clement Armstrong, in his *Treatise Concerning the Staple and the Commodities of this Realme* (1530), says : "The holl welthe of the realme is for all our riche commodities to gete owt of all other realmes, therefore redy money; and after the money is brought into the holl realme, so shall all peple in the realme be made riche therwith." This was the universal theory in the middle ages, when there was what has been called a "balance of bargain" theory, each State striving on every bargain to obtain a balance of money. The first real refutation of the theory seems to have been by Nicholas Barbon in 1690, tho it remained largely accepted till the onslaught upon it by Hume in his *Essays* (1752), and the more calm and judicious analysis of Adam Smith. To-day, when it is seen that wealth may consist in many things besides money, the absurdity of the theory is apparent. Provided that one makes a favorable exchange, it matters little whether one pay in money or in commodities. Yet the theory, tho given up by all reputable economists, still occasionally appears in the utterances of so-called statesmen and the writers of editorials, from whom one would look for better things. This assertion of the absurdity of the theory must not, however, be taken to deny that under medieval conditions there was not a certain advantage in receiving money over other commodities, and that even to-day the same may hold for certain monetary reasons; but this is simply for monetary reasons, not for reasons of value of exchange or development of wealth. See Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i., pp. 210-212; J. Janschull's *Englisch Free Trade* (Russian, 1 part, Moscow, 1876); E. von Heyking's *Zur Geschichte der Handelsbilanztheorie* (Berlin, 1882); W. Cunningham's *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, p. 362 (1885); C. F. Bastable's *The Theory of International Trade*, p. 164 (Dublin, 1887); G. Schanz's *Englische Handelspolitik* (1881).

BALL, JOHN (1338-81). The importance of John Ball's position in the annals of social reform comes from his connection with that movement which once and for a few moments only made the laboring class supreme in fourteenth century England. He was born probably about 1338, witnessed the Black Death while a scholar at

St. Mary's, York, and was ordained to the priesthood not long after 1356, becoming one of the class of parochial chaplains, who corresponded among the clergy to the artisan class among the laity. It was toward the end of the long reign of Edward III. and about seven years before Wycliffe raised his voice at Oxford that the "mad priest," as it suited the land-owners to call him, began to prophesy against the evils of his time; and, as John Richard Green has said, "in the preaching of John Ball England first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." And England was ripe for the message. Since the troublous times under Stephen, nearly two centuries before, the land had enjoyed a steady growth of material prosperity, towns had increased in size, guilds of artisans, regulating their own affairs, had grown up, and the class of "free laborers" which had come into being was the thin end of the wedge which was to destroy villeinage. These changes received an impetus first from the famine of 1315-16, and again from the Black Death in 1348, during which crises the poor suffered such hardship that their numbers were greatly thinned, and their services became more valuable in proportion to their scarcity. The landlords and wealthier craftsmen of the towns resisted this rise of wages, and consequently provoked the first quite clearly marked conflict between capital and labor in the annals of English history. At first by royal proclamation, and subsequently by the repeated enactments with added penalties of the famous "Statute of Laborers," every effort was made to defeat the rising prosperity of the artisans and peasants. The scarcity of workers also led to attempts, on the part of the nobles and lawyers, to reduce to serfdom again those who had, in one way or another, attained their freedom. All this of course tended to raise bitter class feeling and active resistance. Successful revolutions are seldom the work of starving men; for empty stomachs are not conducive to the clearness of vision necessary to plan and carry out such movements. The years of prosperity following the Plague of 1348 had done more to open the eyes of the peasants than all the centuries of poor rations which had gone before. The spirit of independence had gone abroad, and every resistance only fanned its flame.

Such were the conditions amid which Ball began his life-work, and for 20 years preached a Lollardry of a coarser and more popular sort than that of Wycliffe. He traveled from place to place, and preached in churchyards and from the market

His Life.

crosses to crowds, which were ever increasing as he incurred the greater displeasure of the authorities. He insisted on the necessity of marriage, on a voluntary priesthood, on the injustice of demanding tithes from poor men; and he particularly denounced those who were trying to force the villeins back into their condition before the Black Death. He was accused before the authorities of manifold errors, and of stirring up strife, and was rebuked by Islip, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and excommunicated, while working in his diocese, by the Bishop of Norwich. From the headquarters which he maintained in Essex his work

extended in all directions, and he gradually became the recognized head of an ever-growing labor party, whose sections in the different parts of the country were united by a great band of itinerant priests, whose office enabled them to travel unsuspected in every direction. While all this was going on events were rapidly preparing the way for insurrection. The peasants were filled with what Professor Rogers calls a "religious socialism." The actual outbreak was delayed by several causes, for the leaders were loth to provoke an appeal to arms, tho as early as 1375 they seem to have decided that it would ultimately be necessary. Between 1375 and 1377 riots were frequent, and the people were held back with great difficulty. Then Edward III. died, and the hopes of the popular party for a better state of things were revived for a short time, while the troubles with the French helped to distract attention from the troubles at home. But when defeat abroad added to misery at home was capped by a fresh tax levy, to which the poor were compelled to contribute as much as the rich, the suffering became unbearable. In the early part of 1381 Ball began sending letters to his party everywhere, saying that the time for action had come. In April he was imprisoned, first in Maidstone jail and then in the Archbishop's palace at Canterbury; but his plans were too well laid to be so frustrated, and in June the storm burst. The people rose simultaneously in all parts of the country. Canterbury, where "the whole town was of their sort,"

Wat Tyler's Rebellion.

was thrown open to the insurgents, who plundered the Archbishop's palace and released Ball, who thenceforth became the heart of the movement, as Wat Tyler was its military head. Then they moved on London, occupied Blackheath and Southwark, and sent their demands to the king, at the same time crossing the Bridge and burning the new palace of the hated John of Gaunt and the hospital of St. John. The best of order and discipline were maintained; gold and silver vessels they smashed with axes, jewels they brayed; they stole nothing. This was on June 11-13. On the 14th the insurgents insisted on a conference with the king, and he came forth from the Tower, and met them almost alone at Mile End, giving assent to their demand: "We will that you make us free forever, ourselves, our heirs, and our lands; and that we be no more bond, or so reputed." He set clerks at work writing charters of manumission, and giving these to them, he bade them go home at once, which many did, thus weakening their strength through division. On the 15th, while Tyler was conferring with the king alone, and under the protection of a safe-conduct, he was murdered by Walworth, the mayor, and the rebels, having lost their chief and leader, fell into the stratagem of the king, who put himself at their head and persuaded them to leave London altogether. Ball seems to have made an unsuccessful attempt to rally the peasants again; but, being caught at Coventry, was hung, drawn, and quartered, after the fashion of the time. "The peasants were dispersed and defeated," says Professor Rogers; "their leaders were tried, sentenced, and hanged; but the solid

fruits of victory rested with the insurgents of June, 1381. Once in the history of England only—once, perhaps, only in the history of the world—peasants and artisans attempted to effect a revolution by force. They nearly succeeded—at least they became for a short time the masters of the situation. That they would have held the advantages they gained at Mile End, had they provided against the tragedy of Smithfield, is improbable. But they caused such terror by what they actually did that they gained all they claimed, and that speedily. The English laborer, for a century or more, became virtually free and constantly prosperous."

FRANCIS WATTS LEE.

References: *English Social Reformers*, by H. de B. Gibbins (London, 1892); *A Dream of John Ball*, by William Morris (London, 1888); *English Popular Leaders*, by C. E. Maurice (London, 1872); in an article on *John Ball*, by James Gairdner, in Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885), and in *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, by W. J. Ashley (London, 1893), a less favorable view is taken.

BALLOU, ADIN (1803-90), was born in Cumberland, R. I. His family was of Norman-French origin. His ancestor, Maturin Ballou, in 1646 aided in founding the city of Providence, R. I. Adin Ballou's parents were Ariel and Edilda, formerly Tower. In 1822 he married Abigail Sayles, who died February, 1829. On March 3, 1830, he married Lucy Hunt.

At 11 years of age Adin Ballou felt a fervor of the Divine spirit, and year by year it developed, and at 18 he preached his first discourse. He became a Universalist, and was listened to with the closest attention. He published many books and pamphlets, and edited many papers on mainly reformatory subjects. In 1841 he was the founder of the Hopedale Community (*q. v.*), in Massachusetts, which, as long as it remained under the management of Mr. Ballou, succeeded in doing the good it started out to accomplish. He did remain at its head for over 10 years, but was finally superseded by an intriguing business man, who got the lead and ruined the community. Mr. Ballou, however, lived on in quiet life until 1890. (For his views, see HOPEDALE.)

"**BALTIMORE PLAN,**" **THE.**—The proposed currency reform known as the "Baltimore plan" received its name from having been proposed at the annual convention of the American Association of Bankers on October 11, 1894, by the Clearing House Association of Baltimore, as a body representing the banking interests of that city.

The "Baltimore plan" is briefly outlined as follows by the editor of the *Engineering Magazine* in an introductory paragraph to two addresses delivered before the convention, which he publishes: "It provides that bond security for national bank-notes shall be abolished; that the banks shall be permitted to issue circulating notes up to 50 per cent. of their paid-up capital (and under emergency conditions an additional 25 per cent. may be named); that the notes of failed banks are to be paid out of a 'Guarantee Fund,' created by an annual tax on all national bank-notes sufficient to cover such failures; that the Government shall have a prior lien upon the assets of each failed bank and upon the liabili-

ties of shareholders, for the purpose of restoring the amount withdrawn from the 'Guarantee Fund' for the redemption of its circulation; and otherwise that the redemption of all national bank-notes and the close scrutiny of all national banking affairs shall be carried on by the Government as at present." It will be seen that practically the only change proposed is the substitution of a guarantee fund for Government bonds as security. From this fund, which, as is specified in the plan, shall be equal to 5 per cent. of the outstanding circulation, the Government is to redeem notes of failed banks. (See BANKS AND BANKING.)

BANDS OF HOPE.—Temperance organizations for juveniles, established in great numbers throughout all the English-speaking countries, frequently as departments of church and Sunday-school work. In the United States the name "Band of Hope" has been generally changed to "Loyal Temperance Legion," although some local organizations are continued under the old name. The Band of Hope pledge in this country is as follows:

"I hereby solemnly pledge myself to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks, including wine, beer, and cider, as a beverage; from the use of tobacco in every form, and from all profanity."

Concerning the Bands of Hope of the United Kingdom, the editorial secretary gives the following information in the *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*:

"The first society called a Band of Hope was formed in England in October, 1847. Temperance societies for children and young people, on a distinctly total abstinence basis, had existed, however, many years earlier, both in the British Isles and the United States. The origin of the first Band of Hope must be jointly attributed to the efforts of Mrs. Carlile, of Dublin, and the Rev. Jabez Tunnickliff, a Baptist minister of Leeds. In August, 1847, Mrs. Carlile visited Leeds to address children in Sunday and day-schools on the subject of temperance. Mr. Tunnickliff, who had occasionally accompanied Mrs. Carlile in her visits to the schools, felt convinced that unless something was done to follow up her labor it would be largely lost. Accordingly, before Mrs. Carlile left Leeds, a meeting was called, an organization was formed, a name was adopted, and a committee was appointed to perfect the plan. The first Band of Hope meeting was held late in October, when about 300 children sat down to tea, more than 200 of them taking the following pledge:

"I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as beverages."

"The movement spread nowhere with greater success than in the county of its birth, where at the present time there are probably over 2000 juvenile temperance societies of one kind or other. In 1851 the first Band of Hope Union was formed. A Union for London was established in 1855, which in 1864 became the 'United Kingdom Band of Hope Union.' County unions rapidly followed, and now cover the greater part of England. The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, with which the various organizations are associated, aims at furthering the interests of the whole movement throughout the country. It assists local unions and societies by means of its lecturers and deputations, by public meetings, conferences, missionary efforts, literature, correspondence, and advice. Its sphere of work is in Bands of Hope, Sunday-schools, day-schools, colleges, orphan asylums, industrial and district schools, training ships, reformatories, and the homes of the children. Its latest and most important effort is the 'school scheme,' by which, through the kindness of munificent friends, the committee is enabled to devote £2000 per annum for the next five years to the delivery of scientific lectures and addresses in day-schools, and to other important educational work."

The latest estimate of the strength of the movement, compiled from the best available

data, shows that there are nearly 15,000 Bands of Hope and juvenile temperance organizations in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, with upward of 1,800,000 members.

BANK OF AMSTERDAM, THE, was founded in 1609, and was long the great warehouse for coin and bullion in Europe. It was at first simply the custodian of the coin and bullion deposited in it, for which it gave receipts which could be transferred from hand to hand. Later, the bank began the practice of making advances upon deposits, or giving credit upon its books, usually to the amount of about 5 per cent. below the mint price of the bullion deposited. This practice eventually occasioned its ruin, because the bank made large advances to the Dutch East India Company and certain provinces in Holland, and during the French occupation of the last part of the last century it was found insolvent. The city of Amsterdam finally paid off those who had the paper of the bank; but though effort was made to revive it, it closed in 1820. Adam Smith gives a full account of the Bank of Amsterdam. He says (*Wealth of Nations*, Book iv., chap. iii.): "Before 1609 the great quantity of clipped and worn foreign coin which the extensive trade of Amsterdam brought from all parts of Europe reduced the value of its currency about 9 per cent. below that of good money fresh from the mint. Such money no sooner appeared than it was melted down or carried away, as it always is in such circumstances. The merchants, with plenty of currency, could not always find a sufficient quantity of good money to pay their bills of exchange; and the value of those bills, in spite of general regulations which were made to prevent it, became in a great measure uncertain.

"In order to remedy these inconveniences, a bank was established in 1609 under the guaranty of the city. This bank received both foreign coin and the light and worn coin of the country at its real intrinsic value in the good standard money of the country, deducting only so much as was necessary for defraying the expense of coinage and the other necessary expense of management. For the value which remained, after this small deduction was made, it gave a credit in its books. This credit was called bank money, which, as it represented money exactly according to the standard of the mint, was always of the same real value and intrinsically worth more than current money. It was at the same time enacted that all bills drawn upon or negotiated at Amsterdam of the value of 600 guilders and upward should be paid in bank money, which at once took away all uncertainty in the value of those bills. . . . These deposits of coin, or those deposits which the bank was bound to restore in coin, constituted the original capital of the bank. . . . At present they are supposed to constitute but a very small part of it. In order to facilitate the trade in bullion, the bank has been for these many years in practice of giving credit on its books upon deposits of gold and silver bullion."

BANK OF ENGLAND, THE, was established in 1694 by act of Parliament (William and Mary, V. c. 20), having been projected by Will-

iam Paterson, a Scotchman, then resident in London, who had carried on a business with America. Its establishment grew out of the Government's need of money. Certain subscribers were ready to loan the Government £1,200,000, and to do this were incorporated for 11 years as the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, and received 8 per cent. on the loan besides £4000 a year for the expenses of management. The bank was authorized to issue notes, to make advances on merchandise, to deal in bills and bullion, and to own property in any form. It was only to deal in bills and bullion. In 1696 the bank was compelled temporarily to suspend payments, but recovered, and in 1697 was allowed to enlarge its capital by £1,001,171, and to double this in 1708. Its charter has been continually renewed by various acts of 1697, 1708, 1713, 1742, 1764, 1781, 1800, 1833, 1844, 1861. In 1708 it was given many exclusive privileges, so that no other joint stock bank was founded in England till after the legislation of 1826. The bank suffered severely from a panic in 1745. Its capital has seldom differed materially from its permanent advance to the public.

The main event in the history of the Bank of England till the enactment of the Bank Act was its suspension of specie payments from 1797-1821. This portion of its history we abridge from Professor Syme's *Political Economy*:

History.

In 1796 England had been for three years engaged in a great war with France. The fear of an invasion had just caused a run on many country banks. These had withdrawn their reserves from the Bank of England, and in 1797 the spare reserve in that institution sank to about £1,000,000. The Government intervened, and an act of Parliament was speedily passed which forbade the bank from paying in specie except in certain specified cases. This of course made the Bank of England notes inconvertible. But the firmness and prudence of those at whose discretion these notes could be issued kept the paper up to its full nominal value in gold for 11 years (1797-1808). Then a depreciation began, and by the year 1814 the price of gold (in notes) increased from £3 17s. 10½d. to £5 4s. per oz. The close of the war led at once to a fall in the premium on gold; in fact, the premium began to fall as soon as a speedy termination of the war became pretty certain. A bill was passed requiring that all notes should be convertible at full nominal value from May 1, 1823. As a matter of fact, the bank had returned to full specie payment over a year before this.

The Bank Charter Act of 1844 was introduced by Sir Robert Peel. Its fundamental object was to limit the power of banks to issue notes. By it the Bank of England was only allowed to have £14,000,000 worth of notes in circulation, in addition to its actual gold reserve; but when any other bank, having the power to issue notes, ceased to exist, the Bank of England was to be allowed to increase its note circulation by not more than two thirds of what the dead bank had been allowed to circulate. Other London banks and all banks started after the passing of the act were prohibited from issuing notes.

Those provincial banks which existed when the act was passed were allowed to continue issuing up to what had been their ordinary outstanding note circulation. The

Bank Charter Act of 1844. Scotch and Irish banks were further allowed an additional note circulation equivalent to the amount of specie they held.

Under the provisions of this act the total note circulation of the United Kingdom is now limited to about £31,000,000 in addition to the actual reserves in the Bank of England and the Scotch and Irish banks. In 1845 came the failure of the Irish potato crop. It was some time before the effect began to be felt. But by the January of 1847 the bullion in the Bank of England had sunk below £14,000,000, as against over £16,000,000 in the August of 1846. The bank now raised its rate from 3 to 3½ per cent., and then, finding the drain on its reserves continued, there was a further raising to 4 per cent. Nevertheless, by April the reserve was below £10,000,000.

The rate was again raised, this time to 5 per cent. Meanwhile, in 1846 there was a second failure of the potato crop; and in most parts of Europe the harvest was bad. Agricultural prices were higher than they had been for 34 years. There was consequently much speculation in corn, which temporarily inflated credit. But the large importations forced on a heavy fall in the price of wheat, which ruined many of the speculators. On August 9, Leslie, Alexander & Co. failed with liabilities of about £500,000. On the 11th a couple of other firms failed, each with liabilities of about £200,000. Others quickly followed. Within three weeks there were failures to the amount of over £3,000,000 in the corn trade. By the middle of September the ruin had begun to extend to other trades. The extent to which capital had been locked up in railways intensified the evil. The bank not only raised its rate to 5½ per cent., but refused to lend on what would ordinarily have been regarded as good security. Toward the end of October banks began to fail. On October 18 the Royal Bank of Liverpool had to close its doors. This brought down two other Liverpool banks. In Newcastle, in Manchester, and in other West of England places bank failures occurred. Consternation spread through the mercantile world. At length the Bank Act was suspended, and the mere knowledge that the Bank of England was free to issue notes at its discretion sufficed to stop the panic. The bank rate was now 8 per cent.; but the bank lent freely, at high rates when the security was good, and so saved a number of firms that would otherwise have fallen.

In 1857 there was another panic. Trade had been overstimulated by the Crimean War and railway building, especially in America. In New York City 62 banks out of 63 stopped payment. Many English houses failed. The scenes of 1847 were repeated on a worse scale. The balance

in the Bank of England sank below £500,000. The bank rate rose to 10 per cent. But for the suspension of the Act of 1844 the Bank of England must have closed its doors on November 13, 1857. The suspension of the act was once more followed by a

cessation of the panic, but not till notes had been issued considerably in excess of what had been the limit under the act. Then the cycle began again. A period of stagnation was again followed by a period of revival, which developed into one of overspeculation, till the crash of 1866, since when there has been no suspension of the Bank Act.

It is asserted by believers in a paper currency that the Bank of England has suspended 52 times, and only been saved by reverting to paper. On the other hand, it is denied that it has suspended since 1832, and it is claimed that only the Bank Act has been suspended. Professor William Sumner, in a note to his *History of American Currency*, p. 137, explains that the run on the bank in a panic is not for gold, but for notes—*i.e.*, for discounts. If, however, there is an export of gold at the time, the notes are taken to the issue department and gold demanded. According to the charter, the bank can circulate only \$15,000,000 in notes on government security, and for all other notes it must have gold, sovereign for sovereign. If, therefore, there is a drain on its bullion, it must contract or keep all notes handed in for gold. This heightens the panic. The action of the Government is to allow the bank to disregard the clause governing circulation. It promises to ask Parliament for indemnity. The bank then discounts freely for solvent parties, but at high rates. This always kills the panic as panic.

By the act or charter of 1844 the bank was divided into two departments, the *issue* and the *banking*. The sole business of the *issue* department of the Bank of England is to give out notes to the public. Before the separation of the departments the Government owed the bank **Method of Working.** £11,015,100. This sum was declared to be now due to the *issue* department, and for the issues of notes to that amount it need hold no gold. This was the same as if the bank had originally lent £11,015,100 of its notes to government, and these notes had gone into circulation. The bank was also allowed to issue additional notes on securities—the limit at present amounting to £3,984,900, and this also without holding gold. The amount of notes which may thus be issued, without gold being in reserve against it, is £15,000,000. All notes above that amount can be issued only in exchange for gold. When the act was passed in 1844, the limit of notes to be issued against the Government debt and securities was fixed at £14,000,000, for experience indicated that there would always be at least that amount of notes of the bank circulating among the people. The addition of the £1,000,000 is an extra issue, authorized by an act, in consequence of certain banks of issue having since given up that function. The bank has to account to the Government for the net profit of this issue loan of notes of £1,000,000, and the profit the bank derives from its *issue* department is the interest received on the £14,000,000 of Government debt and securities, which, at 3 per cent., is £420 yearly. But out of this the bank pays to the Government, for its banking privileges, and in lieu of stamp duties, £180,000. If the expense of the *issue* department is £160,000, the net profit upon it

would be £80,000. The bank also makes a profit upon bullion and foreign coin. These are brought to the bank for notes; they are worth £3 17s. 10½d. per oz.; but the bank is obliged by its charter to purchase them at £3 17s. 9d. The holders prefer this to having their bullion and foreign coin coined, free of charge, at the public mint, as the delay in the coining is equal to a loss of interest of 1½d. per oz. The average amount of notes in the hands of the public is about £25,000,000; but the amount issued by the *issue* department is greater. The difference is the amount lying in the *banking* department, and represents the reserve of gold of that department—that is to say, the *banking* department retains only £500,000 or £750,000 of coin, and transfers the bulk of its reserve to the *issue* department in exchange for notes. We must, therefore, regard the reserve of the *banking* department as gold, though in the shape of notes issued by the other department.

Viewed in its *banking* department, the bank differs from other banks in having the management of the public debt, and paying the dividends on it; in holding the deposits belonging to the Government, and making advances to it when necessary; in aiding in the collection of the public revenue, and in being the bank of other banks; above all, its issues are the only ones that are legal tender. For the management of the public debt the bank receives about £247,000, against which there has to be set £124,000 of charges. The remaining profits of the bank are derived from its use of its deposits, on which it allows no interest, and of its own capital. The capital was originally £1,200,000; in 1826 it reached £14,553,000. There is besides a remainder of about £3,500,000. The bank is situated in the center of London, but has branches in the city and provinces. Its constitution is very simple. It has a governor, deputy governor, and 24 directors, mainly chosen from firms engaged in negotiating foreign and other loans. The directors are practically self-elected.

References: *Lombard Street*, by W. Bagehot (London, 1873); *English Manual of Banking*, by Arthur Crump (1886); *Chapters on History and Theory of Banking*, by C. F. Dunbar (New York, 1891).

BANK OF FRANCE, THE, the most important banking institution in that country, was founded in 1800 as a private company, and made practically a State bank, through the law of 24 Germinal An. xi. of the First Republic (April 14, 1803). A law of April 22, 1806, placed it on its existing footing. Its original capital of 45,000,000 frs. was raised to 90,000,000 frs. divided into 90,000 shares, and has been increased since. Its governor is appointed by the State; its council are elected by the 200 largest stockholders. The bank has now 94 branches (*succursales*) in France.

Through the *Bureau de Virements* it performs the functions of the clearing house, and it facilitates the transmission of money between the towns in which the branches are situated and the head office.

The Bank of France can pay its obligations either in gold or silver of legal tender—*i.e.*, in silver pieces of five frs. It is claimed that this tends to maintain a comparatively even rate of

discount, even in the foreign exchanges, favorable to the export of gold. The number of changes since 1844 has been less than either with the Bank of England or of Germany. Concerning the interesting and instructive experience of the Bank of France during the Franco-Prussian War, Mr. L. H. Courtney writes in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*:

“The war of 1870-71 could not but have an important influence on the operations of the bank. Successive governments resorted to it for assistance, which was obtained by increasing the issue of its notes and by giving them a forced currency. The rate of interest, which had been 2½ per cent. from May, 1867, rapidly rose to 6 and 6½, at which it remained with scarcely any variation from August 9, 1870, till late in the year 1872. The rate would probably have risen much higher, but on August 13 a law was approved suspending the liability of the acceptors of bills current to meet them at maturity, and this suspension was renewed until it was finally withdrawn in July, 1871. The amount of unpaid bills held by the bank reached a maximum of 368,000,000 frs., but the ultimate loss was extremely small. On June 23, 1870, the metallic reserve at the bank was 1318¼ millions of frs., which was reduced to a minimum of 505,000,000 on December 24 of the same year. The notes in circulation before the war had been about 1,400,000,000 frs.; but before the end of the year 1870 their volume had increased to 1,700,000,000; and this again rose to 2,000,000,000 before July, 1871, and to 2,400,000,000 before the end of 1871. A law of December 29, 1871, fixed the maximum at 2,800,000,000, which was finally raised on July 15, 1872, to a maximum of 3,200,000,000. The debt of the State to the bank increased concurrently with this increase of issues, which was, indeed, authorized for the purpose of enabling the bank to assist the treasury. On December 26, 1870, the bank held treasury ‘bons’ to the extent of 174,800,000 frs. only, but on November 20, 1871, it held 1,103,600,000 of these ‘bons,’ and in August, 1872, the amount reached 1,263,100,000 frs. A law of June 21, 1871, followed by an agreement between the bank and the Government, provided for the repayment of this debt in annual payments of 200,000,000, but up to this time (August, 1875) the income of the State has never been large enough to provide the whole of this sinking fund. The bank has, however, been able to increase its metallic reserve through the liquidation of securities and the accumulation of deposits; so that, after having been reduced, as we have said, to 505,000,000 in December, 1870, and not attaining to more than 634,000,000 in December, 1871, it rose in the same month of 1872 to 793,000,000, in 1873 to 820,000,000, and in 1874 to 1,331,000,000, or just the amount at which it stood before the declaration of war. Its volume has, however, continued to increase, and on March 25 of this year (1875) it stood at 1,528,000,000; and the forced currency of the notes of the bank might be at any time withdrawn. It must be admitted that the management of the bank throughout these years of difficulty has been eminently prudent and successful.”

BANK OF GENOA, THE, was organized in the form in which it is generally known, in 1407. Like the Bank of Venice, it was a bank principally of deposit and circulation. It was the financial center of the Genoese republic, and in it all the transactions in the public funds were carried on. Anderson says (*Origin of Commerce*, vol. 1. p. 319) that in 1345 the republic of Genoa had “run so considerably into debt to her own citizens that in this year four of them were elected to make provision for those debts, and for the current service of the year.” They were so successful that, according to the same author, “managing their stock prudently, and having many rich men concerned with them, they afterward supplied the further necessities of the republic; and for that end had at length most of the cities and territories of Genoa pawned, or, rather, sold to them;” . . .

Franco-Prussian War.

and (p. 414): "In proportion as the wants of the republic increased, so did the credit of this house or bank, by having still more bonds, rents, and important dominions assigned to it." In Michelet's phrase, Genoa was almost a bank before a city, and the name of the bank of St. George known through all Europe. The bank finally lost its credit through the Austrian occupation of 1740 and the French of 1800, both occupants appropriating its property.

BANK OF GERMANY, THE IMPERIAL.—Altho this bank does not occupy to other German banks so high a position as the national banks of other countries, it is still high. The present constitution of the Bank of Germany was fixed by the Bank Act of 1875, when the Bank of Prussia was merged in the Imperial Bank. In 1890 it had 243 offices in close working with the government. "The Bank of Germany," says Professor Dunbar, "is permitted to add to its circulation against securities the issue of any other issuing bank whose circulation drops. It is likewise permitted to exceed the legal limit, called in Germany the Reserve of Notes Tax, free, on payment of a fine of 5 per cent. per annum on the total excess issue. This had occurred three times during the first ten years since the passing of the act in 1875, and on none of these occasions was the rate of discount raised during the period of excess issue, nor was any extra pressure felt during the time. To those conversant with the effect experienced when the Bank Act of 1844 has had to be suspended in England, the smoothness with which this arrangement acts will be a matter of interest. The automatic operation of the German Bank Act certainly works well in that country, and though the different circumstances of business there do not admit of an exact comparison with England, the question deserves more attention than has been given it. The Bank of Germany is, even more distinctly than the Bank of France, essentially a 'State bank.' The distribution of the profits (law of December 18, 1889) is as follows: $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the shareholders, then 20 per cent. of the balance to reserve, till it reaches one fourth of the capital; of the remainder half to the State and half to the shareholders, till they have received six per cent. If there is any further surplus, three quarters goes to the State and one quarter to the shareholders. The first $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., if need be, may be made up from the reserve. The German emperor appoints the president and council of the bank directory, whose office is for life, on the recommendation of the federal council. The government also, through the chancellor of the empire, exercises other powers of control, and has the right to end the existence of the bank, or to acquire its capital at its full value at the end of every ten years, commencing 1891. The shareholders influence the management through a committee. As in the case of the Bank of France, the arrangements as to rates of interest are uniform over the whole field of operation, and the facilities given by this, and by the action of the bank in the discount of commercial paper, as well as by the transmission of cash, etc., have given a great impetus to the prosperity of the empire. There are many

other banks in Germany besides the Imperial Bank, some of which issue notes. This privilege has, however, been relinquished to a considerable extent, owing to the restrictions imposed on all banks of issue."

BANK OF HAMBURG, THE, was founded in 1619 on the model of that of Amsterdam (*q.v.*). It carried on its business under the protection of the city, and was one of the main causes of the great commercial prosperity of Hamburg, in its leadership of the Hanseatic League. It was a place of deposit for the precious metals, principally uncoined silver. Adam Smith says that its agio was about 14 per cent. It continued to flourish down to 1875, when it became a department of the Bank of Germany (*q.v.*).

BANK OF VENICE, THE.—Concerning the origin of this famous bank, which has played such an important part in monetary discussion, authorities are disagreed, altho their disagreement depends mainly upon the use they give to words. According to some, the Bank of Venice dates from 1171, and according to others, from 1619. This is because the latter authorities deny that up to 1619 it was a bank in any modern or correct sense of the word. Nevertheless, whether a bank or not, it seems clear that in 1171 the republic of Venice, in need of funds, in connection with the Crusades, made a forced loan, and that an office or chamber for the loan was created, the contributors to the loan receiving interest. The bank, if bank this was, had no capital, and was simply a bank of deposit. Other such loans were made in 1480, 1510, and at other times. The contributors to the loan, and, later, other contributors, were given credit at the bank, and their deposits could be transferred at their pleasure on the books of the bank. In the great confusion and complexity of the coins of all nations circulating in Venice, owing to its large commerce, these bank credits, transferred on the books of the bank, came to be preferred to coin. They were received as money by the public treasury, and after 1423 it was decreed that all bills of exchange payable in Venice, whether domestic or foreign, should be paid unless otherwise expressed in the bank. In 1619 it was changed into the Banco del Giro, long known as the Bank of Venice, which date some authorities give as that of the real foundation of the bank. The history of the Bank of Venice has been written by Stephen Colwell in his *Ways and Means of Payment*, and from this book believers in fiat money have drawn a strong argument in support of their views, altho these conclusions are severely criticised by their opponents. Thus, Mr. B. S. Heath, in his *Labor and Finance Revolution*, says (p. 101):

"Stephen Colwell's digest of 14 authorities leads to the following deductions, as will be seen by perusal of his able work:

"1. It proves that there was a national bank of Venice founded on a loan of 2,000,000 ducats spent by the State in 1171, and the bank existed within the memory of living men, a period of 626 years, during which time it was gradually enlarged over 700 per cent.

"2. That A.D. 1423 it was modified by law to prevent fluctuation.

"3. That the 4 per cent. interest previously paid was abolished.

"4. That all promise of reimbursement, other than transfer of credit receipts, was abolished.

"5. That the nation 'took the coin of its loans one time for all' in the nation's bank, giving a credit receipt only.

"6. That no coin was kept as a specie basis of credit, or for strengthening the nation. They were immediately paid out.

"7. That no promise to pay any coin was made after 1423, for nearly 400 years of its continuance.

"8. That this 'fiat' or legal credit was that in which all coins were expressed—the fixed standard of payment—and thus the principal money of account; specie being for retail coin or export commodity and legal tender at 20 per cent. discount.

"9. That the premium fixed by law of 20 per cent. premium over the Venetian gold ducat, so celebrated for its fineness in export, was a real superiority of legal money of account over the commodity gold, and over gold currency.

"10. That it was not dependent on any promise of convertibility or redemption in gold, as no claim for any gold was acknowledged in the National Bank.

"11. That it continued for nearly 400 years with all these extraordinary attributes, producing no financial derangements and no opposition; but, on the contrary, grew until it exceeded the money per capita of any nation in Europe, ancient and modern, and was the pride of Venice, the envy of Europe.

"12. That it only fell when Napoleon conquered Venice, when it had reached an issue exceeding \$16,000,000 of government credit or money for 200,000 people, excluding the dependencies of Venice.

"13. That Napoleon could not and did not find a ducat in its vaults, as there had never been a pretense of any. That he would have taken gold if it was there is clear, and thus have been strengthened to further enslave Venice.

"14. That the interest alone saved on each million ducats was \$6,250,000,000,000 at 4 per cent. for 400 years, savings-bank interest."

On the other hand, Professor Dunbar, in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, gives an account different in several essential points. According to him, the bank was simply a bank of deposit under public officers. In 1619 it was changed into the Banco del Giro, long known as the Bank of Venice. It received funds both for the State and individuals, making a small charge for holding private deposits. Transfers were made upon the books by the order of depositors; bills of exchange were paid, and the tender of payment for any sum not less than 100 ducats could not be refused. Loans to the government compelled it to suspend more than once, especially from 1717-39. For the greater part of its existence, however, it received or paid out cash on demand. It kept its accounts in ducats *banco*, which had no corresponding coin, but were credited or redeemed by the bank as might be required at an advance of 20 per cent. above the ducat *effectivo* of the mint. Whatever be the origin of this, it seems finally to have represented a mere difference of denomination. The bank was so successful that in 1766 it was able to reduce the interest on its funds to 4 per cent., at the same time offering payment of their principal to those who were unwilling to accept that rate.

BANKRUPTCY, the state of being bankrupt or insolvent; in *law* specifically, the status of a person or corporation that by reason of insolvency has been adjudicated a bankrupt. *Bankruptcy laws* are statutory regulations under which the property of an insolvent may be distributed among his creditors, with the double object of enforcing a complete discovery and an equitable distribution of the property, and of discharging the debtor from his obligations and from future molestations by his creditors. Such laws have existed in England from

the time of Henry VIII. In the United States, Congress has power by the Constitution (Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 4) to establish such laws through the United States.

As the States also have the right to pass similar laws affecting their own citizens whenever there is no national law on the subject in force, it is customary to distinguish between national and State laws by calling the former bankrupt and the latter insolvent laws. Three times only in the history of the government has there existed a bankrupt law. The first was passed in 1800 and was repealed in 1803; the second became law in 1841, and was taken from the statute books in 1843; the third had the longest life: it became law March 2, 1867, and was repealed on June 7, 1878, the repeal to take effect September 1 of that year. There is at present a considerable demand for another bankrupt law to secure uniformity throughout the country.

Mulhall gives the following averages of failures in the United States:

	Average Failures.	Amount per Failure.
1857-60.....	3,262	£7,100
1861-65.....	1,830	5,800
1866-69.....	2,425	6,200
1870-75.....	4,882	6,100
1876-80.....	7,970	4,100
1881-86.....	8,823	3,200
1889.....	11,719	2,400

According to the *World Almanac*, the figures being taken from *Bradstreet's* returns, the failures in the United States since 1889 have been as follows:

	Failures.	Liabilities.
1890.....	10,673	\$175,032,810
1891.....	12,394	193,178,000

FAILURES FOR FIRST NINE MONTHS.

1892.....	7,378	\$76,971,771
1893.....	11,174	324,087,768

According to Mulhall, the failures in England averaged:

1870-72.....	6,039	1870-81.....	11,052
1873-75.....	7,766	1882-84.....	7,263
1876-78.....	10,077	1885-88.....	4,587

BANKS, REV. LOUIS ALBERT, D.D., was born at Cornwallis, Ore., in 1855. He was educated in the public schools and at Philomath College of that State. In 1883 he was ordained an elder in the Oregon Conference of the M. E. Church, and has since served pastorates at Portland, Ore., Boise City, Ida., Vancouver and Seattle, Wash., and Cincinnati, O. Since 1886 he has been a pastor in the East, where he has had marked success. While in Vancouver he edited the *Pacific Censor*, State organ of the Washington Temperance Alliance, and so enraged the liquor dealers that in June of 1880 he was shot down on the streets by one of their agents. For two months he preached reclining

across chairs to eager crowds. He has been a close student of the labor problems, his revelations as to the Boston sweat shops bringing him national reputation. He is the author of *White Slaves*, in which he published the results of his sweat-shop investigations. At the State Convention of Massachusetts Prohibitionists, held September 8, 1893, at Worcester, he was nominated for governor.

BANKS AND BANKING.—A bank may be defined as an institution for receiving money at or without interest, for loaning, discounting, or transmitting money, and sometimes for issuing notes. Banking is the business carried on by a bank. The banking institutions of the United States may be classed as national and State banks, savings-banks, private banks or bankers, cooperative banks, and loan and trust companies. (See SAVINGS BANKS; COOPERATIVE BANKS; CURRENCY.)

I. GENERAL HISTORY.

The name "bank" is derived from the Italian *banco*, a bench, from the benches in the markets on which the early money-changers were wont to sit. Jeremy Taylor says, "Exchangers of money made the temple to be the market and the banke" (*Great Exemplar*, vol. ii., chap. 2).

Passing by obscure references to money-lenders and usurers on Assyrian tablets in Egyptian records and classic and sacred literature, the history of banking begins with the Bank of Venice, and is continued in the history of the Banks of Genoa, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and the Bank of England, accounts of all of which will be found under their respective names.

We present here a general account of banking in Europe, and then a more detailed account of banking in England and the United States. Altho the Bank of Venice was perhaps the first real bank, the origin of modern banking is largely to be found in Florence.

Mr. Macleod says (*Banking*, vol. i., p. 289): "The names of the Bardi, Acciajuoli, Peruzzi, Pitti, and Medici were famous throughout Europe. In 1345 the Bardi and the Peruzzi, the two greatest mercantile houses in Italy, failed. Edward III. owed the Bardi 900,000 gold florins, which his war with France prevented him paying; and the King of Sicily owed them 100,000 gold florins. The deposits of citizens and strangers with the Bardi were 550,000 gold florins. The Peruzzi were owed 600,000 gold florins by Edward III. and 100,000 by the King of Sicily, and the deposits they owed their customers were 350,000 gold florins. The fall of these two great pillars of credit involved that of multitudes of other smaller establishments, and, says Villani (*Istor. Fiorent.*, vol. xii., p. 55), the community of Florence had never been thrown into such ruin and disorder before. And thereupon he breaks out against the folly of his fellow-citizens entrusting their money to the care of others for the love of gain. The city, however, recovered from this terrible disaster, and we find that between 1430-33, 76 bankers at Florence lent 4,865,000 gold florins. At one time Florence is said to have had 80 bankers, but not any public bank."

The first bank to be established on really modern principles as a bank issuing notes payable to bearers at sight is the Bank of Sweden, established by a Swede named Palmstruck, in 1656. Its first bank-note was issued in 1658. His bank became the Riks Bank (Bank of Sweden) in 1688. It still carries on business in Sweden as the national bank.

**Continental
European
Banking.**

Banking in Germany, save for the great Bank of Hamburg, presents little of interest. Each German State had its own banking laws and banks of issue, confined mainly to its own neighborhood. After the unification of the empire—an act of 1875—the Bank of Germany (*g.v.*) was established, and 32 banks were recognized as possessing rights of uncovered issue of 135,000,000 marks, the bank of Germany being allowed 250,000,000 marks. The State itself has the right of issue of 120,000,000 marks in small denominations. German banking has now a capital of \$425,000,000 and deposits of \$730,000,000. The amount of issue is \$320,000,000, and it has \$295,000,000 of specie in safe.

France has many large banks besides the Bank of France (*g.v.*), among others the Comptoir d'Escompte, founded 1848; the Crédit Foncier and Crédit Mobilier, 1852; the Crédit Lyonnais, 1863; the Société Générale, 1864.

The capital in French banking is \$601,000,000; deposits, \$640,000,000; issue, \$607,000,000; specie in safe, \$505,000,000.

England has many old banks. Says Mr. Courteney: "The still existing bank of Messrs. Smith & Co., of Nottingham, the parent of the London establishment of Messrs. Smith, Payne & Smiths, claims to have been established in 1688; the Bristol Old Bank (Messrs. Baillie, Cave & Co.) dates from 1750; the Hull Old Bank (Messrs. Pease & Co.) from 1754; and many other country banks trace back their history to the latter half of the last century. It is believed that all these bankers issued their own notes payable to bearer as part of their business; and they were not very scrupulous in regard to the magnitude of the sums for which they were given. The Bank of England had not issued any notes for less than £20 previously to 1759, when it commenced the issue of £10 notes; but the country bankers put in circulation notes for such small sums, that Parliament enacted, in 1775, that none should be issued for less than £1. In 1777 this minimum limit was further raised to £5, but in spite of this restriction the number and the amount of the issues of the country bankers soon become dangerously multiplied."

**Banking
in
England.**

In 1792 there were said to have been 350 banks. In the panic of 1792-93 (see BANK OF ENGLAND), about 300 banks suspended payments, and 50 were totally destroyed. After the panic, however, banks gradually multiplied till 1825, when the circulation of notes of less than £5 was forbidden. Joint-stock banks with any number of partners were allowed to issue, but did not multiply again till 1834-36, when there was a rush into banking, leading to the passage of the Banking Act of 1844 (see BANK OF ENGLAND). Of present English banking, Professor

Dunbar gives the following statement in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* :

“The majority of the banks in England and Wales, including the largest and most important banks, do not issue their own notes. The act of 1844 fixed the maximum circulation of the country banks in England and Wales at £5,153,417 (207) private banks, £3,478,230 (72) joint-stock banks ; but of this amount, £2,368,960 (126) private banks, and £1,462,470 (35) joint-stock banks, have since lapsed from various causes, voluntary and other, so that the limit of the provincial issues now (1890) stands at £2,784,457 (74) private banks, £2,015,760 (37) joint-stock banks. In addition to these there are 67 private and 43 joint-stock provincial banks which do not issue their own notes. The different banks vary much in size and importance. By the side of very large banks, wielding immense amounts of capital and deposits, very small concerns, possessing proportionally small resources, may be found carrying on business to advantage, and competing successfully with their more powerful rivals. One result, and it is a very peculiar one, of the manner in which our banking system has developed itself, employing the Bank of England as the pivot of its transactions, is that no bank in the country keeps any large stock of the precious metals in reserve—more, in fact, than habit has shown to be adequate for daily requirements—except the Bank of England.”

The earliest banking institution in North Britain was the Bank of Scotland, instituted by a charter of incorporation from the Scots Parliament in 1695. The original capital was £1,200,000 Scots, or £100,000 sterling. In 1774 the amount of stock was extended to £200,000 sterling ; now it is £1,250,000 sterling. In 1727 a new and similar establishment was constituted under the title of the Royal Bank of Scotland, whose advanced capital is now £2,000,000. In 1746 another association was formed and incorporated by royal charter, with the title of the British Linen Company.

No legislature, however, prevented the practice of any kind of banking, and Scotch banking

developed in ways of its own. Early in the present century joint-stock banks were formed, and the old private banks became absorbed in these. They are not many in number. By an act of 1845 no banks established after that date could issue notes—a condition which has given the old banks a practical monopoly, tho they have adapted themselves to the needs of the country by establishing many branches. In 1890 there were only 10, but with nearly a thousand branches. Their average circulation was £6,278,000, and their deposits about £89,000,000. They all possess the power of circulation, and since they allow interest on deposits, they hold almost the whole capital of the country, but are uniformly well conducted.

Banking in Ireland has few distinctive characteristics. There are (1895) nine banks in Ireland, whose total deposits in 1890 were about £39,000,000. The Bank of Ireland has an authorized circulation of £3,738,428. The deposits in the banks of the Australian colonies in 1890 were £108,000,000, being largely the conduit pipes for English capital.

Ireland and English Colonies.

The history of currency and banking in Canada has four periods : (1) the French régime ; (2) from the beginning of British government until the establishment of the first banks, 1817-18 ; (3) to the confederation of the provinces and the banks being organized under provincial and royal charters ; (4) since 1867, when the Dominion Parliament has had exclusive jurisdiction regarding banking.

Canada.

No reserves are required by law, but the cash reserve in gold and legal tenders averages about 10 per cent. The larger banks keep their available reserves in security loans in New York and Chicago. Forty per cent. of the cash reserves must be in Dominion legal tenders. The banks, since confederation, have provided a currency readily convertible into specie, the volume rising and falling some 20 per cent. with the requirements of trade, largely affected by the seasons.

The following, from the report of the Comptroller of Currency of the United States for 1892, gives a

SUMMARY OF THE CONDITION OF THE THIRTY-NINE CHARTERED BANKS OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA, ON OCTOBER 31, 1892.

RESOURCES.		LIABILITIES.	
Mortgages on real estate.....	\$846,797	Capital paid in.....	\$61,800,372
Loans on bonds and stocks.....	20,392,077	Reserve fund.....	24,832,474
Current loans.....	194,123,365	Notes in circulation.....	38,688,429
Loans to the Canadian Provinces.....	2,372,527	Due to the Dominion Government.....	2,524,785
Overdue debts.....	2,452,157	Due to the Provincial Governments.....	3,993,381
Deposits to secure circulation.....	1,761,259	Demand deposits.....	66,427,727
Dominion bonds.....	3,523,496	Time deposits.....	99,934,970
Canadian municipal, etc., securities.....	8,523,980	Due to other banks and agencies.....	7,922,998
Railway securities.....	8,137,590	Other liabilities.....	209,394
Due from other banks and agencies.....	28,110,162		
Real estate and bank premises.....	5,740,229		
Notes of and checks on other banks.....	8,954,339		
Specie.....	6,708,841		
Dominion notes.....	11,813,254		
Other resources.....	1,043,493		
Excess of liabilities.....	1,425,066		
Total resources.....	\$306,343,530	Total liabilities.....	\$306,343,530

II. BANKING IN THE UNITED STATES TO THE PERIOD OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

This section of the history of banking in the United States is abridged from Professor W. G. Sumner's *History of American Currency*, supplemented by statistics from the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency.

As early as 1690 the colony of Massachusetts issued bills of credit, making the paper legal tender for taxes and other debts, the notes being payable to the bearer on demand. This was five years before the establishment of the Bank of England; and William Paterson, the father of that bank, had been in the colonies and studied the Massachusetts experiment. This issuing of bills of credit was repeated with various modifications by Massachusetts and the other colonies through all their history; but as it comes rather under the history of currency than of banking proper, we refer the reader for all details of the antevolutionary period to CURRENCY.

We may simply note, however, that in 1739 a land bank and a specie bank, according to modern banking methods, were started in Massachusetts. The latter, however, closed in 1740, when Parliament extended the old Joint-Stock Companies' Act (passed after the South Sea Bubble, 1720) to the colonies; the former bank, however, struggling and battling for its life for the next ten years.

December 31, 1781, Congress chartered the Bank of North America in Philadelphia. It had a capital of \$400,000, and took its origin in a union of citizens of Philadelphia, formed to supply the army with rations. They were allowed to form a bank and to issue notes to buy the articles required. Congress ordered bills drawn on American ministers abroad to be deposited in the bank as a guarantee of payment; \$70,000 in specie were subscribed by individuals in 1782, and the remainder by Government, out of the proceeds of a foreign loan. It issued convertible notes, redeemable in Spanish dollars; but the people were slow to take them. However, it made large dividends, and was attacked by a rival, which it was obliged to absorb, and by an effort to have its charter repealed. This effort succeeded so far as the State charter was concerned; but it went on under the charter of the Continental Congress, till it was rechartered by Pennsylvania.

The first bank of the United States under the Constitution was chartered by Congress in 1791. The capital was \$10,000,000. One fifth of the stock was owned by the United States and \$8,000,000 by the people. Six of the eight millions were Government indebtedness; and \$2,000,000, money. Notes of the bank were made receivable for all obligations due the Government for 20 years, or during the life of the charter. The bank always paid coin when demanded, but the notes were legal tender to the Government, and, therefore, satisfactory to the people, whether the bank paid coin or not. This was made plain by the law, and was demonstrated in the last four years of the life of the charter, when

the most bitter controversy was carried on between the bank and the President and Cabinet. When the time came to renew its charter (1811), 90 State banks had grown up to oppose it. It had been successful, and paid 8 or 10 per cent. a year to its stockholders. It was charged that the bank controlled elections in the State, and was then laboring to control those of the nation. Reports charging the bank with corruption, and even insolvency, were circulated, and the charter was not renewed. The following table, from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1892, gives a convenient *résumé* of the banks in the United States in the period we are now considering:

Statement showing the Specie, Circulation and Capital and the Number of Banks in the United States for the Years mentioned.*

YEAR.	No. of Banks.	Specie.	Circulation.	Capital.
1774.....	..	\$4,000,000	.....	.....
1784.....	3	10,000,000	\$2,000,000	\$2,100,000
1790.....	4	9,000,000	2,500,000	2,500,000
1791.....	6	10,000,000	9,000,000	12,900,000
1792.....	16	18,000,000	11,500,000	17,100,000
1793.....	17	20,000,000	11,000,000	19,000,000
1794.....	17	21,500,000	11,600,000	18,000,000
1795.....	23	16,500,000	11,000,000	19,000,000
1796.....	24	16,500,000	10,500,000	19,200,000
1797.....	25	16,000,000	9,000,000	19,200,000
1798.....	25	14,000,000	10,000,000	21,200,000
1799.....	26	17,500,000	10,500,000	21,300,000
1800.....	28	17,000,000	11,000,000	22,400,000
1801.....	31	16,500,000	10,000,000	22,600,000
1802.....	32	16,000,000	11,000,000	26,000,000
1803.....	36	16,000,000	11,000,000	26,000,000
1804.....	59	17,500,000	14,000,000	39,500,000

Banking of the wildest kind was now the rule. After 1805 notes were allowed for sums under \$5, and finally were issued as low as for 25 cents. Specie was driven out. A crash came in 1809. **From 1800 to 1813 the New England Bank was the Rebellion.** Severe bank laws were passed. In 1813 the New England Bank was chartered as a bank of redemption at Boston, in order to keep the paper of the adjacent county at par. It did this, but was unpopular, and was the beginning of the Suffolk bank system.

The note circulation of the banks of the country is estimated, in 1811, by Gallatin, at \$46,000,000. In Pennsylvania, 1813-14, 41 banks were chartered by Legislature over a veto. The country being at war, \$57,000,000 were borrowed by the Government from 1812 to 1814. Treasury notes for one year were issued in 1812 to the amount of \$3,000,000; in 1813, to \$6,000,000; and in 1814, to \$8,000,000. Silver flowed to New England. In 1814 all the banks save those in New England suspended payment. Notes were depreciated from 20 to 50 per cent. The Secretary of the Treasury now began to be engaged in the money market. He tried to get the banks to come to some agreement. He ordered that taxes should be received only in specie, treasury notes, or notes of banks which received treasury notes at par. Madison recom-

* Blodgett's *Economica*.

mended another national bank. The second United States bank was finally opened January 1, 1817. It began business with \$1,400,000 in specie, \$14,000,000 in stocks, and the rest in stock notes. It was to have a capital of \$7,000,000. A second instalment of \$2,800,000 was soon due, but only \$32,400 was paid in specie, the rest mainly from notes or discounts of the bank itself. The third instalment was still worse. The bank discounted its own stock at par to pay the instalment. In August, 1817, the bank discounted its own stock at 125. The facilities for stock-jobbing were used. Congress resolved that after February 20, 1817, only specie, treasury notes, and notes of specie-paying banks ought to be taken by the national treasury. The banks refused to resume before July, 1817. The Western banks were still comparatively sound. The Southern banks had become inflated. The inflation was increased during the year by the Government paying off \$11,000,000 of the public securities held by the banks. The note circulation at this time is estimated at \$100,000,000. By March, 1818, the discounts of the United States Bank were \$43,000,000—\$11,000,000 on stocks. It had \$2,000,000 in specie. It had now 18 branches, but only \$3,000,000 of specie in them all. Its operations in the West drew that region into the "golden" age.

The Second National Bank.

The bank now bought \$7,000,000 bullion in the West Indies. Fifteen months after it was started it was doubtful if the bank was solvent. In November, Congress appointed a committee of investigation, which reported unfavorably; but Congress would not respond, 40 members being stockholders. On April 1, 1819, the state of the bank was: specie, \$126,745.28; notes, \$6,000,000; due other banks, \$79,125.99; due Government, \$500,000; due Barings, \$900,000; there were \$267,978.09 in the mint and \$250,000 in specie on the way from the West. The New York and Boston branches were in a worse condition. The bank now took energetic measures to save itself, and in 70 days was solvent, but had ruined the community. In August, 1819, there were 20,000 seeking work in Philadelphia, and a similar state of things existed in other cities. Land in Pennsylvania was worth, in 1809, \$38 per acre; in 1815, \$150; in 1819, \$35. The note circulation of the country in 1812 was about \$45,000,000; in 1817, \$100,000,000; in 1819, \$45,000,000. Financial distress was general, and lasted till 1823. Money was plentiful in the hands of those who had no debts to pay, as they would not invest. In 1823 the circulation of the United States Bank was very low—\$4,081,842; but there was a great creation of banks, and the bank began to expand and receive the notes of all its branches.

In 1824 Pennsylvania rechartered the banks of 1814. In 1825, 52 charters were petitioned for for New York banks, and when they could not be obtained, were petitioned for in New Jersey. The Bank of the United States increased its issue over \$3,000,000. Business revived in England. Heavy orders for cotton ran its price here up to 27 cents. In July the fall of prices in England caused a fall here, and 50 failures took place in New York before December. The

United States Bank was in great difficulty. In 1826 there was dulness and reaction throughout the year. In 1827 money was plentiful, and continued so with some changes till 1831. President Jackson commenced his attack on the United States Bank in his first message (1829). About 1830 American securities began to attract English investments, in canals, steamboats, and, later, in railroads. Currency, however, became more and more of a political issue. Jackson committed his party to hard money; Clay committed himself to protection. Webster, originally a free-trader, became a protectionist. Calhoun, originally a protectionist, became a free-trader. In 1832 the United States Bank petitioned for a renewal of its charter, which was to expire in 1836. The bill passed both houses, but was vetoed by the President. A violent warfare was now begun by the bank. It is certain that the bank had paid little heed to the laws of the State or of prudence, expanding or contracting according to will. In 1832 Jackson defeated Clay by 288 to 49 in the electoral college. In his message in December, 1832, he recommended the sale of the \$7,000,000 stock of the United States Bank which was opened by the nation, and an investigation into the bank. Bank shares fell from 112 to 104, but recovered to 112 on a favorable report of the treasury agent. This report showed \$79,000,000 assets and \$37,000,000 liabilities, besides \$35,000,000 capital and \$7,000,000 surplus. But when the Government desired to pay the three per cents in July, 1832, the bank agreed to pay the interest on them if the payment might be delayed so long. It thus negotiated a loan of \$5,000,000 from Barings; the reason given was for fear of the cholera. This caused fear for the public deposits, but a resolution that they were safe was carried, through the influence of the bank, 109 to 46. After Congress adjourned (September 22, 1832), the President ordered Mr. Duane, the Secretary of the Treasury, to remove the public deposits from the bank. He refused, and was replaced by Mr. Taney, who did it. The order was that the collectors should send no more deposits to it, but to State banks. There was no sudden transfer, but it was proposed to withdraw at intervals. The bank began war, and began to draw in its loans. On the assembling of Congress, the Senate resolved (28 to 18) that the President had usurped unconstitutional powers. The House never noticed the resolution, but resolved (134 to 82) that the bank charter should not be renewed. The contraction of the money market caused great distress. It was stated that the bank caused this to obtain a renewed charter. It was claimed that they loaned to a select few who reloaned at usurious rates. The aggregate amount of loans, however, steadily decreased all these years.

The Bank War, 1832-1836.

Meanwhile, the bank war went on. The bank, finding that it could not coerce the people, and that smaller banks were taking its place, changed its policy and expanded, President Jackson using this as a proof that it had unnecessarily contracted before. The President induced many of the States to pass laws forbidding the issue of small notes, and this largely favored con-

vertibility. These were times when cotton could command good prices, and railroad and other investments and speculation was good. The public debt was now nearly extinguished. On July 11, 1836, the President issued the famous Specie Circular, by which he ordered agents for the sale of public lands to take specie only. Congress in December passed an act rescinding this, but it did not become law, the President not signing it. The United States Bank not being able to renew its charter, now obtained a charter from Pennsylvania—by bribery, as it was asserted. It had not yet paid back the Government stock or the dividends which it held for contracting a loan with France that finally never materialized. It continued to reissue the notes of the old United States Bank which it received. Gold, being forced on the market in this country, came here from England. In April, 1836, the gold reserve in the Bank of England began to lower, and this continued all summer. The bank rate was raised twice. By November failures began, and in one day three houses doing large business with this country failed. Demand for cotton went down. Nowhere had paper money been more in use than in the South. In March, 1837, several New Orleans houses failed. Next, the pressure was felt in New York, and then became general. There were 100 failures in New York in March, and the losses were \$15,000,000. In March a meeting was held in New York, addressed by Webster. He laid the trouble

The Panic of 1837.

to the Government interfering with the currency and to the Specie Circular. A committee of 50 was sent to the President (Van Buren) to ask for its rescinding. The committee, in its address, spoke of 250 failures and 20,000 individuals discharged by their employers, and they laid it all to the effort to put metallic in place of paper currency. But they could obtain nothing from the President. In May the New York banks suspended in a body, a law being passed allowing them to suspend for one year. Among the direct causes of this was the demand upon the Government deposit banks for the \$40,000,000 surplus to be paid in specie. Suspension became general through the Union. Specie was driven out of the market, and all kinds of notes circulated instead. The New York banks then began to contract to be ready to resume. Nearly all the banks made money by the suspension, and paid good dividends during the year. In 1835-36 there had been a surplus in the treasury. Mr. Clay wanted it divided between the States, and Webster favored this. The administration opposed it, and wanted public lands surveyed and sold at \$1.25 per acre, with a homestead provision for settlers, the surplus revenue to be spent on national defences. The bill for distribution passed in the Senate, but never came up in the House. In 1836 the Senate passed a bill for "depositing" the surplus revenue (that being regarded as the part which came from the land). The plan for distributing had found no favor in the House, but "depositing" passed. It was declared that this was only a change in name, and the event proved this. Three deposits were made: Then in 1837 the President made known an estimate of a deficit of \$6,000,000, and

proposed to meet it by retaining the fourth instalment of the deposit, and to issue treasury notes for immediate necessities. These were issued, bearing interest, and the deposit was put off till January 1, 1839, and when that day came the treasury had a deficit, and could not pay it. Some States had been led by this deposit into extensive improvements and debts; others distributed it, a few shillings per capita, to be "received with contempt" or "rejected with scorn." The distresses of 1837 were aggravated by a failure of the wheat crop. Early in 1838 Congress passed an act forbidding the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States from using the old United States Bank notes. On May 10, 1838, most of the banks in New York City and in the Union resumed, the Bank of England sending \$1,000,000 to aid them. On August 13 almost all other banks resumed. There was a general revival of trade, but it was not permanent. Gold in the Bank of England again declined. The Bank of Belgium failed. The Bank of England borrowed £2,500,000 of the Bank of France. During the same year the Bank of the United States became involved in cotton speculations. Several banks, especially in the South and West, failed. The management of the United States Bank became reckless. It owed from \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000, and tried to borrow of various banks in Europe. On October 10, 1839, it failed, and carried with it all the banks of the South and West. Three hundred and forty-three out of 850 banks in the Union closed entirely, and 62 partially. Some \$2,000,000 of Government deposits were lost. This suspension lasted by law till January 15, 1841. As soon as the bank opened again a run on it commenced, and it suspended finally (February 4, 1841). Its capital was a total loss, and the \$7,000,000 United States stock subscribed by the Government is mentioned by the Secretary of the Treasury (*Finance Report*, 1872, p. 18) among the items of the debt for which no cash ever came into the treasury. The years following 1842-43 were among the gloomiest years in industry. It seemed paralyzed by the failure of our banking system.

When it failed, the Bank of the United States owed the Bank of England \$23,000,000. Its failure, and, above all, the repudiation of indebtedness by several States, ruined American credit abroad, and cost the bank many friends here. In 1840 the Independent Treasury Act was passed, giving the Government the custody of its own funds. It was only accomplished after a severe struggle, as it withdrew the public funds from use as banking capital. In 1841 Mr. Harrison became President, and called an extra session of Congress, May 31, which met under President Tyler after Harrison's death, and the first act of the session was to repeal the Independent Treasury Act. Mr. Clay had proposed a national bank, an increase of duties, and a land distribution bill; but the senator from Mississippi introduced a bankruptcy act, and this was bargained off for the Bank Act and the Distribution Act, and the three went through together. The Bank Act was very sweeping—declared the abolition of all debts

Widespread Depression.

where effects were surrendered and fraud not proved. The Land Distribution Bill was the new form of the defeated bill for assuming the State debts. The income from public lands (less than \$1,500,000) in 1846 was to be divided among the States to help them pay their debts. President Tyler wanted the words "fiscal agent" or something "fiscal" substituted for the word "bank," and vetoed two bills for incorporating a bank. The treasury, being unable to pay specie, paid treasury notes, but one of these being protested (January, 1842), the Government paid

specie, and continued doing so till 1862. In 1843 the Bankruptcy Act was repealed. It was argued that it was worse for debtors than creditors, since he who availed himself of it could get no further credit. The Government was fixed in the hard-money system.

The following tables, from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1892, give a convenient statement showing the principal items of resources and liabilities of the Bank (Second) of the United States from 1817 to 1840 :

YEAR.	RESOURCES.					
	Loans and Discounts.	Stocks.	Real Estate.	Banking House.	Due by Foreign Banks.	Due from State Banks.
1817.....	\$3,485,195	\$4,829,234	.....	.....	.....	\$8,848,315
1818.....	41,181,750	9,475,932	.....	\$175,201	\$1,933,682	1,293,894
1819.....	35,786,263	7,391,823	.....	433,808	621,667	2,624,797
1820.....	31,401,158	7,192,980	.....	1,296,626	261,548	2,727,080
1821.....	30,905,199	9,155,855	.....	1,886,724	83,548	1,178,197
1822.....	28,061,169	13,338,951	\$66,480	1,855,046	1,107,637	1,717,723
1823.....	30,736,432	11,018,552	626,674	1,956,764	24,599	1,407,573
1824.....	33,432,084	10,874,014	1,302,551	1,871,635	1,434,020	1,287,808
1825.....	31,812,617	18,422,027	1,495,150	1,852,935	24,178	2,130,095
1826.....	33,424,621	18,393,501	1,792,870	1,792,870	421,524	747,375
1827.....	30,937,866	17,764,359	2,039,226	1,678,192	460,686	1,683,510
1828.....	33,682,905	17,624,859	2,295,401	1,634,260	356,740	.....
1829.....	39,219,602	16,099,099	2,345,539	1,557,356	482,240	1,723,297
1830.....	40,663,805	11,610,200	2,886,397	1,444,801	1,530,553	1,199,458
1831.....	44,032,057	8,674,681	2,620,125	1,344,761	2,383,331	.....
1832.....	66,293,707	21,200	2,136,525	1,159,637	91,668	3,944,849
1833.....	61,695,913	.....	1,855,169	1,181,071	3,106,833	3,688,143
1834.....	54,911,461	.....	1,741,407	1,189,125	1,801,669	3,958,870
1835.....	51,808,739	.....	1,760,632	1,218,896	1,922,498	4,609,973
1836.....	59,232,445	.....	1,486,561	967,404	73,171	4,688,005
1837.....	57,393,709	.....	816,855	420,244	.....	2,284,598
1838.....	45,256,571	14,862,108	1,061,663	443,109	.....	3,657,261
1839.....	41,618,637	17,957,497	1,954,523	424,382	.....	5,833,000
1840.....	36,839,593	16,316,419	1,228,630	619,504	.....	7,469,422

YEAR.	RESOURCES.				LIABILITIES.		
	Notes of State Banks.	Specie.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due to State Banks.	Due to Foreign Banks, etc.	Capital.
1817.....	\$587,201	\$1,724,109	\$1,911,200	\$11,233,021	.....	.....	\$35,000,000
1818.....	1,837,254	2,515,949	8,339,448	12,279,207	.....	\$1,357,778	35,000,000
1819.....	1,877,909	2,666,666	6,563,750	5,792,869	.....	1,434,022	35,000,000
1820.....	1,443,166	3,392,755	3,589,481	6,568,794	.....	2,953,650	35,000,000
1821.....	677,022	7,643,140	4,567,053	7,894,985	.....	2,953,074	35,000,000
1822.....	917,629	4,761,299	5,578,782	8,075,152	.....	2,904,000	35,000,000
1823.....	766,248	4,424,874	4,361,058	7,622,340	.....	1,292,710	35,000,000
1824.....	705,173	5,813,694	4,647,077	13,701,936	.....	1,020,000	35,000,000
1825.....	1,056,224	6,746,952	6,068,394	12,033,364	.....	2,407,282	35,000,000
1826.....	1,114,831	3,960,158	9,474,987	11,214,640	.....	251,494	35,000,000
1827.....	1,068,483	6,457,161	8,549,409	14,320,186	.....	280,056	35,000,000
1828.....	1,447,386	6,170,045	9,855,677	14,497,330	\$1,697,401	1,467,806	35,000,000
1829.....	1,293,578	6,098,138	11,901,656	17,061,918	.....	1,447,748	35,000,000
1830.....	1,465,047	7,608,076	12,924,145	16,045,782	.....	.....	35,000,000
1831.....	1,494,506	10,808,047	16,251,267	17,297,041	734,900	.....	35,000,000
1832.....	2,171,676	7,038,023	21,355,724	22,761,434	1,951,103	.....	35,000,000
1833.....	2,292,655	8,951,847	17,518,217	20,347,749	2,091,891	.....	35,000,000
1834.....	1,982,640	10,039,237	19,208,379	10,838,555	1,522,124	.....	35,000,000
1835.....	1,506,200	15,708,369	17,339,797	11,756,905	3,119,172	.....	35,000,000
1836.....	1,736,491	8,417,688	23,075,422	5,061,456	2,660,694	.....	35,000,000
1837.....	1,206,754	2,638,449	11,447,968	2,332,409	2,284,598	6,926,364	35,000,000
1838.....	866,507	3,770,842	6,768,067	2,616,713	4,957,291	20,479,468	35,000,000
1839.....	1,791,580	4,153,607	5,982,621	6,779,394	3,061,895	22,030,351	35,000,000
1840.....	1,383,686	1,469,674	6,695,861	3,338,521	4,155,366	13,091,087	35,000,000

The following table gives a convenient *résumé* of the banks in the United States in the period we are now considering :

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF BANKS IN THE COUNTRY, THEIR CAPITAL, ETC., IN THE YEARS MENTIONED.*

YEAR.	No.	Capital.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Loans.	Specie.
1811.....	89	\$52,720,601	\$28,100,000	.....	.....	\$15,400,000
1815.....	208	82,259,599	45,500,000	.....	.....	17,000,000
1816.....	246	89,824,422	68,000,000	.....	.....	19,000,000
1820.....	308	137,210,611	44,853,344	\$35,950,479	.....	19,220,240
1830.....	339	145,192,268	61,323,898	55,559,028	\$200,451,214	22,114,917
1834.....	506	200,005,944	94,839,570	75,666,986	324,110,499	.....
1835.....	558	231,259,337	103,692,495	83,081,365	365,163,834	43,937,625
1836.....	567	251,875,292	149,301,038	115,104,440	457,506,080	40,010,594
1837.....	634	290,772,091	149,185,890	127,397,185	525,115,702	37,915,340
1838.....	663	317,636,778	116,138,010	84,691,184	485,631,687	35,184,112
1839.....	662	327,132,512	135,170,995	90,249,146	492,278,015	45,132,673
1840.....	722	358,442,692	106,968,572	75,666,857	462,896,523	33,105,155

Among the new measures were the Suffolk Bank plan in Massachusetts, and the New York Safety-Fund System. The Suffolk Bank plan was merely an arrangement whereby that bank was made the channel through which all notes of New England banks that found their way to Boston, as most of them naturally did, were at once forwarded to the issuers for redemption. The result was that all solid bankers found it for their interest to deposit with the Suffolk a redemption fund, as that insured the acceptance of their notes.

The New York Safety-Fund System, which is the cardinal principle of the present national banking plan, required each bank to deposit, with the banking department of the State, securities consisting of federal or State stocks, or bonds and mortgages, which, in case of the failure of the bank, were sold, and the proceeds applied to the liquidation of its debts.

From 1844 things began to mend. Failure of crops in Europe and the abolition of the corn laws gave a market for breadstuffs, of which, in 1843, \$37,500,000 were exported. The Irish famine and other causes made immigration set in. Railroads were rapidly developed, and the discovery of gold in California added another powerful element to the

1840-1860. industrial development. Our credit abroad slowly mended. By 1854 it was estimated that \$200,000,000 of State, railway, and other bonds were held abroad, and in 1857, \$400,000,000. Bank-notes also expanded. Gold was exported ; currency set toward the financial centers, the country banks keeping their balances generally in New York. These balances were required in the fall, producing contraction and stringency. In 1853-54 fears of a war in Europe, failure of early speculations in California, the discovery of a fraudulent issue of \$2,000,000 of New York and New Haven Railroad stock, caused a panic. A small crop and other evils added to this. A large number of private bankers were carried down. But the large supply of metallic currency prevented widespread evil. In 1856 railroad building and good crops improved the situation. A fall in stocks, however, in the summer of 1857, the fail-

ure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, which borrowed largely in New York, the loss of the steamship "Central America" with over \$1,000,000 of treasure, caused a panic. A large number of failures took place in September. In October all the New York banks save one suspended, and were followed by almost all others. Bills were not salable ; gold began to move this way. The Secretary of the Treasury aided by purchasing bonds. The New York banks resumed December 12, and others followed.

The Panic of 1857.

The condition of the first bank of the United States during the period from January, 1809, to January, 1811, is shown in the following table, which is taken from the letters of Albert Gallatin printed in the *American State Papers (Finance)*, vol. ii., pp. 352 and 470 :

REPORTS OF CONDITION OF THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

	January, 1809.	January, 1811.
RESOURCES.		
Loans and discounts.....	\$15,000,000	\$14,578,294
U. S. 6 per cent. and other U. S. stock.....	2,230,000	2,807,046
Due from other banks.....	800,000	894,145
Real estate.....	480,000	500,653
Notes of other banks.....	.....	393,341
Specie.....	5,000,000	5,009,567
Total.....	\$23,510,000	\$24,183,046
LIABILITIES.		
Capital stock.....	\$10,000,000	\$10,000,000
Surplus.....	510,000	509,678
Circulation outstanding.....	4,500,000	5,037,125
Individual deposits.....	6,500,000	5,920,423
United States deposits.....	.....	5,920,999
Due to other banks.....	.....	634,348
Unpaid drafts outstanding.....	.....	17,473
Total.....	\$23,510,000	\$24,183,046

The bank had been quite successful, and paid 8 or 10 per cent. a year to its stockholders.

* Elliott's *Funding System*, p. 984.

The following table, prepared by the Comptroller of the Currency in his report for 1892, gives the position of the State banks from 1834-63 :

TABLE SHOWING THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF STATE BANKS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR PRINCIPAL LIABILITIES AND RESOURCES IN THE YEARS 1834-63.

YEAR.	No. of Banks.	LIABILITIES.				
		Capital Stock.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Due to Banks.	Other Liabilities.
1834.....	506	\$200,005,944	\$94,839,570	\$75,666,986	\$26,602,293	.....
1835.....	704	231,250,337	103,692,495	83,081,365	38,972,578	\$19,320,475
1836.....	713	251,875,292	140,301,038	115,104,440	50,402,369	25,999,234
1837.....	788	290,772,091	149,185,890	127,397,185	62,421,118	36,506,289
1838.....	829	317,636,778	116,138,910	84,691,184	61,015,692	59,995,679
1839.....	840	327,132,512	135,170,995	90,240,146	53,135,508	62,946,248
1840.....	901	358,442,692	106,968,672	75,696,857	44,159,615	43,275,183
1841.....	784	313,608,959	107,290,214	64,890,101	42,861,880	42,896,226
1842.....	692	260,171,797	83,734,011	62,408,870	25,863,827	12,775,106
1843.....	691	228,861,948	58,563,608	56,168,628	21,456,523	7,357,033
1844.....	696	210,872,056	75,107,646	84,556,785	31,998,024	5,842,010
1845.....	707	206,045,969	80,608,711	88,020,646	26,337,440	5,853,902
1846.....	707	106,894,309	95,552,427	96,913,070	28,218,568	5,331,572
1847.....	715	323,070,622	105,519,766	91,792,533	28,539,888	4,706,077
1848.....	751	204,838,175	128,506,091	103,226,177	39,414,371	5,501,401
1849.....	782	207,399,361	114,743,415	91,178,623	30,095,366	6,706,357
1850.....	824	217,317,211	131,366,626	109,586,595	36,717,451	8,835,399
1851.....	879	227,807,553	155,105,251	128,957,712	46,416,928	6,433,327
1853.....	750	207,908,519	146,072,780	145,553,876	49,625,262	28,024,350
1854.....	1,208	301,376,071	204,689,207	188,188,744	59,322,162	13,349,276
1855.....	1,307	332,177,288	186,952,223	190,400,342	45,156,697	15,599,623
1856.....	1,398	343,874,272	195,747,950	212,705,662	52,719,956	12,227,867
1857.....	1,416	370,834,686	214,778,822	230,351,352	57,674,333	19,816,850
1858.....	1,422	394,622,799	155,268,344	185,932,049	51,169,875	14,166,713
1859.....	1,476	401,976,242	193,306,818	259,568,278	68,215,051	15,008,427
1860.....	1,562	421,880,995	207,102,477	253,562,129	55,932,918	14,661,815
1861.....	1,601	429,592,713	202,905,797	257,229,562	61,275,526	23,258,804
1862.....	1,492	418,139,741	183,792,079	296,322,408	61,144,252	21,633,007
1863.....	1,466	405,045,829	238,677,218	393,686,226	100,526,527	53,814,145

YEAR.	RESOURCES.							
	Loans and Discounts.	Stocks.	Due from Banks, etc.	Real Estate, etc.	Notes of Other Banks.	Specie Fund.	Specie.	Other Resources.
1834.....	\$324,119,499	\$6,113,195	\$27,320,645	\$10,850,090	\$22,154,919	\$26,641,753	.....	\$1,723,547
1835.....	365,163,824	9,210,579	49,084,938	11,140,167	21,086,301	3,061,810	\$43,937,625	4,624,124
1836.....	457,506,080	11,709,319	51,876,955	14,194,375	32,115,138	4,800,076	40,010,594	9,975,226
1837.....	525,115,792	12,497,112	59,663,910	19,064,451	36,533,527	5,366,500	37,919,340	10,423,630
1838.....	685,631,687	33,998,604	58,195,153	19,075,791	24,964,257	9,040,006	35,184,112	24,194,117
1839.....	492,278,015	36,128,464	52,898,357	16,607,832	27,372,966	3,612,567	45,132,673	28,352,280
1840.....	462,866,523	42,411,750	41,140,184	29,181,610	20,797,892	3,623,874	33,105,155	24,592,580
1841.....	386,487,662	64,811,135	47,870,452	33,524,444	25,643,447	3,168,708	34,813,958	11,816,608
1842.....	323,957,569	24,585,540	39,752,406	33,341,988	19,423,744	3,115,327	28,446,423	8,186,137
1843.....	254,544,937	28,380,550	29,666,240	22,862,807	13,306,677	6,578,375	33,515,806	13,343,599
1844.....	264,905,814	22,858,570	35,860,930	22,520,863	11,672,473	6,729,980	49,898,266	10,523,693
1845.....	288,617,131	20,356,070	29,619,272	22,177,270	12,040,760	5,786,026	44,241,242	10,217,466
1846.....	312,114,040	21,486,834	31,689,946	19,099,000	12,914,423	8,366,478	42,012,095	7,913,591
1847.....	310,282,945	20,158,351	31,788,641	21,219,865	13,112,467	13,789,780	35,132,516	12,206,112
1848.....	344,476,526	26,498,954	38,904,525	20,539,955	16,427,716	10,489,822	46,369,765	8,229,682
1849.....	332,323,195	23,571,575	32,228,407	17,491,809	12,708,016	8,680,483	43,610,368	7,965,463
1850.....	304,204,078	20,606,759	43,631,855	20,582,166	16,393,289	11,603,245	45,379,345	11,949,548
1851.....	413,736,799	22,388,389	59,178,015	20,219,724	17,196,083	15,341,106	48,671,048	8,335,972
1853.....	408,943,758	22,284,692	48,920,258	10,180,071	30,431,180	.....	47,138,592	3,873,571
1854.....	557,397,779	44,350,330	55,516,085	22,367,472	22,659,066	25,579,253	59,410,253	7,589,830
1855.....	676,144,758	52,727,282	55,738,735	24,073,801	23,249,518	21,935,738	53,944,546	8,724,540
1856.....	534,183,280	49,485,215	62,639,725	29,865,867	24,779,049	19,927,710	50,134,063	8,882,516
1857.....	684,456,887	59,272,329	65,849,205	26,124,522	28,124,008	25,081,641	58,349,838	5,920,336
1858.....	801,945,242	60,325,269	85,052,802	38,755,834	22,447,436	5,786,441	74,412,822	6,975,906
1859.....	657,183,790	73,502,449	78,244,997	25,976,497	18,858,280	26,808,822	104,539,818	8,323,041
1860.....	601,945,580	60,344,343	67,235,457	30,782,131	25,502,567	19,331,521	83,594,537	11,123,217
1861.....	696,778,421	74,004,879	58,793,990	30,748,627	21,993,902	29,297,878	107,674,507	16,657,511
1862.....	646,677,780	90,010,879	65,256,506	32,326,649	25,253,589	27,827,971	124,146,215	13,648,006
1863.....	648,601,863	180,508,260	96,934,452	31,880,495	58,164,328	46,171,518	101,227,369	22,003,443

NOTE.—The figures for the years 1834-40 are taken from Ex. Doc. No. 111, Twenty-sixth Congress, second session. Those for 1841-50 are from Ex. Doc. No. 63, Thirty-first Congress, first session. For the years 1851-63 (with the exception of the year 1853) they are taken from the report on the condition of the banks for 1863. Those for 1853 are from Ex. Doc. No. 66, Thirty-second Congress, second session, and are incomplete.

III. THE WAR PERIOD AND THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

When the War of the Rebellion began, the paper in circulation in the country was about \$200,000,000—about three fourths among the loyal States. The specie available was estimated at \$275,000,000. The opinion was that the war would be short.

Congress voted \$50,000,000 of demand notes, \$250,000,000 of 7.3 per cent. treasury notes to run three years, and a 6 per cent. loan of \$250,000,000 to fund the treasury notes. A property tax was apportioned among the States, but part of it was repealed, part of it was paid by charges for sums expended in fitting out troops, and it produced no active revenue to the general Government. In the fall of 1861 the Government borrowed \$100,000,000 in gold of the banks in two instalments, and \$50,000,000 more in paper. Such was the situation when Congress met, December, 1861. The treasury report of Mr. Chase presented no strong policy. Gold began to be exported. On December 17 the New York banks resolved that suspension was unnecessary, but in the last days of the month all the banks suspended, Professor Sumner says unnecessarily. Gold rose to a premium of 1 or 2 per cent. Bank paper drove the gold out. The Government could not borrow more gold, because the stock in the banks had been exhausted. It would have to take irredeemable paper notes. In February, 1862, Congress authorized the issue of \$150,000,000 in notes, of which \$50,000,000 was for withdrawal of the demand notes. This was the famous Legal Tender Act. The notes were legal tender except for imposts on duties and interest on the public debt. The friends of these "greenbacks" claim that it was this limitation which caused them to depreciate; but we are here only concerned with the fact and its bearing on the banking system. (For details of these notes, see CURRENCY.) Whatever be the reason, they did depreciate. Gold rose, and was exported. By August, Professor Sumner says that specie had disappeared. In July a bill was passed for issuing stamp as fractional currency. The Government went from one makeshift to another. The treasurer sold 6 per cent. bonds at par, indeed, but for currency worth from 60 to 70 cents on the dollar. The desire for a national banking system grew general. The plan finally adopted was not wholly new. We present a statement of its abridged form, a paper by D. B. Waldo, published in No. 1 of the Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association. He says in substance:

Albert Gallatin, in a famous proposition, advocated a prohibitory tax on existing bank-notes and the establishment of a currency founded

on public stock, or possibly mortgages on real estate. Tho admitting objections to the latter security, he contended that if the objections could in any way be removed, the plan proposed would give to the banking system of

America solidity, and inspire a confidence which could not otherwise be secured. The ideas contained in the above suggestions soon fruited into

legislation. The propositions introduced in the Legislature of Maryland were followed by an enactment of the Legislature of New York creating a new banking system. There were precedents on American soil in the form mainly of suggestions from writers for various periodicals, yet to some extent of institutions in actual operation. John J. Knox, in his excellent review of the national banking system, ascribes the first suggestion of its underlying principles to an unknown writer of the *Analectic Magazine*, who, writing in 1815, a period of utter demoralization in our currency, advocated a system in which public funds were to serve as the basis, support, and limit of American money. In 1816 a letter of Curtius, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, embodied similar ideas, which were further elaborated in a communication of one Rev. Dr. McVicar to a member of the New York Legislature in 1827.

It is well-known history that this new banking system of the Empire State proved eminently safe and satisfactory, but to the national application of the principles embodied in the New York plan there remained the obstacle of a formidable opposition to every description of banks of issue inherited from the experience of reckless banking. It was finally favored only under pressure of war necessity. Secretary Chase, in his first annual report (1861), submitted two plans: first, that of the withdrawal of State bank issues and the substitution of United States notes payable in coin on demand. Against this he interposed the following objections: First, the temptation to issue without adequate provision for redemption; second, the ever-present liability to be called upon for redemption beyond means, however carefully provided for and managed; third, the hazard of panics precipitating a demand for coin concentrated on a few points and a single fund; fourth, the risk of a depreciated and depreciating, and finally worthless paper money; fifth, the innumerable evils of dishonored public faith and national bankruptcy—all these, he said, were possible consequences of the adoption of the suggested system of government circulation. These objections, of course, being deemed fatal, the secretary discussed the advantages of a second plan, that of the national banking system, substantially as finally adopted. But the country was not ready, and the suspension of the banks occurred as above stated.

In December of 1862, Secretary Chase again urged upon Congress the advantages of a national banking system, and reiterated the danger of United States notes. Meanwhile, the sentiment in and out of Congress had rapidly changed in favor of the proposition, and on February 25, 1863, a bill, recommended by Senator Sherman and favorably reported by the finance committee of the Upper House, became law.

The vote, taken in the Senate February 12, stood 23 to 21; that of the House, taken February 20, 78 to 64, the President signing five days later. It is needless to remark, in view of the immense personal financial interests involved and the prejudices to be overcome, that the discussion of the bill was decidedly warm. The

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ablest arguments for and against were those made in the Upper House by Senators Sherman and Collamer, the latter of Vermont. Senator Collamer's objections were that the State banks and the people would oppose such an institution, and, in consequence, would never buy the bonds, whose sale was to be the main prop of the system. He questioned the constitutionality of a proposed prohibitory tax on State bank issues, argued against the incorporation of institutions to be independent of State control, laid much stress upon the responsibility imposed upon the Government for the redemption of issues, and finally pointed out what he believed to be the political dangers involved in a measure of this kind. Favoring the bill, Mr. Sherman had already in an able argument dwelt upon the present evils of legal-tender issues and the probable future. He told again the story of State banks and their defects, then argued for the bill on the grounds of convertibility of issues, uniformity in size, a market for Government bonds; further, that the system would be a medium for the absorption of State bank-notes, and that the banks would be safe and convenient depositories of public money. Finally, there would arise a community of interests between stockholders, people, and government, and there would be developed the much-needed sentiment of nationality.

By this law any association of five or more persons was authorized upon deposit of registered or coupon bonds to the minimum amount of \$50,000 to receive 90 per cent. of the par value of the same in bank-notes, which, being properly signed, were receivable for all Government dues, except duties on imports, and were payable on all Government debts, except interest on bonds. In compensation for the issue privilege, banks organized under this act were required to pay a tax on circulation, the rate being fixed at 1 per cent. by amendatory legislation in 1864. Each association was required to conform to the law of its own State in the matter of interest rates, and was compelled to maintain a special reserve for its notes and deposits, and to redeem circulation at the place of issue.

The amount of circulation was fixed at \$300,000,000, to be distributed throughout the States, Territories, and District of Columbia, one half in proportion to the population, the remaining half in proportion to banking capital and business needs. The law provided for the establishment of a finance bureau, at the head of which was to be an officer called the Comptroller of the Currency, who was given general oversight of the entire system. The original bill has been repeatedly amended, yet its leading features, with certain important exceptions, remain valid to-day; the principal changes being made the next year, providing for redemption in certain specified leading cities, excluding coupon bonds from the list of securities, increasing the minimum of capital from \$50,000 to \$100,000, and providing for the easy conversion of State banks.

The bill had received the President's approval February 25, 1863, but it was nearly four months then before a bank was organized under it, and five before one was opened in the city of New

York. Up to December 10, 1863, only 134 had been incorporated, and up to November 25, 1864, only 534, of which 168 were State banks reorganized under the national law. It is obvious that up to this time the State banks had continued to supply the major part of the currency of the country.

Mr. Fessenden had now become the Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. McCulloch Comptroller of the Currency, and they agreed in opinion that the time had come when it was necessary to discriminate against the State banks in some manner if the good to be hoped from the national system was to be realized. State bank systems were antagonistic to the national system, and they should not be suffered to exist unchecked and uncontrolled. It was indispensable to the financial success of the treasury that the currency of the country should be under the control of the Government, and this could not be the case so long as State institutions had the right to flood the country with their issues. So thought these officers; and under their recommendation Congress was induced to pass an act, approved March 3, 1865, which provided "That every national banking association, State bank, or State banking association, shall pay a tax of 10 per centum on the amount of the notes of any State bank or State banking association paid out by them after the first day of July, 1866." This act has in substance been continued to this day, and is now in force. Under and in consequence of it State banks of issue have ceased to exist.

For convenience of comparison with the development of our banking system, we give, from Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, the following table of the growth of banking power in the world in millions of pounds:

	1840.	1870.	1888-90.
United Kingdom.....	132	720	910
United States.....	90	440	1,030
France	16	64	268
Germany	12	49	231
Australia	5	38	134
Canada	3	12	40
The World.....	308	1,602	3,197

The banking power, consisting of capital, deposits, and right of issue, was as follows (1883-90) in millions of pounds:

	Capital, etc.	Deposits.	Issue.
United Kingdom.....	284	626	39
United States.....	270	760	26.7
France	140	128	121.4
Germany.....	85	146	64
Australia	26	108	5.4
Canada	13	27	6.3
The World.....	1,030	2,167	616.3

The following tables, prepared by the Comptroller of the Currency, and given in his report for 1892, tells the story of the development of the national system to 1892:

	Oct. 3, 1864.	Oct. 2, 1865.	Oct. 1, 1866.	Oct. 7, 1867.	Oct. 5, 1868.	Oct. 9, 1869.	Oct. 8, 1870.
	508 Banks.	1,513 Banks.	1,644 Banks.	1,642 Banks.	1,643 Banks.	1,617 Banks.	1,648 Banks.
RESOURCES.							
	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>
Loans.....	93.2	487.2	603.3	609.7	657.7	682.9	715.9
Bonds for circulation.....			331.8	338.6	340.5	339.5	349.9
Other United States bonds.....	108.1	427.7	95.0	80.3	74.1	44.6	37.7
Stocks, bonds, etc.....			15.9	21.5	20.7	22.2	23.6
Due from banks.....	34.0	107.3	122.9	103.6	110.1	100.8	109.4
Real estate.....	2.2	14.7	17.1	20.6	22.7	25.2	27.5
Specie.....	44.8	18.1	9.2	12.8	13.1	23.0	18.5
Legal tender notes.....		190.0	202.8	157.4	156.1	129.6	122.7
National-bank notes.....	4.7	16.2	17.4	11.8	11.8	10.8	12.5
Clearing-house exchanges.....		72.3	103.7	134.6	143.2	108.8	79.1
United States certificates of deposit.....							
Due from United States Treasurer.....							
Other resources.....	10.1	26.3	7.9	8.6	9.6	9.8	22.9
Total.....	297.1	1,359.8	1,527.0	1,499.5	1,559.6	1,497.2	1,510.7
LIABILITIES.							
Capital stock.....	86.8	393.2	415.5	420.1	420.6	426.4	439.4
Surplus fund.....	2.0	38.7	53.3	66.7	78.0	86.2	94.1
Undivided profits.....	6.0	32.4	32.6	33.8	36.1	40.7	38.6
Circulation outstanding.....	45.2	171.3	290.0	297.9	298.7	296.0	293.9
Due to depositors.....	122.2	549.1	598.0	568.2	603.1	523.0	512.8
Due to banks.....	34.9	174.2	137.5	112.8	123.1	118.9	130.0
Other liabilities.....		.9	.1			6.0	10.9
Total.....	297.1	1,359.8	1,527.0	1,499.5	1,559.6	1,497.2	1,510.7

	Oct. 2, 1871.	Oct. 3, 1872.	Sept. 12, 1873.	Oct. 2, 1874.	Oct. 1, 1875.	Oct. 2, 1876.	Oct. 1, 1877.	Oct. 1, 1878.
	1,767 Banks.	1,919 Banks.	1,976 Banks.	2,004 Banks.	2,087 Banks.	2,089 Banks.	2,080 Banks.	2,053 Banks.
RESOURCES.								
	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>
Loans.....	831.6	877.2	944.2	954.4	984.7	931.3	891.9	834.0
Bonds for circulation.....	304.5	382.0	288.3	383.3	370.3	337.2	336.8	347.6
Other United States bonds.....	45.8	27.6	23.6	28.0	28.1	47.8	45.0	94.7
Stocks, bonds, etc.....	24.5	23.5	27.7	27.8	33.5	34.4	34.5	36.9
Due from banks.....	143.2	128.2	149.5	134.8	144.7	146.9	129.9	138.9
Real estate.....	30.1	32.3	34.7	38.1	42.4	43.1	45.2	46.7
Specie.....	13.2	10.2	92.9	21.2	8.1	21.4	22.7	30.7
Legal-tender notes.....	107.0	102.1	92.4	80.0	76.5	84.2	66.9	64.4
National-bank notes.....	14.3	15.8	16.1	18.5	18.5	15.9	15.6	16.9
Clearing-house exchanges.....	115.2	125.0	100.3	109.7	87.9	100.0	74.5	82.4
United States certificates of deposit.....		6.7	20.6	42.8	48.8	29.2	33.4	32.7
Due from United States Treasurer.....				20.3	19.6	16.7	16.5	16.5
Other resources.....	41.2	25.2	17.3	18.3	19.1	19.1	28.7	24.9
Total.....	1,730.6	1,755.8	1,830.6	1,877.2	1,882.2	1,827.2	1,741.1	1,767.3
LIABILITIES.								
Capital stock.....	458.3	479.6	491.0	493.8	504.8	499.8	479.5	466.2
Surplus fund.....	101.1	110.3	120.3	129.0	134.4	132.2	122.8	116.0
Undivided profits.....	42.0	46.6	54.5	51.5	53.0	46.4	44.5	40.9
Circulation outstanding.....	317.4	335.1	340.3	334.2	319.1	292.2	291.9	301.0
Due to depositors.....	631.4	628.0	640.0	683.8	679.4	666.2	630.4	668.4
Due to banks.....	171.9	143.8	173.0	175.8	179.7	179.8	161.6	165.1
Other liabilities.....	8.5	11.5	11.5	9.1	11.8	10.6	10.4	7.9
Total.....	1,730.6	1,755.8	1,830.6	1,877.2	1,882.2	1,827.2	1,741.1	1,767.3

	Oct. 2, 1879.	Oct. 1, 1880.	Oct. 1, 1881.	Oct. 3, 1882.	Oct. 2, 1883.	Sept. 30, 1884.	Oct. 1, 1885.
	2,048 Banks.	2,090 Banks.	2,132 Banks.	2,269 Banks.	2,501 Banks.	2,664 Banks.	2,714 Banks.
RESOURCES.							
	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>
Loans.....	878.5	1,041.0	1,173.8	1,243.2	1,309.2	1,245.3	1,306.1
Bonds for circulation.....	357.3	357.8	303.3	357.6	351.4	327.4	307.7
Other United States bonds.....	71.2	43.6	50.5	37.4	30.7	30.4	31.8
Stocks, bonds, etc.....	39.7	48.9	61.0	66.2	71.1	71.4	77.5
Due from banks.....	167.3	213.5	230.8	198.9	208.9	194.2	235.3
Real estate.....	47.8	48.0	47.3	46.5	48.3	49.0	51.3
Specie.....	42.2	109.3	114.3	102.9	107.8	128.6	174.9
Legal-tender notes.....	69.2	56.0	53.2	63.2	70.7	77.0	69.7
National-bank notes.....	16.7	18.2	17.7	20.7	22.7	23.3	23.1
Clearing-house exchanges.....	113.0	121.1	189.2	208.4	96.4	66.3	84.9
United States certificates of deposit.....	26.8	7.7	6.7	8.7	10.0	14.2	18.8
Due from United States Treasurer.....	17.0	17.1	17.5	17.2	16.6	17.7	14.9
Other resources.....	22.1	23.0	26.2	28.9	28.9	33.8	36.9
Total.....	1,868.8	2,105.8	2,368.4	2,399.8	2,372.7	2,279.5	2,432.9
LIABILITIES.							
Capital stock.....	454.1	457.6	463.8	483.1	509.7	524.3	527.5
Surplus fund.....	114.8	120.5	128.1	132.0	142.0	147.0	146.6
Undivided profits.....	40.3	46.1	56.4	61.2	61.6	63.2	59.3
Circulation outstanding.....	313.8	317.3	320.2	315.0	310.5	289.8	260.0
Due to depositors.....	736.9	887.9	1,083.1	1,134.9	1,063.6	993.0	1,116.7
Due to banks.....	201.2	267.9	294.9	259.9	270.4	246.4	299.7
Other liabilities.....	6.7	8.5	11.9	13.7	14.9	15.8	14.1
Total.....	1,868.8	2,105.8	2,358.4	2,399.8	2,372.7	2,279.5	2,432.9

	Oct. 7, 1886.	Oct. 5, 1887.	Oct. 4, 1888.	Sept. 30, 1889.	Oct. 2, 1890.	Sept. 25, 1891.	Sept. 30, 1892.
	2,852 Banks.	3,049 Banks.	3,120 Banks.	3,290 Banks.	3,540 Banks.	3,677 Banks.	3,773 Banks.
RESOURCES.							
	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>	<i>Millions.</i>
Loans.....	1,451.0	1,587.5	1,628.1	1,817.3	1,986.1	2,005.5	2,171.0
Bonds for circulation.....	258.5	189.1	177.6	146.5	140.0	150.0	163.3
Other United States bonds.....	32.4	34.7	63.6	48.5	30.7	24.9	20.2
Stocks, bonds, etc.....	81.8	88.8	96.3	109.3	115.5	125.2	154.5
Due from banks.....	241.4	256.3	282.5	335.4	330.2	338.7	409.5
Real estate.....	54.1	58.0	61.1	69.4	76.8	83.3	87.9
Specie.....	156.4	165.1	181.3	164.3	195.0	183.5	209.1
Legal-tender notes.....	62.8	73.7	82.0	86.8	80.6	97.6	104.3
National-bank notes.....	22.7	21.9	21.3	20.0	18.5	20.0	19.6
Clearing-house exchanges.....	95.5	88.8	74.2	136.8	106.8	122.0	105.5
United States certificates of deposit.....	5.9	6.2	12.3	12.9	6.2	15.7	14.0
Due from United States Treasurer.....	14.0	9.3	9.0	7.4	6.9	8.0	8.2
Other resources.....	37.4	40.8	42.1	42.8	41.3	38.7	43.0
Total.....	2,513.9	2,620.2	2,731.4	2,998.3	3,141.5	3,213.1	3,510.1
LIABILITIES.							
Capital stock.....	548.5	578.5	588.4	612.6	650.4	677.4	686.6
Surplus fund.....	157.3	173.9	183.1	197.4	213.6	227.6	238.0
Undivided profits.....	66.5	71.5	70.3	84.9	97.0	103.3	101.6
Circulation.....	228.8	167.3	155.4	128.5	123.0	131.3	143.4
Due to depositors.....	1,189.5	1,274.7	1,350.7	1,522.0	1,594.2	1,608.6	1,779.3
Due to banks.....	308.6	329.6	358.1	425.3	426.4	430.6	539.7
Other liabilities.....	14.9	24.7	25.4	27.6	36.9	34.3	29.6
Total.....	2,513.9	2,620.2	2,731.4	2,998.3	3,141.5	3,213.1	3,510.1

The following tables, also from the report of the Comptroller for 1892, give the condition of State banks from 1873-92 :

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF STATE BANKS* IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR LIABILITIES AND RESOURCES IN THE YEARS 1873-92, INCLUSIVE.

YEAR.	No. of Banks.	LIABILITIES.				
		Capital Stock.	Surplus and Profits.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Other Liabilities.
1873.....		\$12,795,834	\$12,137,400	\$174,714	\$110,754,034	\$13,109,425
1874.....		59,395,532	15,395,912	153,432	143,696,383	18,490,829
1875.....	551	69,084,980	15,799,300	177,653	165,871,439	21,405,624
1876.....	633	80,425,633	17,485,163	388,307	157,028,658	22,028,007
1877.....	592	110,949,515	23,949,421	387,661	226,654,538	21,316,560
1878.....	475	95,193,292	19,677,060	388,298	142,764,491	19,888,690
1879.....	616	104,124,871	22,333,795	389,542	166,958,229	22,032,903
1880.....	620	90,816,575	25,538,111	283,308	208,751,611	29,514,881
1881.....	652	92,022,525	28,919,633	274,941	261,362,393	35,476,058
1882.....	672	91,808,213	32,050,629	286,391	281,775,496	32,913,444
1883.....	754	102,454,861	37,950,361	187,978	334,995,792	37,448,124
1884.....	815	110,020,351	44,202,836	137,554	325,365,660	40,311,356
1885.....	975	125,258,240	42,244,311	98,129	344,307,916	41,654,165
1886.....	849	109,611,596	37,909,268	103,430	342,882,767	38,188,859
1887.....	1,422	148,557,367	53,278,979	228,956	447,995,653	44,989,468
1888.....	1,493	154,981,868	56,885,088	148,434	410,407,842	49,604,685
1889.....	1,671	166,651,582	64,841,937	120,161	507,084,481	57,338,352
1890.....	2,101	188,737,307	73,760,521	120,248	553,054,814	55,139,471
1891.....	2,572	208,564,841	81,116,533	110,534	556,637,012	59,565,222
1892.....	3,191	233,751,171	90,358,180	137,232	648,513,809	67,937,339

RESOURCES.

YEAR.	Loans and Discounts.	Stocks, Bonds, etc.	Due from Banks, etc.	Real Estate, etc.	Expenses, etc.	Cash and Cash Items.	Other Resources.	Total Resources.
1873.....	\$119,569,445	\$11,161,963	\$12,605,100	\$3,269,233	\$886,348	\$39,445,239	\$944,079	\$178,881,407
1874.....	154,727,165	18,262,541	29,050,046	5,372,186	1,284,344	37,549,807	1,164,999	237,402,088
1875.....	176,786,246	24,012,934	19,851,146	9,005,657	1,353,066	36,420,757	4,909,190	272,338,996
1876.....	179,332,100	20,233,594	23,096,812	8,568,525	1,559,376	38,592,578	6,872,866	278,255,852
1877.....	207,101,879	24,138,930	25,201,782	12,609,160	1,211,416	46,551,827	6,442,710	383,257,704
1878.....	169,711,386	21,549,107	25,107,149	11,092,218	914,726	38,842,895	10,694,390	277,911,831
1879.....	191,891,393	29,655,227	22,160,067	14,264,335	801,005	47,836,053	9,221,760	315,830,340
1880.....	207,349,737	24,259,649	36,180,435	14,227,927	878,666	66,206,246	5,801,796	354,994,486
1881.....	252,154,730	36,953,355	46,657,328	13,914,238	965,327	57,768,816	10,542,266	418,956,060
1882.....	273,715,586	28,519,699	49,919,183	13,037,939	999,944	60,334,244	12,306,578	438,834,173
1883.....	223,751,138	27,370,910	58,709,516	13,592,791	918,403	77,344,512	9,969,706	512,137,026
1884.....	332,312,235	33,789,724	48,836,689	15,058,411	1,025,237	82,383,594	7,671,876	521,077,766
1885.....	349,230,518	35,639,665	59,062,405	15,873,312	1,130,883	86,334,867	5,791,111	553,562,761
1886.....	332,353,014	31,587,114	49,747,129	14,605,853	1,047,782	91,129,842	8,224,886	528,695,920
1887.....	440,086,562	39,285,297	65,299,531	20,683,723	2,164,688	111,258,460	16,272,153	695,050,414
1888.....	434,004,444	36,884,671	58,771,260	20,246,654	1,768,158	105,314,947	14,711,217	671,707,317
1889.....	508,407,112	38,375,892	79,819,386	25,255,347	2,026,800	133,210,164	8,940,828	796,035,613
1890.....	586,534,484	39,949,224	86,010,062	27,189,697	2,602,607	120,765,422	7,760,635	870,812,311
1891.....	627,262,419	41,808,214	82,531,530	38,791,441	2,865,083	107,453,889	15,281,566	905,994,142
1892.....	704,495,113	50,182,379	104,629,312	32,037,310	3,278,995	129,745,578	16,329,944	1,049,607,731

* Stock savings banks included for the years 1873-86, inclusive.

For the details of the history since the war, we refer the reader to CURRENCY. It has been a period of changes in the currency rather than of banks or banking. The failure of the important house of Jay Cooke & Company in 1873 precipitated a crisis, but the holders of national bank-notes were amply protected by the treasury deposits. (See also CRISES.)

IV. PROPOSED BANK REFORMS.

Very recently (1895), owing to the silver question (see SILVER), there has come something of a serious agitation for the abolition of the tax on State banks. The Comptroller of the Currency (A. B. Hepburn) says, in his report for 1892, p. 15 :

"A conditional repeal of this 10 per cent. tax is proposed, conditioned upon compliance by the State banks with certain regulations imposed by Congress,

designed to secure circulation and protect note-holders against loss. Such State banks would then be national banks for the purpose of issuing circulating notes, and Congress must provide for their supervision and examination, to see that the laws are complied with. Can currency be better taken out by a bank organized under a State law than under an act of Congress? Would Congress or the country gain anything by the proposed divided jurisdiction over these banks of issue? Would not division lead to conflict and confusion? All national banks make reports of condition to the comptroller, on a past day, fixed by him, in such form as the comptroller prescribes, and upon blanks furnished by him. These forms are very complete as to balance sheet and detail. In order to comply with these calls, a bank's books must be so kept as to furnish the required information. These reports are of very great value to the banks themselves, in systematizing their bookkeeping and insuring good and uniform methods of business. The information reported, all on the same date, is of great value to the public. What would be gained by denationalizing our banks in all respects, except as to circulation? Can the various State legislatures be depended upon to provide better laws and better supervision than Congress?

"It is argued that 92 per cent. of all business trans-

actions consummated through banks are represented by credits—that is, exchanges and offsets—and that 3 per cent. only is represented by money. The Government does not assume to regulate the 92 per cent. Why should it the 3 per cent.? Why not as well allow State bank-notes to circulate? Their acceptance is purely voluntary. That statement is theoretically true, but practically it is wholly false. A banker, or large merchant or manufacturer, may be in a position, equipped with skilled men or expert information, to exercise discrimination between the strong and the weak banks. But what can the artisan, the day laborer, the miner, or the farmer know of such a matter? From the nature of their calling they can exercise no discrimination. They know, and they can only know, that the Government allows such bills to circulate, in form and semblance of money, and they have the right to hold the Government responsible that it be worth 100 cents on the dollar, whether it comes from New York or New Mexico.

"The Constitution of the United States prohibits the States from coining money or making anything except gold and silver legal tender. State bank bills could not become a legal tender. Neither are national bank bills. State bank bills when issued add just so much to the liabilities of the bank. They would circulate freely in times of prosperity and confidence. In times of monetary stringency and general distrust they would return to the banks for redemption. They would have to be redeemed in legal-tender money provided by Congress. Congress must, under the Constitution, provide all the money that possesses a full debt-paying power. By every consideration of sound business principles it should provide all the money that the country requires. No public interest can be served by dividing this function with the 44 States. Every period of financial depression in the past resulted in the suspension of specie payments, more or less general, by the banks; that is, resulted in the inability of the banks to redeem their notes. The same conditions would produce similar results in the future. If State bank notes are allowed to circulate, their acceptance is not voluntary; it becomes a business necessity. Many mine owners, manufacturers, and large employers of labor practised paying their help in store orders, in order to control their trade and make the extra profit. Surely, under the law, the acceptance or rejection of such orders was purely voluntary, and yet their acceptance for fear of losing their employment was general.

"So great did this abuse become, that many States have enacted laws compelling corporations to pay their laborers, at regular intervals, in money. The wealthy class could provide themselves with the means of discriminating against the notes of weak banks, and if they found themselves possessed of any, would proceed to work them off upon their less fortunate neighbors. That is the record of the past. It would be the experience of the future. To the average laboring man a bank-note reporter and detector would be as inexplicable as the binomial theorem. When a bank suspends, the fact that the note is secured and will be eventually paid is poor consolation to the laborer who needs his money for his daily use. The note of a failed national bank is as good as that of any bank in the system. The restoration of State-bank circulation portends disaster to that class of our citizens who most need and have most right to ask protection from the Government. State-bank circulation loses its money power in a crisis. It is a source of weakness, and adds to the danger. Instead of paying debts it comes forward itself to be paid."

And again, p. 11 :

"The national banks for a long series of years have demonstrated their ability to furnish the country with currency ample in amount, elastic in volume, sound beyond peradventure, and every dollar of which, every moment of its existence, was worth par throughout the length and breadth of an unwise experiment. It is proposed to restore State-bank circulation by removing the 10 per cent. tax imposed March 3, 1865. There is no fairer test of men or methods than the record they make for themselves. Every item of assets and liabilities, as shown by the trial balance of their general ledgers, of every national bank, for the whole period of their existence, has five times each year been published in the locality, reported to the Comptroller of the Currency, and become

Arguments for the National System.

a matter of record. Additional tables resolve all composite items into detail. Additional statistical tables complete the history and workings of such banks. Special reports show the course of trade and exchange. In case of failure, equally explicit information is obtained from receiver's reports, total claims, total assets, percentage paid, percentage of loss, items of expense, including receiver's fees and attorney's fees.

"All this information is annually reported to Congress and spread before the country. The course of trade, the material condition, the prosperity or depression of the country, are truthfully reflected in the condition of its banks. And the publication of the above conditions, in the reports of these banks, has been of inestimable value to publicists and economists. This is the record of national banks under Federal authority and Federal supervision. To compare the present national banking system with the old State banking system is to compare order with confusion—perfect system, under central control, with imperfect system, under diversified control. The banking systems of the different States, during the period that they were banks of issue, differed essentially. Some had excellent banking laws; others had very crude laws. Some had effective supervision, and some had none or worse than none. In no State was the aggregate or percentage of loss to note-holders of State banks reported, nor the losses to creditors or stockholders. The most careful research reveals only general statements, or estimates of loss, in the current financial literature of the time.

"Congress, by resolution in 1832, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to procure and publish statistics relating to banks in the several States. Such publication was made more or less complete, with the exception of some years, until 1864; then followed an interval until 1873, when the Comptroller of the Currency was directed to procure from official and other reliable sources and report to Congress information in relation to State banking institutions."

And still again, p. 13 :

"If the 44 States are to furnish the currency of the country, then we will have a chain of sovereignties furnishing our circulating medium, each with varying laws and varying supervision, and, like all chains, the system as a whole would be no stronger than its weakest link. Disorganized finance in one State would affect all. Argentine financial troubles precipitated the Barings failure at a time when this country was generally prosperous, and yet it produced a quasi panic in the United States and cast a cloud over the financial horizon of the whole world which has not yet fully disappeared. Banking is not a philanthropical business, and banks will not issue circulating notes unless it is profitable. Manifestly issuing notes would be most profitable where greatest latitude was allowed or greatest laxity prevailed, and with the circulation of any State discredited, or the particular banks of any State discredited, conservative bankers and conservative business men would have to discriminate against such bills.

"We all know the practical machinery employed to enforce such discrimination. Our State boundaries and commercial centers would be policed with brokers' offices, and commerce would be compelled to pause at State lines and pay the exchange demanded in order to provide itself with money acceptable in the locality where proposed business was to be done. The bill of a perfectly solvent bank in Oregon would be worth just as much less than its face in Chicago or New York as it would cost to send such bill to Oregon for redemption and secure the proceeds in return—cost of transmission each way and interest for the time required—in short, exchange. It would be precisely on a par with the note of any equally reputable business firm. The only way this discount could be avoided would be to provide for the redemption of such notes in Chicago, New York, Boston, and other money centers. Should interior and far Western banks make their bills worth par throughout the country by providing for their redemption at convenient money centers, it would compel them to keep an amount of idle reserve with their redemption agents that would seriously impair the profits on circulation. And the United States Government would not facilitate banking transactions then, as it does now, by receiving money at its sub-treasuries and transporting the same to any part of the country for the meager charge of 15 to 50 cents per \$1000."

Danger of a Currency furnished by State Banks.

Such is the main argument for the retention of the national banking system and the tax upon State banks of issue.

On the other hand is the argument that Congress has no right to take the privilege of issuing notes by a tax practically prohibitory. The Democratic national platform, therefore, representing the party of State rights, consistently put a plank into its platform repealing the tax :

"In Sec. 8 of Art. 1 of the Constitution of the United States, the powers which Congress shall have are enumerated, and as we read them over we look in vain for any one that in any terms confers upon that body the

power to take from the States authority to provide for a paper currency if by the Constitution it was left to them. **Opposition to State Bank Tax.** The power to incorporate banks and authorize the issue of currency by them, as we have seen, had been exercised for three quarters of a century before Congress undertook to interfere with it in

the manner specified. Even when a national bank was chartered, the State banks were left in existence; and it was not the State power but the national power, as exercised in the grant of the national charter, that was then seriously questioned. We must therefore take it as indisputable at the present time that the States had rightful power to charter banks as they for so long a time had done, and to authorize the issue of notes by them, to circulate as money. Among the powers granted to Congress, however, was the power 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.' This power, it is seen, is given in the most general terms, and the restrictions that are imposed upon it are only such as to insure uniformity, and they need not here be specified. A power thus conferred in general terms must necessarily rest in the discretion of the Congress, but it is expected to be exercised in harmony with the general features of the Constitution itself, and without any encroachment upon the undoubted rights of the States or of the people. The power to lay and collect taxes is a revenue power. It has for its object, as is here declared in the Constitution itself, 'to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.'"

Now, this tax admittedly and unquestionably is not and was not expected to bring in revenue. Under the form of a tax it was avowedly simply a means to develop the national bank system at the expense of State banks. Hence, argue the opponents of the tax, it is unconstitutional. If the National Government, under pretext of taxation, can do what otherwise the Constitution gives it no power to do, it can go much further. Says T. M. Cooley :

"Great as is the federal power to tax, certain implied exemptions are indisputable. Congress cannot lay a tax upon the States, or upon their municipalities, or their offices, or their schools, or their other governmental instruments or agencies. If these could be taxed, the States themselves might be annihilated under the pretense of an exercise of the revenue power. But when the legitimacy of regulating local commerce and contracts by federal taxation shall be firmly established in the legislative mind, we may feel certain that occasions will not be wanting for partisan majorities in Congress to give frequent illustrations of the truth of the maxim that 'the power to tax is a power to destroy.'"

Again, it is argued that a State bank issue would be less free from danger at the hands of agitators, since, if they did get control of the legislation of one State, they would not be likely to of all State legislations at the same time; and so the whole national system would not be endangered as if all were under the control of one national body. The using of this argument at a time when the East fears what it considers the wild financial views of many of the Western States is of course to be expected.

But this leads us to notice, lastly, those who would do away altogether with the chartering of private banks by either State or nation as banks of issue. These argue that the present system gives enormous advantages to the favored few who have capital. They point out that under the present system any five rich men can loan the Government \$100,000, receive interest on the same without any serious risk to themselves, and yet, while receiving this interest on the whole

Radical Views of Banking.

\$100,000, can get \$90,000 of this to let out again at interest as a bank. They go on to argue that our whole banking and currency system since the war, if not before, has been controlled by the bankers of our great cities wholly in their own interests. They accuse them of first scheming to put limitations upon the Government issue so as to lessen its value, thus causing depreciation; secondly, of buying up this depreciated currency, and with it purchasing United States bonds at par, and then getting Congress to vote, under the pretense that honesty demanded it, of redeeming these bonds in gold (having sold them for paper); and, thirdly, on top of all this, of scheming to reduce the volume of the currency, and so to raise the value of the notes in their possession. The People's Party, therefore, all Socialists, Nationalists, Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and many even who do not endorse the greenbackism and all the financial positions of the People's Party, would have all banking carried on by Government directly, without the intervention of private banks chartered by either State or nation as banks of issue. Professor Amasa Walker, Francis Bowen, and other economists are also opposed to such private banks. (For a fuller discussion, however, of this position and the argument for it, see GREENBACKISM; CURRENCY; PEOPLE'S PARTY; PAPER MONEY, etc.) The philosophical anarchists and extreme individualists, on the other hand, would abolish the present system by putting no dependence upon Government, but substituting mutual banks. (See MUTUAL BANKS.) Others, who do not go so far as either of the above extremes, would have simply a Government postal bank system (*q.v.*) or land banks, as in Germany. (See LAND BANKS.) Says Mr. B. S. Heath, who is a fair example of those who would most radically change the present banking system, in his *Labor and Financial Revolution*, p. 144 :

"Viewed in its true light, is not the national banking system a long step toward the establishment of sovereignty based upon hereditary succession; is it not a big block wrenched from the temple of liberty and planted as the corner-stone of imperialism, a powerful element of sovereignty crowned with the divine right of kings?"

"As the federal Government possesses no powers except such as were delegated to it by the people and enumerated in the Constitution, was not the bank act, conferring and perpetuating delegated powers upon foreigners and aliens, a gross betrayal of trust, if not treason against the people?"

"Has the Government a constitutional right to delegate powers entrusted to it, especially to be exercised by it for the people?"

"If not, is the national bank act a palpable violation of the Constitution, and its enforcement a usurpation of power not warranted by that instrument?"

"If the Government chooses to farm out its control over the currency to private parties, why not grant the privilege to those who need it in the production of

wealth, instead of giving it to an idle monopoly to rob, blackmail, and oppress the producers of wealth?"

Such are the various views of those who in different ways would modify or overthrow the present banking system. (For a discussion of the economical questions involved, see MONEY.)

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R. H. Inglis Palgrave, *Notes on Banking* (London, 1873); James Wilson, *Capital, Currency, and Banking* (London, 1847); Walter Bagehot, *Lombard Street* (London, 1873); John Francis, *History of the Bank of England* (London, 1847); J. E. Thorold Rogers, *The First Nine Years of the Bank of England* (Oxford, 1887); A. W. Kerr, *History of Scotch Banking* (1884); Malcolm Dillon, *History and Development of Banking in Ireland* (London and Dublin, 1889); A. Crump, *English Manual of Banking* (London, 1879); A. S. Bolles, *Practical Banking* (New York, 1884); R. H. Inglis Palgrave, *Bank Rate, England, France, and Germany* (London, 1880); C. M. Collins, *History, Law, and Practice of Banking* (London, 1887); John Hutchison, *The Practice of Banking* (London, 1883); *Bankers' Magazine* (London); *Journal Institute of Bankers* (London); *American Bankers' Magazine* (New York); *Dictionnaire des Finances* (Paris, 1889). For the views of believers in paper currency in the United States, see B. S. Heath's *Labor and Finance Revolution* (1880). For the individualist idea of banking, see William B. Greene's *Mutual Banking* (1870).

THE NATIONAL BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES.

(From the annual reports of the Comptroller of the Currency.)

YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 1.	No. of Banks.	Capital.	Surplus.	Total Dividends.	Total Net Earnings.	Ratio of Dividends to Capital.	Ratio of Dividends to Capital and Surplus.	Ratio of Earnings to Capital and Surplus.
1872.....	1,852	\$465,676,023	\$109,181,942.00	\$46,687,115.00	\$58,075,430.00	10.19	8.33	10.36
1875.....	2,047	497,864,833	134,123,649.00	49,068,601.00	57,936,224.00	9.89	7.81	9.22
1880.....	2,072	454,215,062	120,145,649.00	36,111,473.00	45,186,034.00	8.02	6.35	7.88
1881.....	2,100	458,934,485	127,238,394.00	38,377,485.00	53,622,563.00	8.38	6.59	9.20
1882.....	2,197	473,947,715	133,579,931.00	40,791,928.00	53,321,234.00	8.73	6.81	8.28
1883.....	2,350	494,640,149	141,232,187.00	40,678,678.00	54,097,148.00	8.30	6.50	8.60
1884.....	2,582	518,605,725	147,721,475.00	41,254,473.00	52,362,783.00	8.00	6.20	8.00
1885.....	2,665	524,599,602	146,903,495.00	40,656,121.00	43,625,497.00	7.80	6.00	6.50
1886.....	2,784	532,459,921	155,030,884.00	42,412,803.00	55,165,385.00	7.96	6.17	8.02
1887.....	3,049	578,462,765	173,913,440.97	44,152,497.92	64,506,869.66	7.98	6.12	8.95
1888.....	3,093	583,530,145	184,416,990.92	46,531,657.89	65,360,486.73	8.02	6.10	8.57
1889.....	3,170	596,302,518	194,818,192.19	46,618,060.27	69,618,265.07	7.82	5.89	8.80
1890.....	3,353	625,089,645	208,707,786.00	51,158,883.33	72,055,563.52	8.19	6.14	8.65
1891.....	3,577	660,108,261	222,766,668.00	50,795,011.00	75,763,614.00	7.70	5.76	8.60
1892.....	3,701	679,076,650	237,761,865.23	50,400,713.93	66,658,015.27	7.42	5.50	7.27
1893.....	3,759	684,342,024	246,918,673.11	49,633,195.99	68,750,952.00	7.25	5.33	7.38
1894 (March 1).....	3,769	681,129,704	247,732,601.00	46,399,345.00	52,422,069.00	6.80	5.00	5.60

BANKING STATISTICS OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

COUNTRIES.	Capital.	Deposits.	Total.	Per Capita.	Amount of Issue.	Specie in Safe.	Specie Ratio.
Argentine Republic.....	\$60,000,000	\$85,000,000	\$145,000,000	\$40.00	\$220,000,000	\$22,500,000	10
Australia.....	130,000,000	549,000,000	679,000,000	185.00	27,000,000	66,500,000	357
Austria.....	225,000,000	510,000,000	735,000,000	19.00	217,500,000	107,500,000	59
Belgium.....	55,000,000	95,000,000	150,000,000	25.00	74,000,000	22,000,000	29
Canada.....	65,000,000	135,000,000	200,000,000	40.00	34,500,000	7,000,000	22
Denmark.....	100,000,000	105,000,000	205,000,000	58.00	24,000,000	15,500,000	70
France.....	700,000,000	640,000,000	1,340,000,000	35.00	607,000,000	505,000,000	84
Germany.....	425,000,000	730,000,000	1,155,000,000	25.00	320,000,000	295,000,000	91
Great Britain.....	1,480,000,000	3,130,000,000	4,540,000,000	120.00	195,000,000	149,000,000	70
Italy.....	125,000,000	415,000,000	540,000,000	18.00	215,000,000	70,000,000	33
Netherlands.....	70,000,000	300,000,000	370,000,000	22.50	86,000,000	53,000,000	60
Norway.....	25,000,000	5,000,000	30,000,000	15.00	12,000,000	12,500,000	104
Portugal.....	30,000,000	20,000,000	50,000,000	11.00	.....	.....	.....
Russia.....	210,000,000	320,000,000	530,000,000	6.00	615,000,000	165,000,000	26
Spain.....	155,000,000	80,000,000	235,000,000	14.00	147,500,000	47,500,000	32
Sweden.....	45,000,000	75,000,000	120,000,000	26.50	31,500,000	13,500,000	44
Switzerland.....	25,000,000	60,000,000	85,000,000	30.00	31,000,000	19,500,000	63

The approximations in the table of Banking Statistics of Principal Countries of the World are by Mulhall, 1890.

BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM.—In reviewing the relation of Baptists to social reforms, it is to be borne in mind that they do not constitute an organic body capable of giving a united authoritative expression

of opinion on either social or religious matters, or of taking formal and concerted action thereon. While exhibiting a remarkable unity of doctrine and polity, they are, nevertheless, simply local societies, self-governing and independ-

dent of one another. Indeed, to the sociologist this initial statement is one of deep interest, as these local societies were, in the times of the reformatory movements of the sixteenth century, already existing as free socialistic communities, and as such are deserving of the investigation of the social reformer. Mr. Richard Heath, in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, has clearly shown this fact. These societies have never completely lost the early social leaven, and in all times there have been among them earnest and able advocates of social, political, and religious liberty, contending for the separation of Church and State, liberty of conscience, government by consent of the governed, the kingdom of God on earth, and the inner light and teaching of the Divine Spirit. Baptists have, therefore, naturally affiliated themselves with the radical party in social and religious affairs. And yet this same love of individual liberty and a jealousy of autocratic external control have prevented the manifestation of this progressive spirit in the erection of great institutions or the promulgation of authoritative creeds. Perhaps, aside from individual expressions of this liberty-loving spirit, the widest influence which Baptists have exerted has been in a socialistic and missionary propaganda. Missionary zeal has ever been conspicuous among them both in home and

Missionary and Socialistic Propaganda. In the modern missionary movement, William Carey and Adoniram Judson are conceded to rank among the foremost pioneers. In political revolutions they have been usually found on the liberal side, and many of the leaders have been drawn from among them. In the anti-slavery movement they took an early and decisive position, while in the Revolution they were, almost to a man, on the patriot side; and in a still earlier day Roger Williams was the first great apostle of religious liberty.

The recent social discussions have naturally awakened the interest of Baptists. In the Baptist Congress reports, almost from its commencement, in 1882, a prominent place has been accorded to social topics, and able contributions will be found in them to the solution of these questions. In the proceedings of the missionary annual meetings, which are the only general gatherings of Baptists of a national character, as well as in State conventions and local associations, social opinions of an advanced type on temperance, slavery, negro and Indian education, etc., have found expression in resolutions and memorials intended for transmission to Congress or State legislatures.

The *Baptist Congress* was instituted in November, 1882, by several clergymen and laymen "for the discussion of current questions," and has proved a very useful and efficient organization. Its inception is credited to Professor E. H. Johnson, D.D., of Crozer Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa. It is modeled after the plan of the *Church Congress*, and is the only similar body in the country. Its first president was Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., of Philadelphia. The first meeting was held in Brooklyn, and it has held annual meetings since. The last meeting was held in December, 1893,

in Augusta, Ga. The proceedings of the Congress are published annually.

The purpose of the Congress is to afford an opportunity for the full, free, and courteous discussion of social and religious topics. No action is taken of any kind. It is simply a free platform for debate.

In 1889 a few of the younger Baptist ministers in the vicinity of New York commenced a paper called *For the Right*, devoted to Christian socialism. It was published for 18 months, and then discontinued for lack of financial support. The first editors of this paper were Rev. J. E. Raymond, Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch, Miss Elizabeth Post, and Rev. Leighton Williams. In December, 1892, a conference of Baptist ministers interested in social topics met in Philadelphia and formed an undenominational society known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, to be devoted to the study and propaganda of the social teachings and gospel of Jesus Christ. Rev. Samuel Lane Batten, now (1895) associate pastor of Amity Church, New York, is the secretary and only officer of the Brotherhood. In August, 1893, the Brotherhood held a three days' conference at Marlborough-on-the-Hudson, discussing various aspects of the doctrine of the Kingdom of God, with a view to the publication of a volume of essays on the subject. Similar conferences have been held yearly since. (See BROTHERHOOD OF THE KINGDOM.)

Perhaps the considerations already stated may explain the small number of Baptist churches which have as yet sought to exemplify the social aspects of the Gospel in the various appliances and applications now becoming common. Yet the "institutional Church," as it is coming to be called, is by no means unknown among Baptists. The Grace Temple Church, in Philadelphia, of which Dr. Russell H. Conwell is pastor, is well known throughout the country for its splendid work in popular education. The old Spruce "Institution-Street Church, in the same city, is **isal Churches.**" conspicuous in work along similar lines. In New York, the Tabernacle Church was the first to launch out in these directions. It has since been followed by the Memorial Church and Amity Church. The last named has made a new departure in opening its new hall for a series of conferences on municipal government which have met with considerable popular favor.

Mention should be made also in this article of the advanced stand which many of the Baptist preachers and authors have taken on social topics. Dr. Francis Wayland and Dr. Martin B. Anderson exerted as educators a profound influence during the anti-slavery agitation and the Civil War, as did also Dr. William R. Williams by his sermons. Many others might be mentioned did space permit. Among our denominational papers, the *National Baptist* has been conspicuous for its outspoken attitude on social topics. The editor, Dr. H. L. Wayland, and his brother, Hon. Francis Wayland, of Yale College, have long been prominent in the Social Science Association.

In conclusion, it may be said that as yet the relation of Baptists to social reform is not so important for any distinct contribution that they

have made to its literature or to its institutions as for the illustration which their own historical descent and present condition affords of the possibility, permanence, and prosperity of self-governing, self-perpetuating social communities. They early built upon principles in the religious sphere which have since been embodied in our political constitution, and are yet to be realized in a new *social régime*.

LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

BARNETT, Rev. SAMUEL A., rector (1895) of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, East London. Mr. Barnett was born in 1844, and was educated at Wadham College, Oxford. About 1872 he became vicar of St. Jude's Church, and commenced his faithful and untiring labors. In 1883 he went to Oxford and presented to a little knot of students gathered in a student's room a plan for a settlement of university men to live and work among the poor. A small settlement of five men was made. Then Cambridge University joined with them, and in January, 1885, Toynbee Hall (*q. v.*) was commenced, with Mr. Barnett as warden. It was named for Arnold Toynbee (*q. v.*), the brilliant young student who had previously gone to live among the poor, but who had died (1883). Mr. Barnett's central thought was that all true uplifting for the poor must come from life, and from brother-life. "Vain," he said, "will be higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the *life* of brother-men." He and his wife, Henrietta O. Barnett, have been the authors of many essays and papers on various portions of the social problem, which have been collected into a most readable and suggestive book called *Practicable Socialism*. Some of his more fundamental positions are as follows:

"The social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary, if he be not himself the Christian missionary" (p. 195).

"The one satisfactory method of social reform is that which tends to make more common the good things which wealth has gained for the few. The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers" (p. 65).

"The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political, but social; that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. The care of the people is the care of the community and not of any philanthropic section" (p. 72).

"Societies which absorb much wealth and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor law and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do. There is much which may be urged in favor of such a course. It is only society, or, to use the title by which society expresses itself in towns, it is only town councils (*i. e.*, city councils) which can cover all the ground and see that each locality gets equal treatment. It is by common action that a healthy spirit becomes common, and the tone of public opinion may be more healthy when the town council engages in good doing than when good doing is the monopoly of individuals

or of societies. If nations have been ennobled by wars undertaken against an enemy, towns may be ennobled by works undertaken against the evils of poverty" (p. 66).

It is not easy shortly to answer the question, "What is Toynbee Hall?" It is not enough to say that it is the center of education, where every week some thousand students meet. Neither is it enough to say it is a club of university men associated to promote the common good. It has rather become a name under which a society holds together, formed of members of all classes, creeds and opinion, with the aim of trying to pass on to East London the best gifts of the age. Toynbee Hall, too, has not been made, it has grown; and it is no exaggeration but bare justice to say that its growth to the present splendid proportions is in very large measure due to its devoted warden, Mr. Barnett.

But even here Mr. Barnett's social efforts have not ceased. He has been and is still associated with almost innumerable movements for the benefit of the poor. As a member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians he has taken great interest in the reform of poor law administration, and the esteem in which he is held was recently proved by his election to the chairmanship of the Board. He is also chairman of the Children's Country Holiday Fund. He aided very materially in the establishment of the Free Library in Whitechapel, and is one of the commissioners for that part of London. He is also actively connected with the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, with the Charity Organization Society, the School Board, the Teachers' University Association, and the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.

BARTER is the act or practice of trafficking by exchange of commodities. (For a discussion of the monetary questions involved, see articles on CURRENCY and MONEY.)

BASCOM, JOHN, born in Genoa, N. Y., May 1, 1827, graduated at Williams, 1849, and at Andover Theological Seminary, 1855; was tutor at Williams College from 1852-53, and from 1855-74 Professor of Rhetoric there. From 1874-87 he was President of Wisconsin University and Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. He is now Professor of Political Science in Williams College. His principal works are *Political Economy* (1859); *Aesthetics* (1862); *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1865); *Science of Mind* (1869); *Philosophy of Religion* (1872); *Philosophy of English Literature* (1874); *Ethics* (1879); *Natural Theology* (1880); *Comparative Psychology* (1878); *Problems in Philosophy* (1885); *Sociology* (1887); *Words of Christ* (1885); *New Theology* (1891); *An Historical Interpretation of Philosophy* (1893); *Social Science* (1895). He has also written extensively for the quarterly press, on various reform topics—prohibition, labor reform, etc.

BASTIAT, FRÉDÉRIC (1801-50), born at Mugron, near Bayonne, France, was the son of a merchant in the Spanish trade, and was left an orphan at the age of nine. He commenced

active life in the establishment of his uncle ; then he tried farming at Mugron ; next was made, after the Revolution of 1830, *judge de paix* of his canton. His first pamphlets were little memoirs on local subjects ; but he became interested in English writing on political economy, and it seems to have awakened him to new powers. He wrote his *Sophismes Économiques* and acquired popularity and recognition. He soon became the most dreaded foe of protection, and was a friend of the great Cobden. An *Association pour la Liberté des Échanges* was formed at Bordeaux and another at Paris, with Bastiat as secretary. He was turned aside from his battle for free trade by the Revolution of 1848, when he turned his shafts of wit and French epigram against the socialists, and even more against Proudhon. He was elected to the Assembly of 1848-49, but spoke little, being mainly engaged on his great work, his *Harmonies*, the first volume of which only was published before he died in Italy. "In this brilliant work," says M. de Forille, in the article upon Bastiat in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, "unhappily never finished, Bastiat shows the contrast between the internal weakness of the artificial organizations which are founded on constraint, and the prosperity spontaneously arising in an economic condition in which the equilibrium of individual and collective forces results from their free and reciprocal balance. This is the fundamental thought (*idée mère*) on which the *Harmonies Économiques* are based, and granted this as a philosophic basis, it could not have been developed with more skill. (See Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.)

BATHS (Public).—Public baths were considered a necessary feature of all ancient cities. We read of a public swimming bath in Rome 312 B.C., and that at one time Rome had 856 public baths, using annually 400,000,000 gallons of water. In the Middle Ages nearly every village and town is said to have had its bath-room with wooden tubs. To-day in Turkey and in Japan, and in almost all Eastern countries, public baths are found accessible to the poorest classes on payment of a very slight fee. The movement to start public baths in modern Western cities is, however, of recent date, the first being established in Liverpool in 1842. In 1844 an Association for Promoting Cleanliness Among the People was formed in London, and in 1846 Parliament passed an act permitting municipal and local authorities to establish public baths and laundries at low prices. Birmingham first moved. Says Mr. Albert Shaw, in his *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (p. 187) :

"It was in 1851 that the first establishment was completed and opened at a cost of about \$120,000. Its popularity was immediate, and it was patronized by 100,000 bathers a year. In 1860 a second establishment was opened, followed by a third one in 1862. The bathers soon averaged 200,000 a year, and gradually increased to 300,000. In 1863 a fourth great establishment was opened, and the bathers at once increased to 400,000. These are, of course, in perennial use, and artificially warmed in winter. But the committee also provides open-air summer baths in two or three of the parks. The school-children of Birmingham have the pleasure and benefit of splendid swimming-baths the year around, at the price of a halfpenny for each bath. Citizens who wish to pay for Turkish baths find them

provided at a shilling. It is not attempted to make these establishments fully self-sustaining. The running expenses of the system are more than \$35,000 a year, and the receipts from bathers are less than \$30,000. The city, moreover, has interest to pay on an investment of \$350,000. But when the benefits to school-children alone—not to mention the hosts of young working men and women—are considered, the net charge against the rates is a trifling matter for a rich city of half a million people."

From the same source we learn that public baths exist in Sheffield, Huddersfield, Halifax, Birkenhead, Hanley, Bolton, Leicester, Plymouth, Kidderminster, Oldham, and Coventry. Salford has four public baths established at a cost of \$200,000. Nottingham has greater bathing facilities in proportion to its size than any town in England. Liverpool has now seven public baths at a cost of perhaps \$800,000. Manchester since 1880 has opened eight baths, costing nearly \$1000 apiece, and connected with each is a public gymnasium. London, long deficient, is now moving rapidly in multiplying baths. Of Glasgow's public baths Mr. Shaw says :

"There are now five large establishments in different parts of the city, the first of which was opened in 1878 and the last in 1884. Each includes under the same roof very capacious swimming-baths for men and for women and numerous small bath-rooms, every modern facility being provided ; and also, as a distinct feature, an elaborate and extensive wash-house for the use of poor families that lack home conveniences for laundry work. The substantial character of these institutions will appear when I state the fact that, altho honestly and economically built, they have cost more than \$600,000.

"The swimming-baths are kept open through the entire year, at a uniform temperature, and the pure and soft Loch Katrine water makes them particularly inviting. Their establishment was an inestimable boon to the working classes, who needed them as a common decency of life, and who enjoy them as a luxury. They are in charge of competent swimming-masters, and there are swimming-clubs and frequent contests in connection with each of them. Glasgow affords the masses so little healthful recreation comparatively that this feature of the baths is the more appreciated. The number of bathers exceeds 450,000 a year, and there is reason to believe that it will increase, altho the present average of 1500 per day the entire year through would seem to justify the city's outlay. The charges are, of course, small—twopence for use of swimming-bath and a little more for the private baths, with special rates for school-children."

France, Belgium, and Austria have kept pace with this movement. Berlin had 12 public baths up to 1893, and that year another was erected at a cost of \$150,300.

In the United States very little has been done, and that by private societies. In 1891 the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor opened a People's Bath at 9 Centre Market Place. Mr. F. S. Longworth, the general agent of that society, gives the following summary of the work to April 1, 1894 :

Date of opening bath-house :	August 17, 1891.
Cost of bath-house, exclusive of value of lot.	\$27,025.58
Cost of operations for one year, at five cents each for baths, beyond receipts from bathers.	1,840.76
Total number of bathers from date of opening to March 31, 1894, two years and seven months: 164,166 ; namely,	
Men	120,780
Women	19,847
Children	15,710
Children free	7,829
Total	164,166

Greatest number of bathers in one day	932
Number bathed per month per whole year	5,295
Greatest number per month	13,095
Average number per day bathed in winter months	140

In a paper read at a municipal conference in New York, April 26, 1894, Mr. John P. Faure says :

"Just one week later than the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, or on August 24, 1891, the managers of the DeMilt Dispensary opened a bathing department in the basement of their building, corner Second Avenue and Twenty-third Street, equipped with one tub and four sprays.

"For the first year a charge of 10 cents per bath was made, including a fresh towel and small cake of soap for each bather; since August 1, 1892, however, the price has been reduced to five cents.

"During the two and one half years since the opening of these baths, they have been used by about 5000 bathers.

"That this number of people, residing in different portions of the city from Centre Market Place, should manifest the same desire to bathe and pay for it, only confirms the opinion expressed earlier in this paper.

"On November 27, 1893, the Charity Organization Society opened its model bath-house, representing the latest known improvements in sanitary plumbing, at its 'Wayfarers' Lodge,' 515 West Twenty-eighth Street.

"I quote from a recent letter of my friend Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the founder of the Charity Organization Society in this city, in which he says: 'The baths at our lodge are not free by any means. Every man who goes there to remain over night and be fed is compelled to take a bath and to have his clothes fumigated, in addition to a certain extent of labor. In our judgment it is a better plan for the class of men with whom we deal, that is, homeless and unemployed—the city tramp properly—than any plan of free baths.'

"During the months of December, January, February, and March bathing possibilities were afforded to 8773 men by the latest work of a society that has done so much to educate New York as to the wisest lines on which to administer its benefactions."

The only baths provided by American municipalities are a few floating swimming-baths. In this New York has led. Two free floating-baths were authorized by the New York Legislature in 1868, and up to 1889 10 more, and in that year nine more. Only 15, however, have been built. An act of 1892 in that State authorizes "any city, village, or town in this State to establish public baths, and to loan its credit or make appropriations for that purpose."

Other States are far behind even this.

References: *A Plea for Public Baths*, by Dr. Simon Baruch, New York Academy of Medicine (1891, 1892); *Les Bains Populaires*, by R. Baumann (Paris, 1892); *Public Baths as a Preventative of Disease*, by C. H. Shepard (*International Medical Magazine*, 1892).

BÄUMELER, JOSEPH, the first head or leader of the Separatists, who in 1818 founded the communistic colony of Zoar (*q.v.*). Originally a weaver, and later a teacher, he seems to have been a man of unusual organizing ability, a fluent speaker and natural leader. The community was at first celibate, but between 1829-30 they began to permit marriage, and Bäumeler himself took a wife. Under his lead the community prospered greatly, and when Bäumeler died in 1837 the loss was said to be almost irreparable to the community. (For his views, see ZOAR.)

BAX, ERNEST BELFORT, was born July 23, 1854, at Warrington, Warwickshire, altho his family was originally of Surrey. His first interest in social problems dates from the Paris Commune of 1871, when he was led to study the

whole economic question, with its social, political, and ethical bearings. He subsequently studied in South Germany, and later became assistant correspondent in Berlin for a prominent London daily paper. In 1882-83 he was one of the inaugurators of the English socialist movement, in conjunction with his friends, Hyndman, Morris, and others. At the beginning of 1885 he left the Social Democratic Federation in company with Mr. Morris and others, and founded the Socialist League, starting and editing with Mr. Morris a new journal, the *Commonweal*. The League had a prosperous career for two or three years, when the anarchist element in it became predominant, and he resigned in consequence. Subsequent to this he has taken part with the Federation in various ways, editing for a time *Justice*, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, and helping to found the new *Twentieth Century Press*. He has been a frequent contributor to the literature of the party, and is the author of the following works: *The Life of Murat* (out of print); Kant's *Prolegomena and Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science*, translated into English, with introductions and notes; *Handbook of the History of Philosophy from Thales to the Present Time*; an edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (with introduction and notes); Schopenhauer's *Essays* translated into English, with biography, introduction and notes; *The Religion of Socialism*, being Essays in Modern Socialist Criticism; *The Ethics of Socialism, etc.*; *Outlooks from the New Standpoint*; *The Story of the French Revolution*; *The Problem of Relief*, being suggestions for a philosophical reconstruction; *Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome* (Morris and Bax). He has been the editor of two magazines (*To-day and Time*), both of which are now defunct; and he has at this time (1895) in the press a work dealing with the social side of the Reformation of Germany.

BAZARD, SAINT-AMAND (1791-1832). Born in Paris, he won the Cross of the Legion of Honor for the part he took in the defense of Paris (1813). He had a good position in the Prefecture of the Seine, but becoming interested in the efforts for democratic freedom, he went to the south of France and took part in the efforts of the Carbonari. Returning to Paris, he joined the Saint Simonian School, and became its leading economist and editor of its journals, *Producteur* (1829) and the *Globe* (1831). He advocated compulsory free education, and the gratuitous giving by the State of land and capital for life tenancy *only* (so as to prevent accumulation), the State to give to each his deeds and to receive from each according to ability. In 1828 he gave, in Paris, a long course of lectures which largely made Saint Simonianism popular. In 1831 he opposed *Enfantin (q.v.)*, his colleague, at the head of the Saint Simonian school, on the question of marriage and divorce, and died of a broken heart at the division of the school. His main work is *Exposition de la Doctrine de Saint Simon* (1830-31).

BEAR.—In exchanges (1) one who sells stocks, grain, provisions, or other commodities neither

owned nor possessed by him at the time of selling them, but which he expects to buy at a lower price before the time fixed for making the delivery; (2) one who endeavors to bring down prices in order that he may buy cheap—opposed to a *bull*, who tries to raise the price that he may sell dear; (3) stock which one contracts to deliver at a future date, tho not in the possession of the seller at the time the contract is made. In the phrases "to buy or sell the bear," the expression is derived by some from the proverb, "to sell a bear's skin before one has caught the bear." One who sold stocks in this way was formerly called a "bearskin jobber," later simply "a bear;" explained by others as an allusion to a bear, which pulls down with its paws, in contrast with the bull, which tosses up with its horns.

BEBEL, FERDINAND AUGUST, was born on February 22, 1840, near Cologne, and was educated as a turner. He passed through the usual grades of apprenticeship and journey-manship, and after his *Wanderjahre*, spent in South Germany, he established himself in 1860 at Leipzig. His first public activity was as an upholder of Schultz-Delitzsch's cooperative movement, to which Lasalle also at first adhered, and he became prominent in political and educational work among working men. He threw all his influence against Lasalle and the Universal Association when the latter was founded.

But Bebel was soon to come under the influence of Liebknecht, and to become a socialist. He had no sympathy with socialism up to 1866, but from that time his views rapidly changed. He joined the International, becoming influential enough to take a prominent part in bringing together the followers of Marx and Lasalle, and so helping to make the Social Democratic Party. When he was elected President of the Union of German Working Men's Associations in 1867, he persuaded the organization to unite with the International—at the time an important step in the movement toward socialism.

Bebel was returned to the North German Diet by a Saxon constituency in 1867, and has remained in the German Imperial Parliament, with brief exceptions, ever since, altho an outspoken socialist. He has often been imprisoned; first in 1869 on the charge of disseminating doctrines dangerous to the State; again in 1870 on a charge of high treason, and lastly in 1872, when he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Later, two additions of nine months each were made to this sentence.

Bebel and Liebknecht were the leaders of social democracy in the German elections of June, 1893, in which it made such a striking and significant advance, and they remain to-day (1895) the two main teachers and leaders of German socialism. Bebel once summarized his views thus: "We aim in the domain of politics at republicanism, in the domain of economics at socialism, in the domain of what is called today religion at atheism." His main writings are *Frau und der Socialismus* (1879); *Unsere Ziele* (1876); *Christenthum und Socialismus*; *Zur Lage der Arbeiter in den Bäckereien* (1890).

BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANA, Marquis (1735-93), was born at Milan and educated at a Jesuit college at Parma. He was an able mathematician and an expert in many sciences. He belonged for 25 years to the magistracy, serving under the Austrians, who in 1768 formed for him a Chair of Political Economy in Milan—the second of the kind in Italy. His famous little tract, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, has been translated into 22 languages. Before either of them he arrived at many of the conclusions of Adam Smith and of Malthus. He is also the author of the famous phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number." He asserted that "coldly (rigidly) examining human nature, we see that every man is absolutely *egotistic*, and that on this basis alone legislation can be established if it is not to be knocked over constantly; that nobody cares anything for the universal happiness or for the good of others, and that every man makes himself the center of all the things that happen in the world." Helvetius taught that "interest is for the moral world what the principle of gravitation is for the physical one," and he seems largely to have influenced Beccaria.

BEECHER, HENRY WARD, clergyman, was born in Litchfield, Conn., June 24, 1813; died in Brooklyn, N. Y., March 3, 1887. He was the eighth son of Lyman Beecher and Roxanna Foote; studied at the Boston Law School; was graduated at Amherst in 1837; studied theology at Lane Seminary. In 1839 he married Miss Eunice White Bullard, and entered upon his first settlement, which was over the Lawrenceburg, Ind., Presbyterian Church. In 1839 he went to Indianapolis, and served the Second Presbyterian Church of that place for eight years. In 1847 he accepted an invitation to become pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. This society had just been formed by a few leading men especially interested in temperance, the new school theology, anti-slavery, and other questions of reform. He labored with this people until his death, which terminated a pastorate of 40 years. As a preacher and reformer he had world-wide fame and influence. In 1855 he introduced a new order of church music by his *Plymouth Collection of Hymns*. At about this time his society was the first to connect parlors and a kitchen with a place of worship. In the Plymouth pastor the oppressed ever found a champion for their cause. On his platform in *antebellum* days stood Frederick Douglas, the black man, pleading for his race. Here often appeared fugitive slaves whose freedom Mr. Beecher purchased with the contributions of his congregation. Here Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist, was invited to voice his convictions when driven by mobs from the halls of New York City. Here Kossuth, the exile, pleaded for his people, and \$10,000 were raised for the freedom of Hungary. Here Mr. Beecher was confronted by a fierce mob which attempted to "clean out the nigger-worshiper." In 1850, in his famous star paper, *Shall We Compromise?* in *The Independent*, he vigorously opposed the policy of Webster and Clay to save the Union by moral compromise.

Mr. Beecher resolutely repudiated the justice of the fugitive slave clauses in Clay's bill, and the obligation of capturing and returning runaway slaves. For this he was lampooned by the press. In 1857, when the Dred-Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court had given slave-holders right to take their slaves into any part of the Union, and the South was attempting to force slavery upon Kansas, the newly settled State, he opposed the movement by lecturing extensively and collecting money for the purchase of Bibles and rifles for the settlers. He did much in shaping the course of the Republican Party as a new political force. He was in close conference with Horace Greeley and Henry J. Raymond, editors of the New York *Tribune* and the New York *Times*, the leading Republican journals of those days. He was for 20 years an influential contributor to *The Independent*, of which paper he was editor during the Rebellion (1861-63). In 1856 he stumped for Fremont, and in 1860 for Lincoln. In 1863 he visited Great Britain, and there vindicated his national Government. He spoke in several of its principal cities, where sympathy for the confederacy prevailed. His life was threatened, and the press denounced him. The walls of the cities were placarded with enormous scurrilous posters, and handbills of malcontent were freely distributed. Copies of these bills are now preserved in the Brooklyn Historical Society. He confronted vast, turbulent mobs, often contending with them for an hour or more before they would listen to his argument. Once he reached the platform only by being carried over the heads of the dense crowd. But by his good humor, pluck, and eloquence, he converted them to Northern principles. These addresses were published in 1864 in London as *Speeches on the Rebellion*. On April 14, 1865, by invitation of the United States Government, he delivered an oration at the commemoration of the fall of Fort Sumter and the raising of the national flag over its walls. In 1866 he wrote his famous letter to the National Convention of Soldiers and Sailors at Cleveland, O., wherein he condemned the exclusion of the Southern States, and advocated their readmission at once, showing that delay imperilled national peace and increased Southern bitterness. Tho a formidable opponent of the Southern policy, after the war he manifested great tolerance and compassion for the defeated States and their leaders. In 1870 he became the editor-in-chief of the *Christian Union*. In 1871-74 he delivered the first three annual courses of lectures upon preaching in the Lyman Beecher lectureship at Yale Divinity School. In 1874 he was charged with criminality with Mrs. Tilton by her husband, Theodore Tilton, his successor as editor of *The Independent*. After a thorough investigation by his church, the charges were not sustained; a trial of six months in the civil courts resulted in a divided jury, which stood nine for the defendant and three for the plaintiff.

His Political Activities.

Tho he had spoken for Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Garfield, he regarded the Republican Party as having performed its chief mission in the emancipation of the slave and the restoration of

the Union. His free-trade principles, his personal esteem for Governor Cleveland, and his distrust of Senator Blaine caused him to transfer his support, in 1884, to the Democratic Party. He was a conscientious and unpartisan thinker. He served his nation not as a statesman nor as a politician, but as an unselfish patriot and reformer.

He was stout in build, florid, and had a constitution of great endurance. His face was expressive and his voice magnetic. He had an exuberant imagination and a remarkable gift for illustration. His sermons and addresses abounded in references to nature, the arts, and common life. In disposition he was tolerant and affectionate; in theology, liberal and practical. He had an ardent affection for children. He was the most widely reported and misreported man of his generation. Through his voice and pen he had the widest influence of any preacher in America. His audience was generally limited by the capacity of the room in which he spoke. On the day of his funeral the Legislature of New York adjourned after passing resolutions of sorrow and esteem. A statue of Mr. Beecher was unveiled in Brooklyn, N. Y., June 21, 1891, people of all classes and ages contributing to a sum of \$35,000 for its erection. His body was buried in Greenwood Cemetery.

Publications containing his sermons, addresses and contributions to the press are numerous, the following of which are helpful for a study of his life as a reformer: *Star Papers* (2 vols.); *Lectures to Young Men*; *Lectures upon Preaching*; *Patriotic Addresses*; *Evolution and Religion*; *Plymouth Pulpit Sermons*. The most satisfactory biographies of Beecher are written by John Henry Barrows, Abbott and Halliday, W. C. Beecher and Samuel Scoville, Joseph Howard, Jr., and Thomas W. Knox. Valuable information upon his life may be obtained also in *History of Plymouth Church*, by Noyes L. Thompson; *The Beecher Memorial*, compiled and edited by E. W. Bok; Mrs. Stowe's *Men of Our Times*; Joseph Parker's *Eulogy of Beecher*.
THOMAS A. BICKFORD.

BEESELY, EDWARD SPENCER, born in 1831, was educated, like so many of the English Positivists, at Wadham College, Oxford. He became, in 1854, Assistant Master of Marlborough College, and in 1860 Professor of History in University College, London. Besides numerous magazine articles from the Positivist position, he has taken a large part in a translation of Comte's work, and is widely known for his lectures on Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius. He has been a lifelong worker in the English labor movement as an uncompromising Radical. He presided at the meeting in St. Martin's Hall in 1863, when the International (*q.v.*) was organized, and was an original member of the Social Democratic Federation, tho he soon withdrew from the organization. He was more active, together with Frederic Harrison and other Positivists, in aiding in every way the trade-union movement in the days when the trade-unions were struggling for legal existence. He

was a constant contributor to the *Beehive*, which was from 1861-77 the powerful working-class organ in London. Some of his letters in defense of trade-unions nearly cost him his position of professor. He was, down to 1881, in close contact with the leaders of the trade-union movement, and aiding them constantly by his advice and his letters to the press. After 1883 the connection ended, altho there was no breach of friendliness. The need of his aid had largely ceased. (See TRADE-UNIONS, Section "England.")

BELGIUM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICAL AND HISTORICAL.

The kingdom of Belgium was formed in 1830 as an independent State out of a portion of the Netherlands. Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, was elected king in 1831. With an area of only 11,373 square miles, it had, in 1893, a population of 6,262,272, making it the most densely populated country in the world. It is estimated that about 426,000 are engaged in agriculture, 293,000 in mines and metal works, 473,000 in mixed industries, 327,000 in commerce, 659,000 in professions and official positions. There were, in 1892, 35 royal colleges and atheneums, 131 middle schools, 57 industrial schools, 5797 primary, 1237 infant, and 1649 adult schools. Besides the public schools there were 80 private colleges, 65 private middle-class schools, and many lesser ones. In 1890, 26.9 per cent. of the population over 15 could not both read and write. Almost the whole population is nominally Roman Catholic, though the opposition to the "clericals" is rapidly growing. Full religious liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution. The Budget grants 4,800,000 frs. to Roman Catholics, 85,000 frs. to Protestants, and 16,300 frs. to Jews.

The revenue for 1892 was 414,045,000 frs. The Budget for 1895 estimates the ordinary revenue at 357,727,028 frs. (161,687,300 frs. from railways, post and telegraph; 51,905,000 frs. from direct taxes; 25,840,570 frs. from customs; 42,247,409 frs. from excise). It estimates the ordinary expenses at 356,193,486 frs. (109,790,484 frs. interest and sinking fund for the public debt, 106,525,589 frs. for ministry of railways, post and telegraph; 47,229,652 frs. for ministry of war).

The public debt in 1893 was 2,147,460,574 frs.; the funded debt, 2,126,050,939 frs. The debt was largely incurred for building railroads, but the interest is more than covered by the returns. The peace effective of the army is 47,642 men and 3421 officers; 29,191 workmen in 1893 were employed in 1559 quarries, 1804 workmen in metallic mines, and 116,861 (of which 2172 were women, 6359 were boys, and 44 were girls) worked in coal-mines under ground.

The imports in 1893 were 2,810,709,742 frs., and the exports 2,590,261,736 frs. January 1, 1894, there were 2018 miles of railway worked by the State—792 by private companies. Up to 1894 the State had spent for railways 1,941,283,473 frs. on first cost, 1,859,469,465 frs. on working them, and up to 1893 the total receipts have been 3,170,642,149 frs.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Social and industrial reform ideas began to

work in Belgium very early in the century. According to M. Vandervelde, Belgian trade-unions are developed from old trade benefit societies which arose toward the end of the eighteenth century after the abolition of the old medieval guilds in 1795. Thus, for example, the Hat-makers' Benevolent Union was originally a trade friendly society, but became in 1838 "a society for the maintenance of prices and for resistance." Even down to the second half of the century the old spirit lingered. In 1867 the weavers at Ghent still bore on their banner the motto, "God and the Law" (*God en de Wit*). To-day the Belgian artisan cries, "Down with the bishop" quite as much as "Down with the king."

The Master Glass-workers' Association at Charleroi was established in 1836; the Free Typographical Association originated in 1842; the Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Society in 1852. The trade-union movement in Belgium, however, early took a socialistic form.

As early as 1835 the Belgian Colins wrote in Paris his *Le Pacte Social*, advocating extreme collectivism, and arguing that "immovable property belongs to all." In 1848, at Ghent, Huet gathered around him a little knot of liberal Catholics, among them his distinguished pupil, Professor E. de Laveleye, and taught them the principles which at a later day he so eloquently embodied in his *Le Règne Social du Christianisme*, a book which Laveleye says "has not met the attention which it deserves, only because it is too full of Christianity for socialists and too full of socialism for Christians."

More radical socialism was, however, to come to the front in Belgium. When Karl Marx, banished first from Germany and then from Paris, fled that country with Engels, his lifelong friend, it was to Brussels that they came. Here they gathered round them other German fugitives and some Belgians, attracted partly by the brilliant philosophy of the young Hegelians, but even more by their revolutionary socialism, or communism, as it was then called. It was in Brussels that Marx and Engels wrote, at the request of a congress or conference between English and French working men, held in London in 1847, the famous manifesto, which was the first explicit utterance of modern revolutionary socialism. With a population denser than that of any other civilized country in the world, Belgium had long suffered more than most countries from the effects of capitalism. Mining is her chief productive industry, and in her mines men and women worked, side by side, sometimes almost naked, like animals rather than human beings, long hours—cases of their working 36 hours at a stretch are reported—for piteous wages, and like beasts of the earth.

Nevertheless, organization did not succeed until the time of the International. Says Professor de Laveleye:

"The International gained a footing in Belgium in 1865; but it was not until December, 1866, that the first section was constituted at Liege. We see in the report of the delegate, De Papepe, at the Congress of Lausanne, that a very active section had been founded at Brussels, and that the working men's societies of Ghent and Antwerp were connected with it. At the Congress

of Brussels, in 1868, the delegate Frère announced that several very large sections had been formed in the coal-basin of Charleroi, and that at Verviers the free laborers had joined and had even started a newspaper, the *Mirabeau*, which, strange to say, still exists. At Bruges a section was formed with a journal called the *Vooruit*, and soon afterward there appeared at Antwerp the *Werker*, which exercised a great influence over the working men in the Flemish towns. In December all the sections formed a federation. A general council of 16 members was chosen and a journal started, the *Internationale*. The sections were grouped according to the coal-basins, and were all to send delegates to the general congress held every year. It was almost a reproduction of the parent association. The strikes and conflicts which resulted therefrom, in the neighborhood of Charleroi and Seraing, attracted a great deal of attention to the International. The leaders, however, were unwilling to encourage strikes for fear they should fail. Thus, at the second National Congress of Antwerp, which sat from August 1-15, 1873, it was resolved that the federations should make every preparation for the universal strike, but that it was necessary to give up entirely partial strikes except 'in a case of legitimate defense.'

"At the time of its greatest diffusion the International counted eight federations; those, namely, of Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Liege, the Vesdre, the Borinage, the Centre, and Charleroi. As to the number of members, it has been variously estimated from 100,000 to 200,000. After the schism of The Hague between Marx and Bakounin, the Belgian Internationalists pronounced against the exclusion of Bakounin, without, however, adhering to his doctrines."

They, however, sent delegates to his so-called "Automnist" congresses of Geneva (1873), Brussels (1874), and Berne (1876). But when in 1877 a general congress was held at Ghent, De Paep declared for a Marxian policy, and the movement split. Henceforth the Socialists and "Automnists" went separate ways. In 1878 a German "Reading Club" was organized in Brussels, and a new agitation sprang up. Vollmar, a leading German socialist, made two tours of propaganda. A congress at Boom in 1878 declared for the Gotha program, a socialist labor party, and the journals *Le Voix de l'Ouvrier*, of Brussels, *de Werker*, of Antwerp, and *de Volkswil*, of Ghent. Controversy with the anarchists, however, prevented much progress, the anarchists having formed an active *union révolutionnaire*. A new and most important movement was now to spring up.

In the year 1879 a Ghent typewriter, an active socialist, Edward Anseele (*g.v.*), founded a cooperative bakery, and in connection with it a club, the *Vooruit*. Up to this time cooperation had not succeeded in Belgium, but this socialist cooperative movement succeeded and spread. A similar organization, called the *Maison du Peuple* (House of the People), was started by the Brussels socialists in 1882, and another at Verviers in 1884. In the next four years the movement spread through all the important Belgian cities and industrial centers. Soon the societies began selling other things than bread, till gradually the movement became one of vast size and importance. In 1893 the *Maison du Peuple* had 10,000 members, representing some 10,000 families, and manufactured 100,000 loaves of bread a week. It possesses a large club house, which is the center of socialist propaganda, a library, a tool store, and other property. It provides coal, groceries, meat, furniture, clothing, medical attendance, and insurance, all at cooperative prices. It maintains a monthly, a weekly, and a daily. Every one who belongs to it must adhere to the program of the (socialist) Labor Party (*Parti ouvrier*). Members

who for one month deal elsewhere than at the society's establishments may be expelled on a two-thirds vote. A similar work, though not on so large a scale, is carried on by the other socialist cooperative societies. The *Vooruit* at Ghent in 1893 had 5000 members; but the fact of importance is that these societies form a network over Belgium of socialist organizations, providing their members with all the necessities of life, and raising funds for active socialist propaganda. As a result, Belgian socialism has recently grown rapidly, and is perhaps better organized than the socialism of any other country. In 1885 a socialist working man's party was organized (*Parti ouvrier belge*), which is the political organization of Belgian socialism. Its power is seen in the fact that it was able in 1893 to effect in a few days a veritable revolution in the Belgian Constitution. Hitherto the Belgian socialist had been able to accomplish little politically, because of property limitations to the suffrage. There had been more or less of an agitation on the subject since 1882, but in 1893 the matter came to a head. A bill to introduce free suffrage was introduced into the Chamber and Senate and defeated. Immediately Labor Party, the Labor Party called a universal strike. According to M. Volders, 200,000 struck work upon that day alone. There was some resistance. M. Volders, the leader of the Labor Party, was arrested with two others. M. Buls, the Brussels burgomaster, ordered "The House of the People" closed, and prohibited meetings and processions. But this only added fuel to the flame. In spite of the leaders of the Labor Party, collisions with the police took place at Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, Quaregnon, and elsewhere. Numbers of men, women, and even children were shot down, and some mortally wounded. But the strike was won. On April 18, only eight days after its rejection of universal suffrage, the Constituante (the Assembly) met, and a hurried plan to revise the Constitution and grant a vastly enlarged suffrage was devised and carried, and the Labor Party declared the strike off.

The present program of the Belgian Labor Party (*Parti ouvrier belge*) is as follows:

PREAMBLE.

A party has been established among the Belgian labor associations, with the object of obtaining for workmen the political rights and material well-being of which they have hitherto been deprived.

Seeing that workmen only acquire these rights and this well-being through their own strength, the party will consist exclusively of labor associations;

Seeing that workmen have to contend against sickness and involuntary stoppage of work, and to secure their wages, the Labor Party will endeavor to obtain the greatest possible advantages for associations instituted with this aim, and to found similar associations in localities where they do not yet exist;

Seeing that workmen, like the rest of the world, have a right to the greatest possible liberty, the widest instruction, a good education, and all the enjoyments of an advanced civilization, the party will work zealously to attain this end;

Seeing that workmen, in spite of all sacrifices, cannot succeed in instituting pension funds, disablement funds, or funds for assistance in case of sickness, rich enough to pension an old workman, and effectually to support those who are sick or in distress;

Seeing that the majority of workmen possess neither the material nor the tools for agriculture or industry;

Finally, seeing that they have absolutely no part in the management of factories, mines or workshops, and are consequently powerless and helpless against industrial and commercial crises, which affect them so terribly;

The Labor Party is of opinion that the State should intervene to assure the fate of the workman during the period of work, sickness, and old age.

To this end, the Labor Party will not be satisfied with founding funds for assistance in case of sickness, co-operative societies, and protective societies, but it will also take the character of a political party, in order to obtain from the State the support necessary for the perfect well-being of the working classes.

Seeing that governments conclude international, commercial, postal, and maritime conventions;

Seeing that the interests of workmen are everywhere identical, and in order to prevent strikers from being supplanted by other workmen in times of difficulty, the Labor Party declares that it wishes to place itself in sympathetic relations with the associated workmen in every country who share its views;

Seeing that the cause of the misery and dependence of the masses is due to the method of working, since the greater part of the workmen do not possess the tools necessary for their work, the Labor Party will endeavor to replace this system of capitalistic production by a mode of working which has for its foundation the common possession of the soil, the sub-soil, and the necessary tools.

In addition to these general objects, and in order to attain its final aim, the Labor Party demands the reforms set forth in the following program:

1. Universal suffrage; direct legislation by the people, that is to say, popular sanction and initiative in legislative matters, secret and compulsory voting; elections held on Sunday.

2. Secular, compulsory and complete education for all children, to be conducted at the cost of the community, represented by the State or the communes. Higher instruction by means of classes for adults.

3. The separation of Church and State, religion being considered as a private matter, the suppression of religious expenses, and the return to the nation of property "in mortmain," both personal and real, pertaining to religious corporations, as well as all the industrial and commercial property of these corporations.

Political Program.

4. The application, to all cases, of the system of trial by jury, and of settlement by councils of arbitration elected by universal suffrage. Free administration of justice, and the revision, in an equitable sense, of the articles of the code which establish the political or civil inferiority of workmen, women, and natural children.

5. The abolition of conscription, and of the system of substitutes. The equality of military commissions, and the reduction of war expenses. The abolition of standing armies, and the decision of peace and war by the people.

6. The investment of the communes with the control of their own administration, their budget, police, and all their public officers. The nomination by the electors of the burgomaster and sheriffs.

7. A law according State recognition to workmen's syndicates (including among other privileges the right to hold property and plead in court).

8. A rest of one day in each week; employers to be forbidden to cause work to be done on more than six days out of seven.

9. A law limiting the age at which any person may work, and the duration of such work, in the following manner: (a) The abolition of work for children below 12 years of age; (b) a combination of work and instruction, and the abolition of all night work for young persons from 12 to 16 years of age; (c) the abolition of the employment of women in all industries in which their employment would be incompatible with morality and health; (d) the establishment by law of a normal working day for adults of both sexes.

10. A commission elected by workmen, and paid by the State, to introduce healthy and safe conditions into workshops. The sanitary supervision of dwellings.

Economic Program.

11. The real responsibility of employers in cases of accidents in connection with work, by a law stipulating that it devolves upon the employer to prove, if necessary, that an accident was due to malice on the part of the workman.

12. The regulation of convict labor, so as to put an end to the competition now made with free labor, and

to allow prisoners, at the time of their release, means of finding employment, to avoid falling back into crime.

13. Workmen, and, by preference, labor associations, to have a share in the government of workshops. The suppression of fines and deductions from wages. The suppression of benefit funds regulated by employers. The reversal of the management of these funds to the workmen themselves.

14. The reorganization of councils of *prud'hommes* on a basis of equality. Employers to be forbidden to require testimonials and certificates.

15. The gradual transformation of public charity into one vast system of insurance by the State, the provinces, and the communes.

16. The abolition of all taxes on articles of consumption. The abolition of customs, and a progressive tax on net income.

17. The abolition of all contracts and laws alienating public property (such as the national bank, railways, mines, communal property), and the return of this property to the community, represented, according to the case, by the State or the commune.

18. The abolition of all laws made in favor of employers at the expense of workmen.

The Belgian Labor Party is a very compact and well-organized body. It has a strike fund to which all its cooperative societies contribute. It has many papers—*Le Peuple*, *Vooruit*, *De Toekomst*, *De Werker*, *L'Avenir*, and *L'Emancipation*.

The Belgian socialists are carrying on an especial agitation against standing armies. The spreading of this idea in the army itself they have entrusted to an organization of young socialists, the *Jeune Garde Socialiste*, who publish an organ of their own. There is also considerable activity among the women, and a paper in their interests.

The temper of the Belgian party is extremely radical. Upon the walls of "The House of the People" at Brussels are the mottoes: "What is the worker? Nothing. What shall the worker be? All." "You cannot stop the murmuring of the people when they cry, 'We are hungry,' for it is the cry of nature, and shall be heard." "The working people are the rock upon which the church of the future shall be built."

Although this movement of the Labor Party is the dominant industrial reform movement today in Belgium, it is not the only one. Cooperation and profit sharing have some hold in Belgium apart from the labor movement, but will be considered under article COOPERATION. Labor exchanges have been established by many municipalities. In February, 1892, a Federation of Labor exchanges throughout the country was formed to facilitate means of finding work for the unemployed in any part of Belgium, to study questions relating to the organization of labor exchanges or markets, and to establish new exchanges. Arbitration and conciliation have received considerable attention. (See ARBITRATION.) Belgium has also taken some steps toward the employment of the unemployed (see UNEMPLOYMENT), and has developed some industrial legislation as to Employers' Liability Laws, etc. Working men's dwellings have been much discussed.

In 1869 a commission was appointed to investigate the general condition of miners and metal workers, including their dwellings. It was then stated that many coal companies had built houses which were let to married workmen. Single men generally lived in lodgings, which, in most cases, were in a miserable state. The inquiry of 1869 was not followed by any practical result.

and the terrible revelations made to the Labor Commission in 1886 showed that little or no improvement had been made since the publication of the report of 1846. In March, 1888, the Government introduced a bill which became law on August 9, 1889. This law provides for the institution of committees of inspection (*comités de patronage*), which can empower the savings bank to lend part of its funds for the building or purchase of workmen's houses, and regulate the conditions under which expropriation by zones should be carried out. In Ghent, where the number of persons in each house is lower than in any other town in Belgium, the society *Eigen Heerd is goud weerd* makes similar loans. The 1890 report of the Brussels committee, established by virtue of the law of 1889, shows that 491 families occupied separate houses, 1371 three or more rooms, 8058 two rooms, 6978 one room, 2186 a garret, and 200 a cellar. Of the families living in one room, 1511 consisted of more than five persons. The first cooperative building society was established at Brussels in 1890. In 1891 a decision of the general council of the savings bank, approved by a royal decree, provided that the loans for building should not be made to the workmen directly, but through the medium of a society. On November 25, 1892, advances had been made from the general savings bank and pension fund to 23 joint-stock and 4 cooperative societies at the rate of interest of 2½ per cent., and at 3 per cent. to 10 joint-stock and 2 cooperative societies. The capital of the joint-stock societies amounted to 3,265,000 frs.

The Roman Catholic Church has been especially active in social reform in Belgium. It has made Louvain a center for Roman Catholic Christian Socialism. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) The movement is, however, divided into the two policies of uniting with the Social Democrats, to win them for the Church, or of opposing Social Democracy with the program of social reform under the patronage of the Church. Considerable State socialism also exists in Belgium.

The Belgian monarchy has been in many ways the most advanced and liberal monarchy in Europe. Formed only in 1830, it has had less to unlearn than most monarchies. When King Leopold, long resident in England, and familiar with English business, ascended the throne in 1831, he set himself to develop the industrial interests of his kingdom. As early as 1833 Belgium began a system of State railways, and under the intelligent patronage of the king competed successfully for the through freight from Germany to England. To-day the State operates 3241 kilometers out of the 4517 kilometers of railroad in the country, the private roads, too, being mainly unimportant lines. Railroad rates are lower than anywhere in the world except on a few lines in East India. The receipts in 1891 were 142,736,211 frs., and the expenses 84,464,020 frs., leaving a large revenue for the Government. From 1835-91 only 93 persons, including passengers and employees, have been killed by collisions or derailments; 2948 on railroad crossings and in all ways, including suicides, on the road. In the United States the Interstate Commerce Commission reported in 1891, 2953 killed in this country on the rail-

roads; in one year alone nearly as many as in Belgium in 56 years, with a population one eleventh of the population of the United States.

The employees on Belgian roads work, too, less hours and at better wages than most workmen in Belgium. Nevertheless, this is saying little. Belgium, with her dense population (the densest in the world) and resultant competition, has developed deplorable industrial conditions, though of recent years there has been considerable improvement in many respects.

This is shown by a comparison established by the Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Public Works, between the average rate of wages in 1846 and 1891 in 24 industries at Brussels:

TABLE SHOWING AVERAGE DAILY WAGE IN BRUSSELS IN 1846 AND 1891:

INDUSTRY.	Average Daily Wage.	
	1846.	1891.
Masons.....	Frs. 1.70	Frs. 3.75
Stonecutters.....	1.79	4
Carpenters.....	1.95	3.80
Plasterers.....	1.88	3.50
Molders in plaster.....	2.25	4
House-painters.....	1.70	3.75
Cabinet-makers and carvers..	1.08	5
Blacksmiths.....	1.75	4.50
Printers.....	2.50	5.50
Bookbinders.....	2	5.50
Goldsmiths.....	2.55	4.50

It must be remembered, however, that this is only for Brussels. For the mines the Report on Belgium of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor (1893) says:

"In 1891 the average annual wage of workers in and about mines was 774 frs. (\$150), whereas in 1890 and 1889 it was 807 frs. and 743 frs. respectively."

If this be the average annual wage, it can be imagined what must be the condition of some of the employees. According to the Belgian *Annuaire Statistique* for 1892, p. 247, the condition of the agricultural laborers is worse still. It gives a table for 1880, and indicates that there has been little if any improvement.

TABLE SHOWING AVERAGE DAILY WAGE OF AGRICULTURAL LABORERS IN 1880.

PROVINCE.	Without Food.		With Food.	
	Men.	Women	Men.	Women.
Antwerp.....	Frs. 1.50	Frs. 1	Frs. 1	Frs. .60
Brabant.....	1.74	1.09	1.03	.67
West Flanders.....	1.83	1.16	.98	.64
East Flanders.....	1.65	1.07	.83	.53
Hainault.....	2.41	1.24	1.37	.74
Liege.....	2.46	1.48	1.52	.87
Limburg.....	1.62	1.11	.88	.55
Luxembourg.....	2.48	1.62	1.54	.92
Namur.....	2.67	1.44	1.70	.86

References: The best authorities on Belgium and social reform are the *Report on Belgium of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor* (1893), the Belgian *Annuaire Statistique*, and other official publications.

BELLAMY, EDWARD, born 1850 in Chicopee Falls, Mass., is the son of Rev. R. K. Bellamy. Altho he has traveled extensively, he still lives in the house of his birth, where his father lived 35 years. He graduated at Union College and studied law, but soon entered journalism, writing for many papers, principally the *Springfield Union*. His first novel was *A Nantucket Idyl*, a short summer romance. *Dr. Heidenhoff's Process*, *The Blind Man's World*, and *Miss Ludington's Sister* followed. All are dreamy, fantastic novels, but with such power that Mr. Howells declared that "the mantle of Hawthorne has fallen upon Mr. Bellamy." He then wrote *Looking Backward*, upon which his great fame depends. (See NATIONALISM.)

In the *Nationalist* magazine he has related how he came to write that book; how it took shape from an original plan to write a sort of fairy tale of social felicity—"a cloud palace for an ideal humanity"—in the shape of a great world-nation. At that time he had no particular sympathy with any projects for social or industrial reform; not, however, through any "indifference to the miserable condition of the mass of humanity; seeing that it resulted rather from a perception all too clear of the depth and breadth of the social problem and a consequent skepticism as to the effectiveness of the proposed solution." The idea of an industrial army for maintaining the community, precisely as the duty of protecting it is entrusted to a military army, was directly suggested "by the grand object lesson of the organization of an entire people for national purposes presented by the military system of universal service for fixed and equal terms, which has been practically adopted by the nations of Europe, and theoretically adopted everywhere else as the only just and only effectual plan of public defense on a great scale. What inference could possibly be more obvious and more unquestioned than the advisability of trying to see if a plan which was found to work so well for purposes of destruction might not be profitably applied to the business of production, now in such shocking confusion?" This idea had been vaguely floating in his mind for a year or two, but it was not until he began to work out the details of his romance of the thirtieth century that he perceived the full potency of the instrument he was using, and "recognized in the modern military system not merely a rhetorical analogy for a national industrial service, but its prototype, furnishing at once a complete working model for its organization, an arsenal of patriotic and national motives and arguments for its animation, and the unanswerable demonstration of its feasibility drawn from the actual experience of whole nations organized and maneuvered as armies."

This idea led to a complete recasting of the book, both in form and purpose, and the author was filled with the fervent desire to acquaint the people of his country with its beneficent possibilities—a desire which the popularity of *Looking Backward* has abundantly realized. The form of a romance was reluctantly retained, only with a view to obtain a reading for the book.

The year 2000 instead of 3000 was fixed upon

as the date of the story, for with his new belief as to the part which the nationalization of industry is to play in bringing in the good time coming, it appeared reasonable to suppose that by the year 2000 the order of things to which we look forward will already have become an exceedingly old story.

The book soon after its appearance made a sensation; a Bellamy Club was started in Boston, and from that grew the Nationalist Club, and then the Nationalist movement (*q.v.*). The book has reached a sale of over 500,000 copies in this country, and has been translated into most of the languages of Europe. In the beginning of 1891 Mr. Bellamy commenced the publication of a weekly, *The New Nation*, as an organ of nationalism. It was suspended, however, at the close of 1893. Mr. Bellamy still resides in Chicopee Falls, writing magazine articles and new books in advocacy of nationalism.

BELLERS, JOHN, born about 1654; died 1725. He was a member of the Society of Friends, joint lord of the manor of Coln St. Aldwyn's, and devoted to philanthropic projects. He wrote numerous pamphlets, the best known of which is *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry* (1695-6), in which he proposed that the rich should provide capital and receive profit by building a college in which destitute men and women could find work.

BEMIS, EDWARD W., was born at Springfield, Mass., in 1860. He was graduated from Amherst in 1880, receiving the class honors in history and political economy. In 1885 he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins University, having meanwhile spent two years in the West, part of the time as an editorial writer on the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, later as principal of one of the Minneapolis schools.

During the winters of 1887-88 and 1888-89 he conducted University Extension courses on Political Economy in Buffalo, St. Louis, and other cities. In 1889 Dr. Bemis took charge of the Department of History and Economics at Vanderbilt University, resigning in 1892 to accept the position of Associate Professor of Political Economy in the University Extension Department at the University of Chicago. This engagement, however, was terminated September, 1895. In 1886, at Springfield, Mass., and in 1887, at Buffalo, N. Y., he organized the first two branches of the American Economic Association.

Among his writings we mention *Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States* (American Economic Association, vol. vi., Nos. 4 and 5); *Cooperation in New England and the Middle States* (parts i., ii., and iii. of *History of Cooperation in the United States*, Johns Hopkins University Press); *Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest* (vol. i., No. 5 Johns Hopkins University studies); *Mine Labor in the Hocking Valley* (vol. iii., No. 3 American Economic Association); *The Relation of Trade-Unions to Apprentices* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October, 1891); *Benefit Features of American Trade-Unions* (*Political*

Science Quarterly, June, 1887); *The Labor Organizations of America* (in press, in *Dictionary of Political Economy*); *Cooperative Life Insurance* (in new edition of Johnson's *Encyclopedia*); *Local Government in the South and Southwest* (Johns Hopkins University Historical Studies, vol. xi., Nos. 11, 12); *Recent Results of Municipal Gas Making* (Review of *Reviews*, February, 1893); *Insurance of American Working Men* (*Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Germany); *Cooperation* (*American Annual Encyclopedia* for 1888); *Relation of Labor Organizations to the American Boy and to Trade Instruction* (in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1894).

He classes himself with the historical school, yet not in a way to deny the great benefits of the so-called Manchester school or to forsake their many wise methods of investigation. As to the tariff, he believes in gradual reduction in tariffs upon extractive industries, and later upon others, but endorses the scientific possibility of wise protection at some times and places. He believes in the municipalization of gas, electric light, telephones, and street-car lines; the nationalization of the telegraph, and in a less decided way thinks that ultimately we may find it wise to have national ownership of railroads. On the currency, he is an international bimetalist.

BENTHAM, JEREMY (1748-1832), son of a wealthy solicitor in London, graduated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1766, at the age of 18. He was called to the bar in 1772, but never practised his profession. He became, rather, the greatest critic of government and legislation in his day. His first publication was *A Fragment on Government* (1776). His first important economic treatise was *A Defense of Usury*, in which he tries to prove by close reasoning that when the Legislature fixes a maximum rate of interest it does not benefit the right persons, and encourages deceit and raises the rate of secret interest by adding the danger of discovery. He proceeds to urge that every man is the best judge of his own welfare, and that it is for the public good to leave him free to seek it. Bentham published *A Manual of Political Economy*, but he influenced economic thought even more by his philosophic writings. Through James Mill and Ricardo, not only did utilitarianism, but Bentham's peculiar form of utilitarianism, became prominent. Beccaria in 1764 had coined a convenient phrase, "The greatest happiness of the greatest number," and Bentham took this up and made it the ruling principle and chief end of legislation. This, too, he taught to be identical with the extreme *laissez-faire*. Whatever distress, he held, this might bring upon the individual, it was for the greatest good of the greatest number. Through the *Westminster Review* he and his followers made this thought very influential upon the men of his day. Bentham was also a great believer in education, especially of the working classes, whom he considered the most important part of the community. He aided Robert Owen by taking shares in his factory at New Lanark.

His works and life, edited by Bowring, fill

11 volumes, of which the tenth and eleventh contain the life. His chief economical works are: *Protest against Law Taxes*; *Supply without Burden*; *Tax with Monopoly* (i.e., a tax on bankers and stock-brokers); *Defense of Usury and of Projects in Arts*; *Manual of Political Economy*; *Conversion of Stock into Note Annuities*; *Invention and Discovery*; *Hard Labor Bill*; *Tracts on Poor Laws and Pauper Management*.

BEQUEST, POWER OF.—This is an inheritance of modern nations from the Roman law, which allowed three fourths of the inheritance to be willed away from the next of kin. The Koran allows two thirds, and the Mishna recognizes gifts of property to take effect on death. (See INHERITANCE.)

BERLIN.—With a population, in 1890, of 1,579,244, Berlin is one of the most rapidly growing and progressive cities of the world. In 1870 it had only 800,000 inhabitants, and in 1840 only 331,894. This growth only brings into greater prominence the high grade of its municipal life. Professor R. T. Ely calls it one of the best-governed cities in the world. In cleanliness and in the attractiveness of its parks, streets, and public buildings it is scarcely surpassed by Paris. The following account is abridged from Mr. Sylvester Baxter's *Berlin: A Study of Municipal Government in Germany*:

"The principal streets are paved with asphalt, and the most frequented are literally washed and scrubbed every night. The consequent freedom of the city from dust is very marked. The smoothness of the pavement affords immense relief in diminishing the noise and jar of the streets. The broad sidewalks are laid with flagging in the center, and between that and the curbstone are paved with small, mosaic-like stones that form a smooth surface, and are easily removed and replaced. Beneath this space are laid the gas-pipes, telegraph and electric-light wires, pneumatic tubes, etc., so that in laying or repairing these the street pavement is not disturbed.

"Instead of adding ugliness to the streets, the arc-lights of Berlin are things of beauty, an artistic embellishment to the city. Unter den Linden is probably the most brilliantly and beautifully illuminated street in the world.

"The incandescent light is very extensively used. "The telephone service is admirable, as is testified by the public appreciation, there being over 10,000 instruments in use in Berlin. There are no private telephone companies in Germany, the telephone, like the telegraph, being a branch of the postal service. The price for telephone service is low, the annual charge for an instrument being 120 marks a year, or something less than \$30. The long-distance service between the principal cities of the empire is being rapidly introduced.

"Postal administration is regarded in Germany as a practical science in itself, and no means is neglected to promote the interest of members of the service in its study. Pneumatic tubes radiate out over the city from the central post-office, connecting various local stations at frequent intervals, so that a message is delivered in almost any part of the great city within half an hour. The postage for the pneumatic service is 2½ pfennige, or 6¼ cents. Telegrams are very extensively sent and delivered by means of the pneumatic service.

"The *Stadtbahn*, or city railway, in Berlin is a great convenience. It is an elevated railway traversing the city from east to west, and connecting with the Ringbahn, or belt railway, that surrounds the city. Both belong to the Prussian Government, and are of great military value, enabling the saving of two or three days in the mobilization of troops and their rapid transportation through the city in case of need. The stations are elaborate and handsome affairs, with arching roofs. There are four tracks, two for local and two for through traffic, and all express trains from distant

Local
Transit.

cities are brought into one grand central station at the Friedrichstrasse, in the heart of the city.

"The street railway system of Berlin is excellent. It is all in the hands of one great company; but Berlin obtains in return for the street railway franchise: (1) the paving of the streets on which the cars run, from curb to curb, with the best of material; (2) the keeping of these streets in repair by the street railway company; (3) a percentage of the gross receipts of the company, and (4) the entire plant of the company on the expiration of its franchise in 1911. Altho subjected to municipal regulations that require an equipment of the highest standard, low rates of fare, and strictly limit the number of persons that a car may carry, so that overcrowding is not permitted, the company not only easily meets all these obligations, but pays handsome dividends and accumulates a sinking fund that will equal the capital invested by the time the franchise expires and the plant becomes the property of the city. This source of revenue for the municipality amounts to something like \$250,000 a year.

"Berlin has an admirable park system. There are five great parks around Berlin. The Thiergarten, composed principally of a noble old forest, has been greatly improved within the past few years, and is now one of the finest parks of Europe.

"Throughout the city nearly all the open places are occupied by beautiful gardens. These urban gardens are extensively used for children's playgrounds, and here and there are placed heaps of sand for the smaller ones.

"The form of the municipal government of Berlin is, in general, that prevailing throughout Prussia as determined by the municipal reform laws created by the great statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg, in 1808; the laws which have given a general model for the forms of municipal government now prevailing throughout the German Empire.

Municipal Government.

"While throughout the empire universal manhood suffrage prevails, in the city governments the suffrage is slightly restricted. Every honest inhabitant obtains the electoral franchise after a year's residence and at the age of 24, if he pays what is called a class tax on an income of about \$150. These restrictions make the qualified voters in Berlin about 13 per cent. less in number at municipal elections than in the national elections.

"Over 10,000 citizens take part in the administration of affairs, and in the city government are the best and most prominent citizens. There are men like Professor Virchow, Professor Gneist, and others from the University, natural leaders in public life; men of worldwide reputation and ranking as statesmen, taking their regular part in the routine of city affairs. Professor Gneist has been a member of the city government since 1848. To skirk these responsibilities is hardly possible for any man, even if it were desired by him, for every citizen is obliged, under penalty of a fine and a heavy increase of taxation, to accept any position to which he may be elected.

"The Berlin system aims at the greatest efficiency and economy attainable under a fundamentally popular representative form. The broad basis of the government is to be found in the Municipal Assembly, a body composed of 126 members, representing the 326 wards of the city. One half at least must be house-owners; and two brothers, or father and son, are not allowed to be members at the same time. The members of this body are chosen for six years, one third retiring every two years, so that there is a municipal election once in two years. The long terms of members give them experience, and the remaining in office of a large majority of old members assures the management of affairs by persons thoroughly conversant with municipal business. This assembly directly represents the people, and out of it proceed all the other features of the municipal government. It has the entire financial control of affairs, being supreme in drawing up the budget for the year, and in authorizing extraordinary expenditures. It has no executive functions as a body, but its members exercise them individually in association with other branches of the government.

"This assembly chooses the upper branch of the city government, known as the Magistracy, and composed of the board of mayor and aldermen, the latter 32 in number, 15 of whom are salaried, while 17 are honorary members with no salaries whatever. The mayor is chosen for a period of 12 years, nominally subject to the approval of the king. His salary is 30,000 marks, equal to about \$7500, which, in its purchasing value in Germany, would probably be substantially the same as the \$10,000 paid in Boston. It is a post of the highest

honor, and may be considered equivalent to a life position, for when there is a vacancy in this office in a large German city it is customary for the authorities to survey the field throughout the country, and select from the mayors of other cities some man of the highest qualifications for executive and general business efficiency; and the person thus agreed upon can usually make his own conditions and be sure of reelection when his term expires, if he does not choose to retire upon a liberal pension.

"The 15 salaried aldermen are elected for 12 years by the municipal council, with especial regard to the qualifications for administering the departments over which they are to rule. Their salaries being higher than those of the local judges and the higher members of the civil service, the offices are made attractive to the best class of men, who must have received a thorough training in the splendid civil service of Prussia from which they were chosen. It is also the custom to reelect these men on the expiration of their terms, if they do not choose to retire on their pensions. These paid aldermen consist of the deputy mayor, two legal advisers, the city treasurer, two school councilors, two architects, and seven aldermen without special title who may be assigned to any positions they are deemed most fit to occupy. These men correspond to the heads of our various department commissions, but it is a great advantage to have them regular members of the board of aldermen, where they may take part in the deliberations.

"The 17 unpaid aldermen are chosen by the assembly for terms of six years, are usually taken from the higher class of citizens and, indeed, from those members of the assembly itself who have distinguished themselves by years of efficient service in various departments. Their positions are esteemed of great honor, and the incumbents assume the same duties as those of the paid aldermen. They are also usually reelected at the end of their term, so that any competent man may be a member of the city government for life, if he chooses; and under this system it would be difficult for an incompetent member to be elected. Professor Gneist, in his admirable paper contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, calls this board of aldermen 'the soul of the government of the city,' and points out that its ability to control the wide range of important interests of so large a community is due to the excellent division of labor which has gradually developed itself in the management of the business.

"The voters of the city are divided into three classes, a system which prevails throughout Prussia. These classes are divided according to the rate of taxes they pay. In the first class come those heaviest tax-payers who pay one third of the entire levy. In the second class come those who pay the next third, while the third class comprises all the rest of the tax-payers. Each of these classes chooses one third of the assemblymen who are to be voted for at an election. In consequence a majority of the assembly is chosen by a minority of the voters, the principle prevailing in municipal suffrage in Germany being similar to that in a financial corporation, where voters exercise a power corresponding to that of the number of shares they hold.

"The two chambers are supplemented by a body of 70 'citizen deputies,' as they are called, selected by the assembly from distinguished citizens to serve on general committees for the administration of special affairs, such as the relief of the poor, the conduct of the schools, etc.

"In Berlin the police is administered by the State instead of the city. The force consists of something like 3000 men, besides their officers; and the expense, amounting to nearly \$400,000 annually, is borne by the city.

Police.

"The system of taxation comprises an income tax of 3 per cent. on all incomes above a certain amount; a house and rent tax, apportioned between the landlord and the tenant; and various minor special taxes.

"The relief of the poor is performed by 223 local commissions, each composed of between 4 and 12 citizens, or honorary members, with the assemblyman of the district as member *ex officio*. One feature is the assignment of certain city lands to the poor, for planting with potatoes. Only vagabonds and altogether unworthy persons are sent to the workhouse. The charitable institutions of the city are numerous and well conducted. The relief of the poor in 1881-82 cost over \$1,100,000. This system probably accounts for the marked absence of evidences of distressing poverty. The fire brigade of Berlin is a military organization with 750 men, besides officers, and was maintained in

1882 at a cost of about \$370,000. The cleaning of the streets is admirably done. It always takes place between midnight and eight o'clock in the morning.

"The municipal gas-works yielded, at last accounts, something like 18 per cent. of the entire annual expenditure of the city as profit.

"The water-works also yield an annual profit of considerably over \$250,000; and even the great sewerage system has produced a net revenue of something like the same figure, through the annual rate imposed upon house-owners for the use of sewers.

"The school system of Berlin is one of the prides of the city. It is controlled by a school board composed of members of the city government, superintendents of the church dioceses, together with the dean of the Catholic churches, and 87 local committees, upon which something like 1300 citizens serve.

School System.

There were in 1881, 118 large common schools, attended by rich and poor alike. There are, besides, 10 gymnasiums, corresponding to our Latin schools; 7 real schools, corresponding to our English high schools; 2 industrial schools, and 4 high schools for girls, all very largely attended, besides 6 State schools, comprising 4 gymnasiums, 1 real school, and 1 high school for girls. Another important class of schools, *die Fortbildungsschulen*, or supplementary schools, was founded by the city to enable apprentices and clerks to continue their studies. There are 12 schools of this kind. There are also Sunday classes for young people of both sexes, maintained chiefly by private subscription. Every school building has a gymnasium, large and well equipped, for athletic instruction; and besides, there is a Turn Halle, a great and model institution for athletic training; also something like 90 private schools, that find it more and more difficult to compete with the public schools, so excellent are the latter. These private schools are also under the supervision of the public school authorities, and must conform to public standards; there are also 22 public libraries, mostly in the charge of the head masters, for sending out instructive books free of charge.

"Owing to the excellent condition of the finances, Berlin has founded a number of institutions of credit on the security of the wealth of the city. One is a municipal savings bank, with deposits now amounting to something between \$12,000,000 and \$13,000,000, with 39 offices for receiving deposits in various parts of the town. It pays an interest of 3½ per cent. There is also a municipal fire insurance office, in which all the house-owners are obliged to insure. In 1882 the value of buildings insured was over \$500,000,000, and since that time has enormously increased. Owing to the substantial construction of the city and the excellent fire department, the annual premium is only 5 or 6 cents on \$100. Another city institution is a mortgage bank, established in the interest of the credit of real estate, issuing on varying terms mortgages at 4, 4½, and 5 per cent."

Thus far Mr. Baxter. A few statistics may be added. Berlin spends 17 per cent. of expenditure on education, compared with New York's 9 per cent., Chicago's 14 per cent., Paris' 16 per cent., and surpassed only by Boston's 18 per cent.

Professor Commons states that Berlin profits \$1,000,000 yearly on her municipal gas-works. According to Dr. Albert Shaw, Berlin has acquired 30 square miles for the purpose of disposing of the sewage of a city which only covers 25 square miles within the municipal limits. Berlin spent £1,500,000 sterling in buying and laying out its sewage farm. The system is an unqualified success from the sanitary point of view, and after a sufficient period has elapsed it is expected that the sewage farm will earn sufficient profit to pay back all that has been invested in it, and contribute materially to lessen the load of municipal taxation.

The famous Stadtbahn of Berlin, built by the Imperial Government at a cost of \$16,270,000, traverses the city, and with a north and south ring furnishes an elevated railroad which the report of the Rapid Transit Commission of

Massachusetts in 1892 calls "unsurpassed." According to this report (pp. 194, 195), the fares on the road, third class, are 2½ cents for five miles or less, with season tickets allowing one to ride as many times a day as he will for \$4.50 a year. If a person is absent over 14 days, he can have his ticket extended for the time he is to be absent. The construction and conveniences of the road are unsurpassed.

Concerning Berlin's finances, Mr. L. S. Rowe states in the addresses of the National Conference for Good City Government at Philadelphia (pp. 118-120), that of the \$19,000,000, which was the revenue of Berlin in 1892, scarcely 50 per cent. came from direct taxation, this being about equally divided between a highly developed income tax and a tax on rent and houses; \$4,500,000, he says, came from the profits on municipal enterprises—gas-works, water-works, markets, slaughter-houses, sewage; \$500,000 came from the city's interests on the street railways; only \$1,500,000 came from a loan. Of Berlin's debt of \$60,000,000, about 80 per cent., he says, is due to large municipal enterprises that are paying for themselves. Berlin is still a crowded city; but these improvements, according to A. R. Conkling (*City Government in the United States*), have reduced the death-rate from about 30 per 1000, in 1873, to 20 per 1000 at present.

References: *Berlin: A Study in Municipal Government*, by J. Pollard (London, 1893); *Berlin: A Study of Municipal Government in Germany*, by Sylvester Baxter (originally given as a lecture, Boston, 1891, and since published as a tract); *United States Consular Reports* (May and June, 1891).

BESANT, ANNIE (née WOOD), was born in London in 1847. Her father dying while she was yet young, she was brought up by her mother under straitened circumstances, mainly at Harrow. She married the Rev. Frank Besant in 1867. Two children were born to them, and during a sickness of the younger Mrs. Besant fell into great doubts as to the goodness and then as to the being of God. Finally, after most distressing experiences, from which she strove to find comfort from High Church fathers and Broad Church thought (consulting, among others, both Dr. Pusey and Dean Stanley), she failed to find relief, and became an avowed atheist. Her husband felt that he must leave her and take her children, even by force of law, from what he considered her pernicious teachings. This not unnaturally embittered her against Christianity and the Church, and she devoted all her energies to writing and lecturing for Free Thought. Becoming acquainted with Mr. Bradlaugh, she spent many years working with him, lecturing through all England, and editing the *National Reformer*. She was opposed, and in some places even stoned, but still kept steadfastly to her work. She became convinced of and advocated the necessity of neo-Malthusianism—in limiting the number of children, especially among the poor. Gradually she came to work more among and for the poor, and at last became an avowed socialist, the most famous and active woman worker for socialism in England. She was especially active in work for women, organizing them into unions, and in particular successfully conducted the

great strike of the match-girls in East London. She still wrote continually, becoming a member of the Fabian Society (*q.v.*) and the author of one of the best in their collection of essays. Her socialism finally took her away from Mr. Bradlaugh, and more recently her religious nature has made her embrace theosophy, becoming at first the friend and confidant of Madame Blavatsky, and now practically her successor. At present it is to theosophy that she devotes her main time and thought. Her writings are very numerous, but are mainly brief essays or tracts on free thought, Malthusianism, socialism, and theosophy. In 1885 she wrote an interesting book of *Autobiographical Sketches*.

BESANT, WALTER, was born in 1838 at Portsmouth, and was educated at King's College, London, and Christ's College, Cambridge. After graduating, he accepted the appointment of senior professor in the Royal College of Mauritius, but soon after resigned and returned to England. He produced his first work in 1868, entitled *Studies in Early French Poetry*, which was followed by the *French Humorists* in 1873. Mr. Besant is the author of *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*; *The Captain's Room*; *The Revolt of Man* (1882); *All in a Garden Fair* (1883); *Dorothy Forster* (1884); *Uncle Jack* (1885); *Children of Gibeon* (1886); *The World Went Very Well Then* (1887); *For Faith and Freedom* (1888); *The Bells of St. Paul's* (1889); *Armored of Lyonesse*, also two volumes of stories entitled *To Call Her Mine* and *The Holy Rose* (1890). It was due to an ideal pictured in *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882) that the People's Palace in East London was built—a large club house for working men, where they can find art, amusement, education, bathing, gymnasium facilities, etc.

He entered into partnership with Mr. James Rice in 1871, and several novels have been published since then bearing their joint names. He also, with Mr. Rice, put on the stage two plays.

BETTERMENT is a term used in American law to denote an improvement of real property which adds to its value otherwise than by mere repairs. It is the custom in many American towns and cities, when the municipality introduces improvements, such as parks, drives, etc., that add immediate value to contiguous property, to assess a certain proportion of the cost upon the property thus immediately improved. In England a system prevails of allowing the municipal authorities to acquire land the value of which has been increased by betterments at compulsory sale, without reference to the increased value, and then of reselling at the enhanced price, and so recouping a proportion of the cost of the betterment. There is, however, in England considerable of an agitation for the American system. The defendants of the English system argue that the betterment assessment is difficult to justly assess, while the defendants of the American system assert that it is the fairest way to make those who receive the benefit pay the cost.

References: *Contemporary Review*, May, 1890; Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.

BIBLE AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—Charles Kingsley called the Bible "the reformer's guide," and declared its keynote to be "justice from God to those whom men oppress; glory from God to those whom men despise." Herr Todt, the German Christian Socialist, wrote: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."

(For the detailed social teachings of the Bible, see articles JUDAISM; MOSES; CHRIST; CHRISTIANITY.)

Those who hold that the Bible teaches definite principles as to the formation of human society upon earth, usually maintain that the Old Testament, through its history and in the Mosaic covenant, teaches the general principles of national righteousness, while the New Testament bids us fulfil this righteousness through the life in Christ in the heart. It is held by many Christian Socialists that the Old Testament covenant teaches what may be called the law for society. It founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be permanently developed among the Hebrews.

The law went further. It cared especially for the poor, the oppressed, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest; all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was positively forbidden between members of His kingdom. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not permanently be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital—that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was *not*, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. *In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy.* The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

Such, beyond all question, was the law of the Jewish kingdom. The Jews did not indeed observe it. They wandered far from it. But the law endured. The psalmists and the prophets are full of blessings on those who keep the law; are full of woes and condemnation upon the nation that wanders from it. The ceremonial was the precious shrine of a moral law still more precious. It is the moral law that is prominent. In the Psalms, Canon Fremantle has told us,

there is not one word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. Just relation between man and man; God in the natural, the national and social life—these are the constant themes. The same is true of the prophets. Isaiah says: "Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination to me; the new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Learn to do well; seek judgment (justice); relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." . . . Micah says: "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? . . . What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?" Such was the kingdom of heaven, of the law, and of the prophets. They thundered, not against the ritual law, but against those who robbed it of its meaning. They witnessed not against sacrifices, but against sacrifices of other people's property.

But the law failed. Law could not save, as law cannot save to-day. And yet it did not fail. It was *the schoolmaster to bring us to Christ*.

"What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh," that Jesus Christ came to fulfil. This is the *second* half of Bible sociology.

Christ's first preaching was of a kingdom. "From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.'" He sent out His disciples and the 70 to preach "the Gospel of the kingdom." Almost all His parables are about the kingdom. Of the kingdom are His main discourses. Just before His crucifixion He entered Jerusalem as a king. Before Pilate He declared that He was a king. On His cross was the inscription in three representative languages of the earth, declaring Him to be a king. After His resurrection He continued 40 days "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." What did Jesus Christ mean by the kingdom of God? A kingdom implies four things. It implies a *king*, a ruler; it implies a *law*, the law of the king; it implies *subjects* who obey, or should obey, the king; it implies a *realm*, where the king rules. What king, law, subjects, and realm does Christ refer to? Where is the kingdom of heaven? It cannot be far away, because 18 centuries ago Christ declared that it was "at hand." It cannot be unknown, because Christ referred to it in His first utterances as something that His hearers perfectly well understood. It must by them have been understood of that kingdom of God which Moses tried to establish; of which David and the kings were faulty symbols; for which the prophets prayed and the poets sang; to which every Jew looked forward with a longing the more passionate the more it seemed deferred. Undoubtedly this was what the Jew understood by Christ's teaching. Yet it was not to be as they thought. It was to be spiritual, and for all nations. It was not to come by earthly might or by any law. It was to be chosen of men in freedom, not forced upon them; it was to come "without observation," and by the power of the Spirit. Such, in brief, is the social teaching of the Old and New Testaments. (See

articles JUDAISM; CHRISTIANITY; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY, a statement as to the very large and growing bibliography of social reform, with a list of the best bibliographies, will be found in Appendix I. to this work.

BILLINGS, Dr. JOHN SHAW, born in Switzerland County, Ind., in 1838; was graduated from the Miami University in 1857, and from the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1860. He became Medical Inspector for the Army of the Potomac, and later Librarian of the Surgeon-General's Office in Washington. In 1880 he was made President of the American Public Health Association. He is the author of many important official medical publications, and has written various articles bearing on the health of cities and municipal hygiene.

BILL OF EXCHANGE (from Lat. *bullā*), an order in writing addressed by one person to another to pay on demand, or at a fixed or determinable future time, a certain sum in money to a specified person or to his order. Bills, properly speaking, represent debts; they may be used, by negotiation, to transfer these debts from one person to another, and first-class bills form one of the best securities which a banker can hold. They sometimes, however, are drawn without being based on any genuine transactions; in this case their standing is more doubtful.

BILL OF RIGHTS.—An abstract of rights and privileges possessed by a people in relation to their government. In England it refers to an English statute of 1689 (I. William and Mary, Sess. 2, chap. ii.) declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the Crown in William of Orange and Mary, and to the rightful heirs of the latter, but excluding any Roman Catholic. It also provided that Protestants might have in their possession arms for their defense suitable to their condition. A similar declaration of personal rights is incorporated into the Amendments of the Constitution of the United States and in many State constitutions. Many labor reformers believe that those whom they consider the capitalistic classes have in many States quietly worked to drop the bill of rights and so abridge the rights of the people.

BILL OF SALE.—A formal instrument for the conveyance or transfer of personal chattels, as household furniture, stock in a shop, shares of a ship, or the like. It is often given to a creditor in security for money borrowed, or an obligation otherwise incurred. When it expressly empowers the receiver to sell the goods if the money is not repaid with interest, at the appointed time, or the obligation is not otherwise discharged, the contract is commonly called in the United States a chattel mortgage, not a bill of sale (*Century Dictionary*).

BIMETALLISM may be defined as the free coinage and use of gold and silver as money at

relative values set by legislative enactment, or as the union of these two metals in circulation as full money, at a fixed rate; and specifically as that system of coinage which recognizes both coins of silver and coins of gold as legal tender to any amount, or the free coinage and concurrent use of the two metals as a circulating medium at a fixed relative value.

The final report of the (English) Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, reporting in 1888, describes bimetallism as follows: "A bimetallic system of currency to be completely effective must, in the view of those who advocate it, include two essential features: (a) An open mint ready to coin any quantity of either gold or silver which may be brought to it. (b) The right on the part of a debtor to discharge his liabilities, at his option, in either of the two metals, at a ratio fixed by law." It is usually understood now to mean that the two metals are used thus at a fixed proportion to each other, as in the countries of the Latin Union (*q. v.*), in which the ratio of 1 gold to 15½ silver by weight formed the legal basis, or as in the United States, in which the ratio is 1 to 16.

Bimetallism as an economic question is of recent date, the word having been first used by M. Cernuschi in 1869, altho the concurrent use of gold and silver as money is old as civilization. (See MONEY.) The modern discussion of it, however, arose only shortly before the fall in the gold value of silver, which began about 1873.

We shall, in this article, give a general outline of the history of the bimetallic controversy, and the position to-day, with a notice of the main

arguments used for and against bimetallism. (For details of the history, see CURRENCY; SILVER; and for a full discussion of the theoretical monetary questions involved,

see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; MONEY.) Up to the year 1819 almost all nations issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760-1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law, making 15½ parts of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions, which had the effect, spite of still greater changes in relative production, of maintaining the relative values of the metals almost exactly steady at the figures named until the demonetization of silver by Germany in 1873. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard, and ever since has used it only as a metal for subsidiary coinage. But now began a contraction of the currency of the world. The silver product of Mexico, owing mainly to revolutions in that country, fell off one half; the total gold product of the world for various reasons declined; paper currencies in France and England were retired;

the United States (see CURRENCY) went through marked depressions, with all forms of wild State banking. At the same time increasing discoveries and inventions cheapened production.

By 1849 prices had fallen some 65 per cent., and money (in England, gold) had become by so much the more valuable. England's capitalists, bankers, and princely money-lenders, who mainly shaped her financial policy, naturally enjoyed this. Contracting currency (see CONTRACTION) increased the value of their loans. But suddenly (1849) came the gold discoveries of California and Australia. In 1859, 30 times as much gold was produced in the world as in 1810. Money became cheap. Prices rose. Gold threatened to be so plenty that monometallists began to talk about demonetizing it. From 1862-65, moreover, the United States issued paper money (greenbacks, etc.) and liberated \$600,000,000 of gold, which went to Europe, and mainly to England. If the gold-holders and gold-lenders were to retain any advantage from their gold, it was necessary to take some steps. Consequently they sought (the extreme believers in silver say conspired) to get possession of as much gold as possible, and then to induce the various nations of the world to demonetize silver, to make gold the only legal tender. Soon the promise of unlimited outflow of gold from the mines began to fail, and thus to vastly increase the value of their gold.

Gradually the arguments of English economists in favor of the single gold standard began to make impression, and this was deepened by indications that an excessive supply of silver from the Bonanza mines of Nevada might be expected. In 1867, in connection with the Paris Exhibition of that year, an international monetary conference was held at Berlin, and since even delegates from the United States, among others, supported resolutions advocating the demonetization of silver, the idea of gold monometallism spread. The importance of the question to the United States was not generally felt at this time, though a few writers, considered radicals, pointed out the danger. Circumstances, however, either favored the gold monometallists, or they took shrewd advantage of circumstances to induce demonetization of silver.

The war of 1870-71, by securing to Germany a large sum of gold and merchantable paper equivalent to gold, in payment of the indemnity of \$1,000,000,000 exacted from France, put Germany into a position to establish the single gold standard for herself. As a very large amount of her international commerce is transacted with the United Kingdom, this proposal was welcomed by the business community as a convenience. The German Minister of Finance, Herr Delbrück, in this, as in other matters, was in sympathy with the English school of economists. The law of December 4, 1871, completed July 9, 1873, superseding the local coinage by an imperial coinage, demonetized silver by restricting its coinage to the amount regarded as necessary for change. Of the silver previously in circulation, about \$260,000,000 worth was called in by 1878, and only \$106,650,000 worth recoined by the imperial mint; while of gold, \$2,275,000 worth was called in, and \$409,500,000 was issued in the new coins. This left \$153,350,000 worth

of silver in the imperial treasury, to be disposed of in the silver market in such quantities as could be sold without loss. In the half decade 1866-70 the average price of silver had been 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an ounce, being 1 oz. of gold to 15.55 oz. of silver, while the European standard of coinage valued 1 oz. of gold at 15.50 oz. of silver. During these sales, on account of the German treasury, it fell in value, and at one time in 1878 it was sold at 49d. an ounce. From this it rallied slightly when the Germany treasury was deterred from further sales by heavy losses, but it again declined.

The influence of Germany's action was felt in other quarters than the silver market, and its results everywhere had the effect of increasing the depression of silver. In 1873 Denmark, Sweden, and Norway followed her in adopting the single gold standard, and altho the amount of their coin circulation is not large—the new gold coinage of 1872 amounting to but \$20,021,055 in value—the act served to inflict a fresh blow on the prestige of silver. Holland followed in 1875. In the United States, the influence of the bankers and capitalists had already caused the withdrawal of the greenbacks, the issue of interest-bearing bonds, the vote to pay both capital and interest in gold (altho in some cases it had not been promised to be paid in gold), and, besides all this, the gradual contraction of the currency; and thus, of course, the enhancement of the value of gold. For the details of this we must refer the reader to the article CURRENCY; but it must be at least mentioned in any true history of the bimetallic controversy as one important factor. Hitherto silver, since the beginning of the war at least, had played a small part in United States monetary affairs. During the war, and till about 1876, it was mainly a question of paper or gold. This led to unforeseen consequences. Silver—hitherto technically altho not practically a legal tender and standard of value—was, in 1873, technically demonetized. (See CURRENCY.) A bill was introduced into Congress and passed February 12, 1873, nominally to regulate details of coinage at the mint, but which, without mentioning the demonetization of silver, did practically accomplish

**Silver
Demon-
etized,
1873.**

this by not mentioning silver coins except for small change, and saying that no coins either of gold or silver should be coined except those therein set forth. It elicited at the time small attention. Few knew that it demonetized silver, and the most stalwart friends of silver voted for it. Silver was scarcely an issue.

But gradually, as the country saw the circulation contracting, and the opponents of contraction found that they could not obtain a paper currency, they turned to silver, and then discovered that it had been demonetized. The excitement was intense. Mr. Sherman and the few who knew what had been done were branded as traitors by the growing friends of silver. It was charged that demonetization had been carried by a conspiracy of a few Congressmen with the "gold kings" of Wall Street, to carry out "a world conspiracy" to demonetize silver and make gold the ruler of the world.

A monetary commission was appointed by

Congress in 1876, which reported strongly in favor of silver, and led to the call of an international monetary conference at Paris in 1878, to secure the cooperation of the European powers in remonetizing silver. Meanwhile, the development of gold monometallism had gone on. Says President Andrews, in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1893:

"On December 18, 1873, fearing a disastrous influx of the metal from Germany, Belgium suspended the free coinage of silver, the other States of the Latin Union (*q.v.*) following on January 31, 1874. Holland, too, this same year, gave up coining silver for private account. On December 21, 1876, Belgium wholly ceased striking standard silver coins. Russia took the same course also in 1876; France and Switzerland in 1877; Italy a little later.

"Nearly at the same time with these changes, demonetizing silver and requiring new gold, the flow of silver to the East decreased, and the yield of the American silver mines increased. Both phenomena tended to depress the value of silver and to lower its price in gold. Early in November, 1872, for the first time since 1852, silver sold in London under 60d. per ounce. In 1871, silver prices for the year being averaged, 15.58 grs. of silver would buy a grain of gold. In 1872 it took 15.63 grs. of silver to do this; in 1873, 15.92 grs.; in 1874, 16.17 grs.; in 1875, 16.58 grs.; in 1876, 17.88 grs.; in 1878, 17.94 grs.; in 1879, 18.40 grs."

The Paris conference took no positive action toward silver remonetization. In the United States, however, the Bland Bill of 1878 did to an extent remonetize silver. It did not wholly, for altho, as originally reported by Mr. Bland from the House Committee on Coinage, it did propose the full remonetization of silver by authorizing its unlimited coinage at the ratio of 1 to 16 on private account, the bill, as finally passed, restricted coinage to \$2,000,000 a month on Government account. And the secretaries of our treasury, like the Bank of France, have been agreed in regarding their stock of gold alone as the reserve for the security of the notes they are obligated to redeem on presentation.

This was at length replaced in 1890, after almost annual attempts at a full free-coinage act, by a compromise measure, commonly known as the Sherman Act. This directed the Treasurer to purchase silver bullion aggregating 4,500,000 oz. a month, or so much thereof as might be offered at market price, and to issue in payment for such purchases silver bullion treasury notes.

Meanwhile, on the Continent the gold monometallists had succeeded in permanently demonetizing silver. By an international agreement of the Latin Union, in 1874 the coinage of silver had been limited; by an agreement of 1877 it ceased. The Paris conference of 1878 had been decided for gold, and tho the conference of 1881 showed a little more inclination toward silver, the reluctance of the greater European powers still carried the day for gold. (See MONETARY CONFERENCES.)

We now come to the money crisis of the summer of 1893. The United States was left alone, of the great powers of the world, to deal with silver. Various events conspired to bring on this crisis. Losses on loans in the Argentine Repub-

lic compelled England to draw in her gold. Then came the failure of the Australian banks, demanding more gold from England.

**Crisis of
1893.**

Austria-Hungary and Roumania decided to change to a gold standard. On the top of all this, the English Indian Government was induced (June 26, 1893) to stop the free coinage of silver. The crisis in America almost immediately followed. Silver dropped to the lowest point ever recorded. The day after the news from India, silver mines began to close in Colorado, and distress became intense. Meanwhile, some of the banks, not knowing what was coming, had begun a policy for which many of them dearly paid. It is claimed by the silver extremists that the banks, or at least some bankers, planned, by reducing their circulation and by refusing credit, to create a slight pinch, to lay this to lack of confidence in the Sherman Act, and fear that the United States would be left to a depreciated silver standard when all the rest of the world had declared for gold, and so to compel Congress to repeal the Sherman Act and thus put the whole world in the hands of the triumphant gold metallists, as all the great powers, except the United States, are to-day. However, the banks did not know what elements were uniting to cause, not a slight pinch, but the worst monetary crisis the country has known for at least 20 years. Finding credit refused, the public became fearful. Men began to draw out their capital and hoard money. Western banks failed in large numbers. Lack of confidence in silver was preached by the papers as the cause of the panic. The repeal of the Sherman Act was demanded by all the banks, boards of trade, and capitalists. President Cleveland was induced to summon an extra session of Congress to meet the emergency. All this increased the panic. Credit was gone. Money was hoarded. It became impossible even for perfectly solvent manufacturing concerns to get enough money to pay their wages. Every device was used for money. Clearing-house notes were issued in large quantities. Banks in unprecedented numbers failed, altho with abundant assets, because they could not get currency to meet the demand. There was a money famine. The calling of Congress (August 7) strengthened confidence temporarily. Large amounts of gold were obtained from England, and a little easement made. August 11 Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, introduced a bill in the House, repealing the silver-purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, but renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver. This passed the House August 23 by a vote of 240 to 110. Then came a long contest in the Senate. After much discussion in committee and caucus, Senator Vorhees introduced a bill, August 18, repealing the purchasing clause, but more strongly pledging the maintenance of bimetallism. Strongly supported by the Administration, it was nearly defeated by the persistent and strenuous opposition of a bitter and able minority, and the inability of the majority—for political and other reasons—to agree to changing the traditions of the Senate and force a vote. Finally, however, after months of talk, it passed the Senate, October 30, was accepted

by the House, and approved by the President November 1. Such is a brief outline of the monetary history, from which the bimetallist controversy cannot be separated, and without a knowledge of which it cannot be understood.

Since November, 1893, the bimetallist controversy has been intensified rather than diminished, but the history is best considered under article SILVER, since it has turned more upon fact than upon theory.

In this country, however, the bimetallists must not be confounded with those friends of silver who have fought for bimetallism, not from any theory or belief in bimetallism itself, but simply from a desire to expand or at least to prevent the contraction of the currency, and have believed the use of silver to be at present the most available means to this end. By no means have all the supporters of silver in the Congressional battle been bimetallists.

**Bimetallists
and Free
Silver Men
not the
Same.**

On the other hand, by no means have all the opponents of silver been monometallists. On the contrary, many of them believe in bimetallism, but have argued that the United States cannot afford to use depreciated silver when all the rest of the world is using gold. They have held that we must adopt the gold standard, and then work for an international agreement to use silver. A few strong bimetallists, including such an eminent monetary authority as President Andrews, have urged the adoption of the gold standard by the United States, on the ground that there is not gold enough in the world to do the business of the world; so that for the United States to adopt it would necessarily produce such a panic that even England (where there has been of late considerable awakening of inclination toward silver) would be compelled to adopt silver. Still others have argued for the repeal of the Sherman Act, on the ground that it was a compromise measure, in itself pleasing to neither believers in silver nor in gold, and that, since it has been at least presented as the cause of lack of confidence, to repeal it would tend to restore that confidence; while the country could then legislate, as it would, to increase the currency. On the other hand, those arguing against repeal, in the interest of an enlarged currency, have insisted that, altho they did not like the Sherman Act, it was all that stood between them and a single gold standard, and it was, therefore, folly to repeal it till they could be assured of something better to take its place; while it would be folly, when there was already a money famine, to repeal a bill calculated to put at least large amounts of silver certificates into circulation every month. It will be thus seen how complicated has been the condition of the bimetallic controversy in the United States. And this is but a brief statement of the subject. The intensity of feeling on the subject can only be realized when one reads the violent language of the friends of silver, classing the gold men with the most heinous traitors to the country, and threatening violence and war if silver be demonetized. This feeling, however one differ from it, can, nevertheless, be understood when one realizes what a contracting currency means, and how these men believe that the de-

monetization of silver is a deliberate plot to contract the currency. For this we must refer the reader to article **CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY**. We here simply quote from Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Indiana, who says :

"Money is like any commodity, in that its value is determined by demand and supply. If money is scarce, compared with the demand, its value will be high, which is the same as to say that prices of commodities will be low, and if money is abundant, it will be cheap, and prices will be high. Now . . . what is the significance of price fluctuations? Nothing less than the very essence of modern industry. In former days, when every man lived to himself, there was no occasion for a money question. But now no man or family lives isolated. The 'cash-nexus,' at least, unites the world into a single organism. Each one buys from the world all that he eats and wears and enjoys, and sells to the world the one specialized product which he makes. His whole life, therefore, is a question of prices. Also, it is estimated that the debts of the world are \$100,000,000,000. Every nation, state, county, city, and township is in debt. Every business man, corporation, farmer, is a debtor. These debts run from three months to three decades. All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past 20 years this is exactly what has occurred. Our universal, all-important standard of measure has doubled. Every debtor and producing nation except the United States is a bankrupt nation. They borrowed money for private and public enterprises when prices were high, and must pay interest and principal when prices are low. Australia, with its bountiful resources and immunity from war; Egypt, Italy, Portugal, Argentina, are acknowledged bankrupts. France, Spain, and other nations escape the acknowledgment only by falsely doctoring their books. The reason is, the burden of their debts has nearly doubled. The people of the United States have paid two thirds of their war debt since 1865; yet, measured in wheat, cotton, corn, and many manufactured articles, it will require to-day more of the products of their muscle and brain to pay the remaining one third than it required in 1865 to pay the entire debt. Only a land of fabulous resources can endure this fruitless slavery. When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic, depression, idleness, and despair are upon us" (article in *The Voice*, September 14, 1893).

Importance of the Question.

It can be thus seen what the bimetallic controversy really means, and why it has roused the farmers, who are a debtor class, to such intense excitement and sometimes frenzy. It means, in their belief, the doubling or halving of their debts, the consequent salvation or ruin of home, family, and their future for years to come. It is no wonder that the controversy has been called the greatest problem of modern political economy. (For the more recent history of the question, see **SILVER**.) In regard to the bearing of bimetalism upon the recent loans contracted by the United States Government, the following from *The Outlook* of March 2, 1895, gives the argument *pro* and *con* :

"The monometallist claims, with considerable show of reason, that the recent act of the Administration in borrowing \$62,400,000 of gold, on terms which involve the payment of over \$72,000,000 in interest in 30 years, was absolutely necessary to preserve the credit and honor of the Government. It is said that we are under a political and commercial necessity, if not under a moral and legal obligation, to redeem all our notes, except the silver certificates, in gold; that the gold in the treasury had been so drawn out that it was necessary for the Government to borrow gold in order to redeem its promises; that if it borrowed this gold

by a popular loan from Americans at home, the Americans would straightway sell the bonds for greenbacks, and use the greenbacks to draw out from the treasury the gold which they had put into the treasury; that to prevent this depletion it was necessary to find some owners of gold who would not exchange the bonds for greenbacks and use the greenbacks to draw out the gold again from the treasury; and that these owners of the gold, having a control of the gold, have both the power and the right to charge the rate of interest which was charged and is to be paid by the Government. If the Government were in war and needed potatoes for its army, it would have to buy the potatoes of the farmers who had them, and it would have to pay the farmers whatever price they asked. It is in need of gold, and it must buy the gold of the bankers who have it, and must pay the bankers whatever price they ask. This is the argument, and whether it is wholly correct in its assumption of facts or not, these assumptions are not wholly unreasonable.

"We have stated on another page our reasons for thinking that the bargain was not a wise one; but if it were, if the facts are as claimed by the monometallist, and the action of the Administration was necessitated by the conditions that existed, these facts and these conditions furnish to the bimetalist an additional argument for bimetalism.

"We have in this country, in various forms of paper money, \$1,500,000,000. We have in addition to this a great credit system carried on by means of checks and bills of exchange, which, at the lowest estimate, aggregate \$2,000,000,000 more. Under a monometallic system this whole medium of exchange—National notes, banknotes, and private checks—is based upon gold, and every note and check is, in the last analysis, payable in gold. There is so little gold in the world that a comparatively small number of bankers can control the supply in any time of exigency, and can compel the people to pay a large interest account, not for gold to be used as a medium of exchange, for they do not use gold for that purpose, but for the privilege of maintaining a medium of exchange consisting almost wholly of paper, but based upon gold as a standard. The bimetalists claim that if this medium of exchange consisting of paper were based, not upon gold only, but upon both gold and silver, there is so much of both metals in the world that no banker or syndicate of bankers could control the supply, and that, therefore, the people would not be required to pay to any banker or syndicate of bankers \$72,000,000 in 30 years for the privilege of carrying on their exchanges by means of notes and checks."

ARGUMENTS FOR BIMETALLISM.

In following the monetary history of the bimetallic controversy we have already seen many of the arguments *pro* and *con* ; but as that history is confused with other questions, we tabulate here the main arguments for bimetalism.

1. That there is not enough gold produced in the world to do the business of the world, and that, therefore, unless silver or some other metal be used, the sufferings must be experienced which all economists are agreed would result from a contracting or insufficient currency. Upon the gold production of the world Soetbeer and Giffen are admittedly the greatest authorities. Soetbeer's tables, translated by Professor Taussig, and published in the United States Consular Reports for December, 1887, p. 528, are condensed as follows :

	Gold Produced (yearly).	Consumed in the Arts.	Used for Money and Reserves.
1851-70.	\$135,000,000	\$43,000,000	\$92,000,000
1881-85.	104,000,000	80,000,000	24,000,000

In other words, while the production of gold had decreased, its non-monetary consumption had nearly doubled, and the surplus available for money uses had been reduced from \$92,000,000 annually, two decades before, to \$24,000,000 annually in 1885.

Mr. Giffen, the leading English monometallicist, has since written upon the same question,

as follows: "About two-thirds of the gold produced annually is taken for the arts, and if the consumption of India is included as being either for simple hoarding or for the arts, and in no case for the purpose of circulating money, then the demand for gold for non-monetary purposes appears almost equal to the entire annual production."

With these statements from such sources the contention seems supported that there is not enough gold produced in the world to do the world's business, and that silver is, therefore, needed.

2. It is urged that silver is less liable to fluctuation in value than gold, and that, therefore, when used with gold, it tends to modify the evils of gold fluctuation. For the facts bearing upon this point, which are somewhat involved, we must refer the reader to SILVER.

3. Bimetallists argue that even if this be not the case, on general principles two metals are not so apt to fluctuate as one, and that if one metal be driven out of circulation temporarily, the other metal will remain, fluctuating perhaps, but still fluctuating less than the vanished metal. Jevons has illustrated this as follows:

"At any moment the standard of value is doubtless one metal or the other, and not both; yet the fact that there is an alternation tends to make each vary much less than it would otherwise do. It cannot prevent both metals from falling or rising in value compared with other commodities, but it can throw variations of supply and demand over a larger area, instead of leaving each metal to be affected merely by its own accidents. Imagine two reservoirs of water, each subject to independent variations of supply and demand. In the absence of any connecting pipe, the level of the water in each reservoir will be subject to its own fluctuations only. But if we open a connection, the water in both will assume a certain level, and the effects of any excessive supply or demand will be distributed over the whole area of both reservoirs. The mass of the metals, gold and silver, circulating in Western Europe in late years, is exactly represented by the water in these reservoirs, and the connecting pipe is the law of the seventh Germinal, An. xi. (1803), which enables one metal to take the place of the other as an unlimited legal tender."

4. Bimetallists claim, as asserted above, that the depreciation of silver which has taken place has been due to unfavorable legislation, and that all the financial suffering which it has caused proves what need the world has of silver. If this goes on, they argue, nothing less than a most disastrous shock to the expansion of the world's commerce can be expected. And no remedy except the remonetization of silver has been suggested. (For a fuller statement of the arguments for bimetallism, see MONETARY CONFERENCES.)

We close this portion of our subject by quoting the declaration of the bimetallist members of the German Silver Commission, printed in an appendix to the record of the twenty-first session, as translated by E. Benjamin Andrews, and published in the *Review of Reviews* for September, 1894:

"The undersigned, members of the German Silver Commission, believe themselves compelled to draw from the course of the Commission's proceedings the following conclusions:

INCREASED PURCHASING POWER OF GOLD.

"I. We consider it proved by science and experience, and partly, in fact, by the admissions of prominent adherents of the sole gold standard, that the power of

gold to purchase goods has risen since the general extension of the gold standard (1873), is still rising to-day, and must continue to rise.

"Our grounds for this belief are:

"1. The rise in the purchasing power of gold, that is, the general fall in the price level of commodities, was predicted by the well-known monetary writers, Wolowski and Ernst Seyd, in 1868, before the introduction of the gold standard. Their prophecy was repeated later by E. de Laveleye and Carey. Even Dr. Bamberger said, in the session of the Reichstag May 29, 1873, according to the stenographic report: 'On the contrary, gentlemen, I fully agree with one of the speakers who have preceded me, that a greater demand for gold will result from our gold policy and the similar policies adopted by other countries. Gold will then rise, and a consequence of our currency reform will be that prices with us, if we once go over to the gold standard, will decline.' Robert Giffen, recognized as one of the best authorities of the gold-standard party, declared in 1888: 'If events are the touchstones of prophecies, no prophecy was ever more certain than the increased dearness of gold. That the fall of prices throughout a compass so general as that in which we now see it falling is to be referred to an elevation in the purchasing power of gold is generally, and I might almost say universally, admitted.'

"2. The attempt to refer this lowering in the general level of prices to other causes, lying outside the coinage system, for instance, to cheapening and improvement in means of communication, to the perfecting of processes and machines for the production of goods, etc., must be considered a failure, for the reason that the same causes were present in the same strength during the twenty-year period before 1873, tho at that time there was observable a gradual elevation in the prices of goods in general; while, since 1873, that is, since the beginning of the fall in the gold price of silver through the introduction of the gold standard in Germany, a sharp and permanent lowering in general prices has come in.

"Moreover, the industrial development referred to is at present specially strong in the lands having the silver standard, yet without inducing any fall of prices there. This is a direct proof that silver has not lost in value, but merely gone down in its gold price, and that, therefore, the fact which confronts us is simply an elevation in the value of gold.

"3. The objection that many things, as city rents, securities, and, most of all, wages, have increased in price is without weight, because in all these things powerful special factors have been influencing prices. City rents must advance so long as the population of the country continues to be drained away into the larger towns, evoking a permanent increase in the demand for houses. Securities advance in accordance with the increase in the purchasing power of the income which they yield. The prostration of productive industry lessens the demand for capital for productive purposes and increases the demand for those securities whose interest is certain to be paid. Wages rise with the elevation of the standard of life in the different classes of the population, altho the full satisfaction of the demand thus originated is made impossible by the bad industrial position of employers. The social bitterness proceeding from this unsatisfied demand is mostly a result of the pressure with which a bad coinage system afflicts the entire life of industry.

RESULTING EVILS.

"II. The advance in the purchasing power of gold, proved in our judgment beyond refutation, brought about by the disuse of full silver money and the adoption of a gold standard, has demonstrably produced the following industrial evils:

"1. An incessantly heavier and heavier burden is falling on the debtor in favor of the creditor. In respect to this Archbishop Walsh, of Dublin, remarks: 'A great part of the capital employed in the business of our land has passed into the hands of creditors who have neither toiled nor spun, but hold securities and mortgages. The discouragement caused by this state of things is very deep. After it has continued a number of years a sense of hopelessness masters the entire business world; all desire to undertake business enterprises is paralyzed; a multitude of establishments are closed; the laborer is forced out of work; and laborers, as well as the whole middle class of the population, are made to feel that a great misfortune has come over them. The result, in fact, reaches still farther: a crowd of people who were once well-to-do in business have now become recipients of alms.'

"2. This injury to the debtor must at last involve the creditor, since the debtor is becoming unable to pay.

"3. A set-back to German agriculture is manifest, referable, on the one hand, to the necessity of selling a constantly increasing amount of depreciated agricultural products in order to pay wages, interest, rent, leases, taxes; and, on the other hand, to the increased power of competition on the part of other countries, silver countries, that is, and countries on a money basis of depreciated paper. In proportion as their silver or paper loses in power to buy gold, these countries, enjoying in effect a high export premium, are able to throw their native products upon the world's markets at prices far beneath what it costs German farmers to produce them, so plunging these latter in deep distress.

"4. The demonetization of silver is also working a more and more visible injury to German manufacturing industry:

(a) On account of the ever-lessening ability of the farmer class to purchase manufactured products.

(b) On account of the decrease in exports to silver lands and of the consequent recoil upon the home market of the articles hitherto exported thither.

(c) On account of the competition offered by the rapidly developing manufacturing plants of silver lands, favored by the low cost of production there and by the premium upon exportation therefrom produced by the fall in the gold price of silver.

"Unless means are taken to prevent, it will not be long before the manufactured products of the silver countries will find the German market. To import Indian yarn into Germany is already a paying operation.

"5. A suppression of the desire to engage in industry is the natural result of falling prices. Instead of being applied to undertakings that are for the people's economic advantage, capital seeks investment in securities considered certain to pay interest. Lower rates of interest result. In order not to suffer from this, uncertain foreign securities are purchased, occasioning heavy losses of German capital, especially bad for small investors.

"6. Capital cannot permanently keep clear of the injuries which debtors suffer, nor can it remain unaffected by the falling off of production. Obligations made payable in gold lead to the bankruptcy of individuals, as well as of States [Greece, Portugal, Argentina].

"7. Constantly increasing difficulty besets countries which are financially involved by having gold debts to pay. Instead of being able to reduce their finances to order, they are confronted with an increasing agio upon gold, and also, corresponding to this, with an increase of the premium upon the products which they export. This exportation, moreover, is to the disadvantage of the manufactures and the agriculture of the lands having the gold standard.

"8. There results a permanent injury and exhaustion of Germany's silver-mining industry, which cannot be normally carried on at the present prices of silver. But as silver mining ceases there also ceases in great part the production of copper, lead, zinc, etc. In this way many millions are yearly lost to the income of the German nation; many thousands of laborers are deprived of bread; entire districts of Germany are ruined.

"9. A falling off amounting to billions is taking place in the value of the nation's land and soil, threatening particularly the agricultural districts of the eastern provinces; while the growth taking place in the great cities and manufacturing centers is going on in an unhealthy way. Increasing discontent is overpowering the population, showing itself in the progress of socialistic democracy and also in the anti-Semitic movement, which E. de Laveleye foretold as a result of introducing the gold standard.

"10. The depopulation of the rural sections means a weakening of the German military power. In case of war, our financial preparations are entirely unsatisfactory. That other countries are quite as badly off as we in this respect affords no satisfaction.

"11. The fall in the gold price of silver severely endangers our monetary circulation. We have in circulation nearly 1,000,000,000 marks (face value) in thalers, small silver pieces, nickel and copper money, whose bullion value in all hardly exceeds 400,000,000 marks. This condition gives rise to a double danger—*viz.*, that our monetary system may break down at critical times, and that counterfeit full legal-tender silver coins may be circulated, indistinguishable from those struck at the public mints, a process, at the present low gold price of silver, affording counterfeiters enormous profits. It is known that vast counterfeit issues are already in circulation in other countries.

"12. All these evils lead every now and then to

crises, which disturb business by raising rates of discount, resorted to in order to protect gold, which all banks anxiously do, for the most part withdrawing it from commerce by an embargo.

"13. Beyond all question we have to anticipate a still more acute development of these evils. All the silver countries must try to place themselves on the gold basis if Germany and the rest of the great powers hold fast thereto. Modern commerce cannot permanently endure a difference in basal moneys, the separation of the world into gold countries and silver countries. But any further extension of the gold system must, as Goschen predicted so early as 1873, lead to a business crisis such as the world has never yet passed through.

ADVANTAGES FROM REMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

"III. Nothing but a restitution of silver to its former coequality with gold as a monetary metal can bring the needed relief.

"We promise ourselves the following benign results in case of such restitution:

"1. The persistent fall of general prices would cease, the prices of all products would again be determined in a normal way, and agriculture and other industries would flourish anew.

"People's fears touching money depreciation, inflation, and injury to creditors, supposing silver to be restored, rest upon exaggerations. International free coinage would at most leave barely enough excess of gold and silver over the industrial demand to keep pace with the increase of business and population, and with the constant addition of new countries to the civilized portion of the world. The precious metal production with which we now have to reckon is, in fact, proportionally to the various demands which would be made upon it very much less than that of the fifties and the sixties, which then brought rich economic blessing and did no injury whatever.

"2. When prices rise, both the impulse to undertake industrial enterprises and the rate of interest also rise, working an advantage to capital which fully makes good any possible diminution in the purchasing power of money. Public income swells, permitting an advance in the salaries of officials. A flourishing condition of general industry enhances the demand for labor and betters the situation of the laboring classes.

"3. Were it possible to make specie payments in silver as well as in gold, it would be easier for countries with depreciated paper money to regulate their finances. Many can never accomplish this in any other way. Variations in paper money values would then no longer curse commerce; the products of German industry would be in vast amounts exported to silver lands (East Asia, Mexico, South America), and at the same time the ability of our agricultural population to buy goods would be restored.

"4. A period of general advance in material prosperity would rob of all significance the agrarian, anti-Semitic, and Socialist-Democrat movements of agitators, and prevent the mutual bitterness of our political factions from becoming, as it now threatens to become, more acute.

"5. Instead of the separate measures of value now actually in use by the world's commerce, gold alone in some countries and silver alone in others, there would be a single measure of value for all mankind, that secured through gold and silver together, by rendering invariable their values relatively to one another. That this fixity in the relative values of gold and silver can be brought about is proved by history, for it actually prevailed from 1803 to 1873, owing to the mintage of both metals by France. That it is possible by a union between the chief commercial governments to establish a practically unchanging relation in value between silver and gold was unanimously recognized, after long investigation, by the English gold and silver commission of 1888.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

"The objections against the above opinions of ours seem to us to lack sufficient foundation.

"1. If it be said that the restitution of silver as a monetary metal is possible, or possible in accordance with justice to creditors, only by rating silver to gold at its present market value in gold, we reply that the market price of silver to-day is abnormal, resulting from a series of panics evoked by legislation, and from a limitation in the demand for silver having no other cause than the artificial one of closing mints to this metal. Besides, it cannot be admitted that the creditor

has any natural right permanently to receive at the debtor's cost, in consequence of the steady rise in the purchase power of gold, a value continually more and more in excess of what would fall to him were there no such appreciation of gold.

"2. In reply to the objection, resting on misunderstood theories, that the relation in value between two 'wares,' gold and silver, cannot be 'fixed' by statute, we appeal to actual experiences with bimetallic mintage in France, where, between 1803 and 1873, it maintained for the whole world the relation of 15½ to 1, thus persistently continuing the relative value of gold and silver, with slight variations corresponding to the usual movements of exchange, in spite of the greatest fluctuations in their relative production that have ever been known.

"We appeal further to the unanimous judgment at which the English Gold and Silver Commission of 1883 arrived, altho' half its members were opposed to bimetalism. Here is what the Commission says:

"We think that in any conditions fairly to be contemplated in the future, so far as we can forecast them from the experience of the past, a stable ratio might be maintained if the nations we have alluded to (Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and the Latin Union) were to accept and strictly adhere to bimetalism at the suggested ratio. We think that if in all these countries gold and silver could be freely coined, and thus become exchangeable against commodities at the fixed ratio, the market value of silver as measured by gold would conform to that ratio and not vary to any material extent.

"We need not enter upon any extended explanation of our reasons for this view, since such reasons can be derived from what we have set forth above, and since, in our opinion, they obviously follow both from theoretical considerations and from the experience of the last half century.

"It in fact appears impossible to maintain any other view."

"3. If it is objected that the restitution of silver would occasion for Germany a crisis whose limits could not be foreseen, it must be noticed in the first place that we do not believe in any interposition on behalf of silver *save on the basis of an international agreement*. No sort of distrust can be occasioned by bimetalism when it is introduced simultaneously in all the great nations.

"Besides, the fear of a 'flood' of silver is entirely groundless.

"(a) Because not an increase but a decrease in silver production is now in prospect;

"(b) Because the silver in the silver countries (East Asia, Mexico) and in circulation as money in the gold lands has not yet become depreciated. The billions which circulate as thalers, marks, francs, shillings, and guilders still hold fast their old value;

"(c) Because compared with the tremendous stocks of precious metal in the world, which, including wrought gold and silver, are valued at 100,000,000,000 frs. (\$20,000,000,000), the yearly production is insignificantly small;

"(d) Because the severe and long-continued crisis has naturally reduced the demands of business on the stock of gold and silver coins, and in a period of flourishing industry this demand will greatly rise.

"But the speedy establishment of international bimetalism seems to us necessary more particularly in view of the facts concerning the production of the precious metals.

"The testimony of expert geologists has strengthened us in our conviction that gold is not adapted to be alone the measure of value, and that the fears of a too great production of silver are utterly unjustified.

"Experts have unanimously declared:

"(a) That the large production of silver in Australia is a transitory phenomenon, whose end is but a little way in the future;

"(b) That silver production is at present rapidly falling off in the United States, not only in consequence of the fall in gold price, but as well because the bonanzas and also the carbonate ores necessary for smelting are becoming exhausted;

"(c) That a permanently large production of silver is to be expected only in Mexico and South America, where, because these countries are on the silver basis, the gold price of silver has, in our belief, no effect in checking the production of the metal.

"As against the view prevalent in our country that the gold price of silver fell because of increase in production, it is certain that this fall is to be referred entirely to the doings of legislators; that when the fall began the production of silver was, in fact, not sufficient to meet the demand; and that the American silver laws led to a 'skinning' of the silver mines, which was the

main cause of the increase in production. Let normal conditions return, and we may expect a stable production of silver, corresponding to the vast demand, tho' hardly sufficient to satisfy it.

"The production of gold has greatly increased in the last few years, yet not in a way to equal the demand so long as gold alone is full money. Should the gold States at last be driven to go on and lay aside their many billions of silver money, continually losing more and more of its gold value, it would be absolutely impossible to fill the gap so caused in their circulation.

"But the production of gold cannot maintain itself at its present height. The more strongly and intensively the extraction of gold is pushed, so much more rapidly and completely will the mines be exhausted. The allegations of Professor Ed. Suess in reference to the prospective exhaustion of gold mines have not been proved incorrect, but have been confirmed; and Suess, when before the Commission, only strengthened us in his views when he declared that the present copious production of gold is bringing the world essentially nearer to the moment assumed by him when the production of gold will be entirely at an end.

"In the Transvaal, according to microscopic investigations, it is only a question of fossil 'soaps' (alluvial or diluvial gold). The wealth of gold there, therefore, does not refute but confirms Suess' doctrine that important treasures in gold are to be found only in newly opened countries, where they quickly give out.

"People still refer to the possibility of further 'surprises' in respect to gold production. This possibility is all the time growing less and less with men's restlessly advancing examination of the earth's surface.

"The gold production of to-day, inadequate as it is, is rapidly using up the world's last great gold reserves. To build the world's coinage system upon a production which can at best last only some decades is as impossible as a coinage system based upon the chance of 'surprises.'

"A provident statesmanship cannot discredit silver and let it lose its value, when all human foresight is to the effect that the metal will be absolutely indispensable in the future.

"The present moment, witnessing an increase in gold production which may be the last, is precisely the time to carry through an international system of bimetalism, as this can now be done without any fear that gold will leave the circulation or attain an agio. Those who prophesy a gold agio in case of bimetalism overlook the fact that they thereby ascribe to gold a scarcity and dearness too great to allow of gold possibly continuing the sole standard.

"If, now, the united German governments recognize the necessity of procedure to stop the depreciation of silver, it comports with the high position of Germany as a nation that it should assume the initiative toward international negotiations, exerting its influence in the council of the nations in favor of silver, whose depreciation had its beginning in the German coinage law of 1871. Such is the condition of affairs that Germany will be permitted to reckon upon the cooperation of all powerful States, including England.

"DR. ARENDT,
"VON KARDORFF-WABNITZ,
"LEUSCHNER,
"VON SCHALSCHA,
"WÜLFING."

ARGUMENTS AGAINST BIMETALLISM.

These come from two main sources: (1) From those who believe in a gold monometallism, and (2) from those who consider *both* monometallism and bimetalism to be faulty, and would meet the monetary need in other ways. The argument brought by monometallists against bimetalism will be found at length under the division of *Monometallism in Money*, but may be summarized here. It is urged that, however we legislate, two metals cannot be a standard at the same time, because at any given time, according to Gresham's law (see *MONEY*), the poorer metal will drive the better metal out. If, then, it is said we attempt to have a double standard, it really means to choose the poorer standard of the two, and thus to have all the evils of a depreciated and depreciating cur-

rency. It is urged that the fall of prices has not been due to the appreciation of gold, as bimetallicists assert, but to the cheapening cost of production. Monometallists point to the danger of there being such an increased production of silver as to threaten great depreciation of its value; and therefore, if accepted as a standard, the great lessening of money values, involving general financial ruin. The only way to prevent this, they urge, is to maintain gold as the most fixed and universally accepted measure of value, and then to use various forms of credit to do the exchange of the world where gold is not sufficient, using silver, copper, etc., only for subsidiary coin. Already, they assert, credit performs 93 per cent. of the exchanges of the world. (Bimetallicists deny this, and say that monometallists consider too much the methods of the financing class. They say that the vast millions of the earth's population do not use forms of credit; that retail stores use it little, farmers still less, and artisans and day laborers scarcely at all. For these credit is no relief, since they have no credit. Credit, moreover, gives out when it is most needed, and throws the world back on an insufficient amount of gold just when gold is most in demand.)

The argument against bimetallicism by those who would have neither bimetallicism nor monometallism is (1) that bimetallicism has not worked and cannot work without international agreement, and that this is well nigh impossible to get, it always being the interest of the capitalists of one nation to adopt a gold standard if they can only induce some other nation to adopt a silver standard; (2) that there is large measure of truth in the contention of the monometallists that there cannot be two standards at the same time, and that to try to attempt to have two standards is really to have only the poorer of the two; so that the best that can be said for bimetallicism is that it is an evil only less than that of an insufficient gold standard; (3) that the great need in currency is of a fixed standard, which, to remain fixed in proportion to prices, must be elastic in *volume*, which is possible neither with gold nor silver; so that we require some better system than either monometallism or bimetallicism. (For a discussion of proposed systems, see MONEY, last part.)

On continental Europe, the most distinguished bimetallicists have been Henri Cernuschi,

A. Wagner, A. Schäffle, Baron von Kardoff, Professor E. de Laveleye.

Leading Bimetallicists. In England till recently most of the economists were monometallists, but there has come a change.

Says a writer in the *Christian Union* for September 2, 1893:

"Newton, Ricardo and Chevalier were in favor of silver monometallism. Mills, Cairnes and Jevons were in favor of gold monometallism. What was true of the great writers was also true of the rank and file of university professors. In the early seventies, however, when the production of gold began to fall off, and one new nation after another discarded silver and established the gold standard, prices which had been nearly uniform for 20 years began steadily to fall. This brought a new current of thought into the scientific world. There are still scientific monometallists, but there is none of the rank of the men we have named. The revolution of opinion has been quite marked in Germany, where Wagner and Schäffle, the two economists of the widest fame, are both bimetallicists. It

has, however, been most marked in Great Britain, where Professor Foxwell, of Cambridge, in a letter written in 1860 to M. de Laveleye, described the opinions of his colleagues in the chairs of political economy in Great Britain as follows:

"University of Cambridge, Professor Alfred Marshall, bimetallicist; Professor Sidgwick, bimetallicist. Edinburgh, Professor Nicholson, author of an excellent book on the subject, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League. Oxford, Thorold Rodgers (now dead) admits the scarcity of gold, but rejects bimetallicism. University College of London, H. S. Foxwell, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League. Nottingham, Professor J. E. Symes, bimetallicist. Liverpool, Professor E. G. Gonner, Vice-President of the Bimetallic League. Manchester, Professor J. E. Munro admits the bimetallic theory. London, Kings College, Professor Edgeworth inclines toward bimetallicism."

To these the name of Hon. G. J. Goschen should be added. In the United States the leading bimetallicists have been, in the past, Henry C. Carey, President F. A. Walker, Hon. William D. Kelley, Hon. John P. Jones, John B. Howe, and W. F. Balch.

Of the present, the situation is so involved that it is hard to speak. The large majority of professorial economists in this country are bimetallicists in theory, but believe that to be successful international agreement is necessary; and they feel that this is at present almost impossible of attainment. The position of such men as President Andrews is given above. In the confusion, to mention names and attempt classification without long explanations would perhaps mislead more than it would help.

In May, 1895, a significant bimetallic conference was held in London, but for all this recent history see SILVER.

For an able statement of the monometallist view, see F. W. Taussig's *The Silver Situation in the United States*; for the bimetallicist view, President E. B. Andrews' *An Honest Dollar*; for the position of the free silver movement, see W. J. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School* (1894). See MONETARY CONFERENCES; GOLD; SILVER MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; CURRENCY.

Revised by ELISHA B. ANDREWS.

References: The literature on the subject is very extensive, to a great extent in articles and letters in periodicals. The arguments on the subject will be found stated in Jevons, *Investigations in Currency and Finance* (London, 1884), *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1875); *Reports of Committee of House of Commons on Depreciation of Silver* (1878); *Report of Commission on Trade and Industry* (1886), and Appendix B to third Report, by R. H. Inglis Palgrave; *Report of Commission on Gold and Silver* (1887); S. Dana Horton, *Silver as an International Question* (an address to Congress); *American Reports from Consuls of the United States* (No. 87, December, 1887); Ernest Seyd, *Bimetallicism in 1886* (London, 1886); R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance* (1880, and other dates); paper on *Some Bimetallic Fallacies* (*Journal Institute of Bankers*, June, 1886), and other works; Professor Emile de Laveleye, *The Economic Crisis and its Causes* (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1886), and other papers; Samuel Smith, *The Bimetallic Question* (London, 1887); Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, *On the Profitable Results of an Increase in the Purchasing Power of Gold*; Lawrence J. Laughlin, *History of Bimetallicism in the United States* (1885); F. A. Walker, *International Bimetallicism* (1896). See also reports of the International Monetary Conferences of 1878, 1881, 1889, and 1892.

BIOLOGY AND SOCIAL REFORM.—

The connection between biology and social reform is one which tends to be brought into greater prominence with the advance of knowledge. It is not long ago since the whole class

of phenomena which human society presents was regarded apart in itself and as having little or no connection with those to be observed elsewhere in the history of life. The first consistent attempt on an extended scale to connect together through the principle of development and continuity both classes of phenomena was made by Mr. Herbert Spencer. *Social Statics*, which in many respects may be regarded as the starting-point of the synthetic philosophy, dates back to 1850. One of the leading ideas in this system of philosophy—in which *First Principles*, *Principles of Biology*, *Principles of Psychology*, *Principles of Sociology*, and *Principles of Ethics* have been steps in an ascending series—has been to trace this principle of development up to and into human society. Toward the elucidation of the laws at work in this society, all the work of science in lower fields has been regarded as preliminary. It was, however, with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in November, 1859, that the greatest impetus was given to the study of human society from the biological standpoint. The full effect of this impetus is not yet felt in many departments of knowledge which are almost certainly destined to be eventually profoundly altered by it. For many years after the publication of this epoch-marking book the effect of the fructifying ideas which it contained was necessarily limited to a few departments of knowledge. Gradually, however, the circle of their influence has extended, until one after another of lower sciences, and particularly those connected with life, have been reconstructed and transformed. The principle of the continuity of development, structural and functional, is now well established; but in the long uphill battle which has had to be fought before the ideas connected with it obtained general acceptance, it has necessarily happened that the sciences connected with man in society have been the last to be influenced. But that they are now beginning to feel the effect of the revolution is evident.

**Breadth
of the
Subject.**

What we are coming to see is that in human society we have only the last and most complex chapter in the history of life. The historian, the political philosopher, the economist, and the student of ethical phenomena are all dealing with just the same problems, altho in different form, that science has been concerned with at earlier stages, and even to a large extent throughout the history of life. It is in the proposed solutions to problems connected with the distribution of wealth that we have at the present day the dividing lines which separate most of the various political parties into which our modern society is split up. It is with these problems, too, that the economist is largely concerned. Yet such problems in themselves constitute only an aspect of the highest and most complex phase of that struggle and rivalry of existence with which the biologist has already dealt on a lower plane. Some of the older economists, indeed, at times saw this more or less clearly. "Only through the principle of competition has political economy any pretension to the character of a science" was a dictum of John Stuart Mill. The point at which the social sciences tend to be most significantly influenced

by biology may be indicated. What is becoming more clearly recognized is that, as biology would lead us to expect, the conditions affecting the distribution of wealth, which the evolutionary forces at work in human society are ever tending to develop, are not necessarily those that parties or classes desire for themselves, but rather those which are continually tending to produce the highest efficiency of the whole social organization. The old utilitarian ideal of the greatest happiness of the greatest number is not, therefore, always, or even often, the same as the ideal of the greatest utility. Thus in a sense the whole of the problem before modern socialism can be stated in biological terms: Is it a movement which is tending to produce the highest standard of social efficiency, or is it one the effect of which will be to produce the maximum of ease and comfort to the largest number of individuals? The lesson of biological science for society would appear to be that, so far as it produces the latter to the exclusion of the former, to that extent it must fail of ultimate success (but see EVOLUTION). BENJAMIN KIDD.

BIRMINGHAM, ENGLAND.—"The best-governed city in the world" is the title accorded to Birmingham by Julian Ralph, writing in *Harper's Magazine*. Mr. J. T. Bunce, of the *Birmingham Post*, is quoted as saying, in his *History of the Corporation of Birmingham*, that the rate-payers are "owners of a magnificent estate and partners in vast and lucrative industrial undertakings," and that from these undertakings, "secured and maintained at moderate cost, they derive benefits possible only under a highly organized and well-administered system of communal effort, the truest form of cooperation, a real socialism, self-imposed, self-governed, conducted with the assent and by the efforts of a united community, and conducing to the equal advantage of all its members." This condition of affairs is the more noteworthy and the more deserving of the special study of students of municipal problems from the fact that it has been developed under great obstacles. Down to 1873 Birmingham's municipal government had the name of being one of the worst and most inefficient governments in England. The city was dominated by the rule of a "tavern coterie."

In 1873 came a change. In November of that year Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was elected mayor, and soon commenced an era of municipal activity. \$10,000,000 was paid for the plant of two gas companies, a large price, yet the profits the first year were \$170,000, and they have since then nearly doubled. The price, too, since 1875 has been reduced from 75 to about 50 cents per 1000 feet.

Gas Works.

Since 1880 the employees have had the eight-hour day. In 1874 the city paid \$6,750,000 for the existing water works of a private company, and since then the works have been extended, the daily supply doubled, and the cost to consumers much reduced. In 1875 Mr. Chamberlain laid before the council an Improvement Scheme, which has since been adopted, and whereby the city took 90 acres of the most crowded and most unwholesome portions of the city, covered by 4000 houses, condemned the whole district, and has opened in its place the finest public thoroughfare of the city, "Corporation Street," lined by fine business blocks. These buildings have not been sold, but leased for 75 years. The gross outlay amounted to \$8,000,000, and the annual cost for sinking fund, interest, and various charges is now about \$400,000, and the rentals \$300,000.

**Improvement
Scheme.**

but the yearly cost is lessening and the rentals are growing. In 50 years from the time of the investment the debt will all have been paid, and the city will own these structures in clear title. Mr. Chamberlain believes that Birmingham will be the richest municipal corporation in the kingdom. The investment already pays, since the death-rate of this district has been lowered, from 60 to 20 or 25 per 1000. The city has developed a fine sewerage system and a large sewage farm, a wholesome and agreeable tract of land under high cultivation and with rich crops. The average death-rate of the whole city has been reduced from 26 per 1000, in 1874, to 19 per 1000, in 1888. Birmingham was the first city in England to establish municipal baths (*q.v.*). The first was opened in 1851, at a cost of \$120,000, and there are now four, besides swimming baths, Turkish baths, etc. Birmingham in 1860 adopted the Libraries Act, and now spends \$65,000 a year for libraries, art museum and gallery, with branch libraries in all parts of the city, and 200,000 volumes. The city is well supplied with schools, including municipal technical schools, for which alone over \$30,000 a year are spent. Birmingham has laid and owns her own horse-car tracks, within the city limits, but leases them to private companies on favorable terms. The companies pay 4 per cent. on the municipal investment the first 14 years of the lease, and 3 per cent. for the remaining seven. It is calculated that in 21 years this will pay for the whole investment. As the city can borrow at 3 per cent., it is a profitable investment. The companies have to pay all bills for maintenance and repairs, and are minutely supervised as to the furnishing and lighting of the cars. The city owns her own markets, having bought them of the manorial lord in 1824, and they now yield her some \$50,000 a year profits. The city owns more than ten parks, covering 350 acres, for its population of 300,000. Its debt, which before Mr. Chamberlain became mayor was \$2,300,000, is now \$45,000,000, but it is paying itself off, and the rates are almost exactly what they were in 1873. According to Mr. Chamberlain (*Forum*, November, 1892), Birmingham spends annually, apart from appropriations for schools and almshouses, only about \$1,665,000, while Boston, with about the same population, spends \$10,194,000, and he adds that the suffrage is more universal in Birmingham than in Boston. The municipal government is conducted by 54 councilors and 18 aldermen. The councilors are elected once for three years, one third going out of office each year. The aldermen are elected by the council for six years. The mayor is elected annually by the council.

Other Municipal Enterprises.

Government.

References: *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, by Albert Shaw (1895); *The Best-Governed City in the World*, by Julian Ralph (*Harper's Monthly*, 81, 99).

BIRNEY, JAMES G. (1792-1857), was born in Danville, Ky. Originally a slave-holder, and at one time agent for a colonization society, in 1834 he freed his slaves and established an abolition newspaper. Fear of violence compelled him to leave Danville, and subsequently Cincinnati, whither he had moved. He came to New York, where he was Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1840 and 1844 he was the candidate of the Liberty Party for President. In 1842 he moved to Michigan, and a fall from his horse disabled him from further political activity.

BIRTH AND DEATH-RATES OF POPULATIONS, THE.—The two chief events of human life, birth and death, are, in nearly every civilized country, matters of careful record; and the different recorded facts connected with these events, such as sex, age, parentage, season of the year, and occupation, constitute a large portion of that branch of science known as vital statistics. We have said "nearly every civilized country," since, unfortunately, in the United States as a whole, vital statistics cannot be said to exist. At present scarcely a half-dozen States have anything which can be called a system of registration of vital statistics thoroughly enforced. The countries of Europe, however, following the example of England, where registration dates from 1838, have mostly adopted systems varying somewhat in their thoroughness and efficiency. The first American State to adopt a system was Massachusetts, and afterward came Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New Hampshire. A few other States have registration laws partially enforced.

The birth and death-rates of any nation or community are usually expressed as a ratio per 1000 of the living population. The following statistics are presented to show the birth and death-rates of the principal European countries for a series of years, together with those of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire:

BIRTH AND DEATH-RATES OF PRINCIPAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAVING REGISTRATION WITH THOSE OF THREE NEW ENGLAND STATES, 1871-91, AND POPULATIONS AT LAST CENSUS.

YEAR.	England and Wales.		Scotland.		Ireland.		Prussia.		France.		Italy.		Austria.	
	Pop. 1891, 29,081,047.		Pop. 1891, 4,933,180.		Pop. 1891, 4,668,1248.		Pop. 1890, 29,818,878.		Pop. 1886, 38,218,903.		Pop. 1891,* 30,347,291.		Pop. 1890, 23,895,413.	
	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.	Birth rate.	Death rate.
Average of 20 years, 1877-91.....	34.0	20.3	33.6	20.4	24.9	18.0	38.2	25.6	24.5	22.8	37.3	28.6	38.6	30.6
1877.....	36.0	20.3	35.3	20.6	26.2	17.5	39.9	25.6	25.5	21.6	37.0	28.3	38.7	31.6
1878.....	35.6	21.6	34.9	21.2	25.1	18.6	38.7	25.8	25.2	22.6	36.2	29.1	38.6	31.6
1879.....	34.7	20.7	34.3	20.0	25.2	19.6	39.0	24.7	25.0	22.5	37.8	29.8	39.2	29.9
1880.....	34.2	20.5	33.6	20.5	24.7	19.8	37.8	25.5	24.5	22.8	33.9	30.8	38.0	29.8
1881.....	33.9	18.9	33.7	19.3	24.5	17.5	37.0	24.9	24.9	22.0	38.0	27.6	37.7	30.6
1882.....	33.8	19.6	33.4	19.4	24.4	17.3	37.6	25.4	24.8	22.2	37.0	27.5	39.1	30.8
1883.....	33.5	19.6	32.7	20.2	23.5	19.2	37.1	25.6	24.8	22.2	37.2	27.5	38.2	30.1
1884.....	33.6	19.7	33.7	19.6	23.9	17.5	37.6	25.7	24.8	22.2	39.0	26.9	38.4	29.4
1885.....	32.9	19.2	32.7	19.3	23.5	18.4	37.8	25.4	24.2	21.9	38.5	27.0	37.4	30.1
1886.....	32.8	19.5	32.9	18.9	23.2	17.8	37.7	26.1	23.9	22.5	37.0	28.7	38.0	29.4
1887.....	31.9	19.1	31.8	19.0	23.1	18.2	37.6	23.8	23.5	22.0	39.0	28.0	38.2	28.8
1888.....	31.2	18.1	31.3	18.0	22.8	17.9	37.4	22.8	23.1	21.8	37.6	27.6	37.9	29.2
1889.....	31.1	18.2	30.9	18.4	22.7	17.4	37.1	23.2	23.0	20.5	38.4	25.6	37.9	27.3
1890.....	30.2	19.5	30.2	19.7	22.3	18.2	36.6	24.1	21.8	22.6	35.9	26.4	36.7	29.4
1891.....	31.4	20.2	31.2	20.7	23.1	18.4	37.7	22.9	22.6	22.6	37.3	26.2	38.1	27.9

* Estimated.

YEAR.	Massachusetts. Pop. 1890, 2,238,943.		Rhode Island. Pop. 1890, 345,506.		New Hampshire. Pop. 1890, 376,530.	
	Birth-rate.	Death-rate	Birth-rate.	Death-rate	Birth-rate.	Death-rate
Average of 20 years, 1871-90.....	25.7	19.7	....	....	....	....
1871.....	26.6	18.7	24.2	14.9	....	....
1872.....	28.2	22.8	25.5	18.2	....	....
1873.....	28.3	21.6	24.0	18.3	....	....
1874.....	28.3	19.8	24.9	17.0	....	....
1875.....	26.6	21.2	24.3	16.7	....	....
1876.....	25.1	19.8	23.3	15.7	....	....
1877.....	24.6	18.4	22.6	16.8	....	....
1878.....	23.8	18.1	24.0	16.5	....	....
1879.....	22.9	18.1	22.5	16.4	....	....
1880.....	24.8	19.8	22.8	17.5	....	....
1881.....	24.9	20.1	24.0	17.8	....	....
1882.....	24.7	19.9	23.8	17.7	....	....
1883.....	25.2	20.1	24.1	18.0	....	....
1884.....	25.5	19.4	23.6	17.2	17.4	17.3
1885.....	25.1	19.6	22.2	17.7	17.5	17.1
1886.....	25.4	18.6	24.5	18.8	19.2	17.6
1887.....	25.9	19.8	24.2	19.9	19.9	17.6
1888.....	25.9	19.9	24.3	20.4	17.4	18.5
1889.....	26.2	19.2	23.4	18.6	18.5	17.9
1890.....	25.8	19.4	23.9	20.1	....	19.6
1891.....	27.3	19.6	....	....	....	19.2

The foregoing table shows that the birth-rates and death-rates of different countries present considerable variations when compared with each other, and those of each country differ considerably from year to year.

The effect of the Franco-Prussian War manifests itself in the low birth-rate of Prussia in 1871, as well as in the low birth-rate and high death-rate of France in the same year.

The effect of cholera upon the death-rate of Austria is also shown in the very high death-rate of that country in 1873.

The difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate constitutes the natural increase or decrease of any population. In most of the countries shown in the table the increase amounts to from five to 15 per 1000 of the living population annually.

A large excess of the birth-rate over the death-rate, such as exists in England and in Germany, constitutes an undoubted element of national strength. In France the excess of births over deaths is very small, and has been constantly diminishing for several years, until in 1890 there was an actual excess of deaths over births. This condition is viewed with alarm by intelligent French writers, and is termed by M. Cheysson a "national peril." He states as among the causes of the low birth-rate of France, "the growth of large towns, debauchery, overcrowding in manufacturing centers, the French law of inheritance, and the 'moral restraint' of Malthus, practised not by the poorer class, who are prolific, but by the well-to-do classes, who are systematically sterile."

The excess of the birth-rate over the death-rate in the New England States having registration is neither so high as that of England nor so low as that of France.

The actual increase of the population is governed not only by the difference between the birth and death-rates, but also by the balance between the two factors of immigration and emigration. In Ireland, for the past 40 years or

more, while the birth-rate has constantly exceeded the death-rate, the loss by emigration has been so great as to far outweigh the natural increase of the population.

War, famine, epidemics, overcrowding in cities, and bad sanitary conditions generally increase the death-rate. For many years the price of wheat has been quoted annually in the British Registration Reports, where it was shown by Dr. Fan that scarcity and high prices were not only coincident with a diminished marriage-rate, but also with an increased death-rate. In Massachusetts, during the years of war (1861-65), the natural increase of the population by excess of births over deaths fell to an annual average of 3.5 per 1000, and for the year 1864 it was only 1.3 per 1000. In the five years previous to the war an average excess of 11.5 per 1000 prevailed.

Sex.—In all countries having registration, the number of male births is uniformly greater than that of female births. The following table presents the ratio of male to female births in the several countries and States :

COUNTRIES.	Males Born to every 1,000 Females Born.
England and Wales, 10 years, 1870-79.	1,039
Ireland, " " "	1,056
Scotland, " " "	1,057
Belgium, " " "	1,059
Holland, " " "	1,061
German Empire, " " "	1,062
Switzerland, " " "	1,063
France, " " "	1,064
Austria, " " "	1,068
Italy, " " "	1,071
Massachusetts, 40 years, 1853-92.....	1,056

DEATH-RATES.

The death-rates of countries and of cities are influenced by a variety of conditions, such as sex, age, climate, occupation, and other minor causes.

Since the death-rate of females is generally less than that of males, those countries in which the females are largely in excess of the males would, other things being equal, have a lower death-rate than countries in which the sexes are equal in numbers.

The proportion of males to females in England, as well as generally throughout North-western Europe, is about 95 males to 100 females. In Central Europe, including Germany, France, and Austria, it is about 97 males to 100 females.

In Southern Europe the sexes are more nearly equal in distribution, or in the ratio of 99.2 males to 100 females, while in Greece there is a decided excess of males in the ratio of 113 to 100 females.

In the United States the males are slightly in excess, but in the New England States the females are in excess, in the ratio of 94 males to 100 females. The average death-rate of Europe, excluding Russia, for 19 years (1865-83) was 25.8 per 1000, while that of Russia was, for the same period, 35.7. Some allowance must undoubtedly be made for differences in the degree of accuracy of registration in different countries. But the average figures at the head of the columns in the table on a preceding page may be taken as fairly accurate.

ages or periods of life is shown in the following table :

DEATH-RATES PER 1,000 OF THE LIVING POPULATION AT EACH AGE AND BY SEXES.

AGES.	ENGLAND, 1871-80.		MASSACHUSETTS, SIX CENSUS YEARS, 1860-85.	
	Males.	Fe-males.	Males.	Fe-males.
Under 5	68.14	58.10	70.97	61.81
5-10.....	5.67	6.20	8.16	8.20
10-15.....	3.69	3.70	3.86	4.51
15-20.....	5.23	5.43	6.64	8.11
20-25.....	7.32	6.78	.....	.....
20-30.....	.....	.....	9.97	10.39
25-35.....	9.30	8.58	.....	.....
30-40.....	.....	.....	10.59	11.12
35-45.....	13.74	11.58	.....	.....
40-50.....	.....	.....	12.86	12.19
45-55.....	20.05	15.59	.....	.....
50-60.....	.....	.....	19.24	17.15
55-65.....	34.76	28.54	.....	.....
60-70.....	.....	.....	36.83	30.41
65-75.....	69.57	60.82	.....	.....
70-80.....	.....	.....	79.69	67.80
Over 75.....	169.68	155.83	.....	.....
Over 80.....	.....	.....	184.63	169.66

DEATH-RATES OF SEXES PER 1,000.

COUNTRIES.	Years.	Males.	Fe-males.	Deaths of Males to 1,000 Females, in Equal Numbers Living.
England.....	1838-91...	22.6	20.5	1,128
".....	1891.....	21.5	19.0	1,102
Prussia.....	60 years..	30.2	27.7	1,090
Berlin.....	1889.....	26.9	21.6	1,245
".....	1890.....	24.9	20.2	1,233
Scotland.....	1891.....	21.2	20.3	1,044
".....	1892.....	19.1	18.1	1,055
Belgium.....	1861-70...	24.1	23.4	1,039
".....	1887.....	20.3	18.3	1,109
Italy.....	1887.....	27.5	27.2	1,011
Massachusetts.....	6 census years..	20.5	19.2	1,067
".....	1890.....	20.0	18.9	1,059
New Hampshire.....	1890.....	19.8	19.1	1,037
Rhode Island.....	1890.....	20.8	19.3	1,078
Connecticut.....	1890.....	18.8	17.6	1,064
Vermont.....	1888.....	16.0	16.2	988

Ages.—Age has a greater effect upon the death-rate than any other condition. In a population or community composed entirely of little children under five years of age, or of old people above the age of 70, the death-rate will be very high; while another community, composed entirely of young and vigorous persons between the ages of 10 and 20, as, for example, a large school or college, will have a death-rate considerably below that of the population at large. The vitality, or, in technical terms, the specific intensity of life, is greatest in such a community or population.

The actual death-rate for each sex at different

The general death-rate of the United States cannot be stated with accuracy, since no attempts have been made to secure registration of deaths for the whole country except in the census years, and the returns of these years are deficient. Dr. Billings estimates the death-rate of the census year for which deaths were registered (June, 1879-May, 1880, inclusive) as 18 per 1000. (For 1890, see DEATH-RATE.)

Illegitimacy.—Illegitimacy has a decided effect upon infant life. The investigations made by a parliamentary commission in 1871, relative to the mortality of such children, showed that out of the illegitimate children born in England, averaging from 60 to 70 per 1000 of all births, scarcely 10 per cent. lived to become adults. The causes of this excessive mortality were artificial nursing, neglect, poverty, ignorance, and indifference of the mothers.

Illegitimate births may be stated as a ratio of the general population, or as a ratio of the total births, or they may be compared with the number of unmarried women living at child-bearing ages, the latter being the most accurate method. The common method is the comparison with the total births.

The illegitimate birth-rate presents very great differences in different countries. The following are the illegitimate birth-rates for certain countries of Europe for the 19 years (1865-83) :

COUNTRIES HAVING VERY HIGH ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH-RATES.

COUNTRIES.	Number of Illegitimate Children in each 1,000 Births.
Bavaria.....	152
Austria.....	134
Saxony.....	132
Württemberg.....	104
Thuringia.....	101
Average.....	124

COUNTRIES HAVING LOW ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH-RATES.

COUNTRIES.	Illegitimate Children in each 1,000 Births.
Holland.....	34
Russia.....	29
Ireland.....	26
Greece.....	12
Servia.....	6
Average.....	21

In a valuable statistical paper, Sir R. W. Rawson states that the illegitimate birth-rate is in excess where the proportion of males is lowest, and also coincides with a large proportion of late marriages of females. He adds, further, that compulsory military service and large standing armies probably increase the ratio of illegitimate births.

There is a wide difference in the illegitimacy of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The proportion of illegitimate births in each for the period in question being as follows: England, 53 per 1000; Scotland, 92 per 1000; Ireland, 26 per 1000.

That illegitimacy is diminishing in England is shown by the fact that the illegitimate birth-rate for the decade 1841-50 was 67 per 1000; for the next four decades, up to 1890, it was successively 65, 61, 50, and 47 per 1000, and had still further dropped to 42 in 1891.

The illegitimate births in the Australian colonies were in earlier years less in proportion to the total births than in England, but have gradually increased, till in some of the colonies they are a little higher.

The following are the ratios in the principal colonies for a period of 18 years, ending with 1889, and for the single year 1890:

	1872-89.	1890.
Victoria.....	42.5	49.8 per 1,000 births.
New South Wales.....	43.9	53.3 " " "
Queensland.....	38.1	46.8 " " "
New Zealand.....	25.2	33.2 " " "

Illegitimacy, as might be expected, appears to be much more prevalent in urban than it is in rural populations. The following table, published by the Statistical Department of the Argentine Republic in 1886, presents the number of illegitimate births in some of the largest foreign cities.

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS TO EVERY 1,000 CHILDREN BORN.

Vienna.....	449	Berlin.....	154
Prague.....	439	Hamburg.....	138
Munich.....	439	Frankfurt.....	132
Stockholm.....	396	Antwerp.....	129
Buda Pesth.....	299	Cologne.....	124
Copenhagen.....	279	Naples.....	89
Paris.....	268	Rotterdam.....	76
St. Petersburg.....	236	Buenos Ayres.....	74
Milan.....	204	Melbourne.....	69
Rome.....	194	London.....	39
Venice.....	189		

In the New England States, the illegitimate birth-rate is quite low in comparison with that of most foreign countries having registration. For the 19 years ending with 1883, it was as follows in the four States mentioned:

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 1,000 LIVING BIRTHS.

Massachusetts.....	14
Vermont.....	9
Connecticut.....	11
Rhode Island.....	8

The ratio in Massachusetts has been variable, as is shown by the following: For the decade ending with 1880, the average was 14.4 illegitimate per 1000 births; 1890, 19.4 per 1000 births.

For the past six years, however, there has been a decrease, the statistics being as follows:

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH-RATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1887-92.

1887.....	21.8
1888.....	19.3
1889.....	18.3
1890.....	20.9
1891.....	17.1
1892.....	15.0

The above article was prepared for this encyclopedia by Dr. Samuel W. Abbott, of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts.

(Concerning the significance of a decreasing birth-rate, we abridge an article by J. L. Brownell in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July, 1894.) The fact of a decreasing birth-rate has been variously interpreted by various authors. The Malthusian theory is well known.

It affirms that population has the "constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence,"* that "population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every 25 years, or increases in a geometrical ratio,"† and that, "considering the present state of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio;"‡ therefore "the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the constant operation of the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power,"‡ that is, the power of population. The possible checks upon this rapid increase of population are the preventive check, peculiar to man because of his superior reasoning powers and his will, and the positive check, to which plants and animals are also subject. The preventive check most strongly approved by Malthus is moral restraint, which he defines as "a restraint from marriage from prudential motives, with a conduct strictly moral during the period of this restraint,"§ or as "the restraint from marriage which is not followed by irregular gratifications."¶ He considers it "the least evil that can arise from the principle of population"¶¶ All other preventive checks clearly come under the head of vice.

The positive checks he divides into two classes: Misery, which includes "those which appear to arise not avoidably from the laws of nature,"** and vice, which includes "those which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others which it would be in our power to avoid." "They are brought upon us by vice, and their consequences are misery."††

This view was much attacked even in Malthus' day, especially by Godwin‡‡ (q. v.). Nevertheless, it became almost universally adopted. The question, however, assumed a new form in the writings of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In an essay on the *Theory of Population Deduced from the General Law of Animal Fertility* published in the *Westminster Review* in 1852, he first stated his ideas on population, which were afterward more fully developed in his *Principles of Biology*. Mr. Spencer treats the Malthusian theory from a strictly biological and evolutionary point of view. He agrees with Malthus that population constantly tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence, but adds that this very fact is the cause of the progress of the human race. It stimulates man to greater effort, "causes a never-ceasing requirement for skill, intelligence, and

Malthusianism.

Herbert Spencer.

* Malthus, *Essay on Population*, eighth edition, p. 2.
 † *Ibid.*, p. 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 6. § *Ibid.*, p. 8. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
 ¶¶ *Ibid.*, p. 7. ** *Ibid.*, p. 9. †† *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 ‡‡ Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Population*, 1820. Book i, ch. iv., p. 27.

self-control; involves therefore a constant exercise of these and gradual growth of them.* "Excess of fertility, through the changes it is ever working in man's environment, is itself the cause of man's further evolution; and the obvious corollary here to be drawn is that man's further evolution so brought about, itself necessitates a decline in his fertility."† The latter clause is Mr. Spencer's peculiar contribution to the subject. He holds that throughout the vegetable and the animal world, and in the human race itself, "individuation and genesis are necessarily antagonistic,"‡ by individuation meaning "all processes by which individual life is completed and maintained," and by genesis "all processes aiding the formation and perfecting of new individuals." He therefore concludes that "the further progress of civilization which the never-ceasing pressure of population must produce will be accompanied by an enhanced cost of individuation,"§ and consequently by a diminishing birth-rate. In his speculative thought upon the future of the human race, Mr. Spencer sees that the highest product of evolution will be "a form in which the amount of life shall be the greatest possible, and the births and deaths the fewest possible."¶

A new development of the question has arisen with modern industrial discussions, led by Dr. George Hansen in Germany; M. Levasseur, M. Leroy-Beaulieu, and M. Dumont in France; Dr. George Blundell Longstaff, and Dr. J. Milner Fothergill in England; and Dr. John S. Billings, Dr. Cyrus M. Edson, and President E. B. Andrews in the United States.

Mr. Levasseur maintains that inequalities of production and consumption are primarily the causes of changes in the rate of the increase of population.

"The increase of a population is dependent upon the sum of its means of subsistence and the sum of its wants, and hence between the terms population, production, and consumption there exists an intimate relation. But it is not unchangeable. This is one reason why in every population there are both rich and poor, why peoples and individuals may enrich or impoverish themselves, and in consequence why the number of inhabitants of a country may increase rapidly or slowly, remain stationary or diminish."¶

Economic Considerations. M. Levasseur considers the conditions in France most favorable from an economic point of view. In his opinion it is very desirable that each generation should be born into a better condition than that of the preceding generation, and that the standard of life should be raised; this result, he says, will happen, as it has happened in France, where wealth increases faster than population and is widely diffused.** From a political point of view he considers the question very serious. On the whole, however, he approves of the present condition of population in France.

M. Dumont holds that wealth is not the cause of the diminishing birth-rate, but only the condition; that, tho on the surface the decrease of population is an economic question, at bottom it is intellectual, political, and esthetic; that as the desire to rise in the industrial, intellectual, political, or esthetic world increases, the birth-rate diminishes.††

M. Leroy-Beaulieu shows statistically that "a low birth-rate goes hand in hand with high wages and the spread of education," and that "it also appears to be particularly associated with democratic aspirations, and still more with a lessening of religious belief on the part of the people, and a modification of the old ideas of resignation and submission to their lot."‡‡

Dr. Hansen,§§ Dr. Longstaff,|| and Dr. Fothergill,¶¶ show especially the evil influences of city life upon the population, both in weakening the vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate. Dr. John S. Billings,*** Dr.

Cyrus M. Edson,* and President E. B. Andrews† have studied the question as it is presented in the United States. President Andrews, tho he refuses to adhere strictly to the classical Malthusian doctrine, accepts the main principle that subsistence is limited, and that therefore some checks are necessary to keep the population within the limits of subsistence. Dr. Billings and Dr. Edson discuss the diminishing birth-rate in the United States and its probable causes.

The generalizations tentatively reached by all these inquirers are that civilization in general checks the rate of increase of population, in spite of a diminishing death-rate; that city life is, on the whole, unfavorable to the natural increase of population, and that what the economists call the "raising of the standard of life" operates in the same way.

It has been assumed that the changes in the marriage-rate and the marriage age will account in a great measure for the decreasing birth-rate; but another explanation is more than hinted at in the following quotation from Dr. John S. Billings:

"It is probable that the most important factor in the change is the deliberate and voluntary avoidance or prevention of child-bearing on the part of a steadily increasing number of married people, who not only prefer to have few children, but who know how to obtain their wish."‡

Voluntary Prevention.

M. Levasseur and M. Dumont evidently hold the same opinion:

"By prevision we understand the human will restraining or directing the reproductive instinct, with a view to bringing children into the world only at such times and in such numbers that the father can hope to support them and to educate them for a position equal to his own. Prevision is the characteristic of the man who reflects, and who, conscious of his responsibilities, does not leave his destiny to chance. This virtue is the palladium of human liberty. The philosopher and the economist who believe in that liberty ought, if they are logical, to recommend such prevision, recognizing that if it is useful in the great mass of actions, it is nowhere more opportune than in the grave question of the growth of the family and the education of the child. . . . It is enough to lay down as a general rule that reason should control instinct."§ M. Dumont says: "The real cause of the decrease of our birth-rate is the wish to have few or no children, and that wish is determined by a combination of intellectual, moral, and esthetic tendencies peculiar to our people."¶

Dr. Cyrus M. Edson agrees with Dr. Billings that "the voluntary avoidance and prevention of child-bearing is steadily increasing," but thinks that the principal cause is the physical and nervous deterioration of the women of the United States; and this, he asserts, is largely due to the severe strain of modern life and education.¶¶ In fact, any one who is at all familiar with the statistical and medical literature of the subject is aware that the voluntary prevention of conception is the explanation of the diminishing birth-rate that is generally accepted by physicians and statisticians.

Such are the prevailing views to-day. Nevertheless, Miss Brownell, in the article referred to above, makes the point that

"1. Whether or not it be true that the means spoken of by Dr. Billings, M. Dumont, M. Levasseur, and Dr. Edson has become an important factor in the diminishing birth-rate of civilized countries, it is evident that it is not the only factor, and that, quite apart from voluntary prevention, there is a distinct problem to be investigated. This is shown by the fact that the white and the colored birth-rate vary together.

"2. Mr. Spencer's generalization that the birth-rate diminishes as the rate of individual evolution increases is confirmed by a comparison of the birth-rates with the death-rates from nervous diseases, and also with the density of population, the values of agricultural

* Edson, *American Life and Physical Deterioration* (North American Review, October, 1893).

† Andrews, *Are There Too Many of Us?* (North American Review, November, 1892).

‡ Billings, *The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States* (The Forum, June, 1893).

§ Levasseur, *La Population Française*, iii., pp. 218-20.

¶ Dumont, *Dépopulation et Civilization*, p. 97.

¶¶ Cyrus M. Edson, *American Life and Physical Deterioration* (North American Review, October, 1893).

* Spencer, *Principles of Biology*, ii., part vi., p. 499.

† *Ibid.*, p. 501. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 409. § *Ibid.*, p. 501.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

§ Levasseur, *La Population Française*, iii., p. 27.

** *Ibid.*, p. 223.

†† *Dépopulation et Civilization*, p. 356.

‡‡ P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Influence of Civilization upon the Movement of Population* (Econometre Français, September 20 and 27, 1890, and the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society of London*, June, 1891).

§§ Hansen, *Die drei Bevölkerungstufen*.

|| Longstaff, *Studies in Statistics*.

¶¶ Fothergill, *The Town Dweller*.

*** Billings, *The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States* (The Forum, June, 1893).

and manufactured products, and the mortgage indebtedness.

"3. The Malthusian theory in general, that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence, is not true of the United States at the present time. In the regions where wealth increases most rapidly the population increases most slowly."

She supports these points by careful analysis and elaborate tables drawn from United States Census Reports. By a careful comparison of the birth-rates of the white and colored populations of the United States, she shows that the diminishing birth-rate appears in both classes,

and in the last decade even more among the colored than the white, and that therefore the cause cannot be mainly the voluntary prevention of conception, because this practice is notoriously the result of advanced civilizations, and much more prevalent among white than colored populations. Next she shows

by comparison of birth-rates and deaths from nervous diseases, (1) that the conditions that cause a high death-rate from nervous diseases lower the birth-rate, and *vice versa*, and (2) that since in two thirds of the 39 States and Territories in which the phenomena oppose each other, the birth-rate is above the average and

COMPARISON OF BIRTH-RATES AND FACTORS OF ECONOMIC CONDITION, 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1890.	VARIATION ABOVE OR BELOW THE AVERAGE.					
	Birth-rate per 1,000 of Population.	Density per Square Mile of Area of Settlement.	Density per Square Mile of Total Surface.	Value of Agricultural Products per Acre of Improved Land.	Value of Manufactured Products, per Capita.	Mortgage Debt per Capita.
Alabama.....	+3.71	-2.78	+8.05*	+\$1.72*	-\$105.20	-\$70.00
Arizona.....	-1.74	-29.74*	-20.78*	+3.17	-133.74*	-57.00*
Arkansas.....	+7.10	-10.89	-0.04	+2.82*	-129.54	-83.00
California.....	-7.27	-19.65*	-13.56*	-0.20	+27.01	+104.00
Colorado.....	-1.59	-26.14*	-17.33*	-0.32	-46.57*	+110.00
Connecticut.....	-5.42	+121.87	+132.72	+6.11	+183.15	+11.00
Delaware.....	-1.79	+53.81	+64.66	-1.62	+73.36	0.00
District of Columbia.....	-3.61	+3512.34	+3818.56	+30.81	+21.09	+130.00
Florida.....	+1.62	-22.63	-14.09	+3.67*	-103.07	-56.00
Georgia.....	+3.63	-1.01	+0.84*	+1.82*	-112.12	-81.00
Idaho.....	-0.46	-30.00	-20.31	-0.53	-133.09	-58.00
Illinois.....	+0.95	+36.17*	+47.02*	+0.32*	+87.84*	+4.00*
Indiana.....	-1.39	+28.89	+39.74	-0.61*	+46.17	+45.00*
Iowa.....	-0.53	+2.30	+13.15	-0.61*	-84.22*	-8.00
Kansas.....	+1.48	-14.53	-3.84	-2.62	-72.40	+74.00*
Kentucky.....	+2.77	+14.33*	+25.16*	-1.30	-81.45	-71.00
Louisiana.....	-2.89	-7.53	+3.32*	+7.52*	-97.95	-71.00
Maine.....	-8.89	-6.47*	-0.80	-0.36	-4.88*	-47.00*
Maryland.....	-0.81	+73.56	+84.41	-0.87	+15.22	-34.00*
Massachusetts.....	-5.71	+246.32	+257.17	+10.06	+247.06	+4.00*
Michigan.....	-1.88	+4.30	+15.15	+1.60	-16.91	-24.00*
Minnesota.....	+3.26	-9.02	-4.87	-0.48	-2.12	+56.00*
Mississippi.....	+3.42	-4.33	-6.52*	+3.83*	-135.12	-81.00
Missouri.....	+2.04	+6.82*	+17.67*	-1.33	-28.74	-16.00
Montana.....	-3.87	-29.34*	-20.40*	-0.03*	-107.96*	-30.00*
Nebraska.....	+2.54	-15.37	-7.53	-2.50	-61.77	+30.00*
Nevada.....	-10.33	-28.33*	-20.89*	-3.14*	-125.48*	-48.00*
New Hampshire.....	-8.31	+10.49	+20.49	+1.09	+78.16	-46.00*
New Jersey.....	-1.52	+161.66	+172.51	+7.63	+94.80	+65.00
New Mexico.....	+7.40	-28.79	-20.06	-0.10	-139.76	-53.00
New York.....	-3.40	+96.60	+104.64	+2.98	+135.74	+172.00
North Carolina.....	+3.23	+1.16*	+11.99*	-0.48	-124.67	-83.00
Ohio.....	-2.60	+57.94	+68.79	+0.39	+25.11	-25.00*
Oregon.....	-4.19	-25.37*	-17.99*	-1.47*	-17.58*	-23.00*
Pennsylvania.....	-0.90	+4.72	+95.57	+2.30	+103.61	+21.00
Rhode Island.....	-4.30	+286.28	+297.13	+8.49	+262.81	+10.00
South Carolina.....	+4.39	+6.00*	+16.85*	+2.89*	-121.89	-84.00
Tennessee.....	+3.92	+10.18*	+21.03*	-0.08	-108.69	-73.00
Texas.....	+4.59	-17.34	-12.79	-1.50	-118.12	-54.00
Utah.....	+4.52	-24.45	-18.78	+2.04*	-106.77	-57.00
Vermont.....	-8.17	+4.23	+15.08	-0.79	-34.29*	-12.00*
Virginia.....	+0.44	+9.11*	+19.96*	-2.25	-96.27	-79.00
Washington.....	-3.14	-22.70	-16.09*	+0.63	-30.08*	+30.00
West Virginia.....	+3.73	-1.21	+9.64*	-2.39	-98.89	-70.00
Wisconsin.....	+0.33	+0.82*	+9.67*	+0.37*	-2.29	-24.00
Wyoming.....	-4.90	-29.50*	-20.69*	-2.18*	-110.63*	-14.00*
Coherences with birth-rate.....		17	21	16	12	16
Oppositions to birth-rate.....		29	25	30	34	29
Total States and Territories.....		46	46	46	46	45

In one State (Delaware) the mortgage debt per capita is the same as for the United States.

* Coherence in the phenomena studied.

the death-rate from nervous diseases below the average, the variations above and below the average in the remaining one third must be proportionally greater; in other words, the conditions of life which cause such variations must be more intense. If civilization, as Mr. Spencer believes, be the cause of the lower birth-rate, we should expect a high civilization where the birth-rate is low. These conclusions are confirmed by the statistics.

She compares the birth-rates with conditions of industrial life, and shows that in 37 States and Territories the value of the manufactured products per capita coheres with the death-rate from nervous diseases and opposes the birth-rate, and in four States the three cohere; thus in 41 of the 47 States and Territories the value of the manufactured products per capita and the deaths from nervous diseases cohere.

In 35 States and Territories the value of the manufactured products per capita coheres with the density per square mile of area of settlement and is opposed to the birth-rate, and in three States the three cohere, making 38 States and Territories in which the value of the manufactured products per capita and the density of population cohere.

In 33 States and Territories the value of the manufactured products per capita coheres with both the density of population and the deaths from nervous diseases and opposes the birth-rate, while in two States the four cohere. Thus in 35 of the 47 States and Territories in the United States, the conditions of density, manufactured wealth, and deaths from nervous diseases are similar, and in 33 of these States and Territories they directly oppose the birth-rate.

The only conclusion to be drawn from such facts is that the conditions of advancing civilization are actually lowering the birth-rate, and that the conditions of a simpler agricultural life favor a high birth-rate.

If the average rates for the United States in 1880 and in 1890 be compared, the results obtained from the preceding detailed comparisons are confirmed. The birth-rate has diminished from 30.05 per 1000 of population to 26.68.* The value of agricultural products per acre of improved land has also decreased: in 1880 it was \$7.77; in 1890, \$6.88. The density per square mile of area of settlement has increased from 31.96 to 32.16, and the density per square mile of total land surface from 17.29 to 21.31. And finally, the value of manufactured products has risen from \$106.50 per capita to \$149.63.

See also DEATH-RATES and MALTHUSIANISM for various and contrary views.

References: The authorities noticed in this article.

BISMARCK AND SOCIAL REFORM, OTTO EDOUARD LEOPOLD, Prince, von, long time Chancellor of the German Empire, we consider here from the standpoint of his relation to social reform. He was born in 1815 at Brandenburg, of an old family, and studied at Göttingen, Berlin, and Griefswald. In 1847 he entered the Landtag and attracted notice as an ultra-royalist. He was opposed to the scheme for the reconstruction of the German Empire proposed in 1849, and strove for a united Germany under the lead of Prussia. He was appointed chief secretary of the Prussian legation at the resuscitated German Diet of 1851. He was sent later to Paris as Minister, and in 1862 was given the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and the presidency of the Cabinet. Unable to pass the reorganization bill and budget in October, 1862, he closed the Chambers, and for four years governed without getting the sanction of the deputies. The people were looking for a *coup d'état*; but the death of the King of Denmark opened up the Sleswick-Holstein question, and excited German national feeling, which Bismarck was able to use by the acquisition of the duchies to aggrandize Prussia. He negotiated the neutralization of Luxemburg

(1867), the humiliation of Austria, the reorganization of Germany under the lead of Prussia; he guided the Franco-Prussian War, dictated terms of peace to France, and was created Prince and Chancellor of the German Empire. He began a contest with the Catholic Church, expelling the Jesuits (1872). He presided at the Berlin Congress (1878). His later years have been busied with economic and social rather than diplomatic problems, and these we consider more at length. Since 1879 at least Bismarck has been considered almost the leading spirit of paternal State socialism. This, however, was not to adopt a new policy in Prussia, but simply to carry out, or, rather, revert to the traditional policy of the Hohenzollerns. (See GERMANY.) It was the proud boast of Frederick the Great that he was "*le roi des gueux*." Of all the governments of the seventeenth century, the Prussian was the first to seek the welfare of the whole community. The Prussian *landrecht* recognizes the State as the protector of the poorer classes, and one of its duties to supply sustenance and work for those lacking means and opportunity of earning a livelihood. It was upon these clauses that Bismarck relied when, on May 7, 1884, he declared to the Reichstag his recognition of the laborer's right to work. Bismarck himself once said: "The kings of Prussia have never been by preference kings of the rich. Frederick the Great said, when Crown Prince: '*Quand je serai roi, je serai un vrai roi des gueux*.'" He undertook to be the protector of the poor, and this principle has been followed by our later kings. At their throne suffering has always found a refuge and a hearing."

The principle of protection to which Bismarck reverted was the original and paternal policy of Prussia. Bismarck's paternal socialism, thus, is but a consistent following out of the principle of his masters. Yet how far he has carried these principles we shall soon see. They, however, must not at all be confounded with socialistic principles. (See SOCIALISM.) Socialism is democratic, fraternal. Bismarck's policy has been aristocratic, paternal. Few have persecuted the socialists as Bismarck has done, and few statesmen have been so hated by socialists as Bismarck has been. Their policies are radically opposite rather than identical. His drastic law against socialistic meetings and writings dates from 1878. Up to that time Bismarck had planned no measures of repression against socialists. But in that year two attempts on the life of the Emperor enabled Bismarck to carry through a drastic bill of repression which has been rigidly enforced until its failure to be renewed upon its recent expiration by limitation of time. Its main effect, however, has been to scatter the propaganda of German socialism abroad and to increase the real socialistic agitation in Germany. It shows, however, how little sympathy Bismarck has with true socialism. Of capitalism he is a far greater friend.

"I wish," he once told the Reichstag, "I wish we could immediately create a few hundred millionaires. They would expend their money in the country, and this expenditure would act fruitfully on labor all round. They could not eat their money themselves; they would have to spend the interest on it. Be glad, then,

* Billings, *The Diminishing Birth-rate in the United States* (*The Forum*, June, 1893).

when people become rich with us. The community at large, and not only the tax authority, is sure to benefit."

Bismarck's State socialism thus seems to have come from mixed motives—partly to take the ground from under the real socialists, partly, perhaps, from religious motives, mainly to serve and aggrandize the house with which he was so long identified. The religious flavor is not lacking.

On April 2, 1881, he said:

"I should like to see the State, which for the most part consists of Christians—alho you reject the name Christian State—penetrated to some extent by the principles of the religion it professes; especially as concerns the help one gives to his neighbor, and sympathy with the lot of old and suffering people."

So long ago as June 15, 1847, he declared to the Prussian United Diet, which was not accustomed to hear such words from an obscure provincial deputy:

"I am of opinion that the idea of the Christian State is as old as the *ci-devant* Holy Roman Empire, as old as all the European States, that it is the soil in which these States have taken root, and that a State, if it would have an assured permanence, if it would only justify its existence, when it is disputed, must stand on a religious foundation."

But his main thought was for Prussia.

He told the Reichstag on February 24, 1881:

"For me there has been but one compass, one polestar, after which I have steered: *Salus publica*. Since I entered public life I have often, perhaps, acted rashly and imprudently. But when I have had time for reflection I have always been guided by the question, What is most beneficial, most expedient, and proper for my dynasty, so long as I was only in Prussia, and nowadays for the German nation? I have never in my life been *doctrinaire*. All systems by which parties are divided and bound together are of secondary moment to me. My first thought is of the nation, its position abroad, its independence, our organization in such a way that we may breathe freely in the world."

We are now ready to understand his State-socialistic measures. As early as 1847 he spoke and voted in the United Diet for a State loan to a private railway enterprise, and from that time forward, whether as private deputy or minister, he never failed, when opportunity occurred, to promote the close connection of the State and the railways, always keeping in view the ultimate end of a thoroughly nationalized system of railway communication. While Germany was still disunited, his motto as Prussian Minister President was, "The railways for the State." When, however, the imperial throne was again raised, his motto became at once, "The railways for the Empire." He had no fear that German liberty and unity would "travel away with the first imperial locomotive."

A German writer has said of the nationalization of the railways in Prussia that it is a measure which "constitutes one of the most beautiful leaves in the Chancellor's wreath of fame." Certain it is that from the financial point of view, the policy inaugurated, or rather first seriously carried out, in 1876, has proved a great success, altho the plan has not yet been fully adopted by the Empire. But this is only one portion of Bismarck's socialism. When specifying in 1886 the articles which he regarded as most fitted to bear high taxation, Prince Bismarck included in the list tobacco and brandy. Of these two articles the Chancellor has endeavored to establish a State monopoly.

Prince Bismarck's attachment to State undertakings of this kind is primarily based on financial reasons. The monopoly appears to him the best means of raising revenue upon an article which can with justice be saddled with heavy taxation. At the same time he holds that the State is likely to be a better and more conscientious trader than the private undertaker, whose ends begin and end with gain. From the social standpoint, too, he predicts good results from the appearance of the State as an employer in spheres of industrial activity upon which a great number of people are dependent for their livelihood. When it was objected in the Reichstag in 1882 that his monopoly projects savored of socialism, he did not deny the imputation, but welcomed it, observing: "Many measures, which we have adopted to the great blessing of the country are socialistic, and the State will have to ac-

custom itself to a little more socialism yet. We must meet our needs in the domain of socialism by reformatory measures if we would display the wisdom shown in Prussia by the Stein-Hardenberg legislation respecting the emancipation of the peasantry. That was socialism, to take land from one person and give it to another—a much stronger form of socialism than a monopoly. But I am glad that this socialism was adopted, for we have as a consequence secured a free and very well-to-do peasantry, and I hope that we shall in time do something of the sort for the laboring classes."

Bismarck's return to the principles of protectionism, which movement he commenced in 1877, he also made largely for reasons of State socialism. His industrial legislation is, however, a far more direct illustration of this. The avowed object has been to protect the artisan class against the growing power of capital, as represented in the factory system.

Bismarck's extreme application of the principles of State socialism, however, has been in his schemes for State insurance. They are the result of organic development to be traced in the sickness insurance law of 1883, the accident insurance laws of 1884 and 1885, and the old age insurance law State Insurance. of 1887; all based on the principle of compulsion introduced in sick insurance legislation of 1854. Speaking of the first accident insurance bill of 1881, Bismarck said:

"The end I have in view is to relieve the parishes of a large part of their poor-law charges by the establishment of an institution, having State support and extending to the entire Empire, for the maintenance of old and incapacitated people, just like the institution of accident insurance."

He held that the State had positive and active functions to discharge, and that in Christian, monarchical, and paternally governed countries like the German States the principle of *Laissez-faire* was inadmissible. "I have a feeling," he said, "that the State can be responsible for its omissions," by which he meant its neglect to afford adequate help and protection to the weaker of its citizens. He not only demanded for the working classes insurance against sickness, accident, and old age, but he asked that the State would bear a fair share of the cost. Industry could not bear the whole burden, and it would be absurd to try to make the working man exclusively liable. So far as the present measure was concerned it was intended that the insurance premiums should be paid equally by employers, employed, and the Empire. In proposing a national system of insurance, he held that the State could not fairly entrust the insurance of workpeople to private adventure. "The corollary of compulsion is, in my opinion, insurance through the State—either through the Empire or the individual State; without that no compulsion. I should not have courage to exercise compulsion if I had nothing to offer in return. . . . If compulsion is enforced, it is necessary that the law provide at the same time an institution for insurance which shall be cheaper and securer than any other."

Bismarck's least success has been in the lines of taxation. He made a bold attack on the *laissez-faire* principle when he passed the Usury Law of 1880. This law was particularly intended to prevent the plundering of small land-owners and artisans by the predatory part of the money-lending community.

It is by no means, however, the case that Bismarck has been a consistent State socialist. He has refused, for example, to have anything to do with the principle of the payment of members. He refuses to be *doctrinaire*. He goes cautiously and experimentally. He said to the Reichstag, speaking of the insurance laws:

"The domain of legislation which we enter with this law . . . deals with a question which will not very soon

be removed from the order of the day. For 50 years we have been speaking of a social question. Since the passing of the socialist law I have continually been reminded by persons in high and official circles, as well as by others in the popular classes, that a promise was then given that something positive should also be done to remove the legitimate causes of socialism. I have had the reminder in mind *foto die* up to this very moment, and I do not believe that either our sons or grandsons will quite dispose of the social question which has been hovering before us for 50 years. No political question can be brought to a perfect mathematical conclusion, so that book balances can be drawn up; these questions rise up, have their day, and then disappear among other questions of history; that is the way of organic development."

This way Bismarck has steadily walked. His policy from first to last has been a protest against Individualism, against *Laissez-faire*. On this subject Prince Bismarck once expressed himself very forcibly in the Reichstag, when answering the criticisms of the Progressist leader, in words which sum up his whole policy.

"Herr Richter has called attention to the responsibility of the State for what it does. But it is my opinion that the State can also be responsible for what it does not do. I do not think that doctrines like those of '*Laissez-faire, laissez-aller*,' 'Pure Manchesterism in politics,' '*Jeder sehe, wie er's treibe, jeder sehe, wo er liege*,' 'He who is not strong enough to stand must be knocked down and trodden to the ground,' 'To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath'—that doctrines like these should be applied in the State, and especially in a monarchically, paternally governed State. On the other hand, I believe that those who profess horror at the intervention of the State for the protection of the weak lay themselves open to the suspicion that they are desirous of using their strength—be it that of capital, that of rhetoric, or whatever it be—for the benefit of a section, for the oppression of the rest, for the introduction of party domination, and that they will be chagrined as soon as this design is disturbed by any action of the Government."

On March 20, 1890, the emperor accepted Bismarck's resignation as chancellor, and General von Caprivi was appointed the same day in his place. This was due to a divergence of view between the young emperor, then just assuming the reins of power, and the old chancellor. Bismarck insisted on maintaining his

Resignation.

policy of stern repression of the socialists, while at the same time advocating State socialism, not going, however, so far as to interfere with wages. The young emperor, on the other hand, while following out the policy of State socialism, would not continue the socialist repression policy, and would interfere more with wages in a paternal way. Owing to these and other differences, Bismarck's resignation was practically forced and accepted. Since then Bismarck has been in semi-private life, tho' once elected to the Reichstag and accepting in order, from a national liberal policy, to vigorously criticise the Government. This not only in the Reichstag, but in private, and through various organs still faithful to him, he has not ceased most vigorously to do to the undisguised annoyance of the Government. On a recent journey to Vienna to attend the marriage of his son, Prince Herbert, he received an ovation along the whole line, and his influence to-day in Europe generally, as well as in Germany, is still very great, and always cast along the old lines of intense nationalism, paternal socialism, coupled with a stern and aristocratic repression of democratic tendencies. Recently his "reconciliation" with the emperor has caused universal comment, and his eightieth birthday (1895) was celebrated by all Germany. (See GERMANY and SOCIAL REFORM.)

Reference: *Bismarck and State Socialism*, by W. H. Dawson, to which book we are indebted for many quotations in our article.

BLACK, JAMES, the first candidate of the Prohibition Party for President of the United States. He was born in Lewisburg, Pa., September 23, 1823, and died December 16, 1893. Removing with his parents to Lancaster, Pa., in 1836, he worked in a sawmill and earned enough to engage a private teacher to give him instruction during the winter. In 1841 he entered the Lewisburg Academy. In 1844 he began the study of the law, and in 1846 was admitted to practice at the bar in Lancaster, where he resided all his life. In 1840 he joined the Washingtonians, the first temperance organization in his neighborhood. In 1846 he helped to institute a division of the Sons of Temperance. Prominent in the "Maine law" prohibitory movement of 1852 in Pennsylvania, Mr. Black was that year elected Chairman of the Lancaster County Prohibition Committee. It was largely due to Mr. Black's personal efforts that the Maine law movement became popular in Lancaster County and resulted, in 1855, in the election of two of the five temperance legislative candidates. Besides making speeches and writing for the cause, Mr. Black sometimes contributed as much as \$500 yearly to it.

The anti-slavery agitation about this time, and the Civil War a little later, interrupted the temperance work and engaged the attention and interest of Mr. Black. He aided in organizing the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, and was a delegate to the first national convention of that party in 1856. He was a Republican in politics until the formation at Chicago, in September, 1869, of the National Prohibition Party. He was chosen permanent president of this body. At the new party's Columbus (O.) Convention, in February, 1872, Mr. Black was nominated as its candidate for President of the United States, and in the election that followed he received 5608 votes. For the four years from 1876-80 he was Chairman of the National Committee of the Prohibition Party.

He was also a most active temperance worker outside strict party lines. He was one of the founders of the National Temperance Society and Publication House. Having identified himself with the Good Templars in 1858, two years later Mr. Black was elected Grand Worthy Chief Templar of Pennsylvania. Mr. Black's "Cider Tract" caused the Good Templars to declare against the use of cider as a beverage. Prominent as a layman in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was one of the 26 who in 1869 organized the Ocean Grove Camp Meeting Association.

Mr. Black owned probably the largest collection of temperance literature contained in any private library in the world, about 1200 volumes being included in it. Among the works published by him are a pamphlet entitled *Is there a Necessity for a Prohibition Party?* (1875); *Brief History of Prohibition* (1880), and *History of the Prohibition Party* (1885).

BLACK DEATH, THE.—The pestilence, or series of pestilences, known by this name

took place in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was a partial, if not the chief cause, of vast economic changes in England. So far as can be ascertained, the disease first manifested itself in Central China in 1333, and thence spread in a westward direction toward Europe, where its force was first felt in the southern countries.

It appeared first in Italy, then crossed Western Europe, and arrived at the English ports of Bristol and Southampton in the summer of 1348. Whole districts were depopulated by its frightful ravages, and altho the old chroniclers give grossly exaggerated estimates of the number of deaths, it is probable that it carried off at least one third of the population. The scenes of horror and desolation which it caused beggar all attempts at description.

One immediate result of the plague was a great scarcity in the number of available laborers, because, while all classes had suffered heavily, the poorest had yielded most rapidly to the dire disease. This scarcity of labor meant, of course, higher wages for the laborer. In the case of agricultural workers this rise amounted to about 50 per cent., while in the case of skilled artisans, such as carpenters and masons, the same effect was felt, often more markedly. The nobles and landlords—the capitalist class of their day—objected, and, without waiting to call Parliament together, the king issued a proclamation ordering all men to abide by the rates which had been customary before the Black Death, and neither to demand nor pay higher wages. He also forbade laborers to leave the land to which they were attached, and assigned heavy penalties for so doing. But the king's parchment counted for no more, in the face of the needs of the country, than had Knut's imperious command to the sea, centuries before. Parliament met in 1349 and made haste to ratify this proclamation by reducing it to the form of a statute—the famous "statute of laborers;" but such legislative measures were hopeless against the demand for workers, and the very same men who passed these laws were themselves obliged to break them to prevent their land from remaining untilled. The peasants went freely into those districts where workers were most scarce, and found ready shelter and good wages. Complaints were constantly made to Parliament, and the "statute of laborers" was again and again enacted with added penalties, but to no purpose. For once the worker was able to meet the capitalist with the advantage on his side.

In spite of the great rise in the price of labor the price of the laborer's food did not rise in proportion. Food did not require much manual labor in its production, and hence the rate of wages was not much felt in its price. This will be the more noticeable when we remember that a fat ox could be bought with a sum equal to only six days' wages of an ordinary mechanic, tho it should be borne in mind that oxen were smaller then. What did rise was the price of all articles which required much labor in their production. Those who lost most by the change were the holders of large estates, who had to pay more for the labor which worked their land, and for the implements used upon it. On the

other hand, the peasant and artisan gained much higher wages, while the cost of living hardly increased at all. They had exchanged their former serfdom for the ability to earn not only the necessities of life, but many of its comforts also. And these changes were so far-reaching in their effects that the landlords were obliged to let their estates to tenants who worked them on their own account, paying rent to the lord; instead of, as formerly, compelling villeins to work them for the master's profit. Thus serfdom practically came to an end, tho the land-owners and lawyers did all that they could to prevent it, and succeeded in putting many obstacles in the path of the peasants. The gain was not all on one side, however, as the peasants began at this time to lose those rights in the "commons" and forests which until then they had enjoyed.

Another of the important effects of the Black Death was the spirit of independence which it helped to raise in the breasts of the peasants, who now began to feel their power. It is worth while to note that successful revolutions are seldom the work of starving men. Empty stomachs are not conducive to that clearness of vision which is needed to plan and carry out such movements. The years of prosperity following the plague of 1348 had done more to open the eyes of the working classes than all the centuries of poor rations that had gone before. The new spirit led to the preaching of John Ball (*q.v.*), the Peasants' Revolt (*q.v.*), and the Golden Age of "Merrie England." The revolt was put down, but the victory really lay with the vanquished; and from this time serfdom practically disappears from English history, and wages remain high till the robbery of the land by the landlords in the sixteenth century. For a study of the economic effects of the Black Death, see J. E. T. Rogers' *Work and Wages*, and for a contrary view see *Wealth and Progress*, by George Gunton.

BLACK LIST, a list published or prepared by any body of men of the names of those whom they consider faulty in any way. It is specifically used of official lists of insolvents and defaulters. It is used in industrial discussions of lists of employees who for one reason or another—perhaps because of having led in labor agitation—employers agree not to employ. It is also used of lists of firms which are believed to treat their employees unfairly, and therefore which the preparers of the black list believe should not be patronized by the friends of fair treatment. (See also **WHITE LIST**.) The blacklisting or asserted blacklisting by employers of their employees who have been active in the cause of labor has been a fruitful source of complaint on the part of labor organizations, and some States have passed bills forbidding blacklisting. (See **CONSPIRACY LAWS**.)

BLACKSTONE, Sir WILLIAM, was born in London in 1723, and died in the same city in 1780. A celebrated English jurist, he was appointed in 1758 Vinerian Professor of Common Law at Oxford, and in 1770 Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His chief work, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, appeared 1765-68.

Eight editions appeared during his lifetime and continually after his death.

BLACKWELL, ALICE STONE, born in Orange, N. J., in 1857, is the daughter of Lucy Stone (*q.v.*) and Henry B. Blackwell. She graduated from Boston University in 1881, and has been on the staff of the *Woman's Journal* (of Boston) ever since.

BLACKWELL, ELIZABETH, M.D., was the first woman who ever received a medical diploma. She was born in Bristol, England, in 1821. Her father emigrated to New York, and from there to Cincinnati in 1838, where he died, and left alone a widow and nine children. As the father had left but little money, something had to be done; and Miss Blackwell, who was notable for decision of character, at once opened a boarding-school. She was then only 18 years of age, but her school succeeded well. When the school was closed in 1844, Miss Blackwell, whose energetic spirit had long been restless under the limitations which society imposed upon women, determined to enter if possible the medical profession. For three years more she taught in another school, in order to obtain sufficient means for a medical course, and then she applied for admittance in the Philadelphia medical schools. She was everywhere refused. After a course of private lessons under medical professors, she finally obtained admission to the University of Geneva, N. Y. She remained here for two years, and graduated with the highest honors. Her propriety and discretion won for her the esteem of students and professors alike. After graduation she visited England and France, and studied for some time longer. In 1851 she returned to New York, and began the practice of medicine. At first other physicians refused to consult with her; but she overcame all obstacles and secured a large practice. In 1854, with her sister, Dr. Emily Blackwell (*q.v.*), she established the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In 1869 she went to London, and there established the National Health Society, and aided in organizing the London School of Medicine for Women. In 1878 she settled in Hastings, England, and has worked and written on numerous social reforms, mainly on lines of social purity, municipal reform, and the health and education of women.

BLACKWELL, EMILY, was born in Bristol, England, in 1826, a sister to Elizabeth Blackwell (*q.v.*), and, like her, came with her father's family to the United States in 1832. She commenced studying medicine in 1848, but was refused admission in the medical colleges, and only allowed to attend lectures for a period in two others, till finally she was admitted to the medical college in Cleveland, O. Graduating triumphantly, she studied in hospitals and attended clinics in Edinburgh, Paris, and London. She returned to New York in 1854, and in connection with Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska (a Polish lady), she established a hospital which in 1865 was given college powers. A woman's college, it has been and still is a marked success. Dr. Blackwell is now one of the vice-presidents of and very active in the Society for the Promo-

tion of Social Purity. She is author of many tracts upon this and similar subjects. (See SOCIAL PURITY.)

BLAKE, Mrs. LILLIE DEVEREUX, was born in Raleigh, N. C., in 1835, of wealthy parentage. Her father dying in 1837, his widow removed to New Haven, and Miss Devereux was educated there by private tutors. In 1855 she married Frank G. Q. Umsted, a young lawyer, and resided in St. Louis and New York City, till she was left a widow with two children in 1859. She had already commenced writing stories, and had published a successful novel, *Southwold*. She now entered literature as a profession, residing in Stratford, Conn., New York City, and Washington. In 1866 she married Mr. Grenfill Blake, a young New York merchant, and made her home in that city. In 1869 she became interested in the woman's suffrage movement, and wrote and lectured continually. From 1879-90 she was President of the New York State Woman's Suffrage Association. She has been active in the agitation for police matrons (*q.v.*), for laws for seats for saleswomen, etc. Her lectures have been printed under the title of *Woman's Place To-day*.

BLANC, JEAN JOSEPH LOUIS (1811-82), was born in Madrid. In 1830 he went to Paris and became a clerk in an attorney's office. In 1832 he went to Arras to act as tutor, where he resided for two years, making some mark as a writer on literary and political affairs. Returning to Paris, he founded, in 1839, the *Revue du progrès politique, social et littéraire*. In this he brought out his work *L'Organisation du Travail*, which may fairly be called a French forerunner of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*; tho in its form being an appeal rather than a theory, it makes no pretensions to scientific precision. In 1841 he published his *Histoire de dix ans*, which was an overwhelming indictment of the actions of Louis Philippe and his ministers during the years 1831-40. In 1847 he published the first two volumes of his *Histoire de la révolution française*. The revolution which broke out early in the next year compelled that to be set aside. His popularity among the Parisian workmen secured for him a seat in the Provisional Government then formed, where he brought forward the proposals for universal suffrage and the abolition of slavery. He was also appointed president of a Government commission for laborers. In March a procession of 200,000 workmen, headed by Blanqui, offered him the dictatorship, which he refused. The Provisional Government established the Ateliers nationaux (*q.v.*) which he had advocated, but they were started on such unsound principles that Louis Blanc opposed them and demanded their abolition. He even charged the government with plotting their failure. After four months' trial they were abolished, having proved a failure and a public nuisance. In June and again in August, 1848, he was accused in the Assembly of complicity in the Communist outbreak of May. Being condemned by a large majority, he fled to England, where he stayed in exile for more than 20 years, finishing his *Histoire de la révolution française* and writ-

ing his *Histoire de la révolution de 1848* and other works. In 1870 he returned to Paris and urged the citizens to prosecute the war to the uttermost. Till the time of his death he was elected deputy for Paris, always voting with the extreme Left.

BLAND SILVER BILL.—A United States statute of 1873 (20 stat., 25); so called from its author, Richard P. Bland, a member of the House from Missouri. It reestablished the silver dollar containing 412½ grs. troy of standard silver as a legal tender; but its special feature was a clause requiring the treasury to purchase every month not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion and to coin it into dollars. (See SILVER.)

BLANQUI, JÉRÔME ADOLPHE (1798–1854).—He is sometimes confused with his brother, L. A. Blanqui, the revolutionist, but followed quite a different course. From 1830 to his death he was the head of the École de Commerce of Paris, and in 1833 replaced J. B. Say as Professor of Political (and especially of Industrial) Economy at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. He was elected in 1838 a member of the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques, and represented the department of the Gironde in the Chamber of Deputies. His teaching in political economy was liberal and progressive. By no means a socialist, he yet favored many socialistic principles. The brilliancy and vigor of his language is another characteristic which has aided him much. He was the author of several works. Of these the most important are: *Résumé de l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie* (Paris, 1826, 18mo); *précis élémentaire d'économie politique* (Paris, 1826 and 1842, 32mo); *Histoire de l'économie politique en Europe, depuis les anciens jusqu'à nos jours, suivie d'une bibliographie raisonnée des principaux ouvrages d'économie politique* (Paris, 1838, 1842, and 1845). This last work has been translated into several languages. Tho not of the greatest merit, it has nevertheless done important pioneer work in a needed study.

BLANQUI, LOUIS AUGUSTE (1805–81), was born in Puget Théniers; came in 1824 to Paris and became a teacher and student of law and medicine. On the breaking out of an insurrection in 1827 he took his sword and joined the cause of the people, taking his part from this date in every Paris insurrection. He edited *Le Journal de la Société des Amis du Peuple*, and for this was imprisoned. Complicated in various conspiracies, he was imprisoned for two years, in 1836, but was pardoned in 1837. In 1839 he organized another insurrection, which was quickly put down, and Blanqui condemned to death—a verdict changed to imprisonment for life. Confined at Mont Saint Michel, and at Tours, he was freed by the February Revolution of 1848. By February 25 he was in Paris and organizing the Central Republican Committee. On May 15 he was captured and imprisoned 10 years at Belle Isle and in Corsica. Amnestied in 1859, he was, in 1861, accused of conspiracy and imprisoned four years. When the republic was proclaimed (September, 1870)

he went to Paris and advocated the principles of the extreme Left, publishing his *La Patrie en danger*. After the Commune he was arrested by Thiers, and (1872) condemned to deportation; but on account of ill health was held in Quélern and Clairvaux, and pardoned by Grévy, June 9, 1879. He was elected deputy in Bordeaux in 1879, but was declared ineligible. A mystic, a revolutionist, an autocrat, Blanqui was no mean thinker, and a convinced communist socialist. His main writings are *L'Eternité dans les astres* (1872); *L'Armée esclave et opprimée* (1880); *Critique sociale* (2 vols., appearing after his death, 1883).

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT P., was born at Maidstone, England, March 17, 1851, and apprenticed to a trade in Halifax, 1864, serving seven years. In 1871 he joined the army and served till 1877. Obtaining work as time-keeper and clerk at 30s. a week, he married in 1880. He began writing soon after, contributing to *The Yorkshireman* and *Toby*. In 1885 he removed to London to join the staff of *Bell's Life*, and wrote for the *Sunday Chronicle* at its start in August, 1885, under the nom de plume of "Nunquam." He soon declared himself a socialist, and has been writing on social questions ever since. In October, 1891, refusing to restrain his pen, he left the *Sunday Chronicle*, and soon after, on December 12, 1891, issued the first number of *The Clarion*, in whose pages his history has since been written. In 1891 he was named as parliamentary candidate for East Bradford, but soon withdrew, having no taste for politics. He originated the "Fourth Clause," about which so much agitation has been raised; and which practically laid the foundation of the I. L. P. It reads, at present, substantially as follows: "That all members of the I. L. P. pledge themselves to abstain from voting for any candidate for election to any representative body who is in any way a nominee of the Liberal, Liberal Unionist, Irish Nationalist, or Conservative parties." His latest volume, *Merrie England*, a series of letters on the labor problem to a working man, which first appeared in *The Clarion*, is now sold complete for a penny, and has reached a sale of well over a million copies.

BLIND, KARL, the German revolutionist, was born in Mannheim in 1826. Even while a student in Heidelberg and Bonn he began to organize revolutionary societies. In 1847 he underwent a short imprisonment for a tract, *German Hunger and German Princes*. In the revolutions of 1848 he played a prominent part at Carlsruhe and Frankfurt. He escaped to Alsace, but took part continually in revolutionary uprisings till he was compelled to flee both from Germany and France, since which he has resided in England, writing literary and political articles. His views are of national as opposed to international socialism and of socialism as opposed to anarchism. He strongly supported the movement for German unity in 1870.

BLIND ASYLUMS, OR "SCHOOLS FOR THE BLIND."—Bulletin No. 81 (Census of 1890) gives the following statistics for schools for the blind in the United States:

DECADES.	PUPILS.			EXPENDITURES.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Current.	Building.
Total	56,485	25,795	22,942	\$15,598,952	\$11,909,514	\$3,689,438
1840-50	3,444	1,103	921	\$610,747	\$514,134	\$96,613
1850-60	6,087	2,211	1,979	1,337,955	1,000,372	337,583
1860-70	9,117	3,316	3,224	2,600,687	1,911,794	688,893
1870-80	13,856	6,493	5,819	4,207,601	3,022,201	1,185,400
1880-90	23,981	12,672	10,999	6,620,265	5,339,316	1,280,949

The following institutions do not state sex in their reports for the decades indicated, which will account for the apparent discrepancies between the items and total of the above summary:

The Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind: Total number of pu-

pils, 1840-50, 817; 1850-60, 1112; 1860-70, 1261.

Ohio Institution for the Blind, Columbus: Total number of pupils, 1840-50, 603; 1850-60, 785; 1860-70, 1316; 1870-80, 1544.

West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind, Romney: Total number of pupils, 1880-90, 310.

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS FOR THE YEARS 1880-89, INCLUSIVE.

YEARS.	PUPILS.			EXPENDITURES.		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Current.	Building.
Total	23,981	12,672	10,999	\$6,620,265	\$5,339,316	\$1,280,949
1880.....	2,041	1,064	955	\$572,225	\$415,108	\$157,117
1881.....	2,096	1,097	974	560,183	481,197	78,986
1882.....	2,038	1,062	946	591,817	502,149	89,668
1883.....	2,230	1,159	1,039	611,894	520,864	91,030
1884.....	2,286	1,200	1,050	715,934	538,441	176,593
1885.....	2,397	1,266	1,099	743,232	563,078	180,154
1886.....	2,554	1,353	1,170	647,710	561,002	86,708
1887.....	2,638	1,415	1,190	679,632	587,636	91,996
1888.....	2,770	1,478	1,257	753,775	594,168	159,607
1889.....	2,931	1,578	1,319	744,763	575,673	169,090

The West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind, at Romney, total number of pupils 310, does not state sex, which accounts for the apparent discrepancy between the items and total of the above summary.

The average annual cost and the average annual current expenditures per pupil in schools for the blind by decades from 1840-90 were as follows:

DECADES.	Average Annual Cost.	Average Annual Current Expenditures.
1840-50.....	\$268	\$226
1850-60.....	325	243
1860-70.....	388	285
1870-80.....	373	268
1880-90.....	288	232

The average annual cost and the average annual current expenditures per pupil in schools for the blind by years from 1880-89, inclusive, were as follows:

YEARS.	Average Cost.	Average Current Expenditures.
1880.....	\$321	\$233
1881.....	272	234
1882.....	297	252
1883.....	280	238
1884.....	319	240
1885.....	317	240
1886.....	260	225
1887.....	267	231
1888.....	283	223
1889.....	280	216

These averages are based only upon those institutions making complete returns.

The total number of pupils in schools for the blind in the United States in 1889 was 2931, while in 1880 the number was 2041, an increase in the decade of 890. It must be borne in mind that the apparent increase in the decade is due to some extent to the increased facilities for the reception and education of the blind in the schools established for this purpose.

BLISS, WILLIAM DWIGHT PORTER, was born in 1856 in Constantinople, Turkey; the son of Rev. E. E. Bliss, D.D., an American missionary. He studied in Robert College, Constantinople; Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; Amherst College, 1874-78; Hartford Theological Seminary, 1878-82. He was settled over the Fourth Congregational Church, Denver, Col., but on account of failing health, he soon returned to the East, and was settled at South Natick, Mass. He was married in London to Mary Pangalo, in 1884. In 1885 he became interested in socialism through seeing the workmen in factory villages and reading Henry George and the *Christian Union*. In 1886 he entered the Episcopal Church, and took charge of St. George's Church, Lee, Mass. Here he joined the Knights of Labor; was Master Workman of the Assembly at Lee, and in 1887 sent to Cincinnati as delegate from the Knights of Labor, being one of the secretaries of the Union Labor Convention. The same year he helped start with Father Huntington, in New York City, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (Cail). In 1888 he took charge of Grace Church, South Boston. He was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts by the Labor Party, but declined the nomination. He was one of the founders of the first Nationalist club in Boston in 1889, and soon after, with other clergymen, organized the Society of Christian Socialists. He also started the *Dawn*, and published it until 1896. Resigning his parish in South Boston in 1890 he formed the Mission and Brotherhood of the Carpenter, which has since grown into the Church of the Carpenter. In 1895 he commenced editing *The American Fabian*. He has done much lecturing for the Society of Christian Socialists, the Christian Social Union, and other organizations. He is the author of numerous tracts, mainly on Christian socialism. He is also editor of the (American) Social Science Library, author of the *Handbook of Socialism* (1895), and editor of this encyclopedia.

BLOCK, MAURICE, was born on February 18, 1816, at Berlin; in 1818 he went to Paris with his parents. Here his studies were pursued, with the exception of two years in Germany. Upon his return to Paris he was naturalized, and in 1843 entered the Bureau of Statistics, where he had charge of the Department of Labor. In 1862 he resigned in order to put to use the knowledge he had gained. He has received several scholastic honors, is a Fellow of the Superior Council of Statistics, and has been often intrusted with missions for scientific purposes. His *Le Progrès de la science économique depuis Adam Smith* (1890) Professor Seligman calls "a work which in some respects compares with the best production of recent times in any country." He is best known, however, by his *Traité théorique et pratique de statistique* (1886) and his various statistical writings for the French Government, and in his valuable *Annuaire de l'économie politique et de la statistique*.

BLOOMER, Mrs. AMELIA, was born in Homer, N. Y., in 1818, and in 1840 was married to D. C. Bloomer, of Seneca Falls, where she

resided till 1855. She commenced working for temperance and then for woman's suffrage. January, 1849, after the first woman's rights convention, she commenced the publication of the *Lily*, the first paper ever owned, edited, and controlled by a woman in the interests of women. In 1852 she called attention to the style of dress since called by her name, though she did not originate it. She wore it, however, for six years. In 1855 she sold out her paper and moved to Council Bluffs, Ia. In 1852 she commenced lecturing, and continued till ill health prevented, ending in her death in 1895.

BLUE RIBBON MOVEMENTS.—A distinguishing feature of many of the movements for the reformation of drinking men has been the bit of ribbon, generally blue or red, worn by the reformed men and others interested. The red ribbon was adopted by Dr. Henry A. Reynolds, September 10, 1874, as the badge of the Bangor (Me.) Reform Club, which he organized at that time, and which, consisting of reformed drinking men, was the first club of its kind ever formed. Throughout the remarkable pledge-signing campaigns that followed in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Michigan, Illinois, and other States, Dr. Reynolds made the red ribbon the sign of membership in the clubs he started, and they came to be known as Red Ribbon Reform Clubs. The white ribbon was adopted by Dr. Reynolds in connection with the red, the former to be worn by women and by young men under 18. The white ribbon is also worn by all ladies of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. But the blue ribbon has been associated with temperance reform movements more extensively than any other badge. It was adopted by Francis Murphy, and has been donned by very many thousands in this country whom he has induced to sign the pledge.

The idea was borrowed in England. On February 10, 1878, a conference of temperance workers was held in London, and a total abstinence campaign was determined on. A central mission was to be established in London, with town organizations in the provinces as the work spread. The blue ribbon was chosen, and the "Blue Ribbon Army" was adopted as the name of the organization. Mr. William Noble, who took a prominent part in the inauguration of this work, had recently returned from a visit to the United States, where he had seen something of the methods employed in the Murphy and Reynolds movements. Pledge cards were issued and scattered throughout the British Empire, and during the years since they have been translated into several languages, and have found their way into various countries of Europe, into Africa and the Sandwich Islands. More than 1,000,000 pledges have been officially issued in addition to the pledges issued by independent workers cooperating with the movement. A change in the name from "Blue Ribbon Army" to "Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Movement" has been made, and several branch organizations, such as the "Help-Myself Society" among men and the "Help-One-Another Society" among women, have grown out of the original movement.

BLUNTSCHLI, JOHANN KASPAR, a German jurist, was born in Switzerland in 1808. He graduated at Bonn in 1829. He was professor in the University of Zurich, a member of the Grand Council of the local Government, and strongly opposed the civil war of 1847-48. In 1848 he became Professor of German and International Law at Munich, and in 1861 Professor of Political Science at Heidelberg. In 1864, with Baumgarten and others, he founded the Protestant Union, and subsequently presided over several Protestant conventions, and over the General Synod at Baden in 1867. He was in favor of a union between South and North Germany, and was elected to the Customs Parliament. Bluntschli is the author of many valuable works on politics, laws, and the sciences; his best-known book in this country being his *Theory of the State* (translated from the sixth German edition by R. Lodge).

BÖHM, von BAWERK, EUGEN, was born February 12, 1851, at Brünn, in Moravia. He entered the Austrian Ministry of Finance in 1872, where he remained until 1880. In the mean time he had received the degree of LL.D. from Vienna, and had improved his two years' leave of absence to prosecute his sociological studies at Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Jena, under Knies, Roscher, and Hildebrand. In 1880, immediately after his installation as *privat-docent* at Vienna, he was called to Innsbruck. In 1889 he accepted a councilor's seat in the Austrian Ministry of Finance. The best known of the important school of Austrian political economists, his main work is his *Kapital und Kapitalzins*, vol. i. (1884), a critical review of all theories of capital, translated into English by W. Smart (1890), under the title *Capital and Interest*, vol. ii. (1889), giving his positive theory of capital, and also translated by Smart as *The Positive Theory of Capital* (1891).

BOILEAU (or BOYLEAU), ÉTIENNE, was born about 1200. He joined the Crusades under Louis IX. (St. Louis), was captured, and ransomed by that monarch at a high price. At one time Provost of Orleans, he subsequently became (1258-70) Provost of Paris. Boileau, a man of noble birth and incorruptible character, suppressed venality, meted out justice, established the police of Paris, and hanged his godson for theft, and a friend for dishonesty. St. Louis, as a mark of confidence and approval, sometimes sat beside him at the Châtelet, where he administered justice. But the great work of Boileau was his compilation, about 1268, of the *Livre des Métiers*, a code of the regulations affecting the various industries of Paris. The exordium states the intention of the compiler to treat of (1) the trades of Paris, their ordinances and the breaches thereof, with the appropriate fines; (2) fees, tolls, taxes, and dues; (3) justice and jurisdictions in Paris and the neighborhood. The third part either was not written or has been lost. The *Registres* so formed constitute a highly valuable record of the condition of industrial society at the time—its trade privileges, masters, apprentices, their number, conduct, terms of service, holidays, quality of work and of goods, prices, middle-

men, fines, dues, etc. This compilation has been regarded as a landmark in the history of economics.

Reference: Article in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, which we have here abridged.

BOILER-MAKERS AND IRON SHIP-BUILDERS, UNITED SOCIETY OF (English). See TRADE UNIONS, section "England."

BOISSEL, FRANCOIS (1728-1807), was born at Joyeux, in Vivarais. Educated by the Jesuits, he became in 1753 parliamentary attorney in Paris, but soon removed to St. Domingo. A contest with the Government over his profession brought him back to Paris and kept him there 20 years. On the breaking out of the revolution he took an extreme Jacobin position. He is best known for his *Catéchisme du genre Humaine* (1789), in which appear many of the germs of later French socialistic thought. His first writing was *Discours contre les Servitude Publiques* (1786).

BOODLE was originally a vulgarism for money, and more particularly for booty; a phrase used in barrooms and at the street corners. Gradually some of the more vulgar and sensational newspapers began to make use of it in their articles dealing with the classes that were themselves in the habit of employing the term. Among these, the majority of the aldermen of New York City were numbered, and the bribes that these were supposed to be in the habit of receiving were referred to under that name. The charges of bribery were brought prominently forward by the investigation in 1886, by a committee of the Assembly, into the circumstances attending the grant by the aldermen in the previous year of a charter for a street railroad on Broadway in that city. Jacob Sharp, a man largely interested in New York street railroads, was popularly thought to have bribed the aldermen to grant the franchise. Much interest in the investigation was manifested by the public, and the terms "boodle" and "boodlers" were continually used by the newspapers. The general use into which the term was thus brought, added to the fact that it is a concise term, tended to purge it of its vulgar associations, and to give it standing in the vocabulary of the day. The term "boodler" is now universally applied to bribe-takers, more particularly to those connected with municipal governments, and most accurately to bribed aldermen. (See BROADWAY STEALS.)

BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY OF AMERICA, THE, employing some 200,000 men and women, with factories in all sections of the country, manufacturing annually millions of pairs of boots and shoes, for which more than \$200,000,000 are received, had its origin in an humble manner in what is now the city of Lynn, Mass., where, in 1634, Philip Kertland established a shoe-making shop. From his beginning gradually sprang, from time to time, more little shops, until 1750, when the first actual employing manufacturer appeared in the person of John Adam Dagry, a Welshman, who laid the foundation of the modern trade.

Dagry became known as the celebrated shoemaker of Essex, and was very successful, but eventually died a pauper. From this time the industry gradually developed and spread over Massachusetts, then entered New England, the Middle and Western States, Canada, and finally the Southern States. The manufacturers of Lynn, with few exceptions, have confined themselves to the making of women's sewed shoes, altho large numbers of men's and children's shoes have also been and are made there. The establishment of the industry in Haverhill made that the principal point for the manufacture of pegged shoes, mostly for women's wear; and Marblehead, of historic fame, devoted attention mainly to the making of children's shoes, while Brockton, Milford, Natick, and towns in Western Massachusetts made a speciality of men's boots and shoes. Marlboro entered largely into the manufacture of women's shoes. In 1812 boots and shoes were sent in wagon-loads from Lynn and Haverhill to New York and Philadelphia.

The shoe factory of that time, where the shoes were cut, was a modest affair, being small, not larger than an ordinary house of the present day. The uppers were distributed to the wives and daughters of shoemakers, to be stitched and bound, and were returned to the manufacturer, or, as he was commonly known, the "shoe boss." He then gave them out with the sole leather to the shoemakers, to be made in little shops, generally about 10 or 12 feet square; and oftentimes the kitchen or some part of the dwelling was utilized for the purpose. What is known as the factory of to-day really began in 1857, when the manufacturers began taking advantage of the invention of the sewing machine, and gradually drew the work of stitching, and sometimes the making, within the factory. Up to the time of the advent of machinery the shoe towns presented as a feature the little shoemakers' shops at every turn and on every hand. The introduction of machinery was followed by large factories, and the massing together of large numbers of men and women under one roof. Those little New England shoemakers' shops were really lyceums, and a wonderful aid in the educational development of the people. The daily newspaper was as much a necessity as the fire in winter, each workman in turn serving as reader, and the rest doing a portion of his work that he might not be the loser. Sometimes a contribution was made and a school-boy employed to read the paper. Every article was discussed *pro* and *con*; every workman kept himself thoroughly posted regarding public events, and questions philosophic, theoretical, and practical received earnest attention.

In 1859 a sole-sewing machine was introduced, and wrought a revolution in the trade. This was the invention of Blake, but was remodeled and improved by a Lawrence mechanic, Gordon McKay, and superseded all the then known appliances for joining the upper and sole together, and really made the factory system of to-day. Then in rapid succession followed machine after machine—skivers, buffers, edge trimmers, edge setters, channellers, beating-out machines, molders, heel polishers, pegging machines, sole cutters—and many more whose number is still on the increase. This divided and subdivided the work, until from a real shoemaker the workman has become only about the eightieth part of one. In the department of women's work the machinery as rapidly entered. From the Grover and Baker, the Singer, and many others, to the present time, the inventor has been on the alert, and the same degree of subdivision is apparent. The present factory system was well developed by 1870. Since the McKay machine, the most important machine introduced is the Goodyear welt machine, which is destined to become, if it is not already, as necessary as the McKay. This machine in its operation approaches more nearly than any other yet devised the hand-work formerly done in the little shops.

There are annually manufactured in the United States about 180,000,000 pairs of women's and children's shoes, and about 80,000,000 pairs of men's. The average wages appear to be about \$500 annually. The greatest distributing center is at Boston, Mass., more than half of all shoes made being handled at this point; and in one State alone—*viz.*, Massachusetts, over one third of all these boots and shoes are manufactured. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati, have become important as manufacturing and shoe-distributing points. Before the factory system was established, the New England farmer became in the winter a shoemaker, and from Lynn, Haverhill, Beverly, Marblehead, Natick, and other places obtained his shoes and stock. So largely was this practised, that regular express routes were established and maintained for this traffic alone. Organizations among

men and women working at the shoe trade have been many, and have generally resulted in marked improvement in their condition. The first organization was known as the Sons of St. Crispin, existing previous to the factory system, and did not appear as an important factor. The first really important and effective organization was the Knights of St. Crispin, and to every shoemaker the letters K. O. S. C. were familiar. In 1864 Newell Daniels conceived the plan, and with some fellow-workmen in Milford, Mass., drafted a rough or crude constitution. Daniels went West, locating at Milwaukee, Wis., and there, March 1, 1867, established the first lodge, with seven members, one of whom, F. W. Wallace, gave to the order its name, in honor of the patron saint of the shoemakers. The German Custom Shoemakers of Milwaukee became Lodge No. 2, after which Daniels started on a propagating tour, and lodges were established in various shoe towns of New York, Massachusetts, and other States. The Grand Lodge was organized at Rochester, N. Y., in 1868, with representatives from 60 lodges, and Martin Gavin as the first presiding officer. For five years thereafter the order was a power in the land, becoming the foremost trade organization in the world. It made and unmade politicians, it started cooperative stores, it maintained a monthly journal, it fought against threatened reductions of wages, and succeeded in generally establishing higher rates of wages. The order grew until it became international in its character, by extending mainly to Canada, until 400 lodges and over 40,000 members were borne on its rolls. But discord arose and a rapid decay set in in 1874, tho an attempt, attended with partial success, was made in 1875 to revive the order. In 1877 it really did assume such shape and size as to successfully battle with and defeat the Lynn manufacturers; but again by 1878 the order was extinct, dying because it had undertaken a work beyond its strength. Then followed regularly annual reductions in wages until organization again appeared. In December, 1860, 16 Lynn lasters (those working at that part of the trade known as lasting the shoes) organized the Lasters' Protective Union; they being then among the poorest paid of any in the business felt in a greater degree the need of union. The organization spread until to-day they claim about 80 unions and about 15,000 members. The Lynn union leased a hall, opened an office, and made its secretary its representative in all matters between themselves and their employers, in reality, the walking delegate. At the formation of a general organization the general secretary, Edward L. Daily, was made the representative in all cases.

The improvement in the condition of the lasters from the inception of their organization till its present time has been marked.

The Knights of Labor were introduced into Massachusetts by a shoemaker, Charles H. Litchman, in 1878. The shoe craft of Philadelphia had already turned their attention to this organization, and their Eastern brethren gradually followed until the trade generally united in organization, but this time in conjunction with other occupations. The shoemakers remained with the Knights of Labor until 1888, when all but a remnant withdrew and formed the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union, with Henry J. Skeffington as secretary. This year (1895) these various organizations have voted to enter into a small organization, the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union.

The various organizations of the shoe trade have many times locked horns with the manufacturers, and while sometimes defeated, have generally succeeded. The briefest mention of a few important occasions of this sort may suffice. Probably when all things are considered, the greatest strike in the trade was in 1860, beginning in Lynn. The panic of 1857 brought wages to a low ebb, and there was much suffering and discontent; and in consequence of the efforts of Alonzo G. Draper, afterward a brigadier-general in the Union army, a strike took place February 14, 1860, with 5000 people parading the streets. For seven weeks parades were frequent, the city organizing by wards, the women operatives to the number of 2000 parading with the men. The shoemakers were then known as cordwainers, and during the strike they formed the Journeymen Cordwainers' Association. In anticipation of trouble, Colonel Coffin, commanding the Eighth Regiment M. V. M., ordered Company F, known as the Lynn City Guards, to report for duty. They did so, but nearly all being themselves shoemakers, officers and men volunteered their services to the strikers for escort duty, and being accepted, were thereafter a feature of the parades. The strike spread to Marblehead, Beverly,

Labor Organizations.

Natick, Marlboro, Milford, and other places, and was finally settled by a compromise. During the strike trips were made by the men and women to the different places where the strike prevailed, sometimes marching the whole distance, and indulging in a grand parade in the town visited. At other times clam-bakes, candy-pulls, and the amusement of escorting new converts to the factory to give up their job and go on strike engaged attention. The women were as zealous as the men, persuading weak sisters to join them and keeping their ranks firm. In Philadelphia in 1880, and again in 1886, a protracted struggle ensued; and New York and Brooklyn in 1886, Cincinnati in 1887, Brockton, Mass., 1885, Marblehead, 1883, Haverhill, 1885, and Worcester County, in 1887, may be added to the important list. These organizations have been instrumental in having boards of arbitration (*q. v.*) established in several places. These boards have proved only temporary, and yet have accomplished something, the most notable instance being the joint board of arbitration in Philadelphia, acting under rules which became known in the shoe trade as the famous Philadelphia rules. In Lynn and Beverly a municipal board served to form a channel for arbitration; in Brockton it was called a joint council; and in Haverhill a joint board of arbitration. They are to-day largely replaced by the State Board.

In spite of the factory system the workers in the shoe trade have maintained a high degree of intelligence, and have been able to keep the day's work down to ten hours, with a prospect of shorter time; and the rule is to pay wages every week. All reform movements receive strong support in shoe towns.

A. A. CARLTON.

BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES, NATIONAL UNION OF (English). See TRADE UNIONS, section "England."

BOOTH, CHARLES, born in 1841; head of a large shipping and mercantile firm of London, Liverpool, and New York, undertook in 1883 a detailed analysis of the census from 1841-81 with a view of determining the shifting of population from one occupation to another. (See Statistical Society's Journal.) In 1885 he began elaborate inquiry into the social condition of London, the results of which are embodied in *Life and Labor of the People* (Macmillan), of which four volumes are published. In 1892 he published the results of his inquiry into English poor law statistics, and recommended proposals for universal old age pensions from public funds (*A Picture of Pauperism*, Macmillan). He was President of the Royal Statistical Society of London (1892-94), and is a member of the Royal Commission on Aged Paupers (1893). He married Mary, niece of Lord Macaulay.

The following summary of the results of Mr. Booth's investigations appeared in an article by James Mavor, in the *Annals of the American Academy* for July, 1893. He says:

"By far the most important, in point of positive results of the applications of modern scientific methods of research to the study of society, and especially to the problems of poverty, is the work of Mr. Charles Booth upon London. Mr. Booth has carried on his investigation, independently of the Le Play method, and on different, tho somewhat similar, but less systematic, lines. He has conceived the idea of making an exhaustive study of the population of London, from an economic point of view. With this object he has already, by the aid of an army of assistants, thoroughly explored a great part of London. He has made a careful investigation of a vast number of families, and has gleaned not all, but a large number of the relevant facts about them. He has classified these facts and drawn certain provisional conclusions from them. His work is indeed, in most ways, a perfect model of what such an investigation should be. The conditions of each great city are so different from those of every other that not until we have before us similar investigations of other cities shall we be entitled to form definite conclusions about the poverty in them.

"Early in Mr. Booth's investigations he found it necessary to devise a classification which might serve as a standard for the measurement of different degrees of poverty.

"The standard is as follows:

"A. The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

"B. Casual earnings—very poor.

"C. Intermittent earnings, } Together, the 'poor.'

"D. Small, irregular earnings, }

"E. Regular standard earnings—above the line of poverty.

"F. Higher class labor.

"G. Lower middle class.

"H. Upper middle class.

"These divisions are of necessity arbitrary. In different places, or at different periods in the same place, they would be denoted by different pecuniary amounts. Each division is, however, sufficiently permanent in its central idea for practical purposes. In London, in 1886-89, when these investigations were made, the 'poor' classes C and D comprised those who have an income of from \$4.75 to \$5.10 (18s. to 21s.) per week for a moderate family; Class B comprises those who fall below this amount.* The 'poor' may be described as living in a state of struggle to obtain the necessities of life, while the *very poor* live in a state of chronic want.

"Here, then, we have a gauge by which to measure the standard of comfort of the people. The gauge is readily adjustable to any locality. What we need to do is by a general inquiry to fix the amount of the money wages applicable to each class with the relative numbers in family, and then proceed to discover by minute inquiry what the standard of comfort is in each family over the different quarters of a city. This inquiry involves a vast amount of time and trouble, and must be repeated at moderate intervals; but without such an inquiry our knowledge of the people, of their standard of comfort, of what constitutes poverty, and the extent of it is quite vague and indefinite.

"The results of Mr. Booth's investigations into the economic condition of a certain portion of the people of London reveal many interesting points. In the district chosen by him for investigation in the first instance, East London and Hackney, comprising an area of about seven square miles in the east of London, bounded on the south by the river Thames, on the west by the city, and on the east by the Poplar marshes, there are about 900,000 inhabitants. Of these, 64.8 per cent. were above the line of poverty and 35.2 per cent. were below it. Of this 35.2 per cent., or 315,000 persons below the line of poverty, only 6000 were inmates of institutions; so that over 300,000 persons were living in poverty in this area—one third of the population.

"But of these 300,000 persons living in poverty, 128,000, or nearly one half, were earning regular low wages; 74,000, or about one fourth, were making irregular earnings; 100,000, or one third, were making casual earnings; while 11,000, or 4 per cent. of the poor, or 1¼ per cent. of the whole population of the district, belonged to the lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

"Here, then, it is clear that in studying the problems of poverty, we have to deal not alone with those who claim public relief as paupers, or who claim private charity as beggars, but with the great army from which these classes are constantly recruited, the army of those who live at or under the line of poverty—a great army living at a depressed rate of life, and tending to reduce the vitality of the whole population.

"But Mr. Booth has done something more than merely discover the extent of poverty. He has made inquiry into its causes. The causes

of poverty turn out not only to be numerous, but interactive. There is the principal cause and the contributing cause; there is the cause and the effect visible in the same person, or in two or more persons. Thus the poverty of a child may not be due to any fault on the part of the child, but to one or the other parent, or both.

"This strictly empirical investigation of Mr. Booth's reveals the following causes of poverty operating as principal or contributory causes:

"Crime, vice, drink, laziness, pauper associations, heredity, mental disease, temper, incapacity, early marriage, large family, extravagance, lack of work (unemployed), trade misfortune, restlessness (roving, tramp), no relations, death of husband, desertion

Causes of Poverty.

* C. Booth, *Life and Labor in East London*, vol. i., p. 33.

(abandoned), death of father or mother, sickness, accident, ill luck, old age.

"It is difficult to give a fair idea of Mr. Booth's investigations from his voluminous tables. But, out of 1000 paupers in Stepney whose cases were carefully investigated individually, it was found that old age was the chief principal and contributory cause.

"Old age was the principal cause in 32.8 per cent. of the cases.

Sickness.....	26.7	per cent.
Drink.....	12.6	"
Accident.....	4.7	"
Trade misfortune.....	4.4	"
Pauper associations and heredity.....	1.1	"

As contributory causes:

Old age contributed of the cases..	17	"
Pauper associations and heredity contributed chiefly with sickness, drink, and old age as principal causes of the cases.....	17	"
Drink contributory cause, with sickness and old age as principal causes, accounted for the pauperism of.....	12	"

While sickness accounted for an equal number.

"Altogether drink is returned as responsible directly as principal, or indirectly as contributory, cause for 25 per cent. of the cases. Mr. Booth, however, says 'the proportion is less than might have been expected, and it is probable that closer research into the circumstances and history of these people, if it could be made, might disclose a greater connection than here appears between pauperism and the public house. It is, however, noteworthy that the results shown agree on the whole with those of the two inquiries I have myself previously made into *apparent* causes of poverty. The first, regarding 4000 cases of poverty known by certain of the School Board visitors, gave 13 to 14 per cent. as one to drink, the lighter percentage being for the greater degree of poverty. The second, regarding about 5000 people living poor and irregular lives, showed 10 and 11 per cent., dropping to only 5 per cent. for about another 3000, who, tho poor, were more regularly employed.'

"In St. Pancras Workhouse the number of cases in which pauperism was due to *old age* as a principal cause was 23.4 per cent.

To sickness.....	20.7	per cent.
To drink.....	21.9	"
To laziness.....	10.6	"
To mental derangement.....	4.3	"

"In St. Pancras Workhouse about the same number of cases were investigated, but they included a smaller number of permanent paupers than the Stepney house, whose figures were first quoted. The current cases exhibit the largest amount of drunkenness. The 'ins and outs,' or those who go to the workhouse for a while and then leave, are specially notable for drunken habits. Forty-three per cent. of the 'ins and outs' were obliged to seek refuge in the workhouse on account of drink.

"The details of Mr. Booth's conclusions are to be found in his smaller volume on Pauperism. His main conclusion is that *old age* is the most frequent principal cause of pauperism, and he suggests as a remedy for this cause a national scheme of endowment of old age. Old age, then, stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink."

BOOTH, WILLIAM, founder of the Salvation Army, was born in Nottingham, 1829, and became a minister of the Methodist New Connection in 1850. He resigned his connection with the Methodist Conference in 1861, and after living for some time in the East End of London, started, in 1865, the "Christian Mission," which was the foundation of his present organization. The movement, which was even then of a semi-military character, did not make very much impression until 1878, when he named it the "Salvation Army." Since that time it has grown uninterruptedly and phenomenally in all quarters of the globe. His skill as an organizer is best shown by the strict military discipline which he

is able to maintain throughout the whole of the organization. In 1890 he published a book called *Darkest England*, which contained a scheme by which he proposed to grapple with the destitution that is eating the life out of England. This has led to a very important work, for which see SALVATION ARMY SOCIAL SCHEME. General Booth has been accused of using the large sums given him for this scheme to further private ends, but an investigating commission has completely vindicated him. (See SALVATION ARMY.)

BOUCICAUD, JACQUES ARISTIDE, AND THE BON MARCHÉ.—The Magasin du Bon Marché, Rue du Bac, and adjoining streets, Paris, is a huge establishment for the sale of all kinds of manufactured goods, which employs some 3000 persons, superior officials, clerks, salesmen, and saleswomen, and attendants of various grades. The founder and builder of this vast undertaking was M. Jacques Aristide Boucicaud.

M. Jacques Aristide Boucicaud was born in 1809 at Bellême (Orne). The son of a hatter in a small way of business, he had to begin early his apprenticeship to a laborious life.

Before long he came to Paris and entered as employee the Magasins du Petit Saint Thomas, where he rapidly distinguished himself, and became superintendent and purchaser. It was in 1852 that he acquired the establishment, then a very modest one, called the "Bon Marché," to the development of which he applied all the powers of his high intelligence, prodigious activity, accurate taste, and commanding capacity of directing a vast organization and at the same time keeping a firm grasp on the smallest and seemingly most insignificant details.

From the day when he felt himself justified in counting on a durable success, he determined to put his philanthropic ideas into practice. He had set out from the lowest rung, he had painfully climbed all the successive steps of his business, he had seen other employees suffer, and suffered himself, from abuses inherent in the current modes of doing business; his desire was that the experience he had so laboriously gained should not be lost, but should one day prove of service to all engaged in his branch of trade.

M. Boucicaud's material success was extremely great. His establishment, when he acquired it in 1852, was doing a business of not more than £18,000 a year; in 1869 the annual turn-over was £840,000—an increase of 4500 per cent. in 17 years.

July 31, 1876, witnessed the introduction—which had been delayed by the disastrous events brought upon Paris in the train of the Franco-German War—of a long-meditated system of profit-sharing by which a direct interest in the prosperity of the Maison Boucicaud was thrown open to a large and constantly increasing number of its employees. A provident society was formed for their benefit, to be supported exclusively by sums annually paid over for that purpose out of the net profits of the house.

A few details, extracted from the printed regulations of the Provident Society, will show what were to be the qualification for membership and the terms of participation.

Every employee who had worked continuously for five years in the house had a right to membership—unless he happened to belong to the small class of superior officials who already possessed a direct interest in the sales effected in their several departments, or in the general business of the house. This arrangement obviously provided for a steady annual increase in the number of employees to whom the benefits of participation were to be extended.

Except in the opening year, for which a special arrangement was made, the sum annually paid over to the society out of the profits of the house was to be allotted in the following manner:

A separate account, opened in the name of each participant, was to be yearly credited with a share of this sum proportional to the amount which the employee in question had received in wages during the year on which the division was made.

Each such account was to be further credited in every successive year with interest at 4 per cent. on the whole amount standing in it. An annuity accumulating at compound interest for a term of years was thus assigned to each beneficiary.

The conditions under which the capital sums accumulated in this manner were to come into the actual disposal of the benefited persons were as follows:

A male employee, either on attaining the age of 60 or on completing 20 years of uninterrupted work for the house, could claim cash payment of the entire sum standing to his credit. In the case of women the qualifying periods were to be 50 years of age or 15 years of work.

While a long deferred participation was thus created as the ordinary rule, exceptional cases were to be promptly provided for. On the death of a member of the society, of whatever age or standing, immediate full payment to surviving relatives was statutorily directed.

In the event of disabling illness recourse could be had, subject to approval by the heads of the firm, to partial or entire liquidation of account.

Such was M. Boucicaut's plan for securing to his employees an accumulated capital. The scale on which it was to be carried into effect, the actual amount to be in each or any year paid out of profits to the Provident Society, he reserved absolutely for his own unrestricted decision.

Unfortunately it was on but two occasions, in 1876 and 1877, that he was permitted to exercise this power. He died December 26, in the latter year, and 10 months afterward death removed his son also. His widow succeeded alike to the ownership and direction of the house and to the maintenance of its organization and traditions.

The property of the society amounted August 1, 1883, to £26,453.

In January, 1880, the proprietress of the Bon Marché, as an act of respect to the memory of her husband, carried his ideas a step farther by formally admitting into partnership with herself 96 heads of department and other employees, who put sums not less than £2000 each, and not more than £4000 each, into the business. In some instances these sums, tho standing in a single name, were contributed by a group of employees, so that the benefits of partnership were actually extended to a larger number of persons than those named in the articles of association.

The Bon Marché, since the death of Madame Boucicaut, has been a partnership *en commandite* by shares, directed by three managers. In 1887, when one of the medals of the Audeoud prize was awarded to this establishment, the number of the shareholders—almost all employed in the house—was 373; 239 employees had an interest by participation in the profits of the whole house or those of their own department. The other 240 employees had an interest in the business which they transacted personally.

BOUNTIES.—A *bounty* is a term in social science usually applied to a premium given by a government to promote some branch of production or industry which it desires to encourage or aid. It is, however, also used for payments of money to induce men to enlist in the army and navy. In Great Britain the giving of bounties of this latter kind has been common. In the United States it has been adopted to a less extent, but in the War of the Rebellion some recruits of the Union Army received as much as \$500 or more. Some, however, enlist-

ed, received the bounty, and soon after deserted, receiving the merited name of *bounty-jumpers*.

The giving of bounties to encourage some industry has been practised at times by almost all nations. England, which has now in the main rejected the bounty system, formerly gave bounties for many industries, notably to encourage the herring fisheries, the Irish linen trade, and the exportation of grain. After the founding of the Royal Academy (1769), a bounty was given on the exportation of engravings. For many years, however, under the influence of free-trade ideas, the English Government has given up the bounty system in the main, tho still granting subsidies to steamship companies. (See **SUBSIDIES**.) France, Germany, and all the greater continental powers have held on to the bounty system much longer, especially as regards bounties upon sugar. In the United States bounties have been given for tree planting and sugar, with subsidies and land grants to railways and steamship companies. (See **SUBSIDIES**.) Congress in 1890, for example, voted a bounty of two cents per pound for 15 years on the production of domestic sugar. This was, however, ended by the tariff of 1894, altho an appropriation of \$5,233,289 was later voted to continue the operation of the bounty on sugar raised before June 30, 1895.

Almost all political economists have condemned bounties in general, altho many have approved of them under particular circumstances. Adam Smith vigorously and Ricardo still more sweepingly condemned bounties, on the ground mainly that they diverted capital perniciously; and their position has been generally followed by free traders and been criticized by protectionists. Bounties, however, have sometimes been preferred to a protective tariff by free traders, on the ground that their working is open and direct, not covert, like a tariff. They have been denounced, on the other hand, by some protectionists, as more artificial than a tariff. A tariff, it is argued, makes the foreign exporter pay; a bounty taxes the general citizen for the good of one class. (See **FREE TRADE**; **PROTECTION**; **SUBSIDIES**.)

BOURGEOISIE.—A French term, originally used for the free citizen class in the towns, as distinguished from the aristocracy, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other. Burgess and burgher have about the same meaning, and in a general sense mean inhabitant of a burgh or town. When used technically, however, it often means a person who holds some privilege in a town or municipal corporation. The French socialists have, however, widened the meaning of the term bourgeoisie, making it express all the more or less wealthy middle class as opposed to the proletariat and working class, and this use has passed into all socialist literature. There has also often been associated with the term an implication of a narrow-minded, selfish, money-seeking spirit, always blindly supporting the interests of capital, as opposed to those of labor. (See **PROLETARIAT**; **ESTATES**.)

BOURSE.—A French word for (1) the meetings of bankers and merchants for the transac-

tion of business ; (2) the place where such meetings are held. (See STOCK EXCHANGE.)

BOWEN, FRANCIS, born in 1811, died in 1890 ; Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University from 1853-89. He wrote on economic topics, history, politics, the classics, and most of all on philosophy. He was editor of the *North American Review* from 1843-54. His economic writings in the main are in the nature of textbooks, stating and illustrating the doctrines of the classic economists ; but on the subject of international trade he reasoned in favor of the doctrine of protection. His larger writings on economics were *Principles of Political Economy* (Boston, 1856) ; *American Political Economy* (New York, 1870).

BOYCOTTING.—A boycott is a combination against a landlord, tradesman, employer, or other person, to cease social or business relations with him, and to induce others to withhold having relations with him. It is also used of agreements not to use certain articles or the articles of a certain manufacturer, on the ground that they have been produced in ways or under conditions condemned by the parties dictating the boycott. The word is derived from the name of Captain Boycott (the name is sometimes written Boycatt), who was, in 1880, living at Lough Mask House, County Mayo, Ireland, as land agent to Lord Erne, an Irish nobleman. The population of the region for miles around resolved to have nothing to do with him, and as far as possible to prevent any one else from having anything to do with him. His life appeared to be in danger—he had to claim police protection. . . . To prevent civil war the authorities had to send a force of soldiers, and Captain Boycott's harvests were brought in guarded always by the little army. This proceeding was the origin of the word, and its origin has undoubtedly contributed to the prejudice which the court feels toward acts called by this name. The idea of the courts has uniformly been that the word implied lawless violence, or what directly led to it. At all events, in most of the cases decided against boycotting in this country by way of injunction to restrain it, or by indictment to punish it, there has been present a distinct element of violence. This is true in *People v. Wilzig*, 4 N. Y. Cr. Rep., 403 (1886) ; in *People v. Holdorf*, in *People v. Kostka* (same volume), and numerous other cases. Undoubtedly the decisions have gone farther. They pronounce a boycott an unwarrantable attempt to interfere with an employer's business, and as he must frequently submit to it or be ruined, as practically coercion. The avowed purpose being to ruin a man's business, it makes no difference, according to the courts, whether force be used or not.

In England the law against boycotting and combinations is more carefully guarded than in this country. Says Mr. C. A. Reed, writing in the *Annals of the American Academy* for July, 1894 :

"A passage of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act (38 and 39 of Vict., 1875) reads: 'An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do, or procure to be done, any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen, shall not be indictable as a conspiracy, if

such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime.' This puts an end to conspiracies to accomplish something relative to trade disputes which one person might without criminality do alone. Intimidation is forbidden under a severe penalty, and what is intimidation is very fully defined. It includes violence to the other, his wife, children, or injury to his property ; persistently following such person about ; hiding his tools or clothes ; and watching and besetting the house where he is. The advanced character of the English law on this subject as compared with our own is shown by two very recent cases, *Gibson v. Lawson* and *Curran v. Treleaven*. In the first the employees at an iron works notified their employer that if a certain fellow-workman did not join their union they should quit. The fellow-workman was notified by the superintendent of the employer, but declined to join the men's union, and he was dismissed to avoid a strike. The men were indicted, but the court held that their conduct was allowable under the recent act. The second case is still stronger. Here an employer was notified by members of a trade-union that if he continued to employ non-union men the unions would do their best to injure his business, and on his declining to bind himself, the defendant, a person in authority in the trade-union, called to the employer's men to quit work, which they did. This conduct also was decided to be no longer criminal. There was no malice in fact toward the employer, the purpose of the men being to obtain higher wages.

"Here is the language of the English court in the very recent case, *Curran v. Treleaven*, cited above, which may be said to express the latest position of the English law on this question :

"The recorder held that the agreement to strike to benefit themselves would be no lawful agreement, a strike which would have the effect of injuring the employer is illegal and indictable at common law. He cites in support of this view some phrases from the judgments of the Lords Justices in the case of *Mogul S. S. Co. v. McGregor & alcs.* But with deference he has somewhat misapprehended the point of those observations. It is true that where the object is injury, if the injury is effected an action will lie for the malicious conspiracy which effected it ; and therefore it may be that such a conspiracy, if it could be proved in fact, would be indictable. But it was pointed out in some detail by the court of first instance, that when the object is to benefit one's self, it can seldom, perhaps it can never, be effected without some consequent loss or injury to some one else. In trade, in commerce, even in a profession, what is one man's gain is another's loss ; and where the object is not malicious the mere fact that the effect is injurious does not make the agreement either illegal or actionable and therefore not indictable."

Prior to 1830 conspiracy was not defined by statute in the United States, and the questions which arose with regard to the legality of the proceedings of the early trade-unions were decided according to the principles of the common law inherited from England. All the leading conspiracy prosecutions in America have grown out of shoemakers' strikes, and in each case members of shoemakers' organizations were arraigned for striking against non-union labor. In the first three cases, that of the Philadelphia cordwainers in 1806, that of the New York cordwainers in 1809, and that of the Pittsburg shoemakers in 1815, the defendant workmen were convicted. The case of the *People of New York v. Fisher* in 1834 was tried after the revisers, who codified the common law in 1830, had made some important changes. The statute of conspiracy of 1830 in its final form contained the following sections :

"Sec. 8. If two or more persons conspire . . . to commit any act injurious to the public health, to public morals, or to trade or commerce, or for the perversion or obstruction of justice or the due administration of the laws, they shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

"Sec. 9. No conspiracies, except such as are enumerated in the last section, are punishable criminally."

Trade and labor combinations were, therefore, only punishable as acts injurious to trade or commerce, and the conviction of the defendants in the case of the *People v. Fisher* was based upon the view that in combining to fix a price for their labor, and agreeing not to work for any employer who paid a workman below this rate, the action of the defendants was injurious to trade.

A contrary decision was, however, given in Massachusetts in the case of the *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 1845, when it was decided that a strike against non-

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unionists was not a criminal conspiracy unless it could be shown that the means employed were criminal.

In 1870 the New York Legislature took combinations to raise or maintain wages out of the category of conspiracies to commit acts injurious to trade or commerce. In 1881 the Penal Code enacted in New York, added to the previous definition of criminal conspiracy a section defining it to be an agreement "to prevent another from exercising a lawful trade or calling, or doing any other lawful act by force, threats, or intimidation, or by interfering or threatening to interfere with tools, implements, or property belonging to or used by another, or with the use and employment thereof." In 1882 the following section was added:

"Sec. 170. No conspiracy is punishable criminally unless it is one of those enumerated in the last two sections, and the orderly and peaceable assembling or cooperation of persons employed in any calling, trade, or handicraft for the purpose of obtaining an advance of wages or compensation or of maintaining such rate is not a conspiracy." A clause borrowed from the English statute (38 and 39 Vict. c. 86) passed in 1875 after the gas stokers' strike was also added:

"Sec. 673. Endangering life by refusal to labor. A person who wilfully and maliciously, either alone or in combination with others, breaks a contract of service or hiring, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the possible consequences of his so doing will be to endanger human life, or to cause grievous bodily injury, or to expose valuable property to destruction, or serious injury, is guilty of a misdemeanor." In the case of the People *ex rel.* Gill and others in 1887 it was decided by Judge Barrett, of New York, that strikes are only permissible when wages are directly at issue, and then only if there be no turbulence or disorder. In the opinion of the New York Bureau, therefore, the tendency of the legislation in that State concerning conspiracy has been retrograde, for the Penal Code comes near to recognizing the principle of the old "conspiracy to injure or prejudice another," which was abandoned when the common law was revised in 1830.

In Massachusetts also the Supreme Court intimated lately in the case of *Carew v. Rutherford* that a combination to compel an employer to pay money under threat of a strike was a criminal conspiracy. On the other hand, the same principle was turned against some Connecticut employers, who blacklisted a workman in 1866, when the judge declared that "any conspiracy to prevent, obstruct, or hinder any man from putting his labor on the market is highly criminal at common law." Twenty-four States of the Union have conspiracy statutes—*viz.*, Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The law as it stands at present in these States is a subject of complaints on the part of working men, who hold that if strikes to enforce union rules are declared to be combinations in restraint of trade, trusts, pools, and other combinations of employers to raise prices or limit production should come under the same ruling. (See also CONSPIRACY LAWS; INJUNCTION.)

BRACE, CHARLES LORING, was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1826; graduated from Yale in 1846; studied theology at the Yale Divinity School, 1847-48, and at Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1848-49. In 1850 he made a pedestrian tour through Great Britain and Ireland, and also visited the Rhine, Belgium, and Paris. The following year he visited Hungary, and was arrested there on suspicion of being a spy, and was tried before a court-martial. He was released through the efforts of C. J. McCurdy, United States *Chargé d'Affaires* at Vienna, and the Austrian Government amply apologized to him for the transaction. He afterward visited Switzerland, England, and Ireland, giving especial attention to schools, prisons, and reformatory institutions, and returned to the United States in 1852. Here he entered into active missionary labors in New York City, working among the most degraded classes, and was one of the founders of the Children's Aid

Society—an association for supplying destitute and vagrant children with homes in the country, and also for providing to a large extent lodgings, instruction, and other aid for poor boys and girls in the city—and of this society he was, after the first year, the secretary and principal agent till the time of his death. In 1854 he established the first newsboys' lodging-house in the city; in 1855 an Italian industrial school; and in 1856 a German industrial school. He devoted the remainder of his life to work among the children and youth of the poor of New York City.

He was a delegate to the International Convention of Children's Charities in London in 1856, and took a journey into Northern Europe; made a sanitary investigation of the principal cities in Great Britain in 1865, and was a delegate to the International Prison Congress in London in 1872, at which time he revisited Hungary, where he was received with marked attention. His work in New York City became known throughout Europe, and his advice was very often sought by those engaged in philanthropic enterprises for the poor and for the young. For more than 20 years he was an editorial writer for the *New York Times*, and a contributor to its book reviews, generally confining himself to theological and philanthropic subjects. He died in the Tyrol, Switzerland, August 11, 1890.

Mr. Brace is the author of the following works: *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England; Hungary in 1851* (1852); *Home Life in Germany* (1853); *The Norse Folk* (1857); *Short Sermons to Newsboys* (1861); *Races of the Old World* (1863); *The New West* (1868); *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work among Them* (1872, third edition, 1880); *Free Trade as Promoting Peace and Good-will among Men* (1879); *Gesta Christi; or, A History of Humane Progress under Christianity* (1883, third edition, 1885), and *To the Unknown God* (1889).

BRADLAUGH, CHARLES, M.P. (1833-91), a son of a solicitor's clerk in the East End of London, was reared in very orthodox fashion. When being prepared for confirmation at the church which he attended, he was in doubt about some of the doctrines taught, and inquired of the clergyman. The answer he received was a severe rebuke for daring to doubt; and this was the turning-point in the career of this "iconoclast." Not finding the knowledge he craved in the Church, he turned to the street lecturers, and there heard many of the free-thought speakers; finally, tho' but a boy, becoming a speaker himself. On account of his ideas he had been compelled to leave his father's house, and he endeavored to gain a living as coal agent. That not succeeding, in 1850 he enlisted in the Dragoon Guards, serving for some time in Ireland. In 1853, having received his discharge, he returned to London and became a clerk in a solicitor's office. From that time he became known all through the country as an anti-theological lecturer, and wrote under the pseudonym of "Iconoclast." He also took a very active and oftentimes a leading part in all the radical movements of the time.

The struggle of Italy for independence; the cause of the North, in the Civil War in the United States; the Reform League agitation of 1866, and the Fenian outbreak which followed—all enlisted his sympathy and aid. In 1860 he started his paper, *The National Reformer*, which in 1868 was prosecuted by the Government. The prosecution was abortive, however, and led to a repeal of the law under which the proceedings had been taken. In 1872 he published his book, *The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick*, which is, perhaps, his best-known literary work. In 1873 he undertook two lecturing tours in the United States. In 1875 he, with Mrs. Annie Besant, was tried for having republished an old pamphlet, *The Fruits of Philosophy*. The result of the trial was that the defendants, tho "exonerated from all corrupt motive," were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £200. On appeal, however, the sentence was reversed. In 1868 and twice in 1874 he was an unsuccessful candidate for parliamentary honors; in 1880, however, he was elected as junior member for the borough of Northampton. Now commenced the struggle with the House of Commons, by which his name will be best known. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and desiring to affirm, he was not allowed to sit, and his seat was declared vacant. Re-elected in 1881, he was expelled by force. Again elected in 1882, but still debarred from sitting, he resigned, in order to again appeal to his constituency in 1884; and tho again elected, it was not till after the general election of 1885 that he was allowed to take his seat. In 1887 he was instrumental in getting appointed the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, and carried through Parliament an "Act amending and extending the truck laws." In 1888 he brought in an "Affirmation Bill," which was carried. In 1889 he was requested by the Indian National Congress to represent their national interests in the English Parliament. A consistent individualist, he combated at every step the growing tide of socialism, and lost no opportunity, either by voice or pen, of attacking what he thought to be the errors advocated by socialists.

BRASSEY, SIR THOMAS, born in 1836; English economist and writer on naval affairs. His father was a railroad contractor. He was called to the bar in 1864, but never practised. In 1865 he was elected Member of Parliament for Devonport, and he remained in Parliament for a number of years. Naval matters called forth his chief attention. He assisted in forming the naval artillery volunteers. He and his wife, in their yacht "Sunbeam," have made many long voyages to all parts of the globe. Among numerous shorter writings on naval affairs and social questions he has published *Work and Wages*; *British Seamen*, and *Lectures on the Labor Question*.

BRAY, CHARLES (1811-84), an English social reformer on the lines of Robert Owen and Thomas Carlyle. Born at Coventry, he became a ribbon manufacturer in that city. He saw the opening of Harmony Hall in Queenwood Community (see OWEN), but the failure of that ex-

periment convinced him that such attempts were premature. He wrote *The Philosophy of Necessity* (1841), with an appendix by his sister-in-law, Mary Hennell, later published separately as *An Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principles of Cooperation* (1844); also several essays and addresses, notably *An Essay upon the Union of Agriculture and Manufactures and upon the Organization of Industry*; also an autobiography (1884).

BRAY, J. F.—An English communist of the school of Owen, of whom little is known save his book, written in 1839, *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy; or, The Age of Might and the Age of Right*. This work, to-day almost forgotten, is one of the ablest of its day, and is noticed at some length in Marx's *Philosophy of Misery* (1847) and other writings of the times. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* says of it: "The book tries to prove that all those who perform equality of labor ought likewise to receive equality of reward" (p. 30), and tho he admits that even this does not involve perfect justice, that "such equality is infinitely more just than the mode of rewarding labor under the present system" (p. 206). Impressed by the modern growth of joint-stock companies, Bray proposes a "joint-stock modification of society, admitting of individual property in productions in connection with a common property in productive powers" (p. 194), and proposes a paper and pottery currency, whose foundation is labor, in order "to secure the public against any other variations in the value of the currency than those to which the standard itself is subject" (pp. 143, 198).

BRENTANO, LÜJO, professor at Breslau; best known outside of Germany by his *History of English Guilds* (1871), and his larger work on English trade-unions (1872), works, however, which are by most not considered complete or satisfactory. He was one of the founders of the Association for Social Politics or "Socialists of the Chair" (*g. v.*), as they are called in Germany, altho belonging to the extreme right of this school.

BRETHREN OF SOCIAL LIFE, sometimes called Brethren of the Common Lot, Brethren of the Common Life, or Brethren of Good Will, a fraternity founded by Groote and Radewin in 1376. It professed to imitate the earliest Christian communities, and eventually merged into the sect of Moravians. It was composed of pious persons who sought to elevate their souls by spiritual exercises; and it was sanctioned by several popes and councils. Community of goods, industry, frugality, education of the young, and the use of the vernacular language in religious worship were some of their peculiar usages. They bound themselves by no monastic vow. In 1430 they had 130 societies, chiefly in Germany and the Netherlands. The original founders were opposed to all learning and science that was not moral and practical; but the brethren rendered valuable service to the cause of popular and free education, and have been called the pioneers of the Reformation. Thomas

à Kempis belonged to one of these societies. Similar female societies were organized, each under a superior or *Martha*.

The Order of the Brethren of the Common Lot was divided into two classes, the lettered brethren, or clerks, and the illiterate; they lived in separate habitations, but maintained the closest fraternal union. The former devoted themselves to preaching, visiting the sick, circulating books and tracts, etc., and the education of youth, while the latter were employed in manual labor and the mechanical arts. They lived under the rule of St. Augustine, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion and education.

The theory of this community was that unity should be sought rather in the inward spirit than in outward statutes. Vows were not binding for life. Property was surrendered, not on compulsion, but voluntarily. All the brother houses were kept in communication with each other, and the heads of houses met annually for consultation. Particulars of their rule, domestic arrangements, etc., may be found in Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation*, ii. 89 *sq.* Luther and Melancthon spoke with approval and sympathy of the brotherhood in their time. Its flourishing period extended from 1400-1500. Most of their houses were built between 1425 and 1451, and they had, in all, some 30 to 50 establishments. During the sixteenth century the Reformation broke them down, in common with other monkish establishments; or, rather, they crumbled to pieces as needless amid the new developments of the age. By the middle of the seventeenth century the brotherhood was ended.

BRICKLAYERS (English). See TRADE-UNIONS, section "England."

BRICKLAYERS' AND MASONS' INTERNATIONAL UNION, THE, was founded in the city of Philadelphia, October 16, 1865. At present (1895) it numbers 230 subordinate unions and over 30,000 members. In 1885 it established the nine-hour system of working, the several of the subordinate unions are working on the eight-hour basis. The organization is a purely protective association. In 10 years it has expended nearly \$200,000 to sustain strikes, and over \$1,500,000 for benevolent purposes.

BRIGHT, JOHN, an English politician, was born at Greenbank, Lancashire, in 1811. He was the son of Jacob Bright, a Quaker cotton-spinner. In his sixteenth year he entered his father's factory, but early became interested in temperance, parliamentary reform, and other questions of the day. The reform struggle of 1832 moved him deeply. In 1839, when the Anti-Corn-Law League was formed, he and Cobden were the leading members of it, and commenced a free-trade agitation throughout the kingdom. In 1841 he suffered a severe loss by the death of his wife, and in his grief Cobden bade him devote himself to the repeal of the corn laws. He became M.P. for Durham in 1843. His eloquent and energetic advocacy of free trade produced at last the repeal of the corn laws. He was associated with Cobden in a movement for financial reform, and later with a

movement to reform the system of electoral representation. He came to be with Cobden the head of the so-called "Manchester School" (*q.v.*), and vigorously opposed the ten-hour movement and almost all industrial legislation. Being a member of the Peace Society, as well as of the Society of Friends, he strenuously opposed the war with Russia in 1854. Some of the severest denunciations of war ever uttered are to be found in his speeches. In 1857 he was elected from Birmingham, and long represented that city. He strongly condemned the then existing game laws of Great Britain. In 1868 he accepted the presidency of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's administration, and worked for the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Irish Land Act, aiming at peasant proprietorship. In 1870 he resigned from office on account of ill health, but took office again in 1873-74, and 1882 as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In 1886 he opposed the Home Rule bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone. In 1883 he became lord rector of the University of Glasgow. He died in his boyhood's home, March 27, 1889.

BRINKERHOFF, GENERAL ROELIFF, was born in Owasco, N. Y., June 28, 1828. Entering the law, the war called him to distinguished service, but at its close he resumed law practice in Mansfield, O. In 1873 he became a banker. For more than 10 years he held a high place in the ranks of philanthropy—a student of the problem of the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes. In 1878 he was appointed by Governor Bishop a member of the State Board of Charities, in which he has since served, having been reappointed by Governor McKinley.

He studied crime and charity in the institutions that deal with their problems in all parts of the land, and in the conventions called for their consideration. It is largely to his credit that Hon. F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, places the prison system of Ohio above that of all other States. He aided in the establishment of the Elmira Reformatory, as an expression of his belief that prisons should be conducted not for punishment, but for reform. He protests with voice and pen against the indiscriminate association of criminals in county jails, where "old offenders" are allowed to corrupt "first offenders." Altho a strong Democrat, he advocates the elimination of all party politics from prison management. "As a hospital flag on every battlefield of civilized warfare is an emblem of neutrality, so, and more so, in political warfare," he says, "the asylums of our dependent and defective classes should be sacred from the attack of contending parties."

In 1880 General Brinkerhoff was made President of the Seventeenth National Conference of Charities and Corrections. He is the author of numerous addresses and papers on crime and charity.

BRISSOT, JEAN PIERRE, surnamed **De WARVILLE** (1754-93), was born at Chartres, of humble parentage. Educated for the law, he entered the office of a procurator at Paris, but early devoted himself to political sci-

ence. His *Théorie des Lois Criminelles* (1781) and *Bibliothèque Philosophique de Législateur* (1782) brought him notoriety and the favor of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and others. They were imbued with the philosophy of Rousseau, and contain the saying, afterward made famous by Proudhon, "*La propriété, c'est le vol.*" A facile writer, he wrote for papers unworthy of him, but later went to London and started *Le Journal du Lycée de Londres* to unite all the savants of Europe. Returning to Paris, he was lodged in the Bastille on an unfounded charge. Released after a few months, he recommenced pamphleteering, and in London meeting some abolitionists, he organized in Paris a Société des Amis des Noirs. He visited the United States, but returned to play a leading part in the French Revolution. He edited the *Patriote Française*, and in the National Assembly leagued himself with the Girondists, then often called the Brissotins. He bravely suffered death on the guillotine with the Girondists, October 30, 1793.

BRITISH ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE, was founded at a meeting held at University College, London, on November 20, 1890, the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P., being in the chair. The object of the association is the advancement of economic knowledge by the issue of a journal and other printed publications, and by such other means as the association may from time to time agree to adopt. The journal represents all shades of economic opinion, and is the organ not of one school of economists, but of all schools. The annual subscription is one guinea. There is at present no entrance fee. Any member may at any time compound for his future yearly payments by paying at once the sum of 10 guineas. The current numbers of the journal, issued in March, June, September, and December, and published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., are sent to members free of charge. The price is 5s. each copy, or one guinea (net) for the annual volume bound. The officers of the British Economic Association (1895) are as follows: President, Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P.; Vice-Presidents, Rt. Hons. A. J. Balfour, M.P., H. C. E. Childers, Leonard H. Courtney, M.P., John Morley, M.P. The Secretary is Henry Higgs, 9 Adelphi Terrace, London, W. C.; and the editor of the journal is Professor F. T. Edgeworth, D.C.L., All Souls' College, Oxford.

BROADHURST, HENRY, was born in 1840 near Littlemore, Oxfordshire, the son of a journeyman mason. He worked at his father's trade till 1872, when he was elected to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress, becoming a most indefatigable worker, and serving as secretary of the committee from 1875-90. In 1880 he was returned to Parliament from Stoke-upon-Trent. In 1885 he was elected from the Boardsley division of Birmingham; in 1886 from Nottingham (West), and at the next general election from Leicester. He has been a member of two royal commissions, and in 1886 was appointed Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs. He is a Liberal in politics, and for a long period opposed the new trade-union-

ism, eight-hour legislation, etc. He has, however, recently changed his position on the eight-hour bill, and was in 1894 deemed one of the most progressive members of the Trade-Union Parliamentary Committee.

BROADWAY STEALS.—In the year 1884 the Broadway surface railroad, in New York City, applied to the aldermen of that city for a franchise for building a surface railroad on Broadway. The franchise was given for an utterly insufficient sum. The mayor vetoed the ordinance, but all but two aldermen voted to pass the measure over his veto. Corruption was only too apparent, and the New York State Senate in the spring of 1886 investigated the matter, and as a result indicted 22 of the 24 aldermen for bribery. Some of the aldermen and some who had acted as intermediaries fled the State. Alderman H. W. Jaehne was the first tried, and after a well-contested trial was convicted and sentenced to nine years and ten months in State prison. He appealed, but the Court of Appeals confirmed the sentence. Alderman A. J. McQuade was tried, but the jury disagreed. The company was annulled and dissolved by the Legislature.

BROCKLEHURST, FRED, was born February 20, 1866, at Macclesfield, England, and is the son of a journalist. At the age of 10 he worked in a factory, left school at 12, and became successively a telegraph boy, printer's devil, and stationer. In 1885 he determined to study for the Church, entered Queen's College, Cambridge, and graduated with honors in 1892. Giving up his purpose of taking orders, he devoted himself to the labor struggle. He joined the Labor Church as general secretary, and became prominent in the councils of the Independent Labor Party. The party made him their candidate for Parliament for Bolton in May, 1894.

BROOK FARM.—The cooperative and, later, the Fourierite experiment of Brook Farm seems to have been the child of Boston transcendentalism and Unitarianism. Its leading spirit and its head from first to last was George Ripley, altho he was ably seconded by such men as Dr. Channing, Dr. J. C. Warren, Theodore Parker, George W. Curtis, and others. In 1842, 200 acres were bought in what is now Readville, a few miles southwest of Boston, and the community began. There were a few of these well-known names, but besides and contrary to a very general impression there were a great many men and women from the ordinary walks of life. The main aim was to establish a school or college, and a number of young people were received as pupils. It attracted great interest, and people flocked from all over the country to see it. Ripley, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Hawthorne, were for a greater or less time resident members. Dr. Channing and Ralph Waldo Emerson were in communication with it. All the members were stockholders, tho some gave only labor in place of stock. All took part in the manual labor of the farm, even those who were most famous with the pen. All dined in common in one central hall, and

lived mainly in one large building. The life was a happy one; and even after its failure its members looked back on the years spent there as among the happiest of their lives. There were about 115 members. The spirit was eminently religious, of the transcendental type; but there was no creed; and every one was free to believe and worship as he would. There were no religious services on Sunday or through the week. The produce of the farm, after its own necessities were provided for, were sent in by wagon to the Boston market. The spirit of the community can perhaps be best seen by an extract from *The Dial*, published from 1840-44, with Margaret Fuller as its editress, and largely the organ of Brook Farm.

The first notice of Brook Farm we find in *The Dial* is in connection with an article in its second volume (October, 1841), entitled *A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society*, by Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody. This article gives us Miss Peabody's conception of the original ideal of Brook Farm; a few sentences only can we quote. She says:

"While we acknowledge the natural growth, the good design, and the noble effects of the Apostolic Church, and wish we had it, in place of our own more formal ones, we should not do so small justice to the divine soul of Jesus of Nazareth as to admit that it was a main purpose of His to found it, or that when it was founded it realized His idea of human society. Indeed, we probably do injustice to the apostles themselves, in supposing that they considered their churches anything more than initiatory. Their language implies that they looked forward to a time when the uttermost parts of the earth should be inherited by their beloved Master; and beyond this, when even the name, which is still above every name, should be lost in the glory of the Father, who is to be all in all.

"Some persons, indeed, refer all this sort of language to another world; but this is gratuitously done. Both Jesus and the apostles speak of life as the same in both worlds.

"The Kingdom of Heaven, as it lay in the clear spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, is rising again upon vision. Nay, this kingdom begins to be seen not only in religious ecstasy, in moral vision, but in the light of common sense and the human understanding. Social science begins to verify the prophecy of poetry. The time has come when men ask themselves what Jesus meant when He said: 'Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these little ones, ye have not done it unto Me.'

"No sooner is it surmised that the Kingdom of Heaven and the Christian Church are the same thing, and that this thing is not an association outside of society, but a reorganization of society itself, on those very principles of love to God and love to man which Jesus Christ realized in His own daily life, than we perceive the day of judgment for society is come, and all the words of Christ are so many trumpets of doom. For before the judgment-seat of His sayings, how do our governments, our trades, our etiquettes, even our benevolent institutions and churches look? . . .

"One would think, from the tone of conservatives, that Jesus accepted the society around Him as an adequate framework for individual development into beauty and life, instead of calling His disciples 'out of the world.' We maintain, on the other hand, that Christ desired to reorganize society, and went to a depth of principle and a magnificence of plan for this end which has never been appreciated, except here and there, by an individual, still less been carried out. . . . There *are* men and women who have dared to say to one another, 'Why not have our daily life organized on Christ's own idea? Why not begin to move the mountain of custom and convention? Perhaps Jesus' method of thought and life is the Saviour—is Christianity!' . . .

"N. B. A postscript to this essay, giving an account of a specific attempt to realize its principles, will appear in the next number."

According to this, Brook Farm, in its concep-

tion, was distinctly Christian, and no less than an effort to realize the kingdom of God on earth.

In the next number of *The Dial* Miss Peabody wrote the following *Plan of the West Roxbury Community*:

"In the last number of the *Dial* were some remarks, under the perhaps ambitious title of 'A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society,' in a note to which it was intimated that in this number would be given an account of an attempt to realize in some degree this great Ideal, by a little company in the midst of us, as yet without name or visible existence. The attempt is made on a very small scale. A few individuals, who, unknown to each other, under different disciplines of life, reacting from different social evils, but aiming at the same object—of being wholly true to their natures as men and women—have been made acquainted with one another, and have determined to become the Faculty of the Embryo University.

"In order to live a religious and moral life worthy the name, they feel it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade; while they reserve sufficient private property, or the means of obtaining it, for all purposes of independence and isolation at will. They have bought a farm, in order to make agriculture the basis of their life, it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature. A true life, altho it aims beyond the highest star, is redolent of the healthy earth. The perfume of clover lingers about it. The lowing of cattle is the natural bass to the melody of human voices.

"The plan of the community as an economy is in brief this: for all who have property to take stock, and receive a fixed interest thereon; then to keep house or board in common, as they shall severally desire, at the cost of provisions, purchased at wholesale, or raised on the farm; and for all to labor in community, and be paid at a certain rate an hour, choosing their own number of hours and their own kind of work. With the results of this labor and their interest they are to pay their board, and also purchase whatever else they require at cost, at the warehouses of the community, which are to be filled by the community as such. To perfect this economy, in the course of time they must have all trades and all modes of business carried on among themselves, from the lowest mechanical trade, which contributes to the health and comfort of life, to the finest art, which adorns it with food or drapery for the mind.

"All labor, whether bodily or intellectual, is to be paid at the same rate of wages; on the principle that as the labor becomes merely bodily, it is a greater sacrifice to the individual laborer to give his time to it; because time is desirable for the cultivation of the intellectual in exact proportion to ignorance. Besides, intellectual labor involves in itself higher pleasures, and is more its own reward than bodily labor. . . .

"After becoming members of this community, none will be engaged merely in bodily labor. The hours of labor for the association will be limited by a general law, and can be curtailed at the will of the individual still more; and means will be given to all for intellectual improvement and for social intercourse, calculated to refine and expand. The hours redeemed from labor by the community will not be reapplied to the acquisition of wealth, but to the production of intellectual goods. This community aims to be rich not in the metallic representative of wealth, but in the wealth itself, which money should represent—namely, *leisure to live in all the faculties of the soul*. As a community, it will traffic with the world at large, in the products of agricultural labor; and it will sell education to as many young persons as can be domesticated in the families, and enter into the common life with their own children. In the end it hopes to be enabled to provide not only all the necessities, but all the elegances desirable for bodily and for spiritual health—books, apparatus, collections for science, works of art, and means of beautiful amusement. These things are to be common to all; and thus that object, which alone gilds and refines the passion for individual accumulation, will no longer exist for desire, and whenever the sordid passion appears it will be seen in its naked selfishness. In its ultimate success, the community will realize all the ends which selfishness seeks, but involved in spiritual blessings, which only greatness of soul can aspire after. And the requisitions on the individuals, it is

believed, will make this the order forever. The spiritual good will always be the condition of the temporal. Every one must labor for the community in a reasonable degree, or not taste its benefits.

"Whoever is willing to receive from his fellow-men that for which he gives no equivalent will stay away from its precincts forever. But whoever shall surrender himself to its principles shall find that its yoke is easy and its burden light. Everything can be said of it, in a degree, which Christ said of His kingdom, and therefore it is believed that in some measure it does embody His idea. For its gate of entrance is straight and narrow. It is literally a pearl hidden in a field. Those only who are willing to lose their life for its sake shall find it. Its voice is that which sent the young man sorrowing away: 'Go sell all thy goods and give to the poor, and then come and follow Me.' 'Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, and all other things shall be added to you.' . . .

"There may be some persons at a distance who will ask, To what degree has this community gone into operation? We cannot answer this with precision, but we have a right to say that it has purchased the farm which some of its members cultivated for a year with success, by way of trying their love and skill for agricultural labor; that in the only house they are as yet rich enough to own is collected a large family, including several boarding scholars, and that all work and study together. They seem to be glad to know of all who desire to join them in the spirit, that at any moment, when they are able to enlarge their habitations, they may call together those that belong to them."

This gives the spirit of the community as it lay at least in the mind of one interested soul. Its leaders had the two first requisites of a community—devotion to principle and previous acquaintance. For some two years Brook Farm continued in about this spirit. It then gradually became imbued with Fourierism, which was then flooding the land.

In the last week of December, 1843, and the first week of January, 1844, a convention was held in Boston, where, for the first time in New

England, Fourierism appeared to have much strength. (See **FOURIERISM.**)

FOURIERISM. William Bassett, of Lynn, was president; Adin Ballou, of Hopedale, G. W. Benson, of Northampton, George Ripley, of Brook Farm, among the vice-presidents; with Eliza J. Kenney, of Salem, and Charles A. Dana, of Brook Farm, secretaries. The tone of the convention was decidedly Fourieristic, and soon after this the Brook Farm community formally decided to become a Fourierist phalanx, the leader in this change being apparently William H. Channing. The constitution of the community was changed and an appeal sent out for new cooperation and investment. A workshop for mechanics of several trades was built, and a Fourierist phalanx, or unitary dwelling, 175 feet by 40 feet, was in process of erection. With this new change the Fourierist paper in New York, *The Phalanx*, was given up, and *The Harbinger* started at Brook Farm as the representative of Fourierism in America. An American union of associationists was organized, with William H. Channing as its secretary and chief mover. Missionaries or lecturers were sent out. But already Fourierism was on the wane in public sentiment, and they met with small success. Another movement was coming up. The last days of Brook Farm were more or less connected with *Swedenborgianism*. Swedenborgianism took a deeper hold than Fourierism, because it was distinctly religious. Many of the friends of Brook Farm became friendly to it. Meanwhile, events transpired to weaken the interest

in the farm itself. On March 3, 1845, a disastrous fire burned the phalanstery wholly to the ground, just as it was nearing completion. It produced a feeling of discouragement and hesitation from which the community never recovered. In the fall *The Harbinger* was removed to New York City, and soon after Brook Farm was dissolved. It had not been a financial success. It had not the capital of some of the other associations, nor any experienced practical business manager. As a *farm* it was not a success. Its transcendental members delighted to mingle philosophy and theology with manual farm labor, but their hearts were in transcendentalism, not in farm work; and the result was what could have been expected.

Reference: *Brook Farm*, by J. T. Codman (Boston, 1804).

BROOKS, J. GRAHAM, was born in 1846. He studied in Germany three years; graduated from Harvard Divinity School in 1874; occupied the Unitarian pulpit for several years; lectured upon economics at Harvard University; and in 1892 was appointed expert of the Labor Department, Washington. He is the author of the *Report upon Working Man's Insurance* in Germany, 1893; articles in *Cyclopedia of Political Science* (Macmillan, London); various articles on social and economic topics in *British Economic Journal*; *Harvard Journal of Economics*; *Forum*, etc.

He would be classed with the historical school; he believes in the municipalization of natural monopolies as fast and as far as it can be done to the social advantage; he believes in the largest measure of free trade that is practically possible; regarding the basis of the currency he is a bimetalist.

BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, THE, one of the most important trade-unions of the country, was organized at a convention of carpenters' unions held in Chicago, Ill., August 8, 1881. Prior to this organization many local unions had existed, and efforts had been continually made for the formation of a national organization. The first attempt was made in 1854, and the second in 1867. The preamble to the constitution sets forth the objects to be

"To rescue our trade from the low level to which it has fallen, and, by mutual effort, to raise ourselves to that position in society to which we are justly entitled; to cultivate a feeling of friendship among the craft; and to elevate the moral, intellectual, and social condition of all journeymen carpenters. It is, furthermore, our object to assist each other to secure employment; to furnish aid in cases of death or permanent disability, and for mutual relief, and other benevolent purposes."

The officers consist of a general president, eight vice-presidents, a general secretary, treasurer, and an executive board. The executive board is composed of five members, elected from the union or unions within a radius of 10 miles of the city selected as headquarters. This board has power to decide all points of law, set-

tle all grievances, and to authorize strikes in conformity with the constitution.

The constitution provides that whenever a dispute arises between an employer or employers and members of the brotherhood, the members shall lay the matter before the local union, which shall appoint an arbitration committee to adjust the matter; then, if the members of the committee cannot settle the dispute, the matter shall be referred to the union. If a two-thirds vote of secret ballot shall decide that the members shall be sustained, then they shall be authorized to strike; which strike shall take effect immediately whenever the demand is refused by the employers the following day.

The organization provides a funeral benefit of \$250 if a member dies, and \$50 in case of the death of the wife of a member. It also provides a disability benefit. The organization is opposed to piece-work.

The first convention of the Brotherhood after the organization was held in Philadelphia in 1882. The first strikes of prominence occurred in Chicago and New Orleans, where they succeeded in fixing the standard rate of wages at \$3 per day. This organization has always been unusually successful in its strikes. As early as 1886 the general secretary writes:

"In 21 cities our local unions have gained 25 cents per day advance in wages, making in all 53 cities where our local unions have made gains the past year, either in more wages or in reducing hours, while only in nine cities have our local unions failed to secure their demands, and in these cities they demanded the eight-hour system last May. A resumé shows that 2486 of our members are working eight hours per day, 5824 are on nine hours per day, and 1118 are having shorter hours on Saturdays. This makes a total gain to these members of 65,894 hours per week, adding to the gains on the Pacific Coast, which amount to 6540 hours per week, makes a sum total of 72,434 hours per week gained to our members through organization."

It was because of their complete organization and success that to the carpenters was given the honor of leading off in the great strikes of the American Federation of Labor on May 1. They showed themselves worthy of this, for an account of which see AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. January, 1894, the order had 824 lodges, with 65,000 members. The secretary is P. J. McGuire, Box 884, Philadelphia. Besides this organization there is in the trade the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. (See BUILDING TRADES.)

BROTHERHOOD OF CHRISTIAN UNITY, THE.—The object of this society is not to work directly for organic unity among the churches, but to promote the spirit of unity out of which alone a true and permanent union can grow. It has no constitution, but only a form of enrollment, as follows:

"For the purpose of uniting with all who desire to serve God and their fellow-men under the inspiration of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, I hereby enroll myself as a member of the Brotherhood of Christian Unity."

The motto of the society is, "Love your neighbor and respect his beliefs." The brotherhood originated from a suggestion made by Mr. Theodore F. Seward, at a union meeting held at Orange, N. J., in April, 1891. It has two aims, and leads to two results: 1. It supplies through its form of enrollment a basis upon which all who desire to follow Christ in serving God and their fellow-men will constitute a recognized

brotherhood in any part of the world. The enrollment was accepted at the Parliament of Religions as "a suitable bond with which to begin the federation of the world upon a Christian basis." 2. The formula is a bond of union for practical work in any city, town, or community, between various societies and churches.

BROTHERHOOD OF THE KINGDOM, THE.—This organization, established in 1893, is the outgrowth, mainly in the Baptist denomination, of the earnest work of two men in New York City, but it now holds yearly undenominational conferences, and performs through its members no little practical work. Its aim is to work for the kingdom of God in the most inclusive sense. (See BAPTISTS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL REFORM.) The principles and methods of the brotherhood are thus stated:

1. Every member shall by his personal life exemplify obedience to the ethics of Jesus.
2. He shall propagate the thoughts of Jesus to the limits of his ability, in private conversation, by correspondence, and through pulpit, platform, and press.
3. He shall lay special stress on the social aims of Christianity, and shall endeavor to make Christ's teaching concerning wealth operative in the Church.
4. On the other hand, he shall take pains to keep in contact with the common people, and to infuse the religious spirit into the efforts for social amelioration.
5. The members shall seek to strengthen the bond of brotherhood by frequent meetings for prayer and discussion, by correspondence, exchange of articles written, etc.
6. Regular reports shall be made of the work done by members in such manner as the executive committee may appoint.
7. The members shall seek to procure for one another opportunities for public propaganda.
8. If necessary, they shall give their support to one another in the public defense of the truth, and shall jealously guard the freedom of discussion for any man who is impelled by love of the truth to utter his thoughts.

No sectarian or theological tests are required of members.

The brotherhood has an executive committee of five, with power to manage all ordinary business. The only officer is the secretary, who is also the treasurer. The annual dues are \$2, and all funds remaining over and above the necessary expenses are employed in the publication and distribution of literature.

BROTHERHOODS OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS and for all organizations of railway men. See RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ORGANIZATIONS.

BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS AND DECORATORS OF AMERICA. See BUILDING TRADES.

BROTHERHOODS, RELIGIOUS, societies organized for philanthropic purposes, most numerous in the Middle Ages. Some of them being established without the authorization of the Church, they fell under the charge of heresy, and in several cases assumed the nature of separate sects, such as the Beghards, Beguines, Apostolic Brethren, Flagellants, etc. The last-named was subjected to severe persecution by the Church.

The old building corporations, from which sprang the Free Masons, belong under this head. Most of them were regarded with fear and sus-

picion by the Church, on account of their symbolism and secrecy. The brotherhoods that asked and received the sanction of the ecclesiastics were not secret, but devoted to the promotion of religion by stricter and more constant devotional exercises, or to the assisting of strangers, travelers, the unprotected, the destitute, the sick, and the oppressed. The noblest work was often done by these organizations. They were most numerous in Italy, Rome alone containing 100. (See articles COMMUNISM; MONASTICISM.)

BROTHERHOOD TRUST, THE.—The Brotherhood Trust (founded January 19, 1894) is an outcome of a Social Questions Conference held regularly since September, 1892, on Sunday afternoons, in the Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, London. It was begun with only about £100 of capital, lent free of interest; and further loans are received on the same condition. It carries on trade and industry with the objects (1) of paying to every person employed in any branch of the concern not less than the trade-union wages current in the locality where the work is done; (2) of providing out of profits for all its customers old-age pensions and sickness-and-accident benefits in proportion to the extent of their respective purchases; (3) of so organizing its customers that these shall economically supply one another's wants by productive work on cooperative farms and in cooperative workshops, factories, etc., as soon and so far as such organization may be found practicable and the customers may desire to avail themselves of such employment; (4) of gradually buying up as much land as possible from private owners, and of acquiring as much as possible of the most scientific means of production, for the benefit of all who may choose to connect themselves with the organization.

The net profits from quarter to quarter are apportioned in the books of the trust to the credit of customers' pension account in proportion to the respective purchases of such customers, and except in cases of accident or illness, provided for in the rules, are not payable in any other form than either annuities to customers who have reached the age of 60, or annuities to dependent relatives of deceased customers. The pension to which a customer is entitled from the trust is equal to the annuity he could purchase from the British Government with the amount standing to the credit of his pension account. Over against every pension before it becomes payable there will always be the sum which has gradually accumulated to credit of the future pensioner's account out of the profits made on his purchases, which sum would suffice to purchase the required annuity from the Government. This sum will exist not in the form of money, of course, but in the form of business plant and means of production—a reproductive form. The first £10 placed to the credit of the pension account years before will have been put into productive activity, and will have been rolling along ever since, multiplying itself; and likewise every subsequent £10 added out of net profits will have been rolling along and multiplying. Therefore the security for the payment of every pension will not be merely a sufficient sum to purchase it on Government security, but a very much greater value existing in a reproductive form. Each pension will be simply a charge upon the proceeds of the business done, under most advantageous circumstances, with the capital of which the accumulated profits on the pensioner's own purchases (made in the days of health and strength) will form a part.

The Brotherhood Trust's methods are such as to avoid many risks besetting ordinary business concerns. Selling only for cash, it avoids all bad debts. Further, it will not start a bakery of its own until its daily sale of bread is large enough to take all that a

good-sized, well-ordered bakery would turn out. Similarly, it will not acquire a flour-mill until, in bakeries and stores and on farms of its own, it can dispose profitably of all the produce. Neither will it take over a boot and shoe factory until it has to meet a demand large enough to keep such factory working full time. It will never produce on speculation, but for an already secured demand.

The original Brotherhood Trust stores (situated at 1 and 5 Downham Road, Kingsland, London) are not intended to stand alone. They are meant to be imitated. But it is of vital importance that all efforts of a similar kind should be closely federated with each other and with the Brotherhood Trust, in order to promote the utmost economy in purchasing and producing, to assist one another by comparison and interchange of experiences, and to cooperate most efficiently toward the ultimate goal—the complete reorganization of industry and commerce on principles of fraternity.

The old-age pensions, which are perhaps at first the most conspicuous feature of the trust, are but means to a vast and lofty end. The aim is nothing less than the swallowing up of the profit-mongering industry and commerce of the world, and the transmuting of it, by a perfectly constitutional and peaceful revolution, into a fraternal organization for mutual enrichment and security. If the workers (who constitute four fifths of the grown-up population of the United Kingdom), or if any considerable proportion of the workers will but persistently and exclusively patronize trusts that do business in their interests, refusing to deal with any private capitalist when their trusts can supply their demand, they will help to build up a mighty federation, branching out over the country and across the seas, which will be able in a short time to buy up for them the means of production and distribution. Just so far as the Brotherhood Trust system extends and succeeds, there will be built up a new social order right through the old—as a new bridge is sometimes built through an old one; and when it becomes universal, the old system, fraught with so much misery, degradation, and brutalization, will be found to have vanished more effectually than if it had been shivered by explosives, and all without any earthquake shock, with the mildness and gentleness of the sunrise which shines away the night and ushers in the day.

J. BRUCE WALLACE.

BROUSSE, PAUL, was born at Montpellier, and studied medicine in Paris, becoming doctor in 1867. From 1870-71 he worked on the *Droits de l'Homme*, and in 1871 was condemned to three months' imprisonment. Escaping to Spain, he joined the anarchistic Spanish section of the International. From Spain he went to Switzerland, and meeting there Bakounin (*q. v.*), became, under his influence, a leader of the Jura Federation, an organizer of the anarchist section in Italy, and editor of anarchist publications. In 1879 he suffered imprisonment in Switzerland, and after his release went to London. Here he met Marx and Engels, and renouncing anarchism, adopted socialism. In 1880 he returned to France, and edited *Egalité* and *Prolétaire* in 1882, with Malon and his followers, separating from the Guidist socialists, and forming the "Broussist" section, or so-called "Possibilists." In 1887 he was elected to the Paris Municipal Council, and has since been a foremost leader of one section of the French socialists, but ever ready to work with any party, a policy which has resulted in his now calling himself Republican radical. His main writings are *Le Suffrage Universel et le Problème de la Souveraineté du Peuple* (1874) and *La Crise* (1879).

BROWN, JOHN (1800, hanged December 2, 1850), an American abolitionist, best known as the leader of the Harper's Ferry insurrection, designed to incite the slaves of the Southern States to rebellion, and thus secure their liberties. Originally intended for the Church, he

Methods.

Aim.

was compelled to give up study for this purpose on account of inflammation in the eyes. He then took up the business of a tanner, which he carried on for 20 years. Not being very successful in this, he started business as a wool dealer in Ohio in 1840. Failing also in this, he removed to Essex County, New York, in 1849, and began to reclaim a large tract of land which had been granted to him. In 1855, having imbibed an intense hatred of slavery, he went to Kansas in order to vote, and fight, if need be, against the establishment of slavery in that territory. He soon became renowned in the fierce border warfare carried on between Kansas and Missouri, and gained especial celebrity by his victory at Ossawatimie. In one of these affrays he had a son killed, which deepened his hostility to the Southern Party. After the border agitation was settled by a general vote, Brown traveled through the Northern and Northeastern States, declaiming against slavery, and endeavoring to incite and organize an armed attack upon it. In October, 1859, at the head of 17 white and five black men, he commenced hostilities by a night attack upon Harper's Ferry, overpowering the guard and capturing the arsenal. During the next morning he made prisoners of 40 or 50 of the chief inhabitants of the town; but instead of retreating at once to the mountains with arms and hostages, as his original design had been, he lingered on in the town till evening. By this time the townsmen had recovered from their astonishment, militiamen began to pour in, and after a short but desperate conflict Brown and his handful of followers were captured. He was tried at Charlestown for treason and murder, found guilty, and sentenced to death on the scaffold within 48 hours. He met this death calmly on December 2, 1859. It may safely be said that his execution hastened the downfall of slavery in America, and his name has become a household word among abolitionists. He was a man of stern and uncompromising moral principle, and singularly brave and honest. Whatever his rashness or fanaticism, there is no question that he offered himself as a sacrifice to the overthrow of a gigantic social and political wrong.

BUBBLES.—A term commonly applied since the seventeenth century to any unsound commercial undertaking accompanied by a high degree of speculation. The first bubble of historical importance was connected with the growth of varieties of tulips in Holland. It reached its height in 1636 in Amsterdam, and in the most of the Dutch cities regular markets were established for speculation in the roots. In the end tulips were bought and sold like shares in a gold mine, for purely speculative purposes, without any idea of actually growing the flowers. Fabulous prices were paid for single bulbs—*e.g.*, 2500 florins for a "Viceroy," a "*Semper Augustus*" 5500 florins, etc. The mania spread to some extent to London and Paris, and tulips were dealt in by the stock-jobbers of both cities. In 1719 and 1720 occurred the greatest speculative mania on record, arising from the Mississippi scheme of John Law (*q.v.*). In England the word bubble is generally associated with the South Sea Bubble (*q.v.*).

BUCHÉZ, PHILIPPE JOSEPH BENJAMIN (1796–1865), was born at Matagne-la-Petite; in 1825 he became a doctor of medicine. He was one of the founders of the French Carbonari (*q.v.*), and barely escaped condemnation to death for his part in the Belfort conspiracy. He then joined the Saint Simonian school, and worked on the *Producteur*. When this passed into the hands of Enfantin, he left it to found, with Roux Lavergne, a so-called neo-Catholic school, combining Catholic and revolutionary ideas, and from 1831–38, altho with some breaks, he brought out his *l'Européen*. A *résumé* of his ideas appears in his *l'Européen* for 1835, in which he declares that it is time to realize the social principles of Christianity. His idea was to reach communism through industrial cooperation, and in 1831 he founded a co-operative association of cabinet-makers, thus introducing cooperation in France, and to the spread of cooperation he devoted the rest of his life. (See COOPERATION.) In the revolution of 1848 he was a follower of Louis Blanc, and was in the chair as president of the National Assembly on the memorable May 15. After the *coup d'état* of 1851 he returned to his studies and to private life. His main works are *Essai d'un Traité complet de philosophie* (3 vols., 1839–40) and *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution Française* (1833–38 and 1845–47).

BUDGET (from *L. bulga*, Fr. *bougette*, a little bag), is used in social science for a statement of the probable revenue and expenditure for a nation and sometimes for a family. (For representative family "budgets" see EXPENSES.)

BUENOS AMIGOS, COLONY OF.—Don José Rodriguez, a socialistic Peruvian, obtained in 1853 from the Government of Peru a large land grant on the Cototo River, and established there, with 65 others, the colony of Buenos Amigos. As he furnished most of the money for the experiment, he became director and law-maker.

The colony now (1895) has 1000 members mostly of Spanish races, but including Germans, English, and Americans. The increase has been chiefly from births, tho recruits are received upon evidence of good character and the payment of \$500 each to the common treasury.

Negroes and Indians are excluded, and religious proselytism is forbidden.

Lands, tools, and products are the property of the community, and all surplus products are sold abroad, the proceeds going to the common treasury. Rations are distributed alike to all; but whoso will pay for luxuries, whether of food, clothing, or household furniture, may obtain them from the common store. The imperishable portion of such things, however, remain common property even when in the hands of the individual.

The community is divided into departments, divisions, and sections. Each section chooses and may remove its own head, and heads of sections nominate division directors, who in turn choose department chiefs. These last are removable only by a majority vote of the community. They are, in effect, ministers of works, education, trade, and health, those being the titles of the departments, and collectively they constitute a tribunal discharging duties elsewhere confided to Ministers of Justice and Finance.

The Department of Works looks after agriculture, stock-raising, mining, manufactures, and all public works. That of Education deals with schools, music, and the mechanic arts;

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That of Trade with exports, imports, and the distribution of products; that of Health with houses, hospitals, and young children. An hour's work is the unit of the financial system, and the monetary table runs thus:

- 60 minutes one hour.
- 8 hours one day.
- 5 days one week.
- 4 2-5 weeks one month.
- 12 months one year.

State notes of equal size but different colors represent each of these denominations. The hour is arbitrarily fixed for the purposes of outside trade at a value of about 28 cents. Minute notes, worth about one half a cent, are for small transactions. These notes are given in exchange for work done. The time notes are guaranteed by a reserve of bullion exceeding the face value of the whole issue. A member quitting the colony may exchange his notes for Peruvian money, and in addition he will receive his share of the profits.

Altho the full working day is eight hours, only four hours, and for only five days a week, are exacted. From that no adult in sound health can escape. Any person failing to work 20 hours in the five days that constitute the working week must make up that time on Saturday or Sunday. Under the eye of an overseer armed with a leather strap, if this enforced labor is done in slovenly fashion, the culprit is beaten with the strap.

There is no marriage law. A man and a woman live together in free union, and either may find another mate when tired of the arrangement. A woman at the approach of childbirth goes to a hospital and stays there with her child until it is weaned. Then she leaves it in the hospital to the care of trained nurses.

From the hospital the child goes to a public school, where it lives night and day until grown to the age when work is exacted of all. Then the new member of the working community is set at whatever task his or her aptitudes, as developed at school, seem to point out as the proper one. The pay is the same for every kind of labor.

Private houses at Buenos Amigos are plain, but airy. A large, common building is handsomely built of freestone and marble taken from the community's quarries. The streets are well made and clean, and an aqueduct to bring in water from the Cototo River is nearly completed. All these public works are carried on by the labor of the community, under the direction of the departments. When one department has more workmen at its command than it needs they are turned over to such departments as are short of hands. Thus everybody is kept busy at least four hours a day, and as much longer as he will, with pay for overtime.

BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS are of many kinds, but may be described in general as joint-stock or cooperative societies for the purpose of raising by periodical subscriptions a fund to assist members in building or purchasing, the property being mortgaged to the society till the amount advanced is fully repaid.

The first association in America was organized January 3, 1831, at Frankford, near Philadelphia. It was called the Oxford Provident Building Association, and was started as a philanthropic measure, but the city of Philadelphia, Pa., deserves the credit of having first utilized the institution to any great extent. The first association in that city was organized in 1840, and since then the growth of the associations throughout the United States has been phenomenal. They have become subjects of statutory legislation in many States of the Union, and have lately been favored by the United States Commissioner of Labor with a special and thorough inquiry.

The building and loan association is practically a cooperative savings bank. It differs from the ordinary savings bank mainly in its methods of receiving deposits and lending money. Its chief advantage for the people over the ordinary savings institution is that its funds are used by the depositors themselves to advance their own interests,

Varieties.

while the funds deposited by wage-earners in the old-line savings banks are largely borrowed by business men and corporations and used to advance the inter-

ests of capital. Another point in favor of the building and loan association is in the fact that every member has a voice and vote in the management of it and shares in the total profits. In favor of the old-line savings banks, however, it should be said that they are indispensable to the wage-earners of many communities, and especially so in those sections where land values are so high as to practically prohibit the operation, among working men, of building and loan associations.

There are two forms of these associations: one serial and the other permanent. The general plan of the serial association is to issue a fraction of its capital stock, usually one tenth, in what is known as a "series," and to require that it be paid in monthly installments, commonly called "dues," usually at the rate of 50 cents per month on a share of stock worth, at par, \$100, and \$1 per month on a share of stock the par value of which is \$200. Whenever the monthly payments, with the accumulated profits, equal the face value of the shares the series is retired, each shareholder receiving the face value of his share in cash, unless he has in advance borrowed money of the association to the full face value of his shares, when his debt is considered paid and cancelled. When one series has matured, then a second series is issued, and so on until the entire capital stock is exhausted. A series usually extends over 10 or 12 years.

The permanent association differs from the serial association in that a person may become a member of it at any time without paying in any back dues. In a permanent association the profits are divided annually or semi-annually among the members, and credited to their respective accounts on their individual pass books and the books of the association.

A person may withdraw from the membership of either a serial or a permanent association at any time with a share of the accumulated profits. In a serial association the percentage of profit that may be taken out by a withdrawing member is generally fixed by the rules of the association at a lower rate than is awarded the member who stays in the association until the series matures. This is done to insure the participation of the withdrawing member in any possible and unforeseen losses that may befall the association. When the rules of a serial association allow a withdrawing member only 5 per cent. per annum on his investment, it is assumed that the association may suffer vicissitudes and may not earn more than 5 per cent. per annum for the entire term of the series. But a fairly prosperous association generally earns from 8 to 10 per cent. per annum on a series. In some States both serial and permanent associations are required to set aside, in a contingent fund, a certain percentage of their profits before the payment of each annual or semi-annual dividend, to insure the equal participation of all members in the losses of the association.

The funds of a building and loan association are made up of membership fees, moneys received from sale of stock, interest on loans, premiums on priority of loans, fines for non-payment of indebtedness due the association by its members, and fees for transferring stock. The income of the association is augmented by low expenses: The association meets only once in a month, and then in a cheap hall, and the officers—save the secretary, the treasurer, and the attorney—serve without pay.

When a person enters the membership of a serial association he pays a membership fee, and subscribes for one or more shares of stock on which he agrees to make a monthly payment of 50 cents or \$1 per share until maturity of the series or withdrawal before then. Should he fail to pay his monthly installment or dues within the required time, he is called upon to pay a fine into the treasury of the association, and for failure to make his monthly payments for a fixed number of months he forfeits all he has paid into the treasury. Should he at any time transfer his shares of stock to another person, he or the assignee pays the association a fee for making the transfer on its books.

When he desires to buy or build a home he endeavors to borrow from the association as much of the needed amount as his interest in the association will allow: he cannot borrow more than the face value of his shares. He applies to the association when it has money to loan, and should he bid a higher premium for the use of the money than any other member the loan is awarded him.

This premium is a payment of a few cents on each share, over and above interest, for the use of the money. It is paid with the dues each month, or is deducted from the amount of the loan. Upon securing the right to the use of the money, he designates his proposed real estate security, and when the title is ap-

proved by the association's attorney the money is advanced him and he gives the association a mortgage on the property for the amount. He also assigns stocks to the face value of the loan to the association, and agrees to keep up his monthly payments thereon. After securing the loan, the borrower pays to the association every month, in addition to his regular dues, the premium and interest on the loan, or the premium may have been deducted from the loan before it was paid over to the borrower. When, at the conclusion of the series, the face value of the borrower's stock is equivalent to the amount of money loaned him the association applies the stock to the payment of the mortgage, and the member, instead of receiving a cash payment, is given notice of the cancellation of his mortgage.

As a rule, the money paid into an association by a borrowing member during the life of the series in which he is interested amounts to little more than the rental price of the mortgaged property for the same period, and hence the saying sometimes heard among persons interested in these associations, "The rent pays for the place." In a permanent association the borrower may extend his payments—or "dues," interest and premium—over any fixed number of years, and so make the monthly payment on his real estate less than it would be under the serial plan.

The serial associations, however, have proved far more successful, and are almost the only ones now in use.

Neither of these plans, however, was the original form. The original method is described in *A Treatise on Cooperative Savings and Loan Associations*, by Seymour Dexter :

In the primitive building associations of Philadelphia there was but a single series of stock issued; every person taking shares of stock, subsequent to the date of the first issue of shares, was obliged to pay back dues in order to be in the same position he would have been had he taken his stock at the date of the first issue, so that each shareholder paid the same amount per share into the association regardless of the time when he took his shares. The money was loaned only to shareholders. Inasmuch as only one series of stock was issued, the lifetime of the association was limited to the time that it took for the shares to reach their matured value. This scheme necessarily involved the condition that every shareholder remaining in the association at the time the stock matured must be a borrower to the amount of the matured value of shares held by him. Let us make this clear. Suppose the charter of the association limited the number of shares it could issue to 500, and that during its lifetime it had issued that number. After the payment of its running expenses the funds received could be used for only two purposes—*viz.*: the making of loans to its own members and paying shareholders who withdrew. Suppose that of the 500 shares issued 300 had been withdrawn, leaving 200 outstanding when attaining their matured value. Assume the shares were \$200 each at their matured value. Now, 200 shares at \$200

each is \$40,000. Before the shares can be matured the association must have \$40,000 of assets. The assets consist of the money due from the shareholders to the association upon loans. As no shareholder can borrow a larger sum than the matured value of the shares held by him, it follows that no shareholder can owe the association for borrowed money a larger sum than the association will owe him when his shares of stock have matured; therefore, each shareholder must owe the association a sum equal to that which the association will owe him upon his matured shares. The only limitation or exception to this statement of the case will arise in reference to the dues paid at the last meeting. The amount of those dues will not have been borrowed, and will be due to some shareholder or shareholders in excess of the amount owing by him or them to the association.

But as the association progresses from year to year toward the maturity of its stock, it might not happen that there are shareholders who desired to borrow. What then? It would not do to have the dues paid in from month to month remain uninvested; no profits would accrue, and the result would be unsatisfactory. Under the scheme of a single series the association has the power to compel shareholders to borrow the funds. They are called forced loans; and their articles of association and bylaws determine who should become the borrower when there are no shareholders wishing to borrow.

This scheme is known as the terminating plan. It involves three serious defects which it was very desirable to obviate—*viz.*: the dissolution of the association when the stock matured; the large amount of back dues which the new stockholder would have to pay who took stock after the association had been running for some time, and, lastly, the making of forced loans—that is, compelling the shareholder to become a borrower whether he wanted to do so or not.

Concerning the statistics of building associations in the United States, the report on the subject by the United States Commissioner of Statistics. Labor (1893) says :

"The investigation, the results of which are now under consideration, comprehends practically all building and loan associations in the United States. An effort was made to secure the facts for these associations as they existed at the end of their respective fiscal years nearest to January 1, 1893. In a few cases, however, this was not possible, and the facts for an earlier or later fiscal year were taken instead.

"In addition to the associations from which the data have been received that constitute the body of this report, the Department has information of the existence of some others. From a very few of these some details were obtained, but from most of them nothing. The information as to the existence even of most of them is from hearsay only. They are unimportant, being either newly formed or feeble. Nearly all are supposed to be local. Total, 91.

GENERAL RESULTS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

	Local.	National.	Total.
Number of associations.....	5,598	240	5,838
Male shareholders in associations reporting.....	a 710,156	a 209,458	a 919,614
Female shareholders in associations reporting.....	a 263,358	a 44,440	a 307,828
Total shareholders in associations reporting.....	b 1,359,366	b 386,359	b 1,745,725
Average shareholders per association reporting.....	b 244.5	b 1,637.1	b 391.2
Shareholders who are borrowers in associations reporting.....	c 402,212	c 53,109	c 455,411
Per cent. of borrowers in associations reporting.....	c 20.83	c 13.77	c 26.25
Number of shares in associations reporting.....	d 10,381,031	d 2,874,841	d 13,255,872
Total dues and profits.....	\$413,647,228	\$37,020,366	\$450,667,594
Average shares per shareholder in associations reporting.....	e 7.6	e 7.2	e 7.5
Average dues and profits per shareholder in associations reporting.....	e \$303.11	e \$86.73	e \$257.26
Average value of shares in associations reporting.....	e \$39.75	e \$12.12	e \$34.18
Total profits.....	\$74,402,069	\$6,261,147	\$80,664,116
Average size of loans in associations reporting.....	f \$1,133	f \$920	f \$1,120
Homes acquired in associations reporting.....	g 290,803	g 23,952	g 314,755

a Associations not reporting, local, 1503; national, 66; total, 1569.

b Associations not reporting, local, 38; national, 4; total, 42.

c Associations not reporting, local, 69; national, 4; total, 73.

d Associations not reporting, local, 18; national, 4; total, 22.

e Based on 5535 local associations, 226 national associations, total, 5761.

f Based on 2128 local associations, 45 national associations, total, 2173.

g Associations not reporting, local, 1326; national, 68, total, 1394.

"The total dues paid in on installment shares in force plus the profits on the same of the building and loan associations of the country, as stated, amount to \$450,667,504. A business represented by this great sum, conducted quietly, with little or no advertising, and, as stated, without the experienced banker in charge, shows that the common people, in their own ways, are quite competent to take care of their savings, especially when it is known that but 35 of the associations now in existence showed a net loss at the end of their last fiscal year, and that this loss amounted to only \$23,332.20. Of course, associations disband for the want of business or from some other cause, but when they disband loss does not occur, because the whole business of the association consists of its loans, and these loans are to its own shareholders, as a rule, who hold the securities in their associated forms. A disbanded association, therefore, simply returns to its own members their own property.

"The terms local and national have been used. A local building and loan association and a national building and loan association conduct their business under substantially the same method. The local association, however, confines its operations to a small community, usually to the county in which located, while the national operates on a large scale, extending its business enterprise far beyond the borders of its own State even. The national is ready usually to make loans on property anywhere and sell its shares to any person without reference to his residence. At the present time the prejudice which has existed for many years against nationals is being overcome, and they are conducting their business, as a rule, with the same integrity that the locals display in the conduct of their affairs. There is a jealousy, to some extent, between locals and nationals; but with proper laws in every State to regulate, control, and supervise both nationals and locals, as savings banks and all other banks are regulated and supervised, there ought to be little or no trouble in securing the honest administration of their affairs. Some States bring their building and loan associations under the same general supervision of law thrown around savings banks. New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and some other States, as will be seen by the compilation of laws relating to building and loan associations published at the close of this work, require such associations to make annual returns in the same manner as savings banks. In other States, however, nothing is officially known of the building and loan associations beyond the formalities of their incorporation."

In regard to the kinds of associations and their geographical distribution and other statistics this report says (p. 24) :

"There are 5508 local associations, of which 3168, or 56.6 per cent. of the whole, are serial, 1671, or 29.8 per cent. of the whole, are permanent, and 759, or 13.6 per cent., are terminating; that of all the associations in the country, 240 are nationals, 138, or 57.5 per cent. of all the nationals being serial, 101, or 42.1 per cent. being permanent, and only 1 terminating. The whole number, including both locals and nationals, is 5838, of which 3306, or 56.6 per cent. of the whole, are serial, 1772, or 30.4 per cent. are permanent, and 760, or 13 per cent. of the whole, are terminating.

"Examining the total associations, including locals and nationals, it is seen that Pennsylvania leads all the States, having 1070 associations. This State has but 3 nationals. The State having the next largest number is Ohio, with 721; and Ohio has but 3 nationals. Illinois comes next, with 669 associations of all kinds, 38 of them being nationals. Indiana follows, with 445 associations, 16 of them being nationals. New York ranks next, with 418 in all, 28 of them being national associations. The next largest numbers are found in Missouri, that State having 366 in all; New Jersey, 288; Maryland, 240; Kentucky, 148; California, 133, and Massachusetts, 115. In all the other States the number drops to less than 100. The numbers given for the States, respectively, will not always agree with the numbers reported by each State in its local capacity or through its State officials. This results from the fact that the account taken by the Department of Labor was for a period in most cases differing somewhat from that for which the State officials have given reports, and, furthermore, from the fact that very many companies having names in their incorporation papers which would lead one to consider them building and loan associations, upon examination are found to be entirely different. They are trust companies or associations for the purpose of erecting houses for rental

and various other objects, taking them out of the rank of cooperative building and loan associations as such.

"The State having the largest number of national associations is Illinois, with 38. It is usually supposed that the home of these associations is in the Northwest, and especially in Minnesota, but this State has only 15. There are several States having more than Minnesota, notably Tennessee, with 17; New York, 28; Missouri, 17; Kentucky, 17, and Indiana, 16. The nationals are distributed through other States in small numbers. The table shows how thoroughly building and loan associations are distributed throughout the country.

"... At the date of the conclusion of this investigation there had been 38,019 series issued, or an average of 11.8 series to each association, considering locals and nationals together. Of this whole number, 5321 had matured, this being an average of only 1.6 series of shares matured to each association. The number in force at the date named was 33,386, or 10.1 series to each association. . . . Of the 5338 associations in the country, both local and national, 4444 have reported as to homes acquired by their borrowing shareholders, and through this latter number of associations 314,755 homes have been acquired. In the 4422 associations reporting as to that fact, 283,450 buildings other than homes have been secured. Of the total number of homes acquired, 290,803 have been through local associations and 23,052 through nationals. Through the locals, 26,061 buildings other than homes have been acquired and 2398 through the nationals. . . .

"The total number of mortgages foreclosed was reported by 5440 associations, including both locals and nationals, as 8409, having a value of \$12,217,126, the loss on such foreclosures being \$449,590. Of the number of foreclosures, 7765 were by locals, having a value in the aggregate of \$11,021,394, the loss being \$441,106. The nationals had foreclosed 644 mortgages, having an aggregate value of \$1,185,732, the loss incurred being \$8493. It should be remembered that these foreclosures and losses relate to the whole lives of the associations reporting.

"The department undertook to ascertain the facts as to the kind of people who patronize and use building and loan associations. The original purpose of these associations was to enable men of small means to secure homes for themselves and to save their earnings. The question became vital, then, as to whether the motive of the associations had been preserved. It was impossible to secure the occupation of each and every shareholder in the whole 5838 associations in the country, and the attempt was not made, but we did learn the occupations of the shareholders in 909 local associations and 12 national associations, or a total of 921 associations. In 909 local associations reporting there were 159,223 shareholders, and in the 12 national associations 15,547 shareholders. In the local associations 111,383, or 69.96 per cent. of the whole number, were practically working people, while in the nationals they numbered 8403, or 54.06 per cent. These include the following classes, as shown in the table: Accountants, bookkeepers, etc.; artisans and mechanics; farmers, gardeners, etc.; housewives and housekeepers; laborers; mill and factory employees; and salesmen and saleswomen. The remainder—that is, 47,840, or 30.04 per cent. in the local associations, and 7144, or 45.94 per cent. in the national associations—consists of agents, bankers, brokers, etc.; corporation officials; government officials and employees; hotel, boarding-house, and restaurant keepers; lodges, churches, and societies; manufacturers, contractors, capitalists, etc.; merchants and dealers; persons engaged in the professions; and superintendents, foremen, etc. These figures show conclusively that the building and loan associations of the country are being used by the classes for which they were originally established. These percentages may well and honestly be applied to all the shareholders in the country, as the facts relative to occupations were taken at random."

Building associations exist also in Europe in considerable numbers, tho not to such an extent as in the United States. (For information in regard to them, see COOPERATIVE BANKS.)

It may seem strange at first sight that there should be any opposition to a movement that has given homes to so many working men, yet such is the fact. Many if not most leaders of trade-unions discourage the policy, under the present system and under ordinary circum-

stances, of the average working man investing in a home. Their argument is that it puts him under the power of his employers, and removes the probability of his being able to obtain any increase in wages. They declare that in Philadelphia in most trades wages are lower than in any other large city of our country, and that Philadelphia is most backward in the organization of labor. They assert that the reason is that in Philadelphia men partly own their houses. Partly owning their houses, they are tied to their circumstances. They can neither move nor strike, for fear of losing their investments. They have to submit to taking what wages they can get. There have been few if any large strikes in Philadelphia. In a strike on the Pennsylvania Railroad, one of the officials of the road is reported to have said: "We are not afraid of the Philadelphia end of the road. Those men cannot strike. They half own their homes." In some factory towns in this country it is the deliberate policy of the management to induce their employees to partly own houses, so that wages may be reduced.

There are, then, two sides to the question of a wage-earner trying to own his house. In the recent hard times, some of those deepest in trouble were the unemployed who had commenced to purchase a home, and were in danger of losing much at least of what they had paid in.

There is another point. To gradually buy a home, the working man has not only to work himself, but to have his wife work away from home, and often to have his children work. The home is thus bought at the cost of having the mother and the children away from the home; a home is obtained by destroying home life.

Such is the trade-unionist's argument. On the other hand, even from their standpoint it may be asked, if a man who has a home owned and paid for, tho he cannot strike for higher wages, is not in a better position from the fact, to contend for a better system, than one where strikes are necessary?

There is in the United States a National League of Local Building and Loan Associations, of which the Hon. Seymour Dexter, of Elmira, N. Y., is president. It is organized in 15 State leagues, and has for its motto, "The American home the safeguard of American liberties." Mr. Dexter calls it "the most successful form of direct cooperation yet evolved; every association the center of an influence stimulating industry, frugality, temperance, home-owning, and good citizenship. It offers a practical way for every family to buy and pay for a home."

References: Of the many publications treating of building and loan associations, among those deserving of special mention are: *Treatise on Cooperative Savings and Loan Associations*, by Seymour Dexter (published by D. Appleton & Co., of New York City, 1889); *Manual for Building and Loan Associations*, by H. S. Rosenthal (published by S. Rosenthal & Co., of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1888); *A Treatise on Building Associations*, by Charles N. Thompson (published by Callaghan & Co. of Chicago; the last-named book is designed especially for the use of lawyers and association officers); *The Working Man's Way to Wealth*, (Philadelphia, Lippincott); *Building and Loan Associations*, the

Ninth Annual Report of the (U. S.) Commissioner of Labor (1893), on application.

BUILDING TRADES, LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE.—The workers in the building trades have been pioneers in the labor movement, especially the ship carpenters. As early as 1642 ships were built in Boston, there being 12 shipyards in that city by 1743. From 1712-20, 700 sail of ship were built in New England. The builders were honored. In 1631, while Richard Hollingsworth was engaged in building a large vessel, one of his workmen was killed, and Hollingsworth was required by the Court of Assizes to pay £10 sterling to the wife and children of the deceased, because they thought that sufficient care was not taken to have his tackle strong enough.

It had been the custom in this industry, as well as in others, to furnish drink or grog at various intervals in the day. In 1817 Thacher Magoun, a ship-builder, determined to abolish the grog privilege. The ceremony of laying the keel, and of commencing each part of the work, as also the christening or naming of a vessel, was always accompanied with the use of ardent spirits. Upon Mr. Magoun giving notice that no liquor could be used in his shipyard, the words "*No Rum! No RUM!*" were written upon nearly every clapboard of the workshop, and on each timber in the yard. Some of the men refused to work, but finally all gave in, and a ship was built without the use of liquor in any form.

The hours of labor at that time were from sunrise to sunset, and all employers were obliged by custom to furnish liquor free at least twice a day. These two periods for drink were really periods of rest, and were called luncheon times, the men having an opportunity to eat as well as drink, and Mr. Magoun's no-rum movement meant no luncheon time, and was in effect an increase in the working time, the employer thus saving the cost of time as well as the cost of the rum.

The ship-workers and building trades not only were among the very first to organize their craft into unions, but they seem to have been the first organized body of working men to bring the hours of labor to a direct issue.

The calkers, from the painful positions of their labor and other causes, were especially prominent in organizing; and from their meetings it is claimed is derived the word "caucus," so common in political affairs.

The New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights was incorporated April 30, 1803, and the House Carpenters of the City of New York, in 1806. The unions of that time made a stand against the length of the work-day, which was then 14 hours. The employers, in resisting this effort on the part of the workmen, published resolutions regretting the action of the journeymen ship-carpenters, calkers, and others, in maintaining a system of measures designed to coerce individuals of their craft, and to prescribe the time and manner of the labor for which they were liberally paid. They then proceeded to declare their intention to black-list all persons who belonged to the association. In 1850, after many years of contention and defeats, the ten-hour day had extended to the shipyards. Even before then President Van Buren had, in 1833, by proclamation fixed the hours in the navy yards at 10 per day. Upon securing the ten-hour day the agitation for eight hours was begun, and has continued to the present time, with slow, gradual progress toward complete success. In the spring of 1853 there were extensive movements in the building trades toward organiza-

Various Unions.

tion and for an increase of wages; and in 1854 the Boston ship-joiners struck and obtained an eight-hour day. The journeymen house carpenters of Boston and New York held meetings for organization in 1853; and in 1856 the ship-carpenters organized and moved for eight hours. In 1866 the ship-carpenters employed at Greenpoint, L. I., went on strike for eight hours. Their movement culminated in a great demonstration of all working men in New York for eight hours. All these efforts were generally condemned by the press. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners is an English organization, with some 25 branches in the United States. It was founded in June, 1860, and publishes an annual report filled with statistical information for the order and the trade.

Attempts to organize the carpenters of the United States into a national body were made in 1854, in 1867, and at other times. Finally, at a convention held in Chicago, August 8, 1881, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was formally organized. (See BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.)

The Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America was first organized under the name of the International Bricklayers of America, October 16, 1865, at Philadelphia.

Previous to this time unions of a local character were organized and thrived in various cities of the United States. The first annual convention after organization was held at Baltimore, Md., January 8, 1866. John A. White, of Baltimore, was elected president; J. Edward Kirby, of Baltimore, secretary; and Joseph Hackney, of Philadelphia, treasurer. The second annual session was held at Cincinnati, January, 1867. At the seventeenth annual session, in 1883, the present title of the order was adopted. From 1873 to 1880, during the years of depression in business, the order declined until but a small remnant existed; but with the revival of business occurred a revival of the organization, until now it numbers about 33,000 members. The organization is a purely protective one in a national sense, and all of the subordinate unions have benevolent features combined. The local union at Philadelphia has erected a building on North Broad Street, which is an ornament to that city. Other unions have followed this move, until several buildings are owned or controlled by local branches.

The Granite Cutters' National Union had its origin at Clark's Island, Me., January 2, 1877. At first only a temporary organization, it became a permanent body on March 6, 1877. The first meeting of the National Board was held March 10 of the same year. N. C. Bassick was elected president, and Thompson H. Murch, secretary; the latter was afterward elected to congress, defeating Eugene Hale, and J. B. Dyer was elected secretary, and has retained that position up to the present time. The first regular convention of the national body was held at Boston, Mass., February 5, 1878, with representatives of 22 branches present. The first strike was on April 6, 1878, at Vinalhaven. The most notable strike of the organization was at Quincy, Mass., lasting nearly nine months. The great Western, R. I., strike of 1885 was also a protracted struggle, as was the lockout at Ryegate, Vt., 1885. The strike against convict labor on the State capital at Austin, Tex., and the more recent one against Norcross Brothers, of Worcester, Mass., involving operations in various portions of the country, are matters of record. The policy of the organization has been to change the headquarters of the organization every two years. A trade journal is published monthly from the office of the secretary.

The Painters' and Decorators' Union had an early existence in a small way, known as the Painters' Union of Philadelphia, in 1856. In 1859 an effort was made to found a national union, and a convention was called; but after a brief existence the movement perished. In 1871 the New York Operative and Benevolent Union, the oldest union of the trade, undertook the work of forming a national body and formed the Painters' Grand Lodge, which body held four annual conventions. During this time the painters entered into the eight-hour movement, and won the first victory for the shorter hour cause, earning the title of pioneers of the eight-hour movement. The great panic of 1873 caused the collapse of the national organization, and not until March, 1887, were efforts to revive successful. Then the present organization was formed, under the title of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. The general president is J. W. McKinney, of Chicago, Ill.; the general secretary and treasurer is J. T. Elliott, Baltimore, Md. From the office of the secretary is issued monthly a paper called the *Painters' Journal*. The order has about 200 unions in all sections of the United States and Canada. A. A. CARLTON.

BUILDING TRADES (English). See TRADE-UNIONS, section "England."

BULLION.—The precious metals gold and silver are generally spoken of as bullion when at or near the standard fineness accepted at the mints of the different countries of the world. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*: "The term is sometimes applied, with some qualifying epithet, to ores containing only a very small portion of the precious metals, which are called 'doré bullion' or 'base bullion,' etc. A statement in the report of Mr. J. P. Turnbull, director of the United States Mint, on the production of the precious metals in the United States, pp. 14, 15 (1887), will explain this. The reference in it is to certain ores found in Mexico more or less argentiferous, the value of which has been generally estimated in Mexico by the assay of the precious metals, or of silver to the exclusion of the minute proportion of gold contained in the ore; the base metals not entering into the estimated value. The report then refers to 'the small tenor of gold extracted from doré bullion.' The metallic compound is then termed 'doré bullion' or 'base bullion,' according to the proportion of the metals of which it is composed—mainly silver or lead; but the term bullion is properly applicable to the precious metals alone."

BUONARROTI, MICHEL, was born in Pisa in 1761; he early fled to Corsica on account of his revolutionary ideas, and published there his *Friend of Italian Liberty*. In 1792 he came to Paris, and was admitted to the title of "Citoyen Français." For complicity with the conspiracy of Babeuf (*q. v.*) he was condemned to deportation. After much suffering he escaped to Geneva, and later to Brussels, where he wrote his *History of Babeuf's Conspiracy* (1828). In 1830 he returned to France, and secretly worked for communism, exerting much influence upon Blanqui and other leaders. He died in 1837.

BUREAUS OF LABOR. See LABOR BUREAUS.

BURIAL SOCIETIES are friendly societies, found mainly in England, constituted in the usual manner, but with the express object of supplying a fund for paying the funeral expenses of the members on their death. (See FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.) It became customary to enter the names not only of adults, but of children, in such societies. The proceedings of the criminal courts have shown that, in some instances, children on whose lives such an insurance was effected have been killed or allowed to die of neglect, and the alarm created by such instances was enhanced by the discovery that children were frequently insured in more than one society. Legislation in England was enacted to remedy this. In this country burial societies have had little development, their place having been filled by provisions embodied in the various friendly societies, secret orders, or trade organizations.

BÜRKLİ, KARL, was born at Zurich in 1823. He became a tanner, and was converted to so-

cialism (1845) by the writings of Fourier; he founded the first *Konsumverein* in German Switzerland, and in 1851 was elected to the Cantonal Council because of his socialist program, and advocacy, for the first time in Switzerland, of direct legislation. Since then he has played an important part in Swiss politics as a firm socialist. In his seventieth year he opened the Zurich International Congress. He has been a voluminous writer from 1851-91.

BURNS, JOHN, was born at Battersea, London, in 1858, being the son of an engineer who formerly came from Ayrshire. He began to earn his own living at the age of 10, working in a candle factory. Later he was apprenticed to a local engineering firm. Burns became, while young, a diligent student of trade-unionism. He was arrested in 1877 for persistently speaking on Clapham Common. When out of his time in 1879 he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and prominently advocated shorter hours. In 1880-81 he was engaged as an engineer in West Africa, and read Adam Smith and J. S. Mill. In 1883 he became a socialist, and joined the Social Democratic Federation, and became its leading working-class member. In 1885 he stood as socialist candidate for Nottingham, and received 598 votes. For two years he led the "unemployed" agitation in London. In 1886 he was arrested with Hyndman and others for speaking in Hyde Park, and on acquittal his speech (*The Man with the Red Flag*) was printed and widely sold. In 1887 he was imprisoned six weeks for breaking through the police, and speaking in Trafalgar Square (November 13), "Bloody Sunday." In 1889 he was elected to the London County Council from Battersea. The same year he showed marvelous skill in managing the Dock Strike, and in organizing the unorganized, and became the foremost leader of the "new unionism." Believing in the "progressivist" policy of advancing socialism through any party, he left the Social Democratic Federation, and has been much criticised by its leaders ever since. At the general election in 1892 he was easily elected M.P. for Battersea, and in 1893, receiving the highest number of votes at the Trade-Union Congress, became Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee.

On the London County Council his work has been continuously good and increasingly onerous. From the reactionary Metropolitan Board to the present progressive council there is a far cry, and Burns has had a large share in its onward march. The attitude of its Works Committee, with fair wages, hours, and conditions of labor, and its system of direct employment without contractors, is worth recording. In Parliament, too, his work has been none the less solid: witness the adoption of the eight-hour day in government workshops, and his interest in all reforms. As a trade-unionist he is a trusted man, vice-chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and visited the United States with D. Holmes December, 1894, as English representatives to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The platform upon which Burns was elected to Parliament, more advanced than that of any

other member, indicates his political belief. It is as follows:

"The recent movements of labor, the popular demand for more leisure and a higher standard of life, the determination to use Parliament for a social end, and not as an appanage of vested interests, will find in me an earnest advocate.

"As a Social Democrat, I believe that nothing short of the nationalization of the land, railways, mines, and the means of production will permanently remove the poverty and inequalities which surround us, and that eventually society will accept that view. Till that is completely realized—and it is being fast accomplished—Parliament can be made the means of giving to the people those legislative, municipal, and decentralized powers by which poverty can be reduced, burdens lightened, and the community immeasurably benefited.

"As a candidate, dealing with immediate questions and asking your votes, I am in favor of the following:

"Home Rule for Ireland, and such measures of legislative independence as the Irish people may demand for their political, social, and industrial emancipation.

"Payment of members and election expenses. **His Platform.**

"Adult man and woman's suffrage, and drastic amendment of registration laws, second ballot, and referendum.

"Triennial Parliaments.

"Abolition of the House of Lords and all hereditary authorities.

"Conferring upon the London County Council all the powers enjoyed by other municipalities and giving to London a unification of complete municipal self-government, with power to acquire all existing monopolies.

"District and parish councils, with full and popular powers.

"Alteration of the incidence of taxation, so that the ground landlord, the owner, and the rich shall pay their just proportion of taxation.

"Disestablishment of the Church.

"The legal eight-hour day as the best means of securing work for all, overwork for none, the avoidance of strikes, reduction of the rates, and giving permanent employment where demoralizing casual labor now prevails.

"Raising the age of child labor, and placing all trades within the scope of existing and future factory and sanitary acts.

"Alteration of existing poor law, and diversion of its funds to some scheme of old-age pensions that, by cumulative or graduated income tax on the rich, would give sustenance to old people, without pauperization.

"Giving to localities absolute and complete power in deciding upon all questions relating to the drink traffic by direct veto and local option.

"The recognition of trades-unions, the abolition of sweating and sub-letting, the payment of union wages in all government departments, and the checking of waste, jobbery, and extravagance wherever found.

"Beyond the above, I will attend to all local matters before Parliament, and will always endeavor to make the district in which I have lived my whole life respected where it is not feared, and will ever have in view the best and most permanent interests of the community."

Burns has done an important and interesting work in Battersea, his native parish, which has a population of 160,000, 90 per cent. of whom belong to the industrial and laboring classes. But for him the municipal progress of the parish would not have taken place. Since 1887, when it was given full administrative powers, Battersea has established:

1. A splendid public library—supported out of the rates—with two branches, bringing free reading to the doors of all its people. The libraries are open on Sundays.

2. Public baths and wash-houses, where people may have baths of all kinds at a very moderate charge, including the largest swimming bath in London, and where the poor housewife

can use all the most improved machinery for washing.

3. New municipal buildings, with a town hall capable of holding 1500 people.

4. A polytechnic institute, a real people's university, and the best of its kind in equipment in London.

Battersea has abolished contractors, and constructs its own works under the conduct of the Works Department. The men employed by the municipality have an eight-hour day, and are paid trade-union wages. These and other practical reforms have had the steady advocacy of Burns.

Besides being trustee to several trade-unions, Burns is governor of the Battersea Polytechnic. An authority on labor problems, he is constantly consulted on industrial questions. Much of his tremendous energy, of his cheery optimism, and of his remarkable success is due to the inspiring influence of his wife, unseen, yet felt by thousands.

In 1894 he made a lecturing tour in the United States. In 1895 he was returned again to Parliament, though with a greatly reduced vote.

BURROWS, HERBERT, was born in Suffolk, England, in 1845. The son of a Methodist local preacher, he studied at a private school and

entered the civil service. He was one of the original founders of the Social Democratic Federation, and is still a member. He gave himself so energetically to the cause as on occasions to deliver seven addresses a day. He was one of the organizers of the dock laborers, and has represented the federation in several socialist congresses. He is now in the civil service, and deeply interested in theosophy, but still true to socialism. He is (1895) treasurer for the Match Girls' Union, and active on its behalf.

BURT, THOMAS, was born in 1837; the son of a miner. Following his father's profession, he became Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union in 1865. In 1872 he was elected to Parliament from Morpeth, with Alexander Macdonald, the first "labor member" to sit in Parliament. He has represented Morpeth ever since. He was President of the Trade-Union Congress in 1891. He has served on several commissions, boards of trade, and in politics is a Liberal.

BUSINESS FAILURES.—The following are the business failures in the United States in recent years. For earlier years in the United States and for statistics for England, see BANKRUPTCIES.

BUSINESS FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1886-1891, AS REPORTED BY BRAD-STREET'S.

YEARS.	Number.	Actual Assets.	Liabilities.	Per cent. Assets to Liabilities	YEARS.	Number.	Actual Assets.	Liabilities.	Per cent. Assets to Liabilities
1886.....	10,568	\$55,810,173	\$113,648,301	.49	1889.....	11,719	\$70,599,769	\$140,359,490	.50
1887.....	9,740	64,651,000	130,605,000	.50	1890.....	10,673	92,775,625	175,032,836	.53
1888.....	10,587	61,999,911	120,242,402	.52	1891.....	12,394	102,893,000	193,178,000	.53

CLASSIFIED AS TO CAUSES.

FAILURES DUE TO	No. 1891.	No. 1890.	Actual Assets, 1891.	Actual Assets, 1890.	Liabilities, 1891.	Liabilities, 1890.	PERCENTAGE.			
							No. 1891.	Liabilities, 1891.	No. 1890.	Liabilities, 1890.
Incompetence.....	2,021	2,005	\$8,563,259	\$10,656,524	\$16,266,941	\$21,545,326	16.3	8.4	18.8	12.3
Inexperience.....	592	611	4,077,785	1,951,933	6,021,670	3,562,065	4.7	3.1	5.7	2.1
Lack of capital.....	4,869	4,052	34,572,098	23,571,043	61,716,157	45,818,944	39.2	32.0	37.9	26.1
Unwise credits.....	509	502	5,389,382	3,965,656	9,223,319	7,204,955	4.1	4.7	4.7	4.2
Failures of others.....	279	257	8,723,326	9,745,954	16,195,080	20,790,648	2.7	12.1	5.6	11.2
Extravagance.....	251	232	1,399,991	1,265,670	2,079,709	2,411,302	3.0	1.0	3.6	1.4
Neglect.....	383	390	1,049,640	1,223,198	2,079,709	2,194,551	2.0	1.3	2.1	1.5
Competition.....	199	246	929,215	1,235,549	1,856,352	2,194,551	7.0	6.8	3.9	3.9
Disaster (com. crisis)..	2,075	1,358	21,959,012	28,637,846	40,736,054	42,650,814	16.5	21.1	12.7	24.3
Speculation.....	341	604	12,198,055	8,917,424	23,356,718	19,616,481	2.2	8.3	2.4	11.9
Fraud.....	875	416	4,031,237	1,604,828	13,139,819	6,612,069	1.6	0.9	2.3	1.2
Totals.....	12,394	10,673	\$102,893,000	\$92,775,625	\$193,178,000	\$175,032,836	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Failures for 1893-94, as compiled by R. G. Dun for the *Tribune Almanac* (1895), are as follows: *

STATES.	TOTAL.		MANUFACTURING.		TRADING.		OTHER.	
	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.
Maine.....	239	\$2,318,810	49	\$1,368,362	188	\$941,448	2	\$9,000
New Hampshire.....	46	274,646	11	99,779	35	174,867	..	.....
Vermont.....	32	313,296	6	189,450	25	118,846	1	5,000
Massachusetts.....	805	16,250,423	280	7,200,908	521	8,816,780	4	232,735
Connecticut.....	244	1,773,743	49	879,128	194	893,915	1	700
Rhode Island.....	179	1,177,517	43	474,529	131	702,188	5	800
New England.....	1,545	\$22,108,435	438	\$10,212,156	1,094	\$11,648,044	13	\$248,235
New England, 1893.....	2,015	31,545,025	530	13,080,484	1,463	17,762,252	22	702,827
New York.....	2,864	\$35,139,479	631	\$17,648,325	2,181	\$15,529,919	52	\$1,961,235
New Jersey.....	200	3,270,779	66	1,831,303	129	867,131	5	572,345
Pennsylvania.....	1,355	14,404,095	403	6,136,576	940	7,798,697	12	468,822
Middle.....	4,419	\$52,814,353	1,100	\$25,616,204	3,250	\$24,195,747	69	\$3,002,402
Middle, 1893.....	3,636	147,961,618	1,197	106,358,320	2,364	28,801,919	75	12,801,379
Maryland.....	227	\$4,833,868	58	\$1,079,585	161	\$1,491,185	8	\$263,098
Delaware.....	59	905,270	14	704,900	45	140,370	..	.....
District of Columbia.....	49	816,096	8	160,884	40	653,449	..	1,763
Virginia.....	261	1,923,944	28	586,933	227	1,171,000	6	166,000
West Virginia.....	96	511,549	8	126,200	85	374,649	..	.....
North Carolina.....	126	1,807,188	14	703,800	72	1,103,388	3	10,700
South Carolina.....	82	1,608,365	9	575,700	114	1,023,665	..	.....
Florida.....	42	361,150	..	..	42	361,150	..	.....
Georgia.....	302	4,355,368	22	719,275	277	2,793,093	3	933,000
Alabama.....	160	2,789,859	10	1,709,700	150	1,080,159	..	.....
Mississippi.....	138	1,109,209	5	357,200	133	752,009	..	.....
Louisiana.....	203	1,620,354	24	278,610	178	1,347,244	1	34,911
Tennessee.....	303	2,847,105	27	542,566	273	2,147,398	3	157,141
Kentucky.....	301	4,859,580	48	1,955,059	251	2,568,021	2	346,500
Southeast.....	2,359	\$28,357,993	284	\$9,550,421	2,048	\$16,925,879	27	\$1,881,693
Southeast, 1893.....	2,565	36,541,110	377	12,141,577	2,136	19,882,120	52	4,517,419
Arkansas.....	149	\$1,248,060	9	\$252,275	140	\$955,785	..	.....
Texas.....	398	2,964,951	15	389,575	381	2,562,376	2	\$13,000
Missouri.....	384	3,472,110	45	459,699	330	2,869,211	0	142,200
Southwest.....	931	\$7,684,121	69	\$1,101,549	851	\$6,427,372	11	\$155,200
Southwest, 1893.....	1,207	14,851,673	92	1,755,450	1,105	10,848,292	10	2,424,925
Ohio.....	677	\$6,512,395	141	\$3,150,893	535	\$3,351,502	1	\$10,000
Indiana.....	257	3,390,432	56	1,634,164	197	1,416,268	4	340,000
Michigan.....	164	1,638,529	31	669,935	131	942,594	2	35,000
Illinois.....	683	7,532,759	191	3,824,179	470	3,191,580	22	517,000
Wisconsin.....	232	3,606,604	36	966,000	189	1,842,184	7	297,520
Central.....	2,013	\$22,180,719	455	\$10,237,071	1,522	\$19,744,128	36	\$1,109,520
Central, 1893.....	2,319	60,832,229	730	31,066,120	1,527	23,343,110	56	6,442,991
Minnesota.....	343	\$4,552,681	63	\$2,210,734	272	\$2,142,757	8	\$199,190
Iowa.....	235	4,960,128	29	891,412	204	1,028,716	2	3,030,000
Nebraska.....	219	1,127,948	17	63,291	199	1,063,257	3	1,400
Kansas.....	268	1,418,640	12	541,700	255	1,339,940	1	24,000
Oklahoma.....	64	262,050	..	.....	64	262,050	..	.....
Indian Territory.....	20	76,500	..	.....	20	76,500	..	.....
Montana.....	16	205,037	..	.....	16	205,037	..	.....
North Dakota.....	14	568,400	..	.....	14	568,400	..	.....
South Dakota.....	26	55,969	1	700	25	55,269	..	.....
Colorado.....	134	1,471,157	12	188,850	121	1,277,807	1	4,500
Wyoming.....	24	311,700	2	76,000	21	234,700	1	1,000
New Mexico.....	1	3,000	..	.....	1	3,000	..	.....
Western.....	1,364	\$15,013,210	136	\$3,485,687	1,212	\$8,267,433	16	\$3,260,090
Western, 1893.....	1,978	38,725,191	220	7,140,272	1,707	19,989,755	51	11,595,164
Utah.....	264	\$1,595,403	40	\$542,452	220	\$1,044,551	4	\$8,400
Idaho.....	116	418,017	24	119,000	90	297,517	2	1,500
Arizona.....	2	2,250	..	.....	2	2,250	..	.....
Nevada.....	1	3,876	..	.....	1	3,876	..	.....
Washington.....	166	1,960,619	35	611,400	128	1,326,219	3	23,000
Oregon.....	201	2,493,442	30	460,540	168	1,991,291	3	41,611
California.....	548	5,238,314	96	1,553,811	430	2,727,486	22	957,400
Pacific.....	1,298	\$11,711,921	225	\$3,286,819	1,039	\$7,393,190	34	\$1,031,920
Pacific, 1893.....	1,522	16,303,937	270	5,139,854	1,210	9,434,883	42	1,428,300
Totals.....	13,929	\$159,870,752	2,707	\$63,480,899	11,016	\$85,601,793	206	\$10,779,060
Totals, 1893.....	15,242	346,779,889	3,422	176,982,091	11,512	130,622,333	308	39,735,465

* Wanting all returns for the latter part of December. The returns yet to be received will probably add about 700 to the number of commercial failures, and about \$5,000,000 to the aggregate of liabilities. While the number was but little smaller in 1894 than in 1893, the aggregate of liabilities was not half as large. In the aggregate of liabilities, failures of banks and financial institutions are not included, and the total for the year thus far reported is shown by sections in the following table:

BANK FAILURES.

STATES.	1894.		1893.	
	No.	Liabilities.	No.	Liabilities.
New England.....	1	\$125,000	16	\$12,546,000
Middle.....	15	7,383,724	35	43,478,618
Southeast.....	12	699,935	82	22,119,514
Southwest.....	15	1,808,000	61	29,793,776
Central.....	11	2,280,187	149	37,457,963
Western.....	39	9,436,667	218	39,554,298
Pacific.....	25	2,814,822	81	26,138,639
Totals.....	118	\$24,538,822	642	\$210,998,808

See also BANKRUPTCIES.

BUTLER, BENJAMIN F. (1818-93), was born at Deerfield, N. H. He graduated at Water-ville College, Maine; studied law at Lowell, Mass., and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He soon became distinguished as a criminal lawyer and Democratic politician. In 1853 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1859 to the State Senate. Having become a brigadier-general of militia, at the outbreak of the Civil War he marched at once to the South with the Eighth Massachusetts Brigade. In February, 1862, he commanded the military forces sent from Boston to the mouth of the Mississippi, and for seven months held military command of New Orleans. His administration here has been violently denounced, and it brought down upon him the intense hatred of the Southern people, because, altho he maintained order and enforced sanitary regulations, he compelled the rich secessionists to relieve the wants of those whom their rebellion had impoverished. When relieved of his command he was moved north to

Virginia and North Carolina, and cooperated with General Grant in his movement upon Petersburg. In 1866 he was chosen member of Congress from the Boston district, and two years later was one of the managers in the impeachment of President Johnson. From the commencement of the rebellion Butler had been a Republican; but as soon as the Greenback and Labor movement began he fell in with it, and in 1878 he was the candidate of this movement for Governor of Massachusetts. He received 109,435 votes as against 134,725 for the Republican candidate. In 1879 he was again defeated; but in 1882 was successful as the Democratic nominee. Two years afterward he was the presidential candidate of the Greenback-Labor and Antimonopoly parties, receiving about 133,000 popular and no electoral votes.

Altho very wealthy, General Butler kept near to the heart of the "common people," and few men of his time had as large a following among the working men, especially in Massachusetts.

CABET, ÉTIENNE, was born at Dijon, France, in 1788, and died at St. Louis (U. S. A.), in 1856. The son of poor parents, he received little education, but worked his way up by attending the lectures of his distinguished fellow-townsmen, Jacotot, till he became a teacher in the *Lycée*. Later he studied both law and medicine. In 1815 he became founder and director of the "Fédération Bourguignonne" for the defense of the national territory, and became connected with the Carbonari, his father before him having been a fiery patriot. About 1820 he went to Paris, and the Revolution of 1830 found him in the first line of its adherents. Up to 1839 he followed the varying fortunes of a Parisian extreme republican, writing various histories of the French revolutions and defending the most extreme acts of the "Mountain." Being tried for this and condemned, he fled to England. Here he read Moore's *Utopia*, and devoted henceforth his life to the cause of communism. He wrote in London and published in Paris in 1840 his *Voyage en Icarie*, an at-

tractive communistic romance. In this he proposed, first, a transitional period of 50 years, and then a complete communism. In the transitional period taxation was to be more and more levied upon the wealthy, and gifts and transfers of property to be severely scrutinized. Wages somewhat favorable to the poor were to be fixed by law. Five hundred million francs were to be spent in providing work and dwellings for the poor. The army was to be disbanded as rapidly as possible, and employed on public works. Under Cabet's full communism, all over 65 were to be retired from work on an allowance. All others able to work were to be set to compulsory work—men from 18 to 65, women from 17 to 50. Everything, however, was to be done to make the work attractive. The family was to be maintained intact, save that at the age of five years children were to be educated in communism by the State. There was to be one official journal; none others were to be allowed. The city of Icaria is described with minute detail, and all arrangements provided for.

The publication of these thoughts in the *Populaire* created great interest, and it was decided to establish an Icaria in America. Cabet bought 1,000,000 acres of land in Texas, and sent, in 1848, 69 trusted followers to prepare the way. Arriving in New Orleans in March, they heard of the republican revolution in Paris, and debated whether or not to return to France. They decided to go on; but their ranks were soon decimated by fever, and they returned to New Orleans, where they met Cabet, who had left Paris in December. There was a stormy interview, and Cabet was much denounced; but in March, 1849, Cabet, with 280 followers, went to Nauvoo, Ill., where they hoped for a better climate than in Texas. Meanwhile, Cabet had been condemned in Paris to imprisonment on a trumped-up charge of fraud. He returned to Paris, and had the sentence reversed. Returning to Nauvoo, he found the community prospering, having, in 1855, 500 members. There was, however, continual dissension, and Cabet with 200 followers left and went to St. Louis, where he soon died. The colony, however, survived, and has only finally disbanded this year (1895). (For the history of the colony after Cabet's death, see ICARIA.) Cabet, it should be added, gave a somewhat religious cast to his thought, writing a book, *Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus Christ*, and indeed several other books arguing that Christianity is communism.

References: *Icaria*, by Albert Shaw; *French and German Socialism*, by R. T. Ely, and other histories of Socialism. (See COMMUNISM.)

CAIRNES, JOHN ELLIOT (1823-75), the son of a large brewer, was born at Castle Bellingham, County Louth. He graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was called to the Irish bar in 1857, but never seems to have practised. In 1856 he competed successfully for the Whately professorship of Political Economy in Dublin, and held it for five years, the full period during which it was tenable. During this period he published several essays and lectures, especially one on *The Slave Power*, defending the cause of the North in the American Civil War, and winning by it a high reputation for his economic thought and analysis. In 1865 he moved near London, and was soon appointed Professor of Political Economy at University College, London. Altho at this time a confirmed invalid, he fulfilled his duties with great fortitude and nobility of character. In 1872 his health compelled him to resign, and he was made professor emeritus. In 1873 he published his *Political Essays*, and in 1874 his greatest work, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded*. Of the Ricardo-Mill school, Cairnes ranks perhaps second to Mill himself. His work, says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, belongs to three departments: the logic of political economy, the investigation and interpretation of contemporaneous economic facts, and the economic theory. Under the first head he maintains sharply that political economy has to do only with what is, not with what ought to be; and his whole treatment is conservative and of the old, orthodox and a *priori* school, having little to do with the induction

of the historical school. While of the school of Mill, he criticises him very sharply on many points, so that the *Dictionary of Political Economy* declares the effect of Cairnes' last and greatest book to have been mainly destructive in shaking faith in the finality of Mill's conclusions. Cairnes' literary skill and his logical ingenuity are perhaps his most marked characteristics.

CALVIN, JEAN (1509-64).—The great theologian is considered here only from the standpoint of his influence upon social reform, but this was not slight both for good and for evil. Professor John Fiske says of him (*The Beginnings of New England*, p. 58): "It is not easy to speak of Calvin with enthusiasm, as it comes natural to speak of the genial, whole-souled, many-sided, mirth and song-loving Luther. Nevertheless it would be hard to overestimate the debt which mankind owes to Calvin. The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy. Perhaps not one of the mediæval popes was more despotic in temper than Calvin; but it is not the less true that the promulgation of his theology was one of the longest steps that mankind has taken toward personal freedom. Calvinism left the individual man alone in the presence of his God. . . . In the presence of the awful responsibility of life all distinctions of rank and fortune vanished; prince and pauper were alike the helpless creatures of Jehovah, and suppliants for His grace."

It is easy to see from this in what direction Calvin's contribution to human thought and life must lie. By crushing the individual under the sovereign decrees of God, he frees him from all lesser bondage. Calvin's sociology becomes intensely individualistic. He defends private property as morally necessary, as tests of justice and integrity. The communism of the New Testament he tries to prove was not communism. He is the first theologian to defend interest. The State and the Church he regarded as wholly independent, yet alike in Church and State the one supreme ruler is God. Luxury he condemned as sin. He considered it the duty of the Church to provide for the poor, and to this end he revived the temporal duty of the diocese.

CAMERALISTIC SCIENCE.—The phrase *cameralistic science* has its origin in the fact that, in Europe generally, the king's chamberlain, or *camerarius*, was responsible for devising the ways and means of raising revenue for the public treasury, so that the science of conducting the national revenues and expenditure came to be called the cameralistic science. The phrase has been chiefly used and the science was first carefully developed in Germany, under the name, *Kameralwissenschaft*. Cossa considers Johann Heinrich Justi, who died in 1771, and who was professor first at Vienna, and later at Göttingen, the leader of the German cameralists. Frederick William I., himself an able cameralist and author of the Prussian financial system, did much for the science, founding chairs of political economy and cameralistic

science at Halle and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. The cameralists, speaking generally, took up the principles of the mercantilists (*q.v.*) and developed them into a system of practical finance. The science was also somewhat developed, and chairs of cameralistic science were founded in Italy, France, Sweden, etc.

CAMPANELLA, TOMMASO (1568-1639), was an Italian monk and the author of *Civitas Solis*. He entered the Dominican Order when quite a boy, but devoted much of his time to the study of philosophy. In 1599 there arose a conspiracy in Calabria against the Spanish rule. Campanella, as an Italian patriot, was seized and charged with conspiracy and heresy, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in Naples for nearly 27 years, repeatedly being tortured to make him confess his heresy, but with no avail. During his confinement he wrote several works, one of which was his *Civitas Solis* (published 1623). When released he retired to Rome, and afterward to Paris, where, enjoying the friendship of Richelieu and a pension from the king, he ended his days in peace. His book, the *City of the Sun*, is in the form of a dialogue between a Knight Templar and a sea captain. The captain tells of a wonderful city he had visited, and describes minutely all that he saw there, especially the methods of education and the laws by which the city is governed. It much resembles Plato's *Republic*. Work is common to all, but the hours are to be only four, and slavery is repudiated. There is to be community of wives and of goods. Money is not to be received, even from foreigners. A translation of the *City of the Sun* may be found in Morley's Universal Library.

CAMPBELL, HELEN, née STUART, was born in Lockport, N. Y., July 4th, 1839. She attended school at Warren, R. I., and at Bloomfield, N. J. In 1859 she was married to Mr. Weeks, an army surgeon. She began to contribute sketches to the magazines and newspapers at an early age, and gave much attention to housekeeping on a basis of scientific common sense. She has studied carefully the problem of the poor in great cities and elsewhere, and has contributed valuable papers, drawn from personal experience, to current publications. Her novels are all written in an earnest spirit, but are full of touches of wit and pathos. From 1881-84 she was literary editor of *The Continent* (Philadelphia.) Among her published works are: *The Ainslee Series* (New York, 1864-67); *His Grandmothers* (1877); *Six Sinners* (1878); *Unto the Third and Fourth Generation* (1880); *The Easiest Way in Housekeeping and Cooking* (1881); *The Problem of the Poor* (1882); *The American Girl's Handbook of Work and Play* (1883); *Under Green Apple Boughs* (1883); *The What-to-do Club* (Boston, 1884); *Mrs. Herndon's Income* (1885); *Miss Melinda's Opportunity* (1886). Her chief books bearing directly on social reforms are *Prisoners of Poverty, Prisoners of Poverty Abroad, Woman on a Wage Earners* (1893).

CANALS are artificial waterways for the purposes of navigation or irrigation. (For an account of the latter, see IRRIGATION.) Naviga-

ble canals may be divided into those used for inland navigation and those used for shortening sea voyages. With a long and honorable history canals have for the last 50 years been overshadowed in importance by the railway, but are now experiencing a deserved and needed revival.

Altho known in Egypt and China from early days, canals were of small use till the invention of locks in Italy in the fourteenth century. The modern era of canal construction dates, however, from the success of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, from Worsley to Manchester, commenced in 1759, and lengthened to Liverpool in 1772. A canal mania at this time broke out. Dividends in some of the canal companies amounted to 100 per cent. In 1817 the Erie Canal in the United States was commenced, and finished amid great enthusiasm in 1825. The original cost was \$5,700,000. In 1852-53, altho the tolls had been reduced to about one third the original amount, the revenue was over \$3,000,000 per year. Up to 1880 nearly 4500 miles of canals had been constructed. The Erie is by far the largest canal in the world, of great importance, having with its feeders 350 miles; tho the Grand Canal in China has some 800 miles, and the improved Ganges River in India 522 miles. The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, has 90 miles of length, with the largest sectional area and undoubtedly the greatest commercial importance of any canal in the world. The Ohio Canal with its feeders has 328 miles, the Miami and Erie, 285; the Illinois and Michigan, 102; the Chesapeake and Ohio, 180, and the Morris Canal, 103. In 1825 the railway era commenced, and the interest in canals diminished. By an unfortunate policy the railroads chose to compete with the canals, instead of leaving to canals the heavy commodities, which the canals could carry better, and pushing into channels of trade which the canals could not enter. The railways have thus not undertaken what they might do with better profit, and have been burdened with work of small profit which the canals needed. Since 1870, however, thinkers have come to see that the canal has a needed place in commerce.

In October, 1884, an International Inland Navigation Congress was held in Bremen, and has met nearly every year since. The great Manchester Ship Canal, which enables the largest steamers for India or America to load at Manchester, was commenced in 1885, and opened January 1, 1894, costing \$75,000,000. It is mainly controlled by the city, which has a majority of the directors. The North Sea Baltic Canal was commenced in 1887, and finished in July, 1895. A canal has been constructed across the Isthmus of Corinth. Canals are also being constructed through Cape Cod, in Nicaragua, and other places. The importance of the last-named canal entitles it to a treatment by itself. (See NICARAGUA.)

A proposal to pierce the Isthmus of Darien was made as early as 1520 by Angel Saavedra; Cortez caused the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to be surveyed for the construction of a canal; and in 1550 Antonio Galvão suggested four different routes for such a scheme, one of them being across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1879 M. de Lesseps took the matter up, and the first meeting of his company was held in 1881. The capital necessary for the "Company of the Inter-oceanic Canal of Panama," as it is called, was stated at 600,000,000 frs.—the estimated cost of excavation being 430,000,000 frs., that of weirs and trenches to take fresh water to the sea, 46,000,000 frs., and that of a dock and tide-gates on the Pacific side, 36,000,000 frs. The Panama Canal was bought for \$20,000,000. The contractors, Couvreur & Hersent, began operations in October of the same year. (See PANAMA.)

Projected canals will probably in the future connect, in Europe, the Bay of Biscay with the Mediterranean, the North Sea with the Mediterranean, the Baltic with the Black Sea; Paris, Brussels, and other cities with the sea, and cross England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, and other countries. In America canals are projected which, commencing with the Cape Cod Canal, will give unbroken

**Projected
Canals.**

inland communication from Boston to the Carolina sounds, will cross Florida and Upper Michigan, will connect Lake Michigan with the Mississippi and Pittsburg with Lake Erie. Even to-day canals are of vastly more commercial importance than many realize. Mr. Marshall Stevens, in a recent paper before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, showed that more fine goods are carried to-day between Manchester and Liverpool on the Bridgewater Canal than on any of the three competing roads, even tho the rates are the same. The tonnage on the Trent and Mersey Canal is over 1,250,000 tons per year. In France the canal tonnage is nearly 20,000,000 tons per year; in Germany water carries 40,000,000. The Erie Canal, altho the political influence of the railroads has allowed it to be neglected and unimproved, as late as 1884 carried half as much grain to New York City as all the roads combined, altho it is closed for five months in the year. Mr. Albert Fink, one of the ablest railroad managers in the United States, has testified to the far-reaching influence of the Erie Canal in affecting general railroad rates through the country, so that railroad rates are reduced generally when the Erie Canal is open. In 1839 the value of the traffic passing through the St. Mary's Falls Canal, between Lakes Superior and Huron, was \$83,733,527. The total tonnage of all canals in the United States, even in 1880, was over 20,000,000. The total tonnage of the foreign trade entering New York City in American or foreign vessels in 1887 was only 84 per cent. of that passing from Lake Huron to Lake Superior. The Illinois and Michigan Canal is at present little more than a ditch, yet from 1880 to 1885 it transported 5,000,000 tons.

Canals are of importance, first, because they can carry certain freight cheaper and better than railroads; secondly, because by carrying goods where speed of transport is of small moment, they can free the railroads to do more rapid work; thirdly, because they develop trade, and so aid and not hurt railroad traffic. Ship canals connecting Lake Ontario with the ocean, and the Great Lakes with the Mississippi, will make Chicago a seaport, and develop a trade greater than that of the Suez Canal.

Realizing their importance, it is evident that the railroads should be allowed no longer, through a mistaken policy, to ruin canals, often buying them up and perhaps running their tracks in the canal bed. Many hold that Government should care for, own and operate the canals on some large, comprehensive system. Every argument for the nationalization of railroads applies to canals only with added force. (See RAILROADS.) For the literature of canals in their economic aspect, see *The Canal and the Railway*, by E. J. James, Ph.D., a publication of the American Economic Association for 1890; also *Waterways and Water Transport*, by J. S. Jeans, London, 1890.)

CANON LAW.—Rules or laws relating to faith, morals or discipline for the members of a church, enjoined by its ecclesiastical authority; specifically a collection of rules of ecclesiastical order and discipline embodied in the Corpus Juris Canonici (body of canon law). This is a compilation from the canons of councils, the decrees of popes and the decretals and canonical replies made to questions put at various times to the Roman pontiffs or the fathers of the Church, together with commentaries or glosses. There were various compilations of such laws from the third century down to the twelfth, when they were gathered into something like their present shape by Gratian, a monk of Bologna, in 1151, since when they have been added to but not materially changed. They mainly consist to-day of the Decretum, or compilation of Gratian, the decretals of Gregory IX., those of

Boniface VIII., the Clementine constitutions, and the books called the *Extravagantes* of John XXII. and the *Extravagantes Communes*.

We consider here briefly only such points of the canon law as bear on economic reform. At the beginning of canon law we are told that men are under two kinds of laws—the law of nature and the law of custom or positive institution (*naturalis juris et moribus*). Civil law and canon law are two branches of the second kind. Private property, we are told, is not known to the law of nature, but all things are common to all men, as they were among the first disciples. St. Augustine argues that, as “the earth is the Lord’s, and the fulness thereof,” private property is not of divine, but of human government. Yet canon law does not wholly forbid private property. It forbids it to the clergy, but allows it somewhat grudgingly to the laity. The clergy are to hold property collectively for the good of the poor; they are not to marry, and are to be content with food and clothing. The laity are to hold property only in trust for the poor, and to give liberally to them, and to the clergy as almoners for the poor. It is at least hinted that even for the laity community of goods is better, and that property is only allowed for the hardness of men’s hearts. Agriculture is the ideal industry, and the only right way to increase wealth is to till the ground and breed cattle. These pursuits and the simple manufacturing industries are allowed even to the clergy. Labor within these limits is commended, if not commanded, and it is the glory of canon law that it did its best to enfranchise the laborer. Canon law is largely drawn from, or at least molded by, Roman law, the Decretum itself being modeled after the pandects of Justinian; yet Roman law cared much more for property than for men, the canon law much more for men than property. Usury—and by usury canon law means use money or interest of any kind and at any rate—is strictly forbidden as sin. Only very gradually and covertly did exceptions to this rule begin to creep in, and not till the creation of the “Montes Pietatis” (*q. v.*), in the fifteenth century, was usury to any extent condoned. (For a fuller treatment of the relation of usury to Christian thought, see USURY.)

Canon law never obtained a firm footing in England, tho there was a kind of national canon law composed of canons passed in national and provincial synods, and foreign canons by custom and common law. In the reign of Henry VIII. Parliament enacted that a review should be made of the canon law, and that till it was made all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, already made and not contrary to the law of the land or the king’s prerogative, should still be used and executed. As no such review has ever been perfected, canons enacted before this date are within the above limitations still held by many to be binding to-day in England upon both clergy and laity. Later canons of the Church of England, however, are a different matter, and concern only the Church of England. Through all civilized countries the influence of the canon law has been great, creating, if nothing more, at least a high norm of righteous living. It is desired by some that Church councils to-day should pass, if not canons, at least decisions as to what it regards as the true ways of life for Christian men.

CANONS OF TAXATION. See TAXATION.

CANTILLON, RICHARD, a writer of Irish race, living in Paris in the first half of the eighteenth century, of whose life little is known, but whose little book, *Essai sur la nature du commerce en général*, the earliest edition of which was published in Paris in 1755, seems to have exerted a very profound influence upon the economic thought of his century. For what is known of his life, see article “Cantillon” in Palgrave’s *Dictionary of Political Economy*. Cantillon’s opinions were those of the mercantilist school modified by the ideas of the Physiocrats, and all stated with unusual scientific precision and method. For a very favorable estimate of his work, see the article by Jevons upon “Richard Cantillon and the Nationality of Political Economy,” in the *Contemporary Review*, 1881. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

CAPITAL may be briefly but correctly defined as "that part of wealth which is devoted to obtaining further wealth" (Alfred Marshall, *Economics of Industry*, p. 5). Says J. S. Mill (*Political Economy*, i., iv., Sec. 1): "What capital does for production is to afford the shelter, protection, tools, and materials which the work requires, and to feed and otherwise maintain the laborers during the process. Whatever things are destined for this use, destined to supply productive labor with these various prerequisites, are capital." Knies defines capital as "wealth set aside

Definitions.

for the satisfaction, directly or indirectly, of future needs. This satisfaction may be obtained by the individual by lending his wealth at 'usury'—usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury, or by reserving means for future production, as in the case of the husbandman and his corn or cattle, or by laying up for himself a treasure which will be a delight for many days." President Francis A. Walker (*Political Economy*, Sec. 73) defines capital as "that part of wealth, excluding unimproved land and natural agents, which is devoted to the production of wealth." E. V. Böhm-Bawerk defines capital as "the complex of goods that originate in a previous process of production, and are destined, not for immediate consumption, but to serve as means of acquiring further goods. Objects of immediate consumption, then, and land (as not produced) stand outside our conception of capital."

There are three principal questions in defining capital which we need to answer: (1) *Is all capital the result of labor, and ought we to exclude the forces and free gifts of nature?* To this we must answer that it is largely a matter of convenience how we use the term, and, in a general way, capital may be said to include such free gifts of nature; yet, as usually in political economy, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the free gifts of nature and the produced works of man, it is probably best with the above authors not to include under the term capital any of the so-called free gifts of nature. Of course it is not always easy to draw the line, as in the case of made land, between the free gifts of nature and the work of man, and yet, altho in some cases the line may be invisible, and therefore hard to place, there is a line, and an important line, and usually at least it can, approximately, be placed. Certain improvements put upon land in time become a part of the land itself. No definition can cover all the exigencies of life, but the general distinction is plain and convenient. Another question is, (2) *Does the distinction between capital and non-capital depend on the intention of the capitalist, or, in other words, the owner of the potential capital?* Thus Professor Marshall, in the *Economics of Industry*, argues that a doctor's carriage, when used on professional visits, would be capital, but when used for pleasure merely would not be capital.

To this it may be answered that the distinction lies not so much in the intent as in the use that actually is made; though of course usually what is intended for production of wealth is used for that purpose, so that the same article

may sometimes be used as capital and sometimes not. The final question is, (3) *Does capital include what are called immaterial, as distinct from material qualities?* This question is somewhat similar to the first. In a general sense immaterial qualities are certainly often, and perhaps usually, the truest capital. Thus we say a man's capital is his health, skill, strength; but in political economy it is usually and probably wisest to not call this capital, because it is different from material capital, and obeys different laws, and therefore should be distinguished from it. Capital, therefore, is probably wisely, and at least as a matter of fact, usually used in political economy in the restricted sense of *material wealth, not the free gift of nature, used for the production of more wealth.*

We now come to consider some different kinds of capital, and first the common distinction made between Circulating and Fixed Capital.

"Capital which fulfils the whole of its office, in the production in which it is engaged, by a single use, is called *Circulating Capital*."

"Capital which exists in any durable shape, and the return to which is spread over a period of corresponding duration, is called *Fixed Capital*."*

In this distinction all economists are agreed. Another convenient distinction is made by Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, p. 19) into *Remuneratory Capital* and *Auxiliary Capital*. He says:

"*Remuneratory Capital* or *Wage Capital* consists of the food, clothes, shelter, etc., which support labor.

"*Auxiliary Capital* is that which aids labor. It consists of tools, machines, factories and other buildings that are used for trade purposes, railways, canals, roads, ships, etc.; also raw materials."

Passing now to the theory of capital, we are met at once by the utmost diversity of opinion, and have therefore to consider the history of theories of capital.

The word capital (connected with the Latin *caput*, or head) was originally a mere adjective in the phrase, "capital stock," and so used as late as

Adam Smith. But it soon came to be used elliptically for the whole phrase, and the single word capital is used in the modern sense at least as early as 1625, in Dafforne's *Merchant's Mirror*. This gives us some clew to the history of the treatment of capital by economists.

It has been mainly connected with interest, the phrase "capital stock" being contrasted with the interest accruing from it. At first, in society, there was very little capital. Men made their little modicums of wealth directly from the soil by rude agriculture, hunting, and fishing, all requiring the least amounts of capital. As invention grew, however, more and more were machinery and implements of toil a necessity to successful production. This necessitated capital, either in the form of machinery or money, to enable the owner to obtain machinery. We can now see why the modern age is distinctively the capitalist age, and why, till now, comparatively speaking, capital can scarcely be said to have existed. The modern age is the age of machinery. The inventions of the last part of the eighteenth century created an "industrial revolution." Machinery on a large scale became the necessity of successful trade; in other words, capital and the capitalist gained the key to the situation. The man without capital became dependent on the man with capital. When, in 1776, Watts perfected his steam-engine, the capitalist age was fully born.

It is not strange, therefore, that the careful study of capital belongs to modern times. Until the present age it did not assume importance enough to elicit study. Since 1776 all schools of political economy may be distinguished by their treatment of capital.

The best statement yet written of the various theories of capital is undoubtedly Böhm-Bawerk's in his *Capital and Interest: A Critical History of Economic Theory*, a translation from the German *Kapital und Kapitalzins*. This book we shall largely use in the following account. The problem of capital Böhm-Bawerk states substantially as follows:

Different Kinds of Capital.

History of Theories of Capital.

* Mill, Book I., chap. vi.

He who owns capital can generally obtain from it a permanent net income called interest. This has notable characteristics. It owes its existence to no personal activity of the capitalist. It flows into him even where he has not moved a finger.

The Problem of Capital.

It seems in a peculiar sense to spring from capital, or, to use a very old metaphor, to be begotten of it. It may be obtained from any capital, from goods that are barren, as well as those that are fruitful; from perishable goods, as from durable; from goods that can be replaced, and from goods that cannot be replaced; from money, as from commodities. Finally, it flows into the capitalist without ever exhausting the capital from which it comes, and therefore without any necessary limit. It presents the remarkable picture of a lifeless thing producing an everlasting and inexhaustible supply of goods. Whence and why this endless flow of wealth? This is the theoretical problem of capital and interest. This is different, says Böhm-Bawerk, from the social and political problem. The theoretical problem asks why there *is* interest on capital; the social and political problem asks whether there *should* be. Yet it is doubtful if we can keep the two questions apart. "Whether there should be" certainly depends upon "why there is," and "why there is" is not unaffected by "whether there should be." Yet they are two questions, and for the sake of clear thought we should try to keep them separate, and to answer the first question first. Yet, historically, in political economy, the second question received the first treatment. Ancient political economy evidenced a deep disapproval of interest, as witnessed in the prohibition of interest between Jews in the Mosaic code and in many passages from classic literature. (See USURY.) The reason is not far to seek. Credit had little place in production. Machinery was simple. Almost all loans were for immediate consumption, and, as a rule, to people in distress. The creditor was usually rich, the debtor poor, and the former, therefore, in the light of a man squeezing something from the poor man. Yet was there little study of the question. Plato, Aristotle, the two Catos, Cicero, Seneca, Plautus—all condemn interest, and yet assign little reason for so doing. Aristotle's argument was: Money is by nature incapable of bearing fruit. The lender's gain, therefore, must come from a defrauding of the borrower. The strong condemnation of interest by the Mosaic law and the early Christian Church is well known. Yet there was usually but little reason given, and some of the reasons that were given are far more rhetorical than logical. Gradually Greek and then Roman legislation came to allow interest, and so the practice spread. The Middle Ages, however, witnessed a revival of the condemnation of interest. The Church strenuously condemned it (see CANON LAW), first categorically, and then, as the desire for interest and the seeming need of interest increased, with more show of argument and attempt at reason. Gonzalez Tellez falls back on Aristotle's argument.

Thomas Aquinas (*q.v.*) does the same in a different form. He argues that he who loans money passes over money and all that comes from it, and therefore has no right to the interest that springs from it. Interest again he considers as the hypocritical and underhand price asked for a good common to all-time. Time is simply a pretext used by usurers to get more than they give. But time is a common good, given to all equally by God. This was the general position of the canonists, tho steadily and quietly exceptions and excuses were introduced permitting interest under this pretext or that.

The Protestant reformers usually approved of interest, altho with more or less reserve; at least this is so with Zwingli, Luther (in his later days), Melancthon, and Calvin. The last named, however, is the only one who gives careful reason for his approval. His argument is that interest is legitimate, because, tho money itself be barren, money is used as a house is used, for gain of convenience or rent, and therefore that the lender of the money is entitled to interest as his share of the gain. Molinæus, taking somewhat the same ground, opposed the canon prohibition of interest. Besold, Grotius, followed hesitatingly in the same line till Salmasius (about 1640) poured out a flood of writing defending interest, and was followed by Bacon, North, Locke, Steuart, Hume, Galiani, Vasco, Beccaria, Mirabeau, and Bentham.

But this already brings us to modern times, when

Protestant Views.

capital and interest, having become matters of such vast moment, have elicited far more careful and scientific study. Turgot comes first. He defends interest on the ground that capital is always the equivalent of rent-bearing land, and therefore should receive interest as land brings forth fruit. This theory Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Fructification" theory, but says it explains nothing. What gives money its value in buying land? The power of being used; that is, of drawing interest. Therefore the answer begs the question. Adam Smith has no definite position, but throws out various hints about the origin of interest, some of which are utterly contradictory. His writings give in germ both what Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Productivity" theories, that capital gives an additional productivity to labor, and therefore gains remuneration; and also the "Socialistic theories," that interest is paid out of labor. But Adam Smith's neutral position could not be long held. The question of labor and capital has been the burning question of the century. Five answers have been developed through the century, and more or less side by side; so that we shall do best not to attempt to follow chronological order, but to see the separate schools as markedly and distinctly as possible.

First, Böhm-Bawerk puts what he calls the "colorless" answer, which, like Adam Smith's, is a confused answer, altho made by Ricardo, Torrens, McCulloch, and several continental writers. Ricardo, for example, tho he sharply and at length gives his conception of the law that governs the rate of return to capital, scarcely gives any reason for the return, save that, if capitalists did not receive any interest, they would not invest. His law, however, of the rate of interest has played such a large part in modern political economy that it must be stated. It is, of course, connected with his famous law of rent. The best land, he says, is ordinarily occupied first, and only gradually does the growth of population force people to improve and use poorer land. This poorer land, however, does not bring in so good returns as the first land, yet its produce has to be sold at a price enabling one to pay all costs and the necessary profit. This "margin of cultivation" fixes the market price. He who has the better land can get more return from it, or rent, so that rent is the difference between the annual return from the land and the annual return of a similar amount of land at the "margin of cultivation." Now, wages, under competition, cannot permanently rise much above nor fall much below the cost of existence, and the cost of existence is fixed by the cost of produce at the margin of cultivation. Therefore, as lower and lower grades of land are brought into use, and production becomes more and more expensive, wages and prices must both rise, and profits must fall, since rent of land, measuring the value of money, is fixed by the law above stated, and cannot be more than the difference between the annual return of the best land and that of land at the margin of cultivation. Hence, under increasing population wages rise, and prices with them, but profits fall. Competition of capitals, on which Adam Smith laid much weight, Ricardo makes little of, saying that it serves simply to lower profits temporarily, when increased quantity of capital (according to the well-known wage theory, which he accepted, but which has since been given up by almost all economists) at first raises wages. In a word, according to Ricardo, cost of existence determines wages, and wages determine profit. This theory, of course, is opposed, first, by those who deny the law of rent, that the best land is occupied first, etc.; and secondly, by those who, admitting its premises, argue that it neither explains why capital draws any interest, nor exactly measures it, because a thousand elements may affect both the margin of cultivation and the amount of profit men are willing to accept as their minimum profit from the margin of cultivation.

We come, then, to what Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Productive" theory, that capital actually produces wealth, and that before the capitalist who gets his interest simply gets what his capital produces. This theory is subdivided into four theories: (1) That capital serves toward the production of goods; (2) that it serves toward the production of more goods than could be produced without it; (3) that it serves toward the production of more value than could be produced without it; (4) that it serves toward the producing of more value than it has in itself. The first two of these theories

The Fructification Theory.

Ricardo.

The Productive Theory.

Böhm-Bawerk calls the "Naive-Productive" theories; the third he calls the "Indirect Productive" theory, and from the last theory spring such important theories that he considers them by themselves as "Use" theories.

Under the "Naive Productive" theory we have J. B. Say, who first broached this theory in 1803, brilliantly but not clearly, and confused with some elements of the "Use" theory, Schön, Riedel; in Germany the distinguished economist Roscher, who, however, is better on other questions than on this, Leroy-Beaulieu, Scioioja, and others. But the answer to this theory is simply that it has not been proved that capital in itself produces goods. Capital undoubtedly, as Roscher argues, enables labor to produce *more* goods; but the amount of return to capital has by no means been proved to be equal to the amount of value of the increased amount of goods it enables labor to produce. There must be, therefore, some other element that enters in as a controlling factor.

We come then to the "Indirect Productive" theory, that capital produces *more value*, first taught by Lord Lauderdale in 1804, and then by his greater follower, the not disciple, Malthus. Malthus carefully defines profit as "the difference between the value of the advances necessary to produce a commodity, and the value of the commodity when produced" (*Principle of Political Economy*, 2d ed., p. 262); but he does not equally carefully show why there should be this difference of value, tho he does in general point to capital as the producer of more value. Henry Carey and Peshine Smith, in America, follow the same school. Carey's well-known theory that the value of all goods is measured by their cost, counts capital as one of the costs, and since invention and civilization enable one to produce at lower and lower cost, and this applies to tools composing capital, capital must steadily fall in value, and therefore interest lower, tho profits may absolutely rise. Peshine Smith finds the origin of profit in a partnership between workman and capitalist, where capital furnishes the material and labor increases its value by infusing it with new labor, and both receive a share of the increased value in order to induce both to contribute to the result. This is not incorrect, but is superficial; it does not show just what capital contributes nor how much it receives in return. It simply says it produces more value. In Germany we have of this school the painstaking Thünen and Strassburger.

We come now to the "Use" theories, which, tho an offshoot of the "Productive" theories, quickly grew into an independent life of their own. This theory is

that capital, apart from its substance value, has a use value, and that the cap-

Use Theories.

italist who draws interest is thus rewarded for sacrificing the use of capital during the period of production. J. B. Say first suggested this, together with his "Naive Productive" theory, Hermann worked it out, and Menger gave it its best form. It is largely a German theory, Nebenius, Marlo, Bernhardt, Mangoldt, Schäffle, Kneis, besides Hermann and Menger, all following it in one form or another. Böhm-Bawerk, however, rightly maintains that there is no independent "use" of capital aside from capital, and that therefore this non-existent "use" cannot be the cause of interest; but even if it does exist, as apart from the substance of capital, it simply adds to the problem by raising two problems in place of one. What is this independent use of capital?

We come now to the famous "Abstinence" theory, first appearing in the lectures of N. W. Senior, in his Oxford University lectures, and later in his *Outlines of the Science of Political Economy* (1836). Adam Smith and Ricardo, with more distinctness, have pronounced labor to be the only source of value, and this, logically carried out, left no room for interest. Later writers saw this, and James Mill and McCulloch strove hard to prove that interest also was the wages of labor, but naturally with little satisfaction. Another party, as we have seen, with Malthus at their head, put cost as the measure of value and counted interest or profits as among the costs. But it was only too evident that profits were the surplus over the cost, and not a constituent part of them—a result and not a sacrifice. Now then came Senior's theory that interest was the reward of abstinence. Hints of this had appeared before in Ricardo and in Adam Smith's opposition of "future profit" to "present enjoyment," but which Senior first worked into a careful and logical system. According to this, capital is the result of labor, but of labor applied not to immediate results, but to far-off results; and, therefore, since its owner has

sacrificed immediate results to distant ones, he is indemnified by interest. He is able to secure this indemnification because the exchange value of goods depends, according to Senior, partly on the usefulness of the goods, partly on the limitation of their supply; and the limitation depends upon the number of those willing to abstain from immediate consumption of wealth to devote it to capital. The "maximum of price" is the sacrifice with which the buyer could himself produce or procure the goods; and the "minimum of price" is the cost of production. Under competition these approximate. But the cost of production consists of the sum of the labor and abstinence requisite for the production of the goods. If abstinence is always requisite for production, it can always command its money return.

Abstinence Theory.

The trouble with this theory is that it makes too sweeping a generalization from an idea containing at best some truth. As a matter of fact, the rate of interest does not at all follow the amount of sacrifice. High interest is often got by the millionaire, who makes no appreciable sacrifice whatsoever, and low interest is often obtained where the sacrifice is very great. The theory is now generally discarded (see ABSTINENCE, REWARD OF), yet it has had many followers, and some of them most distinguished, such as J. S. Mill, Jevons, Cairnes, Roscher, Schüz, Max Wirth, Rossi, Molinari, and Garnier. Bastiat accepted the doctrine under a developed form. Bastiat's great social law is "service for service." He argues that he who provides capital not only sacrifices present enjoyment, but does positive service by allowing the laborer to have now what otherwise he could only obtain later, by great sacrifice of his own tools. But this only confuses. He who sacrifices in order to prevent sacrifice certainly does so, but this is only one sacrifice, and cannot receive return for two.

We pass then to the next group, which Böhm-Bawerk calls "Labor" theories, because under various forms they try to prove that interest is payment to the capitalist for labor performed. The main advocates of this are James Mill, McCulloch, Courcelle-Seneuil, Rodbertus, Schäffle. Under one form or another they all argue that capital is stored-up labor, and that interest and profit are simply the price paid for stored-up labor. But how, then, does it happen that the capitalist eventually gets back all his capital; that is, all his stored-up labor, and yet gets interest too? Courcelle-Seneuil argues that interest is payment for the labor of storing up capital. This is artificial. Its falsity may be seen in the fact that interest has no connection with this, being often greatest where this so-called labor is least, and vice versa. This explanation, however, has been adopted by Rodbertus, Wagner, and Schäffle among other German "Socialists of the Chair." It is certainly, to say the least, inadequate, and therefore false.

We come then to what may be called the Socialist, or the "Exploitation" theory. According to this, all goods that have value are the product of human labor, and indeed, economically considered, are exclusively the product of human labor.

The Laborers, however, do not retain the Exploitation Theory.

The whole product of their labors, because capitalists, taking advantage of their command over the indispensable means of production, as secured to them by the institution of private property, secure to themselves a part of the laborer's product. The means of doing so are supplied by the wage contract, in which the laborers are compelled by hunger to sell their labor-power to the capitalist for a part of what they, the laborers, produce. Interest is thus a portion of the product of other people's labors, obtained by exploiting the necessitous condition of the laborer.

The way had been prepared for this by Adam Smith and Ricardo, in teaching that labor is the source of value; tho Adam Smith and Ricardo did not follow out their teaching to its socialist conclusion. Hodgskin in England and Sismondi in France were the first to really state the theory, and they only in a mild and general way; but it was soon taken up with strength and in earnest by Proudhon in France and Rodbertus in Germany, and then by the great socialist leaders, Lasalle and Marx, while it was adopted substantially or in part by men not wholly socialists, like J. S. Mill, Schäffle, Dühring, and others. Of the socialists, Rodbertus and Marx have worked out the theory most carefully. Rodbertus is considered by most political economists the most careful, altho Marx has worked out the theory the most brilliantly and the most popu-

larly. Rodbertus accepts almost as axiomatic the premise that labor, economically speaking, is the source of all value. Rent he defines as "all income obtained without personal exertion, solely in virtue of possession" (*Soziale Frage*, p. 146). It includes two kinds of rent—land rent and profit on capital. Rent owes its existence to two facts: economically, that, with machinery and division of labor, laborers can produce more than they require to support life; and legally, that private property in land and capital enables their owners to employ laborers who, not having land and capital, and needing them for production, are unable to work except in service for these capitalists, and are driven by hunger often to give to the capitalists all they produce except what is barely necessary to support life. The form which this compulsion originally took was slavery, the origin of which was contemporaneous with that of agriculture and landed property. To-day contract has taken the place of slavery; but since capitalists own substantially all the land and capital, they have the laborer as equally at a disadvantage as under slavery, and can take from him under contracts such as before under slavery. Thus, says Rodbertus, "The contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger makes a good substitute for the whip. What was formerly called food is now called wage" (*Soziale Frage*, p. 33).

Thus all rent is an exploitation, or, as he says in effect, a robbery of the product of other people's labor (*Soziale Frage*, p. 150). The amount of rent increases with the productivity of labor; for under the system of free competition the laborer can receive little more than his maintenance, no matter how much he produce. The division between rent of land and rent of capital Rodbertus believes depends upon how much labor value is represented in land and in capital, since labor is the measure and source of all value, even rent being the product of labor, the conditioned by the possession of wealth. Nevertheless, except in a posthumous tract on *Capital*, Rodbertus does not favor the abolition of private property in either land or capital. He ascribes to it an educating power, a "kind of patriarchal power that could only be replaced after a completely altered system of national instruction, for which at present we have not got even the conditions" (*Erklärung*, p. 303).

Marx's theory is the same, tho worked out in a different way. The utility of a thing, he argues, is its *value in use*. But this value is not something in the air. It is limited by the properties of the commodity, and has no existence apart from that commodity. The commodity itself is the use value. Now use values exchange. They are measured. To be measured they must have some characteristic in common. What is this? It is not in their *qualities*; their qualities are very different. Things that exchange must have the same *quantity* of exchange value. What is the thing that they have the same quantity of? If we discard their qualities as use value, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labor. This must be the measure of their exchange value. So the value of all goods is measured by the quantity of labor contained in them or in labor time. But labor is of different value in different individuals; therefore, we must take the "socially necessary labor time"—*i. e.*, the labor time required to produce a use value under the conditions of production that are socially normal at the time, and with the socially necessary degree of skill and intensity of labor. Now the problem of capital and of interest and profit is this: One man sells the commodity which he possesses for money, in order to buy with the money another commodity which he requires. This course of circulation may be expressed by the formula: Commodity, money, commodity. But there is another course of circulation. Men buy commodities in order to sell, or—money, commodity, money. But in this circuit, men buy commodities in order to sell at an advance. The real circuit is M., C., M'. (M' representing the sum advanced plus an increment). This is the characteristic circuit of capitalistic industry. It applies seemingly only to the merchant's capital, but it is true of all industrial capital. The manufacturer, every one in commerce, even the farmer, buys something—invests, that is—in order to sell what he buys, or what springs from what he buys, at an advance. Whence the advance? This is the problem. He buys material at its market value; he sells the material at the market value; how is he enabled to sell at a higher price than he buys? Whence this surplus value? This is the problem of Marx's book—his famous *Capital*. The surplus value cannot originate in anything outside the circuit, for nothing

pours economic value into his hands. It cannot originate in the circuit itself, for he cannot continually buy commodities under their value, nor continually sell above their value. Whence his profits? He can only sell for more than he buys by adding labor to it. Labor is thus the only source of *surplus value*. But if he put labor into it, either his own or hired, he pays for that. How does the capitalist sell for more than he puts in? He must buy material and labor at their value, sell the result at its value, and yet draw out more than he puts in. How? Marx answers this by saying that there is one use value which possesses the peculiar property of being the source of exchange value; this is labor or labor power. It, labor power, is offered for sale on the market on the double condition that the laborer is personally free—for otherwise he would be a slave, not a seller of labor power; and that, secondly, he is deprived of all means of independently using his labor power, otherwise he would work for himself. The present condition of society furnishes these conditions. The capitalist makes use of this. The value of the commodity labor power, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the labor time necessary for its reproduction; in this case, by the labor time necessary to produce the maintenance of the laborer. The capitalist gets the laborer to work for him. He gives him his labor time value—that is, maintenance, the value necessary to maintain and reproduce him. But the laborer gives the capitalist more labor time than this. If in six hours the laborer produces enough to maintain him, and works 10 hours, in the four hours he produces for the capitalist this "surplus value." Surplus value, therefore, according to Marx, results from the capitalist getting the laborer to work a part of the day for him without paying for it. In the laborer's day, thus, we have "necessary labor time" and "surplus labor time," the source of "surplus labor value." Capital is not thus a command over labor, but a command over *unpaid* labor. All surplus value, in whatever form it be disguised, as profit, interest, rent, or any other, is only the material shape of unpaid labor. Bitterly, upon this foundation, does Marx trace the history and expedients of capital to lengthen the time and intensity of the working day in order to get more surplus value.

The answer to this theory, which will be seen to be, in another form, the same as Rodbertus', may be very varied. It is perhaps sufficient, however, to say that it has not been proved that labor is the source of value. Exchange is not based simply upon labor-time value. Use value does affect exchange. A good natural voice, uncultivated by any labor, has exchange value. Unimproved natural commodities have exchange value. Scarcity affects exchange value. The whole theory that labor is the source of value is untenable. Rodbertus does not attempt to prove it. Marx appeals not to facts, but to the above dialectics, which can be shown to be faulty. Marx says use values in exchange are disregarded. This is not the case; but if it were, his conclusion does not follow that their being the product of labor is the only characteristic left which can be the basis of exchange. Many other elements enter in—scarcity, demand, appropriation of them, etc. Marx's analysis contains truth, but by no means the whole truth, and its fundamental proposition is not true.

We come now to several minor theories of capital. Rossi seems to use the Productivity and Abstinence theories alternately; so largely do Molinari, Leroy-Beaulieu, Roscher, Schütz, and Max Wirth and Cossa. Jevons, in an eclectic way, welds several theories together, finds the function of capital in that it enables us to expend labor in advance, but confuses "surplus in products" with "surplus in value." J. S. Mill adopts at various times three inconsistent theories—the Productivity, the Abstinence, and the Exploitation theory. Schäffle does substantially the same. Henry George adopts the old Frustration theory of Turgot and the physiocrats, but in a later form. He argues that capital commands interest, because certain forms of capital, like animals, etc., are fruitful, and that therefore men will not lend capital for nothing, when with it they could invest in live stock, agricultural capital, etc., that would bring in profit year by year. The trouble with this argument is that there is no ground for this distinction between natural capital and capital the product of human labor. There is no product into which nature does not enter. Man is natural. Again, Mr. George does not show that animals or land produce more animal value than the labor and the food spent upon them. Mr. Flüßscheim (*q. v.*), Mr. George's most distinguished follower in Germany, in his *Rent*,

Other Theories.

Wages and Interest shows the limitations of Mr. George's theory of interest.

Thus have we followed Böhm-Bawerk in critical analysis of all theories of capital, and have found complete satisfaction in none. But Böhm-Bawerk himself has a theory, developed in his second book, *The Positive Theory of Capital*. According to this theory, capital draws interest because capital contributes to production by *saving* time. By the use of capital men can perform their work more quickly than without it. Men desire to save time, to obtain results now rather than later, according to Böhm-Bawerk, because of three elements—the defect of imagination, defect of will, and uncertainty of life. But this theory seems equally faulty with those Böhm-Bawerk has so ably criticised. It is not those who have the least imagination or will, or are most uncertain of life, who desire capital the most. This psychologic theory must take its place with other faulty ones. The fact seems to be that no one theory is complete; that almost every theory yet advanced has had its element of truth and made its contribution to science. It is *man* who pays, and *man* who asks interest for capital. Men are not simple "economic men." The reasons that move the will to demand and pay interest are not simple, but numerous, intricate, and varying at different times. In the Fructuation theory, the Productivity theory, the Use theory, the Abstinence theory, the Exploitation theory, the Time theory, there is truth, but the whole truth lies only in the correct synthesis of all theories. It should be added, however, that whatever be the theory as to the origin of capital and interest, neither the believers nor the disbelievers in interest question the fact of the contribution, and the necessary contribution, that capital makes to production. Socialists, no less than the most conservative economists, admit the necessity of capital to production. Socialists simply assert that work (personal effort of head and hand) should be required from every member of society (save from the young, aged or infirm), and that there should be no class of society whose economic function is simply to furnish capital and live

The Socialist Contention.

on the interest. They declare that all *capital* should be owned and furnished by the community, and that all individuals should furnish work and receive, therefore, their rightful share in the product. (See SOCIALISM.) Those socialists who do not hold with Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Marx that labor is the only source of value, do not either hold that capital comes wholly from unpaid labor; they hold that capital may come from the personal labor of one's ancestors, or from personal saving, or by speculation or investment—in a hundred ways, some of them moral, some immoral; but they hold that, however gained, the unity of society is the key to the freedom of the individual, and that that freedom demands that capital be held and operated collectively for the equitable good of all, each man and woman being in some way a worker for the general good. This holding of capital is a step, in their opinion, not based on any theory, but called for by the conditions of human life, in the process of evolution, developing a higher organism out of lower organisms. Those socialists who look to Divine sanctions for their acts find this act requisite upon man's brotherhood, and natural unity resulting from God's

The Christian Socialist View.

Fatherhood. They argue that capital should be held in common and each work for the good of all, as a family holds property and work each for each. Interest on capital they say is "natural," because capital performs a natural function, and can therefore obtain a portion of the product, as conditional to its being forthcoming; and when capital is monopolized by a portion of the community, it can, subject to competition between capitalists, dictate its own terms, because he who has it is not dependent upon him who has. What such socialists assert is that, though interest is natural, it is money, since God has made all men one, and given to all the duty of labor; that therefore for one portion of society to furnish the capital and be able to live without labor, while another portion of society can scarcely live by the hardest toil, is a plain violation of the law of God. Such are the various theories as to capital that have prevailed at various times and are held to-day by various schools of thought.

Turning to the laws that govern the growth of capital, we present two representative treatments of the subject, and first, one by Professor

and Mrs. Marshall. In chap. vi. of their *Economics of Industry*, they say :

"The growth of capital depends upon the *power* and the *will* to save.

"The power of saving depends on the amount of wealth out of which saving can be made. Some countries, which have a large population and produce a great amount of wealth, have very little power of saving. The whole continent of Asia, for instance, has less power of saving than England has. The total produce indeed of its industry is larger than that of England; but the number of people among whom this is divided is so great that they are compelled to consume almost the whole of it in supporting life.

The Growth of Capital, Orthodox View.

"As Mill says, 'the fund from which saving can be made is the surplus of the produce of labor after supplying the necessities of life to all concerned in the production (including those employed in replacing the materials and keeping the fixed capital in repair); more than this surplus cannot be saved under any circumstances; as much as this, though it never is saved, always might be. This surplus is the fund from which the enjoyments as distinguished from the necessities of the producers are provided; it is the fund from which all are subsisted who are not themselves engaged in production; and from which all additions are made to capital. It is the real net produce of the country.'

"Since the requisites of production are land, labor, and capital, the conditions on which the total produce of industry depends may therefore be classed as, firstly, fertility of the soil, richness of mines, abundance of watercourses, and an invigorating climate; secondly, the number and the average efficiency of the working population; this efficiency depending on moral as well as mental and physical qualities; thirdly, the abundance of the means which the industry of the past has accumulated and saved to help the industry of the present; that is, the abundance of roads and railroads, of canals and docks, of factories and warehouses, of engines and machines, of raw material, of food and of clothing; in short, the already accumulated capital of the nation. . . .

"Next as to the will to save.

"The strength of the desire of accumulation depends on moral and social conditions which vary widely in different times and countries.

"(a) The intellect. The inclination to save arises from the hope of obtaining some future advantage, and this future advantage, if it is to afford motive for action, must be realized. Children and nations in an early state of civilization are almost incapable of realizing a distant advantage; the future is eclipsed by the present. . . .

"(b) Affection for others is one of the chief motives if not the chief motive for the accumulation of capital. . . .

"(c) The hope of rising in the world. If people feel that they are bound down forever by a sort of caste regulation to one station in life, they will not save in order to better their position; they will naturally have little motive to be frugal. . . .

"(d) The opportunity to gain great social advantages by the possession of wealth. . . .

"(e) Political and commercial security.

"A man who saves, hopes that he and his family may enjoy in security the fruits of his saving. This requires, firstly, that Government should protect his property from fraud and violence; secondly, that if he or those whom he leaves behind him are unwilling or unable to employ the capital in business themselves, they must be able to lend it out to others and to live in quiet on the interest of it. . . .

Lastly, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall inquire how far the accumulation of capital depends upon the rate of profits, and the rate of interest which the owner of capital can obtain by lending it to others, and they answer :

"A high rate of interest no doubt affords a liberal reward of abstinence, and stimulates the saving of all who are ambitious of earning social position by their wealth.

"But the history of the past and the observation of the present show that it is a man's temperament, much more than the rate of interest to be got for his savings, which determines whether he makes provision for his old age and for his family, or not. Most of those who make such a provision would do so equally whether the rate of interest were low or high. And when a man has once determined to provide a certain annual in-

come, he will find that he has to save more if the rate of interest is low than if it is high. Suppose, for instance, that a man wishes to provide an income of £400 a year on which he may retire from business, or to insure £400 a year for his wife and children after his death. If the current rate of interest is 5 per cent., he need only put by £8000 or insure his life for £8000; but if it is 4 per cent., he must save £10,000, or insure his life for £10,000.

"Again, a high rate of interest is a great inducement to retire early from business, and live on the interest of what has already been accumulated. Sir Josiah Child indeed said two centuries ago, 'We see that generally all merchants' in countries in which the rate of interest is high' when they have gotten great wealth, leave trading' and lend out their money at interest, 'the gain thereof being so easy, certain and great; whereas in other countries, where interest is at a lower rate, they continue merchants from generation to generation, and enrich themselves and the State.' It is more true now than it was then, that many men retire from business when they are yet almost in the prime of life, and when their knowledge of men and things might enable them to conduct their business more efficiently than ever. Thus a fall in the rate of interest would in some ways promote the production and the accumulation of wealth.

"But it would diminish the power of saving from a given amount of capital, because the larger the income a man derives from his business, the larger are the means he has of saving."

Such is an admirable example of the treatment of the subject from the standpoint of the most progressive orthodox economics. As an example of the treatment of the subject from the socialist standpoint, we give a quotation from the lecture on *The Industrial Basis of Socialism*, by William Clarke, and included in the *Fabian Essays*. Says Mr. Clarke :

"The capitalist was originally an *entrepreneur*, a manager who worked hard at his business, and who received what economists have called the 'wages of superintendence.' So long as the capitalist occupied that position he might be restrained and controlled in various ways, but he could not be got rid of. His 'wages of superintendence' were certainly often exorbitant, but he performed real functions; and society, as yet unprepared to take those functions upon itself, could not afford to discharge him. Yet, like the king, he had to be restrained by the legislation already referred to, for his power involved much suffering to his fellows. But now the capitalist is fast becoming absolutely

Growth of Capitalist Socialist View.

useless. Finding it easier and more rational to combine with others of his class in a large undertaking, he has now abdicated his position of overseer, has put in a salaried manager to perform his work for him, and has become a mere rent or interest receiver. The rent or interest he receives is paid for the use of a monopoly which not he, but a whole multitude of people, created by their joint efforts.

"It was inevitable that this differentiation of manager and capitalist should arise. It is part of the process of capitalist evolution due to machine industry. As competition led to waste in production, so it led to the cutting of profits among capitalists. To prevent this, the massing of capital was necessary, by which the large capitalist could undersell his small rivals by offering, at prices below anything they could afford to sell at, goods produced by machinery and distributed by a plexus of agencies initially too costly for any individual competitor to purchase or set on foot. Now for such massive capitals, the contributions of several capitalists are needed; and hence has arisen the joint-stock company or *Compagnie Anonyme*. Through this new capitalist agency a person in England can hold stock in an enterprise at the Antipodes, which he has never visited and never intends to visit, and which, therefore, he cannot 'superintend' in any way. He and the other shareholders put in a manager, with injunctions to be economical. The manager's business is to earn for his employers the largest dividends possible; if he does not do so, he is dismissed. The old personal relation between the workers and the employer is gone; instead thereof remains merely the cash nexus. To secure high dividends, the manager will lower wages. If that is resisted, there will probably be either a strike or lockout. Cheap labor will be,

perhaps, impoited by the manager; and if the work-people resist by intimidation or organized boycotting, the forces of the State (which they help to maintain) will be used against them. In the majority of cases they must submit. Such is a not unfair picture of the relation of capitalist to workman to-day, the former having become an idle dividend-receiver. The dictum of orthodox political economy, uttered by so competent an authority as the late Professor Cairnes, runs :

"It is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing."*

"The fact that the modern capitalist may be not only useless, but positively obstructive, was well illustrated at a meeting of the shareholders of the London and Southwestern Railway on February. . . . Three shareholders urged a reduction in third-class fares. The chairman pointed out the obvious fact that such a reduction would probably lower the dividend, and asked the meeting if that was what they wished. He was, of course, answered by a chorus of 'No, no!' and all talk of reduction of fares was at an end. Here is a plain sample (hundreds might be quoted) of the evident interests of the public being sacrificed to those of the capitalist.

"That joint-stock capitalism is extending rapidly every one knows. In the United States, according to Mr. Bryce, the wealth of joint-stock corporations is estimated at one fourth of the total value of all property.† In England every kind of business, from breweries, banks, and cotton-mills down to automatic sweetmeat machines, is falling into the hands of the joint-stock capitalist, and must continue to do so. Twenty years ago who would have supposed that a brewer like that of Guinness, or such a banking firm as Glyn, Mills & Co., would become a joint-stock company? Yet we know it is so to-day. Capitalism is becoming impersonal and cosmopolitan. And the combinations controlling production become larger and fewer. Barings are getting hold of the South African diamond fields. A few companies control the whole anthracite coal produce of Pennsylvania. Each one of us is quite 'free' to 'compete' with these gigantic combinations, as the principality of Monaco is 'free' to go to war with France should the latter threaten her interests. The mere forms of freedom remain, but monopoly renders them nugatory. The modern State, having parted with the raw material of the globe, cannot secure freedom of competition to its citizens; and yet it was on the basis of free competition that capitalism rose. Thus we see that capitalism has cancelled its original principle—is itself negating its own existence."

Concerning statistics as to the large part played by capital in the modern world, see WEALTH; TRUSTS; MACHINERY; DEBTS. A few statistics may be given here as an example concerning the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland alone :

The profits of public companies, foreign investments, railways, etc., assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1887-88 amounted to £110,630,000. The interest payable from public funds was, in addition, £46,512,000 (*Report of Commissioners of Inland Revenue, 1889, C—5843*).

That these amounts are understated may be inferred from Mr. Mulhall's estimate of the stocks, shares, bonds, etc., held in Great Britain alone, as being worth £3,491,000,000, producing an annual income of upward of £155,000,000 (*Dictionary of Statistics, p. 256*). And Sir Louis Mallet estimates the English income from foreign investments alone at £100,000,000 annually. (*National Income and Taxation, Cobden Club, p. 13*). Nearly the whole of this vast income may be regarded as being received without any contemporary services rendered in return by the owners as such.

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or

* *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy, p. 32.*

† *The American Commonwealth, chap. iii., note on p. 421.*

trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence" in business profit, both for the purpose of the income tax returns and in ordinary speech. Mr. Giffen estimates it, apart from any earnings of personal service, at £50,000,000 (*Essays in Finance*, vol. II, p. 403).

The total amount of interest cannot, therefore, be less than £50,000,000. The part which capital plays in the whole world may be seen in the fact that the Compendium to the Eleventh Census of the United States gives the total national and local debts of the world at no less a sum than \$30,340,927,600. For a discussion of whether the profits or capital are falling, see DIMINISHING RETURNS, LAW OF.

References: *Capital and Interest: A Critical History of Economical Theory*, by E. V. Böhm-Bawerk, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Innsbruck (translation by William Smart, of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow); *The Positive Theory of Capital*, by the same author and with the same translator. For the Exploitation theory, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, by Karl Marx (translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, in two volumes; for the development of capital, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by John A. Hobson (London, 1894).

CAPITALIZATION.—The word capitalization is used in several senses. It may mean (1) the application of wealth as capital to the purposes of trade, etc.; (2) the act of computing or realizing the present value of a periodical payment; (3) the conversion into capital, as when creditors consent to the conversion into capital of half of their claims (*Century Dictionary*). But there is also a fourth sense not wholly covered by any of the above, and yet a very common use of the word; neither the application of wealth as capital, nor the conversion of shares into capital, but the rating of plant or other form of capital at an enhanced and sometimes an utterly fictitious value, as a basis for the declaration of dividends. Says Professor Ely in his *Political Economy*:

"We must distinguish between capital invested and capitalization. Capitalization means the amount at which a property is valued, and it may be 10 times the cost of capital actually invested. When we speak of profits as being 10 per cent. or 5 per cent., we mean profits on free or disposal capital, and this rate depends on opportunities for production which are still open, not those which have already been seized. Let us suppose that the returns on investments still open to all are about 10 per cent., but that the returns to a telephone company or an electric lighting company which has actually invested \$100,000 is \$100,000; the undertaking will be capitalized at \$1,000,000, so as to conceal the actual rate of profits; and as profits fall on new investments open to all, capitalization of old and lucrative enterprises rises in proportion, altho no new capital is invested. One familiar form which this takes is "stock-watering," but it is also seen in higher prices. If a house yields \$1000 a year, and 10 per cent. is a fair return for house property, it will be valued at \$10,000; but if profits fall, and 5 per cent. is considered a good return, it will be valued at \$20,000. This increase of capitalization is sometimes an unconscious process, and a man will at times feel poorer when he is receiving 5 per cent. on his capitalization of an investment than when he was receiving 10 per cent., altho his capitalization has quadrupled without any additional investment of capital." (See STOCK-WATERING.)

CARBONARI.—A secret revolutionary or political society existing mainly in Italy and France, claiming great antiquity, with Francis I. of France as founder, but owing its modern activity at least to republicans and others in Naples who were dissatisfied with the French rule under the reign of Murat (1808-14). They are said to have been originally refugees from the mountains of the Abruzzi provinces, and to have taken their name from the mountain charcoal-burners. Their aim was to free Italy from foreign domination. After having aided the Bourbons in this, the organization spread all

over Italy and into France, as the champions of the national liberal cause against the reactionary governments. At one time they numbered several thousand adherents. About 1820-21 Lafayette became the head of the society in France. It played an important part in the Revolution of 1830, since when it has not been prominent, if in existence. (See *The Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries*, by C. W. Heckethorn.)

CAREY, HENRY CHARLES, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1793, and died in 1879. He was the son of Matthew Carey, an Irish refugee and publisher who had written on economic themes. The son succeeded the father, but retired with a competency in 1835, and devoted his life to economics. Thirteen octavo volumes and 3000 pages of tracts, besides newspaper articles perhaps twice as voluminous, attest his industry, while the fact that many of his writings have been translated into seven different languages speaks for his ability and originality of thought. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*:

"Carey began his scientific career at a juncture when the English school appeared to have exhausted its deductions from assumed premises, and to shrink from adjusting its conclusions to the conditions of actual life. His treatment of social science was original, and led him to a series of supposed discoveries, the order of which he has stated in the introduction to his most important work, *The Principles of Social Science*. His point of departure was a theory of value which he defined as the 'measure of the resistance to be overcome in obtaining things required for use, or the measure of nature's power over man'—in simpler terms, the cost of reproduction. This theory Carey applied to every case of value—to commodities, services, and land, and in some passages seemingly to man himself. Reasoning that every gift of nature is gratuitous, he found a universal tendency to a decline of value as the arts advance, and to a decrease in the value of accumulated capital, as compared with the results of present labor, with a resulting harmony of interests between capitalist and laborer. This theory Carey enunciated in his *Principles of Political Economy*, published in 1837-40, and its appearance in slightly modified terms in Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques*, in 1850, led to a sharp discussion between the two authors in the *Journal des Economistes* for 1851."

Ten years later, in his *Past, Present and Future*, Carey expounded his notorious land theory, which was the exact reverse of the Ricardian; but though argued by Carey with great vigor and at great length, and eliciting much interest because of its novelty, it has been accepted by scarcely any other careful economist. It laid down the principle that men first till the poorer and more easily worked lands, and then descend upon richer lands as capital increases, so that with the advance of civilization the rate of return from land rises instead of falls. He deduced from this a rejection of the Malthusian doctrine, since rising returns from land could support more and more men. The only limit to this tendency he found in Herbert Spencer's conjectured law of the diminution of human fertility and ultimate equilibrium between numbers and subsistence. Carey seems to us to have based the somewhat true conclusion that civilization can increasingly support population upon more doubtful facts. Undoubtedly men do sometimes occupy the poorest lands first, and in so far Carey's voluminous illustrations furnish a need-

A Check upon Ricardo.

ed check upon Ricardo's too sweeping and *a priori* statements; nevertheless it is undoubtedly true that Ricardo's theory usually holds true, especially as applied to old countries. Carey seems to have been misled by paying too much attention to the conditions of land occupation in the United States, at the time he wrote by no means so densely populated as today.

Carey's cardinal principle, however, is found in the second chapter of his *Social Science*, where he states "the great law of molecular gravitation as the indispensable condition of the being known as man." This law of being he declares to be the same in matter, man, and communities. As, in the solar world, attraction and motion are in the ratio of mass and proximity, so, in the social world, association, individuality, responsibility, development and progress are proportionate to each other. This theory, not of analogy, but of absolute identity of law, Carey maintained with great vigor in the *Unity of Law*, published in his seventy-ninth year. This theory led Carey first to adopt and advocate those theories of free trade for which he is perhaps the best known in the United States; tho afterward, from the same principles, to retreat from this position. The central point of his social philosophy being association, as the primary condition of progress, in the commerce of exchange of commodities and of ideas between countries Carey thought he saw the opportunity for closer association, economic efficiency, and general efficiency, and hence argued strongly and determinedly for free trade, giving a strong impulse to the arguments now becoming common in this country. It was only later that he abandoned this belief, from a conviction that in the present state of the world the coordinating power of the Government must be used in order to preserve economic harmony and to arrive at ultimate freedom.

Such is a brief review of his main positions. So great was his ability and so distinctive his views, that his school of thought is sometimes called the American School of Political Economy. His main followers are E. Peshine Smith, and Professor R. E. Thompson, formerly of the University of Philadelphia. Professor Ingram, in his *History of Political Economy*, says of Carey (p. 173):

"His aim was, while adhering to the individualistic economy, to place it on a higher and surer basis, and fortify it against the assaults of socialism, to which some of the Ricardian tenets had exposed it. The most comprehensive as well as mature exposition of his views is contained in his *Principles of Social Science* (1859). Inspired with the optimistic sentiment natural to a young and rising nation with abundant undeveloped resources and an unbounded outlook toward the future, he seeks to show that there exists, independently of human wills, a natural system of economic laws, which is essentially beneficent, and of which the increasing prosperity of the whole community, and especially of the working classes, is the spontaneous result, capable of being defeated only by the ignorance or perversity of man resisting or impeding its action."

Carey's main works are: *Essay on the Rate of Wages* (1835); *Harmony of Nature* (privately printed, 1836); *Principles of Political Economy* (3 vols., 1837, 1838, 1840); *The Past, the Present, and the Future* (1848); *Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial* (1850); *Slave Trade, Domestic and Foreign* (1853); *Principles of Social Science* (3 vols., 1858-59); *Manual of Social Science* (edited by Miss M'Kean, 1864); *The Unity of Law, as Exhibited in the Relations of Physical, Social, Mental, and Moral Science* (1872).

CARLYLE, THOMAS (1795-1881).—Carlyle we consider here simply from the standpoint of social reform, yet this element forms no small portion of his life, and his contribution to social reform gave no slight impulse in the advance of the century. From the standpoint of the social movement, the nineteenth century must be divided into two nearly equal yet two very diverse parts. The first 50 years were, socially considered, negative, destructive, characterized by the freeing of the individual from the tyrannies and despotisms of government, monarchical and despotic. Its outcomes were democracy, free trade, competition, individualism. The last 50 years of the century are, socially considered, positive, constructive (or at least seeking construction), characterized by the collective thought supplanting individualism and developing in its place the social organism. Its outcomes are unity, cooperation, monopoly, centralization, socialism. The lines of force in these last 50 years are centripetal, as in the first half of the century they were unmistakably centrifugal. Carlyle belongs to the first half of the century, yet with no little trace of transition to the second. Living till 1881, his genius was matured, his views were formed, his greatest works were written before 1850. He is an individualist whose writings are full of undeveloped socialism. In more than his denunciation of wrong he is a John the Baptist, the last of the old prophets, and a forerunner of the new. The following quotation from Mazzini's magnificent essay on Carlyle pronounces, we believe, a just criticism. He says:

"Mr. Carlyle comprehends only the *individual*; the true sense of the unity of the human race escapes him. He sympathizes with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life. . . .

"The nationality of Italy, in his eyes, is the glory of having produced Dante and Christopher Columbus; the nationality of Germany, that of having given birth to Luther, to Goethe, and to others. The shadows thrown by these gigantic men appear to eclipse from his view every trace of the national thought, of which these men were only the interpreters or prophets, and of the people, who alone are its depository. All generalization is so repugnant to Mr. Carlyle that he strikes at the root of the error, as he deems it, by declaring that the history of the world is fundamentally nothing more than the biography of great men (*Lectures*). This is to plead, distinctly enough, against the idea which rules the movement of the times. . . .

"In the name of the democratic spirit of the age, I protest against such views. History is not the biography of great men; the history of mankind is the history of the progressive religion of mankind, and of the translation by symbols or external actions of that religion. . . .

"The great men of the earth are but the marking-stones on the road to humanity; they are the priests of its religion. What priest is equal in the balance to the whole religion of which he is a minister? There is yet something greater, more divinely mysterious, than all the great men, and that is the earth which bears them, the human race which includes them, the thought of God which stirs within them, and which the whole human race collectively can alone accomplish. Disown not, then, the common mother for the sake of certain of her children, however privileged they may be; for at the same time that you disown her you will lose the true comprehension of these rare men whom you admire. Genius is like the flower, which draws one half of its life from the moisture that circulates in the earth, and inhales the other half from the atmosphere. The inspiration of genius belongs one half to heaven, the other to the crowd of common mortals from whose life it springs."

Yet we doubt if this does full justice to the work that Carlyle accomplished. It was Carlyle's great mission to discover and to proclaim to this generation the

world's need of God. And this he did as no other man in all this century, not even excepting the great Italian himself. "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us," writes Carlyle, "is that we have forgotten God." This is also the beginning and the end of Carlyle's teaching. Now from this socialism follows of inevitable necessity. It is not only true, as Maurice showed, that "there can be no brotherhood without a common father," but it is equally true that there can be no common father without a brotherhood. The one follows logically from the other. If God be the father of all, as Carlyle declared, then all men must be brothers, as socialists declare. Carlyle may not himself have taken that step, but he compels his readers to take it. He was the seer of the present; he saw through all the shams of his day. He is the great unmasker. He showed the pettiness and the selfishness and the nothingness of the Manchester economy. He blew the clouds away that hide God from the world. Above all, Carlyle saw God *in man*. "Thou, thou, art man," he says, "the breath of God is in thee; thou art here below to develop thy being under all its aspects; thy body is a temple; thy immortal soul is the priest, which ought to do sacrifice and ministry for all."

Thus outlining Carlyle's general position, we condense his more detailed views from Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, article "Carlyle." Carlyle conceived of political economy as a political

His Views. philosophy, which should tell us "what is meant by our country, and by what causes men are happy, moral, religious, or the contrary." (See *Life of Carlyle*, by Froude, vol. ii., p. 78.) Economics in the narrower sense he associated with Bentham and McCulloch (McCroudy), and nicknamed the "dismal science." He admires power, however, wherever he sees it. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* of Carlyle's views on this point:

"Even 'mammonism' itself 'has seized some portion of the message of nature to man; and, seizing that and following it, will seize and appropriate more and more of nature's message' (*Past and Present*). The English people are the wisest in action, and their practical material work is the one thing they have to show for themselves that is true and solid (*Past and Present*). But he has done most service to economics by his criticisms. When *Past and Present* appeared (1843) the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* of Marx and Engels at once took note of it as the most important book of the day on social questions. Carlyle thus showed that extreme *laissez-faire* may mean disintegration of society and simple anarchy; it removes old bonds, and leaves men disjoined from each other, except for the 'nexus of cash payments.' The result is the 'nomadic servitude' of the working classes and the destruction of all security and permanence in their conditions of life. In the *Nigger Question* (1840) he allows no advantage to the English laborer over the West Indian slave; the slaves were 'hired for life,' and the workmen are hired by the job. He points to the common liability to disease as a wholesome reminder to the rich of their common humanity with the poor (*Past and Present*), and when he impresses on economists the fact that the 'economic man' is an abstraction, and the universe is not one huge shop. He derides mere skill in selling cheap (*Bobus of Houndsditch*), and even industrial enterprise, so far as it aims at profit-making (Hudson, *Plugson of Undershot*, etc.). But he is firm against corn laws, and against the landowners who 'refuse to take the market rate for their onions,' and forget that they did not make the land of England. He goes farther than most economists in his estimate of 'captains of industry,' and in his view that the relation of master and servant is eternal (*Nigger Question*). He shows no appreciation of the power of workmen's combinations, and has no sympathy with nations and peoples as distinguished from individuals. On the whole, economists have learned more from his protests against abstract Ricardian political economy and its tendency to reduce the State to 'anarchy plus the constable,' than from any of his positive teachings. His pleadings had their influence even with men like John Mill, who were perfectly aware of their defects of logic."

The following quotations, perhaps, give a correct idea of Carlyle's positions, style, and power in the world of reform:

"To whom, then, is this wealth of England wealth? Who is it that it blesses; makes happier, wiser, beautiful, in any way better? Who has got hold of it, to make it fetch and carry for him, like a true servant, not like a false mock-servant; to do him any real service whatsoever? As yet no one. We have more riches than any Nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any Nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls, and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. Workers, Master Workers, Unworkers, all men, come to a pause; stand fixed, and cannot go farther.' Fatal paralysis spreading inward, from the extremities, in St. Ives workhouses, in Stockport cellars, through all limbs, as if toward the heart itself. Have we actually got enchanted, then; accused by some god?" (Proem to *Past and Present*, chap. i.)

"True, it must be owned, we for the present, with our Mammon-Gospel, have come to strange conclusions. We call it a Society; and go about professing openly the total separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named 'fair competition' and so forth, it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten everywhere that *Cash-payment* is not the sole relation of human beings; we think, nothing doubting, that it absolves and liquidates all engagements of man. 'My starving workers?' answers the rich mill-owner. 'Did not I hire them fairly in the market? Did I not pay them, to the last sixpence, the sum covenanted for? What have I to do with them more?' Verily Mammon-worship is a melancholy creed. When Cain, for his own behoof, had killed Abel, and was questioned, 'Where is thy brother?' he too made answer, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Did I not pay my brother his wages, the thing he had merited from me?"

"O sumptuous Merchant-Prince, illustrious game-preserving Duke, is there no way of 'killing' thy brother but Cain's rude way?" (*Past and Present*, Part III., chap. ii.)

Carlyle's social writings were not his first. They belong to his best period. *Signs of the Times* was first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, and written perhaps at the very time he was writing *Sartor Resartus*. *Chartism* (1839) and *Past and Present* (1843) appeared soon after *The French Revolution* (1837). These, with portions of the last-named works, are his main writings on social themes.

CARNEGIE, ANDREW, manufacturer, was born in Dunfermline, Scotland, November 25th, 1835. His father, a weaver in humble circumstances, but ambitious to rise, and an ardent republican, came with his family to the United States in 1845, and settled in Pittsburgh. Two years later Andrew began his career by attending a small stationary engine. Later he became a telegraph messenger, and subsequently an operator. He was one of the first to read telegraphic signals by sound. He became clerk to the superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and manager of the telegraph lines. While in this position he grew interested in the sleeping-car invention, and joined in the effort to have it adopted. The success of this venture gave him the nucleus to his wealth. He was promoted to be superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and about this time was one of a syndicate who purchased property on Oil Creek, which cost \$40,000, and in one year yielded over \$1,000,000 in cash dividends. He was subsequently associated with others in establishing a rolling-mill, from which has grown the most extensive and complete sys-

tem of iron and steel industries ever controlled by an individual.

Besides directing these great iron industries, he for a long time owned 18 English newspapers, which he controlled in the interests of radicalism. He has devoted large sums of money to benevolent and educational purposes. In 1879 he erected commodious swimming baths for the use of the people of Dunfermline, Scotland, and in the following year gave \$40,000 for the establishment there of a free library, which has since received other large donations. In 1884 he gave \$50,000 to Bellevue Hospital Medical College to found a historical laboratory, now called the Carnegie Laboratory; in 1885, \$500,000 to Pittsburgh for a public library; in 1886, \$250,000 to Allegheny City for a music hall and library, and \$250,000 to Edinburgh, Scotland, for a free library. He has also established free libraries at Braddock, Pa., and at other places for the benefit of his employees. In New York City he has built a Music Hall. Mr. Carnegie is a frequent contributor to periodicals on the labor question and similar topics, and has published in book form *An American Four-in-Hand in Britain* (New York, 1883); *Round the World* (1884); and *Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic* (1886); the last being a review of American progress under popular institutions, which he believes to be the most successful in the world. (See HOMESTEAD.)

CARPENTER, EDWARD, was born at Brighton, England, in 1844. He graduated at Cambridge in 1868, and took orders in 1869. He was for a time curate to the Rev. F. D. Maurice (*q.v.*), at St. Edward's, Cambridge, where he also held a fellowship. About 1871, however, he changed his religious views, and resigning his fellowship and curacy, was for seven years a university extension lecturer on science, music, etc. In 1877 he visited the United States, seeing Walt Whitman among others. In 1881 he took to a simple yet artistic farm life, somewhat after the idea of Thoreau (*q.v.*), near Sheffield, and began writing *Toward Democracy*, issued in 1883, when he first definitely joined the socialist movement. In 1886 he commenced making sandals, in which he now carries on quite a trade. He has since published *England's Ideal* (1887 and 1895); *Chants of Labor* (1889); *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* (1889), with other books. He has issued from the Labor Press, Manchester, several pamphlets on sex questions—*Sex-Love, Woman, Marriage*. His farm is at Holmsfield, Sheffield. As an example of Mr. Carpenter's thought and style we quote the following passage from his *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure* (pp. 39, 40):

"To-day it is unfortunately perfectly true that man is the only animal who, instead of adorning and beautifying, makes nature hideous by his presence. The fox and the squirrel may make their homes in the wood, and add to its beauty in so doing; but when Alderman Smith plants his willa there the gods pack up their trunks and depart; they can bear it no longer. The bushmen can hide themselves and become indistinguishable on a slope of bare rock; they twine their naked little yellow bodies together, and look like a heap of dead sticks; but when the chimney-pot hat and frock-coat appears, the birds fly screaming from the trees. This was the great glory of the Greeks, that they accepted and perfected nature; as the Parthenon

sprang out of the limestone terraces of the Acropolis, carrying the natural lines of the rock by gradations scarce perceptible into the finished and human beauty of frieze and pediment, and as, above, it was open for the blue air of heaven to descend into it for a habitation, so throughout in all their best work and life did they stand in this close relation to the earth and the sky, and to all instinctive and elemental things, admitting no gulf between themselves and them, but only perfecting their expressiveness and beauty. And some day we shall again understand this which, in the very sunrise of true art, the Greeks so well understood. Possibly some day we shall again build our houses or dwelling-places so simple and elemental in character that they will fit in the nooks of the hills or along the banks of the streams or by the edges of the woods without disturbing the harmony of the landscape or the songs of the birds. Then the great temples, beautiful on every height, or by the shores of the rivers and the lakes, will be the storehouses of all precious and lovely things. There men, women, and children will come to share in the great and wonderful common life; the gardens around will be sacred to the unharmed and welcome animals; there all store and all facilities of books and music and art for every one; there a meeting-place for social life and intercourse; there dances and games and feasts. Every village, every little settlement, will have such hall or halls. No need for private accumulations. Gladly will each man, and more gladly still each woman, take his or her treasures, except what are immediately or necessarily in use, to the common center, where their value will be increased a hundred and a thousand fold by the greater number of those who can enjoy them, and where far more perfectly and with far less toil they can be tended than if scattered abroad in private hands. At one stroke half the labor and all the anxiety of domestic caretaking will be annihilated. The private dwelling-places, no longer costly and labyrinthine in proportion to the value and number of the treasures they contain, will need no longer to have doors and windows jealously closed against fellow-man or mother nature. The sun and air will have access to them, the indwellers will have unfettered egress. Neither man nor woman will be tied in slavery to the lodge which they inhabit; and in becoming once more a part of nature, the human habitation will at length cease to be what it is now for, at least, half the human race—a prison."

CARPENTERS. See BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.

CASSON, HERBERT N., was born in 1869, in Ontario, Canada, of English parents. Educated at Victoria College, he entered the Methodist ministry in 1890. Becoming a socialist, he gave up his church and its creed and came to Boston, Mass., in 1893. He took a leading part in the agitation for the unemployed, and in January, 1894, he moved to Lynn, Mass., and founded (in America) the Labor Church Movement (*q.v.*). He is the author of several spirited socialist tracts.

CASTRATION.—Members of the medical profession frequently recommend castration as a punishment for certain offences, and as a method of treatment for "sexual perverts." Boies' recent work on *Prisoners and Paupers* culminates in this recommendation. While advances in modern surgery make this a comparatively safe and painless operation, it is doubtful if it will be permitted by modern communities.

Professor A. G. Warner thinks it may ultimately be very widely used in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. He says (*American Charities*, p. 133):

"It is likely to be introduced first as a curative treatment in the cases of the insane and the feeble-minded. Dr. Kerlin, in addressing the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded, said: 'While consider-

ing the help that advanced surgery is to give us, I will refer to a conviction that I have that lifelong salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed. My experience extends to only a single case to confirm this conviction; but when I consider the great benefit that this young woman has received, the entire arrest of an epileptic tendency, as well as the removal of inordinate desires which made her an offence to the community; when I see the tranquil, well-ordered life she is leading, her usefulness and industry in the circle in which she moves, and know that surgery has been her salvation from vice and degradation, I am deeply thankful to the benevolent lady whose loyalty to science and comprehensive charity made this operation possible." (See *PENEOLOGY*, last section.)

CATALLECTICS (from Gr. *καταλλάσσειν*, to exchange), the science of exchanges, a name adopted by Whately as a designation of political economy, on the ground that exchange occupies such a fundamental place in the sciences. (See *POLITICAL ECONOMY*.)

CAUSES OF POVERTY. See *POVERTY*; *CRIME*, etc.

CELIBACY. See *MONASTICISM*.

CENTRALIZATION is used in social science for the tendency to administer, by the sovereign or the central government, matters which might be placed under local management. The legitimate application is to a state of change from local to central management. Europe today is profoundly moved by the tendency, and has been ever since the existing European States began to grow out of the chaos of the fall of the Roman empire. That empire itself was, however, the greatest instance of centralization which the world has yet seen. In it the numerous municipalities and other local organizations originally existing in Italy, and communicated to the colonies, were entirely centralized. In England we can trace centralization from the time when there were about a dozen kings in Britain, and perhaps as many in Ireland, till the United Kingdom came under the rule of one monarch. In other countries—as, for instance, in France, notwithstanding her desperate struggles for freedom—the process long tended to a pure irresponsible despotism, but now has issued in a centralized republicanism. The British Constitution turns the process to use instead of mischief. While administrative authority has been centralizing in the Crown, the controlling power of Parliament has been increasing more rapidly, so that the vesting of a function in the Crown means the putting it under the control of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons. There is nothing done in any of the offices under the Government for which a secretary of state, or some other member of the ministry, may not at any time be called to account. The creation of the county councils is a recent step in this direction in a somewhat different line.

In the United States the problem of centralization or decentralization has, under different names (see *STATE RIGHTS*), played a very important part. It may be said to be the distinguish-

ing point between the two great political parties which, under different names, have from the beginning divided this country.

In the first continental congresses, the fundamental problem was how much power to give each State, and when the Constitution was proposed, this was still the burning question. Led by Hamilton, the men who believed in a somewhat strong central government gradually took the name of Federalists, gaining their ideas mainly from England; while, largely under the lead of Jefferson, those who believed in giving much power to the States and little to the central government took the name of Republicans, or Democratic-Republicans, and are the direct ancestors of the present Democratic Party. Washington, though in reality of neither party, was by force of circumstances a Federalist, and during his presidency (1789-97), with that of Adams (1797-1801), this party was in power, giving us the necessary unifying elements of our Constitution, especially as regards financial measures. Then, owing to Federalist errors, the Republican-Democratic Party came into power, with Jefferson (1801-1809), Madison (1809-17), and Monroe (1817-25). During this long period of "Jefferson democracy," the decentralizing States-rights influence was in power. The doctrine that that was the best government which governed least applied to the States, but especially to the central government. The Jeffersonian party was strong with the masses and the agricultural interests. Jefferson did away with much of the ceremonialism of Washington. The Federalists were strong with the commercial and manufacturing interests and the Puritanism of New England, which, in spite of worship of the local "town-meeting" self-government, revolted at the atheism of the French Revolution, and connected it with the Democratic-Republican Party. In general the Federalists stood for a loose construction of the Constitution, since this gave them opportunity to expand the central powers, altho they were ready to resist Congress when she stood in their way (there was even talk of a secession of the trading States from the Union), while the Jeffersonians generally favored strict construction, since that would limit the powers of government; yet they were willing even to violate the Constitution, if that were necessary, to effect the purchase of Louisiana. Hamilton, however, died in 1803, and the Federalists had no leader.

In 1825, however, there came a change. Sectional quarrels under Monroe led to the election of John Quincy Adams (1825-29), who was, on the whole, a Federalist, tho he had toyed with the Republican-Democrats; and under the personal influence of Clay and Jackson, two great parties were again developed—the one, under the name of Democrats, maintaining the traditions of the old Democratic-Republican Party, and electing its candidate, Andrew Jackson (1829-37); the other, under the name, first, of National Republican and then Whig, maintaining the principles of the Federalists. The question of centralization was at this time carried out in another direction, in Jackson's vehement attack upon the National Bank of North America, which had been chartered by Congress. (See *BANKS AND BANKING*.) Resting mainly upon the Southern and agricultural vote, the Democrats were inclined to free trade, while the Whigs, with their manufacturing interests, favored protection. Meanwhile, another great question, which, while it had existed from the beginning, only now became so serious, was modified by the same contest between centralizing and decentralizing tendencies. The South, mainly Jeffersonian, or Democratic, believed in State rights and slavery. The North, more Federalist, or Whig, gradually came to oppose slavery. Nevertheless, the Southern Democrats feared to break with Northern Democrats, and the Northern Whigs feared to alienate the South, and, therefore, temporized. The result was a complication of issues, the springing up of new parties—Abolitionists, Free Soilers, etc.—and the election of Van Buren (1837-41), Democrat; W. H. Harrison, who died shortly after his inauguration (1841), Whig, leaving John Tyler President (1841-45), who was only nominally a Whig, and really a Democrat; James K. Polk (1845-49), Democrat; Zachary Taylor (1849), Whig, who also died soon after inauguration, leaving Fillmore President (1850-53), Whig; Pierce (1853-57), Democrat; Buchanan (1857-61), Democrat.

The War of the Rebellion was fought not directly to abolish slavery, but to preserve the union by conquering the States which had pushed the decentralizing

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State-rights doctrine to the extreme of secession. The Whig Party had now given place to a new party, the Republican, made up of Whigs, Free Soilers, and others, which yet on questions of centralization, protection, etc., carried out Whig principles. The election of Lincoln (1861-65), Republican; the victory of the North; Lincoln's assassination, Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, becoming President (1865-69), Republican, are well known.

Since the war the State-rights question has been less prominent, it having been largely settled by the war; but the centralizing or decentralizing question has still remained, its sides being advocated respectively by the Republican and Democratic parties, electing Grant, Republican (1869-77); Hayes, Republican (1877-83); Garfield (1881), Republican, with Arthur, Republican, Vice-President, and, by Garfield's death, becoming President (1881-85); Cleveland, Democratic (1885-89); Harrison, Republican (1889-93); Cleveland, Democratic, (1893-97). (See STATE RIGHTS.)

The present growing problems of social reform are also affected by the same tendencies, some advocating a highly centralized government; others (even most socialists and nationalists) advocating a decentralized government, with great emphasis on local self-government, as developed in the old Saxon folk-mote and the New England town-meeting, giving us municipalism as even more important than the national element of nationalism, which includes all governmental action, State and municipal. Many socialists, and notably William Morris in England, favor a government so decentralized as to be little more than a confederation of communes.

This brief *résumé* will indicate how far this question has entered into our national history and how far it may yet affect our national politics and procedure.

CHALMERS, Dr. THOMAS (1780-1847), a distinguished Scottish divine, we consider here mainly in relation to his great contribution to social experiment and theory. Born at Anstruther, in Fifeshire, he was early destined to the Church, and at the age of 11 was enrolled as a student in the University of St. Andrews. In 1803 he was ordained as minister of Kilmarnock, a small parish near St. Andrews. He taught classes at St. Andrews, and gained great popularity and fame throughout all Scotland. In 1815, after a battle over his evangelical views, which were then much opposed, he became minister of the great Tron parish, in Glasgow, and in 1819 of the parish of St. John's. It was in Glasgow that Dr. Chalmers did the great social work of which we shall soon speak; but in 1828 he accepted the chair of Theology in Edinburgh. Here he finished, in three volumes, his *Christian and Civic Economy in Large Towns*, which he had begun before, and his *Political Economy*, besides many theological and philosophical works. Here, too, he had more leisure for general church activities, and he was placed at the head of the Church Extension Committee. In 1834 the Church had voted that "no minister shall be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the parish," and that the dissent of the majority of the male heads of families, being communicants, should be a bar to settlements. The courts now held that the Church had no right to determine this, and a controversy and struggle rose which resulted in suspension of Dr. Chalmers and many others for upholding this vote of the Church; and finally, in 1843, in the withdrawal of 470 clergymen from the General Assembly, who constituted themselves the Free Church of Scotland, with Dr. Chalmers as their first moderator. The last four years of his life were spent in organizing this church and in perfecting his *Institutes of Theology*, as principal of the first Free Church college.

We now come to notice more carefully his social experiments and positions.

In visiting his first Glasgow parish, which contained a population of about 11,000 souls, he speedily discovered that nearly a third of them had relinquished all connection with any Christian church, and that their children were growing up in ignorance and vice. The appalling magnitude of the evil, and the certainty of its speedy and frightful growth, at once arrested and engrossed him. To devise and execute the means of checking and subduing it became henceforth one of the ruling passions of his life. Attributing the evil to the absence of those parochial influences, educational and ministerial, which wrought so effectually for good in the smaller rural parishes, but which had not been brought to bear upon the overgrown parishes of our great cities, from all spiritual oversight of which the members of the Establishment had retired in despair, his grand panacea was to revivify, remodel, and extend the old parochial economy of Scotland. Taking his own parish as a specimen, and gauging by it the spiritual necessities of the city, he did not hesitate to publish it as his conviction that not less than 20 new churches and parishes should immediately be erected in Glasgow. All, however, that he could persuade the town council to attempt was to erect a single additional one, to which a parish containing no fewer than 10,000 souls was attached.

In 1819 he became minister of the parish of St. John's. This parish contained 2000 families, chiefly weavers, factory operatives and laborers. More than 800 families had no connection with any church; and nearly all the children were uneducated. He at once established two large school-houses, in which 700 children were taught at very low fees. For those too poor to afford even a small school-fee he opened 40 or 50 Sabbath-schools. In a short time these Sabbath-schools contained 1000 children. Dr. Chalmers then divided his parish into 25 districts, and placed over each an elder, to watch over the spiritual interests of the people, and a deacon, to care for their temporal interests. He retained control and direction of all, not only overseeing the work of others, but making 1000 visits among the families annually, and holding evening meetings. It was his special desire to test the old Scotch method of caring for the poor—by voluntary contributions taken at the church door and administered by the kirk session. He was strongly against the English system of compulsory assessment; and obtained permission of the Glasgow magistrates to try the Scotch plan with St. John's. His experiment was a complete success. When he took the parish its poor cost the city about \$7000 a year; but after four years of his management this sum was reduced to less than \$1400 a year. This was done by his thorough organization of the parish, his rejection of the idle, drunken and vicious, his personal visits among the poor and kindly sympathy with them, and his stimulation of the needy to self-respect and industry.

His *Political Economy* seeks to secure the economic elevation of society by moral means. He defined political economy as the "diffusion of sufficiency and comfort." He believed that without a Christian education to give self-control, progress would be impossible. He felt the need of a more radical cure than philanthropy and a more sympathetic one than legislation. He favored home trade rather than foreign trade. His economic idol was agriculture, as giving both occupation and maintenance.

CHAMPION, HENRY HYDE, was the son of General Champion, and himself at one time a captain in the Royal Artillery. His early career was such as to foster the resoluteness and precision which characterize him. After serving with his regiment in India and other places, gaining attention as a promising young officer, he threw up his commission as a protest against the unjust Egyptian campaign. Settling in London, he bought an interest in the "Modern Press" publishing house. About this time he became intensely interested in Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, which was just published. Meet-

ing Henry George, he soon became an ardent disciple, and took a leading part in the agitation which was raised in England during Mr. George's visit. Afterward coming in contact with the new socialist movement, he became a member of the Social Democratic Federation, where his ability made him one of the leaders. He was closely identified with that society until 1888, when he severed his connection. In 1886 he was, with Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, and Williams, tried at the Old Bailey on a charge of "uttering sedition and inciting to violence," but was acquitted. In 1888 he founded the Labor Electoral Association, which by organizing the labor interests greatly affected the voting in several of the parliamentary bi-elections. He also took an active part in organizing the unskilled workers into trade-unions, on the lines from which has since developed the "new unionism."

CHANT, Mrs. LAURA ORMISTON (*née* **DIBBIN**), was born at Chepstow, Monmouthshire, October 9, 1848, and when about five years of age her parents removed to London. When 15 years of age she became a Sunday-school teacher, carrying on that work in different portions of England until she was 22. She taught in three ladies' schools for five or six years, after which she became a hospital nurse, and a year later became sister in the London Hospital in Whitechapel, meeting there her future husband. She decided to undertake the study of medicine, but owing to the powerful opposition of medical schools to women in the profession, and lack of means, did not qualify before marriage. Afterward she became absorbed in philanthropic work. This, with her services as a public speaker, has given her the reputation she enjoys. Her experience as a nurse, and also as assistant manager of a lunatic asylum, is of great value to her in her work, as her house is indeed a refuge for the destitute, a place where broken lives are brought under the influence of loving care. Her home circle is seldom if ever without the lonely and poor, the outcast and criminal, as well as the stupid and giddy. This makes her personal work with individuals far above her other work.

Mrs. Chant made her first public address on *The Position of Women in the Nineteenth Century*, advocating the franchise for them. She next appeared on the temperance platform, and then on that of social purity. Mrs. Chant is on the executive committee of the Women's Liberal Federation of England, of which Mr. Gladstone is president. She serves in the same capacity in the National Society for Promoting Woman Suffrage; is vice-president of one or more liberal associations; vice-president of the Peace Society, and member of the council of the National Vigilance Association of Great Britain and Ireland. She ardently advocates physical training and gymnastics, having written an introduction to Melio's work on gymnastics, and has also written and lectured on gymnastics. She produced the two grand sermons, *The Spiritual Life* and *Signs of the Times*, and is the author of one volume of poems entitled *Verona*. Her latest prominent activity has been her successful attack upon the Empire, as one of the most notorious, and, in her opinion, most evil, of London's music halls.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES, OR ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, are in their present form a distinctly modern movement. In 1819 the Rev. Dr. Chalmers (*q.v.*), in his parish at St. John's, Glasgow, comprising 10,000 souls, in the poorest part of the city, became convinced that miscellaneous almsgiving did more harm than good; and, with the consent of the civic authorities, he undertook to stop all such bestowal of alms, and instead to institute a system of friendly visiting among the needy by a large corps of workers, who were only to give relief in case of extreme necessity, but to do all they could to enable the poor to help themselves. The result was considered very favorable; the amount of pauper relief was very much diminished, and yet there was less suffering than poor. After Dr. Chalmers, however, left the parish, in 1823, the experiment dragged on for 14 years and then came to an end. Meanwhile similar experiments on a smaller scale were made elsewhere. From 1828-44 district visiting societies were formed in several London societies, while societies for repressing mendacity in begging were much older. In 1868 Edward Denison (*q.v.*), a son of the Bishop of Salisbury, went to live in the East End of London to study for himself at first hand the problems of the poor. He became convinced of the same principles at which Dr. Chalmers had arrived. He wrote:

"I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake; whereas by giving alms you keep them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, frame workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings."

As a result, in 1869 a society was formed to act upon these principles, organized by Denison and some friends spurred on by his words and the experience of Octavia Hill (*q.v.*) in her work with her poor tenants. The society was called the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendacity, soon popularly abbreviated into the Charity Organization Society. The movement rapidly grew, and aimed at bringing all the vast charitable relief of London, whether legal, corporate, or individual, into one administration. It has not done this, but has become a vast and thoroughly organized system, with a network throughout England.

There is now in London a central committee with district committees in every poor-law union. The central committee does not relieve directly, but aims at propagating sound views on the subject of charity by publication and discussion, promoting cooperation, suggesting new institutions on good principles, collecting information relating to individuals and of general import, and preventing misapplication. The district committees in London and the 68 affiliated societies in England and Scotland not only organize, but also administer relief on certain principles. Those principles may be summed up as follows: 1. That all relief should aim at making the recipient independent of relief. 2. That no relief should be given

without thorough inquiry and investigation. 3. That existing institutions should be utilized as far as possible. 4. That all relief should be adequate to secure the object with which it is given.

The council consists of the chairman, vice-chairmen, and treasurers; of annually elected representatives from each district committee, with its chairman and secretaries not exceeding two; of additional members in the proportion of one to four district representatives; and of representatives of London charitable institutions. This council works through an executive committee. There are 39 district committees, one for each metropolitan poor-law union. As far as possible, these consist of ministers of religion, guardians of the poor, and representatives of the principal local charities. The society comprises the district committees and donors of one guinea or more to the funds of the council, and it meets annually or by special call. District committees are to deal with all cases of alleged want referred to them. The council supervises and assists the district committees, considers questions of principle and general methods, seeks the systematic cooperation of London's larger institutions, to improve the administration of charity, and to suppress imposture; and it corresponds with similar societies elsewhere.

According to the report of 1892 there were, for the year 1890-91, in the 39 London districts, 23,476 applications for help decided and 2563 were withdrawn; 9490 cases were not assisted, 11,943 were; 5616 were aided by local agencies, 218 by guardians, 3352 by individuals, 4485 by charity organization funds; 1643 cases were aided by loans, 6776 by grants in money; 918 were aided with employment, 83 to emigration, 1117 with hospital treatment, 1177 with surgical apparatus, 2783 with convalescent aid, 276 with pensions; 259 were admitted to homes; 1565 were aided as vagrants. Of the income of the society, £4845 was for general expenses at the central office, £11,380 for district committees; £244 was spent for emigration, £21,102 for special cases and pensions, £3752 for grants, and £408 for loans. The object of the society, it must be remembered, is not itself to give, but to aid the poor with friendly advice and by investigation to enable the wealthy to give wisely. It spends its money, therefore, first for workers, and only secondly and incidentally in giving money aid. Mr. C. S. Loch, the secretary of the society, estimates (*Charity Organization*, p. 43) that £4,719,224 were spent in charity in London in the year 1886-87 by all city, periodical, and voluntary institutions, besides £723,000 by hospitals.

The history of charity organization in the United States has closely followed that of England. In the fifties there had been organized in almost all the large cities relief societies, usually called Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. The Boston Provident Association was one. They were often conducted in theory upon principles of modern charity, but in practice, says Mr. Kellogg, "they sank into the sea of common almsgiving, appealing to their patrons for support on the ground that the money given to them would enable them to enlarge the number of their beneficiaries or increase the amount of their gifts, and attracting the needy to their doors with the hope of loaves and fishes. . . . On every side the current of pub-

lic sentiment was that every penny spent in administration was so much abstracted from the poor, and that the best management was that which entailed the least cost in getting bread and soup to the hungry, and shelter, fuel, and clothing to the cold. . . . Legal relief consisted of outdoor and indoor systems, the latter being universally institutional, and therefore it only falls incidentally within the scope of charity organization efforts. The practice of outdoor relief differed greatly in different communities. In New York City the provision for this form of aid was comparatively slight, and consisted in appropriations for fuel distribution and for the adult blind in equal, inadequate amounts, and a trifling sum for medicines at the City Hospital. In some cities, like Buffalo, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn, large appropriations of money were made for outdoor relief, and its administration did not escape the suspicion of corrupt and political taint at times. In New England cities and town overseers of the poor or selectmen distributed, much at their caprice, the relief provided for by taxation. But from every quarter testimony arises that the system was without adequate safeguards of investigation, tests of destitution or means of hindering duplication of relief from several sources simultaneously, or of making the relief adequate to the necessity."

It was under such conditions that the movement toward charity organization commenced. Our account of the movement we abridge from the *Report of the Committee on History of Charity Organization in the United States, Made to the Twentieth National Conference of Charities and Correction (q. v.)*, Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, of the Charity Organization Society of New York City, being chairman. Says Mr. Kellogg:

"In 1874 the nearest approximation to charity organization to be found in the United States was the Chardon Street Building in Boston. It was erected in 1869 by joint contributions from the city and personal subscribers, in pursuance of a plan first promulgated by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in 1857, and subsequently advocated in the annual reports of the Boston Provident Association, of which he was the president. Under its roof are the offices of the official boards and the principal voluntary relief societies of the city. The economy and advantages of proximity for the purpose of exchanging information and concerting measures of dealing with applicants for help had been clearly pointed out, and the existence of this building facilitated the subsequent systematic development of registration and cooperation in that city.

Beginnings.

"Altho the movement to organize charities in the cities of the United States everywhere traces its origin to the London Society and its publications, or to the discussions which arose concerning it, there were several independent centers in which it appeared nearly simultaneously in this country. In 1874 Rev. Charles G. Ames led in the formation, upon London models, of an association in Germantown, a suburban ward of Philadelphia, which employed household visitors to investigate applicants for aid, availed itself of the soup-houses, fuel societies, churches, and especially of the outdoor municipal relief in procuring the requisite assistance, and supplemented it as need indicated from its own resources. It brought the charitable operations of Germantown into unexpected unison; repressed imposture and the artificial appetite for aid of such poor as sought it only because they wanted to share in the good things provided for those who asked, and not because they would otherwise be destitute of them; reformed outdoor municipal relief; discovered real cases of hardship, and gained the confidence of the benevolent of all denominations in that community. This association profoundly influenced the measures adopted by the larger society formed in Philadelphia a few years later.

"In the same year a Bureau of Charities was formed in New York City, of which Mr. Henry E. Pellew was chief promoter and secretary, that proposed to register persons receiving outdoor relief, either from the city, benevolent societies, or individuals; but the scheme was frustrated the next year by the refusal of the largest relief-giving society in the city to cooperate. This plan met with better success in Boston. In the autumn of 1875 the Cooperative Society of Visitors among the Poor was formed in Boston, whose theater of operation was in the North End. The plan was a modification of the Elberfeld system as proposed by Octavia Hill for London. No visitor was to have more than four 'cases' on hand, and lists were obtained from the dispensary physicians of that congested and poor district. The society held weekly conferences of visitors and representatives of other

charities, and it opened a work-room in the Chardon Street Charity Building.

"Buffalo has the honor of being the first city in the United States to produce a complete Charity Organization Society of the London type. The Rev. S. H. Gurteen, an English clergyman, who had been active in the London Society, was settled as an assistant minister in St. Paul's Church there, and he systematized the work of his parish guild so that every application for aid was promptly investigated.

Various Cities.

He proposed in 1877 the creation of a clearing office to which the charitable agencies of the city should send daily reports, and he lectured on 'Phases of Charity,' attracting much attention. Simultaneously citizens, having met in conference, were engaged in an effort to reform the methods of municipal outdoor relief, which had become extravagant, was careless and corrupt. Failing to obtain legislation in Albany to create a commission for its control, they secured an ordinance from the city, under which, in October, 1877, all applications for relief were for the first time investigated by the police. On December 11, 1877, as a result of these agitations, the Charity Organization Society was set afoot at a public meeting, and it adhered to the principle of coordinating existing relief agencies and giving no relief from its own funds except in rare emergencies.

"In the spring of 1876 a Registration Committee was formed by private citizens of Boston, and work was begun in the autumn, carried on until the spring of 1878, and then abandoned in view of the larger enterprise then under discussion. It had demonstrated the value of reports from the offices of the overseers of the poor, of benevolent societies, and of the friendly visitors, when collated, but it had failed to obtain the entire cooperation of relief organizations. Much discussion and many conferences ensued during that year, looking to the formation of a society upon the principles of charity organization which would bring into association all the relief agencies, ecclesiastical and secular, of the city. The large relief societies knew the worth of registration, but doubted the value of 'friendly visiting.' They were willing to support the new movement, provided 'the visitors had no power of relief.' This condition was fortunately acceded to, and on February 26, 1878, a provisional commission was formed by delegates from many charities, which carried on the work until December 8, when the present constitution of the Associated Charities of Boston was adopted and went into effect.

"New Haven was next in line, May 23, 1878, with the cooperation of the older societies, and took charge of cases until investigation elicited some mode of making more permanent disposition of them.

"Philadelphia brought forward its type in 1878. In the previous autumn the officers of several soup societies, dissatisfied with the results of their previous work, called a public meeting of citizens to confer upon larger and better methods for the future. A large committee was appointed to draw up a plan, and on June 13, 1878, a constitution was adopted and a provisional organization set on foot. This instrument was dominated by the idea of reproducing in each of the 30 wards of the city a complete association like that existing in Germantown. The Central Board was to be composed of two delegates from each ward, which should meet monthly, and meanwhile its powers were to be exercised by an Executive Committee. The provisional commission proceeded to organize ward associations with great rapidity, and in due time delegates were chosen to the Central Board, and the society was organized under its constitution. The immediate results of so cumbersome and democratic a scheme was that 23 societies were formed in as many wards or groups of contiguous wards, pledged to take care of all the distress and penury each in its territorial limits. Each raised its own funds and disbursed them without control; and as there were but few persons in them who understood charity organization principles, the work often fell into wrong hands, and the ward associations were so many new almoning societies. By their attitude they were virtually saying to all the older charitable societies that there was no need of them, and they, as a rule, refused cooperation and still withhold it. Another result was that the Central Board had no authority to control the methods of relief, and was itself subordinate to its ward constituencies. One hundred and eighty persons were needed to fill the offices of directors, while there were large corps of visitors having a semi-independent organization. The movement was highly popular at the start, and came in the first year into an income of nearly \$40,000. It offered itself to the community as a

complete, independent, and self-contained system for dealing with every phase of charity, but its very sufficiency obscured the vital fact that charity organization aims at no more independence than is necessary to maintain existence, and should be subservient to all existing charity agencies with a view to their coordination. Great reliance for the uniform working of the system was placed upon monthly conferences of all the workers, directors, local superintendents, and visitors, and for a time these conferences were well attended and were highly educational. In due time the plan was revised, the choice of the Central Board was transferred from the ward associations to the annual meeting of the general society, its initiative and oversight was strengthened, and the wards were consolidated into 18 districts; but the original features had made a deep impression which has not been obliterated. The business of registration and cooperation sank into control of the district organizations; the Central Office drifted into the specialty of caring for non-residents and wayfarers' lodges; and the society remains, as it started out to be, a relief agency with charity organization traditions.

"Cincinnati was promptly in the field, November 18, 1879. The Associated Charities was initiated through influences aroused chiefly by the Women's Christian Association and other societies, the inaugural meeting being held the same hour with the first annual meeting of the Philadelphia society, and reciprocal congratulations being exchanged between them. It started avowedly on the lines laid down in the Boston society, but practically it fell into the Philadelphia methods, and created or adopted 12 district organizations dispensing relief, and which the Central Board was not able to control. Fortunately the tact and force of the general secretary repressed much of the mischief, secured a general registration, and gave cohesion to the system until 1886, when he resigned and the society lapsed into a relief agency, became unpopular, and was about to be abandoned, when, in 1889, it was reorganized, the district treasuries were absorbed into one, the central authority made dominant, and the distribution of relief was stopped, to the great increase of efficiency and public confidence.

"Brooklyn was another center where the movement arose spontaneously. In 1877 a commission of citizens undertook the investigation of outdoor relief, which in that year comprised 46,350 beneficiaries and involved an expenditure of \$741,207. This resulted in restricting municipal out-relief to coal in 1878, and in its total abolition the next year. In 1879 Mr. Seth Low, who had been providentially and unremediatedly present at the inauguration of the Buffalo society and deeply impressed thereby, enlisted Mr. Alfred T. White, and they, with others who had been instrumental in abolishing the outdoor relief of the city, together with the volunteer visitors of the out-poor, organized the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, which does not give relief, but maintains wood-yards, laundries, work-rooms, and a woman's lodging-house.

"Indianapolis enjoyed the labors of Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch as president of the Benevolent Society, in which office he had made careful studies of the poor-relief problem. In 1876 Mr. King, the township trustee or overseer of the poor, began to systematize and improve the administration of poor relief, and together these gentlemen led on to the formation, December 5, 1879, of the Charity Organization Society.

"New York, as the largest center of population in the country, demands notice here. The difficulties encountered in securing influential cooperation in 1874 for a time paralyzed further effort, altho the necessity for some organization was long discussed by persons interested in charitable enterprises. In 1881 the matter was taken up by the State Board of Charities, and through its initiative the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York was founded in January, 1882, and incorporated on May 10 following. It followed the Boston plan in respect to the important features of giving no relief and of creating district associations maintained from a common treasury and under central control.

"All other charity organization societies in the United States trace their origin to these now enumerated, which have been selected not only as among the earliest in the field, but as illustrating the diversity of origin of the movement, the causes which immediately led to the associations for organizing charity, and the two types of societies, those which combine relief from their own funds with their methods and those which do not. The movement found an expression of its unity in the National Conference of Charities and Correc-

**National
Conference.**

tion, which is itself an outgrowth of the American Social Science Association. It is first mentioned in the proceedings of the Chicago Conference of 1879, where Mr. Seth Low presented a description of the work in Brooklyn, and a committee was formed to report upon charity organization. Two years later, at Boston, 19 societies reported to the National Conference, and the committee grew to a section, which published a separate report of its own proceedings.

Simultaneously with the beginning of charity organization, and promoted by the same men, there was a repression in important cities of official out-door relief. Returns from four cities for that time give the following results:

Suppression of Out-door Relief.

CITY.	Year.	Out-relief.	Year.	Out-relief.
Brooklyn	1877	\$141,207	1880	None.
Buffalo	1877	99,196	1880	\$37,868
Indianapolis, Center Township	1876	90,000	1880	8,000
Philadelphia	1879	66,000	1880	None.
Amount saved to taxpayers .....	...	...	...	359,533
Total .....	..	\$396,403	....	\$396,403

While this elimination of out-door relief was not pressed by formal action of our societies, charity organizationists claimed the credit of it as the result of their agitation and personal effort, and it was exactly in the line of the principles they advocated. Diligent inquiry showed that no suffering ensued in consequence of the withdrawal, while the admissions to almshouses and infirmaries in the cities named contemporaneously decreased. This event attracted wide attention in official and watchful circles, evinced the value of the investigations which preceded it, and disclosed the worse than useless prodigality of out-door relief. Its influence spread far and wide beyond the limits where it could be statistically followed, and was the beginning of a wiser administration of the charitable funds raised by taxation in many communities.

In 1882 there were 22 charity organization societies known to exist in the United States, and 10 others which had adopted some of the leading features of this movement and were enrolled as correspondents with the former societies. They embraced cities and towns having a population of 6,331,700, or 12 per cent. of the total of the United States, and among them were the chief centers of influence in the country.

So far, Mr. Kellogg. At present (1895) there are in the United States 120 charity organization societies existing under slightly different names and 21 relief societies which largely adopt charity organization principles. An appendix to Mr. Kellogg's report gives the following totals for 1892: Administrative officers, 763 men and 511 women; paid officers or agents, 77 men and 135 women; friendly visitors, 456 men and 354 women; branch or district organizations, 100; contributors, 15,726; churches or associations, 243. Received from city or State, \$17,877.54; income, \$263,421.39; invested funds, \$409,937.55. Concerning the lines of work developed, the report gives the following statistics:

Statistics.

REPRESSION.

Treatment of vagrants:
 Number turned over to police. 537 = 01%
 Number lodged through your society. 37,590 = 70.9%
 Number employed in wood-yard or other like test places. 13,760 = 26%
 Street beggars and impostors suppressed. 967 = 01.8%
 Fraudulent schemes detected. 117 = 00.2%

COOPERATION.

With municipal or State boards:
 Number in the town. 58
 Number cooperating. 56 = 97%
 With societies and their institutions:
 Number in the town. 1,443
 Number cooperating. 420 = 33%
 With churches:
 Number in town 3,113
 Number cooperating. 1,253 = 44%

SANITARY WORK:

- a. Tenements improved through landlords or through changed habits. 298
- b. Removals to better quarters. 112
- c. Open-air excursions, number of beneficiaries. 31,722

OTHER AGENCIES INAUGURATED AND MANAGED:

- Wood-yards. 7
- Sewing-rooms, laundries, banks, wayfarers' lodges, kitchens, etc. 25

DISPOSITION OF CASES IN 1892.	Totals.	Per-cent-ages.
Number treated	74,704	.....
Continuous relief.	3,562	4.76
Temporary relief.	18,558	24.84
Needing work rather than alms.	11,989	16.05
Not relieved, having relatives.	2,534	3.39
Not relieved, having vicious habits.	7,719	10.33
Placed in institutions.	1,182	1.58
Placed in charge of churches or societies.	5,768	7.72
Placed in charge of police.	572	.76
Aid procured from municipality or State.	668	.89
Aid procured from churches and societies.	8,408	11.13
Aid procured from individuals.	4,931	6.60
Aided by loans.	596	.80
Employment secured.	13,477	18.04
Applicants' resources developed.	46	.06
Removed to relatives or new situations.	490	.65
Brought to self-maintenance (estimated).	1,524	2.04
Unclassified.		

CLASSIFIED CASES, 1892.	Totals	Per-cent-ages.
Married couples.	5,320	34.59
Widows.	2,924	19.03
Deserted wives.	1,007	6.55
Single women.	970	6.30
Deserted husbands or widowers.	575	3.74
Single men.	3,979	25.86
Orphaned or abandoned children.	437	2.84
Divorced or separated (legally).	168	1.09
	51,380	100%
Under 14.	13,031	36.87
14 to 20.	3,417	9.65
20 to 40.	11,460	32.42
40 to 55.	4,051	13.14
55 to 70.	2,217	6.26
Over 70.	554	1.66
Total number in family.	35,330	100%
United States, white.	9,156	42.21
United States, colored.	1,862	8.58
British-American, white.	763	3.52
British-American, colored.		
Dutch.	16	...
English.	883	0.07
French and Belgian.	181	0.008
German.	2,589	11.04
Italian.	761	0.007
Irish.	4,239	19.54
Polish and Russian.	384	1.77
Scandinavian.	323	1.53
Scotch and Welsh.	289	1.33
Other countries.	842	3.9
	21,697	90.265
Can read and write.	5,059	75.77
Can read, not write.	390	5.84
Cannot read or write.	1,228	18.39
	6,677	100%

Concerning the objects of methods of charity organization societies, Professor A. G. Warner, Ph.D., prints in his *American Charities* (pp. 380, 381) the following

table, adding that the first three objects may be described as the essential functions, the remaining five being usually kept in view, but not invariably so:

OBJECTS.	METHODS.	MACHINERY.
1. Cooperation between all charitable agencies of a given locality, and the best coordination of their efforts.	1. Comparison of relief records of the several agencies and mutual acquaintance of workers.	1. A card or other alphabetical catalogue of cases at a central office and frequent conferences of workers.
2. Accurate knowledge of all cases treated.	2. Thorough investigation, followed by careful registration.	2. Paid agents assisted by volunteer visitors, and elaborate case records either at central or branch offices.
3. To find prompt and adequate relief for all that should have it.	3. Bringing each case to the attention of appropriate relief agencies willing to aid.	3. Correspondence, personal interviews, sometimes a "Golden Book," or even a relief fund (wisdom of this last questioned).
4. Exposure of impostors and prevention of wilful idleness.	4. After investigation, notification in all cases of those likely to be deceived, and, where feasible, arrest of impostors and professional beggars. Work-test.	4. Paid agents, sometimes (especially for this work) publication of a "cautionary list," information to all asking for it in specific cases, wood-yard.
5. To find work for all able and willing to do anything.	5. To provide regular work where possible and relief work when necessary.	5. Employment agency, wood-yard, stone-breaking, laundries, rag-sorting, etc.
6. Establishment of relations of personal interest and sympathy between the poor and the well-to-do.	6. Friendly visiting.	6. Organization of corps of volunteer visitors who are not almsgivers, working under the guidance of paid agents.
7. Prevention of pauperism.	7. By above means and by special educational and provident schemes.	7. Kindergarten night schools, industrial schools, penny provident funds, provident dispensaries, fuel funds, etc.
8. Collection and diffusion of knowledge on all subjects connected with the administration of charities.	8. Discussion, public meetings, publication.	8. Board meetings, annual meetings, conferences, lecture courses, periodicals.

Besides this, or rather in connection with this general work, says Professor Warner (p. 391):

"Many organizations go further and seek to establish special branches likely to assail pauperism in its causes. The crèche, or day nursery, at which working mothers can leave their children during the day, has been established in several cities, notably in Buffalo. The kindergarten movement for poor children, or in connection with the public schools, has had the active assistance of charity organizationists. Cooking-schools, sewing-schools, trade-schools, and laundries for the education of the workers have been established, as well as different varieties of savings funds. Several of these funds operate with a system of stamp deposits, some of them being through collections made from house to house by the friendly visitors. The New York Society has been especially active in the pushing of stamp-deposit funds, having established 206 stations, with 26,732 depositors, and over \$15,000 on deposit. In Boston and Baltimore provident schemes of a similar character have been established, but not under the charity organizationists, the cooperating with them. Fuel funds, by means of which summer savings can secure winter delivery of coal at summer prices, have been established by some of the societies. The rule of nearly all the societies is not to undertake these special schemes if some independent organization can be found that will push them. They are desirable things that the charity organizationist wishes to see established, but they are not undertaken by the society itself except when necessary. Frequently such new enterprises start in connection with the society, and are then graduated into independent life." The report of Mr. Kellogg (1892) mentions penny savings funds controlled by the society in 17 cities and 18 provident funds.

The main work of the organization, however, is closely adhered to. Says a recent report of the Boston societies:

"Relief is not our business; help is. A friend in need is a friend indeed! But this must be a trained friend to become the best friend. And we find that,

just as lack of training is a large cause of poverty, so lack of training hinders and discourages our new volunteer visitors. The training comes more or less unconsciously; but it may be planned, as all training should be. The way to learn a business is to learn its details and their relations to principles. There is a right way of doing a thing, and there are more or less definite methods of going about the helping. The new visitor then must learn how. This is one of the reasons for organizing conferences. The conference is a body of volunteer visitors. Our purpose now is to speak more especially of parts of the conference—the Case Committee, the Daily Committee, and individual volunteer work, clerical or errands.

Method.

"The Case Committee is a committee of one or two persons to select the cases needing action, and present them concisely to the conference meeting for discussion and decision. One at least of this committee should be an expert; and by the concise manner in which the cases can be stated the visitors at the conference may learn much as to dealing with various classes of cases, and business may be despatched.

"The Daily Committee exists in some form in about half of our conferences. It consists of two or more persons at a time, changing generally from day to day, and seems likely to become the most active business committee of all, besides helping our visitors to learn. They may be all members of the Executive Committee or not. If not experts, they have in their work the means of becoming so. They consider promptly on the spot and from the latest information the new cases which have come in, or any which require immediate decision. They share with the agent the responsibility in such decisions, and may suspend or reverse, if necessary, decisions already made. They relieve the Case Committee from the press of accumulated work. They are on hand some part of every day in office hours with the (paid) agent. The conference is the final responsible legislative body, subject to the board of directors.

"While not yet a perfected system nor yet uniform, the above methods of work seem to be gaining acceptance as the best we can yet find for getting our work effectively done, and as affording an attractive means of learning how to be a good volunteer visitor and the best friend to the poor.

"It is interesting to notice in the statistics that the chief cause of need is sickness for 25 per cent., intemperance for 22 per cent., lack of employment for 14 per cent., and other causes far less."

In the larger cities directories of charities are published, embracing many hundred pages of lists, with brief notes of classified hospitals and relief societies, etc. In New York City a United Charities Building has been erected at a cost of over \$750,000, the gift of Mr. John S. Kennedy.

Charity organizations in the forms above described are mainly limited to England and the United States, but all civilized countries have societies acting more or less upon the same principles. The

Other Countries.

The Annual Report of the New York Society presents a list of foreign societies acting in cooperation with Charity Organization Societies whenever occasion requires. In this list Canada has 2 societies; Australia, 4; Austria, 9; Barbados, 1; Belgium, 2; Denmark, 1; Egypt, 1; France, 16; Germany, 28; Greece, 1; Holland, 3; India, 3; Italy, 7; Natal, 3; New Zealand, 1; Nova Scotia, 1; Russia, 4; Spain, 2; Sweden and Norway, 2; Switzerland, 3; Tasmania, 1; Turkey, 1. Charitable aid in the different countries is, however, administered in quite various ways. In Italy it is almost wholly conducted by religious orders and societies; in France there is a system which combines voluntary effort and official management. Says the Rev.

France.

L. R. Phelps in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*: "The right to relief is recognized only in the cases of lunatics and deserted children; all other relief

may be described as organized charity distributed by public bodies. Institutions, such as *Hospitaux* for the sick, hospices for the aged and infirm, are supported by endowments and voluntary contributions, and managed by unpaid bodies constituted and controlled by the State. The *Bureaux de Bienfaisance*, consisting of elected and nominated members, the mayor presiding *ex officio*, distribute relief in the commune to the poor at their own homes. The funds which they administer are derived almost wholly from endowments and voluntary contributions, a small proportion only coming from taxation. Inquiry is conducted mainly by Sisters of Charity, and is very thorough."

German charity organization is noteworthy for the development of the Elberfeld system (*q.v.*); according to this system the city is divided by the municipal authorities into districts, over each of which districts an overseer is appointed with 14 or more visitors under him.

Germany.

These visitors investigate and report upon each application for relief. Meetings of the visitors with the overseer are held fortnightly, and records of all cases are made and transmitted to a central board or *Verwaltung*. The rules of the system and the instructions given to the visitors are very minute. Funds are raised by special and general taxation. All the officers and visitors are unpaid, and are appointed by the council, service being in practice almost obligatory. Voluntary societies are expected to work in connection with the municipal system, and the plan is said to meet with great success.

OBJECTIONS TO CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS.

Charity Organization Societies are criticised by many, especially by the leaders of the so-called labor movement. The ground of this criticism is often, however, a hostility to the general social and industrial conditions out of which the associated charity movement has grown, rather than an intelligent criticism of the movement itself. It is charged by these critics that the associated charities often keep even those applicants who are worthy waiting, tossed from this bureau to that, while their case is being investigated, analyzed, and finally referred to the proper bureau. It is said that the investigation of cases by men and women who, however kindly may be their intentions, often

do not understand the industrial and economic condition of the poor, leads to repeated cases of injustice, as these visitors try to distinguish between those whom they consider deserving and the undeserving. The working classes often resent this investigation of their family life that seems to them either an insulting espionage or a patronizing condescension from the rich. These labor critics assert, too, that the associated charities, by becoming, as it were, professional almoners for the rich, really prevent the natural contact of the rich with the poor, and dry up the flow of charity in a system of suspicion and of red tape. Above all, these critics assert that the associated charities, by their constant effort to make the poor self-supporting and self-dependent, hold out a false and reactionary standard of individualism which is impossible of fulfilment and yet which blinds the community to the real economic trouble. It is argued that many of the poor to-day cannot get employment, and therefore that it is idle and insulting for the associated charities to be forever bidding the individual to find work for himself when this is just what he wants to do and cannot. The need to-day, say these critics, is for such changes in the social condition that all shall have work and not need alms, and the charity organizations prevent these changes by teaching that the poor can to-day help themselves. For rich people who are living off the work of the poor to organize societies to bid the poor be self-supporting is from this standpoint an insult and absurdity. It will be thus seen that the real opposition to the associated charities springs from a sense of the injustice of the present system. What is wanted, say these critics, is not associated charity, but associated justice. The answer to this criticism is that the associated charities are not responsible for the present system, be it just or unjust, but that under the present system they are striving to aid the poor in what experience shows to be at present the wisest way. To the assertion that they keep the poor waiting while they are being investigated, it is answered that the records of the society prove this charge unsupported. Undoubtedly no system always works well, and among the hundreds and thousands of charity visitors, unwise and foolish things are no doubt occasionally done and needless suffering caused, but it is proved that this happens very rarely and that the system is working better and better.

Answer to Objections

Nevertheless many even of the firmest friends of charity organization are admitting that charity in any form cannot meet the real needs of the poor to-day, and that therefore just so far as associated charities make the wealthy and influential believe that deeper social reforms are not needed, associated charities do become reactionary and harmful. President Tucker said, in a recent Phi Beta oration at Harvard: "The philanthropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions postpones the philanthropy which is determined, at any cost, to right those conditions." Associated charities are not righting the conditions. In an address at the Episcopal Church Congress, in Boston, November, 1894, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, one of

the foremost associated charity leaders in America, said, speaking of the conditions in the larger cities: "The day of panaceas is gone. . . . All that I can do is to utter my cry almost of despair." In England, says another charity organization worker, the Rev. S. A. Barnett (*Practicable Socialism*, p. 66):

"The most earnest member of a charity organization cannot hope that organized alms giving will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living. Societies which absorb much wealth and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility are failing; it remains only to adopt the principles of the education act, of the poor law, and of other socialistic organization, and call on society to do what societies fail to do."

Nevertheless, it does not follow, even if Canon Barnett be right, that while we press toward new social reforms, we should not do all we can to relieve by wise charity the suffering of the poor to-day.

References: *Charity Organization*, by C. S. Loch (London, 1890); *Charity Organization Annual Reports and Publications; Annual Reports of the National Conferences of Charities and Correction; Annual Reports of State Boards of Charities; The Charities Review* (105 East 22d Street, New York City); *Charity Organization Review* (of the London, England, C. O. S.); *Public Relief and Private Charity*, by Mrs. J. S. Lowell (New York, 1884); *American Charities*, by A. G. Warner (New York, 1895); *Lead a Hand* (Boston). See also PAUPERISM; POVERTY; UNEMPLOYED; POOR LAWS; CHALMERS; DENISON; BOOTH; TENEMENTS; SLUMS, etc.

Revised by CHARLES D. KELLOGG.

CHAUTAUQUA ASSEMBLY.—In August, 1874, Lewis Miller, of Akron, O., and Bishop John H. Vincent organized the first Chautauqua Assembly. Its name was derived from Chautauqua Lake, in New York State, on the shore of which the meeting was held. It began as a summer school for the better training of Bible teachers, and endeavored to lay most emphasis on the "week-day forces" in religious culture. Its two founders desired to give Sunday-school teachers a continued, progressive, and thorough study of biblical literature and pedagogical principles. The first meeting was a success; and by a gradual and natural growth the plan has been broadened to include instruction in almost all branches of knowledge; the session has been extended from two weeks to two months (July and August); and a town has been built up which presents an interesting study to the educator and sociologist in its municipal government and its ideals of life. The present form of the Chautauqua Assembly was assumed in 1878, and various improvements have been adopted from year to year. It is at present incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Its management is intrusted to a board of 24 trustees, elected either by the owners of property at Chautauqua, or in case a quorum of such electors cannot be secured, by the board itself. The Assembly is not a stock company, nor are the trustees interested in the land beyond the ownership of lots for private use. By the provisions of the charter, all surplus funds must be used for the improvement and extension of the Assembly's work. The president and chancellor have never received compensation for their services. Those officers upon whom falls the management of details are paid ordinary salaries.

Chautauqua has become a city where municipal functions are extended to include free public instruction and entertainment. This expense is defrayed by a system of taxation which falls upon all within the town, however brief the term of citizenship. The tariff for July is: one day, 25 cents; one week, \$1; the month, \$2.50; for August: one day, 40 cents; one week, \$2; the month, \$3; the charge for the entire season, \$5. Citizenship includes the privilege of attending all exercises of the general program, and access to the museum, the reading-room, the models, etc.

Chautauqua is distinctively a religious place in the broadest sense, embracing the higher mental, physical, and spiritual development of its citizens and members. It is strictly non-sectarian.

The general program provides a daily arrangement of lectures, concerts, dramatic recitals, and other exercises, to which all citizens have free access. Every evening a fine concert, a stereopticon lecture, or some other entertainment is given. Well-known men and women in all departments of life give courses of lectures or single addresses on contemporary religious, social, and economic questions. For those who wish to study, a six weeks' course of instruction is provided at moderate charges: (a) Chautauqua College, teaching ancient and modern languages, literature, history, natural sciences, political economy, and philosophy. (b) Schools of sacred literature, providing courses in Bible study, both in the original languages and in English, under leading biblical specialists. (c) A pedagogical course for public-school teachers extends over a period of three weeks, and includes instruction in psychology, pedagogical principles, and their practical application to the teaching of arithmetic, geography, science, etc. (d) A school of music, teaching both the theory and practice of instrumental and vocal music. (e) A school of physical education in connection with a well-equipped gymnasium, conducting classes for both sexes in all branches of gymnastics, athletic contests, rowing, etc. (f) Other classes in art, photography, industrial drawing, china decoration, manual training, elocution, and short-hand.

A daily paper, the *Chautauqua Assembly Herald*, is published. Besides the regular classes, there have been formed a number of clubs for various special educational purposes.

One of the most important features of the Assembly is the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. This was started in 1878, and offers aid to self-educating people, either as individuals or in groups known as "local circles." The essential features of the plan are:

1. A definite four years' course of history, literature, science, etc.
2. Specified volumes approved by the counselors.
3. Allotment of time. Reading apportioned by week and month.
4. A monthly magazine with additional readings, notes, and general literature.
5. A membership book, with suggestions, review outlines, etc.
6. Time required, 40 minutes to an hour a day for nine months.
7. Certificates granted to all who complete the four years' course.
8. Advanced courses, for continued reading in special lines.
9. Pedagogical course for secular teaching.
10. Young People's Reading Course to stimulate the reading of good literature by the young.

Further details may be obtained from Bishop Vincent, Buffalo, N. Y. At present (1895) the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle has enrolled over 200,000 members, and an endeavor is being made to establish a "resident faculty for non-resident students." The officers of Chautauqua (1895) are: President,

CHERBULIEZ, ANTOINE ELYSÉE, was born in Geneva in 1797. A barrister, magistrate, and then professor, he was in the Cantonal Legislature from 1831 to 1846, and till 1848 in the Great Council. From 1848 to 1851 he was in Paris, and then professor at Zurich, where he died 1869. His main work is *Précis de la Science économique et de ses principales applications* (2 vols., 1862).

CHEVALIER, MICHEL, was born at Limoges in 1806, and died at the Château de Montplaisir, near Lodève (Hérault), in 1879. Commencing life as a mining engineer, he gave this up in 1829 to join Saint-Simonism (*q.v.*), and became editor-in-chief of the *Globe*. He was condemned, August 28, 1832, to a year's imprisonment and 100 francs (£4) fine, as the responsible agent of the *Globe*, for articles which were accused of being outrages on morality. His intentions were worthy, and his habits of life more strict than appearances led the world to suppose; hence the Government itself, which discovered at this time M. Chevalier's abilities, remitted half the penalty, and also entrusted to him the mission of studying the railways of the United States. He devoted himself henceforward to writing on engineering and economic subjects, and gradually but very materially changed his economic views. In 1841 he succeeded Rossi in the chair of Political Economy at the College of France.

In the Revolution of 1848 he opposed the socialism of the *Commission du gouvernement pour les travailleurs*. He wrote at that time in the *Journal des Débats* a series of letters called *Lettres sur l'organisation du travail*, which were collected under this title. This and the *Lettres sur l'Amérique du nord* may be considered his most characteristic and remarkable works.

The Institut (*Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*) opened its doors to him February, 1851. At the end of that year he gave in his adhesion to the Government of the *coup d'état*. He believed liberty to be more in peril under the class of parliamentary government of which he had seen the working, than under a personal government. He was called to the council of state February, 1852. At the same date M. Chevalier published the *Examen du système commercial connu sous le nom de système protecteur*, a work in which the advantage of commercial liberty was shown. He induced Napoleon III. to sign the famous commercial treaty with England of January 23, 1860.

In 1859 Michel Chevalier published a new volume with the significant title, *De la baisse probable de l'or*. Facts have shown him wrong on this point. He strove later against Louis Wolowski in favor of the single gold standard against the system of a double standard combined with a fixed ratio. He resumed his duties as professor in 1866 and carried them on till 1878, when he took a coadjutor—this time one of his sons-in-law—M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, who became his successor. (Abridged from the account by M. A. Courtois, *fils*, in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*.)

CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, THE.—The arrest, trial, and execution of the so-called "Chicago anarchists" mark an epoch in the development of the labor movement in America. The facts of the case, gathered out of the somewhat contradictory statements made by those who believe that the anarchists were rightly, and those who believe that they were wrongly condemned seem to be as follows:

The year 1886 was one of widespread social industrial agitation in the United States. In 1884, the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada had issued a manifesto calling on all trades to unite in the demand for an eight-hour day, and setting a day for a general strike to gain that end. Afterward it was deemed wisest to postpone concerted action for one year, and May 1, 1886, was the day appointed when the new system should be inaugurated. All through the States the wave of organization spread, men and women of advanced ideas all lending their aid to further the movement.

History.

In Chicago the excitement ran the highest. Here was a little group of men more or less loosely banded together, and popularly called anarchists. As a matter of fact, they were of various economic views. They gathered around a section of the American International, which had become an anarchistic organization, and must not be confused with the old European socialist International. They had two principal organs: the *Alarm*, with Parsons as its editor, the English organ, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the German organ, with Spies and Schwab as its principal writers, and Fischer as foreman. Fielden and Engel were also prominent in the group. Not agreed in their economic views, they were agreed in denouncing the present system as the parent of cruel wrongs, and in being willing to go to extremes in agitating against this system.

They felt that the labor movement was dying of inertia. They felt that the working people were being utterly ground down, and were submitting too easily. They thought that, without really committing violence, if they threatened violence and "talked" murder and dynamite, they could frighten the capitalists into either valuable concessions, or such a policy of restriction as would make the people rise. They therefore began in the *Alarm* to write incendiary articles; and in order to frighten the capitalists, they reported the working people as preparing to rise in vengeance. Some of them, at least, believed that by "talking violence" they would "really prevent violence." They argued that "if it did cost a little bloodshed now," it would "save bloodshed in the end." Some of them were themselves the gentlest of men. (For their individual lives, see the end of this article.)

The eight-hour movement gave the anarchists opportunity for agitation. An eight-hour association was formed in Chicago. Open-air meetings were continually held. Bitterest language was used. On their side, the employers drew closer together against the movement. Some firms, however, granted some reduction of hours. At McCormick's reaper works there was a prolonged struggle, commencing in February, and continuing many months. The master tried to force his men out of their organizations. Twelve hundred men were thrown out of work. On May 1, 40,000 men and women struck work in Chicago for the eight-hour day. The Central Labor Union of Chicago held a mass-meeting attended by 25,000 people. Spies, Parsons, Fielden, and Schwab spoke. Strikes spread still further. On May 2 a great meeting of the locked-out men from McCormick's was held to protest against the Pinkertons he employed.

Parsons and Schwab spoke at the meeting. Among the strikers were the lumber-shovers, most of them Poles, Bohemians, and Germans. May 3, the Lumber-Shovers' Union called a meeting to discuss the terms of proposals to be submitted to their employers. The meeting was held near McCormick's. Spies, being known as a good speaker, was invited to attend. When he appeared, a protest was heard against letting a socialist speak. But Spies began, and was soon listened to in quiet. At four o'clock the bell of McCormick's began to ring, and the "scabs" were seen leaving. Some of the by-standers at the meeting then made a move toward the factory, while Spies went on quietly with his speech

The Strike.

for another 15 minutes. The crowd outside the factory began throwing stones. The police were telephoned for, and arrived in large numbers. They were received with stones, and replied with their revolvers. A few shots were returned by the crowd, and the police opened a general fire upon all in sight—men, women, and children, who fled in terror, leaving four dead and many wounded. Burning with indignation, Spies rushed back to the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office and wrote a manifesto, the so-called "Revenge Circular." This was distributed at the different workmen's meeting-places.

Among the many meetings that took place the same night was one of the socialist association, the Lehr und Wehr Verein. Gottfried Waller, who turned informer afterward, was elected chairman. Engel and Fischer were present. The events of the afternoon at McCormick's were discussed, and also in a general way what the working men were to do if the police went on attacking strikers. It was resolved to call a meeting the following night in the Haymarket to protest against the police assaults. The next morning, May 4, Fischer informed Spies, at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, of the proposed meeting, and asked him to speak; he consented. Shortly afterward he saw, for the first time, the circular calling the meeting, which contained the words, "Working men, arm yourselves, and appear in full force." Immediately on reading the circular Spies said that this must be struck out, or he would not speak or attend the meeting. Fischer at once agreed, and had the line taken out. The circular with that line omitted was printed, and about 20,000 copies distributed.

Parsons had been away from Chicago to Cincinnati, from Sunday, May 2, and returned Tuesday morning. His wife asked him to help her in organization of the sewing girls of Chicago, and Parsons, knowing nothing of the Haymarket meeting, then called a meeting of the American group at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. In the evening Spies went to the Haymarket, but seeing no English speakers, went away, with a few friends, to find Parsons; but soon returned, without having found him, and opened the meeting.

Meantime, a few members of the American group had assembled at the *Arbeiter Zeitung* building. There were Fielden, Schwab, and at about 8.30 o'clock Parsons arrived, in company with Mrs. Parsons, his two children, and Mrs. Holmes. Schwab soon left to address a meeting at Deering. Schwab stayed at Deering until 10.30 o'clock. The discussion on the girls' movement was soon over,

The Riot.

when somebody arrived from the Haymarket, stating that English speakers were wanted. Parsons, with his company, Fielden, and most of those present, at once went there. On their arrival Spies ceased speaking, and Parsons got up and spoke about one hour. The meeting was a quiet one, and at the close of Parsons' speech, the Mayor of Chicago, who attended the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it, if need should arise, left the meeting and went over to the police station, and told Captain Bonfield that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home. Parsons was followed by Fielden. When he had been speaking some 10 minutes the weather clouded, and the wind blowing cold, Parsons suggested that they had better adjourn to Zepf's Hall, close by; Fielden said he would be through in a few minutes. Many left the meeting, among them Parsons, with his family; they crossed to Zepf's Hall, where they found Fischer. Fielden went on speaking, when suddenly about 180 police turned out of the station, marching with a quick step, in fighting formation, and with arms in readiness, to the Haymarket, where only a few hundred persons remained. The captain of the first row of the police had just ordered the meeting to disperse, and his men, without waiting a reply, were advancing to the attack, when a small bomb was thrown by some one, alighted between the first and second companies of the police, and exploded with a loud report. About 60 of the police were thrown to the ground, and one, named Matthias J. Degan, was killed. Instantly firing began; people fled terrified in all directions, followed by the police, who fired at random as they followed.

The Haymarket speakers, except Parsons, who had left Chicago, were arrested; those who had taken a prominent part in labor meetings, and were known as labor organizers, were hunted and imprisoned. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* was suppressed, and all its printers and editors put in jail. When the friends of the arrested men tried to restart it, it had to pass under the censorship of the chief of police. The meetings of workmen were prohibited or broken up. The most exciting tales about infernal conspiracies against the

life and property of the citizens were circulated. The daily papers called for the hanging of the leading anarchists, as if they had been already proved guilty.

After the Haymarket meeting, May 4, 1886, some 300 leading American capitalists met secretly to plan the destruction of anarchy. They formed themselves into The Citizens' Association, and subscribed \$100,000 in a few hours.

On May 17 the grand jury came together. "The body is a strong one," says a telegram from Chicago to a New York daily, "and it is safe to aver that anarchy and murder will not receive much quarter at the hands of the men composing it. It is certain that Spies, Parsons, Schwab, and the other inciters to outrage will be indicted." Indicted they were. The indictment contained 69 counts, charging the defendants, August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, Georg Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar W. Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and William Seliger with the murder of M. J. Degan. Schnaubelt and Parsons were not in the hands of the police, but when the trial came on Parsons presented himself at the bar of the court. Seliger had turned informer. On June 21 the impaneling of the jury before Judge Joseph E. Gary began. About 1000 were examined. Of this number only five or six belonged to the labor class, and they were all challenged and refused by the State. The remainder were all employers of labor, or men dependent upon that class, as clerks or the like. Most declared they had a prejudice against anarchists, socialists, and communists as a class. This, however, Judge Gary ruled, was no cause to exclude them from the jury. On the motion for a new trial, an affidavit was produced wherein it was sworn that the special bailiff, Henry Rye, had said to well-known men in Chicago that he was managing this case, and well knew what he was about; that those fellows would hang as certain as death, and that he was only summoning such men as jurors as would not be acceptable to the defendants.

The Trial.

The impaneling of the jury occupied 22 days. On July 15 State's Attorney Grinnell began his address, charging the defendants with murder and conspiracy, and promising to show the jury who threw the bomb.

The most important witnesses for the State were Waller, Schrader, and Seliger, all formerly comrades of the defendants, now turned informers. The theory for the prosecution was that the defendants were, with others, actively engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing authorities, and advocated bloodshed and violence in order to gain their ends, and that the meeting on May 4 in the Haymarket was only one step in their program. The evidence brought forward to support such a theory was, however, extremely contradictory, and much of it broke down completely on the first examination. It was never proven who threw the bomb, and, as some of the men indicted were not at the Haymarket meeting, and had nothing to do with it, the prosecution was forced to proceed on the theory that the men indicted were guilty of murder because it was claimed they had at various times in the past uttered and printed incendiary and seditious language, practically advising the killing of policemen, of Pinkerton men, and others acting in that capacity, and that they were therefore responsible for the murder of Matthias Degan. Said Judge Gary:

"If the fact be that a large number of men concurred with each other in preparing to use force for the destruction of human life, upon occasions which were not yet foreseen, but upon some principles which they substantially agreed upon, as, for example, taking the words of this witness, if a large number of men agreed together to kill the police if they were found in conflict with the strikers

The Prosecution.

—I believe that is the phrase—leaving it to the agents of violence to determine whether the time and occasion had come for the use of violence; then, if the time and occasion do come when the violence is used, are not all parties who agreed beforehand in preparing the means of death, and agreed in the use of them upon time and occasion, equally liable?"

The prisoners argued in defense that, as some unknown person threw the bomb, it was impossible to know beyond a reasonable doubt that he had been led to do it by any public speech of theirs or any editorial they had published. They also claimed that to punish them because of the effect of any public speech they had delivered or any newspaper article they had written or published would be a violation of the law that forbids any abridgment of speech or press in the United States. The prisoners had counsel, but also defended

themselves in speeches rather of defiance than defense.

After a prolonged trial the jury brought in the verdict:

"We, the jury, find the defendants August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant Oscar W. Neebe guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for 15 years."

The case was carried to the Supreme Court, and was there affirmed in the fall of 1887. November 10 Lingg committed suicide by exploding a bomb in his mouth. The sentence of Fielden and Schwab was commuted to imprisonment for life, and Parsons, Fischer, Engel, and Spies were hanged November 11, 1887. They suffered calmly and without flinching. Parsons' last words were, "Let the voice of the people be heard."

The hanging excited great agitation over all the world. The major part of the daily press and of the capitalist community welcomed it as a necessary stamping out of anarchy in this country. On the other hand, many thoughtful men, including judges, lawyers, clergymen, and others, while expressing dissent from all sympathy with anarchists, declared their belief that the trial had not been a fair one. By the whole world of labor the anarchists were lauded as martyrs to the cause of labor and of liberty, and their trial and hanging denounced as an outrage upon justice and upon freedom. Mrs. Parsons went through all the land lecturing to crowded audiences. Anarchism was made almost popular among many classes. Every year anarchists and the more radical socialists and labor reformers of all schools of thought, who will unite on no other occasion, meet on both sides of the Atlantic to commemorate the hanging of "the Chicago martyrs."

In June, 1893, the recently elected Democratic Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, having thoroughly examined the evidence, pardoned Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab, on the ground that they had not been fairly tried.

As is well known, public opinion is divided on this subject. We give a synopsis of Governor Altgeld's published argument for believing the trial not to have been a fair one, and then a synopsis of Judge Gary's statement upon the other side.

Says Governor Altgeld in substance:

"The several thousand merchants, bankers, judges, lawyers, and other prominent citizens of Chicago who have by petition, by letter, and in other ways urged executive clemency, mostly base their appeal on the ground that, assuming the prisoners to be guilty, they have been punished enough, but a number of them who have examined the case more carefully, and are more familiar with the record and with the facts disclosed by the papers on file, base their appeal on entirely different grounds. They assert:

"1. That the jury which tried the case was a packed jury selected to convict.

"2. That according to the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, both prior to and again since the trial of this case, the jurors, according to their own answers, were not competent jurors, and the trial was therefore not a legal trial.

"3. That the defendants were not proven to be guilty of the crime charged in the indictment.

"4. That as to the defendant Neebe, the State's attorney had declared at the close of the evidence that there was no case against him, and yet he has been kept in prison all these years.

"5. That the trial judge was either so prejudiced against the defendants, or else so determined to win

the applause of a certain class in the community, that he could not and did not grant a fair trial.

"Upon the question of having been punished enough, I will simply say that, if the defendants had a fair trial, and nothing has developed since to show that they are not guilty of the crime charged in the indictment, then there ought to be no executive interference, for no punishment under our laws could then be too severe. Government must defend itself; life and property must be protected, and law and order must be maintained; murder must be punished, and if the defendants are guilty of murder, either committed with their own hands, or by some one else acting on their advice, then, if they have had a fair trial, there should be, in this case, no executive interference. The soil of America is not adapted for the growth of anarchy. While our institutions are not free from injustice, they are still the best that have yet been devised, and therefore must be maintained.

"The record of the trial shows that the jury in this case was not drawn in the manner that juries usually are drawn; that is, instead of having a number of names drawn out of a box that contained many hundred names, as the law contemplates shall be done in order to insure a fair jury and give neither side the advantage, the trial judge appointed one, Henry L. Ryce, as a special bailiff to go out and summon such men as he, Ryce, might select to act as jurors. While this practice has been sustained in cases in which it did not appear that either side had been prejudiced thereby, it is always a dangerous practice, for it gives the bailiff absolute power to select a jury that will be favorable to one side or the other."

The judge then gives the evidence, and says:

"Upon the whole, therefore, considering the facts brought to light since the trial, as well as the record of the trial and the answers of the jurors as given therein, it is clearly shown that while the counsel for defendants agreed to it, Ryce was appointed special bailiff at the suggestion of the State's attorney, and that he did summon a prejudiced jury which he believed would hang the defendants, and further, that the fact that Ryce was summoning only that kind of men was brought to the attention of the court before the panel was full, and it was asked to stop it, but refused to pay any attention to the matter, but permitted Ryce to go on, and then forced the defendants to go to trial before this jury.

"While no collusion is proven between the judge and State's attorney, it is clearly shown that after the verdict, and while a motion for a new trial was pending, a charge was filed in court that Ryce had packed the jury and that the attorney for the State got Mr. Favor to refuse to make an affidavit bearing on this point, which the defendants could use, and then the court refused to take any notice of it unless the affidavit was obtained, altho it was informed that Mr. Favor would not make an affidavit, but stood ready to come into court and make a full statement if the court desired him to do so.

"These facts alone would call for executive interference, especially as Mr. Favor's affidavit was not before the Supreme Court at the time it considered the case.

"The second point urged seems to me to be equally conclusive. In the case of the People v. Coughlin, known as the Cronin case, recently decided, the Supreme Court, in a remarkably able and comprehensive review of the law on this subject, says among other things:

"The holding of this and other courts is substantially uniform, that where it is once clearly shown that there exists in the mind of the juror at the time he is called to the jury box a fixed and positive opinion as to the merits of the case, or as to the guilt or innocence of the defendant he is called to try, his statement that, notwithstanding such opinion, he can render a fair and impartial verdict according to the law and evidence, has little, if any, tendency to establish his impartiality. This is so because a juror who has sworn to have in his mind a fixed and positive opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused is not impartial, as a matter of fact. . . .

"It is difficult to see how, after a juror has avowed a fixed and settled opinion as to the prisoner's guilt, a court can be legally satisfied of the truth of his answer that he can render a fair and impartial verdict, or find therefrom that he has the qualification of impartiality, as required by the Constitution. . . .

"Applying the law as here laid down in the Cronin case to the answers of the jurors above given in the present case, it is very apparent that most of the jurors were incompetent, because they were not impartial,

Gov. Altgeld's Statement.

Was the Jury Packed?

for nearly all of them candidly stated that they were prejudiced against the defendants, and believed them guilty before hearing the evidence; and the mere fact that the judge succeeded by a singularly suggestive examination in getting them to state that they believed they could try the case fairly on the evidence did not make them competent. . . .

"No matter what the defendants were charged with, they were entitled to a fair trial, and no greater danger could possibly threaten our institutions than to have the courts of justice run wild or give way to popular clamor; and when the trial judge in this case ruled that a relative of one of the men who was killed was a competent juror, and this after the man had candidly stated that he was deeply prejudiced and that his relationship caused him to feel more strongly than he otherwise might, and when in scores of instances he ruled that men who candidly declared that they believed the defendants to be guilty; that this was a deep conviction and would influence their verdict, and that it would require strong evidence to convince them that the defendants were innocent, when in all these instances the trial judge ruled that these men were competent jurors simply because they had, under his adroit manipulation, been led to say that they believed they could try the case fairly on the evidence, then the proceedings lost all semblance of a fair trial.

"The State has never discovered who it was that threw the bomb which killed the policemen, and the evidence does not show any connection whatever between the defendants and the man who did throw it. The trial judge in overruling the motion for a new hearing, and again, recently, in a magazine article, used this language:

"The conviction has not gone on the ground that they did have actually any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan, but the conviction proceeds upon the ground that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes of the people, not particular individuals, but large classes, to commit murder, and had left the commission, the time and place and when to the individual will and whim, or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice, and that in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice and influenced by that advice, somebody not known did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death. Now, if this is not a correct principle of the law, then the defendants of course are entitled to a new trial. This case is without precedent; there is no example in the law books of a case of this sort."

"The judge certainly told the truth when he stated that this case was without a precedent, and that no example could be found in the law books to sustain the law as above laid down. For, in all the centuries during which government has been maintained among men and crime has been punished, no judge in a civilized country has ever laid down such a rule before. The petitioners claim that it was laid down in this case simply because the prosecution, not having discovered the real criminal, would otherwise not have been able to convict anybody; that this course was then taken to appease the fury of the public, and that the judgment was allowed to stand for the same reason. I will not discuss this. But taking the law as above laid down, it was necessary under it to prove, and that beyond a reasonable doubt, that the person committing the violent deed had at least heard or read the advice given to masses, for until he either heard or read it he did not receive it, and if he did not receive it, he did not commit the violent act in pursuance of that advice, and it is here that the case for the State fails; with all his apparent eagerness to force conviction in court, and his efforts in defending his course since the trial, the judge, speaking on this point in his magazine article, makes this statement: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb," which statement is a mere surmise and is all that is known about it, and is certainly not sufficient to convict eight men on. In fact, until the State proves from whose hands the bomb came, it is impossible to show any connection between the man who threw it and these defendants. . . .

"Again it is shown that various attempts were made to bring to justice the men who wore the uniform of the law while violating it, but all to no avail; that the laboring people found the prisons always open to receive them, but the courts of justice were practically closed to them; that the prosecution officers vied with each other in hunting them down, but were deaf to their appeals; that in the spring of 1886 there were more labor disturbances in the city, and

particularly at the McCormick factory; that under the leadership of Captain Bonfield the brutalities of the previous year were even exceeded. Some affidavits and other evidence is offered on this point which I cannot give for want of space. It appears that this was the year of the eight-hour agitation, and efforts were made to secure an eight-hour day about May 1, and that a number of laboring men standing, not on the street, but on a vacant lot, were quietly discussing the situation in regard to the movement, when suddenly a large body of police, under orders from Bonfield, charged on them and began to club them; that some of the men, angered at the unprovoked assault, at first resisted, but were soon dispersed; that some of the police fired on the men while they were running and wounded a large number who were already 100 feet or more away, and were running as fast as they could; that at least four of the number so shot down died; that this was wanton and unprovoked murder, but there was not even so much as an investigation.

"While some men may tamely submit to being clubbed and seeing their brothers shot down, there are some who will resent it, and will nurture a spirit of hatred and seek revenge for themselves, and the occurrences that preceded the Haymarket tragedy indicate that the bomb was thrown by some one who, instead of acting on the advice of anybody, was simply seeking personal revenge for having been clubbed, and that Captain Bonfield is the man who is really responsible for the death of the police officers.

"It is also shown that the character of the Haymarket meeting sustains this view. The evidence shows there were only 800 to 1000 people present, and that it was a peaceable and orderly meeting; that the mayor of the city was present, and saw nothing out of the way, and that he remained until the crowd began to disperse, the meeting being practically over, as the crowd engaged in dispersing when he left; that had the police remained away for 20 minutes more there would have been nobody left there, but that as soon as Bonfield learned that the mayor had left, he could not resist the temptation to have some more people clubbed, and went up with a detachment of police to disperse the meeting, and that on the appearance of the police the bomb was thrown by some unknown person, and several innocent and faithful officers, who were simply obeying an uncalled-for order of their superior, were killed. All of these facts tend to show the improbability of the theory of the prosecution that the bomb was thrown as the result of a conspiracy on the part of the defendants to commit murder. If the theory of the prosecution were correct, there would have been many bombs thrown; and the fact that only one was thrown shows that it was an act of personal revenge.

"It is further shown here that much of the evidence given at the trial was a pure fabrication; that some of the prominent police officials in their zeal not only terrorized ignorant men by throwing them into prison and threatening them with torture if they refused to swear to anything desired, but that they offered money and employment to those who would consent to do this. Further, that they deliberately planned to have fictitious conspiracies formed in order that they might get the glory of discovering them. In addition to the evidence in the record of some witnesses who swore that they had been paid small sums of money, etc., several documents are here referred to.

"First, an interview with Captain Ebersold, published in the Chicago *Daily News*, May 10, 1889.

"Ebersold was chief of the police of Chicago at the time of the Haymarket trouble, and for a long time before and thereafter, so that he was in a position to know what was going on, and his utterances upon this point are therefore important. Among other things he says:

"It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after May 4. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago. On the other hand, Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man, Schaack, this little boy who must have glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something the public does not know. After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He

Does the Proof show Guilt?

Was it Personal Revenge?

The Chief of Police's Statement.

wanted to keep the thing boiling, keep himself prominent before the public. Well, I sat down on that, I didn't believe in such work, and of course Schaack didn't like it.

"After I heard all that I began to think there was perhaps not so much to all this anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right. Schaack thinks he knew all about those anarchists. Why, I knew more at that time than he knows to-day about them. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaack began to get some notoriety, however, he was spoiled."

"This is a most important statement, when a chief of police, who has been watching the anarchists closely, says that he was convinced that there was not so much in all this anarchist business as was claimed, and that police captain wanted to send out men to have other conspiracies formed in order to get the credit of discovering them and keeping the public excited, it throws a flood of light on the whole situation, and destroys the force of much of the testimony introduced at the trial.

"It is further charged with much bitterness by those who speak for the prisoners that the record of the case shows that the judge conducted the trial with malicious ferocity and forced eight men to be tried together; that in cross-examining the State's witnesses he confined counsel for the defense to the specific points touched on by the State, while in the cross-examination of the defendants' witnesses he permitted the State's attorney to go into all manner of subjects entirely foreign to the matters on which the witnesses were examined in chief; also that every ruling throughout the long trial on any contested point was in favor of the State; and, further, that page after page of the record contains insinuating remarks of the judge, made in the hearing of the jury, and with the evident intent of bringing the jury to his way of thinking; that these speeches, coming from the court, were much more damaging than any speeches from the State's attorney could possibly have been; that the State's attorney often took his cue from the judge's remarks; that the judge's magazine article recently published, altho written nearly six years after the trial, is yet full of venom; that, pretending to simply review the case, he had to drag into his article a letter written by an excited woman to a newspaper after the trial was over, and which therefore had nothing whatever to do with the case, and was put into the article simply to create a prejudice against the woman, as well as against the dead and the living, and that, not content with this, he in the same article makes an insinuating attack on one of the lawyers for the defense, not for anything done at the trial, but because more than a year after the trial, when some of the defendants had been hung, he ventured to express a few kind, if erroneous, sentiments over the graves of his dead clients, whom he at least believed to be innocent. It is urged that such ferocity or subserviency is without a parallel in all history; that even Jeffereys in England contented himself with hanging his victims, and did not stop to berate them after they were dead.

"These charges are of a personal character, and while they seem to be sustained by the record of the trial and the papers before me, and tend to show that the trial was not fair, I do not care to discuss this feature of the case any further, because it is not necessary. I am convinced that it is clearly my duty to act in this case for the reasons already given, and I, therefore, grant an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab, on this 26th day of June, 1893.

**Prejudice or
Subserviency
of Judge.**

"JOHN P. ALTGELD,
"Governor of Illinois."

In *The Century Magazine* for April, 1893, Judge Gary gives, in a 30-page article, a defense of the verdict.

Judge Gary's statement in substance is this:

Mr. Gary reviews the events and scenes of the trial in detail, stating his motives to be a justification of the verdict and an effort to prove that the anarchists did not represent the laboring classes, but simply made a show of friendship to the latter in order to bring them into their own ranks. He asserts that the seven men sentenced to death were beyond all cavil guilty of murder, and that it would have been a great misfortune if society had not maintained its right to defend itself. The most noted legal authorities are adduced to show that the men who argued on every occasion

for anarchy and destruction, in their press and through their orators, and who "incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policemen," were clearly within the condemnation of the law. To further support this, *facsimile* and other long extracts are given from the more rabid anarchistic press, and pictures appear of the bombs and apparatus of the desperate men.

Mr. Gary shows carefully and fairly the evidence which led to the conviction of the ringleaders, and takes the ground that they were sentenced not because they were anarchists, but because they were parties to murder.

On page 835 the judge says: "The conviction proceeded upon the ground that they had generally, by speech and print, advised large classes to commit murder; and had left the commission, the time, and place, and when to the individual will and whim or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice; and in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, somebody, not known, did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death."

On pages 830 and 831 the judge says: "It is probably true that Rudolph Schnaubelt threw the bomb. He was twice arrested; but, having shaved off a full beard immediately after that fatal night, was discharged. After the second arrest he disappeared and has gone to parts unknown. But whether Schnaubelt or some other person threw the bomb is not an important question."

The case is the more remarkable because it was not claimed that either of the prisoners threw the bomb or gave any person any secret advice to throw it. The case proceeded on the ground that the prisoners gave all their advice from public platforms and in the columns of newspapers. On page 830 the judge says: "Secrecy is not essential to a conspiracy."

On page 824 the judge says: "They incited, advised, encouraged the throwing of the bomb that killed the policeman not by addressing the bomb-thrower specially, and telling him to throw a bomb at that or any special time or occasion, but by general addresses to readers and hearers."

On the same page he also says: "The sincerity of the anarchists in their belief of the benefits to accrue from anarchy (if they were sincere) is not to be considered when the question is whether they were murderers."

On page 812 the judge says that "every reader (of the anarchist papers), following the advice to arm himself, would—must—understand that he must exercise his own discretion in using his weapons."

He concludes: "For nearly seven years the clamor, uncontradicted, has gone round the world that the anarchists were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear. Not a dozen persons alive were prepared by familiarity with the details of their crime and trial, and present knowledge of the materials from which those details could be shown, to present a succinct account of them to the public. It so happened that my position was such that from me that account would probably attract as much attention as it would from any other source. Right-minded, thoughtful people, who recognize the necessity to civilization of the existence and enforcement of laws for the protection of human life, and who yet may have had misgivings as to the fate of the anarchists, will, I trust, read what I have written, and dismiss those misgivings, convinced that in law and in morals the anarchists were rightly punished, not for opinions, but for horrible deeds."

The main sources of evidence for the facts are, of course, the official records of the court. A history of the trial has been written by Dyer D. Lum, and the speeches of the anarchists in court have been printed many times in pamphlet form. For the other side, see the *Century*, April, 1893. We append a brief notice of the condemned.

George Engel was born in the city of Cassel, Germany, April 15, 1856. His father died when George was only 18 months old, and when he was 12 years of age his mother died, and he was thrown on the world. After much suffering he was enabled to learn the painter's trade, after which he came to America. In January, 1873, he secured work in a Philadelphia concern, and in the summer of the same year obtained work at his trade. In Philadelphia, for the first time in his life, he heard something about serious labor troubles,

George
Engel.

through seeing some of the militia marching through the streets after subduing some striking miners. He removed to Chicago, where he began the study of social questions, and was an active worker in the International Working People's Association. Engel says: "The history of all times teaches us that the oppressing classes always maintain their tyrannies by force and violence. Some day the war will break out, therefore all working men should unite, and prepare for the last war, whose outcome will be the end forever of all war, and will bring peace and happiness to all mankind." At the time of the anarchistic excitement at Chicago Engel was arrested for his utterances and sentenced to 15 years in the State prison, but was pardoned by Governor Altgeld in 1893.

Samuel Fielden was born at Todmorden, Lancashire, England, February 25, 1847. His father was one of the Fielden Brothers, owners of the largest mills in that part of the country, and was interested in the reform movements of the day.

Samuel Fielden.

Samuel's mother died when he was 10 years old, and his father died August 28, 1866, nine years later. Samuel says of his home life: "I remember that the most intelligent people of our acquaintance, instead of going to church Sunday, used to meet at our house to discuss politics, religion, and all subjects pertaining to social and political life. These discussions contained a peculiar charm for me, and gave me my first taste for the study of sociology. When the ten-hour movement was being agitated in England my father was on the committee of agitation in my native town, and I have heard him tell of sitting on the platform with the Earl of Shaftesbury, John Fielden, Richard Oastler, and others." A great deal of Samuel's early life was spent in a factory, and while he says he could write volumes, he contents himself with saying: "I think if the devil has a particular enemy whom he wishes to unmercifully torture, the best thing for him to do would be to put his soul into the body of a Lancashire factory child, and keep him as a child in a factory the rest of his life."

Fielden is spoken of by all who know him as "good-natured Fielden." In his speech at the Haymarket Square meeting, even as reported by the *Chicago Tribune*, not one word can be found which has the least suggestion of bomb-throwing, or containing any proposition or suggestion for the use of violence that night or in the immediate future. His presence there and his speaking resulted simply from the request for speakers sent to the meeting of the American group. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment at Joliet, Ill., in 1887, but was pardoned by Governor Altgeld in 1893.

Adolph Fischer, one of the Chicago anarchists, born in Bremen, Germany, came to America at the age of 15, and learned the printer's trade. He was married in 1881, and has three children living with his widow. He was executed by order of the court in 1887. While living at Chicago he was employed on the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and was a zealous student of the labor question. In early life, before coming to America, he grappled with the social problem. He went among the working people and saw their condition, and says of them: "I perceived that the diligent, never-resting human working bees, who create all wealth, and fill the magazines with provisions, fuel, and clothing, enjoy only a minor part of this product, and lead a comparatively miserable life, while the drones, the idlers, keep the warehouses locked up, and revel in luxury and voluptuousness." Fischer was one of the speakers at Haymarket Square the night the bomb was thrown.

Louis Lingg was born in Mannheim, Germany, September 9, 1865. His father was a lumberman, and his mother did laundry work. Louis said: "When 13 years old, I received the first impressions of the prevailing unjust social institutions—i.e., the exploitation of man by man. The main circumstances which caused these reflections were the experiences of our own family. It did not escape my observation that the employer of my father grew continually richer, despite the extravagance of himself and family; while my father, who had performed his part in creating the wealth the boss possessed, and who had sacrificed his health, was cast aside like a worn-out tool. The feeling of hatred of existing society thus implanted in my mind was intensified with my entrance into the industrial arena."

Lingg learned the trade of a carpenter, and after serving, according to German custom, a three years' apprenticeship, he traveled in Southern Germany and

afterward in Switzerland, working wherever there was a chance. Soon he learned the doctrines of socialism, which he eagerly espoused. He came to America in 1885. Settling in Chicago, he worked at his trade, became an active member of the union of the craft, and was appointed an organizer of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Lingg pointed with pride to the fact that his union came out of the ill-fated eight-hour movement in May, 1886, with undiminished strength. Lingg was arrested and sentenced to death after the Haymarket affair, but while in jail under sentence he took his own life, by exploding a cartridge in his mouth.

Oscar Neebe was born in Philadelphia in 1850, of German parents. While not a wage-worker, but a well-to-do business man, he was always in sympathy with the toiling masses, was a staunch supporter of socialistic ideas, and did wonderful service as an organizer of trade-unions. He became associated with the anarchists of Chicago, and was arrested after the bomb-throwing at Haymarket Square, altho he had nothing to do with the meeting of the bomb-throwing. He was sentenced to 15 years in the State prison, but was pardoned by Governor Altgeld, in 1893, the governor declaring that his sentence, as well as that of his associates, was unjust, and not in accord with the evidence.

Oscar Neebe.

Albert R. Parsons, the so-called Chicago anarchist, was born in Montgomery, Ala., June 24, 1848. His father, Samuel Parsons, who was noted as a public-spirited, philanthropic man and an active temperance advocate, was a manufacturer of shoes. Albert's mother died when he was two years of age, his father three years later; and Albert came under the guardianship of his elder brother, General W. H. Parsons, who was married and living at Tyler, Tex. In 1855 the family moved to the Texas frontier, where Albert became an expert in the use of fire-arms, riding, and hunting.

Albert R. Parsons.

In 1859 he went to Waco, Tex., living one year with his sister (wife of Major Boyd). In 1860 he was apprenticed to learn the printer's trade in the Galveston *News* office. When the Civil War broke out, in 1861, tho but 13 years of age, he joined a local volunteer company. He wanted to enlist in the Confederate army, but his employer and guardian ridiculed the idea, on account of his age and size. Albert then took French leave, and enlisted in a local artillery company; his enlistment expired in a year. He then joined the cavalry brigade of his brother, General Parsons. Albert was afterward a member of the renowned McMabyscouts. He returned to Waco at the close of the war, and for a short time attended the university at that place; after this he finished learning the printer's trade.

In 1868 he published and edited the *Spectator*, a weekly paper. In it he advocated the acceptance in good faith of the terms of the surrender, and supported the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and the reconstruction measures.

He became an active Republican, and consequently incurred the enmity of many former army comrades, neighbors, and the Ku-Klux-Klan; and for his courageous advocacy of their cause he won the love of the enfranchised slaves, and the *Spectator* came to an end. In 1869 he was appointed traveling correspondent and agent for the Houston *Daily Telegraph*.

In 1870, at 21 years of age, he was appointed assistant assessor of United States Internal Revenue, under General Grant's administration. About a year later he was elected one of the secretaries of the Texas State Senate, and was soon after appointed chief deputy collector of United States Internal Revenue at Austin, Tex., which position he held satisfactorily, accounting for large sums of money. In 1873 he resigned his position, and accompanied an editorial excursion as the representative of the *Texas Agriculturist*, making an extended tour through Texas, Indian Territory, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. In the fall of 1872 he married the Spanish Indian maiden whom he had met while traveling for the Houston *Telegraph*. At the close of his tour, in 1873, he decided to settle in Chicago.

He became interested in the labor question in 1874, and in 1876 joined the working men's party, and soon became one of its most trusted leaders. July 4, 1876, he joined the Knights of Labor. In 1877 he was the working men's candidate for county clerk, receiving about 8000 votes. He was nominated by the working men of Chicago three times for alderman, twice for county clerk and once for Congress. In 1879 he was delegate

to the national convention of the socialistic labor party, and was there nominated for President of the United States, but declined the honor, not being of the constitutional age (36 years). In 1876 he was chosen assistant editor of the English weekly, *The Socialist*. He kept up an active participation in the labor movement till 1880, when he withdrew from further active effort. The conviction gained on him that long hours and low wages practically disfranchised the masses of the people. Bribery, intimidation, duplicity, corruption, and bulldozing, he says, grew out of the condition which made the working people poor and the idle rich; on this account he subsequently turned his efforts toward reducing the hours of labor.

The National Conference of Labor Reformers held in Washington, D. C., 1880, adopted a resolution, forwarded by Parsons, which called attention to the fact that the United States Congress, when it neglected to enforce the eight-hour law, passed years before, and made applicable to Government departments, found it easy enough to pass and enforce all capitalistic legislation demanded. In 1884 the International founded in Chicago a weekly newspaper, called *The Alarm*, and Parsons was chosen editor. The paper was anarchistic in tone, and was suppressed by the State Government in May, 1886. It was during this month that the Haymarket affair took place; for participation in which Parsons was tried, and subsequently hanged at Chicago, altho, according to evidence, he had no hand in the throwing of the bomb that killed the police, except so far as his speeches may have incited the act.

Michel Schwab, born in Kitzingen, Central Germany, August 9, 1853, was left an orphan at 12 years of age, and when about 14 was apprenticed to a bookbinder.

Michel
Schwab.

This apprenticeship expired in 1872, and he became interested in the study of the great labor problem, and was an active member of trade-unions. He joined the socialistic labor party, and in 1874 traveled over Central Europe, agitating the cause, and working at his trade at all times for support. In 1879 he emigrated to the United States, and shortly after arrival went to Chicago, where he lived during the remainder of his life, except for a short time, when he traveled about working at his trade in Milwaukee, Kansas City, Denver, Leadville, Cheyenne, and Durango. He joined the socialistic labor party while in Milwaukee, and ever after was its active advocate. On his return to Chicago he became engaged as reporter, and afterward assistant editor, on the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He was arrested for his utterances at the time of the Haymarket affair, and was executed in 1887. He was always ready to respond to any call in behalf of working men.

August Vincent Theodore Spies was born in Landerk, Germany, December 10, 1855; emigrated to America in 1871, and learned the upholstery trade in Chicago.

August
Spies.

In 1876 he began taking an active part in the labor movement, and in 1877 joined the socialists. In 1880 he became publisher of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and in 1884 was also business manager and editor. A man of force and energy, a ready writer and good speaker, and possessing a good moral character, he acquired great influence among those of socialistic and anarchistic tendencies, his writings and speeches attracting wide attention. He was hanged November 11, 1887.

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY (of New York City), THE, was organized in February, 1853, by the late Charles L. Brace (*q. v.*), who with a few other gentlemen had already been working for the vagrant boys of New York City. The society was incorporated in 1854 "for the education of the poor, by gathering children who attend no school into its industrial schools, caring and providing for children in lodging-houses, and procuring for them homes in the rural districts and in the West."

The fundamental idea upon which the society was founded, and which has been its governing motive ever since, was that of self-help—of teaching children how to help themselves. The industrial schools, now numbering 21, have trained and given aid and encouragement to over 100,000 children of the very poor. In the boys' and girls' lodging-houses about 200,000

homeless and vagrant boys and girls have found shelter, instruction and the kindly advice and admonition of experienced superintendents.

Up to 1892 the society had emigrated 84,318 children, of whom 51,427 were boys and 32,891 were girls. Some of these were not sent to a great distance, nearly 39,000 of them being placed in the State of New York, 4149 in New Jersey, etc. The Western States receiving the largest number were Illinois, to which 7366 were sent; Iowa, 4852; Missouri, 4835; Indiana, 3782; Kansas, 3310; Michigan, 2900; Minnesota, 2448. The children have been placed at an average expense of \$10 per child, and at first little care was taken in placing and supervising them; but recently much greater care has been necessary to reconcile the States to receiving them.

Hastings H. Hart, of the Minnesota State Board of Corrections and Charities, has investigated the results of the children placed in Minnesota by the Children's Aid Society of New York, and finds that the methods of placing were frequently too inexpensive and incautious; and while for the most part the society took care of children that did not turn out well, this was not true in all cases. In some cases they were placed in families so destitute as to be receiving public assistance, and other unsatisfactory placements were made. "From our experience," says Mr. Hart, "we are positive in the opinion that children above the age of 12 years ought not to be sent West by the Children's Aid Society. In this opinion I understand that the officers of the society concur. Our examination shows," concludes Mr. Hart, "with reference to children under 12 years of age, that nine tenths remain, four fifths are doing well, and all incorrigibles are cared for by the society. If properly placed, faithfully supervised, we are willing to take our full share of these younger children in Minnesota" (quoted in A. G. Warner's *American Charities*, p. 230).

Of this whole number, 84,318 were children—51,427 being boys and 32,891 girls; 39,406 were orphans; 17,383 had both parents living; 5892 a father only; 11,954 a mother only, and of 6680 the parental relations were unknown. As supplementary to its work the society maintains: The East Side Mission, whose work is to distribute flowers daily during the summer months among the sick and poor; free reading-rooms for young men; the Health Home at West Coney Island, comprising cottages and dormitories where mothers with sick children are given an outing; the Sick Children's Mission, at 287 East Broadway, with a staff of 14 physicians and 4 nurses, who visit the sick poor at their homes and supply free medical attendance, medicine, and food for sick children, of whom 1500 are treated yearly; a summer home at Bath Beach, L. I., where over 4000 tenement-house children are given a week's outing at the seaside each year; six lodging-houses, five for boys and one for girls, in which, during 1892, over 6000 boys and girls were fed and sheltered; 21 industrial schools with Kindergartens, and 11 night-schools, in which 12,000 children were taught and partly fed and clothed during 1892. One of the industrial schools is located in each of the lodging-houses for boys. Special features of the girls' lodging-house, now called the Elizabeth Home for Girls, are its dressmaking department, sewing-machine and typewriting schools, and laundry. The instruction in all branches is free. A late adjunct to the society is a 125-acre farm located at Kensico, Westchester County, New York, for the primary and brief education of the large street boys in agriculture, preparatory to their being provided with places in the country. All the different branches of the society's work are dependent upon the contributions of the public.

At the Health Home in 1894 over 7000 mothers and children were received and given the benefit of pure sea air, together with skilled medical care and nourishing food; 2000 of these were there a week, and in instances where a longer stay was advisable the time was prolonged until a permanent cure was effected. Parties of little ones were also taken there each week from the nurseries.

The report for November, 1894, says: "There were during the past year, in our six lodging-houses, 6349 different boys and girls; 235,393 meals and 187,866 lodgings were supplied. In the 21 day and 12 evening schools were 13,307 children, who were taught and partly fed and partly clothed, 759,038 meals being sup-

plied; 2266 were sent to homes and employment, and restored to friends in both the East and the West; 3074 were aided with food, medicine, etc., through the Sick Children's Mission; 5399 children enjoyed the benefits of the Summer Home at Bath, L. I. (averaging about 540 per week); 7404 mothers and sick infants were sent to the Health Home at Coney Island; 98 girls have been instructed in the use of the sewing-machine in the Girls' Temporary Home and the industrial schools; 16 were taught typewriting, and 80 boys were trained at the Farm School; \$2836.48 have been deposited in the Penny Savings Banks. Total number under charge of the society during the year, 38,811. . . .

"The total annual expense of our 21 industrial schools and 12 night schools, for salaries, rents, food, clothing, books, fuel, etc., was \$130,822.53; which sum, divided by 6204, the average number in daily attendance, would make \$21.08 the annual cost for each child.

"In our lodging-houses 6349 boys and girls were fed, sheltered, and taught, during the past year at a total expense of \$55,100.89. Deducting \$24,138.61, being the receipts of the lodging-houses, together with the cost of construction, the net running expense was \$30,962.28; dividing this by the average nightly lodgings, 516, we have the average cost to the public of each child for the year, \$60.

"The total number for whom homes and employment have been found by the society during last year was 2266; the total cost for railroad fares, clothing, food, salaries, etc., was \$26,921.79; the average cost to the public accordingly, for each person sent, was \$11.88. Yet any child placed in an asylum or poor-house costs nearly \$140 a year."

"The central office of the society is at the United Charities Building, 22d Street and 4th Avenue.

CHILD LABOR.—There is, scarcely one subject in the whole range of social reform more important than that of child labor. It is, too, a subject of pressing importance at present in the United States, as well as in other countries. According to the census of 1880, of persons engaged in industry in the United States (17,392,099), 1,118,356 were children 15 years of age or under (Compendium of Tenth Census, Part II., p. 1358). The final returns on this subject for the census of 1890 are not yet available, though a census bulletin of *manufactures* alone gives the total number of employees as 4,711,831, of which 121,493 were children. But this figure is undoubtedly far too small. Pennsylvania is credited with 22,417 children at work. Says Mr. McCamant, Chief of Pennsylvania's Bureau of Industrial Statistics:

"The [1880] census returns for Pennsylvania give the number of youths from 10 to 15 years of age in the three grand divisions of industry, other than manufactures, mechanical and mining [agricultural, professional, and personal service, trade and transportation], as 46,620. There can be little doubt that this number was too small at the time the census was taken, but assuming it to have been correct, and allowing for the natural increase of child labor, there would be in 1887 not less than 50,000 children thus employed, which, added to the 75,000 employed in manufacturing and mining, would swell the total number of children employed in various occupations to 125,000."

Mrs. Florence Kelly, Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops in Illinois, writes in the *Arena* for 1894:

"The 1890 census bulletin reports upon 20,483 manufacturing establishments in this State, and gives the total number of children employed in them as 5426. In five months' work we found 6576 children in 2542 establishments, a reason for once more challenging census figures, altho in our work girls under 16, as well as boys, are counted children. The census returns, it will be remembered, place girls over 15 years among adults, but reckon boys under 16 as children.

"Massachusetts in the census bulletin is credited with 8877 children, but the factory inspectors of Massachusetts report 9471 children under 16 in the textile mills *alone*, in January of 1889, Commissioner White

expressing the belief that 'much of the larger portion of small children employed is outside of the textile factories'" (*Report of Chief of District Police, 1888, pp. 22, 46*).

It is thus doubtful if there has been any reduction of child labor in the United States since 1880, even in manufactures; but taking into consideration the great retail stores, which have notoriously increased in size since 1880, and employ many times their former number of children as cash-boys, bundle-girls, etc., the total number of children employed in gainful occupations in the United States must largely have increased.

Child labor under its worst aspect is to be found in the "sweating shops" of New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, and other large cities. These workshops are often small confined rooms in the tenement-houses, **Child Labor in the Slums.** which, according to the report of a New York factory inspector, reproduce in an intensified form all the horrors of dirt and overcrowding to be found in European cities. Formerly cigar-making was largely carried on in these tenement-houses, but the unhealthy character of the industry caused the Legislature to interfere, and it was prohibited by an act of 1884. Nevertheless the New York Report for 1888 speaks of the unorganized cigar-makers as working still in tenement-houses. The explanation of this seems to be that the strong opposition of the Manufacturers' Association to the act led to its being declared unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals in 1887. The manufacture of cheap clothing is carried on in badly ventilated and overcrowded rooms, and in defiance of the provisions of the Factory Acts. The Chief Inspector for New York, in his fifth annual report, says: "Summed up in a nutshell, the trouble with the 'sweater' workshops of New York is this: the hours of labor are too long, being sometimes as high as 90 a week; the ventilating and sanitary arrangements are nearly always vile to the last degree, and the work-rooms are excessively overcrowded."

The wages of child labor in the United States are low, but so vary with age and trade that averages are, after all, misleading rather than helpful. According to extra Census Bulletin 67, the average wage paid to the 121,194 children it reports in **Children's Wages.** manufactures (girls under 15 and boys under 16) was \$139 per year. In Maine it was \$100; California, \$158; Illinois, \$144; Pennsylvania, \$151; Rhode Island, \$158; New York, \$161; Massachusetts, \$181. It must be remembered that this is *per year*, without reference to the number of days of employment. Massachusetts does not necessarily, according to the above table, pay children nearly twice what they are paid in Maine. She may have given more days' work. By industries for the whole country, children's wages averaged \$112 per year in making men's clothing, which employed 2065 children (of those reported); only \$29 in canning fruit, etc., which employed 5579 children (tho probably only a small portion of the year); \$130 in manufacturing cotton goods (where the work is commonly steady); \$78 and \$130 in two kinds of tobacco-making, which together employed 7618 children.

According to the report of the Rhode Island Labor Bureau (1891), p. 181, the average weekly wages paid to children in specified industries were as follows :

INDUSTRIES.	Boys.	Girls.
Cotton.....	\$2.83	\$2.89
Iron and steel.....	3.33	3.36
Jewelry.....	3.17	3.38
Rubber.....	3.50	2.38
Silk.....	2.80	2.45
Woolen and Worsted.....	3.48	3.40
Miscellaneous.....	3.02	2.91
Total	\$2.89	\$3.08

But this, too, must not be taken as the average earnings of children in stores, or as news-boys on the streets, etc.

The following table, from the Report on Germany of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor (p. 43), indicates that the evil is greater in the United States than in other countries. It should be said, however, that as factories are being developed in Germany, the employment of children there is increasing ; yet this is the table :

COUNTRY.	Children under 15.	Proportion to Total Number of Persons engaged in Occupations.
Germany (June 5, 1882)....	524,158	2.76
Italy (December 31, 1881)....	1,072,397	7.08
England and Wales (April 4, 1881).....	531,663	4.76
The United States (June 1, 1880).....	1,118,356	6.43

I. EUROPE.

No one can question, however, in any country the seriousness of the problem, and we approach it country by country.

We commence with England, as no other country has had so long or so carefully recorded an experience with the evils of child labor, or with efforts and legislation for its cure. We abridge for this purpose an essay by William F. Willoughby, published by the American Economic Association.

England.

He says in substance :
 "The growth of child labor is inseparably connected with the introduction of machinery. In the year 1769 Mr. Arkwright obtained his first patent for a machine for spinning cotton yarn, and commenced manufacturing by machinery. This was the beginning of the factory system. Then followed Compton's spinning mule in 1775, Cartwright's power-loom in 1787, and in 1793 the invention of the famous cotton-gin by Eli Whitney. Thousands of hands were suddenly required to work at places far distant from home. The small and nimble fingers of little children were by far the most in request. Before the change had attracted much attention, large numbers of children were massed together in factories.

"The first form of child employment differed greatly from that of later years. The first system originated in the procuring of apprentices from the different parish workhouses of London, Birmingham, and elsewhere. Many thousands of these little hapless creatures, ranging from 14 down to four and even three years of age, were thus sent down into the North. Agreements of the most revolting character were often made between the manufacturers and the differ-

ent parish workhouses for bands of children for a number of years, in which the condition of the children was totally disregarded. Such, for example, were those provisions whereby it was agreed that with every 20 sound children one idiot should be taken.

"Says Professor Walker (*Political Economy*, p. 381):
 "The beginning of the present century found children of five and even three years of age in England working in factories and brick-yards; women working underground in mines, harnessed with mules to carts, drawing heavy loads; found the hours of labor whatever the avarice of individual mill-owners might exact, were it 13, 14, or 15; found no guards about machinery to protect life and limb; found the air of the factory fouler than language can describe, even could human ears bear to hear the story."

"According to the statement of Dr. Gould, out of 23,000 factory hands investigated by him, in 1816, 14,000 were under 18. In the same year a return from 41 mills in Scotland gave a total of 10,000 employees, of which 4404 were under 18, and of these 415 under 10. A similar return from Manchester gave a total of 12,940, of which 793 were under 10 and 5460 between 10 and 18 (Gaskell, *Report of 1816*).

"Children of all ages, down to three and four, were found in the hardest and most painful labor, while babes of six were commonly found in large numbers in many factories. Labor from 12 to 13 and often 16 hours a day was the rule. Children had not a moment free, save to snatch a hasty meal or sleep as best they could. From earliest youth they worked to a point of extreme exhaustion, without open-air exercise or any enjoyment whatever, but grew up, if they survived at all, weak, bloodless, miserable, and in many cases deformed, crippled, and victims of almost every disease. Drunkenness, debauchery, and filth could not but be the result. Their condition was but the veriest slavery, and the condition of the serf or negro stood out in bright contrast to theirs. The mortality was excessive, and the dread diseases rickets and scrofula passed by but few in their path. It was among this class that the horrors of hereditary disease had its chief hold, aided as it was by the repetition and accumulation of the same causes as first planted its seeds. The reports of all the many investigations showed that morality was almost unknown. It was not an uncommon thing, in the mines, for men to work perfectly naked in the presence of women who, in turn, were bare to their waists, and below covered only by a ragged pair of trousers. In the coal mines the condition of the children was even worse. According to the report of 1822, on child-labor, it was estimated that fully one third of those employed in the coal mines of England were children under 13, and of these much more than one half were under 12. The facts revealed in this elaborate report of over 2000 pages, devoted chiefly to child-labor in coal mines, would be scarcely credible if they were not supported by the best of authority, so fearful was the condition of the children found to be. Down in the depths of the earth they labored from 14 to 16 hours daily. The coal often lay in seams only 18 inches deep, and in these children crawled on their hands and feet, generally naked, and harnessed up by an iron chain and band around their waists, by which they either dragged or pushed heavily loaded cars of coal through these narrow ways. In nearly every case they were driven to work by the brutal miners, and beaten, and sometimes even killed. Law did not seem to reach to the depths of a coal-pit. Thus these young infants labored their young lives out as if condemned to torture for some crime. But it is useless to dwell longer on their condition. Volumes might be filled in portraying their sufferings. Treated as brutes, they lived with no regard to morals, religion, education, or health, in a condition that will probably never be duplicated.

"The injustice of such a system could not long pass without criticism, and action was demanded of Parliament to remedy or abate this social disease. To Sir Robert Peel, Sr., belongs the honor of first providing a measure for the relief of this evil. In 1802 he commenced the factory legislation by securing the passage of his apprentice bill. This bill, altho of the most limited scope, and applying only to cotton factories, was then considered as a measure, radical if not revolutionary. This legislation then met with the bitterest opposition from the manufacturers and the political economists. Financial ruin to English manufacturers was predicted as the result of such interference.

Terrible Conditions.

First Legislation.

"With the abolition of the apprenticeship system, the law became inoperative, and unrestricted hours of labor again became the rule, and the condition of the children became, if possible, even worse than before. Accordingly, in 1815, Robert Peel again came to the front, and in that year secured the appointment of a committee to 'inquire into the expediency of extending the apprenticeship act to children of every description.' The result of this examination was presented to Parliament in reports for the years 1816, 1817, and 1818. The result of this was the passage of the Act of 1819.

"The employment of children under 9 was forbidden, and the hours of labor for those between 9 and 16 were limited to 12 hours daily. In 1825 a partial holiday was made compulsory for the children. In 1831 night work was forbidden to all under 21, and 11 hours a day was made a limit for those under 18.

"In 1833 Lord Ashley (afterward Earl of Shaftesbury) became the champion of the laborers by the introduction of a new bill, extending yet further the provisions of former acts. This act was the most substantial step yet taken in this direction. Its principal provisions were: (1) The employment of children under 9 was forbidden. (2) The hours of labor for those between 9 and 13 were limited to 8 hours a day. (3) The hours of labor for those under 18 engaged in worsted, hemp, tow, and linen-spinning should not exceed 12 hours a day, and night work was forbidden them. The most significant feature of this act, however, was that relating to school attendance, and the appointment of inspectors to enforce the law.

"In 1835 the employment of children under 10 in the mines was forbidden. These regulations were, however, by various devices, persistently evaded.

"As the introduction and use of machinery became more general, and the subdivision of labor became more minute, the employment of children became more extensive. The Parliamentary report of 1833 estimated that out of 170,000 employees in the cotton mills in that year, 70,000 were children under 18. In 1839 there were employed in the factories of England a total of 410,500 persons of all ages, and of these 192,887, or nearly one half, were under 18 years of age.

"In 1842, through the efforts of Lord Ashley, a commission was appointed to investigate the condition of children employed in England, and in 1842 was presented their first report, already referred to. In consequence of this report, the Act of 1843 was passed, which was the most important measure that had up to that time been adopted. It applied to all laborers outside of agriculture. By it 'freedom of contract' on the part of women was finally abolished. Women over 18 years of age were put in the same category as young persons, and their toil limited to 11 hours a day. Children under 13 were not allowed to work more than six and a half hours a day, and, above all, attendance at school was required for the other half day as a condition of employment. By this act the restriction of child employment was reduced to a uniform basis. It is difficult to measure the advancement thus given to the oppressed children. From this time on every working child in England spent as much time in school as in the workshop.

"In 1847 Lord Ashley secured the passage of another act, carrying out his plan still more fully. This completed the reduction of the working time for children under 13 to 5 hours per day, and to 10 hours for all women and those minors between the ages of 13 and 18.

"During the following years until 1878 various acts were passed extending the provisions of former acts in one or another direction. Of these, the Factory Act of 1874 was the most important. By it the minimum age for the employment of children was raised to 10.

"In 1878 this long line of legislation was fittingly crowned by the act of that year. This act, entitled 'An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law Relating to Factories and Workshops' amends and consolidates in one wide-embracing act all the ground covered by the 16 acts passed between 1802 and 1878, besides embracing, with some changes, the Provision of the Public Health Act of 1875, and the Elementary Education Act of 1876.

It was prepared with the greatest care and fullness, and furnishes an admirable code for factory regulation. Never before had the paternalism of government been so strongly declared, and never before had the right of the workmen to demand protection by the State against their employers been so distinctly asserted. The importance of this act, as setting

Present Legislation.

forth the present regulation of child labor in England, demands a closer survey. Its provisions are as follows:

"(1) The hours of employment for children shall be as follows: those under 10 shall not be employed at all, and those under 14 shall be employed only half time, either in the mornings or evenings, or on alternate days. (2) The hours of employment for young persons (14 to 18) shall be from 6 to 6 or 7 to 7, of which 2 hours shall be devoted to meals, and on Saturdays all work shall cease for them at 1.30. (3) Adequate sanitary provisions are provided. (4) Also ample provisions against accidents. (5) A suitable number of inspectors and assistants are created to insure the due execution of the law. (6) Medical certificates of fitness for employment must be furnished by all under 16. (7) Weekly certificates must be obtained from the proper authorities by the employers, showing the required amount of school attendance for every child in their employ.

"The direct benefits resulting to the lower classes from this act cannot be equaled by any other act upon the rolls of Parliament.

"It will be seen from this brief sketch, that the English factory system was one of slow growth and development. One restriction after another was placed upon the employer, until to-day the English laborer is more taken care of by the Government than in any other country, Prussia possibly excepted. It can be said of it, as of no other course of legislation, that its results have all been beneficial, not only to the employees, but to the employers as well, as is now generally admitted by them. Its results have more than justified the acts in every particular. In it can be traced the rise of many important principles in the science of the functions of government. This series of acts first established the right of the State to regulate industry. It was the most important advance and attack that has yet been made upon the *laissez faire* doctrine, that 'the less government the better,' so strongly insisted upon by the old economists. Although every political economist who wrote before 1850 was uncompromisingly opposed to this legislation, not one who has written since 1865 has ventured to deny the advisability of the Factory acts.

"It is also characteristic of this earlier period, that the employers were unanimous in their opposition to any abridgment of their rights to employ children, and in this were supported in Parliament by such men of the school mentioned as John Bright, proud of the name of friend of the people; Lord Cobden and his associates, and many of the most distinguished of English statesmen. Every improvement in the condition of English labor was only obtained against the combined opposition of these two classes. Too much praise cannot be given to those men, Lord Ashley, Robert Owen, Oastler, and others, who labored unceasingly to secure the passage of these acts. This change of front by the employers and economists is one of the most cheering signs of the time."

II. CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

Of child labor in Germany, the report on that country of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor says:

"The employment of child labor in Germany shows a considerable proportionate decrease as compared with the middle of the century, but at the same time a decided increase during the last few years. In 1853 the number of children employed in Prussian factories was 32,000; 8000 were between 9 and 12 years of age, and 24,000 between 12 and 14. In 1868 and 1890 no children under 12 were to be found in Prussian factories, and the numbers of those between 12 and 14 were only 625 and 666. The abuses attendant upon the employment of children in the middle of the century have been described by Professor Thun, who states that in the textile industries of Gladbach and Aix-la-Chapelle it was not unusual to find children employed at only five or six years of age, and that the profits to be drawn from child labor of this kind were an encouragement to early marriages. In 1875, when an inquiry was made by the Federal Council into the question of the labor of women and children, the number of children employed throughout the German empire was 88,000, 24 per cent. of whom were between 12 and 14, and 76 per cent. between 14 and 16. The proportion of child to adult labor was about 1 to 10. The weekly wages of child-

Germany.

dren between 12 and 14 varied from 1 mark to 9 marks ; those of children between 14 and 16, from 14 marks to 13 marks ; the average wage of the first class was 3 marks and that of the second 5 marks.

"Since 1882 the extent to which child labor is employed can be computed from the reports of the factory inspectors, which give the following results :

YEAR.	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.	Total.
1882	14,600	123,543	138,143
1883	18,935	143,805	162,740
1884	18,882	135,477	154,359
1886	21,935	134,589	156,524
1888	26,913	169,252	196,165
1890	27,485	214,252	241,737

"The great increase noticeable in 1890 is due in part to the inclusion of Alsace-Lorraine in that year ; but even disregarding the 107 children and 10,168 young persons employed in those provinces, the record for the nine years shows an increase of 80 per cent. in the employment of children, and 65.2 per cent. in that of young persons. The factory inspectors state that on the whole this increase is not disproportionate to that of adult labor ; but Dr. Stieda is of opinion that adult labor has scarcely advanced at so rapid a rate."

According to the Industrial Code of 1891, based on the recommendations of the Berlin Conference, called by the emperor, children under 13 years of age cannot be employed in factories, and even if over 13 years of age they can only be employed if freed from the necessity for school attendance. The hours for children under 14 years of age must not exceed six a day, with a pause of at least half an hour, and young persons between 14 and 16 must not work in

Code of 1891.

factories more than 10 hours a day, with one hour's interval in the middle of the day, and half an hour in the morning and afternoon. Young persons must not be employed on Sundays or holidays, nor during the hours fixed for religious instruction by the authorized priest or pastor. In the country children over 10 may be partially exempted from school attendance, and allowed to assist in open-air work, such as minding cattle ; but this partial exemption is in the hands of the school inspectors, and is not, as a rule, granted until the completion of the eleventh or twelfth year. No child may be employed until a labor card stamped by the authorities has been given to the employer stating the name, day and year of birth, and denomination to which the child belongs ; the name, calling, and residence of the father or guardian, and the extent to which the child is still obliged to attend school. A list of all the children employed must be kept in every factory, and hung up, together with a statement of their hours, in the rooms in which they work. In certain occupations of unusual danger or unhealthiness, as mining, glass works, etc., the restrictions are still greater. Inspectors are appointed to enforce the laws.

France, by the law of 1884, prohibited child labor under 12, and limited it to 12 hours, with specified intervals for rest and meals to those between 12 and 16. Night and Sunday work were prohibited to boys and to girls under 21. The government, however, had considerable power of exception and regulation. By the law of November 2, 1892, children under 16 can only work 10 hours a day, and from 16 to 18, 11 hours. Night work and work underground are prohibited to children and women. All child labor under 13 is prohibited.

France.

In Italy child labor is carried to a large extent, but an act of 1886 forbade the employment of children under nine in factories, mines, or quarries, and those under 10 underground. Night work is prohibited for children under 12.

Italy and Switzerland.

Such an act shows, however, how evil conditions must have been and still are, particularly in the sulphur mines of Sicily. Switzerland has better laws ; women, girls and boys under 14 cannot be employed at night, nor can any child work in factories under 14. Subject to these restrictions, child labor is said to be very common in Switzerland.

In crowded Belgium, the conditions are frightful. Large numbers of children are employed in textile industries, and even in such unhealthily trades as glass-blowing ; but the worst conditions prevail in the mines. In 1891, Belgium had 4439 women and girls of over 16 and 2742 girls under 16 employed in above-ground mines, and 23,008 women and girls above 16, with 683 girls under 16, employed in underground mines. By a law which came into force January 1, 1892, the employment of women and children under 21 years of age is prohibited.

Belgium.

In vol. iv. of the Reports on the Labor Question (Brussels, 1888, p. 15), we read in the testimony that a young girl of 17 testified to going down into the mine at 5 A.M. and coming up sometimes at 9 and sometimes at 11 P.M. She said she loaded 60 to 70 cars per day, and fetched her empty cars from 150 to 300 ft. The earnings of these women are reported at 36 to 40 cents per day. One woman said her husband earned \$2.60 per week, and her boy 16 cents per day.

Sweden, by a law of 1883, forbids employment of all under 12, and limits the work of children under 14 to six hours, and under 16 to 12 hours. Night work is forbidden to all under 18. Denmark, by a law of 1873, forbids the employment of children under 10. Holland in 1874 forbade the employment of children under 12 save in domestic service and agricultural labor. Russia in 1884 forbade night work to women and all persons under 17. Children from 10 to 12 may only be employed in specified industries, and from 12 to 15 all limited to eight hours per day.

Other Countries.

Austria forbids the employment of children in factories under 14. Night work is forbidden to women and all under 16.

III. THE UNITED STATES.

Concerning child labor in the United States, one of the best statements is Mrs. Florence Kelly's tract, *Our Toiling Children* (written under her former name, Mrs. Wischnewsky), from which we condense the following, supplementing it by later statements. Mrs. Kelly says :

"There was a time in the history of the country when every child was a child, granted as its birthright ample time in which to grow to manhood or womanhood, and required to work only by the exigencies of family life on the paternal farm. That was in the early days, before the capitalistic system of production had developed in the new country, while work was still done chiefly for its product's uses, and not exclusively for exchange and profit. To-day the working man's child is a drudge from its babyhood. The children of the clothing makers in New York City begin work at four years of age, their labor power being available, under the sweating system of tenement-house manufacture, for picking out basting threads.

"The conditions under which children work are fraught with danger to life and limb, to health, morals, and intelligence. It is necessary to take up each of the dangers in its order ; first, then, the danger to life from fire.

Danger to Life from Fire.

"In 1888 Inspector White, of Massachusetts, said : 'It would be very little use to put a fire-escape on a powder house, and hundreds of the buildings now occupied for tenement and lodging-houses would, under favorable circumstances, burn down so quickly as to render nearly useless any means of escape that can be provided. The late fire in a tenement-house (factory) in New York is a striking example of the terrible results of such methods of construction' (*Second Annual Convention of Factory Inspectors*, June, 1888, pp. 27, 30).

"Speaking of Ohio factories, Chief Inspector Dorn says : 'It is somewhat difficult to speak with calmness of men who, while liberally insuring their property against fire, so that in case of such a visitation—a danger always imminent—their pockets shall not suffer, will not spend a dollar for the security of the lives of those by whose labor they profit' (*Report Second Annual Convention Factory Inspectors of America*, June, 1888, p. 10).

"Inspector Schaubert, of New York, reports : 'I find some fire-escapes made of gas-pipe bent and driven into the wall, that would require a trapeze performer

to ascend them. For instance, in Rochester are two buildings seven stories high. In one there are usually 150 and in the other about 270 female operatives employed on the top floors. But one stairway in each connects the various stories. In the rear of these structures, I find these gas-pipe arrangements for fire-escapes. . . . Another alleged fire-escape is that in the rear of a certain printing house. About 60 females are here employed on the fifth floor. Only one narrow staircase runs from the top of the building to the street, and in the rear a straight ladder extends from the top to the second floor. This ladder would be almost valueless in case a panic should seize the workwomen' (*Second Annual Report Factory Inspectors of New York*, 1887, p. 111).

'Even in Massachusetts, according to Commissioner White, 'the statutes in this regard (*i. e.*, precaution against loss of life by fire) are less definite in their provisions, and there is less in them to guide the inspector, than in any other laws which we are called upon to enforce' (*Report Second Annual Convention Factory Inspectors of America*, June, 1888, p. 37).

'To aggravate the danger of fire, there is a very general practice of locking the work-room doors.

'Imagine,' says Inspector Dorn, of Ohio, 'a large building filled with work people—men, women, and children—all the doors closed, the custodian of the keys absent, all means of egress cut off. In what peril would those people be in case of fire!'

Children are employed in vast numbers in mills of many kinds in tending steam-driven machinery. They are therefore especially exposed to danger of explosion. Of boiler explosions, Factory Inspector Dorn, of Ohio, says: 'The number of lives annually lost by the explosion of steam boilers is so great that it seems almost incredible that the State has done nothing toward securing a proper inspection of so necessary and yet so dangerous an adjunct of our manufacturing industries.'

'The National Association of Stationary Engineers furnish the following information in their address: 'We believe that the frequent killing and maiming of people by the explosion of steam boilers is unnecessary; that it can and should be entirely prevented; we have the evidence that our membership, numbering several thousand operating engineers, does not furnish a single one chargeable with the rupture or explosion of a boiler while under steam pressure. We ask that the prime cause of boiler explosions be removed, by enacting laws preventing the ignorant, drunken, unskillful from taking charge; that the law shall only permit the skillful, sober, and competent to take charge of this terribly destructive explosive. During the past 12 months a record has been kept of boiler explosions, comprising only those published by the daily press and others, that came to the knowledge of our members and were reported to the secretary of the society. From these reports we can give the following aggregates: Number of boiler explosions, 496; number of deaths, 607; number of injured, many fatally, 1273. Thus with incomplete returns we have 1970 people killed, maimed, or crippled, all resulting from ignorance, intemperance, and avarice.'

'The records of death and mutilation inflicted by machinery are defective everywhere, and the effort to obtain adequate data is new, even in Massachusetts. The first attempt to publish an official record, however incomplete, for one full year, of all accidents to employees reported to the State factory inspectors, was made simultaneously in Massachusetts, New York, and

New Jersey, and is embraced in the inspectors' reports of those States for 1887. A similar attempt is embraced in the report of the factory inspectors of Ohio for 1888. This record is in no case even approximately full, because the law requiring employers to report is nowhere adequately enforced. Yet the official data, with their descriptions of the killed and wounded, rival the records of actual warfare, and sustain the metaphor of the battlefield of industry. Altho in these lists the ages of the slain are not always given, the 'accidents' to children are known to be so numerous that Professor Hadley, while Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Connecticut, expressed his official opinion that this subject required special legislation.

'Inspector Wade, of Massachusetts, prefacing his statement with the assurance that 'there has been a steady decrease both in the number and severity of accidents from unguarded machinery,' proceeds to report 638 accidents to 624 persons, including 23 fatal accidents, 62 injuries to hands, 53 to arms, 224 to fingers, 29 to thumbs, 38 to legs, 40 to feet, 29 to heads, besides a large number unspecified (*Annual Report District Police*, 1887, pp. 37-47).

'In his first report for 1887, p. 27, Inspector Connally, of New York, says:

'It is no uncommon thing to see children working minus a hand or fingers, and twice during our brief term of office we have been in the factories where boys were injured by having their hands bruised by the machinery. In one New York City factory five children have been injured in four months.'

'The machines used for stamping metal are extremely dangerous, and boys and girls are chiefly employed at them. One day, in the office of the factory, the inspector met a boy looking for work who had lost two fingers where previously employed. When asked why he did not return to work where he was injured, he said that the loss of his fingers made him useless to his former employer.

'The time taken to clean the machinery is not considered by a few employers as a part of the regular working time, and they require the operatives to clean it after shutting down. Probably one third of the accidents occurring are caused by cleaning the machinery while in motion.'

'So says Inspector Fell, of New Jersey, adding:

'It is too much the practice of the management of factories for the purpose of saving five minutes of time, rather than stop the machinery, to allow (if they do not command) boys as well as men to replace a belt which has slipped off a pulley, while the driving shaft giving the power to the pulley is running at full speed; or oftener, to shut down to half speed, which is a dangerous practice, and should receive the fullest condemnation.

'The number of accidents occurring daily through unprotected machinery is really frightful. It is estimated that from 50 to 60 persons are killed or injured daily through accidents occurring by operating buzz-saws. We frequently read of young girls having their scalps torn off, boys having their fingers and arms cut off, or injured; death by being carried around shafting and so on, and yet almost all these frightful occurrences might be prevented by the strong arm of the law.' (*Third Annual Report Inspectors Factories and Workshops, State of New Jersey*, 1885, p. 20.)

'The dangers to health and morals besetting the working child, though less sensationally conspicuous than the danger of death by fire and explosion, are neither less deadly nor less widespread. They are most hideously visible in the tenement-houses of such cities as New York, Chicago, Boston and San Francisco, but every manufacturing community has its own share of havoc wrought upon the health and purity of the children of the working class.

'New York State taking the lead in manufactures, both in the amount of capital invested and the number and importance of its establishments as well as population, New York, as the 'epitome of the nation,' naturally forms the greatest market for child labor, and presents the most perfect types of its employment.

'Commissioner C. F. Peck, in his report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York for 1884, p. 145, says:

'The employment by parents of children of tender age in the tenement-house cigar factories of New York City furnishes one of the strongest arguments presented in favor of the enactment of stringent and effective laws against the evil of enforced employment of children at laborious, unhealthy, and immoral callings, in many cases to satisfy the greed of those who by nature are intrusted with all that pertains to their present or future welfare, and who should be compelled by law to provide for the health, the morals, and the educational training of their offspring.'

'The following is sworn testimony of cigar-workers, taken from the same report (pp. 171, 162):

'All the children in tenement-houses work. I have seen those of nine and 10 years old at work.'

'I have seen children employed in tenement-house cigar factories varying in age from six years, I should say, to 14; they have been kept from school and been obliged to work almost any length of time without any regulations as to time, and barely have time to go through with their meals. . . . They were often compelled to remain in rooms which were overcrowded with adults, where decency was a strange factor, morality unknown, and where, in the heated term of the year, the adults were almost nude.'

'Inspector Connally, in his factory report for 1887, p. 26, says:

'The workshops occupied by contracting manufacturers of clothing, or sweaters, as they are called, are foul in the extreme. Noxious gases emanate from all corners. The buildings are ill-smelling from cellar to garret. The water-closets are used alike by males

Health and Morals.

Unguarded Machinery.

and females, and usually stand in the room where the work is done. The people are huddled together too closely for comfort, even if all other conditions were excellent. And when this state of things is taken into consideration, with the painfully long hours of toil which the poverty-stricken victims of the contractors must endure, it seems wonderful that there exists a human being that could stand it for a month and live.

"Least any one should suppose that the industrial conditions of New York are peculiar, local, worse than those of other American communities, I quote testimony covering several States, and showing that the evils of the exploitation of labor are inherent in the system of production by exploitation, and appear wherever that system develops.

"In his report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts for 1881, Mr. Carroll D. Wright said (p. 466):

"In our cotton mills especially, the women and children largely exceed the men, being often from two thirds to five sixths of the whole, and the proportion is steadily increasing. And what are these women and children but the very weakest and most dependent of all the people?"

"An operative testifies:
"Young girls from 14 and upward learn more wickedness in one year than they would in five years out of a mill."

"The following is taken from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Wisconsin for 1883, p. 264:

"Janesville Cotton Manufacturing Company. I went to these mills some time ago, and found several children whom I suspected of being under 12 years of age. The company promised to discharge them, and I have every reason to think that they have done so. But there are some 300 women and children who are working 11½ to 12 hours per day and night, the night being the time most of the children are employed. It is a hard place to work; young persons cannot stand the strain and long hours. Child labor is the main feature; there are many of them under 14 years of age, and all have to work 11½ hours. The thermometer (I am told by an employee) averages in the heated term about 108 degrees. There are plenty of openings for light and air, but if there is too much air stirring, the windows must be left closed on account of blowing the cotton. The dressing-room thermometer runs (I am told) as high as 140 degrees, and averages 110 to 120 degrees. (Men work here eight to 10 hours a day.) I am told by employees that girls who have worked here since last September are quitting on account of loss of health caused by hard work and long hours; they can-

not stand the intense heat at night, and they cannot get sufficient sleep in the daytime."

"Mr. Fassett, Commissioner of Bureau of Statistics of Labor for Ohio, says in his report for 1887, p. 9:

"I have found boys 12 and 14 years old struggling for a livelihood in a room heated 20 degrees Fahrenheit."

"Working children know nothing of the education of happy home life. Many of them are orphans, for the average life of the working man is short at best, and the 'accidents' involved in scores of occupations rob a very large number of children of paternal care and support. Then the widowed mother is obliged to turn home into a laundry or go out to work. Home life is lost.

Education.

"So much for the home training of our working children. Now as to the schools. Scores of thousands of American-born children under 16 years of age are earning their bread to-day who have never entered a school-room. I am not speaking of the negro illiteracy of the South, but of the great manufacturing States of the North. For thousands of these children there are no schools provided. New York and Philadelphia have not even an accurate census of the school population upon which to base calculation of the school accommodations necessary. Superintendent McAllister, of Philadelphia, believes that 10,000 children of that wealthiest of cities are out of school because there are no schools provided for them. And he has shown in his report for 1888 that 4716 children attending school are unprovided with desks. A like story comes from Chicago, and from every large manufacturing community outside of Massachusetts.

"The New Jersey Compulsory School Law especially exempts from its provisions those cities which have not provided sufficient school accommodations, thus putting a premium for manufacturing communities where child labor is a tempting commodity, upon failure to provide adequate schools.

"Mr. A. S. Draper, State Superintendent of Public Education for New York, says in his report of 1888:

"There is a large uneducated class in the State, and our statistics show that it is growing larger. The attendance upon the schools does not keep pace with the advance in population."

Thus far Mrs. Kelly, writing in 1887. *The Seventh Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor* (Carroll D. Wright), 1894, upon slums (p. 76), gives the following table of the proportion of children in the slums at work and at school (based on a canvas of 83,852 people):

Slums.

NUMBER AND PER CENT. OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN CHILDREN OF EACH CONDITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

NATIVITY.	CHILDREN AT HOME.		CHILDREN AT WORK.		CHILDREN AT SCHOOL.		CHILDREN AT WORK AND AT SCHOOL.		TOTAL OF ALL CHILDREN.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
BALTIMORE.										
Native born.....	962	30.60	132	4.20	2,049	65.17	1	.03	3,144	100.00
Foreign born.....	234	29.66	89	11.28	463	58.68	3	.38	789	100.00
Total.....	1,196	30.41	221	5.62	2,512	63.87	4	.10	3,933	100.00
CHICAGO.										
Native born.....	689	29.22	51	2.16	1,589	67.39	29	1.23	2,358	100.00
Foreign born.....	396	26.17	139	9.19	922	60.94	56	3.70	1,513	100.00
Total.....	1,085	28.03	190	4.91	2,511	64.87	85	2.19	3,871	100.00
NEW YORK.										
Native born.....	627	18.04	90	2.59	2,740	78.85	18	.52	3,475	100.00
Foreign born.....	387	18.69	323	15.59	1,325	63.98	36	1.74	2,071	100.00
Total.....	1,014	18.28	413	7.45	4,065	73.30	54	.97	5,546	100.00
PHILADELPHIA.										
Native born.....	433	23.14	57	3.05	1,374	73.44	7	.37	1,871	100.00
Foreign born.....	255	16.12	227	14.35	1,082	68.39	18	1.14	1,582	100.00
Total.....	688	19.92	284	8.23	2,456	71.13	25	.72	3,453	100.00

(See SLUMS.)

IV. ECONOMIC BEARING.

It is sometimes said that child labor is necessary to eke out the parents' wages; but the real result is to lower the parents' wages.

Professor Richard T. Ely, in his *Introduction to Political Economy*, says (p. 221):

"Among the striking evidences of the truth of the standard of life, as the norm for wages, the fact is especially noteworthy that, as a rule, it seems to fail to benefit the laboring population on the whole, and for any length of time, for the wife and children to earn money, even apart from all other considerations than mere money-getting. The world over, when it becomes customary for the wife, or wife and children, to work in factories, it very soon becomes necessary for them to do so to support the family. The wages of the head of the family and the earnings of the entire family, as before, just maintain the standard of comfort among that class of the population. Professor E. W. Bemis has called attention to the fact that in the textile industries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the women and children work, the earnings of the entire family are no larger than in other industries, like those in metal, in western Connecticut, where only the men work."

The Inspector of Factories for New Jersey, in his second annual report (1884, p. 19), says: "The employment of children has increased with the reduction of wages, and the employment of adults has decreased with the employment of children."

The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in the sixth annual report of the Bureau of Labor of Massachusetts, says (p. 51):

"There seems, within recent times, to have occurred a change in the relation of wages to support, so that, more and more, the labor of the whole family becomes necessary to the support of the family; that, in the majority of cases, working men in the commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone. The fathers rely, or are forced to depend, upon their children for from one quarter to one third of the entire family earnings, and the children under 15 years of age supply by their labor from one eighth to one sixth of the total family earnings."

Socialists argue that child labor is the result of competition. Says the *American Fabian* (April, 1895):

"Child labor is the result of competition. Under competition the employer *must* employ the cheapest labor that will produce the required quantity and quality of work. Machinery enables small girls to do the work formerly done by skilled men. In making paper four men and six girls can now do work formerly done by 100 men, and do it better. In the jewelry trade one boy and a machine, in a day, can turn out 9000 pairs of gold sleeve-buttons" (D. A. Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*, p. 53).

V. LEGISLATION.

The following summary of legislation on child labor in the United States is taken from the report on the United States of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor (1892), being the latest compilation available. Yet it must be remembered that this legislation is constantly changing, tho this progress has been temporarily checked by the fact that an Illinois act to limit the work of women factory employees to eight hours a day was decided (March 15, 1895) to be unconstitutional by the Illinois Supreme Court. (See JUDICIARY.) Says the English report (p. 31):

"In Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, no child under 13 may be employed; in New York the minimum age is 14; in Maine and Ohio it is 12, and in New Jersey it is 12 for boys and 14 for girls. Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Tennessee allow

no child under 12 to be employed in a mine, while in Indiana 12 is the limit in some industries, and 14 in a mine. The same limit is fixed in Colorado and Illinois for children in mines. The age below which children may not be employed at all is fixed at 10 in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. In New Hampshire a child of 12 may not be employed unless it has attended school the whole of the last school year. A child of 14 must have attended school for 6 months, and one of 16 for 3 months during the year preceding its employment, and all such children must be able to read and write. In Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont children of 14 must not be employed unless they have attended school for a period in the preceding year varying from 12 to 20 weeks in the different States. In Colorado, Kansas, Maine, and New Jersey there is a similar provision in the first two States as regards children of 16, and in the last two as regards those of 15. The hours of labor for children are restricted to 10 in Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, California, Louisiana, Michigan, New Hampshire, North and South Dakota, Virginia, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Vermont, and to 8 in Connecticut, Alabama, and Wisconsin. In Massachusetts they may not exceed 8 a week. Very many of the regulations concerning child labor are, however, ineffective, owing to a lack of sufficient and competent inspectors. Where the acts are enforced, as in Massachusetts, the result is encouraging. Between 1882 and 1890 the number of children under 14 years of age employed in Massachusetts decreased fully 70 per cent., and a considerable reduction was reported from Maine when the act had been in force only one year."

Says Mrs. Kelly, in the tract above mentioned:

"The legislation needed is of the simplest but most comprehensive description. We need to have: 1. The minimum age for work fixed at 16. 2. School attendance made compulsory to the same age. 3. Factory inspectors and truant officers, both men and women, equipped with adequate salaries and traveling expenses, charged with the duty of removing children from mill and workshop, mine and store, and placing them at school. 4. Ample provision for school accommodations. Money supplied by the State through the school authorities for the support of such orphans, half orphans and children of the unemployed as are now kept out of school by destitution.

What is Needed.

"Any provision less than this will share the defects of our present deplorable measures, whose very meagerness makes enforcement impossible. It is impossible to ascertain which children have gone to school 10, 12, 14, 16, or 20 weeks, as different States provide. But when all children are compelled to go to school all the school year, there will be no difficulty in verifying from the school records the statements of parents, children and teachers, with reference to the age and past attendance of a child applying for work, and claiming to be beyond the compulsory school age.

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, neither the women of the nation nor our philanthropic bodies have thus far taken steps toward the emancipation of our toiling child slaves, except the women's organization of Chicago in co-operation with the Woman's Alliance of Illinois, and Mrs. Leonora Barry, of the Knights of Labor. With these exceptions, all the noble struggle of half a century for the rescue of our toiling children seems to have been confined to the labor unions and to the bureaus of statistics of labor, which have themselves been created

year by year by the efforts of the working men since 1869."

References: Among the best are: *Two Prize Essays on Child Labor*, by William F. Willoughby, A.B., and Miss Clare de Graffenreid (American Economic Association, Baltimore); *Our Toiling Children*, a tract by Mrs. Florence Kelly (Wischnewetzky) (Woman's Temperance Publication Association, Chicago). The best reports on child labor are found in the Labor Reports of Connecticut (1885), Massachusetts (1874 and 1891), Michigan (1887); Minnesota (1889-90), New York (1890), Rhode Island (1891). See also reports on the various countries of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor. Among the best articles on child labor are: *Little Laborers of New York City*, by C. L. Brace (*Harper's*, 47: 321); *Children in Coal Mines of England* (*Eclectic*, 76: 201; *Quarterly Review*, 70: 158; *Westminster Review*, 38: 86); *Children in Factories* (*Quarterly Review*, 67: 171); *Children's Labor: a Problem*, by E. E. Brown (*Atlantic Monthly*, 46: 787); *Commission on Employments of Children* (*Quarterly Review*, 119: 364); *Child Labor: a Symposium* (*Arena*, 1894, vol. 10, p. 117).

CHILD, LYDIA MARIA (née FRANCIS), was born in Medford, Mass., February 11, 1802. Miss Francis attended the common schools and studied with her brother, Rev. Convers Francis, D.D. When 17 years old she saw an article in the *North American Review* discussing the field offered to the novelist by early New England history, and she immediately wrote the first chapter of a novel entitled *Hobomok*, and finished it in six weeks, and published it (Cambridge, 1821). From this time until her death she wrote continually. She taught in Medford and Watertown, Mass., till she married, in 1828. She began in 1826 the publication of the *Juvenile Miscellany*, the first monthly periodical for children issued in the United States.

In 1831 both Mr. and Mrs. Child became deeply interested in the subject of slavery. Mrs. Child's *Appeal for that Class of Americans called African* (Boston, 1833) was the first anti-slavery work published in America in book form, and was followed by several smaller works on the same subject. Mrs. Child had to endure social ostracism, but from this time was a steady champion of anti-slavery. On the establishment by the American Anti-slavery Society of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, in New York City, in 1840, she became its editor and conducted it till 1843, when her husband took the place of editor-in-chief, and she acted as his assistant till May, 1844. In 1859 she wrote a letter of sympathy to John Brown, then a prisoner at Harper's Ferry, offering her services as a nurse, and enclosing the letter in one to Governor Wise. Brown replied, declining her offer, but asking her to aid his family, which she did. She also received a letter of courteous rebuke from Governor Wise, and a singular epistle from the wife of Senator Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Law, threatening her with future damnation. She replied to both in her best vein, and the whole series of letters was published in pamphlet form (Boston, 1860), and had a circulation of 300,000. She also wrote two small tracts on the *Fugitive Slave Law* and *Emancipation in the British West Indies*. During her latter years she contributed freely to aid the national soldiers in the Civil War, and afterward to help the freedmen. She died in Wayland, Mass., October 20, 1880:

Mrs. Child's works are voluminous and treat of a great variety of subjects. Besides those already men-

tioned are the following: *The Rebels; or, Boston before the Revolution*; *The American Frugal Housewife* (1829); *The Family Nurse*, or companion of *The Frugal Housewife*; *The Mother's Book* and *The Girl's Own Book* (1831); *History of Woman* (1835); *Biographies of Good Wives* (1833); *The Oasis* (1834); *The Anti-slavery Catechism* (1836); *Authentic Narratives of American Slavery* (1838); *The Evils of Slavery and the Cure of Slavery* (1836); *Philothea: A Grecian Romance* (1845); *Letters from New York* (2 vols., 1843-44); *Fact and Fiction* (1846); *Flowers for Children* (1852); *Isaac T. Hopper: a True Life* (1853); *The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages* (3 vols., 1855); *Autumnal Leaves: Sketches in Prose and Rhyme* (1857); *Looking toward Sunset* (1864); *The Freedman's Book* (1865); and *The Romance of the Republic* (1867).

CHILD-SAVING. See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.—The general subject of immigration into the United States is considered under the article IMMIGRATION, but there is, or has been, one class of immigration into the United States which should be considered separately. The inhabitants of China up to 40 years ago were so averse to leave their native land that Chinese immigration scarcely existed. The total number of natives of China reported as having arrived in the United States before 1851 was 46. In 1854 the number of arrivals of this race increased to over 13,000. The immigration of the Chinese has since been:

Year.	Chinese Immigrants.
1854.....	13,100
1855.....	3,526
1856.....	4,733
1857.....	5,944
1858.....	5,128
1859.....	3,437
1860.....	5,467
1861.....	7,518
1862.....	3,633
1863.....	7,214
1864.....	2,975
1865.....	2,942
1866.....	2,385
1867.....	3,863
1868.....	10,684
1869.....	14,902
1870.....	11,943
1871.....	6,030
1872.....	10,642
1873.....	18,154
1874.....	16,651
1875.....	19,033
1876.....	16,879
1877.....	30,379
1878.....	8,458
1879.....	9,189
1880.....	7,011
1881.....	20,711
1882.....	35,614
1883.....	381
1884.....	84

The increasing number of Chinese laborers early excited fear and aroused opposition on the Pacific coast.

Some of the objections to the Chinese as permanent residents of this country were stated by Justice Field of the United States Supreme Court in a judicial opinion delivered in California in September, 1882. He said: "It was discovered that the physical characteristics and habits of the Chinese prevented their assimilation with our people. Conflicts between them and our people, disturbing to the peace of the country, followed as a matter of course, and were of frequent occurrence. Chinese laborers, including in that designation not merely those engaged in manual labor, but those skilled in some art or trade, in a special manner interfered with the industries and business of this State. Their frugal habits, the absence of families, their abil-

ity to live in narrow quarters without apparent injury to health, their contentment with small gains and the simplest fare gave them great advantages in the struggle with our laborers and mechanics, who always and properly seek something more from their labors than sufficient for a bare

Cheap Labor. livelihood, and must have and should have something for the comforts of a home and the education of their children. A restriction upon the immigration of such laborers was therefore felt throughout this State to be necessary if we would prevent the degradation of labor and preserve all the benefits of our civilization."

Other objections to the presence of the Chinese on the Pacific coast were allegations of unhealthful, vicious, and corrupting practices. Public feeling was aroused, and many attacks on them occurred in San Francisco and other cities. Restrictive measures were adopted by the city authorities designed to prevent the Chinese from carrying on their usual avocations. Some of these measures were oppressive enough to be rebuked by the local courts. A wide difference of opinion existed in various parts of the country as to the justness of some of the complaints and the necessity of forbidding the further importation of Chinese laborers.

A committee of the United States Senate and House of Representatives investigated the subject in 1876 and 1877, and made a report recommending legislation to restrain the incoming of Asiatic populations. The Chinese Government had never greatly favored the emigration of its subjects, and little difficulty in modifying the treaty with China was experienced in 1880, when, in response to the urgent appeals from the inhabitants of the Pacific coast, an effort was made to limit the immigration of Chinese laborers. The Burlingame treaty of 1868 had provided for free emigration and immigration, but the modified treaty permitted the limitation or suspension by the United States Government of the coming or residence in the United States of Chinese laborers, but the absolute prohibition of such immigration was forbidden.

After excited discussion Congress passed in 1882 a bill suspending for 20 years the coming into the United States of Chinese laborers. The bill was vetoed by President Arthur, but a modified act fixing the limit of suspension at 10 years became a law. The Chinese who had already become residents of the country were not disturbed, and those who wished to make visits to China with the intention of returning hither were furnished with passports. The suspension of immigration related only to laborers, a term which has been construed to include skilled workmen.

Nevertheless, this law was not considered sufficient by the Pacific coast, and in 1892 Congress was induced to pass a law not only forbidding Chinese immigration, but to exclude those now here except under certain conditions.

The following is the full text of "an act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," passed by the fifty-second Congress, approved by President Harrison May 5, 1892, and commonly called the "Geary Law":

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all laws now in force prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons and persons of Chinese descent are hereby continued in force for a period of 10 years from the passage of this act.

"Sec. 2. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent, when convicted and adjudged under any of said laws to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States, shall be removed from the United States to China, unless he or they shall make it appear to the justice, judge, or commissioner before

whom he or they are tried that he or they are subjects or citizens of some other country, in which case he or they shall be removed from the United States to such country: *Provided*, that in any case where such other country of which such Chinese person shall claim to be a citizen or subject shall demand any tax as a condition of the removal of such person to that country, he or she shall be removed to China.

"Sec. 3. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent arrested under the provisions of this act or the acts hereby extended shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, unless such person shall establish, by affirmative proof, to the satisfaction of such justice, judge, or commissioner, his lawful right to remain in the United States.

"Sec. 4. That any such Chinese person or person of Chinese descent convicted and adjudged to be not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States shall be imprisoned at hard labor for a period of not exceeding one year and thereafter removed from the United States, as hereinbefore provided.

"Sec. 5. That after the passage of this act on an application to any judge or court of the United States in the first instance for a writ of habeas corpus, by a Chinese person seeking to land in the United States, to whom that privilege has been denied, no bail shall be allowed, and such application shall be heard and determined promptly without unnecessary delay.

"Sec. 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States, at the time of the passage of this act, and who are entitled to remain in the United States, to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts, within one year after the passage of this act, for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese laborer, within the limits of the United States, who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or who, after one year from the passage hereof, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States, without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue, or his deputies, United States marshal, or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge, that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of the court, and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act; and if, upon the hearing, it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate it shall be granted upon his paying the cost. Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court. And any Chinese person other than a Chinese laborer, having a right to be and remain in the United States, desiring such certificate as evidence of such right, may apply for and receive the same without charge.

"Sec. 7. That immediately after the passage of this act the Secretary of the Treasury shall make such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the efficient execution of this act, and shall prescribe the necessary forms and furnish the necessary blanks to enable collectors of internal revenue to issue the certificates required hereby, and make such provisions that certificates may be procured in localities convenient to the applicants. Such certificates shall be issued without charge to the applicant, and shall contain the name, age, local residence, and occupation of the applicant, and such other description of the applicant as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and a duplicate thereof shall be filed in the office of the collector of internal revenue for the district within which such Chinaman makes application.

"Sec. 8. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate, or forge such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in such certificate, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding \$1000 or imprisoned in the penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

"Sec. 9. The Secretary of the Treasury may authorize the payment of such compensation, in the nature of

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fees to the collectors of internal revenue, for services performed under the provisions of this act, in addition to salaries now allowed by law, as he shall deem necessary, not exceeding the sum of \$1 for each certificate issued.

"In the special session of the Fifty-third Congress the following bill to amend the Chinese Exclusion act was introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Everett, of Massachusetts. It was understood that this bill represented the policy of the Cleveland administration :

"Be it enacted, etc., that Section 6 of an act entitled 'An Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States,' approved May 5, 1892, is hereby amended so as to read as follows :

"Sec. 6. And it shall be the duty of all Chinese laborers within the limits of the United States at the time of the passage of this act, and who are entitled to remain in the United States, to apply to the collector of internal revenue of their respective districts, on or before the first day of September, 1894, for a certificate of residence, and any Chinese laborer within the limits of the United States who shall neglect, fail, or refuse to comply with the provision of this act, or who, after said first day of September, 1894, shall be found within the jurisdiction of the United States without such certificate of residence, shall be deemed and adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, and may be arrested by any United States customs official, collector of internal revenue, or his deputies, United States marshal, or his deputies, and taken before a United States judge, whose duty it shall be to order that he be deported from the United States, as hereinbefore provided, unless he shall establish clearly to the satisfaction of said judge that by reason of accident, sickness, or other unavoidable cause he has been unable to procure his certificate, and to the satisfaction of the court, and by at least one credible white witness, that he was a resident of the United States at the time of the passage of this act ; and if upon the hearing it shall appear that he is so entitled to a certificate, it shall be granted upon his paying the cost.

"Should it appear that said Chinaman had procured a certificate which has been lost or destroyed, he shall be detained and judgment suspended a reasonable time to enable him to procure a duplicate from the officer granting it, and in such cases the cost of said arrest and trial shall be in the discretion of the court. And any Chinese person other than a Chinese laborer having a right to be and remain in the United States desiring such certificate as evidence of such right, may apply for and receive the same without charge.

"Sec. 2. That no proceedings for a violation of the provisions of said Section 6 of said act of May 5, 1892, as originally enacted, shall hereafter be instituted, and all the proceedings for said violation now pending are hereby discontinued."

The law has been fiercely criticised as unfair in singling out one nation for such legislation, and in breaking treaty faith with China. Its defenders say :

"Objection is made to the registration, that it subjects the Chinese to hardships, and degrades them. If registry is degradation, there are many Americans who have a right to complain. Thirty-four States require that citizens shall register before being allowed to vote ; and in most of the States members of certain professions and trades are required to register and obtain a certificate before being allowed to pursue their calling.

"The law provides that officers go to the Chinaman wherever he be and afford him every facility for complying with the law, without expense or burden. The law was wise and just, and ought to be enforced. It is known from experience in California, where nine tenths of the Chinese in the United States reside, that the great mass of Chinamen here would willingly have complied with the law but for the threats of their masters, the Six Companies, who hold most of the Chinese in this country under control. The antagonism of the Six Companies to the law is not on account of the degradation it offers to their subjects, but because its enforcement would insure the prevention of any further importation of their slaves. It was the destruction of their slave-trade that caused the Six Companies to fight the law, and not any love for the vassals now in their employment here.

"The law is in entire accord with the last compact between this Government and China. In this treaty it is provided that :

"If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class,

now either permanently or temporarily residing in the United States, meet with ill-treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection, and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemption as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

"Such language is not found in any treaty with any other nation, and illustrates the acuteness of Chinese diplomacy. As the National Government is made primarily liable for any injury to Chinamen in the United States, it became the duty of this Government to adopt a system of registration of all these people for whose protection they became specially liable. The exercise of the registration power is justified by this treaty, and failure to require registration would be gross carelessness.

"The first duty of governments is to their own citizens. Is it fair to subject our laborer to the competition of a rival who measures his wants by an expenditure of six cents a day, and who is habituated to live on an income of five dollars per month? What will become of the boasted civilization of our country if our toiler is compelled to compete with this class of labor, with more competitors available from China than twice the entire population of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain?

"The Chinese laborer brings here no wife and no children, and his wants are limited to his individual necessities, while the American must earn income sufficient to maintain wife and babies."

The number of Chinese in the United States by the census of 1890 was 94,987, of whom 86,360 were in the Western States and 5404 in the North Atlantic States. (See IMMIGRATION.)

CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.—The relation of Christianity to social reform and of the Church to social reform we consider under their respective heads. We here ask what was and what is the personal relation of Jesus Christ to the problems of social existence. With His relation to the individual and with any theological conceptions of Christ we are, in this cyclopaedia, not concerned, save as these conceptions bear directly upon social reform. But to a growing number of minds this is a very large and a very important question, and it must therefore be distinctly considered here, setting forth impartially, however briefly, all the important views.

1. We may very speedily state the opinion of those to whom Christ was but as any man, though perhaps the noblest, the best, the most inspired, nay, even in this sense, the most divine of men. To such a view Christ bears no special relation to social reform save as does any great leader and inspirer of human thought and action. Christ is conceived by those who hold this view in two main ways : (a) as a great idealist and religious teacher, quickening the world by lofty maxims, altruistic ideals, spiritual insight, above all, by a pure, self-sacrificing life. He is, as Sakyamouni, as Confucius, as Socrates, as St. Francis of Assisi, as many another, though perhaps greater than any other. His relation to social reform, according to this conception, is, therefore, to raise ideals of brotherhood, of self-sacrifice, of the supremacy of character over circumstances, of the scorn of material comfort. Mr. W. M. Salter says in his *Ethical Religion*, pp. 188, 189 :

"It cannot be claimed that we stand in any such relation to Socrates or the Hindu prince or Confucius as

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to Jesus. Socrates has not been without influence upon us, but it cannot be soberly called a tithe of that which Jesus has had. Would that men read the *Apology* oftener; they would find meat and drink in it, a tonic and an inspiration for their lives! But there is need for no such wish in relation to the Gospels. Jesus is an ideal of goodness, all too indistinct often, but hovering in the thought of wellnigh every one of us. It is true that there is much uncertainty relating not only to His life, but to His teaching; yet as there need be no doubt as to the main tenor and events of His life, so there need be none as to the commanding features of His teaching. They make too largely consistent a whole, and bespeak a mind of too much freshness and originality and power, to allow us to think of them as coming in an indefinite way from an age otherwise so traditional, so barren, and so prosaic."

The ethical features which Mr. Salter finds in Christ are: (1) His opposition to the traditional morality of His day; (2) His giving to the moral law a more distinct inward application, teaching that thoughts and words have a moral significance, like that of actions; (3) His removing of all barriers of love to our fellow-men; (4) His teaching that the "kingdom of God" is to come from above, and not in the natural course of things—*i. e.*, "not from the onworking of man's natural self-regarding impulses." The limitations in Christ's ethical teachings, Mr. Salter finds, *at least as far as the ethical requirements of our own day are concerned*, to be (1) His failure to emphasize "the intellectual virtues," straightforwardness, etc.; (2) His lack of concern with the State. Says Mr. Salter: "Jesus was not concerned with the State, indicating neither ideal nor practical courses for it to follow." He was ever looking for a kingdom to come, which, says Mr. Salter, has proved one "of humanity's blighted hopes;" (3) Mr. Salter finds in Christ's teaching little guidance for industry; and (4) no clear presentation of an ideal to be the end of human existence.

But (b) there is another conception of Christ held by those who deny the deity of Christ, very different from and at almost every point opposed

to the conception we have just noticed. This is the conception that

A Social Reformer. prevails largely among working men outside of the Church, and especially among materialistic socialists. To such minds Christ was pre-eminently a social reformer. He is the first socialist. They term Him the good "*Sansculotte*," to use Camille Desmoulin's phrase of the French Revolution. "The First Representative of the People" were the words written beneath the pictures of Christ that were posted in the halls of the French communists of 1848. The Carpenter of Nazareth is the name dearest to many working men. According to this conception, Christ was a Jewish labor leader, a religious trade-unionist, who taught of a kingdom of brotherly love, where inequalities and oppression were to vanish; where the poor, the weak, the unfortunate were to overthrow the kingdoms of wealth and of injustice. For opposing the rich and preaching communism He was crucified by the chief priests exactly as the pastors of the churches of wealth to-day oppose socialism and would hang all revolutionists—so this conception holds. Christ, argues Austin Bierbower, in his *Socialism of Christ*, sought to establish a kingdom in the interest of the "outs," of the ruled as against the rulers. He proposed to re-

verse existing conditions—to "lay the axe unto the root of the tree," "to put down the mighty from their seat," "to scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts," "to send the rich empty away," "to fill the hungry with good things," "to exalt them of low degree." Christ's miracles, says Bierbower, "were all done in the interest of the poor." "The common people heard Him gladly." His command was to give up "houses and lands for the kingdom of God's sake." He said to the rich young man, "Sell all that thou hast, and distribute to the poor." The leading clergy Christ called hypocrites and whitened sepulchers. Christ's method, says Bierbower, was one of revolutionary force. He was an insurrectionist, who could be confused with Barabbas. He came "not to bring peace, but a sword." He prophesied a reign of terror. Jerusalem was to be destroyed. Not one stone was to be left upon another. Pilate accused Christ of stirring up the people. This insurrection was to establish a communism. In Christ's teaching all men were to be equal. "Call no man master." There was to be no more clean and unclean. Men were to live in simplicity, to "take no thought for the morrow;" not to have two coats. Many working men think that Christ was an Essene, or at least the founder of a communistic sect like the Essenes, of which the Orient was then full. According to Osborn Ward's *The Ancient Lowly*, Palestine was in the time of Christ full of trade-unions or secret guilds of slaves and despised artisans, and to these organized laborers Jesus Christ appealed, entering into their life and carrying their principles of fraternity and equality through the world.

Working men are not surprised that Christ was crucified. "The cross and hemlock cup have ever been the reformer's reward." Such is the materialist reformer's conception of Jesus Christ.

II. We come to the views of those who hold that Christ was more than man—God manifest in the flesh. Here again we find two divergencies. According to the one view, (a) Christ's message was only to the individual and at most to the Church, the body of the redeemed who have been made one with Him.

The holders of this view do not deny that Christ's teachings affect society, and are to be applied in the State; but they hold that the State and society are to be influenced only through the individual. "Make," they say, "perfect men and women, **The Individualist View.** and then you will have a perfect so-Individualist city." Many, it is true, do not hold that society as a whole ever will be perfected on this earth, at least not in this present dispensation. The kingdom of God, they reason, is to be composed of the redeemed and the elect out of the world. The kingdoms of this earth are, they teach, not to be conformed to the law of God, but to be destroyed and replaced by the kingdom of heaven. It is "a mistake," said the Bishop of Peterborough, at the diocesan conference at Leicester, England, October, 1889, "to attempt to turn Christ's kingdom into one of this world." The *Regnum Hominis*, he argues, can never be the *Civitas Dei*; the State does not and cannot

exist on Christian principles. Did not Christ Himself say, "My kingdom is not of this world"? Were not Christ and all His disciples continually speaking of and looking forward to the end of the world, its destruction, and the coming of the new heavens and the new earth? Christian socialists, says this school of thought, forget the doctrine of the second Advent, the personal coming of Christ, when this earth shall be destroyed and the redeemed only be saved out of it; or a New Jerusalem coming down from heaven. However, not all who hold that Christ's message is only to the individual argue from it that Christ's life is not to be applied to present social organizations. They hold that the Christ life will and inevitably must transform, nay, even revolutionize, human society. They assert strongly that Christ is the Savior of society; but they hold that the transformation and salvation of society is to come only through the new Christ life in the individual, by creating better men and women to compose the State. Such thinkers deny that Christ was a socialist in any sense implying that He has a message for the State apart from the individual. Says Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his *Evolution of Christianity*: "It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first socialist. This is certainly an incorrect, if not an absolutely erroneous statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world is individual wrongdoing."

The First Individualist.

Those who hold this view argue that Christ came to save the world by saving individuals. Individuals, indeed, may cooperate in all kinds of reform and charitable society; they may and they should enter into politics; but the redeeming power is ever in the life of Christ in the individual heart, and the Church's prime message, like Christ's, is to the individual. A few, like Tolstoi, carry this view to such lengths that they may be called, as occasionally they call themselves, Christian anarchists. They would away with organization. To obey the State is to take an oath of loyalty, and Christ said, "Swear not." Society can only be saved by personal sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is the one word. Renounce life and you gain life. (For a full statement of this view of Christ, see Tolstoi.)

But lastly, we come (b) to the view of Christ held by Christian Socialists. (For a statement of Christian Socialism, see that article.) We are here concerned simply with the view of Christ held by this school.

The Christian Socialist View.

According to this conception, Christ is God manifest in the flesh, the natural King and Head of all humanity, and therefore with jurisdiction over all life, secular as truly as spiritual, political and social quite as much as individual. It is true that men have rebelled against God's rule, and must personally return to Him. Christian socialists do not deny, but assert the necessity of personal conversion and the new birth. Christ does not force any man to serve Him. A forced righteousness is not righteousness. Christ draws but does not com-

pel any man to follow Him. Hence all moral action from men in a sense commences with the individual, and in this sense Christian socialists are individualists; but they deny that Christ came *only* to the individual; they deny either that Christ came only to save individuals out of a lost world, or even to save the world through the working alone of a new life in individual hearts. They do not admit that Christ taught that "individual wrongdoing is the prolific cause of misery in the world." They hold that man is born in society, and in a sinful society, which fact is the cause of deep evil. Throughout the Bible they find a teaching of racial sin. The child suffers for the father's sin, and the mother suffers in the child's wrongdoing. They find a socialism in sin as well as a socialism in Christ. Men, they hold, are not alone; men are molded by inheritance and by environment. Now, Christ, as the King of all the world, came to change this. He came to save rebellious individual men, but also to establish a new environment. He came to found a kingdom. He prayed for its coming. He taught that God's will should be done on earth even as in heaven. Those who argue that Christ's message is only to the individual, that He took no notice of the State and that He cared little for organization, forget, say Christian socialists, Christ's whole relation to the Old Testament and the world. The Old Testament is two thirds of the Bible. Christ only came after a long preparation of the Jews in social righteousness. He came, He declared, to fulfil the Old Testament laws. He Himself fulfilled and bade His disciples to fulfil every minute detail of the ritual law. Christ indeed denounced and reproved the rulers of the Jewish Church, but it was not because they fulfilled the law, but because they did not fulfil the law, because they made it of no effect through their traditions. Jesus Christ was the great conformist. He was circumcised; He was baptized; He was made a Son of the Law; He kept feast and fast; He obeyed all the law; He bade His disciples obey even the very priests He denounced. As to the assertion that Christ did not recognize the State, men forget what the Hebrew Church was. It was a State almost as truly as a Church. It was a Church State. Christ paid little heed to the Roman heathen State, though He obeyed even its laws; but He magnified the ideal of the old covenant, the Divine State, the heavenly kingdom. He was ever speaking of it. Of it are most of His parables. He came to fulfil its laws. It is true that Christ idealized, spiritualized the materialistic conception of the laws held by the Jews. He came to fulfil them through love, not through legalism. But He did not come to abrogate the laws. Law must fulfil law, not destroy law. Spirituality is not to make men disregard matter. Never did any one ever honor the material body as did Christ. Almost all His works were works of healing to the body. They were almost all secular socialist works. He who thus magnified the body, law, organization, cannot be said—so Christian socialists argue—to have come simply to save people out of a wicked world into heaven, or even to save a world on earth simply through

Not a Law-breaker.

the individual. If society, organization, the nation, count for nothing, why the thousands of years of the old covenant before Christ came? The law is the schoolmaster to lead to Christ, and Christ is the great Teacher to help us fulfil the law. Christian socialists agree with the material socialists that Christ was a social reformer—the social reformer; that He did come to establish a reign of equality, brotherhood, communism here upon earth. They believe Christ's Church to be the world's first International; they call the Magnificat "the hymn of the universal revolution." Christian socialists disagree with the materialist socialists that He appealed to force or *depended* simply on organization. He came to bring a sword in the same sense only that the knowledge of the law brings forth sin. Christ has made a man's enemies those of his own household; He has turned the world upside down. He is the great revolutionist. But His appeal is not to force. He did not come to draw the sword any more than the law bids men to sin. He was led as a lamb to the slaughter. He conquers by self-sacrifice. His method is the cross. His kingdom is not of this world, but it is to include this world. "The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ" (Rev. xi. 15). As for the Second Advent, it is not for us to know the times or the seasons; but Christ certainly strove to help the bodies as well as the souls of men in His day. He entered into social organization and the Church State, and bade men in love fulfil its laws. He whose constant word was of a kingdom can scarcely be called, say Christian socialists, an anarchist. He who bade men fulfil a law that forbade private property in land, and outlined a socialist theocracy, can no more, they argued, be considered a Christian individualist. They believe His relation to social reform is best summed in the twofold conception contained in the phrase "Christian Socialism."

References: For the different views of Christ in relation to social reform, see *Ethical Religion*, by W. M. Salter (Boston, 1880); *The Socialism of Christ*, by Austin Bierbower (Chicago, 1890); *The Larger Christ*, by G. D. Herron (New York, 1891); *Lessons from the Cross*, by Stewart D. Headlam (London); *Christian Socialism, What and Why*, by P. W. Sprague (New York, 1891); *The Incarnation and Common Life*, by B. F. Westcott (London, 1893); *The Evolution of Christianity*, by Lyman Abbott (Boston, 1892).

CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM. See COMMUNISM.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.—We consider in separate articles CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, and CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM. We are concerned in this article not with what Christ taught nor with what the Church has done or has not done in regard to social reform, but with what as a matter of fact has been the effect of Christianity upon social problems, and with what are the principles of a Christian sociology. We shall consider our subjects in two parts: (1) historically; (2) ideologically, or concerning Christian sociology.

I. HISTORY.

For a statement of what has been the effect of Christianity upon society, we condense, for the most part, Mr. C. L. Brace's valuable *Gesta Christi*.

The first effect of Christianity upon society was to introduce a new spirit of brotherhood, of equality, and of humanity to the suffering and the lowly (see CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM). Outside of Judea, at least, it seems probable that up to the third century Christianity spread largely among the vast slave and despised population of the empire, perhaps mainly among the trade *sodalities* or *colleges* or brotherhoods or communes, with which Mr. C. Osborne Ward shows the empire was honeycombed (see GUILDS). Spreading mainly among these, the enslaved rather than the masters, it is evident that Christianity could not at once overthrow slavery; but it did what it could to elevate the position of the slave. It bade him submit, in the spirit of Christian love, to his master, and yet it treated him as an equal and a brother. It inculcated a spirit and *practice* of brotherly love. "How those Christians love one another!" is the suggestive exclamation concerning life in the primitive Church. For a beautiful tho imaginative picture of the life of the early Church, see Koun's *Artus the Libyan*.

Coming to more authoritative and established facts, we can see the evidence of the social effect of Christianity by comparing legislation before and after its influence began.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

Rome, like all early civilizations, gave almost unlimited power to the father. He could and often did chastise and even slay an adult son. He could take his property, assign him a wife, divorce him when married, transfer him to another family by adoption. See *Val. Max.*, v. 8; *Liv.*, vii., 7; *Plut.* (*P. Gr. et Rom.*). Over the daughter he had still further power. Under the Christian emperors, whatever their personal character, this was abridged. Constantine punished a parricide, and Justinian went much further. The father could now only inherit from a son to a less degree than the son's minor children. Under Justinian the son had full control over all his acquisitions. He could not be killed, exposed, bought, sold or imprisoned, save by decree of the courts. Under old Rome, inheritance was not by blood, but by *power*. Relationship was limited to descendants by males, tho a daughter inherited equally with a son. But neither an "emancipated" son nor a married daughter who had "left the family" inherited. They were *cognates*, not *agnates*. Under the Christian emperors this distinction disappears. Under the old Roman law, the woman was almost wholly under the tutelage of her male relations. She could not intervene in the management of the family, nor in commercial affairs. A court of her relatives could try her. Her husband had power of life and death over her, and power over her property. To the three ancient forms of Roman marriage, the *confarreatio*, or religious, the *coemptio*, or civil, and the *usus*, or without ceremony, there was gradually added "free marriage" in the interest of the woman, which was recognized by law, but did not make the wife of the husband's "family," leaving her her own property, her own gods, and her old family relation.

Under the Christian emperors this was changed. "Tutelage of women must be done away with," say Justinian's *Institutes*. The absolute power of the husband ceased. If unjustly divorced, she received full paternal power (*C. Theod.*, v. 4, 5).

Under old Rome, divorce had become common and frequent to the utmost. Juvenal declares that "no crime or deed of lust was wanting to the age" (*Sat.*, vi., 223). Modesty was held to be a presumption of ugliness (*Plut. Vet. P. Aem.*). In the years 10 A.D., the Roman senate had to pass a law that no woman of a certain rank could make her person venal. (*Tac. Ann.*, 2, 83). In 330-331 A.D., however, a wife might be divorced from her husband only when he was a murderer, a magician, or a violator of tombs. The husband could be divorced when the wife was an adulteress or given to evil practices. If the wife's innocence was proven, she had right again to all the property of her husband, and even the *dos* of the second wife. A married man was prohibited (340 A.D.) from having a concubine, and finally adultery was punished by death. Justinian's code, however, extended the causes of divorce. Jerome confesses that "some were the laws of the Cæsars, and some of Christ." A stoical jurist, Paul, writes in the third century: "Women in every kind of affairs and obligations, whether in behalf of men or women, are prohibited from having any concern" (*Paul Sent.*, ii., xii.). Justinian says that nothing in human affairs is so much to be venerated as marriage. "We enact

The Family.

Marriage.

then that all persons, so far as they can, should preserve chastity, which alone is able to present the souls of men with confidence before God" (*Adv.*, iii., 1, 14).

In ancient Rome and Greece, unnatural vices became the rule even among the learned (confer Lucian, Apuleius, Arbiter, Athenæus, Plato's *Symposium*, and others). The plain words of St. Paul are well known. The Theodosian code, which codified the legislation of Constantine, ordered the most intense punishments on those guilty of such crimes. He says: "Taught by the Holy Scriptures, we know what a just punishment God inflicted on the inhabitants of Sodom" (*Cod. Theod.*, ix., tit. 7).

Slavery was probably never worse than just before the advent of Christianity. Stoicism mildly denounced,

but did not alleviate it. Cato approved

of selling a sick slave (*De remol.*, II.).

Six hundred slaves were put to death

because one had slain their master, and

Cassius defended the act, which the law

required (*Tac. Ann.*, xii., lib. 42). Similar

inhumanities are well known. Slaves were fed to fish and put to death for amusement. Under Christianity the Lord's day became a day appropriate to emancipation (*Cod. Theod.*, I. 2). The setting free of slaves became common. In 312 A.D. the poisoning of a slave or branding him was declared by law to be homicide. In 314 liberty was a right which could not be taken away. By 316, emancipation in the church before witnesses was emancipation before the law. Later a few words from a priest could emancipate. Under Justinian those who served in the army or entered a monastery, with the consent of their masters, became free. Slavery was suppressed by penalty. If, at the death of the master, the heir was directed to free one slave, all became free. The marriage of the master with a bond-woman freed and legitimized all the children, and even without marriage, if the woman held the position of a wife, she became free with her children. The violation of a slave woman was made an equal offence with crime committed upon a free woman, and punishable by death. The movable property of slaves became their own, and with it they often purchased their liberty. The code declared its purpose "to have the republic frequented by freemen rather than liberated slaves." These were but the principal enactments.

Under Leo (477) all slaves on imperial domains were allowed to do with their property as they chose. If property reverted to the State (867), the slaves became free. In the ninth century, Saint Theodore of Studium (Constantinople) commanded, "Thou shalt possess no slave, neither for domestic service nor for the labor of the fields, for man is made in the image of God" (Wallon's *Hist. de l'Esclavage*, v. iii., p. 484). Slavery had disappeared in Europe when the Reformation came.

The gladiatorial games of Rome are well known. The Stoics objected to them, but it did no good. Cæsar had 320 pairs of gladiators at once in the arena. Trajan surpassed all in forcing 10,000 prisoners and gladiators to contend for life in a carnage lasting 123 days. Constantine, in the very year before he accepted Christianity, exposed a vast number of prisoners to wild beasts in the amphitheater. The early Christians protested against all this. In 325 A.D. Constantine passed the law, "Bloody spectacles in our present state of civil tranquility and domestic peace do not please us, therefore we order that all gladiators be prohibited from carrying on their profession" (*Cod. Theod.*, lxxv. tit. 12, l. 1). Their final abolition by the leaping into the arena of the monk Telemachus (404) is well known.

Under old Rome public spectacles were licentious as well as bloody. Nude women were made to bathe before the spectators. The actresses were prostitutes and the plays obscene. The Christians denounced these, as they did the gladiatorial shows. By 343 no Christian woman, bond or free, could be forced to serve as a prostitute on the stage. Exhibitions were forbidden on Sundays and saints' days. By 439 a law of Theodosius forbade the profession of the *leno*, or procurer. Under Justinian no woman could be retained by force on the stage. Under Theodosius it was forbidden to sell or train women for social entertainments. A slave mutilated became free. Often when examined a slave would answer, "I am not a slave; I am a Christian; Christ has freed me."

Under ancient Rome, the exposure and frightful mutilation of children, and especially of female children, were frequent. Even Seneca approved of exposing weak infants. Exposed children were often taken to be prostitutes. The Christian fathers were full of denunciation of the custom. Constantine (315) forbade the practice, and had his revenue and treasure used to rescue any who

were exposed. The Council of Nice ordered the foundation of hospitals in the principal towns. Houses of mercy for children were founded by Justinian. A marble vessel was provided for exposed children at the door of each church, and nurses were employed for them.

Under Constantine began the first prison reform, and with the Christians the first active condemnation of war and the adoption of arbitration. Many of the Christians refused to fight or to go to law. Tertullian called Christians "priests of peace." The first hospital is said to have been built in Rome at the end of the first century. Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius the Younger, built and endowed several at Constantinople.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

It is often claimed that the elevation of woman under the Christian emperors could not have been due to Christianity, because the same elevation was found in unchristian Germanic tribes. But the same elevation was not found. The woman occupied a higher position than under ancient Rome, but not so high as under Christian Rome, and when Christianity conquered these tribes, her position was very much bettered. It is true, according to Tacitus, that woman among these tribes was the companion of her husband, and often the honored prophetess; that a high ideal was maintained of female purity, and that the debauchery of Rome was unknown; nevertheless the wife was under the absolute authority of her husband, and could be bought, beaten, or killed. The wife was usually bought, being rated at so many pieces of silver. The offender was required by law simply to pay the husband for the adultery of his wife, and to furnish a new wife (*Leg. Ethel.*, 32).

Christianity immediately strove to increase the sanctity of marriage. The law of Æthelred is striking: "And we direct very earnestly that every Christian man carefully avoid unlawful concubinage, and rightly observe Christian law; and let it never be that a Christian man marry within the fourth degree, nor have more wives than one as long as she may live, whoever will rightly observe God's law, and secure his soul from the burnings of hell" (*Lex. Ethel.*, v., II., vi., II.). The Pepin and Charlemagne capitularies are equally strong on the indissolubility of the marriage tie, save for the cause of fornication. The Church strove likewise to root out the old venal character of marriage. The Council of Treves (1227) forbade the relations of the bride from taking money under any pretense for giving the woman in marriage. The ring is now well-nigh the only relic of the ancient *wed* or pledge that the man would fulfil his part of the money contract. France was the first to abolish tutelage.

A greater effect of Christianity on the Germanic tribes was in the mitigation and finally the suppression of personal feuds. In barbaric society individual injury was revenged on the person of the enemy, and the injured, being a member of a family or association, was protected by the association, and his wrongs regarded as wrongs done to the family. Hence arose feuds (*faida*). In the Teutonic tribes an elaborate system of fines, or amends, was arranged. Christianity agitated the subject. King Alfred, in the introduction of his laws, speaks of the ordaining of *bot*, or money fines, to repress feuds by the legislative assemblies of England as a special effort of the Christian faith. All Sundays and religious days became sacred from feuds. In the seventh and eighth centuries a confessor at shrove-tide would refuse absolution to a man at feud who would not make peace. From a Russian code of 988 A.D., we learn that "King Wladimir lived in the fear of God, and murders waxed greatly. Then spake the bishops to Wladimir: 'Murders wax greatly. Why dost thou not punish?' He answered: 'I feared injustice.' But they replied: 'Thou hast been set by God for the punishment of the wicked and for grace to the good. It becometh thee to punish the murderers, but only after much searching out.' Then Wladimir rejected *wergild* (fine), and punished the murderers."

From feuds arose private wars. A nobleman once declared war against the city of Frankfort because a lady residing there had promised a dance with his cousin, and had danced with another. The city was obliged to satisfy his wounded honor. The Margrave of Brandenburg boasted that he had burned 170 villages. A church council held near Soissons in 909 A.D. declared "that the monasteries were burned or destroyed, the fields reduced to solitude, so that we can

Slavery.

Marriage.

Humanity.

truly say that the sword has pierced to the very soul." Wherever feudalism went there was private war.

"The Peace of God."

Consequently, the clergy preached "the Peace of God." In France in the tenth and eleventh centuries there seems to have been a sort of peace "revival," almost "a crusade of peace." Whoever broke the "Peace of God" lost his property, and was driven from among men. The peace lasted from Thursday evening to Monday morning, and included Christian feasts and other festivals. Many religious fraternities to reconcile enemies were formed in the Middle Ages. A meeting of clergy at Charons (883 A.D.) anathematized all who should plunder the poor and the clergy. The Council of Poitiers, 1004 A.D., worked for the same end. By the Council of Limoges (1031) all disputes were to be brought before the bishop and his chapter. The popes made public proclamations of peace. Almost all the councils reaffirmed this peace. In the thirteenth century Brotherhoods of the Agnus Dei worked for peace. In the same century Friar John of Vicenza traversed large portions of Italy, preaching the "Peace of God." In the fourteenth century a great religious movement for peace stirred the minds of different nations. Pilgrims with white bands around their necks (*I Bianchi*) marched through various lands preaching the duty of a Christian peace. In Germany the Church and the free cities combined, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries largely introduced courts of arbitration under the bishop in place of feuds.

The capitularies of Charlemagne are replete with evidence showing the effect of Christianity in the way of social reform. One of them reads: "Let peace and good intelligence rule among bishops, abbots, counts, judges, and men of all conditions, for without peace, nothing pleases the Lord." "If ye love one another, all will know ye are Christ's disciples." "Widows and orphans and minors are to be protected as under the peculiar care of God." "The true charity, which loveth God and our neighbor," is to be cultivated. The people are exhorted to peace, because "they

Charlemagne's Capitularies.

have one Father in heaven," and because the blessed book has taught them that "blessed are the peacemakers." The powerful are cautioned against the oppression of the poor, and all are exhorted to be imitators of Him who would save the souls of men. All Christians are most solemnly warned to give their utmost diligence lest they be forever separated from the kingdom of God by their strifes and contentions and falsehood and wicked vices. The laity were ordered to learn the Apostles' Creed. The stranger and far-comer were especially protected "under the injunctions in the Bible, and because such may be journeying in the service of their common Master."

Similarly indicative of the influence of Christianity are old English laws. King Alfred (about 870 A.D.) introduces his code with the ten commandments and other laws taken from the Bible. Of his laws, the King says: "These are the dooms that the Almighty God Himself spake to Moses and bade him to hold, and when the Lord's only begotten Son—that is, Christ the Healer—on middle earth came, He said that He came not these dooms to break nor to gainsay, but with all good to do and with all mild-heartedness and lowly-mindedness to teach them" (Hughes' translation). "That ye will that other men do not to you, do ye not that to other men. From this one doom, a man may think that he should doom every one rightly; he need keep no other doom-book." The Saxon and early Norman laws are strict as to Sunday work. If a bondsman work on Sunday by his lord's order, the lord must pay a fine of 30s.; if without this order, he must be flogged. If a freeman work without his lord's order, he must forfeit his freedom or pay 60s. A priest pays double. In King Ethelred's dooms the Christian impulse is very strong (978 A.D.). "This, then, first, that we all love and worship one God and zealously hold one Christianity; . . . that every man be regarded as entitled to right, and that peace and friendship be carefully observed within the land before God and before the world." King Canute's laws (1017 A.D.) are similar: "Let every Christian man do as is useful for him; let him keep his Christianity," etc.

English Laws.

Christianity in the Middle Ages did much for education. The Council of Vaison (529 A.D.) says: "It hath seemed good to us that priests with parishes should receive into their houses, according to a sound custom in Italy, young readers to whom they give spiritual nourishment, teaching them to study, to attach themselves to

holy books, and to know the law of God." The Synod of Orleans (790) says: "Let the priests in villages and towns hold schools, in order that all the children entrusted to them can receive the first notion of letters. Let them take no money for their lessons" (*Theod.*, cap. 20). In 859 another council declared: "Let one raise everywhere public schools, that the Church of God may everywhere gather the double fruit of religion" (*Conc. Ling.*, cap. 10). The Council of Trent commands that the children of the poor have at least one master to teach poor scholars grammar gratuitously" (*Conc. Trid. occ.*). Charlemagne had already said: "Let one open schools to teach children to read; let, in every monastery, in every bishopric, some one teach psalms, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and employ correct copies of holy books; for often men seeking to pray to God, pray badly on account of the unfaithfulness of copyists" (*Cap. Ecc.*, 61-66).

All these exhortations, and there were many more, had the effect of multiplying schools. The contribution of the monasteries to education is well known. An immense quantity of manuscripts was copied. Thomas à Kempis said of this copying: "Do not trouble yourself at the fatigue of your work, for God, who is the source of every good and just labor, will give the reward, according to your efforts, in eternity. When you shall be no more, those who will read the books copied by you with elegance will pray for you; and as he who gives a glass of cold water does not lose his reward, so he who gives forth the living water of wisdom will receive more surely his recompense in heaven." All classes studied in these monastic schools, so that rich and poor were brought together on the field of learning. Nor were the popes altogether wanting to the intellectual movement.

Equally was the Church effective in behalf of liberty. Medieval serfdom sprang from the chaos of the times. Freed slaves found themselves unable to protect themselves. They preferred to join themselves, as land-slaves, to some master. The small farmer found himself better guarded from robbers by becoming the serf of some powerful nobleman. Wealthy patrons at Rome rewarded their faithful clients by bestowing on them parcels of land in the provinces, where they were attached as *coloni* to the soil. Again, the government settled bodies of prisoners or immigrants on large districts of public land, and made them serfs to the soil. These *coloni* were considered as free born, but attached to the estate. They could not marry nor teach their children without the consent of their lord, though they could become priests. They had a little cottage, a little land, pasturage and fuel, and Rogers says (see SERFS) rent free. The estate could not be sold without them, nor they sold from the estate. They paid no taxes.

Serfdom.

The laws of Constantine forbade the separation of near relatives among slaves of the soil. Slavery, however, still existed. Up to the twelfth century there was an absolute power of the master over the life of the slave. For these and for the serfs the Church did much; 37 Church councils are reported to have passed acts favorable to slaves. In 305 A.D. any master ill-treating his slave was condemned; in 517 the murderer of a slave was excommunicated; in 549 the right of asylum in a Christian church was offered to the runaway, and slaves freed by the Church were protected; in 585 the ornaments and property of the Church were permitted to be sold for ransoming slaves; in 566 Christians were forbidden to reduce free men to slavery; in 922 no Christian was permitted to enslave a fellow-Christian; in 656 any slave compelled to work upon Sundays became free by the fact, or if he were held over the font for baptism. The decree of the Council of Chalons (650 A. D.), with 44 bishops in session, ordered that no Christian slaves should be sold outside the kingdom of Clovis, with the words: "The highest piety and religion demand that Christians should be removed entirely from the bonds of servitude." One form of manumission was "For fear of Almighty God and for the cure of my soul I liberate thee, and may the angel of our Lord Jesus Christ deem me worthy of a place among His saints." Another form was, "I, in the name of God, thinking of the love of God, or eternal retribution, . . . do free this slave from the bonds of servitude." In the eleventh century, the Emperor Conrad speaks of the sale of human beings as a thing nefarious and detestable to God and man (*Pertz.*, xi., 38). In the fourteenth century the Count of Valois, brother of Philip the Beautiful, freed the serfs of his *comté* with the words: "As the human creature who has been formed in the image of our Lord ought to be free by natural right, . . . let

Slavery.

these men and women be free. . . ." In 1266 the city of Bologna freed all its serfs, paying an indemnity to their masters, closing the decree with these remarkable words: "The city of Bologna, which has always combated for liberty, remembering the past, and its eyes fixed on the future, in honor of our Savior Jesus Christ hath ransomed all the serfs on its territory, and decreeth that it would not suffer there a man not free" (*Historia di Bologna, Girarhacci*, quoted by Laurent Sugenheim and von Raumer, vol. iii., p. 168). In Germany, the *Sachsenspiegel*, or Mirror, the code of the thirteenth century, is full of the traces of the influence of Christianity against slavery. The Lord is said to have "put rich and poor equally under His love." Slavery is declared to have its origin "from unjust captivity," and, quoting the Bible, the law affirms that man belongs to God alone, and "whoever holds him as slave, sins against the power of the Almighty."

One of the first Christian kings of Norway, Knut the Holy, at the end of the eleventh century publicly proclaimed that slavery should be abolished. By 1214 it had almost ceased, and by the fourteenth century there are no traces of it. In Sweden, King Magnus Erikson, 1355, made a similar proclamation. In England, as upon the Continent, slavery arose from many causes—birth, captivity, punishment, poverty. Thousands of Britons, in the first century after the Norman conquest, sold themselves into thralldom. Children were sold by their parents. Bristol was the great slave market, and there might be seen long trains of British youths and maidens—the latter often received for the sake of selling their offspring—all to be sold either to Ireland or to foreign countries. One authority says that from Æthelwulf to William I., for 230 years, a great part of the English peasantry became reduced to slavery. By the Doomsday Book (1068-71 A.D.), the number of male slaves in Sussex was 9200, which would make the whole number about 50,000, while the freemen were only about 38,000. In the whole of England there seems to have been 25,000 slaves, 89,000 serfs, and 110,000 villeins. There is proof that slaves were branded and yoked as cattle.

Christianity strove against this evil. Bishop Wulfstan, of Worcester, about 1086, came yearly to Bristol and spent several months preaching against the slave

Slavery in England.

trade. Edward the Confessor, 974 A.D., said of Christian brotherhood: "We have all one heavenly Father and one spiritual mother, which is called Ecclesia—that is, God's church—and therefore are we brothers." St. Aidan, of Northumbria, ransomed slaves. Bishop Wilfred having received an estate with 250 Christian slaves, emancipated them. Laws were enacted in behalf of the slaves, but always on a Christian basis. Some of these we have seen. A female slave led into sin by her master, by that act became free. The Seven Years' Jubilee, taken from the Jewish system, did much to destroy slavery in England. Under William I. the law forbade the slave trade. A council in London (1102), called by Anselm, forbade absolutely the nefarious business of selling human beings like brute beasts. The chivalry of the Middle Ages owes much, at least, to Christianity. The initiation of the knight was essentially religious; his ideals were largely so. His first oath was often "to fortify and defend the Christian religion to the uttermost of my power." Similarly the crusades and much of the life of the first period of the military orders like the Knights Templars were largely influenced and formed by Christianity, and were undoubtedly largely for good. The effect of the monastic life upon equality is noticed under the article COMMUNISM. Christianity and the Church did far more for civil liberty than is usually recognized. It should not be forgotten that Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the main instrumentality in forcing from King John the priceless Magna Charta. For the part played by John Ball and Wycliffe, "poor priests," see JOHN BALL. The social influences of Savonarola in Italy, who can estimate? The democracy of the Church certainly influenced the political movement. For the development of this subject, see the second portion of this article. We come now to

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION.

The first social effect of the Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon the right of private judgment, salvation by personal faith, the worth of the individual soul, was the outbreak of a struggle for social freedom. In this struggle Germany took the lead (see PEASANTS' REVOLT). Many associations among the peasants were formed. One is spoken of on the Upper Rhine, which had a banner with a picture of Christ

crucified, before whom knelt a serf with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The Swabian peasants, in the insurrection of 1525, said: "It hath been the custom till now to hold us for serfs, which is a pity, seeing that Christ hath bought us and redeemed us with His blood;" and, "It is found in the Holy Writ that we are free, and we . . . desire to be free. We would have God as our Lord, and know our brother in our neighbor."

The fourth article claims on religious grounds the use of wild game and wood from the forests. In conclusion say the peasants, "If any of these articles are opposed to Holy Writ, and this can be proven to us, we will give them up. The peace of Christ be with us all." The peasants on the Neckar claimed under the emperor an absolute equality for all men. "All worldly lords are to be reformed, so that the poor cannot be burdened by them beyond the rules of Christian freedom; the same law is to be for the highest and lowest." "All cities and parishes are to be reformed in divine and natural rights, after the principles of Christian freedom" (see also ANABAPTISTS; CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM, etc.). Such was the first social result of the Reformation. But it did not endure. The leaders of Protestantism soon became too much engaged in the discussion of doctrines to lay great stress upon social rights. Protestantism became engrossed in "other worldliness." It is not to be denied that the preaching of the right of private judgment and the value of the individual had far-sweeping social and political influence. John Fiske says of Calvin, for example: "The spiritual father of Coligny, of William the Silent, and of Cromwell must occupy a foremost rank among the champions of modern democracy." Liberty owes indeed a great debt to Protestantism, however much Protestants hung and burned and tortured those who did not believe with them according to the spirit of the times. Plymouth Rock is a truer outcome of Protestantism than the persecution of the Salem witches. In the words of Cromwell, "They that trusted God for the liberty of conscience could venture life for the liberty of country." Protestantism against Romanism meant to Protestants, very largely, liberty against absolutism. Nevertheless, Protestantism soon turned against the common people. Luther was against the German peasants. Others than Milton found that "new presbyter was but old priest writ large." Protestantism has stood for political liberty, but not for social reform. What Christianity accomplished for social reform up to the Reformation was accomplished largely through the Church. Since then it has been mainly through individuals, in spite of the Church. The Reformation produced in the Church of Rome, it is true, somewhat of a counter reformation, but the effect upon her, as upon the Protestant mind, was mainly doctrinal, and the Church, both Protestant and Roman, largely forgot to apply its Christianity. The opening of the new world, and especially of the gold mines of the new world, produced a revival of greed and of mammon worship, and led to the horrors of a modern slave traffic, that has endured 400 years. The first considerable cargo of slaves seems to have been brought in 1444, under Prince Henry of Portugal, by a Portuguese captain from the coast of Guinea. Charles V. granted in 1517 a monopoly to Governor de Bresa to import 4000 negroes during eight years into the Spanish colonies, but in 1542 the monopoly covered 23,000 slaves. In 1700 a Spanish treaty with a Portuguese company of Guinea stipulated to furnish 10,000 tons of negroes. The treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave Great Britain a monopoly in the slave trade for 30 years, from 1713-43, and during this period the British Government agreed to import 144,000 negroes of both sexes into Spanish America at 3½ piasters per head. The British slave trade began under Queen Elizabeth. Certain statutes of William declared that "the trade was highly beneficial and advantageous to the kingdom, and to the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging." Between 1752 and 1762, it is estimated that 71,115 slaves were imported into Jamaica alone. During two centuries the Spanish Government concluded more than 10 treaties "in the name of the most Holy Trinity," which authorized the sale of more than 500,000 human beings. The first ship which sailed from England in 1562, under Sir John Hawkins, to buy slaves in Africa and sell them in the West Indies, bore the name of *Jesus*. In 1807 Lord Eldon said in Parliament: "It [the slave trade] has been sanctioned by Parliament, wherein sat juriconsults the most wise, theologians the most enlightened, statesmen the most eminent,"

In Germany.

Slavery.

Bancroft estimates that for one century previous to 1776, 3,250,000 negroes were torn from Africa by Great Britain alone, of whom 250,000 perished in the Atlantic from the horrors of the "middle passage," where they were chained between decks so low that they could not stand up, the living often chained to the dead. Help estimates that from 1510-1807, between five and six millions of negroes were carried from Africa by various European powers to America as slaves. The American colonies protested against it, Oglethorpe, the great founder of Georgia, declaring that they prohibited it in that colony "because it is against the Gospel, as well as against the fundamental law of England." Within two years, however, the inhabitants petitioned for slaves. Protestantism and Romanism have thus the terrible stain to bear of the approval of slavery. Yet

The Anti-Slavery Movement.

it should not be forgotten that it was mainly Christian thought that finally broke up the slave traffic and slavery itself. The Society of Friends or Quakers, both in England and America, was the first modern body of Christians to denounce and oppose slavery. As early as 1675 the devoted missionary, John Eliot, in Massachusetts, spoke against slavery, and in 1701 a petition against slavery was presented to the representatives of Boston. Among the Friends who opposed it in the eighteenth century should be mentioned Benezet and John Woolman. The great divines Wesley and Whitefield preached against it. Dr. Hopkins, a Congregational clergyman of Rhode Island, distinguished himself by his efforts against it, till in 1774 Rhode Island gave up the traffic, and in 1784 abolished slavery. The Society of Friends was, however, the only religious body which as a whole forbade the holding of slaves. The early abolition societies all took religious ground. "Nearly all," says Wilson, the historian of the slave power (vol. i., p. 230), "who engaged in the formation of anti-slavery societies were members of Christian churches." In Great Britain the opposition to slavery came equally from Christian men, notably Baxter, Bishop Warburton, Paley, Wesley, Bishop Porteus, Whitefield, and others. The first petition to Parliament against the slave trade (in 1776) was based on the religious ground "that the slave trade is contrary to the laws of God and the rights of man." The slave trade was abolished in the British Empire, 1806-7. The United States had included their judgment on the slave trade in the Constitution, but adjourned the final abolition till 1807. In England religious sentiment rose till in 1833 England abolished slavery, paying £20,000,000 to the planters as indemnity. In the United States, early Church conferences denounced slavery. The Presbyterian Synod in 1787 "recommended to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America." In 1818 it pronounced slavery "utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of Christ." Congregationalists and Unitarians went even further. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1780 plainly condemned the system of human bondage. In 1800 the annual conference was directed to prepare an address favoring gradual emancipation. But the words were finally removed, and this was added, "Let all our preachers from time to time, as occasion serves, admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters."

But the conflict was as irrepresible in the Methodist Church as it afterward proved to be in the nation. At the General Conference of 1844, which was held in the city of New York, the contention took an extremely angry form. It centered upon the personal relations of one of the bishops of the Church (Andrew), who had come into the possession of slaves by a marriage which was contracted after he entered the episcopate. It was his wish and intention to resign, but he was overruled by the Southern delegates. They finally called a convention of delegates from the Southern conferences, which met at Louisville, Ky., in 1845. This body took formal action, separating itself from the Northern churches.

By this secession the Methodist Episcopal Church lost 1345 traveling and 3166 local preachers and 405,288 members. Many discerning minds regarded this action as prophetic of the same results in the organic life of the nation.

But it was true nevertheless that from 1830 to 1850 the churches as a whole were subservient to the slave

power. Dr. Albert Barnes said, "There is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour if it were not sustained in it." Judge Birney called "the American churches the bulwarks of American slavery." Yet were there individual churches and clergymen not a few that battled for abolition. The clergyman Lovejoy was killed for advocating abolition. Garrison and Phillips were strong in Christian sentiment. At one meeting in Illinois, more than 30 clergymen attended and opposed the introduction of slavery into that State. During the struggle in 1823, which prevented Illinois from becoming a slave State, the clergymen were almost as one man against slavery. But whatever the position of the churches, it is not too much to say that Christianity put down slavery.

For the other social effects of modern Christianity, see CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; but Christianity, if not the church (*q. v.*), has had at least its part to play in the gradual emancipation of woman, in the condemnation of war, the favoring of arbitration, in the care of the wounded in war, the condemnation of dueling, in prison reform, in the creation of hospitals and charities of every kind, and in temperance reform.

II. CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

The first note of Christianity in relation to society is that it is world-wide and international. It knows "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ all and in all." It taught Peter to **World-wide**, call no man common or unclean, but "that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him" (Acts x. 34). It led Paul, once a Pharisee of the Pharisees, to write to the Ephesians, "Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God" (Eph. ii. 19). It taught the Christian Church the unity of the faith—"One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in you all" (Eph. iv. 5, 6). One Lord Jesus Christ, "of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named" (Eph. iii. 15). Hence Christians of every age, however they have explained it, have believed in "the holy Catholic Church," "the communion (literally the communism, *κοινωνία*) of the saints," the unity of believers, the kingdom of God. Thus Christianity, at least till the Protestant Reformation, in Catholic countries, and even under Protestant denominationalism, in a deeper-lying unity, has ever stood for the unity of man in Christ. Says Bishop Barry:

"The Catholic [not Roman] Church is a universal society, which knows no distinction of age and physical circumstance, no distinction of peoples, nations, and languages. It is no caste in the air, no mere promise of a future heaven. It is a living reality now, obviously the one, ever-growing international society; already realizing by its Bible read and its Christian worship offered in some 200 languages, the sign of Pentecost, and always advancing toward its future heritage of the world of humanity. This great unity . . . underlies all special, local, temporary characteristics; its communion is a communion of saints; its one universal tie is the indwelling of the Spirit of God; . . . its means and pledges of unity are the sacraments of communion with Him" (*Lectures on Christianity and Socialism*, p. 13). Canon Fremantle's *Bampton Lectures* (1883) bring out still more plainly the unity of the Church "as a moral and social power, present, universal, capable of transforming the whole life of mankind, and destined to accomplish this purpose." The Church he calls "the social state in which the spirit of Christ reigns, embracing the general life and society of men, and identifying itself with these as much as possible, as having for its object to imbue all human relations with the spirit of Christ's self-renewing love, and thus to change the world into a kingdom of God."

This makes the field of Christianity the world, and identifies with the coming of God's kingdom any advance in unity and in love. Says

Canon Fremantle: "All goodness is essentially one, and therefore essentially Christian." The coming of

**Its Field
all Life.**

love in all human relations is thus the coming of God's kingdom. The Jewish Church Canon Fremantle therefore calls a training in national righteousness. The early Christian Church he considers the beginnings of the universal society. The imperial and medieval Church a united Christendom attempted. The medieval theory of Christendom he thus states: "Christendom forms one great whole, in which there are two chief functionaries, the Pope and the Emperor, each in a different way its head. Each power is instituted by God. The one is to rule over man bodily, the other over his spiritual interests. Both spring from the old Roman Empire, which, having become Christian, was at once empire and Church. The two powers must support each other, both mutually necessary. The Emperor sanctions the Pope's election, the Pope crowns the Emperor; the Emperor protects the Pope and the clergy and the spiritual courts, and these in return support the authority of the Emperor over his subjects. This theory," says Canon Fremantle, "though it did not wholly correspond to the facts, had much in it, considered as an ideal, which was sound." It explains many of the crusades, is the key to Dante's *De Monarchia*, gives rise to both a Frederick Barbarossa and a Hildebrand. It gave to the world an Alfred the Great, a St. Louis, a Savonarola. The Reformation was largely a reaction toward individualism, but still it was full of efforts toward a Christianized society; and in England especially toward a Christian national-ism.

Christianity to-day is drawing together the lines of Christendom. Canon Fremantle sees its unity and universality in (1) public worship, not as a separate cult, but as seeking to raise the tone of the general life; (2) the family, the social unit; (3) knowledge, the education of all; (4) art, which must be national and popular, to gladden, not individuals, but mankind; (5) society, which must acknowledge its stewardship; (6) trade, which must learn cooperation; (7) the nation, the constitutional and organic form of the Christian spirit; (8) the universal Church or universal State, to be attained through arbitration, international law, international congresses, and federation. Into all these channels the spirit of Christianity is more and more being poured. This is Christianity leading to international socialism.

But, more definitely, what does Christianity teach as to social reform?

First, that humanity is to come into a unity of brotherly love, not by building up some new scheme of universal brotherhood, but by the recognition that mankind is to-day a unit in the common Fatherhood of God, and may through Christ enter into united life. It denies that society can be "made anew by arrangements;" it believes that it is to be regenerated "by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony the only secret of its existence in God" (Maurice). This is the first social message of Christianity—"Return to God." Carlyle saw the need when he wrote: "The beginning and the end of what

**The
Brotherhood
of Man.**

is the matter with us in these days is that we have forgotten God." Mazzini saw it when he wrote to the working men of the world, "The source of your duties is in God," and contended that agitation conducted in the name of the rights of man had brought in up to the present day simply an increase of selfishness and individual competition. When we accept God, we have the basis and possibility of union. "There can be no brotherhood without a common father," wrote Maurice. "From that time began Jesus Christ to preach and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." To return to God is the first step in Christian sociology.

Second, Christianity declares that to do this Christ is the Way. "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me." This is the second sociologic position of Christianity, that Christ is the elder Brother, the Way, the leader into brotherhood. This, as we have already seen, Christ came to be—the fulfiller of the law. He is the King made manifest, the King in man, the King on earth, the head of the body. The way to realize human brotherhood and unity is not alone to discuss Christ's divinity, but to accept His mastership, to become His follower, to join His kingdom. This is to be a Christian. Men realize this in personal salvation; but it is equally to be realized in social salvation. For Christians He is "the Man," and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is the primal creed. Not only is He, as the "Man of Sorrows," the Brother and Comforter of all who are weary and heavy laden; not only are the poor His peculiar charge and treasure, but more than that: He is Himself, in His risen and ascended royalty, the sum of all human endeavor, the interpretation of all human history, the goal of all human growth, the bond of all human brotherhood. It is in this character that He has been kept so little in practical mind; it is this office of His which is reserved to such an obscure and ineffectual background. His living Headship, as the Second Adam raised to the right hand of power, as the perfect Son of Man, this has not been brought to bear, with energy and confidence, upon the actual society which He, in this lordship sealed to Him, necessarily claims as His own. It is this extension of the fruits of the Passion over the entire surface of human life which Christian sociology emphasizes. The whole of human nature is to be brought within the sway of the "New Man." And human nature is corporate; "man is a social animal." The natural bonds which hold together men into societies and races must, of necessity, receive the new inflowing force which comes to them out of the supremacy of Him who gathers all men unto Himself.

**Christ
the Way.**

Third, it is a spiritual way. "Ye must be born again" is true of society as well as of individuals, the third point in Christian sociology. A nation's life must be from the spiritual to the material, from the inner to the outer, still all be spiritual. Not by law material but by law spiritual does God's kingdom come. This does not mean that we are only to build up God's kingdom by spiritualizing individuals alone. It was not Christ's method (see article CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM). We must spiritualize all life—the body, the city, State, the nation. This is the distinctive function of the Church. The national Church should be the soul of the nation, into which and through which God's Spirit may come to the nation.

**A Spiritual
Way.**

Fourth, if Christian sociology consists in society's obeying, through spiritual life, the social law of Christ, we must know that law. It is simple.

"Then one of them, which was a lawyer, asked Him a question, tempting Him, and saying, "Master, which is the great commandment in the law?"

**The Social
Law.**

"Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

"This is the first and great commandment. "And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

"On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii. 34-40).

Says Professor Ely: "This is a most remarkable, and at the same time a most daring summary of the whole duty of man. A human teacher would never have ventured to reduce all God's commandments to two simple statements; nor would such a teacher have presumed to exalt man's obligation to love and serve his fellows to an equal plane with his obligations to love his

Creator. All false systems of religion exalt the love of God above the love due our fellow-men, and tell us that we may serve God by injuring our fellows. How many millions of human beings have thought that they did God service by human sacrifice! 'Not only is this true, but it is furthermore true that, in proportion as believers in the true religion depart from the mind which was in Jesus Christ, they neglect the second commandment. Thus, when Christ dwelt on earth, He found men excusing themselves from duty to their fellows on the plea of higher obligation to Deity.

"The second commandment, which is like the first, means that in every act and thought, and purpose, in our laws and in their administration, in all public as well as private affairs, we—if indeed we profess to be Christians—should seek to confer true benefits upon our fellow-men. It means that the man who professes to love God and who attempts to deceive others in regard to the real value of railway stock, or, for that matter, any other property, that he may coax their money into his pockets, is a hypocrite and a liar. It means that the man who oppresses the hiring in his wages is no Christian, but a pagan, whatever may be his declarations to the contrary notwithstanding. What does God say of such an one? He says: 'I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hiring in his wages.' What does His second commandment mean for those rich men who keep back the hire of their laborers? It means that they 'must' weep and howl 'for the miseries that shall come upon them.' And what does this message mean for monopolists who use their superior advantages of wealth or intellect, or bodily strength or other resources, to crowd out and grind down their fellows according to the methods of modern commercial competition? The prophet Isaiah shall tell us: 'Wee unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.'

"It is needless to enlarge upon this. It must be seen that the arrangements of this world are not in accord with the commandment given to love our neighbors as ourselves."

Fifth, the interpretation of this is the *Cross*. The Cross cannot be removed from Christian sociology.

The Cross.

There can be no obeying Christ without sacrifice. *Via crucis, via lucis*. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." This is the fifth point in Christian sociology. It is the only way to fulfil love. *Love is the leaving of self, the living in others.* Love and life and sacrifice are one. It is thus indeed that we most truly gain. But if we love and deny ourselves *for the sake of gain*, we do not love. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." Christian sociology is finding one's true individuality in losing it in the life of all. Therefore, luxurious bishops and priests and ministers cannot teach Christian sociology, for their lives give the lie to their words. We must become poor, if we would make the many rich.

Sixth, we come to more detailed questions. They can only be answered by those who have long passed

the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is all in all, and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances, and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

(a) Christianity must demand in some form the opening of all the earth, including all natural advantages, to all God's children equally. *How* may be a question of political and economic method (see LAND), but in some form it must be accomplished. Equity, brotherhood, and the declaration of Christ demand it. That private *property* in land was forbidden, and every Jew entitled to the *use* of land by the Jewish theocracy, is undisputable; that Christ came to fulfil the law and the prophets can no more be denied. That we must follow their *method* is not certain, but that in some way Christianity must bring to the world what Judaism required of the Jew can be denied by no Christian.

(b) Christianity demands that love and not competition be the law of trade. The golden rule must be made the rule for gold. "Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it is a lie by word and deed." This means that *in some form* Christianity im-

plies socialism (*q. v.*). Said Laveleye: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a socialist; and any Christian who opposes what is commonly known as Christian Socialism misunderstands Christ, or socialism, or both." The inference is not, of course, that Christianity must be committed to State socialism, but society to be Christian must in all ways conform to the law of cooperation.

(c) Christianity demands that every man able to work should work. Not otherwise can he follow the Carpenter of Nazareth. "If any man would not work, neither should he eat" is the injunction of well-nigh the oldest Christian epistle.

The Law of Labor.

(d) It follows from this and from the whole spirit of Christianity that we are not to live upon the work of others by usury. (For the detail of this argument, see USURY.)

(e) Christianity demands the enthronement of the family, in the abiding unity in love of one man and one woman. "And I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery; and whoso marrieth her which is put away, doth commit adultery." These words of Christ, with all they imply, are fundamental to Christian sociology (see FAMILY).

The Family.

(f) Lastly, Christian sociology demands that the Christian go into the details of all political, social, and industrial life of every kind, and bring them into subjection to Christ. Only so shall we be His disciples. "Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven."

Into all these details Christ's spoken ordinances do not go. Christianity is not a system of ordinances. But it is a life, and into these details the Christian life must go. (For different views, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

References: Among the best books are C. L. Brace's *Gesta Christi*; N. C. Koun's *Arius the Libyan*; Canon Fremantle's *The World as the Subject of Redemption*; R. T. Ely's *Social Aspects of Christianity*; F. D. Maurice's *Social Morality*; P. W. Sprague's *Christian Socialism*; Tolstoy's *My Religion and What to Do*; Bishop Westcott's *Social Aspects of Christianity*; Cannon Farrar's *Social and Present Day Questions*; G. D. Herron's *The Christian Society*; J. H. W. Stuckenberg's *Christian Sociology*; S. D. Headlam's *Lessons from the Cross and the Laws of Eternal Life*. (See also THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM is a term first used by the little band of men—clergymen and laymen—that gathered round the Rev. Frederick Denison Maurice in 1848. It was used by them to express their position that socialism was really but a development, an outcome of Christianity, and that to be effective and true it must be grounded on a definite Christian basis. What they meant by it in more detail we shall see later on. It must, however, be pointed out here that since that date the phrase has been used in different and very loose and sometimes misleading senses. It has been and is to-day used by some for any application or attempt at the application of Christian principles to social life. This is especially true of its use upon the continent of Europe by both Protestants and Roman Catholics. It is, however, more commonly and more strictly used even to-day for the position originally held by Maurice and the early Christian Socialists. This, however, is not inconsistent with the fact that almost all those who call themselves Christian Socialists, at least in England and America to-day, hold economic views in some ways materially different from the views held by the early Christian Socialists. Circumstances have changed. Social thought has developed. Socialism has changed. The same principle that led Maurice and Kingsley to take one view leads their successors to take an-

other. What these various positions are, that are united under the one general principle, will be best seen by the history of the movement. We commence with

ENGLAND.

The year 1848 was a dark one for English working men. Bad harvests, heavy taxes, the potato famine had brought to a head all their sufferings and wrongs. Ireland was on the verge of rebellion.

There were riots in more than one English town. Chartism (*q.v.*) had done its work. On April 1 there was an immense mass-meeting at Kennington Common. London was thrown into intense excitement and fear. Wellington assumed military control. Two hundred thousand special constables were sworn in.

Meanwhile, two clergymen of the Church of England, F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, with a young lawyer, J. M. Ludlow, had been growing more and more interested in social questions. Charles Kingsley now rushed down from his parish at Eversley, and meeting Ludlow at Maurice's house, it was decided to publish placards and spread them broadcast, sympathizing with the workmen, but urging restraint from violence, and the necessity of virtue and religion to make men fit for liberty. Charles Kingsley wrote all that night, and the next morning appeared on thousands of posters his address to the workmen of England, signed "A Working Parson." The crisis was passed. A pouring rain and the energy of O'Connor prevented any outbreak.

It was now decided by the above three to publish a little penny weekly, entitled *Politics for the People*. In these, in addition to Maurice, Kingsley, and Ludlow, we find articles by Archdeacon Hare, Professor Conington, Sir Arthur Helps, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Guy, French, Stanley, Osborn, and others—a rare galaxy of brilliant minds. Kingsley wrote in it the well-known articles signed "Parson Lot" (see KINGSLEY). The first number appeared May 6, 1848. The columns, moreover, contained many communications from Chartists, among others one signed by "One of the wicked Chartists of Kennington Common." The paper, however, was discontinued after 17 numbers for lack of support, although it attained a circulation of 2000.

The little knot of writers, however, now including Thomas Hughes, held meetings all winter, meeting with many of the Chartist leaders, and starting night schools. It was at one of these conferences that Kingsley made his celebrated speech beginning, "I am a Church of England parson and a Chartist," in which he acknowledged the grievous wrongs of the workmen, but dissuaded them from violence.

A Mr. Mayhew at this time contributed to the London papers a series of articles on the poor and the sweating system, which called out Charles Kingsley's burning and indignant tract on *Cheap Clothes and Nastiness*. But Maurice from first to last remained its directing spirit. The Christian Socialists began district visiting in the courts and alleys (especially Little Ormond Yard) round Lincoln's Inn, of which Maurice was preacher at this time. At stated times they met for conference in Maurice's house to discuss social problems. Ragged schools were begun under their auspices, and "sanitary leagues" when the cholera began to rage. Colonization was projected. "Let us devise a socialist home-colonization as soon as you please; provided only we give it a ground to stand upon, the sooner the better," said Mr. Maurice, in a letter to Mr. Ludlow.

A cooperative institution, which was a practical embodiment of their ideas, was started, being an association of tailors in Castle Street, nearly opposite to the place where now stands the Cooperative Institution. This was in 1849. In 1850 a society for promoting working men's associations was formed, with Maurice for its president, and became the nucleus or center of the cooperative movement. The fundamental principle of this society was "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry."

In December, 1849, a dinner was held at Ludlow's and a plan for cooperative stores was discussed, and for the first time the term *Christian Socialism* was agreed upon. Said F. D. Maurice, in a tract in 1850: "That is the only title

which will define our object and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian socialists." This position was taken largely under the influence of Ludlow, who had been in Paris and seen there the *associations*

ouvriers, and who had written to Maurice from there that "socialism must be Christianized or it would shake Christianity to its foundation, precisely because it appealed to the higher and not to the lower instincts of man." The Christian Socialists, now working under this name, started a periodical and also a cooperative store under the leadership of Walter Cooper, the ex-Chartist.

Their periodical, *The Christian Socialist*, was edited by Ludlow, but contributed to by all the members. The following, by Ludlow, clearly expresses its ideas: "A new idea has gone abroad into the world: that socialism, the latest born of the forces now at work in modern society, and Christianity, the eldest born of those forces, are in their nature not hostile, but akin to each other; or rather, that the one is but the development, the outgrowth, the manifestation of the other."

That Christianity, however feeble and torpid it may seem to many just now, is truly but as an eagle at moulting; that socialism is but its livery of the nineteenth century, which it is even now putting on, to spread ere long its wings for a broader and heavenlier flight. That socialism without Christianity, on the one hand, was lifeless as the feathers without the bird, however skilfully the stuffer may dress them up into an artificial semblance of life. That every socialist system which has maintained itself has stood upon the moral grounds of righteousness, self-sacrifice, mutual affection, and common brotherhood. . . . That Christianity, on the other hand, in this nineteenth century of ours, becomes in its turn chilly and helpless when stripped of its social influences; or, in other words, when divorced from socialism. . . . That if the Gospel speaks true, and 'ye cannot serve God and mammon,' it is wholly incompatible with a political economy which proclaims self-interest to be the very pivot of social action; . . . but that it is compatible with those theories or systems which have for a common object to bind up into fellowship, and not to divide by selfishness and rivalry; to substitute fair prices and living wages for a false cheapness, and starvation, its child; and which have adopted for their watchwords *Association and Exchange* instead of *Competition and Profit*. . . . If it be given us to vindicate for Christianity its true authority over the realms of industry and trade, for socialism its true character as the great Christian revolution of the nineteenth century, so that the title of socialist shall be only a bugbear to the idle and to the wicked, and society from the highest rank to the lowest shall avowedly regulate itself upon the principle of cooperation, and not drift rudderless upon the sea of competition, as our let-alone political economists would have it do—then, indeed, we shall have achieved our task; and no amount of obloquy, ridicule, calumny, neglect, shall make us desert it, so long as we have strength and means to carry on the fight. For a fight it is, and a long one, and a deadly one—a fight against all the armies of mammon."

The Christian Socialist was, nevertheless, less long-lived than *Politics for the People*. The movement, however, did not end. Kingsley published his *Alton Locke*. It brought down on the Christian Socialists a shower of abuse. Says Professor Seligman of it:

"Tracts full of raving and disreputable rant; mouth-pieces of class selfishness, popular prejudice and ignorant passion; ravings of blasphemy, rapine and nonsense; miserable delusions; mischievous provocations clothed in oily phrases of peace and charity; a clique of wayward-minded men who, from a morbid craving for notoriety or a crazy straining after paradox, have taken up the un-

hallowed task of preaching the doctrines of Jacobinism and the *Jaquerie*—this and much more of the like was said of them in all the reviews and journals. Advertisements were refused by the daily papers, booksellers did not dare to keep copies of their publications. *The Christian Socialist* was prohibited by the French Government from circulating in the realm. A committee of King's College was appointed to investigate Maurice's activity in these dangerous schemes, and he narrowly escaped losing at once his professorial position. Kingsley was invited to deliver a sermon in a London church, and at the close his opinions were openly branded as untrue and dangerous by the officiating rector."

Eventually Maurice was removed from his chair at King's College, and very affecting is the address of condolence presented to him by those workmen who had through him come to believe in the divine mission of Christianity in saving society. But opposition and obloquy, so far from discouraging the Christian Socialists, only acted as a spur to further exertion. "I

Opposition Encountered.

am a revolutionist," says Kingsley in one of his letters. His "Bible Radicalism" meant to go to the root of the matter, and to recover the true and original basis of Christian fellowship. At the same time they all felt that if their work was to prosper they must put their hand to the plow and give a practical demonstration of their theory. In this work the laymen of the movement were most prominent. Among these

The Cooperative Movement.

most of all Mr. E. Vansittart Neale, who, with a prodigality of self-sacrifice rarely witnessed, provided the funds for the first attempts in cooperative production, and the establishment of the central cooperative agency. In this case many of the aristocracy and clergy wished to encourage the promoters. From both orders came flowing in, and the success that was so far attained by such means induced the promoters to open an "East-End Needle-women's Workshop," and to aid the formation of an association of shoemakers. Thus in course of time a number of productive associations were formed in London and the provinces, principally in the North, especially after visits by invitation from Mr. Maurice, Mr. W. Cooper, and others, to render advice in their formation. With the further development of the movement, the need began more and more to be felt for legal protection, such as did not exist at the time. But more than legal and other advice was required, the power of the Legislature was invoked and obtained, tho not without a struggle, owing to the prejudices still pervading the House of Commons and the country. But the real boon, the "Magna Charta of Cooperation," the Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill, did not pass till February, 1852.

The Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations received now a new constitution, the principles of which were stated to be:

1. That human society is a body consisting of many members, not a collection of warring atoms.
2. That true workmen must be fellow-workers and not rivals.
3. That a principle of justice, not of selfishness, must govern exchanges.

It will be seen from this that the principles remained the same, tho the altered condition of the law required a change in the by-laws and regulations for the conduct of business.

When the cooperative associations grew strong enough to stand on their own legs; when it was discovered that those among them which had risen up independently, and had received less or no support from the promoters—the societies for distribution—were also those which thrived the best, then it began to be felt by the main body of the promoters that their work in this direction was done. What they must do in the future, they thought, must be done by means of education. This led to the establishment of the Working Men's College, which was opened in 1854, in close vicinity of the scenes marked by the earliest successes of Christian Socialism. Henceforth the history of the Christian Socialism of England of this period was lost in the cooperative movement developing in the North of England. The London stores separate from this either failed or were swallowed by the larger movement. But the Christian Socialist thought lived. According to Maurice, the world is essentially a manifestation of God's order, but the selfishness of man has produced a deviation from the original principles. "God's order seems to me more than ever the antagonist of man's systems," he writes.

Says Professor Seligman: "These Christian Socialists were reformers in the fullest sense of the word. The kingdom of Christ was to them no empty formula; they were thoroughly imbued with the belief that this kingdom, created through

Principles of the Early Christian Socialists.

revelation, actually existed and was destined in time to subjugate all wickedness and misery. Society, according to them, is not to be made anew by arrangements, but is to be regenerated by 'finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God.' In speaking of the term Christian Socialism, they denied having adopted the word Christian merely as a qualifying adjective; they maintained that Christianity has the power of regenerating whatever it comes in contact with, of making that morally healthful which apart from it must be either mischievous or inefficient." They strongly protested against the notion of turning the Bible into a book for keeping the poor in order. The Bible they considered, on the contrary, the poor man's book, the voice of God against tyrants and humbugs. "Justice from God to those whom men oppress, glory

from God to those whom men despise," was to them the thought running through the Bible.

Men of such a stamp viewed with a sovereign disdain the social doctrines of the Manchester school of political economy. They wrote: "Of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes of the universe, the Cobden and Bright one is exactly the worst." To the Christian Socialists a Manchester ascendancy seemed a horrible catastrophe. Said Kingsley:

"I expect nothing from a public press which panders to popular Mammonism by scraps of politico-economic cant, and justifies the ignorant miser to himself by retailing Benthamite phrases which sound like scientific laws, while they are really nothing but the assertion of barren truisms. I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez faire*—the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science so completely perfected, so universal and all-important that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pool-pooed down, if they seem to interfere with its infallible conclusions, and yet revile, as absurd and utopian, the slightest attempt to apply those conclusions to any practical purpose. . . . The man who tells us that we ought to investigate Nature, simply to sit still patiently under her, and let her freeze and ruin and starve and stink us to death, is a goose, whether he calls himself a chemist or a political economist."

"Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time is come to declare that it is a lie, by word and deed. I see no way but by associating for work instead of for strikes." Kingsley maintained that not self-interest, but self-sacrifice, was the only law upon which human society could be grounded with any hope of success. "That self-interest is a law of human nature, I know well. That it ought to be the root-law of human society, I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." The enthusiasm of the promoters was unbounded. Thomas Hughes thought (and still thinks to-day) that they had found the solution of the labor question; but at that time he was also convinced that "we had nothing to do but just to announce it and found an association or two, in order to convert all England and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem." And the majority of the promoters were equally sanguine.

The Christian Socialists were mistaken. Not thus are millenniums ushered in. It takes more than a cooperative association or two to make a millennium. Says William Clarke in the *Fabian Essays*:

"*The Christian Socialist*, which was the organ of Maurice and Kingsley, betrayed great simplicity as to the real nature of the economic problem. It neglected Owen's principle of 'community in land,' and supposed that by working together and selling articles of good quality at a fair price poverty could be eliminated, while yet every worker in the

Maurice's Tract

community was paying his tribute of economic rent to the owners of the instruments of production." And yet the Christian Socialism of Maurice and his coworkers was true socialism. The first of *The Tracts on Christian Socialism*, published in 1849, was written by Maurice. It commences as follows:

A Dialogue between Somebody (a person of respectability) and Nobody (the writer).

Somebody. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM! I never saw that adjective united to that substantive before. Do you seriously believe that a socialist can be a Christian, or a Christian a socialist?

Nobody. I seriously believe that Christianity is the only foundation of socialism, and that a true socialism is the necessary result of a sound Christianity.

S. Sound and true! One understands those words very well. True socialism is your socialism, not that of Owen, Fourier, Louis Blanc, or any other Englishman, Frenchman, German. Sound Christianity is your Christianity, not that of any church, -sect, school, or divine hitherto known in Christendom.

N. The socialism I speak of is that of Owen, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and of the Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, who have fraternized with them or produced systems of their own.

S. A sufficient warrant for the other half of my proposition. Your Christianity then, I presume, is that of Owen, Louis Blanc, Fourier? A rather peculiar species of a very comprehensive genus! But to waive that point for the present. Your socialism is

that of a hundred different men at strife with each other.

N. All these men, if I understand them rightly, are attempting to compass the same end. They differ about the means of compassing it.

S. The same end? Happiness, I suppose. Socialists and anti-socialists are probably agreed so far.

N. The watchword of the socialist is COOPERATION; the watchword of the anti-socialist is COMPETITION. Any one who recognizes the principle of cooperation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honor or the disgrace of being called a socialist.

N. further says in the tract: "I grant you that a Christianity which is merely brought in to help out the weakness of a system formed in the eighteenth or nineteenth century will be a very poor, weak Christianity indeed. I do not believe that these French reformers, if they are as honest as I hope some of them are, can ever be content with such a feeble and paltry creation. They want a ground to stand upon, not a Corinthian capital, to make their edifice look more stately and graceful. And if they begin to look earnestly at the Bible history, at the creeds of the Christian Church, at the records of it from the Day of Pentecost to this time, I believe they will find more and more that they have the ground there, the only one upon which they can stand or work. They will not read in the Divine Book of a great strife of individual competitors, but of a Divine family, expending itself into a Divine nation, of a universal society growing out of that nation, recognizing and preserving both the forms of human fellowship out of which it was unfolded."

After this wave of Christian Socialism in England, we have a long gap in the movement. Socialism of all kinds seemed dead in England. But the thought was not dead. Early in the seventies the Rev. Stewart D.

Headlam founded and has ever since been warden of the *Guild of St. Matthew*.

English Chris-Altho a so-called High Church organization, it has become the leader of the remarkable movement among the younger Catholic wing of the Church of England toward radical socialism.

To-Day.

It believes the secular to be spiritual, and finds secular principles involved in the highest Church teachings. Since 1882 Mr. Headlam has also edited the *Church Reformer*, the organ of the guild, and an outspoken mouthpiece of Christian Socialism (see ANGLICAN POSITION IN SOCIAL REFORM). Its radical nature can be seen in its reference to the Queen's Jubilee celebration as that "blasphemous" adulation going on at Westminster Abbey; and by the ultra-socialistic literature advertised and commended in its columns. The Guild of St. Matthew has a small but enthusiastic following through all England. In or near London alone some 50 clergymen belong to it, among them the Rev. C. L. Marson (*q.v.*), the Rev. Percy Dearmer (*q.v.*), the Rev. W. E. Moll, of St. Mary's, Soho, the Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, and the Rev. T. Hancock, author of sermons widely circulated in England, such as the one entitled *The Banner of Christ in the Hands of the Socialists*.

Of much more recent date and not so radical in its socialism, and yet doing a very wide and important work in the Church of England, is the Christian Social Union, founded in Oxford in 1880, under the lead of the Bishop of Durham and Canon Scott Holland. (For a fuller account of it, see CHURCH SOCIAL UNION.) While it does not declare explicitly for Christian Socialism, its principles and teachings so largely tend this way that they are commonly spoken of in England as "The New Christian Socialism." It is significant, therefore, that the Union embraces so many of the leading members of the Church of England, is the publisher of the able *Economic Review*, and includes men of such power and spirituality as the Rev. Charles Gore, Dean Stubbs, and others, including its secretary, the Rev. John Carter. In East London, the Rev. James A. Adderley (*q.v.*) has founded a brotherhood and publishes *Good Will*, a magazine of Christian Socialism adapted to use in parishes, with a circulation of about 24,000. Outside of the Church of England too there is much Christian Socialism. A Society of Christian Socialists organized early in the eighties, not confined to the Church of England, and which from 1883 to December, 1891, published an organ, *The Christian Socialist*, no longer exists, but its work is carried on by *The Christian Socialist League*, of which the Rev. Dr. John Clifford, a leading Congregational clergyman, is president, and J. Bruce Wallace, Percy Alden, E. D. Girdlestone, John H. Belcher, and Professor Shuttleworth are prominent members. Among

the Wesleyans the Revs. Hugh Price Hughes and Mark Guy Pearse are outspoken for Christian Socialism, while in Scotland the Rev. John Glasse, of the Church of Old Greyfriars, is a pioneer of socialism in Scotland.

Apart from all Church organizations, yet standing for a very vital Christian Socialism, are the labor churches (*q.v.*) begun in England by John Trevor (*q.v.*) in 1891. (For a full account, see LABOR CHURCHES.) They represent a strong radical movement politically in connection with the Independent Labor Party, yet insisting on the religious character of the labor movement. Some two dozen labor churches exist in England, with beginnings of a dozen or more. In London, J. Bruce Wallace is pastor of the Brotherhood Church and founder of the Brotherhood Trust (*q.v.*) Altogether no one can deny that Christian Socialism in one form or another is a very vital part of English social reform.

GERMANY.

Christian Socialism in Germany dates in its present form from the period of the Lassalle agitation, yet had its precursors in the philosophy of Fichte and Hegel and the communistic preaching of Albrecht the Prophet and of Weitling (*q.v.*). We consider its Roman Catholic and Protestant developments separately.

The Roman Catholic movement came first. Early in this century Franz Xavier von Baader (*q.v.*), moved by the sorrows of the working class, recommended a "theocracy," a monarchy guided by Divine politics, as opposed to a democracy of revolution, a State held together by Christian love, equally free from slavish despotism and lawless individualism. "The Church," he said, "must strive for this. It must provide a new diacnate to bring about a more equitable redistribution."

A greater German Roman Catholic Christian Socialist was Wilhelm von Ketteler (*q.v.*), the late Bishop of Mayence. Von Ketteler was in very many ways like Kingsley. He said of himself: "I have lived with and among the people, and know them in their sorrows and complaints. There are few of the tears and none of the sufferings among the people committed to my charge which have escaped my notice." He had especially endeared himself to his people by his bravery and devotion during an epidemic of typhus fever in 1847. He was elected to represent his district in the Germanic Confederation at Frankfurt. As early as 1848 he preached a course of sermons on the social subject in the cathedral at Mayence to audiences of many thousands. He largely indorsed the socialistic program of the day, invoking State protection against the encroachments of irresponsible capitalists; but he held that to endure, society must be founded on the rock of St. Peter. He pointed out the impotence of legislation to equalize property. Christianity alone, he taught, could put cooperative associations on a sound basis. "May God in His goodness," he cried, "bring all good Catholics to adopt this idea of cooperative associations of production upon the basis of Christianity." Yet little directly resulted.

In 1864, however, Ketteler published a treatise, *The Labor Question and Christianity*, and in 1868 organization was reached in the Christian Social Working Man's Associations. An organ of the movement was started, *Die Christliche Soziale Blaetter*. In 1870 the Catholic Journeymen's Clubs, which had been started in 1847 by Father Kolping, a pious artisan, joined the Christian Socialist movement. These clubs numbered, in 1872, 70,000 persons, mainly in Bavaria and Westphalia. They were strictly under the control of the Church, and therefore were more or less opposed by the Social Democrats. Yet the movement grew. In 1873 it numbered 12,000 in Westphalia alone. It took many forms—benefit associations, savings and credit associations, associations for diffusing literature, working girls' associations, etc. The movement is represented by several papers. At the meeting in 1871 Canon Moufang, in a memorable speech, presented the points which have become the program of the movement: (1) Legislative protection of the rights of labor; (2) pecuniary State subvention in aid of cooperative associations; (3) reduction of the burdens of taxation and military service; (4) restriction of the power of capital, and the removal of evils arising from usury and over-speculation. At the conferences of German Ro-

German
Catholic
Christian
Socialism.

man Catholic societies at Breslau, in 1872; Aachen, 1873; Mainz, 1874; Schlesien, 1877, and especially at Düsseldorf in 1883 and Trier in 1887, the social question was very prominent. Gradually two wings have developed: one tending to individualistic methods of reform and "self-help," etc.; the other calling for State action and much of the socialist program. At Trier and Düsseldorf especially the latter wing showed itself in the majority. The rapid growth of the Social Democratic Party in Germany has, however, made it very difficult for the Catholic Socialists to maintain their hold on the working man. Nevertheless in 1882 they had 110 representatives in the Reichstag, and in 1891 they counted 820 unions with 75,000 members.

In fact, the main strength of Catholic Socialism lies in this widely spread system of organization. In places the number of associations of operatives under Church auspices surpasses the aggregate amount of all other similar associations taken together. There are Catholic associations of masters and apprentices, of factory laborers, miners, and vintners; there are "Patriotic Bavarian" and Westphalian unions of peasant proprietors, and a number of other societies of men and women in every direction, exercising a powerful influence under strict clerical supervision, the result of which is that in purely Catholic regions for any efforts of social reform to be successful, it is essential in the first instance to secure the Catholic ecclesiastics as auxiliaries in any such undertaking.

The movement has thus enabled the Roman Church to bring into the field a strong force of artisans in the battle of the *culturkampf*, developing at times a strange political union between the Radical and Church Socialists in the struggle against the Bourgeoisie, and fulfilling the prediction of Cavour of a union between Romanism and Socialism, between the red and the black International, between Ketteler's "Kosacken regiment," as it has been contemptuously called, and the followers of Lassalle and Karl Marx. This union, however, it must be remembered, is only political, and only exists at times and for particular ends. The Social Democrats of Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, are opposed to all churches (see ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM).

Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany has been a wholly separate movement. As early as 1838 Victor

German Protestant Christian Socialism.

Aimé Huber (*q. v.*), who may be called the founder of German Christian Socialism, at the request of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. of Prussia commenced in Berlin a paper, the *Janus*, advocating religious cooperation. After the revolution in 1848 this was discontinued, but Huber formed an Association of Christian Order and Liberty. It was not successful, altho Huber himself seems to have been a man of sound judgment and full of beneficent plans. "The father of vagabonds" he called himself, and in a little town among the Hartz Mountains he established a home among the poor, going out thence on journeys through Germany, France, and England, urging cooperation in agriculture and in all forms of life. He died July 19, 1869.

About 1878, however, commences the chief movement of Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany, begun by Pastor Todt and brilliantly championed by Stöcker, the court chaplain. From the first it allied itself to the paternal State socialism, which has become the policy of the Prussian monarchs.

Kaufmann, in his *Christian Socialism*, says of this German Protestant Christian Socialism: "This title is somewhat misleading, since those to whom it is applied, and who cheerfully accept the appellation, are so far from being socialists, in the ordinary sense of the word, that the name 'Defenders of Society on Church and State Principles' would convey a more correct idea of their aims and purposes to English readers. Properly speaking, they are conservative would-be saviors of society, who see no other means of escape from the present social dilemma but in a firm alliance between crown and altar for the purpose of regenerating society."

An association was formed and soon gained adherents in "Christian circles." It called itself the Central Union for Social Reform on a Religious, Constitutional, Monarchical Basis. It sent forth an appeal to the clergy, reminding them that the hour had come for the Church to bestir itself to meet the social crisis with the spiritual weapons at its command, as an evangelical body. Two fundamental principles are laid down in the program, one indicating the duties of the State, the other those of the Church:

1. That thorough reforms have become necessary in

order to inspire the enfranchised masses with confidence toward the Government.

2. That the solution of the social question is impossible without the cooperation of the moral and religious factors, and the Church's recognition of the just demands of the fourth estate (the working men).

Among the objects of the association are mentioned the diffusion of a wholesome literature for the purpose of stemming the tide of materialistic and revolutionary modes of thought and feeling among the masses; the publication of a paper, the *Staats Socialist*, for the exposition of free discussion of burning questions in political economy; the collection and organization of the scattered loyal elements among the people as the best available means of defense against the anarchical attempts of social democracy; and the full expression both in word and deed of sympathy with the rightful demands of the working classes, to assure them of the support of the "main pillars" of society, the Church and the State.

Eventually, Todt and Stöcker founded two associations: first of all, the Central Union for Social Reform, and then the Christian Social Working Men's Party. Altho the same ideas and nearly the same persons had directed the formation of the two groups, their aims were very different. The Union for Social Reform was to be composed of well-to-do and educated men, such as ministers of the Church, professors, manufacturers, and land-owners, who would join in seeking for means of conciliating the anarchic classes through reforms inspired by the spirit of Christianity. The Christian Social Working Men's Party was to rally and to aid working men.

The movement met great opposition. All the progressive papers protested against it as *mucker-socialism*, or sham socialism. The liberal press also opposed it. "We prefer," said one paper, "socialists in blouse to socialists in surplice."

The higher dignitaries of the Evangelical Church held aloof from the movement, or indeed were hostile to it; but the common clergy were stirred. More than 700 ministers sent in their adhesion to the Central Union for Social Reform. Dr. Kögel, one of the court preachers, Dr. Büchsel, the superintendent-general, and Dr. Bauer strongly urged the Protestant clergy to take up the social question. Dr. Stöcker displayed wonderful courage. He attended public meetings at Berlin, where he confronted the most fanatical opposition of the Socialist Democrats, and sometimes, by sheer force of eloquence, he won cheers from the hostile crowd. He was attacked with extraordinary violence by Herr Most, who organized what he called a *Massenaustritt aus der Kirche*, or formal renunciation of the Church.

The Central Union for Social Reform also obtained the adhesion and even the cooperation of several well-known economists, such as Professor Adolf Wagner, of Berlin University; Dr. Schaeffle, former Minister of Finance in Austria, and author of *Socialismus und Capitalismus*; Herr Adolf Samter, banker at Königsberg; and Professor von Scheel. But in order to influence the masses, as the Catholic Socialists have done, the assistance of the clergy was needed; and it was to gain this assistance that the founders of the movement, Stöcker and Todt, directed all their efforts. According to them, the duty of ecclesiastics, and even of the Protestant Church as a body, was to take part in discussions on the social question. This question, they said, embraces the whole of humanity. The Social Democracy rests on materialism and propagates atheism, while liberalism and so-called positive science, by endeavoring to eradicate the religious sentiment, supply it with weapons. Who is to defend this precious treasure, if not the pastor? Christ came to bring the "glad tidings" to the poor; His disciples and apostles ought to do likewise. They ought to search out the causes of the ills of the lower classes, in order to find the remedy. Political economy can alone throw light upon these difficult questions, and it must accordingly be sedulously studied. The clergy ought unceasingly to remind the State and the upper classes of the duty imposed upon them by the law of the Gospel in respect of their destitute brethren. The passion for accumulating riches is becoming more and more the characteristic of our age. This "Mammonism" is the enemy of Christianity, and must be unwearyingly combated.

Pastor Todt is the chief author of the movement, his book, *Radical German Socialism and Christian Society*, having a large reading and much influence. In this work Todt condemns the economics of liberalism as unchristian, and seeks to show that the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity are scriptural, as are also the socialist demands for the abolition of private

property and of the wage system, the laborer to have the full produce of his labor, and labor to be associated. Herr Todt places the following epigraph at the head of his work: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy, and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him." Political economy, he adds, plays the part of anatomy: it makes known the construction of the social body. Socialism is the pathology which describes the malady, and the Gospel is the therapeutics which apply the remedy.

Is it not remarkable that the Christian countries are precisely those which have evolved socialism? What is the reason of this? According to Herr Todt, it is because socialism has its root in Christianity: only it has gone astray from it. It is the fruit of the Gospel, but it has become corrupt. In reality, according to Herr Todt, socialism springs from the sentiment of revolt, produced by the sight of the contrast between the existing economical constitution of society and a certain ideal of justice and equality. Hence arises the desire to remove this contrast by a radical reform of the social order. Christianity also condems the present world, where selfishness and evil passions prevail, and announces the "new kingdom," where the first shall be last, where charity shall make all men brothers, and where the earth shall belong to the peaceful and lowly.

Present Development.

Adolph Wagner, the learned Professor of Political Economy in the University of Berlin, is from the standpoint of science even a greater influence in this movement. More recently the two branches of the movement have become one under the name of *The Central Association for Christian Social Reform*, and is doing a very wide work. Its adherents are said to number over 7000, mainly in Berlin. The movement has, however, largely changed its character. Herr Stöcker early became a leader in the anti-Semitic movement, and by so doing attached to himself a certain political following not always of a desirable character, and, at the same time, prejudiced against him many who had been attracted by his Christian Socialism. The movement, therefore, so far as it is Christian Socialist, has broken away from his lead, and for the most part has become a movement for all kinds of church and social philanthropic societies and efforts. It has in this line developed a large and useful activity. It has, however, become so connected in this movement with the so-called "Inner Mission" (*q.v.*) in Germany that we consider it best under that head. Only a few of the younger men adhere to any large extent to the radical views with which Christian Socialism in England and America is usually identified. Nevertheless, important yearly congresses of the *Evangelische Sozialisten*, as they are called, are held, and led by such men as Paul Göhre, for a long time the secretary of the association, exert no small influence in the Protestant Churches of Germany. (See INNER MISSION.)

FRANCE.

France may be said, in a very real sense, to be the birthplace of Christian Socialism. As long ago as 1790 did Claude Fauchet (*q.v.*), once a court preacher, and then a leader in the Revolution, advocate a radical Christian communism, and founded a Christian communist paper—

Early Christian Socialists.

the first socialist paper of the world, *Bouche de Fer (The Iron World)*. He founded Christian socialist clubs, and exerted no little influence. The *bon mot* of Camille Desmoulin, calling Christ *le bon sans-culotte*, is well known. Saint Simon (*q.v.*) himself has been sometimes called the first Christian Socialist. His first idea was to induce the Pope to found a new Christian social order, and when he failed in this, he undertook himself to found what he called a New Christianity. Several of the Saint Simonians, notably Buchez (*q.v.*), believed that they could, and endeavored strenuously to establish a new social Christianity. Far more truly may Lamennais (*q.v.*) be considered a leading French Christian Socialist. His journal, *L'Avenir*, began in 1830 with its motto, "God

and liberty, the Pope and the people," and after his break with the papacy, his *Les Paroles d'un Croyant (The Words of a Believer, 1839)*, are among the noblest and most burning Christian socialist utterances ever made. Cabet, the brilliant author of the utopian *Icaria*, must also be mentioned here, with his book, *Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus Christ (1846)*, striving to show that Christianity is communism. Yet in spite of these and other brilliant utterances there has been no organized Christian socialist movement in France until very recent times.

Says Kaufmann, in his *Christian Socialism*, p. 169: "De Maistre, Lamennais, Lacordaire, on the one hand, Bonald, Le Play, and le Comte de Mun, on the other, represent in the order we have placed them, tho not in chronological sequence, the ascending and descending scale from and to the Ultramontane standpoint of Christian Socialism."

The great movement of Le Play (*q.v.*) can, in itself, however, scarcely be called a Christian Socialist movement, altho it has led to some extent to a movement sometimes using this name. Le Play himself, altho a devout Roman Catholic, aimed to make his movement purely educational. The founder of the real Roman Catholic socialist movement in France is the Comte de Mun (*q.v.*). He, with the Comte de la Tour-du-Pin Chambly, founded, soon after the Franco-Prussian War, the *Œuvre des Cercles Catholiques d'Ouvriers*, an association organized for the purpose of bringing together working men on a Church basis, and standing on the social principles of the encyclical and syllabus of 1864. Its professed object is "the counter-revolution, made in the name of the syllabus, and the great work of reestablishing a Christian order in the world of labor." The followers of this school hold the Protestant Reformation to be the parent of all France's moral and social ills. They see in the Reformation a revolution against God, the worship of the sovereignty of the man in place of the sovereignty of God. They class Luther, Calvin, Voltaire, Rousseau, Danton, Robespierre, side by side. Against the Reformation, with its asserted ecclesiastical, political, social, and moral results, they declare war. In place of Protestantism and economic individualism they would establish cooperative association with State aid, under the patronage of the Church of Rome. With the Social Democrats they have nothing to do. Since the Pope has condemned socialism under that name, though indorsing many of its principles, they deny that there can be a Christian Socialism. The movement is more ecclesiastical and political than really Christian Socialist. It is an effort to hold the working classes for Rome. The direction of the unions is placed in the hands of local committees in close connection with a central committee in Paris. It is an attempt, moreover, of bringing together the higher and lower classes of society by means of Christian sympathy, and so to effect social union. These Catholic working men's associations combine the advantages of a religious club, a cooperative supply association, and a laborer's friend society all in one. Eventually the *Œuvre* purposes to become the nucleus of a number of benevolent institutions to promote the welfare of the working man. Originally intended for the workmen of large towns, these associations have spread into the villages, and are now what the Comte de Mun calls calmly settled "islets in the midst of immense populations agitated by the tempests of social war." There were 450 of these *cercles* in 1880, and several employers of labor, like the Christian philanthropist Harmel in the Val-des-Bois, are able to give most satisfactory reports of their own attempts to transform unruly colonies of workmen into quiet and industrious communities by the adoption of the principles of the *cercles*, and thus to establish a happy relationship between employer and employed.

In 1887 there were 400 *cercles* and 130 cooperative associations.

His leader, the Comte de Mun, is an active politician and fluent speaker, and tho sometimes defeated, has frequently been elected to the Chamber of Deputies, where he is the leader of his party.

This movement, however, is not the only Roman Catholic social movement in France. In 1890 Bishop

French Christian Socialism.

Frippel founded *La Société Catholique d'économie politique*, representing the Le Play movement, but in direct conjunction with the Church. To the Le Play school also belong Claude Janvel, Charles Perin (*q. v.*), the Jesuit fathers Forbes and Caudron, and other prominent Catholic workers for social reform. (See LE PLAY; and ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Protestant Christian Socialism in France is still more recent. Our account is abridged from an article by Rev. John G. Brooks in *The New World*, December, 1892:

"In 1887 Pastor L. Gouth of Aubenas (Ardèche), after much conversation and correspondence with Pastor I. Fallot and other laymen, took the initiative in the establishment of a Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions.

A provisional committee was named, and requests for membership were sent out to every department, and on October 18 and 19, 1888, the association held its first general assembly at Nîmes (Gard). In this assembly there met members of the different Protestant churches of France, especially the clergy. The fact which caused the most astonishment and rejoicing was that orthodox and liberals of the national Church forgot their divisions and joined hands on common ground, after 15 years of theological and ecclesiastical controversy. All were there animated by the same spirit, and all sought the same end. If this end was not very clearly seen—the greater part of the members having given very little study to the complex social question, or social questions rather—all felt that there was something for Christians to do, and that it was a duty for all to labor in concert to establish the kingdom of righteousness in the world. After a noble discourse by the president, the courageous Pastor I. Fallot, and an incisive and thoughtful report by M. Charles Gide, the eminent professor of political economy, rules and regulations were voted, of which these are the principal articles: 1. A Protestant Association for the Practical Study of Social Questions in France is hereby established. 2. It appeals without distinction of opinion to all Protestants, men and women, who comprehend their responsibilities and their duties in view of the sufferings and the dangers of existing society, and who are resolved to thoroughly apply to the organization of society, as well as to the life of the individual, the principles of justice and love proclaimed by Jesus Christ. 3. It proposes to aid its members in the study of economic science and of the various efforts at social reform. 4. Placing itself above all on moral and religious ground, the association will apply itself to the investigation and publication of everything in the existing order which is contrary to justice and solidarity, everything of a nature to hinder the moral and religious development of the individual, and consequently his salvation. 5. The aim of the association is to labor to repair the evils from which we suffer, by pointing out to Christians their social duties, by suggesting to them the initiative in works of brotherhood and relief, and by acting upon public opinion and the established powers to bring about necessary reforms."

"Many general assemblies have since been held—at Nîmes, Lyons, Montbeliard (Doubs), Marseilles, Havre, and Paris. The association has now a membership of some 600, and has striven mainly to encourage social studies, both theoretical and practical, chiefly through means of conferences; to undertake or encourage the publication of these social studies in pamphlet form or in periodicals; to establish in Protestant communities groups for social study and social activity. Several of the members have established in their churches, or rather in their communes, institutions answering to its aims, a bureau of information and employment, a *Maison de Travail*, a mutual aid society; elsewhere a society for the aid of young apprentices of both sexes, lodging-houses, and the like institutions. The *Review of Practical Christianity*, published once in two months, at Vals-les-Bains (Ardèche), at the price of five francs, is the official organ of the association. Edited by M. Chastand, pastor at Vals, this review publishes papers from the historical, the theoretical, and the practical points of view, by MM. Gide, de Boyve, Fallot, Robin, König, Raoul Allier, and many others of the laity and clergy. M. de Boyve edits *L'Emancipation*, published at Nîmes (Gard).

"The association during the Paris Exposition was represented at the congress on participation in profits, at the congress held to consider accidents to working people, and at the congress on Sabbath rest. The fine

work of Pastor Wagner, *La Jeunesse*, has been crowned by the Academy. It has lately been translated into English and issued in England and America. Efforts of many kinds are made, especially in what concerns the elevation of woman—a work pursued with steadfastness by MM. Fallot, Charles Secrétan, Minault, Gouth, Comte, and several others."

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Belgium has distinguished herself in the literature of Christian Socialism. Colins, born in Belgium in 1753, should perhaps be mentioned here, tho he wrote mainly in Paris, and developed a philosophy in most respects anything but Christian, since he believed, strangely to say, in immortality, but not in God. As an ardent land nationalizer, however, and with a religious spirit, altho a bizarre theology, he perhaps sowed seeds which have sprung up in Belgian Christian Socialism. Huet (*q. v.*), born in 1814, was an out-and-out Christian Socialist. His *Le Règne Social du Christianisme*, published about 1850, is one of the earliest and best statements of Christian Socialism in any language. Professor de Laveleye was his pupil, and says of this book that it has not received the attention it deserves, being too full of Christianity for most socialists and too full of socialism for most Christians. A Roman Catholic of the school of Pascal and Bossuet, he protested to the last against ultramontanism, and for a liberal Catholicism and a spiritual secularity. Professor Emile Louis de Laveleye, his most distinguished scholar, belongs to the same school. Professor of Political Economy at Liege, he is as well known for his Christian Socialism as for his economic and sociological writings. A Catholic, altho of the extreme liberal type, his position on Christian Socialism may be summed up in the passage from the introduction to his *Contemporary Socialism*, where he says: "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a socialist; and every socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity." Professor C. Perin, of the Roman Catholic University of Louvain, belongs to the ultramontane school. His treatise on *Wealth in Christian Society* was published in 1861. Later he published a work on the *Laus of Christian Society*, which was prefaced by a pontifical breve, dated 1875. In 1879 he published a work on *Christian Socialism*, to which was added an address he delivered at the opening of the Congress of the Directors of the Roman Catholic Workman's Associations, at Chartres, August 9, 1878. Perin founds social order on Divine authority, but trusts largely to the moral rather than the dogmatic influence of the Church. Industry, he believes, should be organized, both paternally and fraternally, under employers, and yet with a Christian fraternal spirit. (For further details, see COLINS; HUET; LAVELEYE; PERIN.) With all these and other Christian Socialist writers in Belgium, one is not surprised to find much fruit. Roman Catholic Workman's Associations have existed in Belgium some 25 years. Altho in many ways not popular organizations among the masses, since they are very largely managed and controlled by priests and Jesuits, they do reach many workmen, and their frequent congresses have been very influential. On the occasion of the congress at Liege in 1886, Pope Leo XIII. addressed a favorable letter to the Bishop of Liege, which was enthusiastically received. The International Catholic Congress at Liege in 1887, under the presidency of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims, and attended by prelates from all over Europe as well as by Belgian members of Parliament and employers of labor, gave large attention to social questions, and took position largely on the lines advocated by Professor Perin. At the congress at Liege in 1890 there were 1500 delegates, including 10 bishops. The Catholic movement, however, in Belgium has two schools, one of which would oppose Catholicism to the socialist movement, and try and defeat it; the other would work with the socialists so far as possible, and try and Christianize their movement. Both parties, however, are opposed to radical democratic socialism, and are, therefore, violently opposed by the Belgian socialists, who would away with pope and bishop, as well as capitalist and king.

In other European countries Christian Socialism has a less hold. In Geneva, in Switzerland, however, there are two societies of Christian Socialists, and these extend their influence very largely through all Switzerland. One of these, the Christian Swiss Society of Social Economics, is mainly an educational society,

Belgium.

French Protestant Christian Socialism.

working among the educated classes. Its president is M. Frédéric Necker, a descendant of Madame de Staël.

Other Countries.

It numbers among its members many of the prominent Swiss Protestant clergymen, but has also many professors, business men, and bankers. The venerable and well-known Professor Charles Secretan, of Lausanne, was among its directors and a firm Christian Socialist in the larger sense of the term. The other society, the Society for the Practical Study of Social Questions, works among the working classes, and attempts to come into contact with the non-Christian Swiss socialists. It is under the lead of the Geneva pastor, M. H. Koerich, and is mainly useful in publishing some admirable altho radical Christian Socialist literature. It publishes a monthly paper, *La Solidarité*, at Imprimerie Dubois, Quai des Moulons, Geneva; price, for foreign countries, 75 cents. Roman Catholic Christian Socialism in Switzerland has little development, altho not a few of the priests, notably one at Chur, speak openly on this question, following the recent lead of the Pope (see THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH). In Austria Christian Socialism was first advocated by a Protestant, Rudolph Meyer, but he was effectively seconded by Roman Catholics—Prince von Leichtenstein, Counts Blome and Kuefstein, and most of all by Baron von Vogelsang, the founder of the organized movement. Austrian Christian Socialism is, however, little more than patronage of working men in the interests of Rome. Other countries have done still less, altho Rev. M. Kaufmann (*q. v.*), in his *Christian Socialism*, says: "As the eye travels over the map, different countries at once call up before the mind figures of prominent Christian Socialists in every direction. The Scandinavian North suggests the venerable figure of the late Bishop of Zealand, and his work on *Socialism and Christianity as a Fragment of Christian Ethics*. Italy reminds us of the social studies of Rafeale Mariano in his work on *Christian Catholicism and Culture*. To this in Italy should be added the great name of Mazzini (*q. v.*), who, tho neither a Christian nor a socialist, as they were presented to him in his days, was one of the truest Christian Socialists of the century, as witnessed to by his *Duties of Man* and other writings. (See MAZZINI.)

THE UNITED STATES.

Christian Socialism in America has made a more recent appearance. This is due undoubtedly mainly to economic conditions in part to the American idea of the divorce of Church and State, which has meant too often the divorce of secular and religious life. There have long been those, however, in America who have individually looked this way. Many of the participants in the Brook Farm and the early Fourier experiments acted on motives largely those of Christian Socialism. As early as 1849 Henry James, Sr., in a lecture delivered in Boston, argued the identity of Christianity and Socialism. In 1872 a Christian Labor Union was organized in Boston under the lead of George E. McMill, Edward H. Rogers, Hon. T. Wharton Collins (of New Orleans), the Rev. Jesse H. Jones, Henry T. Delano, and others. The Rev. Jesse H. Jones from 1874-75 published a paper in Boston called the *Equity*, really a paper of Christian Socialism. The writings of the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D., of Drs. Lyman Abbott, Rylance, Washington Gladden, Professor R. T. Ely, are well known. Yet were there no Christian Socialists, so-called, in America till organization was effected in Boston, April 15, 1889, largely under the lead of the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. It was called the Society of Christian Socialists, and adopted the following principles:

"To exalt the principle that all rights and powers are gifts of God, not for the receiver's use only, but for the benefit of all; to magnify the oneness of the human family, and to lift mankind to the highest plane of privilege, we band ourselves together under the name of Christian Socialists.

"I. We hold that God is the source and guide of all human progress, and we believe that all social, political, and industrial relations should be based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

"II. We hold that the present commercial and industrial system is not thus based, but rests rather on economic individualism, the results of which are:

(1) That the natural resources of the earth and the mechanical inventions of man are made to accrue disproportionately to the advantage of the few instead of the many. (2) That production is without general plan, and commercial and industrial crises are thereby precipitated. (3) That the control of business is rapidly concentrating in the hands of a dangerous plutocracy, and the destinies of the masses of wage-earners are becoming increasingly dependent on the will and resources of a narrowing number of wage-payers. (4) That thus large occasion is given for the moral evils of mammonism, recklessness, overcrowding, intemperance, prostitution, crime.

"III. We hold that united Christianity must protest against a system so based and productive of such results, and must demand a reconstructed social order, which, adopting some method of production and distribution that starts from organized society as a body and seeks to benefit society equitably in every one of its members, shall be based on the Christian principle that 'We are members one of another.'

"IV. While recognizing the present dangerous tendency of business toward combinations and trusts, we yet believe that the economic circumstances which call them into being will necessarily result in the development of such a social order, which, with the equally necessary development of individual character, will be at once true socialism and true Christianity.

"V. Our objects, therefore, as Christian Socialists, are:

(1) To show that the aim of socialism is embraced in the aim of Christianity. (2) To awaken members of Christian churches to the fact that the teachings of Jesus Christ lead directly to some specific form or forms of socialism; that, therefore, the Church has a definite duty upon this matter, and must, in simple obedience to Christ, apply itself to the realization of the social principles of Christianity.

"VI. We invite all who can subscribe to this declaration to active cooperation with us, and we urge the formation of similar fellowships in other places throughout the land."

This society included members of all churches. Its president was a Baptist, the Rev. O. P. Gifford, and among its officers Rev. P. W. Sprague (Episcopalian) and Mrs. Mary A. Livermore (Universalist). Branch societies were also started in many cities. The society also established, in 1889, a monthly organ, *The Dawn*, for some years published in Boston by Mr. Bliss. The society, however, no longer exists. Mr. Bliss has established an Episcopal mission, the Church of the Carpenter, in Boston, which supports the name and principles of Christian socialism, but through the country the organization has not taken root. This is, perhaps, however, somewhat due to the fact that Christian Socialism has in one form or another very largely entered the churches themselves. *The Dawn* in January, 1893, published a list of some 700 clergymen more or less actually engaged in Christian Social reform. In the Episcopal Church, a Church Social Union (*q. v.*) has been established that has reached 1000 members. In the Baptist Church a Brotherhood of the Kingdom (*q. v.*) has been formed. Still larger and more influential is the American Institute of Christian Sociology (*q. v.*), which is not confined to any one denomination. In many colleges and divinity schools there are now either chairs or courses of lectures in Christian Sociology. Especially active in this work has been the Rev. G. D. Herron, D.D., Professor of Christian Sociology at Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. Professor Herron is author of many small but brilliant books, and is constantly lecturing or holding institutes of Christian Sociology in all sections of the country. The Rev. Graham Taylor, Professor of Christian Sociology in Chicago Theological Seminary, is also working, tho more conservatively, on Christian social lines. *The Kingdom*, a monthly of applied Christianity, published in Minneapolis, has reached a circulation of some 20,000. Almost all Church papers in the United States, notably *The Outlook* (see ABBOTT) and *The*

Society of
Christian
Socialists.

American
Institute of
Christian
Sociology.

Christian Statesman, published in Alleghany, Pa., are full of earnest articles on Christian social reform. Much of this movement, however, is not committed to the definite principles of Christian Socialism, nor to the radical measures (advocated in *The Dawn*) in this country and among most English Christian socialists.

Views of Dr. G. D. Herron.

The emphasis of Dr. Herron's teaching, e.g., is upon the coming of the kingdom of God and the enthronement of Christ as king over all social life. Says a reviewer of Dr. Herron's work: "His spirit is one of intense loyalty to Jesus Christ, demanding His immediate enthronement in those spheres of action in which most Christians and the world have denied Him sovereignty. There are no books that breathe a stronger personal attachment to a risen living Lord than his. His basal principle is the Cross—self-sacrifice as the law for Church and society, State, nation, and world, as well as for individual life. And this he iterates and reiterates with an intensity and passionate eagerness, a particularity and a wideness of scope that no man in history has attempted (so far as I know) this side of Paul. 'In the class room from day to day, as well as in the pulpit on Sundays, he seems determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'"

Dr. Herron steadily declines to go into detailed schemes for the reconstruction of society. He believes it to be the function of Christian sociology not to enter such details, but to present the general principles according to which a true society must be constructed. Without fear or favor, however, Dr. Herron condemns the present industrial, social, and ecclesiastical conditions, and demands their reformation in the name of Christ.

Radical Christian Socialism.

On the other hand, the Christian Socialism advocated by *The Dawn* and a few of the more radical Christian Socialists of the country does advocate the definite measures of the socialist program, yet ever in the name of and based upon the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Says a tract by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss:

"Christian Socialism is the application to society of the way of Christ. It believes that Christ has a social way, and that only in this way are there healing and wholeness for the nations. Christian Socialists do not deny the necessity of individual Christianity. The first thing to do is for the individual to accept Christ. Repentance, faith, baptism, the sacraments, the individual spiritual life—Christian Socialism is no substitute for these. It is no salvation by the wholesale, by machinery, by power of environment; it is no new gospel of modern thought. It is, rather, simply the carrying out of the full, old gospel, which is to all people. It holds that Christian Socialism follows from and is involved in personal obedience to Christ. It is first Christian. Its starting-point is the Incarnation.

"But this being so, it quickly adds, that while Christian Socialism follows from personal obedience to Christ, it is not enough to-day to say that all that is needed is for the individual to follow Christ. This, while true, is too indefinite. It begs the question. We need to be told what it means to follow Christ. Those sentimental Christians who will listen to naught else, and say that all that is necessary is for individuals to obey Christ, and to induce others to follow Him, are in danger of saying, 'Lord, Lord,' without showing what the Lord would have us do. Christian Socialism tries to voice the social law that it has learned from Christ.

"First, it declares that all men are the children of God's creation, and that in the Son, who is God's eternal purpose manifest in the flesh, their sonship is to be realized, they by Him being reunited to God. This is the starting-point of Christian Socialism. But from this much follows. It follows that men are not merely individuals; they are born united; they are born in one family. It is not necessary, therefore, to develop an organism. The world is one. We simply need to realize what we are. Society makes the individual, more than the individual makes society. Society begins in God. This being so, the first social necessity is to recognize this. We are not to attempt to develop a social system that starts from the individual, but simply to develop the social unity we derive from God.

"Second, the law for the social life Christian Socialism finds in the *Old Testament*. The Mosaic revelation gives the law for society. It founded a theocracy on earth. God was the Universal Father; every man of the theocracy a brother. Property in land was not absolute; the land was conceived as belonging to God. No individual could own it in fee simple. He could

only use it. In its use he was inalienably protected. It came to him through the family as an inalienable inheritance. If, through poverty or misfortune, he temporarily parted with it, it returned to him in the year of jubilee. No landless, homeless class could, therefore, be permanently developed among the Hebrews. (See JUDAISM.)

"The law went farther. It cared especially for the poor, the oppressed, the children, the fatherless, the widow. Usury (or interest: all scholars agree that the two words originally meant the same thing) was positively forbidden between members of His kingdom. The law provided for every one's independence. It not only provided land for the worker, but defended him in the ownership of clothes, tools, etc. (capital), which could not permanently be taken from him. If taken as a pledge, they must be returned before night. No permanent mortgage indebtedness was, therefore, possible on either land or capital; that is, the law was truly socialistic in providing in the name of organized society for both land and capital for every family. And this was not, be it remembered, a law of mere individual righteousness. In order to reap its benefits, the family had to belong to the theocracy. The Jew could take interest from a foreigner; the foreigner could be enslaved, even killed. The law was essentially national and institutional.

"Third, this law can only be fulfilled in *Jesus Christ*. The Hebrew law did not work; no law can work; it is not the function of law to work; man must work the law; hence the Christ, hence conversion, hence the sacraments, hence the means of grace. Jesus Christ came to enable us to fulfil the law. What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, that Jesus Christ came to fulfil; only the spiritual life must not replace the law, but fulfil it. This is the divine unity. Individualism forgets law; institutionalism forgets grace. A true socialism fulfils the social law through grace. The Old Testament gives the world its social track; Jesus Christ gives the locomotive power. To preach as Tolstolof and most Protestants do, the latter without social organization, is to try and run a locomotive without a track. No wonder that it lands them in the ditch of impossibilities and absurdities. Protestantism has run the world into a quagmire. Jesus Christ is the locomotive power drawing the world along the social track.

"And notice that tho the locomotive is above the track, the track must be laid down first and the locomotive stand upon it. Hence, the Old Testament before the New, the majesty of Sinai before the Sermon on the Mount, the law before the Gospel.

"Fourth, this law, fulfilled through grace, must be fulfilled socially. Protestantism has here made a grievous mistake. But to make a mistake here is to misconceive the whole Incarnation. In Christ, God became man on earth. He took all humanity into Himself. Christ was not only a man, but MAN—man in his entirety; man in all that is in man or possible to man—save sin; man in art, in science, in letters, in politics, in society, in commerce, in industry. In the Incarnation all life entered into God, and God into all life. God's laws are practical. What is impractical is not divine. Now, individualism has been found impractical. Under it men have tried to do good. They have tried to carry out the Golden Rule on individual lines, and they have failed. We do not say they have wholly failed. No earnest effort, even the mistaken, wholly fails. But, generally speaking, they have failed. Large numbers of business men say to-day that the Golden Rule cannot be applied to business. They are right, on the present system of business, because the system is wrong. You 'cannot serve God and Mammon.' You cannot apply God's laws to the devil's methods. The two do not mix. Pathetic, noble but impractical are the desperate efforts of Christian men and women to do good and be Christ-like in modern business. It is a hopeless task. God's way demands a social basis.

"Fifth, Christian Socialism would strive to fulfil the social law through grace, by striving to build up practically a Socialism based on Christ.

"It would aid the eight-hour movement. It would reduce the hours of labor in factory and in shop, that men may have longer hours of labor in the home, the library, and the church. Christian Socialism would favor direct legislation, through the initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation, purging our politics of corruption, breaking down the machine, and teaching the people self-government. It would emancipate woman as well as man. It does not believe in a democracy of half the people. It would develop a true municipalism, as is being done in Birmingham, Glasgow, London, Berlin, and other cities.

Glasgow, by spending \$7,000,000 in tearing down and rebuilding the worst tenements, and by municipally clearing courts and passages; by providing municipal baths, wash-houses, etc., has reduced her death-rate from 54 to 29 per 1000. This Christian Socialism considers practical Christianity. It would have the city employ the unemployed, in ways not to compete with present labor. Says Turgot, whom

A Christian Socialist Program.

Matthew Arnold calls 'the wisest statesman France ever had: 'God, when He made man with wants and rendered labor an indispensable resource, made the right of work the property of every individual; and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property.' It would have cities obtain the funds for doing this by conducting gas works, surface railroads, etc., for a profit for the city, instead of having them owned by rich capitalists favored by city franchises.

"Christian Socialists would have the nations own and manage railroads, the telegraph, expressage, etc. In every way it would replace competition by fraternal combination, and it would press toward reform in all these ways. It is not one reform. It is many reforms on one principle. Perhaps most important of all is land reform. Christian Socialism would revert to the Bible principle, that God is the owner of all the earth, and men only entitled to its use. It would, therefore, favor the reclaiming of the land for the use of all the people, by taxing land values on a graduated scale, and increasingly every few years, till finally the whole value of the natural resources of the earth be taken for the people, and not for the favored few. Christian Socialism would not go out of the world to save the world. It would be in it, tho not of it. Gradually it would influence cities, and States, and nations."

References: (a) *Historical: Owen and the Christian Socialists*, by Professor E. R. A. Seligman, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (June, 1886); *Christian Socialism*, by Rev. M. Kaufmann (London, 1888); *The Socialism of To-Day*, by De Laveleye (Eng. trans., London); *The Church in Germany and the Social Question*, by J. G. Brooks, in the *New World* (December, 1892); *The Social Movement in French Protestantism in the New World* (June, 1893); Stegmann and Hugo's *Handbuch des Socialismus*, art. *Christlicher Socialismus: Catholic Socialism*, by F. S. Nitti (London, Sonnenschein, 1895). (b) *Statement of Principles: Christian Socialism*, a tract by F. D. Maurice (1849; republished by the [Eng.] Christian Social Union); *Social Aspects of Christianity*, by B. F. Westcott, the Bishop of Durham (London, 1887); *The Incarnation and Common Life*, by the same (London, 1893); *Christian Socialism*, a tract by Stewart D. Headlam (London Fabian Society); *Christian Socialism—What and Why*, by Rev. P. W. Sprague (New York, 1891); *Socialism and Spiritual Progress*, a tract by Miss Vida D. Scudder (Boston, 1891); *The New Redemption and the Christian Society*, by Rev. G. D. Herron (New York, 1893 and 1894); *What Christian Socialism Is and the Social Faith of the Catholic Church*, tracts by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss (Boston, 1894). (See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE, THE, is an English organization which has grown out of a society called the Ministers' Union, formed in London, March 2, 1893. This society adopted the name Christian Socialist League February 8, 1894, and framed a new constitution, of which the following are the clauses of general interest:

OBJECTS.

To assist in the reconstruction of society upon the principles of Jesus Christ, by means of (a) lectures and sermons; (b) publications; (c) civic, personal, and other efforts.

MEMBERSHIP.

1. Candidates shall be proposed and seconded by members from personal knowledge, and shall sign the following declaration: "This country

cannot accurately be called Christian so long as the people in their collective capacity, by their social, industrial, and commercial arrangements, practically deny the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. The members of the Christian Socialist League believe that the principles of Jesus Christ are directly applicable to all social and economic questions, and that such application to the conditions of our time demands the reconstruction of society upon a basis of association and fraternity."

2. Candidates shall be elected by a unanimous vote of the executive present and voting.

3. A minimum subscription of 1 shilling shall be paid upon election and at each annual meeting.

Branches of the League have been formed in Glasgow, Liverpool, Lymington, Walthamstow, Forest Gate, and Islington. Several lecture tours have been undertaken and considerable activity developed. The League is unsectarian, and uses the word Christian in the broadest sense. The membership is about 250. The President is the Rev. John Clifford, D.D. (q.v.); its Vice-President, J. Bruce Wallace (q.v.); its Secretary, John H. Belcher, 40 Alexander Road, Wimbledon.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS, THE SOCIETY OF, a society organized in Boston, U. S. A., in 1889, but, altho not disbanded, not now in active existence. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION, THE, was founded in England in 1889. The Rev. Wilfrid Richmond gave during Lent of that year four lectures on *Economic Morals* at Sion College in London. The four meetings were presided over by the Rev. Canon B. F. Westcott (now Bishop of Durham), the Rev. Canon C. W. Furse, the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Marlborough, and the Rev. Canon H. S. Holland. At the close of the lectures a provisional committee, with the Rev. Canon H. S. Holland as chairman, was appointed, which chose the name and formulated the objects of the society. The first regularly constituted branch was organized at Oxford, November 16, 1889. The London branch began in 1890. The Oxford branch has been mainly engaged in the systematic study of economic facts; the London branch has been more active in holding public meetings, organizing courses of sermons and issuing addresses on definite political, social, and industrial problems.

The principles of the Union declare that the Union consists of Churchmen who have the following objects at heart:

1. To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.
3. To present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

Members are expected to pray for the well-being of the union at Holy Communion, more particularly on or about the following days: The Feast of the Epiphany, the Feast of the Ascension, the Feast of St. Michael and all Angels.

The president of the Union is Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, the Lord Bishop of Durham, its

secretary the Rev. J. Carter, of Pusey House, Oxford. The president of the Oxford branch is the Rev. Canon Gore. The chairman of the London branch is the Rev. Canon H. Scott Holland, and its secretary the Rev. Percy Dearmer. There are now (1895) 27 branches and about 2600 members. Of these, about one quarter are resident in London, one fifth in Oxford. The Union publishes the *Economic Review*, one of the foremost of the economic quarterlies in England, and the London and Oxford and other branches issue tracts and studies of special topics. The Union in all its branches holds frequent meetings for lectures, discussion, and study. The London branch has a loan library, and the whole Union lays great stress upon economic study. The action of the London branch has been mainly in holding conferences and issuing manifestoes, etc., on practical questions as they have come up in local elections and the development of city life. A recent feature has been the institution of courses of sermons on social subjects in various London churches, but especially at St. Edmund's, Lombard Street, during Lent, when crowded audiences, largely of business men, have listened to the foremost preachers of the English Church. The spirit of the Union may be seen in the following quotations from a tract, *The Ground of Our Appeal*, by Canon Scott Holland :

"1. We start from the conviction which has been for so long stamped on every heart that feels or brain that thinks that the time is come to vote urgency for the social question. We believe that political problems are rapidly giving place to the industrial problem, which is proving itself more and more to be the question of the hour. . . .

"2. We are of those who are convinced that the ultimate solution of this social question is bound to be discovered in the person and life of Christ. He is 'the Man,' and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is our primal creed. . . .

"It is true that this relationship of His to the social life of men is less obvious and direct than His relationship to their sorrows or their sins as the Redeemer. For the victory which gained Him this living lordship over all that man is was won by Him not in the social, or economic, or political, but in the *spiritual* sphere. He redeemed men's souls from sin. That was His primary task; . . . but its significance is bound to tell on every level of existence down to which the influence of the victorious Spirit reaches. The whole of human nature is to be brought within the sway of the 'New Man.' And human nature is corporate; 'man is a social animal.' The natural bonds which hold together men into societies and races must, of necessity, receive the new inflowing force which comes to them out of the supremacy of Him, who gathers all men into Himself.

"3. But this application of the redemptive force of Christ to actual society can be no very simple matter. The problems raised by human society are manifold, intricate, and immense; and however firm our conviction may be that Christ is Himself their one and only solution, yet the solution of a difficult problem must, of necessity, be itself difficult; and if the perplexities have been themselves a matter of long and gradual growth, then their undoing, also, will be slow and gradual.

"These are the questions; and they can only be answered by those who have got long past the merely sentimental assertion that Christ is 'all in all,' and have set themselves to the solid task of discovering what that solemn truth really and precisely means, and have worked it down into the concrete facts, and have surveyed and estimated the full need of the circumstances, and striven to make clear to themselves what is the first step, and what the second, and the third, if that great royalty of Christ is, in very deed, ever to be made good here on earth, amid men as they are, and after a history such as they have hitherto had.

"We cannot all of us undertake such a study as this involves; we have not the leisure or the brains. But

that is just why we should all take some direct measures for keeping in touch with those who have the faculties and the opportunities that we lack. Some servants of the Church there *must* be who will give themselves seriously to the training that such a task involves. . . . They will arrive at the discussion possessed by two deep convictions: First, that the present situation is intolerable; and, secondly, that its solution must be found in the unflinching assertion of *moral*, as supreme over *mechanical*, laws. . . . It is to collect together such men as this, it is to foster and to enlarge such a spirit, that the Christian Social Union exists."

It should be added that the Union is committed to no one school of economic thought, altho its tendencies are recognized in the fact that its teachings are often called in England the new Christian Socialism. For the difference, however, between its position and those of the early and other Christian Socialists see that article. There are affiliated societies in the United States, Canada, South Africa, and Australia, but the branch in the United States is now called the Church Social Union (*q.v.*).

CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM,

THE.—In another article we treat of *Christianity and Social Reform*; it seems necessary, however, to consider here the *Church and Social Reform* in an article by itself; first, because very many make a sharp distinction between the ideal relations of Christianity to reform and the actual relations of the Church to reform, and, secondly, because whatever be one's opinion concerning the Church, all are agreed upon the immense power wielded by the Church, be it for evil or for good, and also upon the intricate connection between the Church and the advancement or retardation of social reform. We consider the subject under the following heads:

1. The Apostolic Church.
2. The Primitive Church after the Apostolic Period.
3. The Medieval Church.
4. The Church from the Reformation to the Present Time.
5. The Modern Church.
6. The General Possible Relations of the Church to Social Reform.

I. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

We here consider the Church as commencing with the apostles and their followers in the upper chamber at Jerusalem. (For the beginnings of the Church in the Hebrew theocracy, and the relations of that theocracy to social reform, see JUDAISM; for the teachings of Christ in regard to society, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.) That the Church as organized in Jerusalem had vital relation to social life needs no reiteration. (See article COMMUNISM, etc.) The indisputable record is that the members had "all things in common," and that to each was given "according as any man had need." It is, however, perhaps necessary to point out that this was not an accident or mere passing incident in the history of the apostolic Church, born of the enthusiasm of its first love, but rather the necessary and logical result of the very character and nature of the Church. The first Christians of Jerusalem were drawn from among the Jews or from among the proselytes to the Jewish faith, the "strangers within the gates." They were

therefore familiar with the social teachings and requirements of the Jewish law and the Jewish Scriptures. Any one who knows what these were—their care for the

The Church of the Upper Chamber. afflicted, the oppressed, the fatherless and the widow, their minute directions as to the organization of

social life, their provisions for securing land *in perpetuo* to every individual for *use*, while in ownership it was held as belonging to God, their prohibition of usury and oppression in every form, and, *above all*, the recognition of all this as binding because it was *the law of God*, to be taught, upheld, and enforced by the institutes and officers of the national religion—any one, we say, who at all realizes this cannot wonder that the first act of the first Christian Church was to apply its pentecostal love to the conduct and the ordering of property and of the social life. Jesus Christ had enforced this spirit. He had taught both by word and deed that He had come as a King, with authority over all life, social as well as spiritual. He had fed the hungry, healed the sick, raised the dead. He had entered Jerusalem as a King. He had in every word taught of the kingdom of heaven as the great summation of His life and as near at hand, on earth as truly as in heaven. (See CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Yet it must be also noted that this so-called communism of the Church of Jerusalem was not one of law and of requirement. Love was the fulfilling of the law. The incident of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 1-11) shows that there was no *requirement* to renounce private property in land or houses. Until the disciples had given property to the Church, their property remained their own. It was only out of their *love* that "as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need." But with this *caveat* against the conception of the primitive communism of the Church as a formal, compulsory one, too much emphasis cannot be laid upon it as a fact, and as the necessary and logical outcome of their love and of their faith.

Nor are we to think of it as peculiar to the Church at Jerusalem. While it is true that we do not know so much of the communism of any other Church, and while but little has come down to us in any way of

the life of other Christian churches **Primitive Christianity.** of the first century, the indications nevertheless are very strongly against the communism of the Jerusalem church being exceptional. All that we know points to its *not* being exceptional. In the Book of the Acts and in the Epistles there are abundant references to the life of love as carried on in these other churches. We have Dorcas, or Tabitha, at Joppa (Acts ix. 36) "full of good works." Paul writes to the Corinthians (2 Cor. ix. 6) about giving to the poor. He praises the Christians of Macedonia (2 Cor. viii. 2) for giving almost beyond their power. He orders the churches both of Galatia and Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 2) to lay by a store for charity "on the first day of the week," as each person was

pered. St. James declares that "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." We read of the churches at Troas (Acts xx. 6) and at Corinth holding *agape* or love feasts, where they came together to break bread. Jude 12 indicates that this was a common custom in all the churches. 1 Tim. v. 3 indicates the duty of the widow (or deaconess) to wash the saints' feet, entertain strangers, bring up children, relieve the afflicted. Hospitality is continually urged. The slave is to be treated as "a brother beloved" (Philemon xvi.). These are but few of the incidental references in the New Testament to the life of the apostolic Church, indicating that the life of the churches everywhere was like that of the Church at Jerusalem, a communism of love, though not of law and of requirement. If it be said that the fact that St. Paul took up a collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem is indicative of a peculiar condition in that Church, and that their communism and giving up of private property had brought them into special poverty, it may be said, on the other hand, that the Church at Jerusalem was under notorious and excessive persecution, as during the first century the churches throughout the rest of the Roman Empire were not, and this is sufficient to account for their especial need of help. From the days of Nehemiah, as has been well said, to those of Sir Moses Montefiore, it has been customary to send aid to Jerusalem. The argument, therefore, for holding that the communism at Jerusalem was peculiar is invalidated by the general probability and indication that it was not the case.

And this is rendered the more probable by one other strong circumstance. It appears (cf. Heinrich, *The Christian Church of Corinth* and the *Religious Communities of the Greeks in the Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1876, iv.; Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, and the whole of C. Osborn Ward's *The Ancient Lowly*) that as soon as the Church emerges into recognized form, its legal position in the Roman Empire was as a *collegium*, very much resembling the *collegia tenuiorum*, or sodalities of the poor, organized to collect contributions for the poor or for special ends, such as burial, etc. For a full account of these, see GUILDS; but we must here note the similarity between these and the early churches in their social life.

Tertullian uses the same words, *steps* and *arca*, for the contribution and contribution chest of the Church as were technically employed in the *collegia* for their collections. These *collegia* had their presiding officers, or *magistri*, for their meeting places, more or less humble, according to their wealth. They had regular meeting times and dues for various purposes, mainly of benefit, but sometimes for carousals. They had banquets or meals together. Some of them had considerable wealth, lands, houses, etc., being donated to them by wealthy members or patrons. On appointed days there were *sportula*, or distributions of bread, wine, or money among the members. Members were called brothers and sisters, and their presiding officers fathers and mothers (for there were women among them as truly as men). It is evident how close these were in resemblance to the social organization of the Church at Jerusalem, with its contributions, its officers, its gifts of houses and land, its common meals, its organized distribution "in the daily ministrations" to the widows and those in need. Now if these *collegia*, so exactly in this respect like the Church in Jerusalem,

existed through all the empire, as seems proven, and that legally the churches all through the empire were regarded as *collegia*, and used the very technical terms of the *collegia*, does it not indicate almost beyond a doubt that the picture given in the acts of the Church at Jerusalem is a picture of every church in the apostolic days, with its life and feasts of Christian love, and deeds of charity, and voluntary and common renunciation of private property, and also with its spots on its feasts of charity, in the murmuring of the Grecians at Jerusalem because their widows were neglected in the ministration, and also in the excesses to which the love-feasts were carried in Corinth and in other places?

The Church, even in apostolic days, was by no means immaculate; it was *being* saved, not wholly sanctified; but its very essence and its inmost spirit was a life of brotherhood and of practical love upon this earth.

2. THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AFTER APOSTOLIC DAYS.

We come here into fuller light, and may consider the subject in detail, dividing the subject into parts, considering, first, the spirit of *equality* and of *brotherhood* that prevailed in the primitive Church. The

Spirit of Equality. Roman Empire was full of poverty and distress. Slavery was universal. Uhlhorn estimates that at Rome under Augustus there were 580,000 proletarians needing support to 90,000 senators, knights, soldiers, and traders not needing support, and this does not include the slaves, who composed the large masses of the population. (See *CITIES*.) At Athens at one time, according to some historians, there were 400,000 slaves to 31,000 citizens; according to others, 200,000 to 100,000. In Italy, according to Blair, there were under Claudius nearly 30,000,000 slaves to 7,000,000 free men; and though these figures may be too high, according to all, the slave population was in an immense majority. This, of course, meant widespread suffering beneath a corrupt aristocracy of enormous wealth.

The working-class lived, and little more. Momsen reckons the Roman bushel of wheat at 1 denarius, and this was the usual day's wage. Meat was proportionally dear. Diocletian fixed the price of beef and mutton at about 30 cents the kilogram, and a fowl at the same price. A modest dwelling in the upper stories of one of the large lodging-houses at Rome came to about \$80. On the other hand, the wealth of the few was enormous. The augur, Cn. Lentulus, and Narcissus, Nero's freedman, were said to own \$22,000,000. *Latifundia* were growing. Cæcilius, a freedman of Augustus, left in his will, Pliny tells us, 116 slaves. It is true that this does not indicate either such wealth on the part of the rich, or such poverty on the part of the laborer as we have to-day; but the worst of the slave condition under the Roman Empire was the lack of civil or moral standing: he could be sold, killed, violated, thrown to the fishes at pleasure with impunity. Such was the society in which the Christian Church took root. In *CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM* we have traced the influence of Christianity upon the laws and organized society, and have shown how it gradually overthrew slavery. Here we are simply concerned with what the Church did directly as a church, and upon this point it was to introduce the feeling of equality and of brotherhood, in opposition to aristocracy and slavery. The Church spread at first, it is evident, mainly among the slaves and the oppressed. Hence it was powerless directly to affect the legislation of proud emperors and senators, but it did welcome the slave to its fold as an equal and it did practice brotherhood among men. It taught that being descended from one Father, all men were equal. "We are all born alike, both emperors and beggars," said an early Christian writer (*Breviarium in Psalt.*, in

opp. Hieron., vol. ii., p. 233). "Thou sayest that thy father is consul and thy mother holy and good," says Chrysostom; "what does it matter to me? Show me thy own life, for it is only by that I can be able to judge of thy nobility" (Or. in *terra motum et Lazarum*, § 6, vol. i., p. 782). Man is "the great work of God" (Ambrose, *Sermo* 10, in Ps. cxviii.). "The world is a vast republic, a great family of God's children," writes Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxviii.). The whole of Christianity the early Church found in charity rather than in hope or faith (*Zeno Veron.* Book I., tract 2, p. 111). Chrysostom puts it above fasts or solitary penances. Love, gentleness, almsgiving, are greater, according to him, than celibacy (*Hom.* 1., in Matt., § 7). "Love on earth must be without thought of earthly profit or heavenly recompense" (Orig., *Contra Cels.*, 1., 67, vol. i., p. 382). Gregory Nazianzen says: "Rich and poor, strong and weak, servant and freeman, have one only Head, from whom everything comes, Christ Jesus. What the members of the body are for each other, each among us is for his brothers, and all for each" (Greg. Naz., Or. 16, vol. i., p. 243). Of this unity the *agape*, or love-feasts, were symbols. "Here they brought the poor and the needy" (*Constit. Apost.*, II., 28, p. 243). The Church, Augustine calls "a spiritual republic in the midst of a pagan society" (*De opere Monach.* chap. xv., vol. vi., p. 363). At first at least the Christian Church did not favor monasticism. Their communism

Spirit of Brotherhood. "Christians," says one, "are not distinguished from other nations either by language, dress, or habits. They do not shut themselves up in particular towns, but live where they were born, in the midst of Greeks or barbarians. They are different from pagans in conduct, and their life is altogether distinct" (*Ep. ad Diogn.*, chap. iii., p. 237). They honored the magistrates and prayed for them, and for the emperor, who was their earthly head, as Jesus Christ was head in the kingdom of God (*Polyc. Ep.*, chap. xii., p. 191; Just., M., l. c.; Athenag., *Leg. chap.* xxxvii., p. 313). The Christians obeyed all laws save those which compromised their faith, such as giving divine honors to the emperors, bowing before idols, swearing by their genii. Here they were inflexible. The aged Polycarp, summoned by the proconsul to swear by the genius of Cæsar, refused to do so, but was willing to obey in all else. Ambrose reckons it among the duties of an ecclesiastic to take an interest in the oppressed and suffering. "Your office will shine gloriously," he writes, "if the oppression of widows and orphans attempted by the powerful should be hindered by the servants of the Church; if you show that the commandment of the Lord is more to you than the favor of the rich" (*De Offic.*, II., 22). Athanasius excommunicated the viceroy of Lydia, notorious for his cruelty and excesses, and Basil declared that the Church agreed with him (*Bas. Ep.*, 16). Synesius of Ptolemais excluded from the Church the Prefect Andronicus for the same reason, having first in vain warned him (*Synesii Epp.*, 57, 58, 72). When the inhabitants of Antioch were trembling before the wrath of the emperor, because they had overthrown his statues, Bishop Flavian went to Constantinople to intercede, while Chrysostom preached his famous "statue sermons," and when prosecutions began, a monk, seizing the bridle of the judges as they were riding, cried: "Tell the emperor you are not only an emperor, but a man, and those you reign over are your fellowmen. Human nature was made in the image of God; do not then so mercilessly and cruelly destroy the image of God." The story of Ambrose himself expelling Theodosius the Great from both Church and sacrament till he did public penance, for having allowed his soldiers a massacre at Thessalonica, is well known. The Church became the sanctuary of the oppressed. When a debtor, sued for 17 solidi (about \$15), fled to the Church, Augustine paid the debt. He who violated the right of sanctuary was excommunicated.

Relation to the State. Next to the spirit of the equality and brotherhood and protection to the oppressed, we notice what the primitive Church did for the *family* and for *woman*. Under Rome woman was either the slave, the toy, or the property of man. The Church recognized her equality.

"I do not know anything more unjust," said Augustine of the Roman laws which kept women in an infe-

rior position (*De Civit. Dei* iii, chap. xxi., vol. vii., p. 63); and all the Fathers teach the equality of man and woman (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, I., 4, vol. i., p. 103; Greg. Naz., *Or.*, 33, 4, vol. i., p. 322; Greg. Nys., *Or.*, 1, in *Verba Jac. Hom.*, vol. i., p. 151). Marriage was

The Church and Woman.

regarded in its spiritual aspect as for eternity an association of souls rather than of bodies (Athenag., *Leg.*, chap. xxxiii., p. 311). It was a type of the union of Christ with His Church (Chrysost., *Hom.*, 12 in col., § 5, vol. xi., p. 419). Some of the Fathers, such as Ambrose and Augustine, began to exalt celibacy and virginity above marriage, but in the beginning it was not so; and was never so with all the Fathers. With Chrysostom a true man and wife joined in sacred union show a holier life than the inhabitants of many a monastery (*Hom.*, I., in *Rom.* xvi. 3, vol. iii., p. 175). In marriage, the woman, according to the Fathers, was wedded to the husband as the Church to its Head. Chrysostom says: "Woman can neither carry arms nor vote in the assemblies, nor manage the commune, but she can weave thread, give better advice than her husband about domestic matters, rule and keep order in her household, superintend the servants, and bring up the children. Each sex has its special vocation. God has not given all to one. He has wisely divided it" (Chrysost., *Quales Duceude sint Uxores*, vol. iii., p. 127). "Nothing," he says further, "can better mold man than a pious and wise woman" (Chrysost. I. c.; *Sermo*, 4, in *Gen.*, § 1, vol. iv., p. 659). Mixed marriages between pagans and Christians were frowned upon. Second marriages were discouraged. Tertullian said that "he who marries again commits a decent kind of adultery" (Athenag., *Leg.*, 33, p. 311). Montanists absolutely forbade second marriages, but after the time of Augustine it was a heresy to condemn second marriages. Adultery was the only admitted cause of divorce, and then separation was usually recommended. Purity was required of both sexes equally. "The laws of the Cæsars are different from the laws of Christ," says Jerome. "With us, on the contrary, what is not permitted for women is also forbidden for men" (*Ep.* 77, Ann. 399, vol. I., p. 459). Nevertheless, condemning strictly their vice, the Church welcomed the Magdalenes, and many of them became noble martyrs. Pelagia, a celebrated courtesan of Antioch, was converted and retired to a convent, and spent the rest of her life in humble piety. Afra died for her Saviour in Augsburg with three servants, who, having followed her in vice, followed also in conversion. Similarly high was the position of the Church in regard to children. At a time when abortion and exposure were frequent, the Fathers declared that to cause a child to perish by abortion is to destroy the work of God. God is the father of all life, however incomplete it be. Those guilty of it were excluded from the Church for 10 years (*Const. Apost.*, vii., 3, p. 266). Exposure was still more condemned. The Church welcomed the children. "If old sinners," says Cyprian, "are received in the Christian community, how much with greater reason shall the new-born child be received, who has not yet committed sin?" (*Ep.* 59, p. 99). This was true even of natural children. They were still under God's paternal care, and to be welcomed by the Church (Methodius, *Conviv.* x. *Virginum*, or. 2, in *Combellis*). According to Chrysostom, what has upset the whole world is that man has not cared more for his own children (*Hom. de Viduis*, vol. iii., p. 317). Chrysostom and Jerome especially urge upon mothers to rightly influence the children. Thus we have in the early Church Monica, the mother of Augustine; Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus; Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom. The first schools that may be called primary were kept in the fourth century by Christian priests (Palladius, *Vita Chrys.*; in *Opp.*, vol. xiii., p. 77). Basil during his rule made it an special duty (*Regula Fustus. Tract.*, *interrog.*, 15 et 23, vol. ii., p. 355).

We come next to the relation of the primitive Church to the laboring classes. These, according to all classic antiquity, were despised. Artisans, according to

The Church and the Working Classes.

Aristotle, were not worthy of the name of citizens (*O.*, chap. ii., 1). Almost all manual and most mental work was done by slaves. By the Christian Church work was honored. They neither felt themselves to be miserable nor disgraced because they

had to work with their hands (*Ep. ad. Zenam et Serenum*, chap. xvii., in *Opp. Just. Mart.*, p. 416). They remembered Christ the carpenter and Paul the tent-maker. The *Apostolic Constitutions* forbid a man to mix with the idle crowd, and advise him to engage in useful work, having his soul turned toward God (Book I., chap. iv.). The necessity of teaching youthful arts to children was dwelt upon (*Const. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xi., p. 301). They taught that if a man did not work, "neither should he eat."

The relation of the Church to slavery has been much discussed. The primitive Church did not immediately seek to overthrow slavery, but did undermine it. Before the Reformation slavery had wholly disappeared from Christian lands, and long before that it had almost disappeared. The Church started among the poor, and despised by the powerful, had not the power to abolish the institution in any legal way. But while the Church long allowed slavery, it did much to alleviate it, and welcomed the slave as an equal; only in later years did the Church ever practise slavery.

"No one is a slave by nature," say Clement of Alexandria and Basil (Clem. Alex., *Pædag.*, III., chap. xii., vol. 1, p. 207; Basil, *De Spir.*, s., I., chap. xxi., vol. iii., p. 42). Chrysostom says God, who created the two first beings free and equal, never created slaves to serve them (*Hom. 22 in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167). Some of the Fathers held that slavery was punishment, but they held so of all work, and yet that work was honorable. "I call noble and lord," says Chrysostom, "the slave who is covered with chains, if it accords with his life; I call him low and ignoble who in the midst of dignities retains an enslaved soul" (Or. in *Terræ Motum et Laz.*, § 7, vol. i., p. 782). In the Church slavery was only an accidental external condition which did not affect the moral worth. Again and again, the Church taught that Christianity was service. Christians called themselves, like St. Paul, servants or bondservants (*δουλο*) of Christ. Ignatius wrote of the slaves: "Let them continue to serve without murmuring, and God will give them a better than earthly liberty" (*Ad. Polyx.*, chap. iv., p. 41). Slaves were recommended to bear servitude in the passing world of exile, where none is free, and beyond which the Christian expects deliverance and glory (August., *De Agone Christiana*, chap. vii., vol. vi., p. 181). In 451, the Council of Chalcedon forbade the convents to receive slaves without the consent of their masters, "in order that the name of God be not dishonored" (Canon IV.). Many slaves bore noble testimony to their master, Christ, such as Potamizena, Eutyches, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus, Vitalis, and others. But while bidding the slave be patient, the Church spoke plainly to the Master. Said Chrysostom: "Do not imagine that an injury to a slave will be regarded as indifferent, because it is only to a slave. The laws of the world see a difference between the two races; but the laws of the commonwealth of God ignore it" (Chrysost. *Hom. 22, in Eph.*, § 2, vol. xi., p. 167).

We observe the difference between the recognition of slavery by the primitive Church and its recognition too frequently by the Church in modern times. The primitive Church recognized it as a human institution, which they were to submit to. The modern Church too often tried to prove slavery a Divine institution. Masters were told by the primitive Church to love their slaves as sons and as equals (*Const. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. xii., p. 302). The Church refused to receive the gifts of the master who ill treated his slaves (*Const. Apost.*, Book IV., chap. vi., p. 197). There were in the early Church families where master and servants formed one family.

When Thecla was cited to appear before the tribunal,

50 of her slaves, urged by gratitude, appeared in her favor (*Acta ss.*, January, vol. i., p. 601). Paula, a descendant of Paulus, Æmilius, Leo, and Fabiola are spoken of as the servants rather than the mistresses of their women. But the Fathers went farther than to counsel gentleness. They urged masters to free their slaves. Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom are prominent in such exhortations, and many masters did the same. The earliest instance that has come down to us is that of Hermes, Prefect of Rome under Trajan, who embraced Christianity with his wife, children, and 1250 slaves, whom he freed on the day of their baptism, Easter day, with ample assistance to enable them to gain a livelihood. He himself afterward suffered martyrdom with Bishop Alexander, who had been the means of his conversion. Another prefect of Rome, Chromatius, under Diocletian, freed his 1400 slaves, saying that those who had God for their father ought not to be the servants of man. Melania, with the consent of her husband, Pinitus, freed 8000 slaves; Onovius, a French martyr, 5000.

The Church especially did her utmost to end the horrors of the *gladiatorial* combats and the degradation of the *theatrical* exhibitions. The

Church refused baptism to gladiators unless they gave up their profession. Lactantius said: "Instead of buying and feeding wild beasts, ransom prisoners and feed the poor; instead of bringing together men to

kill each other, go and bury the innocent dead" (*Div. Instit.*, Book VI., chap. xii., vol. i., p. 470). From the theaters, at this time grossly immoral, Christians were warned to absent themselves. Those who, in spite of warnings, still attended, were declared unworthy of Christian communion.

Christians were urged to find their exhibitions in nature. "What theater," says one writer, "constructed by the hand of man can equal these wonders of creation" (*Traet. de Spect.*, in *Opp. Cyr.*, p. 322)! Actors who became Christians and had no other means of earning a livelihood, such as Euchratius, were provided for by the Church through the efforts of Cyprian.

We come now to consider the relation of the primitive Church to the *poor*, and in its property relations in general. This may be said to be a more or less faithful carrying out of the voluntary communal life of Jerusalem. There seems to be no evidence that there was anywhere established by the primitive Church a mechanical communism. Voluntary communism seems to have been the ideal to which they always tended, though sometimes very vaguely and remotely. The emphasis was on love. "It is not the census," said Ambrose, "but the qualities of the soul, that show the rich man" (*Ep.*, chap. lxiii., § 89, vol. ii., p. 1044). Barnabas, in warmly commending charity, argues that "we ought not to consider anything as belonging to ourselves alone, but to share everything with our neighbor; for if there is communion in spiritual and everlasting things, with how much greater right ought it to exist in these material things" (chap. xix., p. 52). Ambrose of Milan wrote, "Nature created everything for common use. If, then, there are men who are excluded from the enjoyment of the products of the earth, it is contrary to nature. The unequal division of this wealth is the result of egoism and violence. Nature is the mother of common right, usurpation is the mother of private right" (*De Off. Ministr.*, Book I., chap. xxviii., § 132, vol. ii., p. 35).

The early Church opposed riches as hindering salvation, but Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and others

teach that riches are not to be condemned in themselves. "Neither is every poor man a saint, . . . nor is every rich man condemned," wrote one (Asterius, *De Divite et Lazaro*, p. 13). "The hand of the Christian," said the same writer, Asterius, "ought only to be held out to give alms, never to seize what does not belong to him" (*Hom. de Economo, Iniquo*, p. 23). The giving of charity the primitive Church exalted. "It is better to do the works of charity than to ornament churches, or to enrich them with precious vases" (Hieron., *Ep.* 130, vol. i., p. 907). The priests were to lead in this, especially the bishops. The *Apostolic Constitutions* lay down their duties in these words: "To orphans take the place of a father; to widows give the protection that they would have from their husbands; help young people who desire to marry with your counsels; find work for the artisans; have pity on the infirm; receive strangers beneath your roof; give food and drink to those who are hungry and thirsty and clothes to the naked; visit the sick and help the prisoners" (Book IV., 2, p. 295). Charity was to cost sacrifice. We read of the early Christians fasting that they might give to the poor (*Constit. Apost.*, V. xx., p. 331). Deaconesses were appointed to aid poor women. Under Bishop Cornelius, toward the close of the third century, the Church of Rome supported more than 1500 poor people. The Church of Antioch, in the time of Chrysostom, maintained more than 3000. The Church of Rome, under Bishop Sotir, in the second half of the second century, and 100 years later, under Bishop Stephen, sent money collected in distant provinces, sometimes to help populations wasted in famine, sometimes to lighten the burdens of the persecuted. Prelates sold the vases and ornaments of their churches to aid the poor. This was done by Cyril, by Acacius, Bishop of Amida, who sold 420 vases and sent back to freedom 7000 imprisoned Persians, and by Deogratias, of Carthage. Augustine and Ambrose did it to ransom captives. Paulinus of Nola and Hilary of Arles sold their large estates for the poor. Martin of Tours sacrificed his sacerdotal robes. The Bishop of Escupère, of Toulouse, went hungry and used only basket and glass for the bread and wine of the Eucharist, in order to help the poor. When the martyr Lawrence was asked by the pagan governor for the treasures of the Church, he showed him the poor. Peter, the tax-gatherer, in the time of Justinian, on being converted, expiated his harshness by selling himself to a slave merchant for the benefit of the poor. Clement of Rome writes to the Church in Corinth: "We have among us many who have given themselves to servitude in order that others might be free." It is told of Bishop Eleusis, of Cyzicus, that he took the pagan temples and made them into hospitals for the old and widowed. The first orphan-houses are of this period, and were cared for by priests. Special collections were made for prisoners. The poor denied themselves a day's food to give to these. The funds of the Church were used to ransom brothers sentenced to public works or the arena. The Church was the asylum. Even Alaric, on taking Rome, is reported to have spared those who took refuge in the churches. The innocent went to the bishops for redress. In the midst of universal anarchy, the bishops raised their voices in behalf of outraged humanity. It was one of their special duties to save defenseless men from the hands of powerful oppressors and to intercede with the emperors and magistrates in their behalf; to undertake long journeys and brave all wrath, provided the cause of those in whom they were interested was just. Most frequently we find bishops giving assistance to country people, who suffered from the rapacity of the fiscal agents, the avarice of the usurers, the oppression of great proprietors. For the sick, the primitive Church did much, even for the lepers. Basil advises that lepers be not deserted, but be loved the more for the miseries of their desolation. During the plague of Carthage, about 250 A.D., and during that of Alexandria, the Christians showed great bravery and love. The first hospitals are due to the Church, the first being established in the early part of the fourth century. From the latter half of this century they multiplied greatly. The most important of these was founded by Basil in Cæsarea. It rose, says Gregory Nazianzen, like a new town, providing lodgings for travelers, rooms for invalids, workshops for the poor, provision for lepers. It bore the name of Basiliæ. Chrysostom founded several hospitals. By the time of Theodosius most of the large towns had hospitals. The hermit Thalassius founded one for the blind.

Ransoming Captives.

The early Church was especially remarkable for its sacrifices in behalf of its *enemies*. Ter-

tullian could truly say that "if all men loved their friends, the Christians alone knew how to love their enemies" (*Ad Scap.*, i., p. 69). The Fathers, too, with their profound respect for human life, unanimously condemned capital punishment. The Council of Elvira (A.D. 305) excludes the magistrates whose duties as decemvirs caused them to judge cases involving capital punishment from joining in worship during the year. The emphasis the early Church put upon *hospitality* is well known, as is also its universal opposition to *war*.

It is well to notice the organization of the Church for practical charities. At first there was little or none.

"We give to all and communicate to every one who is in need," says Justin (*Apolog.*, i., 14). The shepherd of Hermas says: "Give simply to all, without asking doubtfully to whom thou givest, but give to all" (*Pastor Hermas*, Mand., II.). Clement of Alexandria warns against trying to judge who is deserving and who undeserving (*Quis dicitur salvus*, chap. xiii.).

Charities.

Concerning the giving up of property, Hermas says to Christians: "You are dwelling here in a foreign city. Would any one dwelling in a foreign city provide himself with fields and expensive accommodations?" (*Similit.*, I). The Church was in the world, but not of it. "We are no Brahmans nor Indian gymnosophists; no wild men of the woods and separatists from life. We are mindful of the gratitude which we owe to the Lord our God, and do not despise the enjoyment of His works," wrote Tertullian (*Apolog.*, 42). But the Fathers everywhere counseled simplicity of life. "On the road to heaven," says Clement, "the best provision is frugality, moderation is the shoe, and beneficence the staff" (*Pædagog.*, III., 7). Clement pities the insatiable who collect their dainties from all parts of the world, with whom "the basting ladies and the kitchen form the central point of existence" (*Pædagog.*, I., 1). In an old catalogue of the apostles, Peter, Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee are fishermen; Philip, an ass driver; Bartholomew, a vegetable gardener; James, the son of Alphæus, a mason. Later, when the Church became corrupt, men like Chrysostom vehemently attacked the luxury of the day. Said Chrysostom of the luxuriously dressed woman: "Of how many poor, O woman, dost thou bear upon thine arms the spoils!" Yet, even when the Church was at her simplest, there was some organization for charity. Deacons, deaconesses, and widows, who were considered officers in the Church, had special charge of the charities, but always under the direct guidance of the bishops. Alms were collected and distributed largely at the *agapæ*, which were first suppers in common for all church-members, later suppers for the poor, and finally occasions of drunkenness and excesses. Montanism tried to react from these excesses and any compromise with the world by strict discipline and limiting church-membership to the select few, but this was to make the Church separatist and sectarian and sacrifice her power as a Church for the world. It taught the Church to distinguish between the "religious" and the "secular," sending the "religious" into monasticism and asceticism, and the "secular" into worldliness.

Gradually we find as a result of this the alliance of the Church with the State, still more developing its worldliness, till it came to palliate, allow and endorse and even own slaves (so that even so pure a spirit as Gregory the Great makes no apology for having a fugitive slave brought back "by any means" from Otranto, though he was also torn from wife and children, to serve as a baker in Rome). The Church gradually thus became full of all such worldliness as called forth the burning protests of Chrysostom. On the other hand, we have the development of monasticism, for the social results of which see MONASTICISM. Still through all the earlier centuries the Church was not only the friend but the leader of social reform. If she did not abolish slavery or advocate all the social reforms

that are suggested to-day, it was because they were not proposed. She was at least on the side of the most radical reform there was, or, rather, the mother and the life of all reform. On the whole, well could Tertullian point to the life and love of the Church, which to the jealous hatred of its enemies was a reproach. "See how they love one another," mocked these enemies; "as if they were ready to die, the one for the other." "Yes," said Tertullian, "we love one another; we are brothers, for we have a common Father, and the same Spirit has led us from darkness to light. We are also your brothers, because, although you are our persecutors, you are men like us. We support one another; we have everything in common except our wives; each one freely brings his offering to relieve the poor, the sick, orphans, widows, travelers, and prisoners. We are not incapable of the business of life, for do we not live with you, sharing your habits and necessities? We do not retire into forests; we do not flee from life; we use everything with thanksgiving; we sail with you; we mix with you in the Forum, in camp, in commerce; we refrain only from your spectacles, sacrifices, disorders, and crimes" (*Apologeticus*, about 198 A.D.).

3. THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH.

In this section we shall not enter so much into detail, because the details are given in other articles: that on the CANON LAW, which belongs almost exclusively to the medieval Church, and the general article on CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM, Christian influence, in the Middle Ages at least, being admittedly almost identical with Church influence. Yet a few general characterizations may here be made, and one or two points elucidated.

We notice, first, that the medieval Church was always the great leveler; that the clerical order was the one profession in which it was possible for a man of the humblest birth to attain to the highest position. This was less by virtue of express enactment than in consequence of the facts (a) that the Church remained free from the distinctions of classes that grew up in the civil State, and (b) that the churchman, as the rule of celibacy became universally accepted in Latin Christendom, could be raised to any rank without the drawback of his founding a family of nobles. Many a peasant heard doubtless of the learned Grosstê, the son of a serf, the most distinguished scholar of thirteenth century Oxford, of the Oxford which existed long before a college was founded—the friend of the reforming friars, the enemy of the Roman court, the advocate of England for the English; and was eager, out of his scanty means, to buy the license that his son might go to the schools and take orders. The possibility of rising was, it is true, not confined to churchmen; but that which was the exception among the laity was common among the clergy; and in one important point, with respect to slavery, the exemption of the clerical status from the classes of civil society produced a remarkable relaxation of class conditions.

It was not, however, for many centuries that it became the accepted doctrine that an ordained person was *ipso facto* a free man.

If, however, in the fifth century it could be conceived as possible that a man might be a clergyman and yet a slave, this idea early gave way before another, which presumed that if a slave were ordained with the knowledge of his lord, and without any objection raised by him, he was a free man, tho not formally manumitted.

For the effect, however, of the medieval Church upon slavery, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. It must not be forgotten that before the time of the Reformation slavery, and, in some countries like England, even serfdom, had disappeared from Christendom. The medieval Church had put it down.

We notice next as characteristic of the medieval Church its monasteries and nunneries and Church brotherhoods of various kinds, not only as centers of Christian equality, but as asylums for the oppressed and as centers of brotherhood life and work. Says Thorold Rogers upon this point:

"The relief of destitution was the fundamental religious duty of medieval Christianity, I might have said of Christianity itself. In ancient politics it might be the duty of the State to relieve distress; it was always its prudence, if it cared for security. To get abundant supplies of food for the poorer citizens in one way or the other was the constant anxiety of democratic Athens and of imperial Rome. But from the very first Christianity transferred this duty from the State to the individual, and to the voluntary corporation. The early Church undoubtedly preached patience, but it much more emphatically inculcated the duty of almsgiving. The contribution of the tithe was enforced in order that a third part, at least, of the proceeds should go

Monasteries.

to the relief of the deserving poor. In the fifteenth century nothing moves the righteous wrath of Gascoigne more than the teaching of Peacock to the effect that ecclesiastical revenues enjoyed by churchmen can be disposed of according to the discretion of the recipient as freely as the proceeds of private property. After heresy, simony, and sorcery, the heaviest charge which could be leveled against a churchman was that of avarice, and a covetous priest who hoarded his revenues was lucky if the charge of avarice was not coupled with those graver vices to which I have referred. We may be certain, too, that the duty which was so generally imposed on them by public opinion—the force of which is not yet extinct—was inculcated by them on others. In times of plenty, too, food was often given with wages. A wealthy monastery or college would find a place at the servants' table for the artisans whom they employed without much grudging, and still more would the poor at the gate not be sent away empty-handed. Where mendicancy was no disgrace, almsgiving was like to be considered the most necessary and the most ordinary of the virtues.

"It has been often said and often denied that the monasteries supplied the want which the poor law, two generations after the dissolution of these bodies, enforced. That the monasteries were renowned for their almsgiving is certain. The duty of aiding the needy was universal. Themselves the creatures of charity, they could not deny to others that on which they subsisted. But some orders were under special duties. The Hospitalers were bound to relieve casual destitution. Hence, when Waynflete procured the surrender of the house of the Oxford Hospitalers, he bound his college to the duties which the surrendered house had performed, duties which, it is almost superfluous to say, were speedily evaded. So again the preaching and begging friars were the nurses of the sick, especially of those who labored under infectious diseases. There were houses where doles of bread and beer were given to all wayfarers, houses where the sick were tended, clothed, and fed, particularly the lepers. There were nunneries, where the nuns were nurses and midwives; and even now the ruins of these houses contain living record of the ancient practices of their inmates in the rare medicinal herbs which are still found within their precincts. In the universal destruction of these establishments, the hardest instruments of Henry's purposes interceded for the retention of

some among the most meritorious, useful, and unblemished of them. It is possible that these institutions created the mendicancy which they relieved, but it cannot be doubted that they assisted much which needed their help" (*Work and Wages*, p. 416).

What an enormous part in the polity of the Middle Ages was played by these monasteries is well known. The estates of the monasteries are said over and over again to have comprised a third of the knight's fees in England. Most of these religious houses were founded before the close of the thirteenth century, many of them in the early ages of the Saxon polity. Only a few were founded in later times. Besides these monastic estates, the bishops and the chapters held large possessions.

Many of the English towns grew up round monasteries. The piety of the converted Saxons led them to spend lavishly in the foundation of these institutions, and the principal part of the documents which have been preserved from a period antecedent to the Conquest refer to these early monasteries. Thus the town of Oxford grew up under the shadow of the great monasteries of St. Frideswide and Osney. Such was the origin of Abingdon, of Reading, of St. Albans, of Coventry, of Durham.

That these centers of religious life were centers also of humble brotherly work is also well known. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*:

"The lands held by a religious house, at least those in its immediate vicinity, were, as a rule, cultivated by the brotherhood itself, and the personal interest thus devoted to the work produced better results than the enforced labor of bondmen. The evidence of the Domesday survey goes to show that the Church lands were in a higher state of cultivation than other property. The monks also employed themselves in clearing forests, draining marshes, and making roads and bridges (cf. Lingard, i., 267 seq.; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Early and Middle Ages*, p. 64 seq., 1890); and the Cistercian order, through the activity which it displayed in sheep-farming, promoted in a singular degree the production of the staple commodity of England. Through the immense extent of their property, variously estimated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries from a quarter to a half of the total landed property of England (Wycliffe, *de Eccl.*, xv., p. 338; cf. Pearson, *History of England*, ii., 497, 1867), the churches and religious houses came to take an important share in the industrial development of the country; and it is acknowledged that the clergy were mild landlords (see generally Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, iii., 562). The attacks of the Lollards upon the landed property of the Church were inspired rather by *a priori* objections to the system itself than by any actual abuses to which it led; and the considerations which Bishop Peacock, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, alleged on the opposite side are probably in the main just. 'The treuthe is,' he says, 'that the tenementis and alle the possessiouns with her purtenauncis, which the clergie (religiouse or not religiouse) holden and hanen, is better meinteined and susteyned, and into wildirnesse, than kept for falling into nouzt and into wildirnesse, than if the same tenementis and possessiouns with her purtenauncis weren in the handis of grete lordis, or of knyztis, or of squyeres.'

The tenants, occupying the tenementis and possessiouns with purtenauncis and the clergie, ben esilier tretid, lasse discedid, and not greued bi extorcioun, as thei schoulden be, if thei holden the same tenementis and possessiouns of temporal lordis or of knyztis and squyeres.' Among other points in favor of those who held of the Church, Peacock notices that their tenure was less liable to be disturbed than that of those who held under lay lords (*Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, vol. ii., p. 370 seq., ed. Babington, 1866). It has been noticed by critics least friendly to the medieval Church that it was such causes—the known advantage to the tenant—that did much to reconcile public opinion to the enormous estates held by the Church (Pearson, *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 502; Rogers, vol. i., p. 166). That at the close of the Middle Ages the state of things was somewhat altered, and the abuses which had arisen with respect to the management of Church property called forth well-founded complaints (cf. *Dyalogue betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman*, 1530, ed. Arber, 1871, p. 134 seq.; *Ballads from Manuscripts*, ed. Furnivall, 1869, vol. i.), need not be denied."

But it was not only manual work that was

performed by the monks and clergy. Says Rogers:

"The clergy, in the widest sense of the term, contained nearly the whole of what we should call the professional classes. The architects, the physicians, the lawyers, the scribes, the teachers of the Middle Ages, were almost always clergymen, and when employed in these callings were rewarded for their services with benefices. We know but few of the men who designed the great cathedrals, churches, and castles of the Middle Ages—those buildings which are the wonder of our age for their vastness, their exquisite proportions, and their equally exquisite detail. But when we do know, as it were by accident, who the builder was, he is almost always a clergyman. It seems as if the skill in architecture, and intimate acquaintance with all which was necessary not only for the design of the structure, but for good workmanship and endurance, were so common an accomplishment, that no one was at the pains to proclaim

The Clergy of the Middle Ages.

his own reputation or to record the reputation of another. It is known that we owe the designs of Rochester Castle and the Tower to one ecclesiastic. It is recorded that William of Wykeham was Edward III.'s architect at Windsor, as well as his own at Winchester and Oxford, and of various handsome churches which were built during his long episcopate. It is probable that Waynflete designed the beautiful buildings at Magdalen College; and it is alleged that Wolsey, in his youth, planned the matchless tower, which has charmed every spectator for nearly four centuries. But no one knows who designed and carried out a thousand of those poems in stone which were the glory of the Middle Ages, and have been made the subjects of servile and stupid imitations in our own.

"The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature. It is owing to their labors that we know anything of our annals, of the events by which the political history of England is interpreted. They were often frivolous, frequently credulous, but they collected the facts to the best of their ability. It is true that the material which they put into shape is far less in quantity than those voluminous archives are which are preserved in our national collection. But these, tho' of great collateral value, would have but little constructive importance in the absence of the chronicles which the monks compiled. This is abundantly illustrated by the history of the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth.

"I am convinced that schools were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation of 1547 was not a new zeal for a new learning, but the fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished." (*Work and Wages*, p. 162).

And it must be remembered that they were not monks of the lower ranks who did manual and literary work, but ecclesiastics of the highest rank. We find such men as Hilary of Arles one of the leading prelates in the French Church, working in the field. Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he visited a monastery in harvest did not hesitate to labor in the fields. St. Dunstan is reported to have been an excellent blacksmith.

For what the medieval Church did to put down feuds, to bring in "the peace of God," etc., see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM. We notice here the influence of the Church upon the State. The political influence of the medieval Church was enormously great. Undoubtedly much of it was due to ambition for temporal power, especially with the Roman see, and wherever her spirit went; but equally undoubtedly, apart from all question of ambition, the medieval Church often used her enormous power, and especially did many of her leading prelates use their commanding influence, to protect the rights of the common people against the aggression both of the barons and of the king. We can cite only a few examples, but they are strewn on every page of medieval history. In

England, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was the leader and the prime mover in wresting from King Richard the Magna Charta, which has now become the birthright of every Englishman and American. In France, the life of Bernard of Clairvaux is filled with records of masterly and effectual resistance against the wrongs and violence of the barons. In Italy, the political influence of Savonarola, the Dominican monk, can hardly be overestimated, and these are shining illustrations of what was done in a humbler way and on a lesser scale by thousands of brave medieval churchmen. The influence of Wycliffe's poor priests, and above all of John Ball (*q. v.*), must not be forgotten. Says Thorold Rogers:

"The poor priests alone could traverse the country by right, and, without suspicion, advise their followers. They were precisely the persons who could organize resistance among the serfs, could win and keep their confidence, and could be trusted with their subscriptions, their plans, and their communications.

The Poor Priests.

Wycliffe's poor priests had honeycombed the minds of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism. By Wycliffe's labors the Bible men had been introduced to the new world of the Old Testament, to the history of the human race, to the primeval garden and the young world, where the first parents of all mankind lived by simple toil, and were the ancestors of the proud noble and knight, as well as of the down-trodden serf and despised burgher. They read of the brave times when there was no king in Israel, when every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. They read how God, through His prophet, had warned Israel of the evils which would come to them when a king should rule over them, and how speedily this was verified in the conduct of the young Rehoboam, with his depraved and foolish counselors, of how he had been predicted to the people over whom a child should rule. The God of Israel had bade His people be husbandmen, and not mounted knights and men-at-arms. But, most of all, the preacher would dwell on his own prototype, on the man of God, the wise prophet who denounced kings and princes and high priests, and, by God's commission, made them like a potter's vessel in the day of His wrath, or on those bold judges, who were zealous even to slaying. For with this book, so old, yet so new, the peasant preacher—we are told that many learned to read when they were old that they might tell the Bible story—could stir up the souls of these clowns with the true narrative of another people, and would be sure that his way to their hearts and their confidence would be, as it always has been with the leaders of a religious revival, by entirely sympathizing with their wrongs, their sufferings, and their hopes. And when they told them that the lords had determined to drag them back to their old serfdom, the preacher could discourse to them of the natural equality of man, of the fact that all, kings, lords, and priests, live by the fruits of the earth and the labor of the husbandman, and that it would be better for them to die with arms in their hands than to be thrust back, without an effort on their part, into the shameful slavery from which they had been delivered. And as their eyes kindled, and they grasped their staves, he could tell them to keep their ears open for the news of their deliverance, that on the password being given, they were at once to hie to the appointed place, where a great work could be done for God's people by His appointed servant" (*Work and Wages*, p. 254). It is true that the correctness of this view has been questioned, but that it is largely true is perhaps fixed. Green says that in the preaching of John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," England "first listened to the knell of feudalism and the declaration of the rights of man." For an account of somewhat similar movements on the continent, see BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE; COMMUNISM; MIDDLE AGES, etc. But already in noticing these movements that were reformatory of the Church, as well as of society, we are in the dark days when Rome, led by her earthly ambition and desire for temporal power, had forgotten the life of the spirit; and, first, the papacy itself had grown utterly and scandalously corrupt, and was

completely dominated by worldly policy, and then gradually the poison spread from the head to feet and members till the whole medieval Church, save for reforming movements like those led by Wycliffe, Huss, and Savonarola, became dead in trespasses and sins—the higher clergy profligate mammon-servers, the lower clergy profligate servers of the senses; the monasteries (tho' not always even then) too common centers of vice, the nunneries homes of license for the monks. But on this we need not dwell, tho' it must be remembered in obtaining a true picture of the effect of the medieval Church upon social reform; yet there is little danger in Protestant lands of its being forgotten. We are more apt to forget that the poison of corruption came from the worldliness of Rome, and that for long centuries, even after Rome was herself corrupt, the Catholic Church (in England especially, never wholly subject to Rome) was the great purifying, liberating, civilizing, Christianizing factor of medieval life. For the close relation between many of the medieval trade guilds and the Church, see GUILDS. Almost all guilds had their patron saint and their church, where they went for solemn worship, and whose clergy took an active interest in their life, religion and business being continually interblended in medieval life.

4. FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

With the Reformation, or at least soon after, when the principles of the Reformation had become well established in reformed countries, we have a great change in the history of the *Church* and social reform. That Protestantism, by reaching the *individual*, has along certain lines done much for social reform, no thoughtful man can deny. But the Protestant churches as a whole accomplished but little. Rome, too, since the Reformation has done until recently even less. The Reformation, in its appeal to personal faith, to the right of private judgment, to the letter of the Scriptures, had largely the effect, *both on Roman and Protestant churches*, of exalting belief, creeds, dogma, and discussion above life. It divided Protestantism into so many sects, each discussing and battling to sustain its own peculiar belief and separate church machinery, as to cause the reform of the social life to be until recently almost forgotten. This, too, has been intensified by two other elements in Protestant faith. First, its exaltation of what it calls "the spiritual life," largely meaning by this a life that finds its chief interest in the life hereafter, leading to what has been well called "*other worldliness*;" and secondly, the tendency to *individualism*. This combination of tendencies in Protestant thought has at times almost wholly divorced Church life from the life of this world; and it is therefore no wonder that in the history of THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM we have after the Reformation nearly a blank. There are, however, exceptions to be noted. First, the early Protestants—for example, the Anabaptists of Germany—referring directly to the New Testament, learned there of its communism, and not a few attempts were made to reproduce it. It has led to a long series of Protestant attempts at communism (see article COMMUNISM), some of them very successful—for example, the Shakers (*q.v.*). But, in the first place, these attempts were made by sects, and therefore were so limited by various narrow and peculiar doctrinal requirements as to very materially limit their influence; while *secondly*, they were based on the belief that

Christians must go out from the world and be *separate*, rather than on the Catholic doctrine that the whole world is God's, and the duty of Christians is to remain *in* the world, tho' not of it, and to bring it wholly into subjection to its King. The second exception to the divorce between the Protestant churches and the social life was in the attempt of many of the first Protestant leaders, such as Calvin, Cromwell, and the Pilgrim Fathers in America, to set up a theocracy on earth, with their particular church organization as the interpreter of the Divine will. These efforts have passed into history, and are now as much marked by their complete failure and their renunciation by all Protestant sects as they were once marked by intense faith in their efficacy. The attempts belong to the first years of Protestantism, when its principles were held in the glow of enthusiasm, fanned by persecution and martyrdom. Protestantism, as soon as it reached its logical outcome, conceived this world for the most part to be "a dreary wilderness," from which the individual is saved by the efficacy of his personal faith in the atoning blood of Christ; Christianity to be the salvation of the individual soul, and the Church to be but the coming together of the individuals who are being saved. While later Protestant thought in Unitarianism and even in orthodox circles has given up much of this soteriology, still the divorce of the Church from practical social matters, has until recently remained. The individualism of Protestantism is admitted by friend and declared by foe. As applied to economics, it had its good and its bad effect. Undoubtedly it has produced a period through which both the world and the Church had to pass. Economic and religious individualism are largely identical. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*:

"Guizot, Seebohm, K. Marx, and E. de Laveleye declare alike that the 'history of capital and the supremacy of private interest,' *i.e.*, commerce in its modern aspect, commenced contemporaneously with the period of the Reformation, accompanied, as that movement was, by many discoveries and inventions, and the recovered sense of personal freedom and responsibility. In *Protestantism and Catholicism in their Bearing upon the Liberty and Prosperity of Nations*, by Emile de Laveleye (1875), the progress of economic enterprise is attributed to the superior education and enlightenment fostered by Protestantism. De Tocqueville ascribes to the Puritan discipline of the first settlers the same result in the commercial expansion of the United States. From Luther to Protestant divines of the present day the moral force of the dignity of labor and the duty of cheerful exertion in the subduing the earth by economic effort have been held up to admiration, and have given an impulse to the economic life of Protestant countries. The *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1775-76, and marks a revolution of thought as truly as in the world of industry. 'The machine is somewhat in the nature of Protestantism,' says Dean Uhlhorn in his brochure on *Katholicismus und Protestantismus gegenüber der sozialen Frage* (1887). Private property is encouraged by Protestantism. Luther, in his *Sermon on Usury* (1570), speaks of three grades 'of dealing well and worthily with temporal goods.' The highest is to allow ourselves to be despoiled of it without offering opposition; the lowest is to take neither profit nor interest, tho' he sees objections to this ideal being realized. While Erasmus complained of the 'rage of ownership,' Protestantism endeavored to make a compromise, maintaining the ideal in theory and encouraging what Fr. A. Lange calls a 'moderate egoism,' or 'ethical materialism,' in practice (see *Geschichte des Materialismus*, i., 254, 294. Cf. J. E. Thor-

The Puritan Theocracy.

Protestantism Individualistic.

Social
Uprisings
of the

Reformation.

old Rogers on *The Economic Interpretation of History*, 1888, p. 83). Liberation of industry follows logically from that of liberty of thought, developing the five points of industrial independence—freedom of labor, free trade in land, free movement of capital, freedom of industrial enterprise, and a free market regulated by demand and supply; it further implies the removal of all governmental and trade restrictions—in a word, *Laissez-faire*. Individualism in religion and in industry go together."

It is not therefore strange that slavery, suppressed in Europe by the medieval Church, reappeared in the slave trade after the Reformation, practised by both Protestant and Roman peoples. It is not strange that all the evils which are laid at the door of individualism and competition should be largely condoned, sometimes defended, and at least allowed and not seldom practised by individualistic and competing churches. Individual Protestants like Wilberforce, and Howard, and Chalmers, and Shaftesbury, and Garrison (for at least in Garrison's early reform days he was a believer in the Church), and Gough, and a long list of noble Protestants may have done much for social reform, and no one can challenge the effect upon the daily moral life of Protestantism among the Scotch Covenanters, the English and American Puritans, or the more ordinary life of many a parish in Scotland or town in New England (such as Northampton, Mass., under Edwards, when nearly the entire population were in church every Sabbath, and 600 out of a population of 1100 were members of the Church); yet the point is only too well sustained that the Protestant churches as organizations have had little to do with social reforms.

5. THE MODERN CHURCH.

With the modern Church we reach a new era. The Church of to-day can by no means be fairly accused of doing nothing for humanity. Those who accuse it, as many do in unsparring terms, of being separated from the masses and not battling for social reform, mean that it does not battle for certain ideas of reform. For

Activity of the Church.

charity and in certain lines of reform the Church, in all its history, never accomplished more than to-day. If charity (in the modern sense) be the fulfilling of the law, no one acquainted with the facts can condemn the Church. And

this should not be forgotten even by those who do not believe that such charity is the fulfilling of the law. Those who would put justice before charity must themselves be just enough to give the Church credit for what she is doing. The real state of the case seems to be not that the Church is inactive, for she is immensely active, but that she is not active along the lines most needed in the opinion of most progressive thinkers. We shall therefore point out here the lines upon which the modern Church is active, and in the next section point out the position she might take.

We cannot here enter into details concerning separate churches and church organizations. For these see ANGLICAN POSITION, BAPTIST, CONGREGATIONALIST, METHODIST, PRESBYTERIAN, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL, ROMAN CATHOLIC, UNITARIAN, and UNIVERSALIST CHURCHES in their relation to social reform. We consider here only those activities which hold more or less true of all churches.

The first of these is the marked activity of the churches in sustaining our great charitable institutions. Especially in our larger cities, like New York, our great hospitals, for example, are almost solely due to the churches. Many of our best educational institutions, too, are the direct offspring of our churches (see CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES; HOSPITALS; EDUCATION, etc.). The immense activity of the Church in these respects can hardly be realized, save

by a detailed study, and if one adds to this the enormous benefactions given, the sums contributed, and the charities and institutions founded by individual members of the Church, and largely as the result of the constant, quiet teaching and incitation of Christian pulpits, the influence of the Church for the social uplift of humanity can scarcely be exaggerated.

Second, in spite of severe criticism from those who believe that our churches, or at least church-members, are guilty in supporting political parties wedded to the saloon interest, it cannot be denied that in other ways at least our churches are exerting a vast influence for *temperance* (see TEMPERANCE; PROHIBITION; WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION; CHURCH TEMPERANCE SOCIETY, etc.).

Thirdly, the churches are exerting a growing social influence through the development of numerous so-called "institutional churches," where charities and classes and clubs and benefit societies are developed and maintained of the most various kinds, and largely on the lines of social reform. These will be noticed in more detail in the articles on the several churches. We here refer only to such churches and institutions as the East Side House of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City; the work at St. George's, in the same city; at Berkeley Temple, Boston; the People's Palace, Jersey City; the Temple College, connected with Grace Church, Philadelphia; the Church of the Paulist Fathers, in New York City; in London, the Oxford House, Mansfield House, Newman House, and numberless others in all the important cities and towns of Europe or America. For Germany and France, see article CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

Fourthly, many general movements for social reform, like the social work of the Salvation Army, the immensely important educational work of the Chautauqua movement, of the University Extension, the battle for Social Purity, the Social Settlement Idea—these and a hundred others are, first, the indirect result of Church teaching and, secondly, very largely supported by Church people, and not seldom directly in connection with the Church.

Fifthly, the main influence of the modern Church on Social Reform we have yet to notice in its deep, vital influence through the development of individual character. That the *whole* present influence of the Church upon character is good many may doubt; that the total effect of its influence is good a few radicals may question; but that the Church helps to develop purity, kindness, filial and marital love, general honesty, patriotism, temperance, the sacredness of life, the supremacy of duty, and that these are immensely important social forces, no man can deny. It is frequently said that the main work of the Church is not to teach social reform, but to prepare and move individuals to develop social reform. Into this private fundamental work, however, in an encyclopædia of Social Reform we cannot largely enter; yet must it never be forgotten by those who would ask what the Church is doing.

Often those who condemn the Church know her only as she was twenty or more years ago, and know not that a wholly new life and spirit have entered into her to-day. And yet no fair reviewer of the question can deny that along certain lines the Church is far from being or doing what she should. Almost all social thinkers are now agreed that the social evils of the day arise in large part from social wrongs, in monopolies of land, of money, of machinery, of railroads, and of capital of other kinds. They are also all agreed that whatever be their especial economic views, in some way society has a large part to play in righting these wrongs, and that such reforms are therefore at present needed as much as the personal charities and activities of the Church. Now it is in this large field that the Church does so little. Many earnest churchmen claim that this is a field which the Church should not enter. But this is exactly the difficulty urged by social reformers. They claim that the Church has no adequate conception of what she could and should do. If Jesus Christ be the King of all life (see

Failure of the Church.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM), surely the Church, as working for Him, should demand that all life obey Christ, and surely the political, social, and industrial spheres are a part of human life. It is more than hinted that while the churches do much for charity (often, however, in their wealth giving of that which costs them little), they fear to take up these fundamental social questions because they have become identified with and dependent upon wealthy donors interested in sustaining these private and class monopolies. City clergymen, with their (often) large salaries and luxurious homes, are especially scorned, hated, and denounced by working men, who claim that these men are not true followers of the Nazarene Carpenter. "We denounce and leave the Church," say these labor leaders, "not because it is Christian, but precisely because it is *not* Christian." In these lines it is easy to see how, in spite of their growing activities, the churches are still denounced as false to their pretended creed and duty. Nevertheless even on this line there is a great change. Under articles CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM and the respective articles on the various Christian churches will be found much evidence of this. Clergymen of all denominations are coming to see that Christ really meant His kingdom to come on earth and all kingdoms of this earth, including the kingdoms of politics, trade, industry, etc., to become a portion of His kingdom. It is significant that a new policy is proposed for foreign and home missions, whereby the Church should organize its converts into Christian, industrial and social communities, as indeed the Moravian missionaries have long done. Certainly a new life is in the Church, altho when one realizes the social need and the power that is in the Christ the Church professes to serve, the little done seems lost in the undone vast. (See also CHURCH AND THE WORKING MEN.)

6. THE GENERAL POSSIBLE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO SOCIAL REFORM.

The Church either has taken or may take at least six possible positions in relation to social reform.

1. It is claimed that the Church has no relation to social reform; that the only mission of the Church is to rescue individual souls from a perishing world, and save them for a spirit life to come. This, tho not often nakedly admitted in words, is a position, as we have seen, that has often been taken in the past and is still not unfrequently practically taken by many Protestant churches and sects to-day. It is, however, now given up, in words at least, by almost all educated and thoughtful Christians, and needs small consideration. The Christ who fed the hungry, healed the sick, and prayed that His kingdom might come on earth, surely never meant His Church to neglect the bodies and earthly relationship of men.

"Think of that long series of works of Christ which are generally now called 'miracles,' but which St. John, at any rate, used to call 'signs,' significant acts showing what kind of a person Christ was, and what He wished His followers to be; and you will find—

without troubling for the moment how they were done, but merely considering what all those who believe they happened are bound to learn from them—that they were all distinctly secular, socialistic works: works for health against disease, works restoring beauty and harmony and pleasure where there had been ugliness and discord and misery, works taking care to see that the people were properly fed, works subduing nature to the human good, works showing that mirth and joy have a true place in our life here, works also showing that premature death has no right here."

2. It is claimed that while a new social era shall come on earth, it will only come with the personal advent of Christ, or can only be realized by prayer and spiritual development, so that practically the Church to-day has nothing to do for distinctively social reform. This position in effect and sometimes in words is taken by many Adventists and so-called Holiness people, and by not a few in churches nominally not holding to these views. It is almost as demoralizing a position as the first. As the first position de-thrones God in *this* world, so this position cuts the nerve of Christian activity and makes the Christian not a worker for the coming of the kingdom, but a parasite without healthy life. Christ said to His disciples, "Go ye into all the world." He bade them heal the sick, feed the hungry, clothe the naked. Undoubtedly the true Christian will depend on Christ for his power, but this is no excuse for the lack of action and obedience to Christ's command. Christ did the wonderful secular works we have noticed above, and then said to His disciples, "He that believeth on Me, works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do."

3. The Church may claim that while it should work, its work is to be confined to the individual; that only by saving individuals and building them up into a true character can it finally save society, so that for a society as a whole the Church has no message or duty. This position is not unfrequently asserted, and is continually acted upon. It is the distinctively Protestant conception. Undoubtedly the Church's first message and first work is for the individual; but if society be a portion of human life, and Jesus Christ be the rightful King of all life, He has a law and ideal for society which the Church must declare and strive to realize. Perfecting only individuals is to attempt to build up a temple by polishing the bricks, but forgetting the mortar which binds them together. Humanity *is* an organism. It has one father. We *are* brothers, and our brothers' keepers. No one can live alone. We *are* affected by environment. When open sewers are running through the streets it is folly merely to tell the individual to live a healthy life. The community has a duty to perform—to close the sewer—and *as a community* to obey the laws of health. So there is a social morality and a social Christianity which the Church must teach, and to which it must lead. Too often the position that the Church has only a duty to the individual is a mere excuse for not performing unpleasant social duties. On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that because the Church has a social duty this must not be made the occa-

**To Reach
the World
through the
Individual
Alone.**

sion, as it sometimes is, of neglecting personal spirituality.

4. The position may be taken that the Church has a social duty to perform, and that since there is no true life apart from religion, the Church should build up an ecclesiastical social life, and have naught to do with the so-called secular institutions of society or State. This is a position that has led to notable movements in history—the various efforts at organizing church communisms and church theocracies.

**To Develop
Church
Social
Institutions.**

It is involved in the position of the temporal power of the Church of Rome. It is the tendency to-day which is developing so much institutional Christianity, and which, *if rightly balanced by other conceptions, is wholly good.* Christ undoubtedly bids His disciples to feed the hungry and clothe the naked and develop true social (including industrial) life. But it must be remembered that if Christ is the King of all life, and if the State is to be, the State must be Christianized, and therefore the Church has a mission to the State as well as practical work to do by herself. "Much can be done by churchmen who remember that the State is a sacred organization as well as the Church. They can unite with socialists of every sort in their endeavor to seize the State and to use it for the well-being of the masses instead of the classes."

5. Men can go to the contrary extreme and say that since the State should be Christian, the Church is not so much to build up Christian institutions herself as to be the spiritual inner life in the State, that shall induce the State to develop such institutions. This is to an extent the medieval and Catholic conception of the Church. According to

**To Work
through
the State.**

this conception, the Church is to be the witness, the voice, the conscience, the soul, of which the State is the body, and the State (municipal or national) is therefore rather than the Church the hand which is to build the true social structure. This may be perhaps the highest ideal of the Church of the future, when the State shall be truly Christianized; but till the State be truly Christian—and the best States are far from this now—the Church certainly has not only a social message to deliver, but a social work to do. This position also is in especial danger of degenerating into the mere preaching of platitudes and glittering generalities. If the Church is to be the conscience and soul of the nation, it must not only bid the nation be good, but declare in definite cases what is the path of right.

6. The truest position is probably one which finds some truth in all the above views, even in the crudest, and works in every way to build up the kingdom of heaven.

In an address upon *The Needs of the City*, before the Evangelical Alliance, convened in Boston, December 4, 1889, Professor Ely suggested the following needs, which in themselves show what the Church could do on especial municipal problems. Professor Ely mentioned the need

1. Of a profound revival of religion, not in any narrow or technical sense, but in the broadest, largest, fullest sense, a great religious awakening which shall

shake things, going down into the depths of men's lives and modifying their character. The city needs religion, and without religion the salvation of the city is impossible.

2. The first need restated from a different point of view, a renaissance of nationalism or municipalism. Said Professor Ely:

**A Proposed
Program.**

"Societies have failed and will fail. They cannot, acting simply as societies, do the work. Their resources are inadequate, the territory they can cover is too small, and their power is insufficient. The Evangelical Alliance simply as such can never do the work. The Evangelical Alliance, like other societies, must put itself behind municipal government and recognize the reform and elevation of municipal government as one of the chief features of its work. It must strive to establish among us true cities of God. There is plenty of room for the individual and for individual activity. Not all the work can be done by government, altho without government very little can be accomplished. But in addition to strictly private work, there is room for any amount of individual work in stimulating official work and in cooperation with official work.

"We must recognize this, and the sooner we recognize it the better. The most successful work, says Barnett after his long striving, is done by the Education Act, the Poor Law, and other socialistic legislation. That that is the most successful work is also illustrated by the life and career of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who carried through Parliament legislation which has benefited millions of Englishmen. If simply by touching a person you could confer a distinct benefit on the person touched, it would take you twenty years to benefit as many people as have been benefited by legislation chiefly due to this great philanthropist."

3. Education of all kinds.
4. Good amusements, gymnasiums, parks, etc.
5. Public baths, washhouses, etc.
6. Improvement of artisans' dwellings.
7. Organized medical relief.
8. Temperance.

Such are the main needs of our cities as considered by Professor Ely, and they suggest a large program for the Church.

National churches might do still more. It was proposed at the World's Congress on the Church and the Labor Movement, that among the first things for the Church to do was in conventions and conferences, and finally national councils, to create true ideals of social and industrial life, teaching men of our day what conscience demands in the daily life, even as the canon law (*g.v.*) of the Middle Ages expressed then the sense of the Church on such questions of the daily life as taking of interest, etc. The Church, to do this, needs not to lay down laws, but it should lift up practical ideals.

Again, the Church in pulpit, church paper, conference, and convention should protest against great social wrongs and oppressive monopolies and tyrannies, and agitate for such far-reaching reforms as the lessening of the hours of labor, the progressive taxation of great incomes, the nationalization of land and of monopolized capital, the employment of the unemployed. Says a leading Christian Socialist in England, Rev. S. D. Headlam: "Lastly, I come to what is the main plank in the platform of the Christian Socialist, the chief political reform at which he aims, being bound by his creed to go to the very heart of the matter; to be content with no tinkering. It is summed up in the resolution which was moved by the English Land Restoration League in Trafalgar Square; after which the authorities, being Conservative authorities, wisely settled that no more should be said there for the present. It ran as follows: 'That the main cause of poverty, both in the agricultural districts and in the great centers of population, is

the fact that the land, which ought to be the common property of all, is now monopolized by a few ; and that therefore those who want to cut away at the root of poverty must work to restore to the people the whole of the value which they give to the land, to get for the people complete control over the land, and to that end see to it that those who use land pay for the use of it to its rightful owners, the people." Perhaps, first, above all else the Church should see to it that her own life is rightly fashioned ; that she organize her needy converts in home and foreign fields into true, self-supporting Christian communities ; that she see to it that her own churches be built and her church papers and prayer-books be printed by united labor working during just hours at righteous wages. A church that did this, led by clergy, living from the Christ life in humility and self-sacrifice and lifting up her voice for the oppressed against every oppressor, would be indeed a church following her Master in social reform.

References: For the relation of the Early Church to Social Reform, see C. L. Brace's *Gesta Christi*; Schmidt's history of the subject; N. C. Koun's *Arius the Libyan*, church histories, etc. For the mediæval Church, see Canon Fremantle's *The World the Subject of Redemption*, also Brace, Schmidt, and church histories, as above. For the modern Church, see R. T. Ely's *Social Aspects of Christianity*; F. W. Sprague's *Socialism from Genesis to Revelation*; R. A. Wood's *English Social Movements*; Rev. and Mrs. S. A. Barnett's *Practicable Socialism*; G. D. Herron's *The Christian Society*. (See also CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, etc.)

CHURCH AND THE WORKING MEN, THE.—Much has recently been said and written about the separation, existing or declared to be existing at present, between the Christian Church and the so-called working portion of the community. Before we consider the question, a few general facts must be noted which are not always remembered in this discussion. In the first place, it must be remembered that Christianity is not losing, but rather gaining rapidly in numbers in relation to the population as a whole. This is true both of the United States and of the world.

There were, according to Ferussac's *Bulletin Universel* (for 1500-1800), Professor Schém's *Statistics of the World* (for 1875) and M. Pournier de Flaix (for 1895, as quoted in *The World Almanac*):

100	millions of Christians in the year	1500.
155	" " " " " "	1700.
200	" " " " " "	1800.
389	" " " " " "	1875.
447	" " " " " "	1895.

More persons have been added to the Christian faith in this century than in all previous centuries put together.

Of the United States, Dr. Josiah Strong says (*The New Era*, p. 203):

"According to the best available statistics, the Evangelical communicants in the United States in 1800 were 7 per cent. of the population. In 1880 they had risen to 20.07 per cent., and in 1890 to 21.42.

"Thus, the proportion of Evangelical church-members to the population was three times as large in 1890 as in 1800."

Nor is the Church losing in *quality* of life. It has never shown in all its history such vitality as at present. This is seen in the remarkable growth of its activities. Robert Raikes com-

menced the first Sunday-schools in London only a little over a century ago. To-day there are in the world 22,476,050 enrolled in Sunday-schools, and over 2,000,000 of Sunday-school teachers. The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in 1844, has to-day 5000 branches in the United States alone. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, begun in 1874, has 400,000 members. The Salvation Army has 11,036 *officers*. The Chautauqua movement numbers 200,000. The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, begun only in 1881, has over 2,000,000 members to-day.

Nor is the Church lacking in very great humanitarian efforts. Institutional churches (*q. v.*), whose special function it is to work among the so-called working classes and to care for the whole man, soul and body and mind, are characteristic of modern Christianity. They are to be found in all our large cities and in most of our larger towns.

One church alone in New York City spends \$100,000 annually, and mainly in practical charities. The annual sum spent in various charities in London, and largely by Christians, is no less than \$25,000,000 (C. S. Loch, *Charity Organization*, p. 43). And these institutional churches and many other churches do reach working men. The opposition of working men to the Church is audible ; it comes largely from the members of labor organizations, but these are, after all, a small minority of the working classes ; and among those who do not belong to labor organizations and whose voices are not often heard in the labor movement, there are thousands and thousands of working men, and beyond all question a growing number of working men, who are regular and quiet attendants upon Christian churches. Some of these churches believe they have solved the question, "How to reach the working man?"

Nevertheless, in spite of this view, there is quite a different and a more serious side to the question. Because the *communicants* in the churches are increasing faster than the population, and because certain churches are reaching working men, it does not follow that the Church is growing in the number of its adherents and in its general hold upon the community. The fact seems to be that the number of communicants is growing, but that church attendance is falling off ; that the proportion of attendants who are non-communicants has been greatly reduced. The Church seems to be doing a better work among certain classes, but not to be gaining the masses. Dr. Strong said in the first edition of *Our Country* (p. 216):

"Our churches are growing, our missionary operations extending, our benefactions swelling, and we congratulate ourselves upon our progress; but we have only to continue making the same kind of progress long enough, and our destruction is sure."

In his second edition he says, in place of the above: "The Church of Christ has aroused herself in some measure, but, so far as I can judge, the dangerous and destructive elements of society are still making greater progress than the conservative."

In the *New Era* he says (p. 204): "Few appreciate to what extent we have now become a non-church-going people. Mr. Moody said a few years ago: 'The gulf between the Church and the masses is growing deeper,

wider, and darker every hour.' . . . If the many towns and cities which have been investigated in various States are fairly representative of the whole country, we may infer that less than 30 per cent. of our population are regular attendants upon Church, that perhaps 20 per cent. are irregular attendants, while fully one half of the people of the United States, or more than 32,000,000, never attend any church service, Protestant or Roman Catholic."

As for the churches who do reach working people, it is doubtful if they reach many of the best of the working class. Dr. Strong implies that they do. He says (*idem*, p. 221): "The Church is spending her energies on the *best* elements of society, her time is given to teaching the most *intelligent*, she is medicating the *healthiest*, she is salting the *salt*, while the determining masses, which include the most ignorant and vicious, the poorest and most degraded, are alike beyond her influence and her effort."

We doubt if this is the fact. The Church seems to us to be reaching the comfortable and the very poor, but not the best, at least not the best among the working classes—certainly not those in organized labor, and these we believe to be the best among working men. These working men who believe that they are not receiving their just dues, that they are wronged by the capitalist class, look on charitable institutions not as an expression of Christian love, but as a mere sop to Cerberus.

Says Rev. S. L. Loomis (*Modern Cities*, p. 82):

"It will not be difficult to convince those who are acquainted with the life of our cities that the Protestant churches, as a rule, have no following among the working men. Everybody knows it. Go into an ordinary church on Sunday morning, and you see lawyers, physicians, merchants, and business men with their families; you see teachers, salesmen, and clerks, and a certain proportion of educated mechanics; but the working man and his household are not there. It is doubtful if one in 20 of the average congregation in English-speaking Protestant city churches fairly belongs to this class; but granting the proportion to be so great as one in 10 or one in 5, even then you would have two thirds of the people furnishing only one tenth or one fifth of the congregation."

Dr. Washington Gladden said in 1883: "In my own congregation, which worships in a very plain church, the seats of which are free, in a neighborhood easily accessible to the working classes, and which has been known always as an extremely democratic congregation, I find only about one tenth of the families on my list belonging to this class. . . . This is the result of repeated special efforts made in the interest of the working classes, with several courses of lectures on Sunday evenings for their benefit."

In this connection Dr. Gladden added: "How is it with the other extreme of society? In this same city I asked one of the best-informed citizens to make me out a list of 50 of the leaders of business. He did not know my reason for wishing such a list, but after it was put into my hands, I found that 55 per cent. of these men were communicants in the churches, and that 77 per cent. of them were regular attendants upon the churches. A large proportion of the capitalists are more or less closely identified with the churches, while of the laborers only a small share are thus identified; and the number tends to decrease rather than increase." A similar inquiry in an Eastern city of about 40,000 inhabitants showed that three fifths of the leading citizens were church members, while four fifths were regular church attendants.

The situation in England seems to be the same. Canon Farrar, speaking of the Church of England, says (*Harper's Magazine*, May, 1891): "Not 3 per cent. of the working classes, who represent the great mass of the people, are regular or even occasional communicants."

Concerning the feeling of working men to the Church, Dr. Strong says (*The New Era*, p. 214):

"The Committee on the Work of the Churches of the Massachusetts Congregational Association made inquiries as to the attitude of the working men of Massa-

chusetts toward the churches. Circulars were sent to some 200 State and local labor leaders. The many failures to reply, together with the tone of curt refusals to answer, or the return of blank circulars, indicated anything but a kindly feeling toward the churches. Most of the replies sent expressed the opinion that laboring men have been alienated from the churches. 'The causes given of alienation are all modifications of the charge that churches and preachers are allied with and subservient to the "oppressing class."' 'Seldom is the Church just enough even to be neutral. It is a "mammonized" institution; it belongs to the plutocrats,' etc. (Rev. John P. Coyle, *The Churches and Labor Unions, The Forum*, August, 1892).

"Like charges are common at labor meetings. At such a meeting in Union Square, New York City, one of the foremost representatives of organized labor in the United States, a man of national reputation, occupied some 20 minutes in pouring out a lava stream of vituperation against the Church and its ministers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. The Young Men's Christian Association was called 'that scab institution.' 'Cooper's Institute did more good in a week than all the New York churches in a year,' and a certain New York daily paper 'represented the spirit of true brotherhood more in a single issue than the Christian ministers, the parasites of society, could do in an age of their hired mouthings.' And these utterances were lustily cheered by the large audience of working men.

"In their struggles, working men have little expectation of sympathy or help from the churches. They do not appreciate the fact that, apart from their own class, most of those who are seeking to secure the rights of labor are Christian men, and a large proportion of them clergymen. Still it is not strange that the attitude of a majority of churches and ministers should be supposed to represent the whole. Professor R. T. Ely writes: 'The secretary of the Journeymen Bakers' National Union sent out appeals to the clergy of New York and Brooklyn to preach against Sunday labor, and help them to abolish it. Five hundred circulars were sent out, but little response was met with. In a reply to a query as to their success, the disgusted secretary sent this answer to the writer of the present paper: "Out of the 500 circulars sent to the clergy of New York and Brooklyn half a dozen answered. You will have a hard time, Professor, to convince the toilers of this country that the clergy will ever do anything for them.'"

"When those classes which in all Christian history have been the most susceptible to the Gospel become the least susceptible to it, there is something wrong, something abnormal. Has human nature changed? Has the Gospel changed? Is it not worth while to ask whether indifference or antipathy to the Church is identical with indifference or antipathy to the Gospel? And when that question has been answered it will be in order to inquire whether the gospel we preach is really Christ's Gospel.

"Recent investigators have stated that the 'German Social Democrats, tho hostile to official Christianity, are ready to avow themselves followers of Jesus.' This led the committee of the Massachusetts Congregational Association, when making the inquiries already referred to, to ask whether the working men who disbelieve in the churches also disbelieve in Jesus, 'With few exceptions the answers are that belief in Jesus is common; and this testimony is borne in many cases with much warmth. . . . It is commonly said that if the churches and ministers would be faithful to Jesus, no alienation would exist.' It has been repeatedly said by working men that they do not disbelieve in Christianity, but in '*Churchianity*.' The distinction was made clear and marked by that great audience in New York which applauded the name of Christ and hissed a mention of the Church.

"We need not stop to inquire in what sense men who disbelieve in the Church 'believe in Jesus.' This distinction, on which they insist, forbids the assumption that the masses are indifferent or hostile to the Gospel because they are indifferent or hostile to the Church; and forces upon us the question whether the Church really teaches and exemplifies the Gospel of Christ.

"The Church teaches the gospel of personal salvation; but this is only one half of Christ's gospel. He preached the gospel of the *Kingdom*, which is the gospel of social regeneration. He taught the gospel of human brotherhood as well as that of divine Fatherhood, and laid down the law of both; and the second fundamental law of Christ, which is the organic law of a normal society the Church has neglected. If she had accepted and inculcated and exemplified this teaching of Christ as the practical law of every-day

life, it is quite safe to say she would never have lost her hold on the masses."

To sum up the attitude of the working men to the Church, they largely regard the Church as hopelessly mammonized, its ministers a class of professional talkers who receive comfortable salaries from rich people for managing their "spiritual clubs" and doling out a little charity in place of justice from the large profits taken by the rich out of the poor. They are never weary of comparing the lives and salaries of modern ministers with the life of Christ, and the practice of modern churches with that of the Church of the Upper Chamber in Jerusalem. It is well, therefore, that the Church is rousing herself to an interest on social questions. Few realize how wide is this movement.

The *Dawn* two years ago published a list of several hundred clergymen who had shown their interest in the labor movement by some public utterance, or joining some society for the study of social problems. The Christian Social Union, an organization in the Protestant Episcopal Church, for the study and preaching of Christ's social law, has reached a membership of 1000, very largely clergymen. The American Institute of Christian Sociology has reached as many more in all churches. The Brotherhood of the Kingdom, mainly a Baptist organization, works on the same lines with commendable zeal. In New York City, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, another Episcopal organization, has a board of conciliation and arbitration, with Bishop Potter at its head, which has been instrumental in settling more than one strike. This association holds meetings in various Episcopal churches, where the cause of the workers is strenuously urged. In Boston, the Church of the Carpenter has existed five years, for the purpose of rousing the Church to do its duty on social matters, and has some of the most prominent trade-unionists of the country in its membership. The Society of Christian Socialists, that was organized in Boston, has become defunct, but its truths have gone widely through the land. Almost every city and town has at least one clergyman who boldly proclaims the rights of the working man. Clergymen to-day not infrequently aid strikes by public and private utterance. In several theological schools Christian sociology is taught, while such writers as Professor R. T. Ely, Rev. G. D. Herron, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, and such papers as the *Dawn*, of Boston, the *Kingdom*, of Minneapolis, spread Christian social thought far and wide.

CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR, THE.—This society, commonly known as "C. A. I. L.," was founded in 1887, in New York City, by communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York, was elected president. It was felt that the Church should take active measures to show her sympathy with the laboring classes in their struggle for justice, and C. A. I. L. grew out of a desire to carry this sympathy into effect. Its object is "the advancement of the interests of labor by the application of the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," and its five principles are as follows:

1. It is of the essence of the teachings of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men, and that all men are brothers.

2. God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fulness; man is but the steward of God's bounties.

3. Labor being the exercise of body, mind, and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.

4. Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.

5. When the divinely intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

The Association works by sermons, prayer, corporate communion, lectures, distribution of literature, political action, and cooperation with other societies. It is confined in membership to communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church or churches in communion with it, and has among its members 38 bishops of the American Church and four bishops of the Canadian Church. In New York City it has recently been very active in working for the passage of industrial legislation, in holding meetings in Episcopal churches where representatives of the working classes are invited to state their wrongs and desires, while representatives of the employees' interests are also heard. The society has also established a Council of Conciliation and Mediation, with Bishop Potter, of New York City, at its head which has been influential and successful in conciliating and terminating more than one important strike.

CHURCH SOCIAL UNION, THE.—The Church Social Union is a society in the United States, organized in New York City under the name of the Christian Social Union, April 3, 1891. The prime mover was the Rev. Robert A. Holland, S.T.D., of St. Louis, who had just then spent some time in Oxford and become deeply interested in the work of the English Christian Social Union (*q.v.*). The society was organized here with the same principles and on the same lines as the English union (*q.v.*). The president was the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, S.T.D., Bishop of Central New York, and the secretary, Professor R. T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. The society issued several bulletins, and sent the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss on a preaching and organizing tour. Many branches were formed, and a membership of 1000 secured. But, after Professor Ely's removal to the University of Wisconsin, the union, with a scattered executive, failed to maintain activity, and almost came to an end. November 17, 1894, however, it was reorganized in Boston; the name was changed to the Church Social Union; a new constitution was adopted; the Union was placed on a distinctively churchly basis; an executive committee was chosen with a working majority in Boston. As a result, activity has again been reached. The union publishes two monthly series of papers, one upon the general principles of the Union, the other upon concrete economic or social themes. Membership is limited to the Protestant Episcopal Church or any Church in communion with it; but any person can subscribe for its publications (\$1 per year). Election to membership is not necessary. Its present membership (1895) is about 500; its president, the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington; its secretary, the Rev. George Hodges, D.D., Cambridge, Mass. The declared objects of the Union are identical with the principles of the English Christian Social Union (*q.v.*), but under its new constitution the Church Social Union has also adopted as a further statement the principles of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests

of Labor (*g.v.*), since it was proposed to amalgamate the two societies, tho the amalgamation was not finally accomplished.

CHURCH TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

—This is the shorter name of the "Temperance Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America." It was organized in 1881. It is under the general control of an executive board of 30 members, and of the bishops of the Church who act as vice-presidents. The object is threefold: 1. Promotion of temperance; 2. Rescue of the intemperate; 3. Removal of the causes of intemperance. Its basis is thus defined:

"Recognizing *temperance* as the law of the Gospel, and *total abstinence* as a rule of conduct essential in certain cases and highly desirable in others, and fully and freely according to every man the right to decide, in the exercise of his Christian liberty, whether or not he will adopt said rule, this Society lays down as the basis on which it rests and from which its work shall be conducted, union and cooperation on perfectly equal terms for the promotion of temperance between those who use temperately and those who abstain entirely from intoxicating drinks as beverages."

The country is divided into four general departments: 1. Central, including New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; 2. New England, including Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; 3. Pennsylvania, including Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; 4. Ohio, including Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana.

For remedial agencies the Society names the following: 1. The Gospel; 2. Coffee-houses as counteractives to saloons; 3. Improved dwellings for the poor; 4. Healthy literature. To help supply the last-named want, it publishes a monthly paper called *Temperance* (New York). Its policy is that of restriction rather than pro-

hibition. It aims at (1) prohibition of sale on Sunday; (2) prohibition of sale to minors; (3) prohibition of sale to intoxicated persons; (4) high license or tax of \$1000 on every saloon; (5) only one saloon to each 500 people; (6) local option.

No pledge is administered to a child without the written consent of his parents. No alternative pledge can be taken until the person subscribing to it is 21 years of age. No life-pledge is given to any. The conditions of membership are, assent to the constitution and the payment of \$1 a year. Outgrowths of the Society are juvenile organizations called the Knights of Temperance and Young Crusaders. The central office of the Society is at the Church Mission House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Its secretary is Robert Graham.

CIGAR-MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA, THE.

—The first union of cigar-makers was formed early in the fifties in Baltimore, Md., but it was not until June 22, 1864, that a National Cigar-makers' Union was formed, which, at the convention held in Buffalo in 1867, was changed to the Cigar-Makers' International Union of America. This Union is one of the strongest trade-unions in America, and numbers at present close to 30,000 members, or about 65 per cent. of the skilled cigar-makers of America. Persons engaged in cigarette-making or who work in tenements or cigar sweat shops are not eligible.

The union is remarkable for the high dues paid by its members, and therefore for its financial strength, its resulting ability to gain advantages from employers (often without a strike), and also its ability to care for its sick or unemployed members.

The following table shows the amount paid in benefits by the International Union in the last 15 years:

YEAR.	Strike Benefit.	Sick Benefit.	Death Benefit.	Travel Benefit.	Out of Work Benefit.
1879.....	\$3,668.38	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880.....	4,950.36	.....	.....	\$2,808.15	.....
1881.....	21,797.68	\$3,987.73	\$75.00	12,747.09	.....
1882.....	44,850.41	17,145.20	1,674.25	20,386.64	.....
1883.....	27,812.13	22,250.56	2,609.00	37,135.20	.....
1884.....	143,547.30	31,551.50	3,920.00	39,632.08	.....
1885.....	61,087.23	29,379.80	4,214.00	25,683.54	.....
1886.....	54,402.61	29,225.59	4,820.00	31,835.71	.....
1887.....	13,871.62	63,900.88	8,850.00	40,281.04	.....
1888.....	45,303.62	53,824.19	21,319.75	42,894.75	.....
1889.....	5,202.52	59,519.04	19,175.50	43,540.44	.....
1890.....	18,414.27	64,660.47	26,043.00	37,914.72	\$22,760.50
1891.....	33,531.78	87,472.97	38,068.35	53,535.73	21,223.50
1892.....	37,477.60	89,906.30	44,701.97	47,322.47	17,460.75
1893.....	18,228.15	104,391.83	49,458.33	60,475.11	89,402.75
1894.....	44,966.76	106,758.37	62,158.77	42,154.17	174,517.25
Total.....	\$579,112.38	\$781,975.51	\$287,168.92	\$548,756.84	\$325,364.75

Total benefits paid in 1894..... \$430,555.32
Grand total of benefits paid..... 2,522,378.40

The cash in the International treasury on January 1, 1894, was close to \$500,000. This amount was considerably reduced during the last year, owing to the heavy drafts made upon the treasury to meet the payment of the "out-of-work" benefit. The amount of available funds January 1, 1895, was \$340,788.66.

We quote at length the following from the

Report of the Bureau of Labor of Minnesota (1891-92, p. 256), because it gives a convincing statement of the value of such unions. The report says (in condensed form):

"In judging the cigar-makers, it should be borne in mind that they occupy a field in the industrial world

the most difficult of all in which to achieve success. Their labor comes constantly into sharp competition with that of the workers in tenement-house factories, or 'sweating dens.' It is also met by the product of the cheap Chinese labor that has found a home in our borders. No other class of American toilers is forced to meet this sharp and peculiar competition to the same extent. The cigar-makers in the tenement-houses work long hours at very small compensation. Many of them toil for 12 and 14 hours and even longer each day. These workers do not belong to the union. They are unorganized. Now, while these unorganized cigar-makers thus labor long hours at a very low compensation for the most part, the members of the International Union toil for only eight hours a day. This eight-hour work day was secured by them in the year 1886, and has since that time been maintained. The product of their toil is constantly sold in competition with that produced in the sweating dens and by the cheap prison and Chinese labor. This fact must be borne in mind in judging their success in maintaining their eight-hour work day.

"The insurance benefits of the cigar-makers are five in number. They are known as the strike, sick or disability, death, out-of-work, and traveling benefits. The first of these, the strike benefit, is paid to those members of the union who are out of work by reason of a strike which has been approved by the proper authorities of the organization. This benefit applies to those suffering by lockouts in the same way. Members out of work, from either of the above causes, receive a benefit of \$5 a week for the first 16 weeks of the labor trouble—after that time the strike allowance is only \$3 a week, and that sum is continued until a settlement of the difficulty or the strike is declared off. The regulations for the giving of this strike fund are all framed so as to make it difficult to have a strike unless the cause is a just one. A strike cannot be supported for any length of time except by vote of the 25,000 members. They secure all the facts in the case by the examination of their paid agents. These agents report the facts of the strike as they find them, and on the facts thus presented the members vote. They decide whether the strike shall longer be sustained. If they vote nay, no more money of the order can be paid out for the particular labor difficulty.

"Members who have been in good standing for not less than one year are entitled, in case they become sick, to what is called a sick benefit. This is the payment of \$5 a week for a period not to exceed 13 weeks in any one year. No member is, however, privileged to draw this benefit if he or she has brought on the ill-health by intemperance, debauchery, or other immoral conduct. No member can draw more than one benefit at any one time. Thus, he cannot draw a strike benefit while receiving a sick benefit, or the reverse. The same principle applies to all the other gratuities of the order. Members not entitled to sick benefits, owing to their not having been members for a full year, are not suspended for non-payment of dues while sick. They have four weeks in which to pay those dues after their return to work subsequent to any illness.

"Upon the death of a member, who has been such for one year, the sum of \$50 is paid by the Cigar-makers' Union toward defraying the expenses of his funeral or cremation. This sum is paid to the nearest of kin of the deceased member. Upon the death of a member, who has been such for two consecutive years, the sum of \$200 is paid in the same way and for the same purposes. To the heirs of one who has been a mem-

ber for ten consecutive years is paid, at death, the sum of \$350, and to those of a member for 15 consecutive years is paid, in the same way, \$550. Upon the death of a wife or widowed mother depending upon him for support of any member who has been such for two consecutive years, the sum of \$40 is paid to the member thus afflicted.

"A member having paid weekly dues for a period of one year is entitled to an out-of-work benefit of \$3 per week, and 50 cents for each additional day. A member having received this benefit for six weeks is not entitled to the payment for seven weeks thereafter, and not more than \$72 shall be paid to any one individual as an out-of-work benefit during any one year. A member losing his employment through intoxication, disorderly conduct, dishonesty, or courting his discharge through bad workmanship or otherwise, is not, however, entitled to an out-of-work benefit for eight weeks thereafter.

"The foregoing benefits are gifts or payments not to be returned to the union by the recipient. In addition to them the union maintains a system of loans to those members out of work in any place, unable to secure occupation there, and desirous of traveling to gain work elsewhere. The object of this loan is to furnish the member with a sum sufficient to pay his car fare to the town where he can gain work. He cannot receive more than sufficient to take him to his proposed destination. Neither can he receive, at any one time, more than \$12, nor more than \$20 in the aggregate until the first loan has been repaid. A member, to be entitled to this loan, must have been in good standing continuously for at least one year preceding. The total amount loaned by the order since the establishment of this benefit was, January 1, 1892, \$398,395.09. Of that amount all had been repaid, but \$60,764.74. Doubtless some part of these loans will never be repaid, owing to the death of a few members before they have had a chance to discharge their obligations. Another small part must be lost through members who desert the union after obtaining the loan. The total lost through these causes cannot be accurately determined even by the officers of the union. It, however, is small and cannot exceed five per cent. of the amount trusted out in this way.

"In placing an estimate upon the value of this service of the union to its members it should be recalled that the cigar-makers follow a calling attended with many uncertainties. There is a constant moving about among the members. The average worker is temporarily out of a job two or three times a year. Without the aid of such a free employment bureau, as has been described above, he would be forced to lose more or less time hunting for situations and pay greater or less sums every year to employment agencies for the same purpose. The economy and wisdom of the management of the union can then be judged by its expenses in maintaining this system of free employment agencies for its members.

"In addition to the sums paid as insurance and traveling benefits the cigar-makers expend large sums of money for definite purposes, either to advance certain special interests of the members of the craft as a whole, or to promote the cause of organized labor, or for general charity. Charity, in various forms, calls for considerable sums of money each year. These disbursements, authorized by the international rules, and paid from the common treasury of the order, are given in the following table. (We give the table only in abridged form.)

YEAR.	Benefits Given.	Assistance to Unions, Aid to Strikes, etc.	Total Disbursed for Objects of the Union.	Expenses of Management.	Added to Reserve Fund.
1882	\$63,669.95	\$5,880.70	\$73,903.34	\$24,552.36	\$37,244.95
1883	52,752.69	17,150.00	74,555.38	28,481.26	41,425.19
1884	179,018.86	113,335.00	298,066.86	43,367.30	.....
1885	94,681.17	37,279.00	137,413.17	41,500.82	15,454.98
1886	101,448.20	33,924.00	151,229.78	60,556.85	87,301.79
1887	86,622.50	4,425.00	106,673.89	74,037.86	54,414.99
1888	125,447.50	9,700.00	151,300.03	67,281.84	11,962.29
1889	83,897.96	2,190.00	98,740.70	74,151.90	45,946.01
1890	131,878.24	3,850.00	152,213.29	73,646.91	97,956.33
1891	180,296.60	700.00	202,839.86	107,590.42	38,877.19
Total	\$1,099,713.73	\$228,433.70	\$1,446,996.30	\$595,167.52	\$373,859.15

"The figures given include all sums paid as strike benefits, and also all amounts given to unions on strike, etc. The average for the first five years is \$8177, and

for the last five only \$1353. From this it can be seen that the general tendency of the union is to decrease the amounts paid by the organization for strikes. This

proves the truth of the claim made for the organization that it seeks to lessen these labor disturbances, and also that this desirable end is advanced by the existence of a large reserve fund such as the cigar-makers at present have at their command. Another fact to be noted in this connection is this: The average expense of management increases as the strike disbursements decrease. This tends to show that the effort of the union is being more and more directed to lessen or prevent strikes and lockouts. The success of the movement on the part of the organization may be measured by the amounts saved in strike expenditures. This, for the last five years, averaged \$6824 less than it was for the preceding five.

"If the affairs of the Prudential, Metropolitan, Germania, and John Hancock, the four companies doing an 'industrial' business in the United States, were all to be conducted on the same economical basis, the saving effected over the present administration would amount to over \$5,000,000 in the year 1891. This is a sum greater than the loss to employers and employees in the United States by the strikes of that year. If strikes are to be deplored and avoided whenever possible, this large relative cost of managing 'industrial' life insurance by the business corporations should call for remark, and the saving effected by this trade-union commended.

"Strikes occur only rarely. They attract attention as large conflagrations by the glare and smoke and noise which they occasion. The unions are frequently placed in that glare and din, and that side of their activity has most attracted popular attention. But the business activities of the unions, their administration of their benefits and charities, are all conducted in quiet. They attract no man's attention. That business management, in the case of the cigar-makers, lessens strikes and pays for its costs in that way in a twofold manner. That union also saves its members several times its costs in its quiet work of securing them employment. And the foregoing comparisons indicate that the union, in the same unobtrusive manner, dispenses industrial insurance and other benefits with a saving which balances all strike expenses and all other disbursements growing out of the application of union principles. Here is a saving far in excess of the loss which attracts popular attention. The union should have the credit for this side of its activities."

In 1880 the International Union adopted a trade-mark, known as the "blue label." It is estimated that it has spent \$1,000,000 in advertising this label, and with great success, so that the label is widely used as a guarantee of union-made cigars. The cigar-makers were the first American international trade-union to adopt the *referendum* in electing its officers, amending its constitution, and deciding all important questions. The prominent members of the union are Samuel Gompers (*q.v.*), long president of the American Federation of Labor, and Adolph Strasser, for 14 years its president. George W. Perkins is the present (1895) president.

CIRCULATION. See **CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY**; also **CURRENCY**.

CITIZENS' LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE. See **LAW AND ORDER LEAGUES**.

CITY AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—A city may be defined in general as a large or important town; more accurately, it is an incorporated municipality, usually governed by a mayor, aldermen, and common council. The number of inhabitants required to constitute a city in the United States is usually 10,000, but in some western States it is as low as 3000. In Great Britain a city is usually a corporate town which is or has been the seat of a bishop. We consider the subject in this article under five heads: I. History—(a) ancient; (b) medieval; (c) modern. II. Present Status. III. Statistics. IV. Need of Reform. V. Methods of Reform.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE CITY.

The origin of cities loses itself in the unknown past. They existed along the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and Euphrates, by the rivers of India, and upon the plains of Mexico and Peru. Discoverers, as at Troy, have often found the ruins of one city buried many feet below the ruins of another, these in turn many feet below the present soil. Into this interesting subject of the primitive cities we cannot go. It is doubtful if these early cities from the standpoint of social science had any true civic life. They seem to have been gigantic conglomerations of walled-in populations, ruled by some despot or family of lords or priests, who sometimes, indeed, gave to the city a rude splendor and developed monumental art, yet without allowing to the citizens any corporate life of their own. The inhabitants were simply the slaves of some king, perhaps the devotees of some god. It is in Greece that we come to the first actual city in the sense of the corporate unity of many citizens. Greek social polity (*q.v.*) turned upon the conception of the city, begun undoubtedly as a colony from some patriarchal clan, but early developing organized democratic life. (See **ATHENS**.) Many of the cities, however, were long *oligarchies*, and often even after democratic life had been gained some family or families would gain the power and establish an oligarchy. Sometimes an individual would gain the power and establish a tyranny, which was, however, personal, rarely inherited. The city was usually supreme, and not a part of any State. It dominated the country around, made treaties, waged war, etc. It was in the eyes of the citizen sacred, his Church as well as his home. The city entered into, ruled, and conducted all kinds of activities. It built temples, markets, theaters, gymnasia. It conducted worship, games, instruction. It sent out colonies and ruled commerce. It worked mines, fields, and factories. It supported its free citizens rather than was supported by them. (See **ATHENS**.)

Ancient Cities.

The Classic City.

Citizenship was limited, but the assemblage of the citizens was supreme. Often, however, officers were nominally elected who were virtually irresponsible. Next to the citizens came a class of "aliens," subject natives or foreigners, having special rights on payment of special taxes. At the bottom of the whole structure in every city were the slaves. Even a democracy of free men was simply a democracy of slave-owners. Thus at Athens there were at one time at least 140,000 slaves, 10,000 resident aliens, and 21,000 male citizens. (For the condition of these slaves, see **SLAVERY**.) Two gigantic evils resulted: First, danger of servile revolts, which not infrequently broke out with terrible results (see **GULDS**), and were put down only by relentless cruelty; secondly, class antagonisms were roused between other classes of citizens. Civil war became the order of the day. The State was either paralyzed by internal conflict or demoralized by corruption. Slavery ate out the life of ancient cities. In the Roman civilization gradually the city lost its sovereignty and became a part of the empire, furnishing the transition to the medieval city.

In the early Middle Ages the city lost power before the military chieftain and the robber castle. Feudalism (*q.v.*) magnified the country over the city. Where feudalism was weak, as in South France, or in Italy, or where natural conditions were favorable, as along the Adriatic coast, the Rhine, and the northern coast of Europe, cities were developed soonest. In the north the struggle of the cities for independence was fiercer and their development, therefore, slower, but stronger. They grew by work, by art, by commerce, not by war. All through the eleventh and twelfth centuries they developed rapidly. The Italian republics, the cities of the Hanseatic League, the Flemish and English cities, the often dominated by a fierce and quarrelsome nobility, tended, on the whole, to develop the rule of the trader rather than of the noble or the chieftain. They became first the creator and then the creature of the guilds (*q.v.*). Gradually as the national life developed itself, the city became but a part of the nation, ready to gain commercial rights and privileges and representation in Parliament, for contributions to the royal treasury. Where the royal power was greatest the cities lost their power first, as in France, and England, and Spain; later, in Germany and Italy. Free thought, however, developed in the cities, and the Reformation and the Renaissance were largely matters of the city. The medieval

Middle Ages.

city was a democracy more truly than the classic cities, but not at all so pervasive. It ruled commerce and trade; it sharply watched the market and attempted to fix prices, decide industrial disputes, but it did not conduct activities, as did the Greek city. The medieval city was ruled by the individual citizens more than it ruled them. Yet the city played a much larger part in industrial and social life than ordinarily to-day. Mr. Albert Shaw (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, p. 21) gives the following sketch of a medieval town:

"The rise of town life, which dignified mercantile pursuits and handicrafts, had opposed the system of leagued and equal freemen, of burgesses, of incorporated citizenship, to the feudal military system of lordship and vassalage. And this was a great preparatory step toward modern institutions and conditions. We know that there was a certain dignity and form about municipal life that appears well in the retrospect. We have surviving, here and there, a fine old medieval town-hall, or guild-hall, with its banqueting-chamber and its council-room. There was much stateliness in the office of mayor; and the old maces of mayoral authority survive to this day. Then there was impressiveness in the liveries that the freemen of the guilds sported on formal occasions. As for municipal conveniences, those were times when life was simple, and 'modern improvements' not so much as dreamed about. The streets were narrow, with the houses built close upon them. The paving was of the rudest character. There was simple surface drainage, and no garbage removal or cleansing system.

The Medieval City.

Water was supplied from a few town fountains or public wells. Street-lighting had not been invented, and early hours were prescribed. Most towns had a skirting of common lands, where the cows were pastured, and where, in many cases, fuel was procured. The houses were, in large part, built of wood; and in spite of vigilant 'watch and ward' and compulsory hearth precautions, destructive fires were not infrequent. The death-rate, of course, was high. There was infection in the wells, and no means of checking the spread and fatality of the frequent 'plagues' that swept the towns. But the science of public sanitation being undiscovered, these things were accepted piously as inscrutable visitations of God."

The modern city is somewhat of a return to the Roman city. It is the creature of the State. The industrial and political revolutions of the last century shattered the ancient rights and privileges of the medieval boroughs and guilds. The city has had little sovereign power. Nevertheless, the growth of the factory system, and, above all, the development of railroads and centers of commerce, has crowded people more and more into cities. Cities have grown in size, but not in corporate power.

Modern History.

Hence they have become unwieldy, shapeless, confused, with often little true civic life. The modern divorce, too, between Church and State has at least temporarily hurt the city in a portion of its life. It has given to the city responsibilities which the city has not always been willing to accept. The poor and needy have been left to seek from confused private charities what formerly they received from the Church as part of the organized city life. The problems of modern city life grew out of this sudden development of modernity without a corresponding development of organic municipal life.

II. PRESENT STATUS.

The modern city in England, France, and the United States, markedly, and to a less extent in Germany, is the creature of the State. It can only do what it is chartered to do by the State. It has in some cases almost lost the right of self-government. It raises its own rates, but often has its taxes collected for it by national officials; it is in many cases responsible for its own peace and order, but it has no control over an armed force, and has to ask for its help if it requires it. On the other hand, it exercises many local functions which in the Middle Ages were left to the Church or to compulsory or voluntary private effort.

Poor relief, education, sanitation, police, the

supplying of light and water, are usually in the hands of the city, while the conduct of justice, of national defense, of postal communication, and commercial regulation are in the hands of the State.

Considering first American cities, we find a general similarity coupled with considerable variety in the details of their charters and constitutions. They are all the creations of the State. Formerly each city received an especial charter; now cities of a certain size in the same State are liable to receive similar charters. These charters, too, differ according to the time when they were issued. The older charters are

American Cities.

apt to contain provision for mayors with short terms and limited powers; for two legislative bodies with large powers, generally modeled after State constitutions. Later charters show suspicion of municipal legislative bodies, and develop so-called non-partizan commissions. Still later charters are apt to trust very large powers to the mayor, as in the recent charter of Greater New York, hoping, by making one man responsible, to secure efficiency and purity. The mayor is always elected directly by the people and for a term of office varying from one to six years, the present tendency being to extend his term of office. He has a large veto power, and is often given a very great power in appointing commissions, department heads, etc. The Mayor of New York, according to the recent charter, ruling the second largest city in the world and over more people than are contained in most States, has powers in many ways greater than those of the President of the United States. His powers are almost autocratic. The American mayor is often given very great discretionary powers, too, in enforcing legislation as to Sunday closing, etc. His salary, in the larger cities, reaches \$10,000. This policy of entrusting such large powers to the mayor is sometimes called a sink-or-swim policy. It gives a good mayor large opportunity, but it also gives the same to a bad mayor, and makes it very desirable for a corrupt machine to elect its man. It seems to be, on the whole, a step away from democracy. In Europe, where city government is much purer, the mayor has no such powers.

The work of administration in American cities is usually carried on by departments, often organized as boards or commissions. These are sometimes elected by the people, sometimes appointed by the legislature, sometimes appointed by the mayor—the tendency at present being to the latter method. They are usually disconnected; they are meant to be "non-partizan;" they become often the very center of "politics" and of jobs. As they control all the small offices, they can employ a great many of their "ring." The fact that they are often non-partizan and consist of three men gives one man very great power, because by siding with either other member of the commission he can swing the commission, and yet not be alone responsible. Education is usually treated as a distinct matter from the other departments, and the commissioners of education are more frequently elected by the people. The city legislature is usually composed of two houses, gen-

erally called a Board of Aldermen and a Common Council. Members of both houses are elected by the citizens, divided into wards, tho sometimes aldermen are elected on a "general ticket." Almost universally members of the Common Council must live in the wards they represent. Members of neither body are paid except in a few large cities, but often, if not usually, obtain large illicit revenues as "boodle aldermen" or corrupt councilors. They are elected usually at the same time and more often on the same platform as national and State officers, and usually on party lines. Municipal elections become thus mainly a squabble for party power, in which the machine and the ring flourish, and where the honest citizen is helpless. Nevertheless American cities, with rapid

Corruption. tion, are the most influential political bodies in the land. Municipal prizes are greater than national prizes. Hence the greater inducement to the corrupt, while the honest bestir themselves in vain.

For further details as to American cities, see MAYOR; FIRE DEPARTMENTS; POLICE; PARKS; TAXATION; WATER WORKS; GAS; ELECTRICITY; MUNICIPALISM; EDUCATION; BATHS; STREET RAILWAYS, etc.; also other sections of this article.

Municipal reform in Great Britain belongs mainly to the last 20 years, yet in a sense dates from the Scotch Municipal Government Act of 1833, and for England from the Municipal Reform Bill of 1835. These bills were consequent upon the great Reform Bill of 1832 reconstructing the Parliamentary boroughs. They admitted to burgess

Great Britain.

rights all property owners and all occupiers of rented property valued at £10 per annum. These remained substantially in force till the act of 1882 consolidated all acts bearing on the subject into one municipal code. By the Local Government Act of 1888, cities having over 50,000 inhabitants became distinct counties for administrative purposes. Under these bills and some special bills enlarging their functions England's towns exist to-day. Says Mr. Albert Shaw (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, p. 30):

"The whole substance of British municipal government is condensed in the following clause:

"The municipal corporation of a borough shall be capable of acting by the council of the borough, and the council shall exercise all powers vested in the corporation by this Act or otherwise."

"All that the burgesses have to do is to elect the councilors, and they do the rest. Any burgess is eligible to the council. In addition, certain property and rate-paying qualifications admit to eligibility for the council those suburban who live beyond 7 but within 15 miles from the limits, yet have their business interests in the town. The councilors are elected for three years, and one third of them retire annually. The aldermen and mayor are an integral part of the council, the law stating specifically that 'the council shall consist of the mayor, aldermen, and councilors.' The aldermen 'shall be fit persons elected by the council.' They hold their office six years. They are one third as many as the councilors. The act declares

"A person shall not be qualified to be elected or to be an alderman unless he is a councilor or qualified to be a councilor. If a councilor is elected to, and accepts, the office of alderman, he vacates his office of councilor."

"Half the aldermen retire every three years. When the council confers aldermanic rank upon its own members, special elections in the wards fill the vacant councilorships.

"The clause relating to the choice of a mayor is as follows:

"The mayor shall be a fit person elected by the council from among the aldermen or councilors or persons qualified to be such."

The English franchise is very complicated and very different in different portions of the United Kingdom. The franchise is often different for Parliamentary, town council, school board, and parochial board elec-

tions. It turns on the household rather than the individual. Mr. Shaw says (*idem*, p. 45):

"The English municipal electorate excludes in practice nearly all the unmarried men, all floating laborers and lodging-house sleepers, and nearly all the serving class. Furthermore, in judging of the political effects of the extension of the franchise to the humblest householders, it must be borne in mind that the exploitation of the votes of the ignorant, vicious, and indifferent in English cities by demagogues or party agents is so extremely difficult that it does not count for anything at all in election results. The extraordinarily severe laws against bribery, direct and indirect, apply to municipal elections, and it is next to impossible to get a British voter to the polls who does not contemplate the contest with some glimmering of interest and intelligence. In Scotch towns the slums do not vote because they evade the rate-collector and are not registered. In English towns, altho registered by canvassers, they do not care about voting, and are a neglected field so far as political missionary work goes. The organized working men vote, of course; and they seem to vote with more intelligent and distinct purpose than any other class in the community. Of the women rate-payers nothing is to be said except that their voting is variable, sometimes being high in proportion to their numbers, and sometimes low, depending upon their interest in particular candidates or special issues. Their disposition to espouse party causes seems very marked, but it is not to be relied upon as unthinking or as oblivious of the qualities of candidates. Obviously, the franchise needs simplification, altho for municipal purposes it is difficult to see what desirable end would be gained by changing the principle from that of a household franchise to a personal one."

The English municipal council having large powers attracts to itself the best men. They receive no salaries, and the chances for profit through contracts or jobs are very remote. The position is one of high honor. Able men are continually reelected. Generally speaking, the mayoralty is conferred as an honor, the power lying not with the mayor, but with the council. Says Mr. Shaw (*idem*, p. 63):

"English, Scotch, and Irish municipal government is simply government by a group of men who are to be regarded as a grand committee of the corporation, the corporation consisting of the whole body of burgesses or qualified citizens.

In Glasgow it is a committee of 23; in Edinburgh, of 41; in Manchester, of 104; in Birmingham, of 72; in Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and most of the large English towns, of 64; in Dublin, of 60; in Belfast, of 40; and in the other incorporated towns of the United Kingdom it varies from 12 to 64, according to their size. So far as these bodies have authority to pass bylaws at all, their authority is complete, and nobody obtrudes a veto. They appoint and remove all officials. They have entire charge of municipal administration, distributing the work of departmental management and supervision to standing committees of their own number, which they organize and constitute as they please. If such a local government cannot be trusted, the fault is with popular institutions. It is quite certain to be as good a government as the people concerned deserve to have. The location of responsibility is perfectly definite. When the Glasgow city improvement scheme became unpopular with the voters because it was proving more expensive than its projectors had promised, the chairman of the committee was retired by his constituents at the end of his term. The taxpayers hold every member of council responsible for his votes."

The most important office is that of clerk of the corporation, often a life position.

Municipal structure in Germany varies somewhat in different States and in different cities, yet has everywhere certain similar characteristics. In Prussia it is based on the Stein and Hardenburg reforms of the early part of the century.

The Prussian franchise, both in the municipalities and in the kingdom, is based upon a division of the population according to the taxes paid. The wealthiest class, which pays one third of the taxes, has one third of the suffrage. The middle class, which pays a second third of the taxes, has another third of the power; while the remaining third is left to the whole remainder of the population. In the constitution of the empire, however, and in many German cities outside of Prussia, the franchise is based on manhood suffrage as demanded by the revolutionists of 1848. In all cases

The Suffrage.

The Council.

Germany.

however, the city council (*Gemeindevath*) has the municipal power. Its members are usually elected for six years, one third going out of office every two years. The executive power is exercised by the burgomaster or mayor and a body of department chiefs, called magistrates. These are elected by the council, and have practically a life tenure. They are selected for expert knowledge and ability. A city will sometimes advertise for an experienced mayor. The magistrates are either highly salaried men or men of position who serve without salary. They form a council called the *Magistratsrath*. With this constitution in all German cities, the council, through the burgomaster and magistrates, conducts the city government as a father would a household. The city can do anything that it is not forbidden to do—the reverse of the American theory. It is supposed to do all that is necessary to the best interests of the community. The cities as a rule furnish their own water supply, gas, electric lighting. They strictly rule the running of the horse-cars, etc. They build and maintain baths, lavatories, abattoirs, markets, savings banks, pawn shops, etc. They care minutely and effectively for sewerage, street-paving, cleaning, and lighting. German cities provide systematically, too, for the relief of the poor. The cities are subdivided into districts, with a visitor for each. Workpeople must be insured by the municipalities or the State; compulsory education is provided at low rates; manual training and gymnastic drill is a part of the education. German cities are thus households, carefully watched, regulated, kept clean and healthful. Taxation is generally not high, no small portion of the municipal revenue coming from municipal activities or franchises, carefully sold at rates very favorable to the city corporation. (See also BERLIN.)

The French municipality is intimately connected with the old communes or townships, which in the early history of France won a high degree of local autonomy, and played no small part in the national history. (See FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

France.

These ancient communes, however, had gradually lost all autonomy, and become but administrative parts of the absolutism of the Louis. The Revolution instantly liberated them, but under Napoleon they again became but units of his highly centralized system—a system, however, with some attempt at justice and freedom. Changing with the changes of France, the communes at present, under the third republic, have considerable local power, yet are by no means free from the control of the central government. The act of 1834, which is virtually the act under which they exist to-day, increases the local powers of the communes materially, yet leaving very much to be desired by the radicals and socialists, who in France, more than in most countries, center their ideals around the autonomy of the old communes. (See COMMUNE AND FRANCE.) According to the present system, some of these communes are municipalities, some of them rural townships. According to the present law, they are governed by a mayor, with his executive assistants, and a council. The council elects the mayor, and the council is elected by manhood suffrage in the communes. The councilors hold office for four years, and all retire together. The council holds four regular sessions a year, lasting from 15 days to six weeks, the mayor may call extra sessions. The council appoints consultative committees, but the mayor has all executive power with his assistants. He has the appointing power, subject to the approval of the prefect of the department, the representative of the central government. The council has large authority in the levying of taxes, voting of public works, etc., but usually subject to the approval of the department authorities.

Paris has in many ways less local autonomy than any other city in France. In the Revolution she gained her old communal freedom, and has at every revolution, but it was taken away by the various imperial governments, and has only been partially granted by the republic. Paris is largely still governed by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and his colleague, the prefect of the police. The city is divided into 23 arrondissements, and in each there is a central building called the *mairie*, the bureau of an officer called the *maire*. There is, however, a municipal council with considerable power, and the tendency is to develop municipal self-control.

III. STATISTICS OF CITIES.

The rapid growth of modern cities is one of the distinguishing notes of the century. It

holds true of all civilized countries. German cities are growing faster than American cities, except Chicago and a few smaller Western cities. Berlin is seven times as large as it was in 1830. The *Courier* of Hanover gives the following statistics:

New York.....	1870. 950,000	.....	1890. 1,515,301
Berlin	1870. 800,000	.....	1890. 1,579,244
<hr/>			
Boston.....	1875. 342,000	.....	1890. 448,000
Hamburg.....	1875. 263,540	1890. 568,666
<hr/>			
Baltimore.....	1880. 332,312	1890. 434,439
Leipsic.....	1880. 127,000	1890. 357,147
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St. Louis.....	1880. 350,000	1890. 451,000
Munich.....	1880. 230,000	1890. 350,000
<hr/>			
Cincinnati.....	1880. 255,139	1890. 296,908
Breslau.....	1880. 272,900	.....	1890. 335,186

This unhealthy growth of the German cities is all the more remarkable when we remember that Germany has to suffer much from emigration, while America profits by immigration. The natural consequence of this centralization is that the country districts are suffering from want of hands, while the cities are overburdened with the unemployed.

It is the same in France. Frederic Mistral describes the ill effects of this centralization in the *Temps*, Paris:

"All the intelligence of the country gathers in Paris, without returning to the provinces. France, one of the richest countries in the world, where grain, wine, oil, and beef are produced in superabundance, and which produces the best possible fighting material, seems destined to go under, because everything is done according to the routine prescribed by the capital. Much trouble is taken to colonize and improve foreign parts, while the French provinces are neglected. Much of the wealth which is gathered in Paris, both material and intellectual, is wasted, because no proper return is made to the provinces."

Mr. Albert Shaw says (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, pp. 15-17): "While the entire increase of the French nation from the census of 1836 to the census of 1891 was less than 125,000, there was in those five years a growth of 340,000 in the aggregate population of the 56 largest cities and towns—those having more than 30,000 people. . . ."

"Urban population grows apace also in Holland and Belgium. One third of the Netherlands live in towns of 20,000 people or more, and a quarter of the Belgians are similarly grouped. In the 25 years from 1868 to 1893, the Holland towns of this class advanced from possessing exactly one fourth to exactly one third of the whole people. . . . In 30 years Rome and Milan have more than doubled their population; Florence has come little short of the same achievement; Turin and Genoa are about 70 per cent. larger than in 1864; overcrowded Naples has gained 100,000 people; Palermo has added nearly as many; and numerous large communes have gained 50 per cent."

Of the United Kingdom Mr. Shaw says (*idem*, pp. 12-15): "In Scotland, and the north of England especially, the change from rural to urban conditions has been revolutionary. At the beginning of the nineteenth century (census of 1801) the total population of Scotland was 1,600,000, and only a small proportion was made up of town dwellers. According to the census of 1891, the total population had grown to more than 4,000,000, of which only 928,500 were strictly rural. The town population was 2,631,300, and the villagers, forming an intermediate class, numbered 465,800. The rural population had declined absolutely in the 10 years from 1881, the decrease being 54 per cent., while in the previous 10 years, from 1871 to 1881, there had also been a loss of 4 per cent. The town population, on the other hand, had increased 18 per cent. from 1871 to 1881, and 14 per cent. from 1881 to 1891. . . . In England the Reform Act of 1835 dealt with 178 municipal corporations in England and Wales, and since that time, under Queen Victoria, 125 new charters of incorporation have been granted. By the census of 1891, the 178 old corporations had a total population of 5,483,000, and that of the 125 new corporations was 5,125,000. The population of England and Wales in 1891 was 29,000,000; and 11,000,000 people were living in 302 cities and towns

possessing full municipal governments. This does not include approximately 6,000,000 inhabitants of the 'Greater London,' or several million people who are in the suburban districts of large towns, or in communities living under urban conditions but not embraced within the present boundaries of municipal corporations. . . . One third of the whole population is now in towns of over 100,000 inhabitants, and nearly another third is in towns having from 10,000 to 100,000 people. For 20 years the growth of the towns having from 10,000 to 250,000 people has been at the average rate of 2 per cent. a year, or 20 per cent. a decade. Thus town life will soon prevail for three fourths of the English people."

The growth of cities in the United States is better known. "In 1790 one thirtieth of the population of the United States lived in cities of 8000 inhabitants and over; in 1800, one twenty-fifth; in 1810, and also in 1820, one twentieth; in 1830, one sixteenth; in 1840, one twelfth; in 1850, one eighth; in 1860, one sixth; in 1870, a little over one fifth; and in 1880, 22.5 per cent., or nearly one fourth. From 1790 to 1880 the whole population increased twelvefold, the urban population eighty-six fold. From 1830 to 1880 the whole population increased a little less than fourfold, the urban population thirteenfold. From 1870 to 1880 the whole population increased 30 per cent., the urban population 40 per cent. During the half century preceding 1880, population in the city increased more than four times as rapidly as that of the village and country. In 1800 there were only six cities in the United States which had a population of 8000 or more. In 1880 there were 286, and in 1890, 437."

The United States.

Says Dr. Strong in *The New Era*, p. 197: "In 1880 the number of our cities having a population of 8000 or more was 286; in 10 years the number had leaped up to 443. A hundred years ago we had but six. Between 1870 and 1890 the number of cities having a population of 100,000 or more doubled, rising from 14 to 28. In a number of States nearly all the increase of population from 1880 to 1890 was in the cities. Of the total increase in Maryland, the one city of Baltimore furnished fully nineteen twentieths." The following table gives a few cities among the many which made a very remarkable growth:

CITIES AND TOWNS.	POPULATION.		INCREASE. Per Cent.
	1880.	1890.	
Birmingham, Ala.....	3,086	26,178	748
Chicago, Ill.....	593,185	1,099,850	118
Dallas, Tex.....	10,358	38,067	267
Denver, Col.....	35,629	106,713	199
Duluth, Minn.....	3,483	33,115	850
El Paso, Tex.....	736	10,338	1,304
Kansas City, Kan.....	3,200	38,316	1,097
Seattle, Wash.....	3,533	42,837	1,112
Spokane Falls, Wash.....	359	19,922	5,592
Tacoma, Wash.....	1,098	36,006	3,179

Says the *Bulletin* on the social statistics of cities for the census of 1890: "While the older States—namely, those in the North Atlantic group—still lead in the number of cities and total population living therein, the North Central and Western groups have made large gains, the former having increased the number of cities 50, or 72.46 per cent., with an actual gain in population of 2,693,155, or 96.07 per cent., and the latter 13 cities, or 130 per cent., with an actual increase in population of 487,610, or 118.13 per cent."

"States that have made the most marked gains in their populations living in cities of this class are as follows: Nebraska, 438.87 per cent.; Minnesota, 265.71 per cent.; Oregon, 223.82 per cent.; North Carolina, 214.27 per cent.; Colorado 204.51 per cent.; Kansas, 194.79 per cent."

Says Dr. Strong (*The New Era*, p. 188): "If the rate of growth and movement of population from 1880 to 1890 continues until 1920, the city will then contain upward of 10,000,000 more than the country."

Th. *World Almanac* for 1895 prints the following statistics of populations:

CITIES.	Census Year.	Population.
London.....	1891	4,231,431
Paris.....	1891	2,447,957
New York*.....	1892	1,801,739
Canton.....	est.	1,600,000
Berlin.....	1890	1,579,244
Tokio, Japan.....	1890	1,380,684
Vienna.....	1890	1,364,648
Philadelphia (municipality).....	1892	1,144,653
Chicago.....	1890	1,099,850
St. Petersburg.....	1889	1,003,310
Pekin.....	.....	1,000,000
Brooklyn (State)*.....	1892	957,163
Constantinople.....	1885	873,566
Calcutta.....	1891	840,130
Brooklyn.....	1890	806,340
Bombay.....	1891	804,470
Rio de Janeiro†.....	1892	800,000

Concerning the density of population in cities, the census *Bulletin* for 1890 (see above) gives it for American cities as follows:

CITIES.	Popula- tion.	Square Miles.	POPULATION TO	
			Each Square Mile.	Each Acre.
New York.....	1,515,301	40.22	37,675.31	58.87
Chicago.....	1,099,850	160.57	6,849.66	10.70
Philadelphia.....	1,046,964	129.39	8,091.54	12.64
Brooklyn.....	806,343	26.46	30,474.04	47.62
St. Louis.....	451,770	61.35	7,363.81	11.51
Boston.....	448,477	35.28	12,711.93	19.86
Baltimore.....	434,439	28.38	15,307.93	23.92
San Francisco.....	298,997	15.46	19,340.04	30.22
Cincinnati.....	296,908	25.00	11,876.32	18.56
Cleveland.....	261,353	24.88	10,504.54	16.47

According to Mulhall (1892), the density of population was, for London, 52 per acre; Paris, 154; Vienna, 258; Berlin, 264.

This, however, gives little idea of the overcrowding in certain portions of cities. Thus the average population in New York City per acre is 58.87, but in Ward 10 of that city it rises to the Overcrowd-
frightful number of 478 to the acre. ing.

Says Edward Marshall in the *North American Review* for December, 1893:

"Six small down-town wards may with confidence be spoken of as forming the most crowded spot on earth. No obtainable statistics of English or continental cities show a population approaching that of this district of New York. . . . The population per square mile of these six wards was given in 1890 as—

Seventh.....	197,200
Tenth.....	357,888
Eleventh.....	262,720
Thirteenth.....	295,104
Fourteenth.....	198,272
Seventeenth.....	252,834

"This is an average for the whole district of 252,834 to the square mile. Even the lowest of these figures shows a higher population than occurs anywhere else; and the population of the Tenth Ward to any given area is more than twice that credited to the most thickly populated district of old London, where 175,816 people to the square mile dwell. . . . Several con-

* New York State census of 1892. The population of the territory embraced within the limits of "Greater New York," as proposed by the commission, is over 3,000,000. † A school census taken in Chicago in 1892 revealed an estimated population of upward of 1,400,000. ‡ Official estimate.

tinental cities contain more crowded districts than London ever did, but none approach the terrifying congestion of our 'teaming Tenth.'" Related to density of population, largely as effect to cause, is the death-rate of cities. According to the above-mentioned census *Bulletin*, the death-rate of American cities is as follows:

CITIES.	Number of Persons per Acre.	Approximate Death-Rate for Census Year.
Newark	16	29.2
New York.....	59	28.6
New Orleans.....	10	28.4
Washington.....	31	25.8
Brooklyn.....	48	25.5
Boston.....	20	24.8
Baltimore.....	24	24.7
Denver.....	11	24.2
San Francisco.....	30	23.6
Philadelphia.....	13	22.6
Cincinnati.....	19	22.3
Cleveland.....	16	21.9
Chicago.....	11	21.1
Detroit.....	16	20.4
Buffalo.....	10	19.9
Milwaukee.....	19	19.3
St. Louis.....	12	19.1
Indianapolis.....	16	18.8
St. Paul.....	4	16.7
Minneapolis.....	5	14.8

In crowded wards it is much higher, says the *Bulletin*. Taking the three most densely populated wards in Boston, Chicago, and Cincinnati, and comparing them as to death-rates with the three least densely populated wards in each of the above cities, the following results are obtained:

CITIES.	Wards.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.	Average Death-Rate.
Boston.....	8, 9, 16	166	29.40
Boston.....	23, 24, 25	4	18.61
Chicago.....	5, 16, 19	98	22.20
Chicago.....	27, 31, 33	1	16.90
Cincinnati.....	7, 10, 13	53	29.90
Cincinnati.....	1, 29, 30	3	18.17

According to Mulhall (1890), the death-rate (1878-80) in London was 21.1; Berlin, 27.6; Glasgow, 25.3; Birmingham, 19.8; Paris, 28.6; Manchester, 25.5. According to A. R. Conkling, however (*City Government in the United States*, 1894), Berlin has reduced her death-rate to about 20.

Coming to the statistics of municipal finances, census *Bulletin* No. 82, prepared by Mr. J. K. Upton, gives us the fullest information, reporting in detail as to 100 out of 443 cities in the United States, having a population of 8000 or upward. We take from it the following tables:

TOTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF 100 PRINCIPAL OR REPRESENTATIVE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURES.	
Taxes.....	\$139,283,226	Libraries.....	\$818,202
Special assessments, streets and bridges.....	13,206,035	Schools.....	26,198,173
Special assessments, sewers.....	1,380,957	Fire.....	11,865,402
Licenses } Liquor.....	11,782,307	Health.....	2,280,317
} Other.....	3,411,539	Lighting.....	7,747,313
Fees, fines, and penalties.....	2,714,404	Police.....	17,817,435
Waterworks.....	18,826,269	Charitable objects.....	7,166,991
Interest on deposits.....	575,957	Streets and bridges.....	33,580,299
Income from funds and investments.....	10,852,461	Sewers.....	6,943,519
Miscellaneous.....	12,889,033	Buildings and improvements.....	9,715,079
		Parks and public grounds.....	12,672,464
		Salaries.....	11,823,458
		Waterworks.....	19,086,751
		Interest on debt.....	32,250,368
		Miscellaneous.....	34,651,043
Total ordinary receipts.....	\$215,001,448	Total ordinary expenses.....	\$234,626,655
Loans.....	84,352,668	Loans.....	59,488,191
Funds and transfers.....	18,381,673	Funds and transfers.....	28,330,353
From State or county.....	5,443,947	Balance, cash on hand end of year.....	36,579,193
Balance, cash on hand beginning of year.....	35,844,656		
Grand total.....	\$359,024,392	Grand total.....	\$359,024,392

Comparing detailed amounts expended by cities with those expended by States, the magnitude of municipal expenditures is clearly exhibited.

Omitting amounts on account of loans, transfers, and funds, the ordinary expenditures of the State of Massachusetts for the year ending December 31, 1889, as compiled by this office, was \$4,955,669. With like omissions, the expenditures for the city of Boston for the year named amounted to \$16,117,043. Like ordinary expenditures of the States of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, the six largest States in the Union in population, for one year amounted in the aggregate to \$28,850,010, while in the same period the ordinary expenditures of New York City alone amounted to \$48,937,604. The State of New York expended in 1889, for legislative, executive, and judicial purposes, \$1,619,127, an amount considerably exceeding like expenditures in any other State; but the amount for the same period paid for salaries alone for such purposes in certain cities was as follows: New York, \$3,488,834; Brooklyn, \$2,325,684; Philadelphia, \$1,131,376.

The approximate administrative expenditures include that part of the ordinary expenditures presumed to be necessary for the conduct of ordinary city affairs. To determine the amount there has been deducted in each case from the ordinary expenditures of the city the amount expended for libraries, schools, public buildings, charitable objects, and waterworks or use of water.

The expenditures on account of construction of new streets, bridges, and sewers, and for the purchase and opening of new grounds for parks and places, could not in many cases be separated in the reports from those incurred for the maintenance of such works and grounds already in use. No deduction of their amount could therefore be made in ascertaining the ordinary expenses of administration, as otherwise would have been done. Expenditures for such purposes, it is thought, were unusually large in the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Paul, St. Louis, and San Francisco for the years reported.

TOTAL AND PER CAPITA ORDINARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS.

CITIES.	ORDINARY EXPEN- DITURES.		APPROXIMATE ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURES.		Total Ordinary Receipts.	Principal of Loans.	Principal of Funds and Transfers.	From State or County for Schools, etc.
	Total.	Per Capita.	Total.	Per Capita.				
Albany.....	\$1,761,958	\$18.56	\$1,182,756	\$12.46	\$1,658,415	\$97,500	\$79,782	\$53,410
Baltimore.....	7,779,638	17.91	5,618,832	12.93	7,409,935	2,879,000	21,148	102,142
Bangor.....	436,516	22.85	325,534	17.04	453,707	102,000	....	11,399
Boston.....	15,117,043	35.94	10,647,928	23.74	15,046,209	7,177,000	2,360,189	918,516
Bridgeport, Conn.....	625,724	12.80	559,068	11.44	566,962	443,000	....	22,849
Brooklyn.....	16,839,675	20.88	13,991,943	17.34	13,681,816	4,792,000	....	....
Buffalo.....	6,751,294	26.41	4,696,966	18.37	5,202,999	1,122,528	4,828	102,893
Burlington.....	154,242	10.57	94,722	6.49	167,334	96,500	....	....
Cambridge.....	1,582,363	22.60	1,103,793	15.76	1,480,309	655,000	....	10,066
Chicago.....	18,102,339	16.73	12,132,045	11.03	18,158,831	333,566	....	137,621
Cincinnati.....	6,453,976	21.74	5,206,638	17.54	6,379,325	1,003,163	....	....
Cleveland.....	2,891,257	11.06	1,965,632	7.55	3,195,444	453,300	....	....
Columbus.....	1,753,646	10.89	1,474,007	16.70	950,037	1,193,100	....	....
Denver.....	795,049	7.45	482,059	4.52	673,766	....	....	....
Detroit.....	3,077,037	14.95	2,535,152	12.31	2,640,529	57,000	....	....
Fall River.....	1,224,282	16.06	839,244	11.28	1,225,859	360,000	....	....
Hartford.....	923,862	17.36	757,823	14.24	900,010	283,600	....	....
Indianapolis.....	654,843	6.21	611,283	5.80	626,259	111,249	....	....
Jersey City.....	2,056,733	12.62	1,722,946	10.57	1,682,343	5,728,734	....	....
Kansas City.....	1,534,112	11.56	936,243	7.05	1,051,008	....	111,295	....
Minneapolis.....	3,062,656	24.05	2,888,298	17.53	3,041,863	1,329,625	....	....
Newark.....	2,164,901	13.56	1,993,937	10.97	2,331,479	....	....	....
New Haven.....	680,602	8.48	661,217	8.13	610,527	320,000	....	....
New Orleans.....	2,828,743	11.69	2,544,402	10.51	3,000,298	1,049,958	....	....
New York.....	48,937,694	32.30	36,203,653	23.89	41,734,162	34,205,970	11,987,796	735,599
Omaha.....	1,563,303	11.13	1,455,363	10.36	1,334,883	322,158	....	....
Philadelphia.....	19,845,121	18.05	14,624,662	13.97	20,910,493	4,674,724	342,003	286,360
Pittsburg.....	3,086,320	12.93	2,114,533	8.86	3,014,464	....	....	....
Portland, Ore.....	397,379	8.57	393,478	8.48	437,538	....	....	....
Providence.....	2,890,482	21.87	2,275,490	17.22	2,890,266	2,020,184	....	....
Rochester.....	2,194,723	16.39	1,572,633	11.75	1,983,799	193,343	....	....
St. Louis.....	6,205,440	13.74	5,023,915	11.12	6,223,697	3,666,867	492,038	69,817
St. Paul.....	5,182,793	41.18	3,676,243	27.61	4,492,174	828,557	....	....
San Francisco.....	5,639,934	18.86	4,175,172	13.96	5,222,559	256,800	17,682	667,114

CITIES.	Net Ordinary Taxes.	SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS.		NET LICENSES.		Net Fees, Fines, and Penalties.	Water- works.	Interest on De- posits.	Income from Funds and Investments.	Miscellaneous.
		Streets and Bridges.	Sewers.	Liquor.	Other.					
Albany.....	\$940,160	\$152,785	\$137,580	\$51,595	\$15,201	\$5,652	\$323,697	\$16,503	\$2,070	\$13,172
Baltimore.....	5,148,638	260,016	....	....	46,015	9,497	820,253	....	873,714	251,802
Bangor.....	248,673	3,362	4,073	....	....	....	39,878	....	120,142	37,630
Boston.....	10,371,154	30,225	84,135	755,968	37,579	231,666	1,698,602	180,861	1,143,451	512,568
Bridgeport, Conn.....	418,008	16,121	....	71,027	3,633	13,959	....	....	....	44,204
Brooklyn.....	11,121,275	....	....	355,925	72,946	31,652	1,468,825	....	106,879	524,314
Buffalo.....	3,974,922	117,736	....	282,678	13,935	24,676	547,257	58,738	....	183,057
Burlington.....	114,646	....	3,870	....	716	466	33,908	....	....	10,148
Cambridge.....	1,126,934	113,308	16,275	40	5,924	4,873	239,744	4,477	....	79,734
Chicago.....	74,027,713	4,921,782	....	2,131,807	590,342	106,186	1,767,624	....	497,887	831,000
Cincinnati.....	2,671,609	459,569	....	699,128	144,726	18,863	718,624	26,542	1,420,617	129,647
Cleveland.....	1,949,849	....	....	310,435	45,838	22,901	478,996	....	135,221	252,202
Columbus.....	694,083	49,912	652	32,402	10,499	7,644	136,927	....	17,921	17
Denver.....	609,363	....	....	190,305	109,082	19,199	6,000	....	....	39,727
Detroit.....	1,968,878	336,588	53,626	138,848	11,688	870	....	....	37,120	72,911
Fall River.....	962,612	....	....	77,134	5,470	11,592	129,967	....	....	39,084
Hartford.....	764,154	4,284	....	71,470	....	5,081	....	....	21,957	42,064
Indianapolis.....	471,207	....	....	....	59,698	7,429	....	....	30,000	21,655
Jersey City.....	1,072,314	171,532	....	214,055	4,193	23,079	....	....	47,958	49,212
Kansas City.....	915,497	....	....	....	....	12,670	....	....	....	122,841
Minneapolis.....	2,398,866	4,588	....	250,000	21,632	51,701	157,514	530	....	157,032
Newark.....	1,303,672	118,127	142,448	297,249	....	5,788	....	....	104,890	359,305
New Haven.....	548,997	1,758	37,411	....	4,854	10,937	....	....	....	6,570
New Orleans.....	2,448,296	....	....	218,459	....	20,962	....	....	58,060	254,172
New York.....	29,791,391	2,068,015	....	1,441,020	422,664	454,555	2,747,548	162,048	4,129,218	517,703
Omaha.....	1,263,116	351,420	1,299	....	11,897	13,219	....	62	....	9,872
Philadelphia.....	12,080,936	....	27,728	610,145	....	570,194	2,205,559	....	1,461,838	3,957,003
Pittsburg.....	2,684,501	375,718	....	17,025	64,683	75	541,908	....	....	230,554
Portland, Ore.....	149,820	45,636	66,895	....	95,349	250	....	152	....	79,436
Providence.....	2,046,662	25,794	32,080	116,968	15,955	12,519	399,742	....	67,747	172,349
Rochester.....	1,398,854	342,975	157,383	45,740	458	12,249	....	3,357	....	22,774
St. Louis.....	3,266,924	84,199	....	853,709	539,114	178,474	952,689	69,133	120,852	159,312
St. Paul.....	1,579,675	1,464,843	....	385,000	32,338	69,281	583,571	6,055	....	371,311
San Francisco.....	3,023,454	1,080,801	268,076	249,360	239,913	296,056	....	....	....	64,899

ORDINARY EXPENDITURES IN DETAIL.

CITIES.	EDUCATIONAL.		MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION.						
	Libraries.	Schools.	Fire.	Health.	Lighting.	Police.	Charitable Objects.	Streets and Bridges.	Sewers.
Albany.....	....	\$259,050	\$94,687	\$10,412	\$97,731	\$135,053	\$62,363	\$278,721	\$151,745
Baltimore.....	....	982,954	282,229	91,586	311,595	779,942	217,043	973,273	167,292
Bangor.....	....	42,401	18,943	....	8,638	11,736	16,419	39,583	21,347
Boston.....	162,827	1,918,241	872,455	582,941	592,318	1,184,282	1,022,673	1,717,393	803,467
Bridgeport, Conn.....	....	....	45,851	3,827	26,458	38,683	55,000	68,660	13,919
Brooklyn.....	....	1,536,086	131,987	147,854	481,857	126,265	73,500	829,850	83,447
Buffalo.....	3,821	747,660	303,021	17,911	260,342	373,820	78,445	215,825	177,640
Burlington.....	2,408	26,788	12,156	835	8,777	4,069	3,350	21,548	9,627
Cambridge.....	9,490	281,241	55,560	21,135	45,005	87,401	58,876	345,722	66,695
Chicago.....	84,003	3,238,659	989,975	176,853	919,235	1,514,665	22,411	4,879,009	584,041
Cincinnati.....	....	49,335	330,648	43,861	222,608	469,196	260,894	1,399,558	189,781
Cleveland.....	....	....	253,264	32,086	164,575	294,866	83,171	928,322	....
Columbus.....	2,003	....	61,335	14,802	48,309	55,932	2,810	254,369	16,572
Denver.....	....	302,990	107,554	62,580	50,000	92,000	....	53,000	31,935
Detroit.....	27,864	375,877	322,365	41,275	129,997	296,247	37,555	997,559	318,691
Fall River.....	10,144	188,510	47,525	2,752	27,031	99,491	61,104	924,553	53,332
Hartford.....	....	97,761	71,339	2,824	39,248	63,354	68,278	116,557	8,029
Indianapolis.....	....	....	79,963	3,337	51,271	61,261	....	95,231	41,439
Jersey City.....	....	313,223	113,249	1,172	....	333,790	8,112	139,642	19,396
Kansas City.....	....	....	120,360	....	77,543	166,465	500,000	....	....
Minneapolis.....	127,203	637,544	245,980	20,510	162,254	194,242	30,217	742,000	610,166
Newark.....	....	479,994	136,827	....	....	211,905	....	....	....
New Haven.....	10,000	....	87,335	11,617	63,097	117,728	....	126,251	133,189
New Orleans.....	....	182,825	235,978	20,247	184,831	152,728	15,102	206,193	5,357
New York.....	25,000	4,082,246	2,109,957	123,331	713,449	4,607,445	2,399,403	4,624,185	176,366
Omaha.....	14,018	....	70,164	....	40,000	87,102	....	851,090	154,468
Philadelphia.....	....	2,646,352	669,974	85,313	385,668	1,920,003	483,817	2,107,665	463,328
Pittsburg.....	....	615,053	226,775	34,011	125,124	299,674	78,406	337,592	....
Portland, Ore.....	....	....	73,218	....	23,235	59,702	1,302	51,576	66,198
Providence.....	3,500	341,876	161,527	24,721	146,734	250,654	13,275	281,524	115,169
Rochester.....	1,126	326,052	140,909	27,017	151,314	130,811	75,553	508,160	161,855
St. Louis.....	....	....	481,777	74,885	313,599	557,114	354,262	1,258,899	147,052
St. Paul.....	13,795	784,432	225,045	....	....	....	39,084	1,832,094	....
San Francisco.....	30,746	992,414	462,873	68,207	288,106	541,159	86,904	1,409,663	327,359

ORDINARY EXPENDITURES IN DETAIL.

CITIES.	Public Buildings and Improvements.	Parks and Public Grounds.	Salaries.	Water-works or Use of Water.	Interest on Debt.	Miscellaneous.
Albany.....	....	\$31,440	\$84,472	\$257,789	\$223,339	\$74,556
Baltimore.....	\$29,215	173,837	72,241	874,095	2,012,460	754,667
Bangor.....	....	....	8,570	52,112	136,946	88,821
Boston.....	1,391,903	649,536	588,051	973,471	2,444,504	1,213,011
Bridgeport, Conn.....	....	124,325	21,709	....	82,606	245,020
Brooklyn.....	11,121	....	2,325,684	1,237,025	2,223,570	7,631,429
Buffalo.....	192,650	64,428	150,583	1,031,755	487,640	2,645,906
Burlington.....	3,161	616	....	23,813	25,782	11,212
Cambridge.....	12,595	23,480	27,917	116,368	199,191	231,378
Chicago.....	904,271	23,430	488,350	2,020,827	780,176	1,775,402
Cincinnati.....	336,440	38,281	160,924	600,669	1,865,750	486,031
Cleveland.....	395,794	18,632	....	446,660	488,203	431,174
Columbus.....	19,530	36,459	49,945	257,296	202,090	34,194
Denver.....	10,000	10,390	72,000	....	....	3,500
Detroit.....	26,942	73,964	225,738	73,647	67,578	62,638
Fall River.....	69,727	2,440	27,780	55,493	206,482	288,958
Hartford.....	....	8,600	....	....	171,863	276,009
Indianapolis.....	6,910	12,890	27,414	....	199,088	76,659
Jersey City.....	2,452	....	86,394	10,000	918,360	110,943
Kansas City.....	39,489	....	82,714	67,380	78,357	410,804
Minneapolis.....	....	268,138	70,402	279,394	258,936	315,670
Newark.....	....	....	18,912	....	267,861	1,358,432
New Haven.....	2,385	11,061	19,267	16,000	61,523	30,149
New Orleans.....	22,118	3,849	117,645	64,296	585,591	1,031,983
New York.....	3,063,809	10,075,925	3,488,834	3,172,583	7,146,215	3,227,946
Omaha.....	27,432	150,152	....	66,490	....	85,914
Philadelphia.....	758,037	404,465	1,131,376	1,332,253	3,326,411	4,120,959
Pittsburg.....	....	....	278,328	....	706,590	322,819
Portland, Ore.....	2,599	5,051	26,739	....	33,205	23,494
Providence.....	14,907	....	68,205	241,434	492,717	734,239
Rochester.....	9,558	187,520	76,750	209,801	108,432	79,859
St. Louis.....	129,871	97,990	466,221	697,392	1,250,966	375,412
St. Paul.....	298,054	....	....	680,185	492,206	1,126,898
San Francisco.....	330,523	....	259,284	241,175	117,291	701,230

Concerning the debts of American municipalities, Mr. Conkling (*City Government of the United States*, p. 170) says:

"A table of the increase of population, taxable valuation, taxation and debt in 15 of the chief cities of the United States, from 1866-75, is as follows:

Increase in population.....	70.5 per cent.
Increase in tax valuation.....	156.9 per cent.
Increase in debt.....	270.9 per cent.
Increase in taxation.....	363.2 per cent.

"The increase in debt has been most notable in the large cities.

"The sudden increase of the debt of New York during the reign of the Tweed ring is, perhaps, the most remarkable of any large city. During the two years preceding the downfall of that ring in 1871 the increase of the city's debt was \$40,650,648. On July 1, 1894, the net funded debt of New York City was \$104,339,634, and the State of New York is practically out of debt.

"A city having a low rate of taxation has often a large bonded debt.

"The tax-rate of cities is often a delusion and a snare, for the reason that, where the municipal authori-

ties refuse to make an appropriation, application is made to the Legislature for authority to issue bonds. This method of financial juggling is adopted in the city of New York.

"The city of Chicago is about to reissue at 4 per cent. \$1,787,000 worth of bonds that have borne interest at 7 per cent.

"Many of the small cities in the United States are now selling bonds at the rate of 4 and 5 per cent. These bonds are sometimes exempted from municipal taxation. In the District of Columbia registered bonds, guaranteed by the United States Government and bearing interest at 3.65 per cent., have been issued recently. The issue is limited to \$5,000,000, and is exempt from all taxes. The city bonds in several Western States are fair investments, because the city debt is limited by the State Constitution to 5 per cent. of the assessed valuation of the taxable property."

The *World Almanac* for 1895 gives the following statistics of municipal debts and tax rates in the United States, as furnished by the mayors of the respective cities:

Debts.

CITIES.	Estimated Population, January 1, 1895	Net Public Debt.	Assessed Valuation of All Taxable Property.	Per cent. of Actual Value*	Tax Rate.†
Baltimore, Md.....	512,358	\$34,100,475	\$300,000,000	75	1.70
Boston, Mass. (a).....	500,000	35,017,910	924,093,752	100	1.28
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1,053,396	49,734,000	549,146,112	(b)	2.62
Chicago, Ill.....	1,700,000	17,722,950	247,425,442	(b)	4.76
Cincinnati, O.....	4340,000	26,240,197	188,751,350	58	2.70
Cleveland, O.....	350,000	6,111,499	128,745,710	040	2.81
New York City (c).....	.....	105,949,466	1,613,057,735	..	.....
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,200,000	52,758,845	769,930,542	75	1.85
San Francisco, Cal.....	350,000	617,914	342,643,179	65	1.61
Washington, D.C.....	280,000	19,138,238	203,505,092	40	1.50

* This is the percentage of assessment upon actual valuation. † Tax on each \$100 of assessed valuation. (a) Report of December, 1893. (b) About 10 per cent. (c) Approximate.

Mr. J. J. O'Meara (*Municipal Taxation at Home and Abroad*, 1894, pp. 26, 27) gives the following statistics for Europe:

CITIES.	Population.	Debt.	Per Capita.
Birmingham.....	478,113	£10,388,413	£21 14s. 6d.
London County Council.....	4,232,118	39,621,813	7 4 8
Glasgow.....	656,185	6,718,516	10 4 7
Manchester.....	515,567	10,399,145	20 3 4
Paris.....	2,447,957	76,490,920	31 4 11

Concerning the expenditures of cities, Mr. A. R. Conkling (*idem.*, p. 174) gives the following table:

CITIES.	Expenditure	Population.
London.....	\$58,446,000	5,100,000*
Paris.....	66,000,000	2,480,000
Berlin.....	21,150,000	1,670,000
Vienna.....	11,868,000	1,423,000
New York†.....	38,664,257	1,610,108‡
Chicago.....	32,426,210	1,098,576
Philadelphia.....	23,061,526	1,044,894
Boston.....	10,647,928	446,507

* In 1890.
 † Excluding about \$3,500,000 for improvements by assessments and by the issue of bonds.
 ‡ The mean of the federal and public census.

The cost of government *per capita* is in London, \$11.46; in Paris, \$26.61, and in Berlin, \$11.97. In the city of New York the rate was \$5 in 1850. At the end of Tweed's administration, in 1871, it was \$18.66; and in 1893, excluding the expenditure for assessments, it was \$24.01.

Finances.

In Europe large revenues are received from municipal activities, franchises, etc. Mr. Leroy Beaulieu believes that in the near future the great source of city revenues will be public halls, markets, slaughter-houses, gas-works, public conveniences, etc. (See the comparative table on the next page.)

Mr. J. J. O'Meara (*Municipal Taxation at Home and Abroad*, Appendix II.) gives the following statistics for 1891. An analysis of these tables will show that the larger cities of Europe apparently carry heavier municipal debts than are borne by the larger cities of the United States; but the analysis will also show that this is only apparently the case. If the European cities have larger debts, they have larger assets. They have largely borrowed for permanent investments that pay the interest on the money borrowed. American cities too often borrow to pay running expenses.

CITIES.	Total Receipts.	Assets.	Taxes.	Other Sources.
Birmingham	£1,398,080	£262,872	£380,532	£754,576
London County Council.....	2,500,618	95,829	1,692,551	712,238
Manchester	1,372,839	850,394	506,317	16,308
Glasgow.....	1,580,053	.....	477,650	1,102,403
Paris.....	11,219,928	7,813,214	1,994,623	1,412,091
Boston	3,704,243	.....	2,652,823	1,051,420
Chicago	6,156,366	.....	1,966,685	4,239,681
New York.....	6,850,251	.....	.....	.....

These various data for Europe and America may be tabulated thus :

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF FIVE AMERICAN AND FIVE EUROPEAN CITIES.

CITIES.	Population in Thousands.	Persons to Acre.		Death-Rate.	Annual Expenditures in Thousand Dollars.	Per Capita.	Ordinary Taxes.	Per Capita.	Municipal Gas.*	Municipal Water Works.*	Municipal Railways*	Mun. Tenement Improvements.*	Municipal Baths.*	Total Municipalism.*	Park Area for 1,000 Persons.	Proportion of Expenditure for Education.
Boston	448	20	24	26,764	\$59	\$10,371	\$23.12	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	5	18
Brooklyn	957	48	25	30,821	38	11,121	11.61	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	1	.....
Chicago.....	1,099	11	21	30,434	27	7,402	6.73	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	2	14
New York	1,801	59	28	85,141	56	29,701	16.49	0	100	0	0	0	0	100	4	9
Philadelphia.....	1,142	13	22	34,469	32	12,086	10.58	100	100	0	0	0	0	200	3	14
Average.....	1,089	30	24	41,525	\$42	\$14,136	\$13.70	20	100	0	0	0	0	120	3	14
Berlin	1,767	70	20	21,150	\$12	\$9,000	\$5.27	100	100	50	0	100	100	350	3.	17
Birmingham.....	478	37	19	6,990†	14	1,902	3.97	100	100	50	100	100	100	450	5.	.....
Glasgow.....	678	55	25	7,900†	11	2,388	3.52	100	100	100	100	100	100	500	6.	.....
London	4,306	51	21	58,446	13	5,940	1.92	0	0	0	100	100	200	5.	.....
Paris	2,480	115	28	66,000	26	9,973	4.02	0	100	0	0	0	100	70.	16	
Average.....	1,941	65	22	32,097	\$15	\$5,841	\$3.74	60	80	40	60	80	320	15.	16.5	

* In these columns, municipal ownership and operation is marked 100; municipal ownership and private operation is marked 50. † This is receipts.

It appears from this table that the larger American cities, compared with the leading European cities, altho not so crowded, have a higher death-rate, cost their citizens twice as much money, tax their citizens more than three times as much, furnish less park area, and spend a smaller proportion of their receipts for education. American cities seek a large proportion of their receipts from taxes; European cities receive a large share of their receipts from municipal enterprises and assets of one kind or another, her cities leading in the municipalization of gas, surface railroads, improved tenements, baths, etc. America leads in municipal water works, the one large municipal activity, which in few cities is depended upon for revenue. In all revenue-producing municipalism Europe leads. From such a table it is easy to see how American cities lead in taxes and in death-rate, European cities in health and municipalization.

IV. THE NEED OF REFORM.

(a) In America.

Says Mr. James Bryce (*American Commonwealth*, vol. i., p. 608) :

"There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national Government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the State governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administrations of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. The commonest mistake of Europeans who talk about America is to assume that the political vices of New York are found everywhere. The next most common is to suppose that they are found nowhere else. In New York they have revealed them-

selves on the largest scale. They are 'gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' But there is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000, it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth."

Says Mr. Andrew D. White (*The Forum*, December, 1890) : "Without the slightest exaggeration we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. . . . Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime. . . . It has been my lot also to have much to do with two interior American cities of less size—one of about 100,000 inhabitants, the other of about 12,000. In the former of these, I saw a franchise for which \$1,000,000 could easily have been obtained, given away by the common council. I saw a body of the most honored men in the State go before that council to plead for ordinary justice and decency. I saw the chief judge of the highest court of the State, one of his associate judges, a circuit judge of the United States, an honored member of Congress, two bishops, the president and professors of a university, and a great body of respected citizens

Municipal Corruption.

urge this common council not to allow a railway corporation to block up the entrance to the ward in which the petitioners lived, and to occupy the main streets of the city. They asked that, if it were allowed to do so, it might be required, in the interest of human life, either to raise its tracks above the streets or to protect the citizens by watchmen and gateways, and to pay a fair sum for the privilege of cutting through the heart of a populous city. All was utterly in vain. I saw that common council, by an almost unanimous vote, pass a bill giving away to this great corporation all this franchise for nothing, so far as the public knew, and without even a requirement to protect the crossings of the most important streets; and I soon afterward stood by the mutilated body of one of the noblest of women, beheaded at one of these unprotected street crossings while on an errand of mercy. So, too, in the smaller of these two interior cities, while the sewerage and the streets were in such bad condition as to demand the immediate attention of the common council, I saw the consideration of these interests neglected for months, and the main attention of the council given to a struggle over the appointment of a cemetery-keeper at a salary of \$10 a week.

Says Mr. A. R. Conkling (*City Government in the United States*, pp. 9, 10): "The character of the average city legislator is well known to those who come in contact with him; but for the benefit of the closest student of American municipal government, I give an extract from a non-partisan report on the representatives of the city of New York in the Legislature. The description will generally apply to the aldermen of American cities. *The Eighth Annual Record of Assemblymen and Senators from the City of New York*, published by the City Reform Club, referring to a very prominent assemblyman, says: 'He received six or seven years' schooling in the public schools of this city. His early associations were not good. He was employed in various newspaper delivery offices for several years. He afterward became a liquor-dealer, then an undertaker, then a liquor-dealer again. Last year he called himself a lawyer, and this year a plumber. As a matter of fact, he has recently opened a new saloon at 35 — Street. He does not use tobacco, nor drink intoxicating liquors. . . . He belongs to the worst class of barroom politicians. He has engaged in street brawls, poses as a fighter, and is a typical New York 'tough.' As a legislator he is preposterous. He is dishonest, and has been accused upon the floor of the House of using money to defeat certain bills. . . . Altogether he is perhaps the most dangerous man that the city has ever sent to Albany.' Another assemblyman is thus described: 'He was born in New York City, of American parents. He was educated in the public schools and was admitted to the bar. . . . He had no conception of his duties, and seemed lacking in ordinary intelligence. . . . He associated with and followed the lead of the most corrupt element in the Legislature.'

In 1876 New York State appointed a commission, with W. M. Everts as Chairman, "to devise a plan for the government of cities in the State of New York." It summed up the present evils as follows:

"1. The accumulation of permanent municipal debt: In New York it was, in 1840, \$10,000,000; in 1850, \$12,000,000; in 1860, \$18,000,000; in 1870, \$27,000,000; in 1876, \$113,000,000."

The commission adds: "The magnitude and rapid increase of this debt are not less remarkable than the poverty of the results exhibited as the return for so prodigious an expenditure. It was abundantly sufficient for the construction of all the public works of a great metropolis for a century to come, and to have adorned it besides with the splendors of architecture and art. Instead of this, the wharves and piers are for the most part temporary and perishable structures; the streets are poorly paved; the sewers in great measure imperfect, insufficient, and in bad order; the public buildings shabby and inadequate; and there is little which the citizen can regard with satisfaction, save the aqueduct and its appurtenances and the public park. Even these should not be said to be the product of the public debt; for the expense occasioned by them is, or should have been, for the most part, already extinguished. In truth, the larger part of the city debt represents a vast aggregate of moneys wasted, embezzled, or misapplied.

"2. The excessive increase of the annual expenditure for ordinary purposes." In 1816 the amount raised by taxation was less than one half per cent. on the taxable property; in 1850, 1.13 per cent.; in 1860, 1.69 per cent.; in 1870, 2.17 per cent.; in 1876, 2.67 per cent. "The increase in the annual expenditure since 1850, as compared with the increase of population, is more

than 400 per cent., and as compared with the increase of taxable property, more than 200 per cent."

The commission suggest the following as the causes:

"1. Incompetent and unfaithful governing boards and officers.

"2. The introduction of State and national politics into municipal affairs.

"3. The assumption by the Legislature of the direct control of local affairs."

Concerning this last cause, the commission says:

"It may be true that the first attempts to secure legislative intervention in the local affairs of our principal cities were made by good citizens in the supposed interest of reform and good government, and to counteract the schemes of corrupt officials. The notion that legislative control was the proper remedy was a serious mistake. The corrupt cliques and rings thus sought that were baffled were quick to perceive that in the business

Causes of Corruption.

of procuring special laws concerning local affairs they could easily outmatch the faithful and clumsy labors of disinterested citizens. The transfer of the control of the municipal resources from the localities to the (State) capitol had no other effect than to cause a like transfer of the methods and arts of corruption, and to make the fortunes of our principal cities the traffic of the lobbies. Municipal corruption, previously confined within territorial limits, thenceforth escaped all bounds and spread to every quarter of the State. Cities were compelled by legislation to buy lands for parks and places because the owners wished to sell them; compelled to grade, pave, and sewer streets without inhabitants, and for no other purpose than to award corrupt contracts for the work. Cities were compelled to purchase, at the public expense, and at extravagant prices, the property necessary for streets and avenues, useless for any other purpose than to make a market for the adjoining property thus improved. Laws were enacted abolishing one office and creating another with the same duties in order to transfer official emoluments from one man to another, and laws to change the functions of officers with a view only to a new distribution of patronage, and to lengthen the terms of offices for no other purpose than to retain in place officers who could not otherwise be elected or appointed."

Concerning the second cause suggested by the commission, Mr. Henry C. Lea makes the following scathing indictment: "The most dangerous enemies of reform are not the poor men or the ignorant men, but the men of wealth and position, who have nothing to gain from political corruption, but show themselves as unfitted for the right of suffrage as the lowest proletarian, by allowing their partisanship to enlist them in the support of candidates notoriously bad, who happen, by control of the party machinery, to obtain the regular nominations." (See RINGS.)

This, however, by no means exhausts all the causes of municipal corruption. Of another potent cause Mr. Francis Bellamy says: "Another cause of municipal misgovernment is the uncertainty of responsibility, especially in its executive branches. Various departments, which should work in closest harmony, owe their appointment to as many different authorities; and often not only do not cooperate, but actually pursue cross purposes. At one time Philadelphia was found to be possessed by four boards with power to tear up the streets at will, but none whose duty it was to see that they were properly relaid. Or here is an example of a composite officialdom which may happen any day: a 'citizens' ticket' mayor, a Republican street commissioner, both elected by the people; other appointments filled by men acceptable to a Democratic Board of Aldermen; a police commission named by the governor, together with the State Legislature interfering on occasion. With such a mixture it is not easy to fix responsibility for maladministration. Non-partisan commissions of four members, two from each party, is another favorite and specious arrangement by which the people are prevented from calling either party to account. This non-partisan contrivance is also an open door for the most unblushing division of spoils in the department between the 'workers' of both parties. . . . It is imperative that responsibility be defined and located. The people must know where the trouble lies, and whom to call to account when things go wrong. There must no longer be a dissipation of responsibility between mayor and aldermen and councilmen, and then through executive commissions, for whose composition and actions no one can be held strictly accountable. The people of Boston, for instance, do not know [the charter has been now changed.—Ed.] where to lay the blame for many

municipal disorders. Mayor and street commissioner, school board, and the two chambers are elected by the people. Treasurer, and auditor, superintendent of the streets, and 104 other officials are appointed by mayor and aldermen together. There are 40 distinct executive departments which depend on mayor and aldermen. The police department is controlled by the governor and his council. The State also appoints a fire marshal to investigate fires, while the city-appointed firemen put them out. The various departments are headed by commissions of three or five men, and by another ingenious contrivance, these men are appointed by the mayor singly, only one each year; so that the mayor can never control any commission of three until his second year, nor any commission of five until his third year, if he lasts so long. But these are not all the obstacles the people meet in finding out who is accountable. If seven of the 12 aldermen are not in sympathy with the mayor, they can, by dictations or bargains, put such a restriction on his appointments that he finds himself without control of the executive departments of which he is the nominal head. It is indeed, as an English journal said, 'the craftiest combination of schemes to defeat the will of democracy ever devised in the world.'

Still another cause, and many believe the prime cause, why American city government is so corrupt, and particularly why so few of our best citizens incline to take office, is the low sphere given in America to municipal activities. In the progressive cities of Europe, the city undertakes large, important functions. In America these are carried on by private corporations. These corporations pay many times the salaries paid to most city officials. Is it any wonder that they can get the best men, and the cities the worst? The municipality is made the tool of the corporations. But nevertheless the corporations get their franchises from the city, and are affected by legislation; hence, it pays them to "influence" the low set of politicians to whom we have left our municipal government. Is it any wonder that corruption results? Says Mr. Francis Bellamy:

"Why is the municipal government of Berlin or Birmingham or Glasgow so much less corrupt and more efficient than ours? Certainly not because their citizens are more intelligent or more moral than Americans. One reason certainly is that the machinery is more simple and direct. But the deepest reason

Corporation Influence.

is that the functions are so much more extensive that not only are the most capable men led to take office, but the people generally are attentive to the problems which the many-sided business of the city presents.

"If it is objected that monopolies should be kept out of politics, we can only reply that monopolies are in politics. They depend on legislatures and city councils and on politicians and lobbyists for their very existence. Private monopolies have debauched our politics, and are a continual menace to uncorrupted government. Our recent West End Railway scandal in Boston is only less than the Broadway Surface bribery of New York aldermen; but both go to show how terrible is the pressure which great natural monopolies can bring to bear to extort franchises. The interests of such immense enterprises as elevated railways, surface railways, gas works, electric lighting plants, and water works are necessarily antagonistic to the interests of the public. They serve the people, but their motive is dividends, and not the comfort of the people or the improvement of the city. They absorb the best business talent and the best legal shrewdness into their service, that they may secure privileges at public sacrifice. They employ a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts to defeat in legislative committee the natural petition of Danvers town people that they may be allowed to do their own electric lighting. And they employ an ex-Governor of Massachusetts to lobby for the passage of an elevated railroad bill, which gives fullest freedom to the company without the public receiving a dollar of compensation. Monopolies will be in politics in a bad sense until the people take them into politics in a good sense by undertaking their operation themselves. In this way, too, municipal reform is more apt to follow extension of the city's business than to go before it.

"Connected with this cause of municipal mismanagement is the irresoluteness and indifference of the people themselves. Some are apathetic. It has been estimated that the stay-at-home vote at city elections amounts to one fourth of the number of registered voters. This stay-at-home vote carries the balance of power. It carries also hidden in its pocket the power of rebuke for misgovernment, for it is composed of the

more intelligent of the citizens. There is not so much to fear from the Irish vote or the German vote as from this absentee vote. The foreign vote is susceptible of disintegration; it may negative itself. But the abstaining vote is solid against good government. At intervals, after some particularly atrocious conduct, this vote is invaded by indignation, and some fraction of it shakes off its languor and makes itself felt at the polls. But it is only a spasm. It is the rush of raw volunteers against regulars. The regulars may be broken, but they can wait. Their turn will come again presently. Meanwhile, the stay-at-homes return to their habit, imagining that by earnestly doing their duty for two or three years they have conquered the power of corruption, and that it is not necessary to continue the fight till it is driven from the field."

All the needs of city reform, however, are by no means confined to political evils (for the evils of overcrowding, etc., see SLUMS; TENEMENTS, etc.); but these must not be forgotten in thinking of municipal conditions. Eighty per cent. of New York City's population live in tenements; only 33 per cent. in Boston own the houses they live in. Of those occupying hired houses, only 16% live in single tenements; the rest crowd together in tenements of two or more families. Of slum life, the author of *Socialism and Christianity* says (p. 205):

"Think of a plot of ground 200 feet square providing a permanent home for nearly 600 persons, giving to each a space of 8 feet by 9! But even so scanty a provision is palatial when the facts are more closely examined. Sixteen families composed of 80 persons in a single 25-foot dwelling are common. . . . In a room 12 by 8 and 5½ feet high inspected in 1879, it was found that nine persons slept and prepared their food. . . .

City Poverty.

In another room, located in a dark cellar, without screens or partitions, were huddled together two men with their wives and a girl of 14, two single men and a boy of 17, two women, and four boys, 9, 10, 11, and 15 years old—fourteen persons in all.

But this is only one half of the picture. Not only do we have this terrible poverty in our cities, but we have it close by the side of extreme wealth. Says Dr. Josiah Strong:

"It is the city where wealth is massed; and here are the tangible evidences of it piled many stories high. Here the sway of Mammon is widest, and his worship the most constant and eager. Here are luxuries gathered—everything that dazzles the eye or tempts the appetite; here is the most extravagant expenditure. Here, also, is the congestion of wealth the severest.

How are such items as the following, which appeared in the papers of January, 1880, likely to strike discontented laborers? 'The profits of the Wall Street kings the past year were enormous. It is estimated that Vanderbilt made \$30,000,000; Jay Gould, \$15,000,000; Russell Sage, \$10,000,000; Sidney Dillon, \$10,000,000; James R. Keene, \$8,000,000; and three or four others from \$1,000,000 to \$2,000,000 each; making a grand total for 10 or 12 estates of about \$80,000,000.'

It is these terrible contrasts which form a large part of the problem of the city.

When the unemployed, sleeping in crowded tenements, in police stations, in empty wagons, under the shelter of some friendly roof, go out, with little or no breakfast, to look for work; when, after a long day's fruitless search, they return to pale-faced wives and hungry children, one can scarcely wonder that they grow weary and discouraged, reckless and desperate; but when, in addition to this, they pursue their search for bare existence along streets lined with palaces groaning with superabundance, one wonders that anarchy does not arise in every modern city; one admires the self-control and patience of the poor.

Connected with these contrasts is the composite character of our city populations.

Though only about one third of the population of the United States is foreign by birth or parentage, this element rarely constitutes less than two thirds of our larger cities, and often more than three fourths.

Charity attempts relief, but the foremost charity workers (see CHARITY ORGANIZATION) are declaring to-day that the misery increases faster than charity can relieve it. The amounts spent annually for poor relief, private or public, in England and America is very many millions; yet the need is greater still. Perhaps, more exactly, the need is for new conditions that shall make charity less necessary. To-day misery and affluence, the beggar and the capitalist, the prostitute and the millionaire exist side by side.

The following is a table of the nationality of some of the larger American cities, according to the census of 1890:

CITIES.	Total Foreign Born.	British-Americans.	Irish.	English.	Scotch.	Germans.	Austrians.	French.	Italians.
New York.....	630,943	8,398	190,418	35,907	11,242	210,723	27,193	10,535	39,951
Chicago, Ill.....	450,066	24,297	70,028	28,337	9,217	161,039	6,043	2,502	5,685
Philadelphia, Pa.....	260,480	2,584	110,935	38,026	8,772	74,971	2,003	2,550	6,799
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	261,700	5,897	84,738	26,493	7,417	44,798	1,493	2,402	9,563
St. Louis, Mo.....	114,876	2,008	24,270	6,507	1,370	66,000	1,586	1,717	1,295
Boston, Mass.....	158,172	38,294	71,441	13,454	4,490	10,362	391	875	4,718
Baltimore, Md.....	60,003	521	13,389	3,089	666	40,709	1,221	424	824
San Francisco, Cal.....	126,811	4,371	30,718	9,828	3,181	26,422	1,263	4,663	5,212
Cincinnati, O.....	71,408	945	12,323	2,950	621	49,415	389	890	738

CITIES.	Russians.	Hungarians.	Bohemians.	Poles.	Norwegians.	Swedes.	Danes.	Spaniards.	Chinese.
New York.....	48,790	12,222	8,099	6,759	1,575	7,069	1,495	887	2,048
Chicago, Ill.....	7,683	1,818	25,105	24,086	21,835	43,032	7,987	120	584
Philadelphia, Pa.....	7,879	1,354	189	2,189	1,500	1,626	704	136	785
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	3,397	663	143	1,887	4,873	9,325	1,839	526	600
St. Louis, Mo.....	1,538	253	2,301	875	134	876	285	45	177
Boston, Mass.....	4,395	188	104	954	861	3,413	353	149	497
Baltimore, Md.....	4,057	163	1,368	935	139	213	81	40	190
San Francisco, Cal.....	1,064	167	82	501	1,396	3,594	1,785	220	24,613
Cincinnati, O.....	978	120	28	227	9	99	41	16	24

Connected with this foreign population of our cities is the saloon problem. Says Dr. Josiah Strong (*Our Country*, pp. 181 and 133):

"East of the Mississippi there was, in 1880, one saloon to every 438 of the population; in Boston, one to every 329; in Cleveland, one to every 192; in Chicago, one to every 179; in New York, one to every 171; in Cincinnati, one to every 124. Of course the demoralizing and pauperizing power of the saloons and their debauching influence in politics increase with their numerical strength. . . . The liquor trade boasts that in New York City alone it controls 40,000 votes. That the saloons are the great centers of political activity is evident from the fact that out of 1002 primary and other political meetings held in New York during the year preceding the November election of 1884, 633 were held in saloons and 86 were held next door to saloons, while only 283 were held apart from them. These saloons and their keepers are controlled by a few strong men. In 1888, the saloons in New York City, 4710 were subject to chattel mortgages, which aggregated \$4,959,578 in value. An overwhelming proportion of these mortgages were held by brewers, one firm holding upward of 200, and another 600; which being interpreted means that two firms controlled upward of 800 centers of political influence in New York."

Intemperance.

Such are some of the evils connected with American cities. (See also PROSTITUTION; GAMBLING; UNEMPLOYMENT; PAUPERISM; CRIME; SLUMS, etc.).

(b) *Europe.*

The evils of modern city life are by no means confined to American cities.

Said Professor Huxley (*Social Diseases and Worse Remedies*): "Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centers, whether in this or other countries, is aware that, amid a large and increasing body of that population, *la misère* reigns supreme. . . . I have no pretensions of the character of a philanthropist, and I have a special horror of all sorts of sentimental rhetoric; I am merely trying to deal with facts, to some extent within my own knowledge, and further evidenced by abundant testimony, as a naturalist; and I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that

described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it by any lack of demand for their produce. And, with every addition to the population, the multitude already sunk in the pit and the number of the host sliding toward it continually increase."

What Professor Huxley means by *la misère* is apparent when he says (*idem*): "It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to bestiality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave."

What life in London means for hundreds of thousands can be seen by the following from *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, speaking of London's tenements: "To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases, arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions, and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air. You have to ascend rotten staircases, grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin. Then, if you are not driven back by the intolerable stench, you may gain admittance to the dens in which these thousands of beings herd together. Eight feet square! That is about the average size of very many of these rooms. Walls and ceiling are black with the accretions of filth which have gathered upon them through long years of neglect. It is exuding through cracks in the boards; it is everywhere. . . . Every room in these rotten and reeking tenements houses a family, often two. In one cellar, a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs. . . . Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child who had been dead 13 days. Her husband, who was a cabman, had shortly before committed suicide. . . . In another apartment, nine brothers and sisters, from 29 years of age downward, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is

London.

a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening, because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again, if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere. Where there are beds, they are simply heaps of dirty rags, shavings, or straw; but for the most part these miserable beings find rest only upon the filthy boards. . . . There are men and women who lie and die, day by day, in their wretched single room, sharing all the family trouble, enduring the hunger and the cold, and waiting, without hope, without a single ray of comfort, until God curtails their staring eyes with the merciful film of death."

Nor is this condition true only of a few worst slums. As regards the 4,000,000 of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent., are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent., in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*); 938,293, or 22.3 per cent., form "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added, 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory (*Labor and Life of the People*, edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20, 21).

Says the *Fabian Tract No. 5* (revised ed.): "In London one person in every five will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1892, out of 86,833 deaths, 48,061 being 20 years of age and upward, 12,713 were in workhouses, 7707 in hospitals, and 411 in lunatic asylums, or altogether 20,831 in public institutions (*Registrar-General's Report*, 1892, C-7, 238, pp. 2, 72, and 96). The percentage in 1887 was 20.7 of the total deaths; in 1888 it rose to 22.2, in 1891 to 24.2, and in 1892 it was 23.0.

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In 1890-91, out of 175,852 inmates of workhouses (one third being children, and another third women), no fewer than 14,868 have been members of benefit societies. In 4393 cases the society had broken up, usually from insolvency (*House of Commons Return*, 1891, Nos. 266 and 130-B). Considering that comparatively few of the inmates are children, it is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the 'manual labor class' must, of course, be still larger."

London, though the largest, is not alone in the evil condition of its working masses. In England the industrial friendly societies have in each large town their "proscribed streets." The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes, for Liverpool alone, on account of their insanitary character, 167 "streets wherein no members of the Society may be entered" (*Circular of October 13, 1886*). Yet these unhealthy streets are not too bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens of that commercial center.

Says Mr. Frederick Harrison: "To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution, that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country" (*Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference*, 1886, p. 429).

V. METHODS OF REFORM.

(a) Administrative.

Different classes of thinkers advocate very various methods of reform. The commission in New York State referred to above (see Sec. IV.) made the following recommendations:

"(a) A restriction of the power of the State legislature to interfere by special legislation with municipal governments or the conduct of municipal affairs.*

"(b) The holding of municipal elections at a different period of the year from State and national elections.

"(c) The vesting of the legislative powers of municipalities in two bodies: A board of aldermen, elected by the ordinary (manhood) suffrage, to be the common council of each city. A board of finance of from six to 15 members, elected by voters who had for two years paid an annual tax on property assessed at not less than \$500 (£100), or a rent (for premises occupied) of not less than \$250 (£50). This board of finance was to have a practically exclusive control of the taxation and expenditure of each city, and of the exercise of its borrowing powers, and was in some matters to act only by a two-thirds majority.

"(d) Limitations on the borrowing powers of the municipality, the concurrence of the mayor and two thirds of the State Legislature, as well as of two thirds of the Board of Finance, being required for any loan except in anticipation of current revenue.

"(e) An extension of the general control and appointing power of the mayor, the mayor being himself subject to removal for cause by the governor of the State."

The large movement for municipal reform in the United States, which has resulted in the formation of municipal reform leagues or civic clubs in all the large cities, and has now grown into a national municipal league, is not committed to one definite program, yet nevertheless does largely favor in all cities a similar program. It may be said in general to favor municipal reform, *first*, by rousing the attention of all classes of citizens, especially among the educated classes, to take an active interest in the conduct of civic affairs; *second*, by fixing municipal responsibility through the simplification of municipal systems; by such measures as increasing the power of the mayor, abolishing the bicameral system, doing away with so-called non-partisan boards and appointing single responsible commissioners in their place, substituting biennial or triennial elections for annual, reducing the number of departments, etc.; *third*, by divorcing municipal from national politics, introducing proportional representation, etc. But this movement is so important that we can only consider it an article by itself. (See MUNICIPAL REFORM ORGANIZATIONS.)

Somewhat opposed to this program, at least in asserting that it does not reach the bottom of municipal evils, is the view of those who believe that the one first and greatest way to reform city administration is to give it a large function. Says Professor R. T. Ely (*The Christian Union*, October 9, 1890):

"We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first and then to carry out changes and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none.

"When the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and his friends took hold of the corrupt and inefficient city government of Birmingham, they at once 'devised large measures,' including the purchase of gas and water works by the city. A public library followed; public parks, improved dwellings for the poor, large public undertakings, broad and generous measures, have been an essential part of municipal reform and improvement in cities like Berlin and Glasgow; they have not followed a purification of politics, but have helped to elevate political life.

"Has the experience of this country been different? Not at all. When the city government of Baltimore was worse than it is to-day, when the 'Plug Uglies' and 'Blood Tubs' were a terror, the government was improved by adding to its functions a paid police and a paid fire department. Extension of functions within a proper sphere improves government.

"When civil-service reformers in New York come before the people with large and generous plans of reform, with a program including adequate school accommodations, strict enforcement of the compulsory education law, better sanitary measures, public ownership and management of gas and electric light plants, playgrounds for children, public parks in crowded sections, and strict enforcement of laws for the protection of working children, and when leading citizens pledge themselves to these reforms, they will arouse an enthusiasm which will sweep the city. Austin, Texas, and several smaller places have recently been carried by large majorities for practical, tangible reforms. A part of the program in Austin was public water and electric lighting works, and the reform party ousted an opposition which had been elected by a large majority. It is estimated that one half of the voters changed their votes.

Professor Ely.

"Another fundamental fact is that the program which I propose will, when carried out, arouse municipal pride and self-respect. It will awaken what you may call a self-consciousness. Cities with us do not, as it were, respect themselves. They are like men who have lost their self-respect, while they are despised by private corporations, whose tool they become.

"Another fundamental fact, the last which may now be mentioned, is that you cannot separate local from national politics by merely talking about it. National politics are supreme in the minds of voters because they deal with real issues, like tariff reform, the silver question, pensions, federal election laws. When local politics come to mean what they should, when they involve easily understood issues of moment to all, then we will see less 'blind attachment to party and party candidates.'"

While private corporations carry on larger functions than the city, they will employ the best men. While the city officials are inferior men, and the corporations can gain from and are dependent upon city legislation, corruption must result. Such is the argument of those who believe that the one way to purify the city is to enlarge its functions. For the details of this argument, however, see MUNICIPALISM.

(b) Social Reforms.

For the details of these reforms see EDUCATION; MANUAL TRAINING; BATHS; LAVATORIES; TENEMENTS; PARKS; STREET RAILWAYS; TEMPERANCE; CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS; MUNICIPALISM, etc. The following program was laid by Professor R. T. Ely before the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Boston, December 4, 1889. He said:

"1. Let me first mention the means of education which should be liberally provided, and which should, for the most part, be gratuitously offered. I do not speak simply of schools of the lower grades, but of schools of all grades, and of much besides schools. I would thus broaden the way to success, and utilize all talent in the community. With these schools I would establish a sifting process, so that only the more gifted should advance to higher grades. Such a scheme has already been working in New York State for some time. There are State scholarships, entitling the recipients to free tuition in Cornell University, and one of them is offered for competition in each assembly district each year. There are thus over 500 all told. It may be that the ideal thing is a public educational system, comprising all grades of school up to and inclusive of the university. . . . But public education does not begin early enough for the needs of the city. The majority of children in cities are under bad home influences, and free kindergartens should be a part of the school system. It is all very well to talk about the work of the family, but what about the majority of children in large cities, for whom no wholesome family life exists? I have sometimes feared that my good friend, Dr. Dike, favored reactionary elements in not taking into account sufficiently the actual situation. Industrial training ought to be made important every-

where, and I note with satisfaction the progress it is making in Boston. Mr. Brace speaks of industrial schools as the best agency for reforming the worst class of children in cities, and the experience of the Elmira Reformatory in New York shows that a majority even of young convicted criminals can be reformed by it, when coupled with good discipline. We find that many criminals and paupers are uneducated and untrained in any trade. The apprenticeship system is antiquated, and city dwellings furnish no opportunity for girls to learn womanly occupations. Preparation for life must for all come from the school; for the many it is the only place whence it can come. . . .

"But our educational system should not cease to provide for people when they leave school. Education ought to end only with life. This brings me to mention such educational facilities as free libraries, free reading-rooms within convenient distance of every part of the city, perhaps in many cases attached to school houses, and open after school hours.

"University-extension lectures ought to be provided, and Mr. Dewey, of New York, has been working on some large plans for extension lectures to be connected with the public schools of New York State, and to be conducted under the auspices of the Board of Regents. Private undertakings, like Chautauqua, could well supplement whatever public authority does.

"Schoolhouses should be better utilized as gathering places for clubs, debating societies, and all bodies of men who would give guarantee of proper behavior. Open in the evening, they would help to counteract the baleful influences of the saloon.

"Art galleries and museums—which may multiply the value of pictures and other enjoyable articles a hundredfold, by rendering them accessible to all—may be mentioned under this general head, and, in my opinion, they ought all to be open on Sunday. I do not believe in leaving a free field to the devil every seventh day.

"It goes without the saying that religious education is an important part of all education, and that the Church should become more active than ever, and become to a greater extent than at present a real people's Church. Church buildings also are not as fully utilized as they might be.

"2. As a second item, and one closely connected, I mention playgrounds, parade grounds, play-rooms, and gymnasiums. I would include universal military drill for boys and young men. Experienced educators will tell you that a remarkable agency physical drill is for the cultivation of good morals; half of the wrong-doings of young rascals in cities is due to the fact that they have no innocent outlet for their animal spirits.

"3. The third item is free public baths and public wash-houses, like those which in Glasgow have proved so successful.

"4. The fourth item is public gardens and parks and good open-air music.

"5. Very important in all large cities is an improvement of artisans' dwellings, and the housing of the poor generally. All those who work among the poor speak about the great obstacle to reform and improvement found in rent. Mr. Barnett speaks of it as absorbing a large proportion of the earnings of artisans—namely, the fourth of a regular income—and Mr. Brace speaks of it repeatedly. A lady working in connection with the Charity Organization of Baltimore spoke of it thus a few days since in conversation: 'Rent! Oh, that is the dreadful thing! The rent of the poor just goes on increasing all the time; so do their appetites; but these have to wait, while the rent has to be paid!'

"I cannot speak of the many things which can be done and which are being done to improve the housing of the poorer urban classes. One of the most promising reforms, it seems to me, is to obey the law and assess all unimproved city land up to its full value, the very last dollar of its value, and then exempt all new dwellings from taxation for a period of five years. A somewhat similar plan appears to have produced excellent results in Vienna. Of course, this alone is not sufficient.

"6. My sixth item is complete municipalization of markets and slaughter-houses, rendering food inspection easier and more thorough.

"7. The seventh item is organized medical relief, rendering medical attendance and medicines accessible to the poor without a sacrifice of self-respect and independence. . . .

"8. Poor relief ought to be better organized, almshouses should be workhouses and workhouses should

Education.

Hygiene.

be industrial schools. . . . Any one may witness in Germany the beneficial effects of an extensive pension system. It is a great economy of resources, as smaller salaries are sufficient under a pension system; it diminishes poverty and pauperism, and thus relieves the public treasures. It prevents anxiety, and checks the greed begotten of uncertainty. An extension of the principle of insurance is desirable for similar reasons.

"9. The ninth item is improved sanitary legislation and administration. Great strides have already been made in this direction, but probably the urban death-rate among children of the poor under five years of age could still be reduced one half.

"10. The next item is a better regulation of the liquor traffic where its suppression is impossible. I think something better than high license is practicable. . . .

"But temperance reform ought to include positive measures, as well as negative, and how effective positive measures are, Mr. Brace's book amply demonstrates. The use of town halls and school-rooms for political and other gatherings in England has proved a good temperance measure. Do not simply drive out the saloon—replace it.

"11. Municipal savings banks. Such institutions have produced most gratifying results in many German cities. Deposits should be invested in city bonds and other good securities. The investment in city bonds would tend to give depositors a realizing sense of what they have at stake in municipal government.

"12. Ownership and management by the city of natural monopolies of a local character, like electric lights, gas works, street-car lines, docks, etc.

"I will not enumerate further items in this connection. I have already said that the individual force and energy of citizens should be used to inaugurate and

carry out these reforms. I would utilize in a higher degree than heretofore the help of women. Police matrons have done something for one class of our urban population in several American cities, and in Glasgow lady health inspectors have proved an efficient adjunct to the health department. Lady members of school boards have done good service in several cities.

Municipalization.

"We should also have private associations of women to insist on the enforcement of law. Something has been done in New York by the Ladies' Health Protective Association, which aims to secure enforcement of sanitary legislation and to insist on a proper street-cleaning service. We ought also to have in every city ladies' public educational associations, to stimulate the educational authorities and to see that the last letter of the law is obeyed; in New York, for instance, see that schoolhouses are provided for all children, and that the compulsory educational law is enforced.

"We should also have business men's associations, clergymen's associations, and the like, all to help to make the life of public servants who neglect their duty a burden to them.

"Whence shall come the resources for these reforms? I have already given the answer. A moderate and conservative municipalism will provide resources. It is simply necessary to utilize public resources. Comptroller Myers, of New York, recently said that he could pay all the expenses of the city government from dock rents, miscellaneous receipts, and the annual value of street car and other similar franchises. Berlin pays over 15 per cent. of its expenses from the profits of gas works; Richmond, Va., when I last looked at the report, about 7 per cent. We have also electric lighting as a source of revenue. Then we have plans which I have elsewhere described for securing a portion of the increment of city real estate for the public, and that without depriving any one of his property rights. Inheritances, and particularly collateral inheritances, may be taxed, and intestate collateral inheritances might be even abolished. Resources for every needed reform can be found in abundance whenever any honest search is made for them. We have yet no adequate idea of the public resources of a great city.

"Government is the God-given agency through which we must work. To many, I am aware, this is not a welcome word, but it is a true word. We may twist and turn as long as we please, but we are bound to come back to a recognition of this truth. Societies have failed. Society, particularly as organized in city councils or city governments, to adopt what is with us the more comprehensive designation, must recognize the work we want done as the concern of the community, and must themselves do it. The most success-

ful work, says Barnett, after his long striving, is done by the education act, the poor law and other socialistic legislation. That that is the most successful work is also illustrated by the life and career of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, who carried through Parliament legislation which has benefited millions of Englishmen. If simply by touching a person you could confer a distinct benefit on the person touched, it would take you 20 years to benefit as many people as have been benefited by legislation chiefly due to this great philanthropist. Also the experience of Elberfeld, Berlin, and other German towns, so celebrated for the administration of charity, confirms what is here said. Their success is due to private cooperation with official work. 'If nations had been ennobled by wars undertaken against an enemy, towns may be ennobled by work undertaken against the evils of poverty.'

"Societies have failed and will fail. They cannot, acting simply as societies, do the work. Their resources are inadequate, the territory they can cover is too small, and their power is insufficient. The Evangelical Alliance simply as such can never do the work. The Evangelical Alliance, like other societies, must put itself behind municipal government and recognize the reform and elevation of municipal government as one of the chief features of its work. It must strive to establish among us true cities of God. There is plenty of room for the individual and for individual activity. Not all the work can be done by government, altho without government very little can be accomplished. But, in addition to strictly private work, there is room for any amount of individual work in stimulating official work and in cooperation with official work.

"It takes a great effort and persistent, unflagging zeal to keep alive a few industrial schools like those which Mr. Brace has established in New York. He has my admiration for his great work, but I cannot help asking the question, If a little more energy had been used in stimulating public authorities and cooperating with them, would not greater things have been accomplished? Shameful, incredibly disgraceful as it may be to the authorities of New York City, 14,000 children in that city were this fall turned from the doors of the public schools because there was not room for them. Now, with 200 children to a school, it would take 70 private schools to educate these children, whereas the energy and zeal necessary to support to such schools expended in enlightening the public and stimulating the conscience of the municipal authorities would have rendered this criminal record an impossibility."

Says Rev. Mr. Barnett, after 17 years in East London: "The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers, to make them feel that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich (by reducing taxes) and turning children away from public schools, as in New York, but to save the people." And "the care of the people is the care of the community and not of any philanthropic section."

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CIVIC CHURCH, THE.—A movement originated and directed mainly by W. T. Stead (*q.v.*), the London journalist. It aims to secure the organization and cooperation of all philanthropic workers in every community. At pres-

ent it is little more than an unrealized ideal ; but its purpose and principles are so directly in the line of social reform, that we give it here as complete a description as possible. To give Mr. Stead's own words, and the reasons upon which he based his conception of a civic church, he writes : " The great want of the age is a church—a church which will not be a mere sect, but a real church, a working church, a church co-extensive with the community in which it exists ; a church which, like the old Church, has the power of excommunication, and exercises it ; a church which embraces the whole range of human life, and which influences all the affairs of life, alike in personal conduct and in affairs of municipal and national government. Until we can constitute a church which will somehow or other do the things which the old Church used to do, and which the modern Church largely shirks doing, we shall never get the key of the solution of the social problem." The fundamental idea, therefore, of the civic Church is that of intelligent and fraternal cooperation of all those who are in earnest about making men and things better than they are to-day. Speculative or religious differences would exclude no one from membership. It would not necessarily antagonize the existing Christian churches, but would bear the same relation to them that the main drain of a city bears to the wash-basins of private families. It would be distinctively Christian in that it accepts the example and teaching of Jesus Christ as authoritative, and adopts as its motto self-sacrifice for the welfare of others. Its demand is that every individual life must be helpful to the community, and that the community place no stumbling-blocks in the way of individual development. The ultimate object of the civic Church is the reconstitution of human society through the brotherly cooperation of all who are willing to take trouble to promote the welfare of others. The field of its operations is the whole range of the life of man, and especially so far as it touches the life of his brother man. Practically, it is the spiritual counterpart of the town council, and is to be established in every large center of population on the principle, " One town, one Church." It is composed of representatives and delegates from all the churches and all organizations that seek the good of the community. The civic Church would thus bring all moral and philanthropic institutions into sympathetic communication with one another ; it would energize separate organizations and unify all moral forces. Necessarily it would become an electoral center, a " moral caucus." It would keep moral questions to the front in all times of election, prevent the nomination of dishonest and immoral candidates, and endeavor to elect conscience as the spiritual mayor of the town. The duties of the civic Church may be considered as relating to the various stages of human life.

I. TO THE INFANT.

The civic Church would begin with the child before its birth. It would insist upon the infinite responsibility of parentage, and an improvement in ordinary ante-natal conditions. Lying-in hospitals would be established, and healthy

homes for foundlings. The civic Church would demand that every child be accorded the right to two legal parents. The nourishment of young children would be inquired into ; the crèche or something better would be established where necessary ; cruelty to children would be prevented, and child insurance investigated.

II. TO THE CHILD.

The civic Church would seek to secure to every child its natural play-time, and prevent early child labor. It would endeavor to provide parks or buildings in which city children might play. The education of children would not be overlooked ; kindergartens would be established and school walls brightened with pictures. Homeless children would be removed from work-houses and distributed where possible among the childless homes. Toys and picture-books would be collected from the wealthier families and placed in the homes of the alleys and slums.

III. TO THE YOUTH.

A system of scholarships is proposed which would enable the poorest student to graduate from the University. The civic Church would use all its influence to provide for young men and young women reading-rooms, evening classes, rooms and open places for recreation, bathing-houses, gymnasiums, etc. It would devise some means of instructing boys and girls ripening into maturity regarding the simple physiological truth about their own bodies. The housing of young people who have come alone to the large cities would be the object of much endeavor.

IV. TO THE ADULT.

As to the services which the civic Church might render to the adult citizen, Mr. Stead has prepared a catalogue of possible and helpful reforms which we here append.

THE ADULT AS A CITIZEN.

1. The education of the householder as to his civic and national responsibilities.
2. The stimulating of an intelligent interest in political and municipal issues.
3. The keeping moral issues to the front, as caucuses keep party issues.
4. The representation of the unrepresented, whether women, children, paupers, or subject races.
5. The cultivation of patriotism and the religion of citizenship.
6. The stemming the tide of national hatreds, and claiming justice even for the enemy.
7. The formation of volunteer corps.
8. The establishment of life and fire brigades.

THE ADULT AS A WORKER.

1. The development of self-reliance and mutual help by the formation of trade-unions.
2. The shortening of excessive hours of labor.
3. The enforcement of the laws for the protection of labor.
4. The encouragement of industrial arbitration.
5. The promotion of copartnership between employers and employed.
6. The appointment of women inspectors for women workers.
7. The prevention of sweating.
8. The payment of sailors' wages before leaving ship.

THE ADULT IN SICKNESS.

1. Provident dispensaries.
2. Hospitals—general, infectious, and convalescent.
3. Health lectures.
4. Sick nurses.

5. Medical comforts.
6. Change of air for convalescents.
7. Lying-in hospitals.
8. Blind asylums.
9. Deaf and dumb institutions.
10. Lunatic asylums.

THE ADULT IN THE WORKHOUSE.

1. Women on Boards of Guardians.
2. Brabazon scheme for employment of aged.
3. Decoration of walls of wards.
4. Library for inmates.
5. Supply of papers and magazines.
6. Constant supply of visitors.
7. Occasional excursions and treats.
8. Handkerchiefs and night-gowns for the bedridden.
9. Tobacco and snuff for the aged.
10. Lantern and other entertainments.
11. Music, instrumental and vocal.

THE ADULT AT LEISURE.

1. A minimum of public-houses, and those well conducted.
2. Saturday night and Sunday closing.
3. Clubs for men and women—temperance hotels.
4. Free library and reading-rooms.
5. Popular social evenings in board schools.
6. Good theatre and decent music-hall.
7. Bands in parks.
8. The preservation of open spaces.
9. Shade-trees and seats in streets.
10. Kiosks, lavatories, and drinking fountains in streets.
11. Lantern lectures.
12. University extension lectures.
13. Museums and art galleries.
14. Open churches and organ recitals.

THE ADULT IN BUSINESS.

1. Honest friendly societies.
2. Old age pensions.
3. Advisory council *re* investments.
4. Trade protection societies.
5. Cooperative societies.
6. The poor man's banker—Monts de Piété—popular banks.
7. The providing of adequate drinking fountains and lavatories in workshops and factories.
8. The establishment of the six days' working week.
9. Dining-halls with music.

THE ADULT OUT OF WORK.

1. Establishment of labor registries.
2. The creation of labor colonies.
3. The direction of emigration.
4. The improvement of casual wards.
5. The organization of charitable relief.
6. Temporary work for the unemployed.
7. The development of cottage industries.
8. Every man his allotment.

THE ADULT AT HOME.

1. Instead of slums, improved dwellings.
2. A good water supply.
3. Sanitary drainage.
4. Free baths and washhouses.
5. A garden for every home, if it is only a window-box.
6. Cheap transit by tram and rail.
7. Municipal lodging-houses.
8. Visitors for doss-houses.
9. Cooperative homes.

THE ADULT IN DEATH.

1. Homes for the dying.
2. Reformed funerals.
3. Cremation.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Enforcing the law against gambling.
2. Discouraging prostitution.
3. The poor man's lawyer.
4. Cab-shelters.
5. Enforcement of law against smoke.
6. Preventing the pollution of rivers.
7. Music and visiting in prison.
8. Prison-gate brigade.
9. Rescue homes and inebriate asylums.
10. Country holidays.
11. Pilgrimages—historical and religious.

Such is the ideal of the civic Church ; its realization would establish a kind of humanitarian

episcopate. But it is coming nearer than an ideal in many English towns, where the idea has been adopted and the principles put in practice. Every attempt as yet along the lines of the civic Church program has resulted in a marked strengthening and energizing of the forces of reform.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—In the United States, civil service reform is understood to mean a reformation in the method of selecting public officials who hold appointive positions. At present the majority of public appointments are liable to be made upon the "spoils system" (*q. v.*), or by favor rather than from reason of special fitness of the appointee. Civil service reformers seek by various means to make fitness the first test of officials, and to make them more truly servants of the public by making them less dependent on the good will of an individual for their appointment to and tenure of official positions.

The system of appointment by favor—or "patronage," as it is well called—tho practised previously in New York and some other States, did not appear in America in national politics until during the administration of President Jackson, who used the power vested in him to arbitrarily dismiss the holders of appointive positions and distribute the offices among his own supporters. Previous to that time all offices except those with specified limit of tenure were practically held during good behavior, and so rarely were civil service officials removed that during the first 40 years the total was but 70. In 1820 an act was passed whereby the tenure of office by all who were charged with receipt and disbursement of public moneys was limited to four years—the object being to reduce the opportunity of fraud. It had, however, a further effect, which was viewed with much apprehension by Thomas Jefferson and other far-seeing statesmen. It placed a multitude of official positions at the disposal of the President, and with such opportunity it would be almost impossible to refrain from using the power for personal or party advantage. Their apprehensions were only too well founded ; for when President Jackson took office it was openly declared that the public offices were the spoils of the great Democratic victory, and the spoils belonged to the victors. When the offices had been filled by the partisans of one side, it was only to be expected that there would be retaliation, and a new set of partisan office-holders appointed when their opponents gained power.

Than this, nothing could be more demoralizing ; the politicians and the questions they discussed inevitably lost quality, the partisans in office having an eye to retaining their office, and their opponents looking forward to being able to supplant them, the motive being the "spoils" rather than principles. As a natural sequence, politics began to be regarded as a means of making a livelihood ; and "assessments" (see ASSESSMENTS) were levied on the office-holders, which they would be practically compelled to pay, as their quota of the expense of an election campaign which should maintain their party in office.

This system of "spoils," as it is called, which

permeates practically the whole of the United States politics, federal, State, and municipal, is the direct *raison d'être* of the "machine politics," with the "bosses," "rings," and all the chicanery and fraud which have gone to make the term "politician" a byword of scorn.

When the principle of appointment and tenure of office by "favor" became general, it soon became evident that the President would have to share the "patronage" with Congress. The result was that each Congressman of the President's party began to have chief control of the appointments in his State or district. This privilege soon came to be looked upon as a "right" pertaining to the position—a doctrine still largely held.

Under the "spoils system" the abuse of power became so flagrant that several proposals were made to remedy the evil, and in 1853 an act was passed prescribing examinations for certain official positions. This, however, soon degenerated into a farce. With the rapid increase of federal offices, due to opening up new territory after the war, the abuses became even more intolerable. In 1867 Mr. T. A. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, introduced into Congress a bill looking toward civil service reform, and by 1871 public sentiment was strong enough to bring about the passing of a law by which the President was authorized to make civil service rules and to require test examinations. The leader in the agitation was the Hon. George William Curtis (*q. v.*). President Grant established a system of competitive examinations, under the direction of a civil service commission, and made Mr. Curtis chairman. The results were beneficial in every way. Silas W. Burt, in the New York custom house, and T. L. James and Henry G. Pearson, in the New York Post Office, worked reform, but not to the liking of the supporters of "patronage" politics, and Congress soon refused appropriations for it; its work was consequently suspended, and it proved of little value except in paving the way for a more complete measure. About the same time competitive examinations were commenced by the Naval Officer at New York, and the custom house at that place gradually came to adopt the system with excellent effect; but this was a merely local attempt and not required by law. Notwithstanding Grant's message to Congress, urging the support of the commission, authorized in 1871, the messages of Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur calling for an efficient measure to reform the civil service, and executive orders forbidding political assessments (which orders soon became dead letters), nothing was accomplished till the latter part of 1882. Then a bill (often known as the Pendleton Bill) was introduced by a Democrat, Senator Pendleton, for reforming the civil service. It was approved by President Arthur, January 16, 1883. This bill prohibited all political assessments and the appointment of more than two members of the same family to public office. It created a civil service commission, consisting of three persons, not more than two from one political party, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The rules framed by the commission for carrying out the purposes of the act are subject to the approval of the President. The act applies to offices of more than 50 per-

sons in the departments at Washington, and in the customs and postal departments, with such exceptions as heads of departments, confidential clerks, etc.

This act was amended in 1884, so as to make it mandatory in all cities with a population of 20,000 and over. According to an article by Theodore Roosevelt, the prominent civil service reformer, and long one of the commissioners (in *Scribner's Monthly*, August, 1895):

"From the beginning of the present system each President of the United States has been its friend, but no President has been a radical civil service reformer. Presidents Arthur, Harrison, and Cleveland have all desired to see the service extended and to see the law well administered. No one of them has felt willing or able to do all that the reformers asked, or to pay much heed to their wishes, save as regards that portion of the service to which the law actually applied. Each has been a sincere party man, who has felt strongly on such questions as those of the tariff, of finance, and of our foreign policy, and each has been obliged to conform more or less closely to the wish of his party associates and fellow party leaders, and of course these party leaders and the party politicians generally wished the offices to be distributed as they had been ever since Andrew Jackson became President. In consequence the offices outside the protection of the law have still been treated under every administration as patronage, to be disposed of in the interests of the dominant party.

"The advance has been made purely on two lines, that is, by better enforcement of the law, and by inclusion under the law, or under some system similar in its operations, of a portion of the service previously administered in accordance with the spoils theory. Under President Arthur the first classification was made, which included 14,000 places. Under President Cleveland, during his first term, the limits of the classified service were extended by the inclusion of 7000 additional places. During President Harrison's term the limit was extended by the inclusion of about 8000 places; and hitherto, during President Cleveland's second term, by the inclusion of some 6000 places; in addition to which the natural growth of the service has been such that the total number of offices now classified is over 40,000.

"By the inclusion of the railway mail service, the smaller free delivery offices, the Indian school service, the internal revenue service, and other less important branches, the extent of the public service which is under the protection of the law has been more than doubled, and there are now nearly 50,000 employees of the Federal Government who have been withdrawn from the degrading influences that rule under the 'spoils system.' This of itself is a great success and a great advance, tho, of course, it ought only to spur us on to renewed effort. In the fall of 1894 the people of the State of New York, by popular vote, put into their constitution a provision providing for a merit system in the affairs of the State and its municipalities; and the following spring the great city of Chicago voted, by an overwhelming majority, in favor of applying in its municipal affairs the advanced and radical Civil Service Reform law which had already passed the Illinois Legislature."

In Massachusetts the system has become quite firmly established.

The success of the movement has been very largely due to the activity of the Civil Service Reform League. Such an association was formed in New York about 1876. It did not long endure, but in 1880 was revived under the presidency of Mr. Curtis. Other associations were formed in Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, and in August, 1881, these associations met at Newport and formed a National Civil Service Reform League, under the presidency of Mr. Curtis and then of the Hon. Carl Schurz.

In May, 1896, President Cleveland went still further, and included practically all the 85,200 Federal employees under the civil service law, thus completing the reform in the Federal service. This will mean that with the exception of a few heads of departments all public servants will have to prove their fitness by passing an open competitive examination as to their knowl-

edge of and ability to undertake the special work of the position they seek to fill. It is also proposed that the practical ability of the candidate be tested by making the appointment only a provisional one for a specified time, after which, if he prove satisfactory, the appointment to be permanent, subject to good behavior.

Competitive examinations are opposed by some civil service reformers on the ground that they may at times debar those really most fit for the positions by giving mere ability to "cram" for an examination an advantage over more solid merit and efficiency. The method of selection advocated by many who oppose the competitive examination is to leave it in the hands of the head of each department, but ensuring fitness by taking away the power of arbitrary dismissal, making the tenure of office for a fixed term, thus making the head of the department careful in his own interest to appoint those whom his experience would show to be most efficient.

Concerning the next important step in civil service reform in the United States, Mr. A. R. Kimball writes in *The Outlook* (May, 1894) that in a debate of the previous winter

"Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, touched upon the weak spot of the present law—the spot which is attracting the attention and centering the discussion of all actively interested in civil service reform—when he said: 'The Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Gallinger) made a point in regard to the injustice of arbitrary promotions, reductions, and removals. The point is very well made. There are arbitrary promotions, reductions, and removals, and the reason for these injustices to meritorious clerks arises from the fact that neither promotions nor reductions nor removals come within the scope of the law in any respect; they remain within the range of favoritism and patronage. That is the reason why they bristle with injustice at every point.' That it was the intention of the framers of the law to leave promotions, reductions, and removals at the mercy of partisanship was expressly stated by Senator Cockrell, who was in the Senate when the law was passed. He said: 'It was intended, and was so declared by Dorman B. Eaton and others, who wrote in regard to the proposed law, simply to guard the entrance into office, and had nothing to do with the back door, or exit. It protected no man in office. It was simply to relieve the departments and all from the pressure of appointments and changes in subordinate positions in the departments, and to make a test of fitness and qualification for those places before appointments were made.' . . .

"The 'injustices' to 'meritorious clerks,' with which the practical operation of the law 'bristles,' as Senator Lodge put it, owing to the fact that it governs appointments simply, and not promotions, reductions, and removals, are constantly illustrated. . . .

"The spoilsman who wants to substitute a man 'with a pull' for a good man holding a given place sends for a list of eligibles, with the announcement that a certain removal is to be made, 'for the good of the service,' of course. If the spoilsman's man is on the list of eligibles, why, the substitution is made at once. If not, the civil service people are informed that it has been decided 'not to make that change just at present.' Then the spoilsman waits until he thinks his man is on the eligible list all right. The process is repeated until the man 'with a pull' gets the job.

"The next step, then, in reform, obviously, is to limit the absolute power of removal as now exercised by heads of departments. This is what is aimed at in the proposed Letter-carriers' Tenure-of-office Bill, a bill approved by Theodore Roosevelt, who writes that the letter-carriers, 'I am glad to say, realize that the only trouble with the Civil Service Law is that it does not go far enough. The commission should have much more power than it has now, so as to prevent dismissals for partisan reasons, and to allow every public servant a chance to see any charges made against him and to be heard in his own defense before he is dismissed.' The *Buffalo Express* strongly states the argument for the bill: 'The *Express* has never

regarded the privilege of unlimited removal as anything but a concession to the spoilsmen, which may have been politic in the early days of the reform, but which the movement is now strong enough to abandon. Why should the entrance to the civil service be carefully guarded and the exit left wide open? It is absurd and unjust to require a man to undergo severe tests before he receives an appointment, and then to give him no guaranty of retaining it during good behavior.'

"But the argument is not wholly with the advocates of the change, even from the reform standpoint. The *Civil Service Chronicle*, of Indianapolis, whose standing as an able and zealous advocate of reform is not open to question, says, in discussing the Letter-carriers' Bill: 'The executive department should have the power of dismissal; this is essential to discipline and efficiency. The Civil Service Law is right in this respect. It is true that heads of offices take a mean and dishonest advantage of this power, as was done in Topeka, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, and elsewhere. The remedy for that is public opinion and punishment by the President. Information, however, is an absolute necessity, and to this end the Civil Service Commission should have power to investigate every change in the public service within its charge, and to report the facts. Upon such facts public opinion and the President could act, and the time would speedily come when heads of offices would be ashamed to trick employees out of their places. It is unnecessary to repeat that every dismissed employee should be entitled at the time to an honest and fairly complete written statement of reasons, and that those reasons should be a part of the office records.'

"The question of the next step in civil service reform—a question which is likely to attract no small share of public attention in the immediate future—amounts simply to this: Is it better to impair, possibly, to some small extent, the efficiency of government departments by depriving executive officers of the absolute power of removal? or is it better to leave 'meritorious clerks' at the mercy of partisanship, when the removal of such clerks, and the consequent defiance of the spirit of reform, must also impair the *morale* and efficiency of the service? If one were sure of the interposition of that public opinion on which the *Civil Service Chronicle* counts, it would be easy to accept its view. But public opinion is slow to be aroused to the point of making itself felt. Meanwhile, the artificial checks which represent the best public opinion are its surest protection, even if at times they prove hampering and obstructive. For these reasons it seems probable that a majority of civil service reformers will come to agree with Mr. Roosevelt in his view of the wisdom of limiting the absolute power of removal."

The English civil service was, in earlier times, in a condition of political corruption which differed chiefly from the "spoils system" of the United States in the fact that the civil servants were more the tools of those in power and much less responsible as accomplices. It probably reached the worst point during the reign of James II., who, Macaulay says, "was determined to keep in public employment only such gentlemen as should be disposed to support his policy. . . . The commissioners of customs and excise were ordered to attend His Majesty at the treasury. Then he demanded from them to support his policy, and directed them to require a similar policy from all their subordinates."

In every town and village the court used its power, tampering with the elections of members of Parliament and all public officers, with the result that when the revolution of 1688 ousted James II. and called William of Orange to the English throne, "with rare exceptions all those in office and all those connected with the court or politics were seething sources of corruption."

Even with the new dynasty, tho some reforms were made, the "spoils system" still continued to dominate civil service, the only change being that instead of the king being the sole

source of appointments, they were largely bestowed as rewards for party zeal in the interests of the dominant political party of the time. In 1782 an administration was elected pledged to certain reforms in the civil service, but it was not till 1855 that any real reform was accomplished. An order in Council was then adopted, whereby for certain offices the candidates had to pass a competitive examination, and the position bestowed for merit quite irrespective of party politics. Despite the most strenuous opposition from the friends of the old system of patronage, the new reform, started chiefly as an experiment, was so successful that in 1870 the system of competitive examination and appointment for merit was made to apply throughout the whole of the English civil service.

References: Dorman B. Eaton's *Civil Service in Great Britain: A History of Abuses and Reforms, and their Bearings upon American Politics* (Harpers, New York, 1880); *Publications of the National Civil Service Reform League* (William Potts, Secretary, 56 Wall Street, New York City); articles by H. C. Lodge, *Century*, October, 1890; by Theodore Roosevelt, *Atlantic*, February, 1895; and *Scribner's*, August, 1895. (See also CORRUPTION; MUNICIPAL REFORM; CURTIS; ROOSEVELT, etc.)

CLARK, JOHN B., was born in Providence, R. I., in 1847, and educated at the public high school, Brown University (two years), Amherst College (two years), Heidelberg University, and University of Zürich (about two and one half years). He received the degrees of A.M. and Ph.D. at Amherst. He traveled as student and tourist in France, England, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, returning to America in 1875. He became Professor of Political Economy and History at Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; Professor of History and Political Science at Smith College, 1881-92; Professor of Political Economy at Amherst College in 1892-1895, and is now Professor of Political Economy at Columbia College. He has been Lecturer on Economic Theory at Johns Hopkins University since 1892, and is (1895) President of the American Economic Association. His writings are: *Philosophy of Wealth; Capital and Its Earnings* (a monograph of the American Economic Association); *Modern Distributive Process* (written jointly with Professor F. H. Giddings, of Bryn Mawr and Columbia); *Wages* (a monograph of the American Economic Association, written jointly with Mr. Stuart Wood, of Philadelphia); articles in the *Yale Review*, the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and *La Revue d'Économie Politique* (Paris), and other magazines.

CLARKE, WILLIAM, was born at Norwich, England. He graduated at Cambridge University (Historical Tripos), 1876; he gave political lectures throughout England, and gradually worked into journalism. He wrote articles in the *British Quarterly Review*, *Contemporary Review*, *North American Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *English Illustrated Magazine*, and *New England Magazine*. He wrote for the *Star* and *Echo* of London, and became connected with the London *Daily Chronicle* in 1890; he edited Mazzini's *Essays* and also *Political Orations* for the Camelot Series; wrote a critical work on *Walt Whit-*

man for Sonnenschein's Social Science Series; and the essay on *The Industrial Basis in Fabian Essays on Socialism*. A prominent member of the Fabian Society, he was a delegate to the Paris Labor Congress in 1889. He is widely known in the United States by his letters on social and political subjects, published mainly in *The Outlook*, and by his lectures delivered in Chicago, New York, Boston, and elsewhere, since published in the *New England Magazine*.

CLARKSON, THOMAS (1760-1846), was one of the most persistent and influential of English abolitionists. He commenced his life-work in 1825, while at Cambridge, by writing a prize essay against the principle of slavery. He secured the cooperation of Wilberforce (*q.v.*), who undertook the parliamentary campaign. Clarkson became one of the leading members in the anti-slavery society formed in 1823. His benevolence led him to take part in many other philanthropic endeavors, most notably in providing homes for sailors in the English seaport towns. Among his many anti-slavery publications are the following: *Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave-trade; History of the Abolition of the African Slave-trade; The Cries of Africa to the Inhabitants of Europe; and also the Grievances of our Mercantile Seamen a National and Crying Evil*.

CLEARING HOUSES are institutions where the settlement of mutual claims, especially of banks, are effected by the payment of differences called *balances*. To the clearing house are sent all checks and drafts upon banks or other mercantile houses, and when all are in, each bank pays over or receives the difference between the checks or drafts it has brought in and the checks or drafts that have been brought in against it. It thus enables large quantities of accounts to be settled in an easy and expeditious way. The system originated in London between 1750 and 1770. In the United States it was not introduced till 1852, but since this date has had a very large development. In 1890 there were 60 clearing houses, with some 700 members. The Paris Chamber of Compensation was established in 1872. In England the system has been applied in a Produce Clearing House, and more recently in a Railway Clearing House. (See COMMERCE.)

CLIFFE, LESLIE. See LESLIE, THOMAS E. C.

CLIFFORD, JOHN, was born in Sawley, Derbyshire, in 1836, and at the age of 11 worked in a factory near Nottingham. At the age of 14 he was received into the Baptist Church, and soon became a student of the General Baptist College. In 1862 he took charge of the Praed Street Baptist Church, in London, of which church he is still pastor, altho the growth of the congregation has compelled the removal to the present chapel in Westbourne Park. In connection with his work Dr. Clifford pursued studies and took degrees and honors at London University. He has added an educational institute to his own church, where 1500 names stand enrolled in various classes. Dr. Clifford is known to-day for his active interest in social reform, his pulpit being open to Tom Man and

other socialists. He was one of the founders and is now president of the Christian Socialist League (*q.v.*). His address on *The Effect of Socialism on Personal Character* has been printed as a Christian socialist tract.

CLUBS. See WORKING MEN'S CLUBS; WORKING GIRLS' CLUBS; WOMEN'S CLUBS.

COAL INDUSTRY.—(See also MINES AND MINING.) It is not known when coal first came into use for household and industrial consumption. It seems to have been used in England at least as early as 825 A.D., and probably long before this. It forms to-day one of the most important, if not the most important, branch of mining. According to Mulhall, the production from 1801-89 has been as follows:

COUNTRIES.	Approximate No. of Tons.	Approximate Value.
Great Britain.....	5,406,000,000	\$10,640,000,000
United States.....	1,912,000,000	3,280,000,000
Germany.....	1,662,000,000	2,195,000,000
France.....	646,000,000	1,565,000,000
Belgium.....	621,000,000	1,250,000,000
Austria.....	438,000,000	460,000,000
Russia.....	59,000,000	95,000,000
Various.....	342,000,000	603,000,000
Total.....	11,086,000,000	\$20,090,000,000

The area of the world's coal fields, according to the same authority, is, in square miles:

China and Japan, 200,000; United States, 194,000; India, 35,000; Russia, 27,000; Great Britain, 9,000; Germany, 3,600; France, 1,800; Belgium, Spain, and other countries, 1,400. Total, 471,800.

The coal fields of China, Japan, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and India contain apparently 303,000,000,000 tons, which is enough for 700 years, at present rate of consumption. If to the above be added the coal fields in the United States, Canada, and other countries, the supply will be found ample for 1000 years, and probably for a vastly longer period.

The present production of coal, according to the *Statesman's Year Book for 1895*, is:

	Tons.	Value.
United Kingdom (1893).....	164,325,795	\$279,049,940
United States (1892).....	160,088,295	207,637,139
Germany (1893).....	73,909,000	.....
France (1892).....	26,178,701	.....
Belgium (1893).....	19,411,000	36,281,250

According to the eleventh census, the product of the United States in 1889 was, in short tons of 2,000 lbs.:

STATES.	Tons.	STATES.	Tons.
Alabama.....	3,378,484	Nebraska and Dakotas.....	30,307
Arkansas.....	279,584	New Mexico.....	486,983
California and Oregon.....	186,179	Ohio.....	9,976,787
Colorado.....	2,360,536	Pennsylvania:	
Georgia & North Carolina.....	226,156	Anthracite.....	45,544,970
Illinois.....	12,104,272	Bituminous.....	36,174,089
Indiana.....	2,845,957	Tennessee.....	1,025,689
Indian Territory	732,832	Texas.....	128,216
Iowa.....	4,061,704	Utah.....	236,601
Kansas.....	2,230,763	Virginia:	
Kentucky.....	2,399,755	Anthracite.....	2,817
Maryland.....	2,939,715	Bituminous.....	865,786
Michigan.....	67,431	Washington.....	903,724
Missouri.....	2,567,823	West Virginia.....	6,231,880
Montana.....	363,301	Wyoming.....	1,388,947

Total product, 1889, short tons, 140,730,288, equivalent to 125,652,056 long tons of 2,240 lbs.

In Great Britain the principal coal fields lie (in the order named as to size) in South Wales, Yorkshire and Derbyshire, Northumberland and Durham, Scot, Lancashire, and Cheshire. In Europe, the principal coal fields lie in a line throughout the north of France and Belgium, in the easterly district of Silesia and Russia, and in basins in Southern and Central France, Saxony, and Bohemia. The collieries of Northumberland and Durham hold the first place among the English mines, and their colliers belong to the aristocracy of labor. Before organization among them, however, their condition was pitiable in the extreme, as can be seen in the evidence collected in the Royal Commission's report on the *Condition of the Children Employed in Mines* in 1842. As a result, the early efforts at improving their condition were attended with bitter and tumultuous contests, and strikes were frequent. A national miners' association sprang up in 1843, and at its conference, in Glasgow, in 1844, 70,000 men were represented. Nevertheless, after a disastrous strike in that year it broke down, and there was no effective organization till a national union was established in 1863, mainly owing to the efforts of Alexander Macdonald (*q.v.*), who was for 15 years the miners' trusted leader. Under his lead the miners agitated for an eight-hour bill for boys, but not for men. The principle of the Durham and Northumberland miners, who controlled the union at this time, as distinguished from those of other counties, has always been to attempt to gain higher wages and shorter hours through trade-union effort rather than through legislation. Macdonald's own aim, however, was to establish a standard of life, and he looked for aid in legislation to establish this. From 1864-69 strikes were constant. In 1872 representatives of the Durham miners and of the coal-owners met and established a *Standing Joint Committee* (see ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION), and the same step was soon taken in Northumberland. In 1876 a sliding scale (*q.v.*) was agreed upon. These methods of adjusting difficulties, however, have by no means prevented all strikes. Strikes in the coal trade have taken place, notably in 1879, in 1886-87, in 1890, and the largest strike of all in 1893, when all England was affected, and a settlement was only reached by the Government's proposal of conciliation. The English miners' movement has thus become divided. The Durham and Northumberland miners advocate efforts at raising wages and reducing hours by trade-union organization and agreement with the coal-owners and adoption of the sliding scale; the other miners' unions favor the limiting of production and an eight-hour day, and more recently a living wage to be gained by legislation. Gradually the old miners' Union has shrunk up to Northumberland and Durham, and in 1888 a new miners' Federation was formed at Manchester to advocate the opposing policy. The national conferences, which have been long held by the miners down to 1889, were called by the Union; since then they have been called by the Federation. This Federation has grown from 36,000 members in 1888 to 200,000 in 1893, making it the

Great Britain.

leading trade-union in England. Wages in the English coal mines vary. The hours are short. In Durham, Schulze Gaevernitz (*Social Peace*, p. 182) puts the wages, on the authority of the secretary of the coal owners, at 4s. 8d. a day for a seven-hour shift.

In France, and especially in Belgium, the wages of coal miners are much lower, and have led to repeated strikes. In the last-named country alone, of the countries of Western Europe, women have until very recently worked underground. (For the wages, see BELGIUM AND SOCIAL REFORM.) In Germany, wages for underground miners varied in 1890 from 65 cents per day in Silesia to \$1

Europe. The miners in Silesia seem wholly unorganized.

Women are only employed above ground, and in the State mines not at all. Important strikes in the western mines took place in 1889 and 1892.

The chief mining districts of the United States are the anthracite coal district of Eastern Pennsylvania, the bituminous coal district, which includes Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, and the coal and iron mines of Colorado. A few mines are also to be found in the Southern States and in California.

In the United States coal mining has led to some of the most bitter industrial conflicts.

John McBride, a leader of the miners, writes in George E. McNeill's *The Labor Movement in America* (1887, p. 241):

"Scattered in remote districts—frequently many miles away from the towns—and shut off almost entirely from social intercourse, the opportunities for the interchange of ideas and the upbuilding of compact, serviceable organizations have necessarily been slight. Nor is this all. The coal miner has been of necessity a bird of passage. Different seasons have found him in different localities, as the opportunities for work have offered. . . . There have been other difficulties. . . .

One of the most serious of these has been the employment of farm-hands in the mines during the winter season. This practice has introduced an element which had nothing to gain by such organizations as the skilled miners were striving to build up. . . . To them it was of little consequence whether the wages were high or low. Employment in the mines was not their chief dependence." Mr. McBride tells us that the earliest efforts at organization were in 1857. In January, 1861, a national American Miners' Association was formed, with Daniel Weaver for president. It was largely confined to the Belleville Tract, Illinois. Soon after a tailor, John Hinchliffe, started a paper, the *Weekly Miner*. He was later elected president of the association, and in 1871 elected by the miners to the legislature, and in 1873 chosen State Senator.

Other associations sprang up, but all disappeared in the strikes of 1867 and 1868. In 1871 an organization was effected at Bloomington, Ill. Associations sprang up also elsewhere, notably the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent and Protective Association in Pennsylvania. This became strong, and endured through several strikes. In 1873 a National Association of Miners was organized at Youngstown, O. Unions multiplied in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, West Virginia, and Kentucky. In 1875 the association was in the zenith of its favor, but strikes sprang up and were nearly all failures. The same year the order of the Knights of Labor began to spread among the miners, and grew rapidly. In 1882 the Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association was formed, and in September 12, 1885, the present National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers in the United States. (See MINERS' UNIONS.) Daniel McLaughlin was the first president. Strikes, meanwhile, were common. In 1874 and 1875 the companies imported many Italians, colored men, and, later, Hun-

garians, and these became the source of many strikes. Professor Bemis says (*The Outlook*, May 12, 1894): "In October, 1885, after a series of fearful strikes in Southern Ohio, which has made the Hocking Valley forever famous, Colonel W. P. Rend, of Chicago, a well-known operator, and officers of the miners' unions met at Chicago to arrange a compromise. In the forenoon only three operators attended, but after dinner more were induced, by the urgent solicitations of Mr. Rend, to come in, and the conference adjourned to meet at Pittsburgh in December. A larger attendance was there secured, and another adjournment was had to Columbus, O., where, in February, 1886, an agreement was reached by a majority of the soft-coal operators of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and West Virginia to fix a scale of wages for the year according to an agreed-upon basis. The rates differed roughly with the difficulties of mining.

Strikes.

"But while the operators in Ohio have always lived up to the agreement, and were able to advance wages from 60 to 70 cents a ton and live in peace with their men, the inability of the unions to organize and bring into line the unions of Southern Illinois gave a pretext to the Northern Illinois operators to withdraw and cut wages in 1889, as is vividly, bitterly described by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd in his *Strike of the Millionaires against Miners*. Indiana followed Northern Illinois, but Ohio and Western Pennsylvania continued faithful most of the time, and met in yearly conference over wages and other conditions of employment.

"The miners of Western Pennsylvania had agreed through their organizations to receive from their employers 70 cents a ton for coal for the year ending May 1, 1894. Ohio miners, because of slightly better conditions for mining, had contracted with their employers to receive 70 cents in most of the mines. The depression in general business last fall caused the shutting down of the ironworks about Pittsburgh, and the trouble began. The fault seems to have been wholly the employers', if my informant in this matter, himself a prominent coal operator and employer of over 2500 miners in that and other fields, is reliable authority. Many of the Pennsylvania operators deliberately broke their contract with the miners' organization by cutting wages from 70 cents to 60 cents, in the hope that by so doing they could secure a monopoly of the coal market. Unfortunately, the miners' organization in these mines was too weak to protest. Thereupon Mr. John McBride, then President of the Miners' Union, called together, apparently without solicitation, the operators in Western Pennsylvania, who had held to their agreement. Stating that the miners felt that the more unscrupulous employers should not be allowed to wrong those operators who kept their agreement, he relieved the latter of their contract to pay 70 cents. Thereupon the employers who had first cut wages made another reduction to 55 cents. Cut followed cut, until the wages are from 45 cents to 50 cents in Western Pennsylvania. The operators in the Hocking Valley were forced to reduce their wages from 70 cents to 50 cents on February 17, but maintained all the time the friendly relations with the miners' unions. A few conspicuous operators of Ohio even championed the cause of the men as one to be indorsed by the operators, if only the unscrupulous operators could be brought to terms. It has been found, operators tell me, that reduction in wages has reduced their profits more than proportionately, since now they can sell their screen lump coal at but 70 cents at the mine, and their family coal at \$1.05 to \$1.10, while the small coal, which is not estimated in determining the wages of miners, but which formerly sold at 50 cents and more, can no longer be marketed because of the fall in price of better grades. As the reduction in price increased, the output and business interests of the country were not benefited to any appreciative degree, for coal at the mines now sells for about one half of the price in England, as Schoenhoff and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics have shown, and only a ton to a ton and a half is used in making a ton of iron, so that the change of 30 cents a ton in wages means a change of only from 30 cents to 40 cents in iron.

"According to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the 6.75 short tons of coal used in making a ton of steel rails cost, in labor of mining, \$5.27. A fall of even one third in wages would thus reduce the cost of steel rails only \$1.76; and rails in 1890, when this computation was made, were selling at \$24.67.

"From the report of this same bureau on textile factories it appears that the fuel-cost averages about 2 per cent., rarely exceeding 3 per cent., of the total costs. Evidently the reduction of wages in coal-mining can-

not have materially stimulated industry or greatly benefited the home consumer.

"Under these circumstances the miners find that cut-throat competition in the midst of weak labor organizations and a low standard of living brings them as nearly to the iron law as has been witnessed in any recent experience in the sweat industries. No wonder they are resorting to the one weapon left—a systematic quitting of work. Fortunately, the miners of Southern Illinois, who, as has been stated, never were in unions, and thus gave an excuse, at least, for the breaking away from the Columbus scale of Northern Illinois and then of Indiana, have begun to join the ranks of the strikers."

Since Professor Bemis's writing, the strike of which he speaks has ended. Only a few trifling concessions have been gained. (For a vivid sketch of a coal strike, see H. D. Lloyd's *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners*). In 1837 and 1888 important strikes occurred in the Lehigh and Schuylkill districts against the Reading Railroad, both being finally lost.

Yet the agitation of these strikes has produced some fruit, partly in better legislation, partly in the willingness of some of the operators to treat with the organizations of their men. In few trades, however, are there more differences between operating companies, and too often the unscrupulous are able to secure the control.

According to the Illinois report for 1890, there has been a gradual decline both in the value of coal and in the rate of wages; the former has fallen from \$1.51 a ton in 1882 to \$1.02 in 1890, and the latter from 80.2 cents a ton in 1883 to 68.3 cents in 1890. This is now the price for hand mining, and about 80 per cent. of the coal is still mined by hand. Machine mining was not generally introduced until 1888, and is not as well paid as hand mining. Wages for machine cutters are from \$2 to \$2.50 for a day of 10 hours; drillers, blasters, and timbermen get \$2, and laborers, \$1.75. Hand miners average \$2.23 a day, while very few machine cutters get over \$2, owing to the smaller amount of skill required in their work. The truck system of paying wages prevails to some extent, and deductions are made for pow-

der, lights, and tool-sharpening. The falling of coal or slate from the roof of the mine is the most common cause of accidents.

The fact that the wages of miners are kept low is due in part to the large supply of foreign labor, available at the shortest notice, to fill the places of men on strike. A number of Poles, Hungarians, and Italians are employed in the Pennsylvania mines; they are housed in sheds belonging to the mine owners, and can live at a very small cost. According to a journalist who was examined before the Select Committee on the Importation of Contract Labor in 1889 on the results of a special inquiry conducted by him into the condition of the miners, the effect of the rapid introduction of foreign labor into the mines had been to reduce wages 50 per cent., the foreign laborers receiving sometimes no more than from 40 to 50 cents a day.

The introduction of foreign labor has been most widely used in the mines owned by the railroad companies. Since those companies began to engage in mining enterprises they have practically destroyed competition. According to an agreement made among themselves in 1876, it was stated "that each transporting company shall be held responsible for the faithful adherence to these regulations on the part of all individual shippers using its lines to carry coal to competitive points." The companies, which included the Philadelphia and Reading, the Jersey Central, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and the New York, Lake Erie and Western, sometimes buy up the output of individual mines, or compel their owners to submit to terms by refusing the cars required for transport or raising the freight rates. In the same way cars are withheld from the workmen when the companies wish to restrict the output of coal for the sake of maintaining prices.

The following table, compiled from Census Bulletin No. 74, gives the wages of employees in the coal mines of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana for 1889:

ABOVE GROUND.													
	FOREMEN OR OVERSEERS.			MECHANICS.			LABORERS.			BOYS UNDER 16 YEARS.			Total number employed.
	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	
Ohio.....	221	\$2.28	244	334	\$1.92	235	1,420	\$1.51	192	83	\$0.77	187	2,058
Illinois.....	217	2.29	262	693	2.01	266	1,678	1.53	201	64	0.83	200	21,584
Indiana.....	74	2.34	255	160	1.84	256	426	1.47	192	6	0.73	152	666
BELOW GROUND.													
	FOREMEN OR OVERSEERS.			MINERS.			LABORERS.			BOYS UNDER 16 YEARS.			Total number employed.
	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	Average number employed.	Average wages per day.	Average number of days worked.	
Ohio.....	221	\$2.32	245	14,733	\$1.96	181	1,955	\$1.63	185	376	\$0.71	181	17,285
Illinois.....	305	2.35	256	15,386	2.01	177	5,062	1.77	199	597	0.90	176	21,584
Indiana.....	135	2.37	170	4,738	1.88	175	820	1.70	182	89	0.76	184	5,782

In the bituminous coal mines of Pennsylvania, according to Census Bulletin No. 67, 53,780 employees received an average of \$393 per year. But this is only a general average. Professor Bemis (*The Outlook*, May 12, 1894) writes:

"Of 500 workers in the bituminous coal mines, rated as typical in Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Alabama in 1890 by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 86, or 17 per cent., earned under \$300, and 166 others, or 33 per cent., earned from \$300 to \$400 per year. Over half of the 500 earned under \$400, and 79 per cent. earned under \$500. . . .

"According to computations of the writer, based on the census of 1890, as given in the bulletins, the average wages of the 24,323 miners in Illinois were only \$6.87 a week; of the 19,591 Ohio miners, \$6.76; of the 53,780 bituminous miners of Pennsylvania, \$7.55; and of the 70,660 anthracite men, \$6.21. The report for 1892 of the Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics confirms this, for it gives the average weekly earnings in 1892 in that State as \$6.67. In most States wages average about \$2 a day when the men have work, but this is usually not over 200 days in the year. The influence of high charges in the company stores in further diminishing these meager wages need not be described. The Illinois Supreme Court, two years ago, blind to the opposite decisions of Eastern and English courts and the dictates of common sense, refused to sustain a law against them, because an interference with the 'freedom of contract' guaranteed in the Constitution."

This review of the strikes and wages conditions existing in the coal mines brings out the relations of the great railroad corporations to coal mining. On this point we quote from the address delivered by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, of Chicago, before the Interstate Anti-trust Conference at Chicago, June 6, 1893. He says:

"Within the last 30 years 95 per cent. of the anthracite coal of America, practically the entire supply, it is reported to Congress this year, has passed from the ownership of private citizens, many thousands in number, into the possession of the railroads controlling the highways of the coal fields. These railroads have been undergoing a similar

Monopolies. process of consolidation, and are now the property of eight great corporations. This surrender of their property by the individual coal mine owners is a continuing process in operation at this moment, for the complete extinction of the 'individual' and the independents in this field. It is destined, according to the report of Congress, to end in the entire absorption of the entire anthracite coal fields and collieries by the common carriers.

"Anthracite coal is geographically a natural monopoly contained in three contiguous fields, which, if laid close together, would not cover more than 8 miles by 60. But bituminous coal, altho scattered in exhaustless measures all over the continent, is being similarly appropriated by the railroads, and its area is being similarly limited artificially by their interference.

"Railroad syndicates," says the Congressional investigation of 1888, are buying all the best bituminous coal lands along their lines in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, and other Western States and Territories, no doubt with a view of levying tribute upon the people's fuel and the industrial fires of the country."

"The process of consolidation is shown by official and judicial investigation to have been in progress in the bituminous fields at least as far back as 1870, with the same purposes, methods, and results as in the anthracite fields, tho more slowly, on account of the greater number and vastness of the deposits.

"The bituminous fields from Pennsylvania to the Pacific coast are narrowed to the territory along the railroads, and narrowed there again to the mines owned or favored by the railroad managers. . . .

"The coal is an article of commerce greater in volume than any other natural product in the United States carried on railroads, amounting to not less than 130,000,000 tons a year, and tho the appliances for its transportation have been improved and the cost cheapened every year, so that it can be handled with less cost and risk than almost any other class of freight, the startling fact appears in the litigations before the Interstate Commerce Commission and the investiga-

tions by Congress that freight rates have been advanced instead of being decreased, are higher now than they were in 1870, and that coal is made by these confederated railroads to pay rates vastly higher than the average of all other high and low class freight, nearly double the weight on wheat or cotton. These high freight rates serve the double purpose of seeming to justify the high price of coal and of killing off year by year the independent coal producers. What the railroad coal miner pays for freight returns to its other self, the railroad. What the independent coal producer pays goes also to the railroad, his competitor. 'This excess over just and reasonable rates of transportation,' says the report to Congress in 1893, 'constitutes an available fund by which they (the railroads) are enabled to crush out the competition of independent coal producers.'

"By these means, as Congress found in 1888, the railroad managers have forced the independent miners to sell to them or their friends at the price they chose to pay. They were the only possible buyers, because only they were sure of a supply of cars and of freight rates at which they could live.

"The private operators thus being frozen out are able, as the investigation by the New York Legislature in 1878 showed, to produce coal more economically than the great companies, because not burdened with extravagant salaries, royalties and leases, interest on fictitious bonded debts, and dividends on false capitalization of watered stock. By the laws of supply and demand they would compete out the unwieldy corporation, but these administer a superior political economy in their supply and demand of cars and freight rates.

"The railroad companies engaged in mining and transporting coal are practically in a combination to control the output and fix the price. They have a practical monopoly of the production, the transportation and the sale of anthracite coal.' This is from the House of Representatives' report of 1893, and such has been the finding in all the investigations for 20 years.

"The anthracite collieries of Pennsylvania could now produce 50,000,000 tons a year. The railroads restrict them to 40,000,000 or 41,000,000, nine or ten million tons less than they could furnish to ward off the frosts of winter, and to speed the wheels of the world, and this creation of artificial winter has been in progress from the beginning of the combination.

"In the 10 months between February and November, 1893, the price of coal in the East, as investigated by Congress, was advanced by the coal railroads as much as \$1.25 and \$1.35 a ton on the kinds used by housekeepers. 'The combinations,' the report of Congress says, 'exercise even a more baleful influence on the production and transportation of coal for the Western market.' The extortion in the price fixed by the railroads was found by Congress in 1888 to be an average of \$1 a ton, considerably more than \$1 a ton on all consumed in the United States, or \$39,000,000 in that year, and now \$40,000,000 to \$47,000,000 a year. The same investigation found that between 1873 and 1886, \$200,000,000 more than a fair market price was taken from the public by this combination.

"This is anthracite alone. How many hundreds, perhaps thousands of millions more have been taken by the railroads which control the bituminous coal fields from Pennsylvania to the Pacific there are no adjudicated means of estimating. . . .

"Congress found in 1888 that the coal companies in the anthracite regions keep thousands of surplus laborers on hand to underbid each other for employment and for submission to all exactions; hold them purposely ignorant when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they cannot seek employment elsewhere; bind them as tenants by compulsion in the companies' houses, so that rent shall run against them, whether wages run on or not, and under leases by which they can be turned out with their wives and children on the mountain-side in midwinter if they strike; compel them to fill cars of larger capacity than agreed upon; make them buy their powder and other working outfit of the companies at an enormous advance on the cost; compel them to buy coal of the company at the company's price, and in many cases to buy a fixed quantity—more than they need; compel them to employ the doctor named by the company, and to pay him whether sick or well; 'pluck' them at the company's stores, so that when pay day comes around the company owes the men nothing, there being authentic cases where 'sober, hard-working miners toiled for years or even a lifetime without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but a few dollars in actual cash; in debt until the day they died;' refuse to fix the wages in advance, but pay

them upon some hocus-pocus sliding scale, varying with the selling price in New York, which the railroad slides to suit itself, and, most extraordinary of all, refuse to let the miners know the prices on which their living slides; a fraud, says the report of Congress, 'on its face.'

"The companies dock the miners' output arbitrarily for slate and other impurities, and so can take from their men from 5 to 50 tons more in every hundred than they can pay for.

"In order to keep the miners disciplined and the coal market undersupplied, the railroads restrict work, so that the miners often have to live for a month on what they can earn in six or eight days, and these restrictions are enforced upon their miners by holding cars from them to fill, as upon competitors by withholding cars to go to market. Labor organizations are forbidden, and the men intentionally provoked to strike to affect the market.

"The laboring population of the coal regions, finally, is kept down by special policemen enrolled under special laws, and often in violation of law, by the railroads and coal and iron companies practically when and in what numbers they choose, and practically without responsibility to any one but their employers, armed as the corporations see fit with army revolvers, or Winchester rifles, or both, made detectives by statute, and not required to wear their shields, provoking the people to riot and then shooting them legally. 'By the percentage of wages,' says the report of Congress, 'by false measurements, by rents, stores, and other methods the workman is virtually a chattel of the operator.'

"The investigation of 1888 showed that the carrier drives out both operator and owner, obtains the property, works the mine, disciplines the miner, lowers wages by the importation of Huns and Italians, restricts the output, and advances the price of coal to the public. It is enabled to commit such wrongs upon individuals and the public by virtue of exercising absolute control of a public highway.

"Moved mainly by the disappearance of a free market in oil and coal, the people of Pennsylvania arose in 1873 and adopted a new constitution. To put an end to the consolidation of all the anthracite coal lands into the hands of the railroads, this constitution forbade common carriers to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines, or to buy land except for carrying purposes. These provisions of the constitution have been disobeyed 'defiantly.' 'The railroads have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal, as well as of neighboring agricultural lands,' says the Congressional committee of 1888. 'They have been aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal.' So far from quitting it, 'they have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite.'

"Instead of enacting 'appropriate legislation,' as commanded by the new constitution to effectuate its prohibitions, the Legislature has passed laws to nullify the constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the State of the immense area of lands unlawfully held by the railroads. Every effort breaking down to meet the evil by State action, failure was finally confessed by the passage, in 1878, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, of a joint resolution asking Congress to legislate 'for equity in the rates of freight,' and to this day the will of the people of Pennsylvania, as declared in their sovereign utterance, has found among these corporations none so poor as to do it reverence.

"In 1887 Congress passed the interstate commerce law and established the interstate commerce commission to enforce justice on the railroad highways, in the language of the committee reporting it, 'without expense to the shipper, without delay and without resort to litigation.' The failure of the commission has been calamitous. The independent mine owners of Pennsylvania appealed to it for the justice promised 'without expense, without delay and without litigation.' Two years and a half were consumed in the proceedings. The commission decided that the rates the railroads charged were unreasonable and unjust, and ordered them reduced. But the decision has remained unenforced and cannot be enforced. The railroads treat the commission with the same contumely they visit on the constitution of Pennsylvania, and two years after its decision Congress in 1893 found their rates to be 50 cents a ton higher than what the commission had declared to be just and equitable. The independent oil refiner of Pennsylvania and Ohio has fared still more disastrously, before the commission. In one proceeding, for more than four years they have

been appealing for rescues from rates which are pressing them to death, but in vain. The delay is 'killing,' they recently pleaded, but the delay continues. The interstate commerce law provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers. But the only conviction had under it has been of a shipper for discriminating against a railroad. No railroad man has been brought to punishment for the countless crimes committed by railroads against shippers.

"Congress has passed an anti-trust law; many of the States have passed anti-trust laws; there have been appeals to the courts for redress under conspiracy laws and for forfeiture of charters. Nothing has come of all this legislation and litigation. The sugar trust, the oil trust, have been forced to hang out new signs; in New Jersey one of the leases binding two of the coal combinations together has been broken, but the sugar and the oil and the coal monopolies do not wane but wax.

"To remove the tariff on coal would have brought the product of Nova Scotia into competition with our American rings 12 months ago. But within the year the mines of Nova Scotia have been syndicated by American capitalists, and it will be they who will win when the tariff is taken off coal. Monopoly moves across tariff; there are already several international trade combinations, and there will be more before there are fewer.

"A real interstate commerce law with a uniform classification of freight for the whole country, under a few simple heads, with rates inflexibly the same for all shippers, wholesale or retail, under each head on the post-office principle, and with rates fixed by the Legislature and cut down to figures which would pay the legal rate of interest on the present actual cost of reduplicating the right of way and equipment, would 20 years ago have prevented the confiscation of the property of the many who had to use the highways into the treasuries of the few who owned the highways. But not to-day. The members of the coal combination are Siamese twins. Chang runs the railroad, Eng runs the coal mines. Chang has been charging high freights to ruin the independents, and Eng, also to ruin the independents, has been selling coal for less than cost, counting this freight extortion as part of the cost. The net has caught the fish. The independents are ruined—95 per cent. of them. Make Chang put down freights as low as you please, Eng will put up the price of coal. Coal is his private property, and he has a right to do with it what he will.

"The syndication of bituminous coal lands has also gone so far that the owners by combination and competitive market wars could suppress all rivals and fix the supply and the price independent of any help from highway privilege. They have grown great enough by that help to do without it, and to prevail for the future by the mere mass of their millions.

"Even if the insignificant minority still living in the coal, oil, and other centralized industries continue to survive no relief for the public can be expected from them. They might be saved by railroad reform, but they would take advantage of the prices set by the ruling power. It is a well-known law of trade that where an overshadowing power over prices and conditions has been gained by any element, the minority take the benefit of the standard it upholds. 'The public, however, must bear in mind,' says the report of Congress of 1893, 'that where so preponderating a quantity of any given article is controlled by one organization, it will be natural that the holders of the smaller portion should fall into line with the price fixed by the larger. This has been the case within the last season.'

COBDEN, RICHARD, born near Midhurst, in Sussex, June 3, 1804; died in London, April 2, 1865. His father was a farmer, but at an early age he entered a London warehouse, and after a time became traveler for the firm. In 1832 he started a cotton-printing business of his own at Manchester and Salden.

There are three great political agitations with which his name will be always connected—the repeal of protective duties, the movement against war and military expenditure, and the one in favor of commercial treaties.

The general spirit of his whole policy is well expressed in the motto quoted by himself (in

England, Ireland, and America) from George Washington: "The great rule of conduct in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have, with them, as little political connection as possible."

He believed that a nation's first care was for its own household, and that political and military entanglements interfered with the performance of a nation's duty in this respect. He preached the policy of non-intervention, opposing with Bright the war with Russia and China. He maintained that the prosperity of the nation demanded, not military glory and conquest, but a larger population and a wider trade. Cobden and the "Manchester school" of politicians erred in mistaking the welfare of merchants and manufacturers for the welfare of the whole nation; their standpoint was that of the employer of labor, not that of the people. They were the advocates of direct taxation. Cobden has been denounced as a mere pleader for a "let alone" policy in matters of trade; but it must be remembered that in his day British trade was hampered by absurd governmental restrictions from which it is free to-day. A policy which was best then may be unwise at the present time. Cobden did much for the cause of free education. It was largely owing to his efforts that the Manchester Athenæum was established.

We need not here enter into the details of his busy political career, and shall only mention one more conspicuous service which he rendered, not only to his own country, but to the United States as well. Devoted as he was to the arts of peace, the outbreak of the American Civil War was to him an event most deeply to be deplored. From first to last his sympathies were with the North, because the South was contending for slavery. He was extremely anxious that Great Britain should adopt a just and worthy attitude toward the struggle; and when, therefore, vessels which sailed from English ports committed depredations upon American commerce, he sternly and forcibly brought the question before the House of Commons. Altho attacked for a time on every side because of his manly stand for honor and fair play, he persisted in a series of speeches to maintain his position. His death was the occasion of many tributes of honor and esteem, all classes uniting in confessing him to be a statesman who was unswerving in his fidelity to conscience and to what he believed to be the best interests of his country.

CODE NAPOLEON.—Few codifications of law have played the part or had the influence of the Code Napoleon. There were two kinds of law in France before the Revolution—the written and the customary law. The latter varied greatly in the different judicial centers, and many consolidations had been unsuccessfully attempted. The confusion remained until 1789, when the Constituent Assembly attempted the task. Napoleon approved, and appointed a commission to draw up a code. This was accordingly done, the code being based upon the existing French legal traditions and upon ancient law. The work was subjected to criticism forthwith; but in the midst of the discussion Napoleon withdrew the code, expelled the op-

position, and divided the remainder into committees which were to discuss the clauses with the *Conseil d'Etat*. By 1810 their work was finished. The code is divided into five portions: (1) The *code civil*; (2) the *code de procédure civile*; (3) the *code de commerce*; (4) the *code d'instruction criminelle*, and (5) the *code pénal*. These portions are independent of one another. All previous legislation was superseded by this code; and it has been largely copied throughout Europe. Its brevity has been condemned by some, who point out a lack of definiteness and clearness of statement. It leaves much to the judgment and good sense of the court. Naturally this has brought about considerable conflict of decisions, and given birth to a large number of legal commentaries. Precedents are not considered binding in France; and there is always, therefore, some doubt as to what the decision in any given case may be.

COFFEE-HOUSES.—Coffee-houses as rivals of liquor taverns have been favored almost from the beginning of the active temperance agitation. As early as 1830 and 1831 there was a coffee-house movement in Scotland, under the auspices of temperance societies, resulting in the successful operation of such establishments in nearly all the principal towns and cities, but many of them at that time sold the lighter alcoholic beverages as well as tea and coffee. It was in protest against this practice that the Dunfermline Society, September 21, 1830, formed itself into the "Dunfermline Association for the promotion of temperance by the relinquishment of all intoxicating liquors," and passed a resolution agreeing "to give no encouragement or support to any coffee-house established or receiving countenance from any temperance society, for the sale of intoxicating liquors" (Dawson Burns's *Temperance History*, vol. i., p. 48). In 1844 (*ibid.*, p. 248) "the coffee-houses of Glasgow, conducted on strict temperance principles, and provided with news-rooms, etc., were in some respects much superior to the coffee-taverns and palaces of the present day." But it is more recently, and in England especially, that the coffee-house has become a prominent feature of the temperance movement. Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford, and other large cities in England are plentifully supplied with these places, while in London, where the development has been slower, a large number of establishments have been opened by the Lockhart Coffee-House Company, with the prospect of a rapid increase in the number. Two weekly newspapers in London, the *Temperance Caterer* and the *Refreshment News* (the latter the organ of the Coffee-Tavern Protection Society) are especially devoted to the coffee-house movement and its interests. In 1872 Rev. Charles Garrett conceived the idea of a coffee-saloon in Liverpool, which should combine every attraction of the liquor-saloon except the bar, and a company was formed, and such a place, with reading-room attached, was opened near the docks. Refreshments were served at the cheapest rates. The enterprise was so successful that there are at present in Liverpool more than 60 of these cocoa-rooms, as they are called, while

the British Workman's Cocoa-House Company, of Liverpool, which has them in charge, has in no year paid less than 10 per cent. dividends. Coffee-houses were established in Bradford after their success was manifest in Liverpool, and the Bradford Coffee-House Company has opened 20 places in that city and its suburbs. Birmingham also is plentifully supplied with coffee-houses, or coffee-house hotels, and they are successful from a business point of view, as well as influential in molding temperance sentiment. The coffee-house movement has extended into Canada and Australia, but has made little progress in the United States. Probably the nearest approaches to the English coffee-house to be found in this country are the temperance restaurants established in various cities by enterprising or philanthropic persons, those opened and very successfully managed by Joshua L. Baily, in Philadelphia, being especially worthy of mention.

Another form of the coffee-house work is found in the rooms opened in Boston by the New England Department of the Church Temperance Society. The emphasis is placed in these rooms upon the social aspect, very little attention being paid to the sale of food and drink. Pool tables and other games are provided, smoking is allowed, and the aim has been to afford all the *freedom* of the bar-room without the slavery, which is the penalty that has to be paid in places where social freedom means social drinking. Once a week in each of these rooms a program of entertainment and instruction is provided, and one of the greatest successes of this kind of work has been found in the number of cultivated men and women who come to talk about anything which interests themselves and in the yearly improving attention and appreciation on the part of the young men who frequent the rooms. Now and then the talk will be a religious one, but, as a rule, these are not preaching places.

There is always plenty of water, for those who visit these rooms are thirsty people. As a rule they prefer water to coffee. The rooms are smoky; tobacco is not sold, but there is no restriction upon smoking.

General good order prevails; when parties get turbulent beyond control, the doors are labeled "closed for a week on account of disorder," and in every instance the disturbers, missing their privileges, have returned and apologized.

The general idea is, of course, to make the rooms as nearly like a liquor saloon as possible, without the liquor. But good reading matter, illustrated papers, etc., in abundance is provided.

The mere fact that, at the lowest estimate, the attendance in the Boston coffee-rooms has averaged during some seasons over 300 young men each night, is a sufficient argument for going on with the work; for this average of 300 a night means an attendance during one month of 7800; during six months, of 46,800; during four years, of 187,200.

COGNETTI DE MARTIIS, SALVATORE, was born at Bari, Italy, in 1844, and in 1868 became a professor in the Institute of

Technology of that place. The next year he accepted a similar position in Mantua, and in 1876 became Professor of Political Economy in the University of Turin. Professor Cognetti, according to Cossa, may be classed with the Italian sociological school. He has especially studied the economic functions of animal and savage life, and by investigations in philology, etc., has thrown much light on the origins of socialism in antiquity. He has, however, studied modern economic conditions, and particularly those of the United States. Among his best-known books are *Delle Attinenze tra l'economia sociale e la storia* (Florence, 1866); *Le Forme primitive nell'evoluzione economica* (Turin, 1881); *Il Socialismo negli Stati Uniti d'America* (Turin, 1887); and *Socialismo Antico* (1889).

COHN, GUSTAV, born December 12, 1840, at Marienwerder, in West Prussia; studied in Berlin and Jena; Fellow of the Royal Statistical Seminary of Berlin, 1867-68, afterward at Heidelberg and the Polytechnic at Riga. In 1873 he visited England, and as a result of his studies published his *Untersuchungen über die englische Eisenbahnpolitik*. In 1875 he was called to the Polytechnic at Zurich, and in 1884 as regular professor to the University of Göttingen. One of the foremost economists in Germany, his writings have been numerous. Perhaps his best-known works are his *System der Nationalökonomie* (1886), in which his chapters on cooperation, the normal labor day, and freedom of industry are of special value; and his *Finanzwissenschaft* (1889). His studies of the Swiss and German system of taxation are of the highest value.

COIT, STANTON, was born in 1857 in Columbus, O.; graduated at Amherst, 1879, and took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Berlin, 1885. Studying social conditions, and living himself in a tenement among the poor, he founded the Neighborhood Guild (*q.v.*) in the Tenth Ward in New York City in 1887, and became one of the founders, and for two years head worker of the University Settlement in that city. He was for several years lecturer with Professor Adler (*q.v.*) of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. In 1888 he succeeded Mr. Moncure D. Conway, in London, as lecturer of the South Place Ethical Society, and instituted a Neighborhood Guild in London, and later founded and became head of the West London Ethical Society. He was one of the founders and is still one of the associate editors of the *International Journal of Ethics*. His main works are *Neighborhood Guilds*, both in English and German; *Die ethische Bewegung in Religion*, issued in Germany, and several lectures in one volume, translated into French and published as *La Religion basée sur la morale*.

COINAGE (see also CURRENCY) is the fashioning of pieces of metal and impressing upon them suitable devices for use as money. The first coins were probably simple pieces of metal marked as containing a certain weight, the names of many early coins being identical with denominations of weight. The earliest writers, too, give values in definite weights. The in-

vention of coined money is claimed by Herodotus for the Lydians, and the coins of Sardis of 800 B.C. are known. Ægina is said to have had coins in 750 B.C. The Chinese, however, claim to have coined money in B.C. 3289, and Williams recognizes their claim to have coined money at least as early as B.C. 2356. Coins were probably first issued by individuals and later by governments. To-day it is all but universally recognized that to coin money is the peculiar attribute of government alone. If individuals coined money some might do it honestly, but some might do it dishonestly, and the ignorant and inexperienced might thus easily be defrauded. For United States coinage see CURRENCY.

COLBERT, JEAN BAPTISTE, born at Rheims, 1619; died at Paris, 1683. His father was a wool merchant. He rose from office to office, till he became one of the greatest ministers France has ever had. In 1661 he became comptroller-general. His first reform was to reduce the *taille*—a direct property tax—and to establish a departmental office. He was especially noted for his love of system and regularity in industry and commerce. Frequently his regulations were strict even to severity. His economic method was to organize industry, sustain it by custom-house regulations and protection, and to create model manufactures by grants of money or privilege. All financial dishonesties he strove with laudable severity to check. His mind was not sufficiently profound to establish a complete system; he dealt with immediate difficulties, and overcame them by his energy and good sense. He interested himself in the shipping trade and in the arts and sciences, encouraging the arts by liberal presents and pensions. In 1663 he founded the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and in 1668 the Academy of the Sciences.

COLINS, JEAN GUILLAUME CÉSAR ALEXANDRE HIPPOLYTE, Baron de, was born at Brussels in 1783. He entered the French army at an early age, and won many honors. In 1833 he settled down to a quiet life, and pursued at Paris his scientific and social studies. In 1835 he issued his first work, entitled *Le Pact Social*. In it he advocated collectivism, and declared that "immovable property belongs to all." Numerous other works on social questions followed, and he continued to write until his death in 1859.

Colins and his disciples call their system Rational Socialism. They believe in spiritualism and atheism, as they deny the existence of a God, while at the same time affirming the immortality of the human soul. Morality, they say, is sufficiently based upon personal immortality. All men are equal, free, moral, and therefore responsible beings. M. de Laveleye, in his *Socialism of To-day*, gives the following concise account of their economic doctrines:

"As man is a responsible agent, his every action must infallibly and inevitably be rewarded or punished according as it does or does not conform to the rules imposed by his conscience; and this sanction, in order to be inevitable, must take place in a subsequent existence.

"The aggregate of indisputable reasonings constitutes 'impersonal reason,' which, when looked upon as prescribing a rule of action, may be called 'sovereignty.'

"From the 'immateriality of the sensibility' flow, according to Colins, other consequences touching man's relations to the material world, that is to say, touching his social economy. Man alone, he says, works; man alone is an *agent*, properly so called. The material world is the *patient* on which man acts with the aim of producing something. Originally there existed only man and the earth on which he lived: on the one hand, labor; and on the other, the soil or raw material, without which all labor would be impossible. But from the joint action of these two elements of production there soon came into being wealth of a peculiar kind, in which labor was, as it were, accumulated, which was movable and separate from the soil. This was capital. It assists production and is the handmaid of labor, but in order to make use of it, a material to which it can be applied is indispensable. From the necessity to which man is subject for a material on which to expend his labor, there results, according to Colins, the following important consequence: Labor is free when the raw material, the soil, belongs to it; otherwise it is enslaved. Man therefore can, in fact, only exercise his energy with the permission of the owners of the raw material; and he who requires the authority of another before he can act is clearly not free. In order, then, that all the members of the community should become permanent proprietors of the national soil, the soil must be collectively appropriated.

"The collective appropriation of the soil implies, in the first place, that it should be at the disposal of all who wish to utilize it; and secondly, that the rent, paid by the tenants to the community, should be expended for the common benefit of all. According to the Belgian socialist, there are only two entirely distinct methods of holding land: first, that adopted at the present day, in which the soil is given up to individuals, or to certain classes of individuals, and labor is enslaved; secondly, the system of the future, under which the soil will be collective property, and labor will be free.

"The above relates to the production of wealth. Let us now consider the way in which rational socialism regulates its distribution.

"When labor is free—as is necessarily the case when the land is accessible to all—every one can live without being obliged to accept wages from anybody. In that case, a man would work for others only if they offered him, as wages, more than he could gain by working for himself. This situation is expressed in economic terms by saying that then wages would tend to a maximum, and when it exists, the distribution of wealth is so affected that the larger share of the product goes to labor and the smaller to capital. But when labor is enslaved, the laborers are forced under pain of starvation, to compete with one another in offering their labor to those who possess land and capital; and then their wages fall to what is strictly necessary for existence and reproduction; while if the holders of wealth do not need labor, the unemployed laborers must disappear. Wages, then, tend to a minimum, and the distribution of wealth takes place in such a way that the greater part goes to the landowners and capitalists, and the smaller to the laborers. When labor is free, every man's wealth increases in proportion to the toil he has expended; but when labor is enslaved, his wealth grows in proportion to the capital he has accumulated.

"From these two opposite modes of distribution flow, according to Colins, the two following consequences, each of which has reference to one or other of the two systems of holding land above described. When land is owned by individuals, the wealth of one class of the community and the poverty of the other increase in parallel lines, and in proportion to the growth of intellectual power; but when land is collectively appropriated, the wealth of all increases in proportion to the activity of each, and to the advance of civilization.

"Colins has also developed some original views on the history of communities, which have been reproduced by M. L. de Pottre in his *Dictionnaire Rationnel*."

COLLECTIVISM is a term used sometimes in this country, but frequently in France, to denote socialism as distinguished from anarchism or communism, both of which are sometimes, tho we believe wrongfully, included under socialism. Collectivism is also used sometimes to include both nationalism and socialism, where some might make a difference between these two.

COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS. See WOMAN'S COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS.

COLWELL, STEPHEN, born in Virginia in 1800, and admitted to the bar in his native State, relinquished the profession of law to become an iron merchant in Philadelphia, where he lived till his death in 1872. He studied and wrote much on political economy, being a protectionist. He was a frequent contributor to the periodicals of his time. His best-known work is *The Ways and Means of Commercial Payment*, published in 1858. In it he attempts to give a full analysis of the credit system, and contends that error has always been made in not distinguishing between money of gold and silver, and forms of credit. His work is also valuable because of its historical inquiry into the growth of the credit system, and reveals throughout independence of thought and research. He refused to accept the view that the quantity of money is the controlling factor in determining prices. In 1865 he was appointed a member of the revenue commission, and in the year following made a valuable report on taxation. Among his more extended writings may be mentioned *The Relative Position in our Industry of Foreign Commerce, Domestic Production, and Internal Trade* (Philadelphia, 1850), and an American edition of Frederick List's *National System of Political Economy* (Philadelphia, 1856), for which he wrote a preliminary essay. His other writings of economic interest are *The Claims of Labor, and their Precedence to the Claims of Free Trade; Gold, Banks, and Taxation and State and National Systems of Banks, Expansion of the Currency, the Advance of Gold, and the Defects of the Internal Revenue Bill of June, 1864*.

COMBINATIONS. See MONOPOLIES; STRIKES.

COMMERCE (from Latin *com*, together, and *mercari*, to trade) is sometimes used for the interchange of any goods or property, but more correctly for the interchange of goods on a large scale and between different countries or different portions of one country.

The first race to carry on commerce on a large scale was the Phœnician, first in Tyre and Sidon, and then in the Phœnician colony of Carthage. Much of the commerce of Rome was tribute rather than trade. With the breaking up of the Roman Empire commerce languished till the rise of the free cities of Italy, Venice, Florence, and Pisa. Commerce was also much quickened by the crusades. The free cities of Germany and the Netherlands, which formed the Hanseatic League, created a still greater commerce. The introduction of the mariner's compass into Europe in 1302 and the discovery of the New World and of the Cape of Good Hope vastly developed commerce, particularly in Spain, Portugal, and England, and later in the Netherlands. By the seventeenth century Spain and Portugal had lost their prestige, and England has become the great commercial nation of the world. In medieval times commerce was greatly restricted by dues, taxes, and laws. After the discovery of the New World,

governments tried to favor commerce by granting monopolies, trading privileges, etc., often doing more harm than good. Since the beginning of the present century *laissez faire* has been the general policy. But see PROTECTION.

Enormous strides have been made within this century in the development of commerce. At the beginning of the century men lived to a very large extent in isolated communities. Only a few good roads existed. Even in England rivers rather than roads were the channels of commerce. It took many days to go from Edinburgh to London in the speediest way. When the battle of Waterloo was fought (1815) it took three days for the news to arrive in London. Dr. Atkinson as late as 1847 was eight months in going from New England to Oregon; he returned in six days. Foreign commerce was largely limited to voyages made by ships fitted out or chartered for the special trip, and often a commercial venture of the captain himself. Each nation and each section of the nation had to raise its own food. Hence the failure of a crop in one locality meant a famine, and famines were numerous. To-day the world has become a single market. The use of steam as a motor power on land and sea, and the use of electricity for conveying intelligence has revolutionized commerce. Merchants in England make purchases in India the same day, and on the next day the purchased goods start on their journey. The Suez Canal has reduced the voyage between London and Calcutta to 30 days instead of 200. It has destroyed 2,000,000 of tonnage. Fresh fruit, raised in California, is sold in London. Fresh meat is carried from New York to Liverpool for one cent a pound. Boxed meats have been carried from Chicago to London at one half a cent a pound. The productions of North America, South America, Australia, Russia, and Egypt battle for the English market. It has been calculated that railways have added to the power of the human race a force somewhat greater than that of a horse working 12 days for every inhabitant of the globe. It cost \$10 in 1887 to do railroad service which before the railroad would have cost \$200, and therefore usually was not done (Wells' *Recent Economic Changes*). In 1879 the railways of Great Britain conveyed 629,000,000 passengers (Mulhall). Says Dr. Strong, in *Our Country*:

"Any one as old as the nineteenth century has seen a very large proportion of all the progress in civilization made by the race. When seven years old he might have seen Fulton's steamboat on her trial trip up the Hudson. Until 20 years of age he could not have found in all the world an iron plow. At 30 he might have traveled on the first railway passenger train. Fifty years later the world had 220,000 miles of railway. For the first 33 years of his life he had to rely on the tinder-box for fire. He was 38 when steam communication between Europe and America was established. He had arrived at middle life (44) when the first telegram was sent. Thirty-six years later the world had 604,000 miles of telegraph lines."

Nor is the tide of progress ceasing. It has increased almost more in the latter portion of the century than the first. Steamers constructed in 1870 to 1873 were largely displaced in 1876 or sold at half price. Freight rates on grain from Bombay were 32.5 cents per bushel in 1880 and 16.2 cents in 1885. In 1870, 47 hands were employed for every 1000 tons capacity entered or

cleared in the British mercantile marine ; in 1885 only 27.7 hands were necessary. In 1860, 12 cents were the lowest rate that lasted for any time for transporting a bushel of grain from New York to Liverpool ; but in 1885 the average rate was 5 cents. The average charge for

moving one ton of freight by rail in the United States was 2½ cents in 1869, and 1.06 in 1887 (Wells' *Recent Economic Changes*). Perhaps, however, the best indication of the growth and importance of commerce is in the following tables :

AGGREGATE VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR VARIOUS COUNTRIES IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING, ACCORDING TO MULHALL'S DICTIONARY OF STATISTICS.

	1720.	1750.	1800.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1889.
Great Britain.....	13	21	67	169	375	547	698	740
France.....	7	13	31	95	167	227	339	311
Germany.....	8	15	36	70	130	212	294	367
Russia.....	8	14	30	49	48	103	131	118
Holland and Belgium.....	4	6	8	61	86	130	237	310
United States.....	..	..	17	62	136	165	308	320
Europe.....	62	103	228	576	1,024	1,573	2,134	2,313
The World.....	88	140	302	832	1,489	2,191	3,033	3,377

The trade of the world in millions of pounds sterling is given by Mulhall as :

	Imports.	Exports.
1861-70.....	9,228	8,301
1871-80.....	13,787	12,157
1881-86.....	9,771	8,961

The total imports and exports of Great Britain per inhabitant have been, according to Mulhall :

	£	s.	d.
1355.....	..	2	10
1573.....	..	15	..
1687.....	1	10	2
1750.....	2	10	..
1790.....	3	18	..
1800.....	6	8	..
1810.....	5	..	..
1820.....	3	10	..
1830.....	3	14	..
1840.....	4	4	..
1850.....	6	4	..
1860.....	12	17	..
1870.....	17	7	..
1880.....	20	5	..
1889.....	19	10	..

The total imports and exports of the United States per inhabitant down to 1860 were, according to Mulhall :

	\$
1790.....	11.50
1800.....	16.25
1810.....	14.50
1820.....	12.00
1830.....	8.75
1840.....	11.50
1850.....	13.50
1860.....	21.50
1870.....	20.25
1880.....	30.75
1889.....	25.00

From 1867-94 inclusive the per capita foreign commerce of the United States is given by the United States Bureau of Statistics as follows :

The chief imports from 1826 to 1886 were in millions of dollars : Sugar, \$2315 ; coffee, \$1380 ; woolsens, \$1710 ; cottons, \$1245 ; silks, \$1310 ; linens, \$630 ; iron manufactures, \$565. The chief exports were : Cotton, \$6625 ; grain, \$3510 ; meat, \$1540 ; petroleum, \$825 ; tobacco, \$950.

YEARS.	Merchandise Imported for Consumption per Capita.	DOMESTIC MERCHANDISE.		Imports and Exports of Merchandise Carried in American Vessels.
		Exports, per Cent.	Exports of Agricultural Products (per Cent of Total Exports.)	
1867.....	\$10.44	\$7.73	75.34	Per Cent. 33.87
1868.....	9.33	7.29	70.19	35.11
1869.....	10.43	7.29	75.35	33.18
1870.....	11.06	9.77	78.40	35.59
1871.....	12.65	10.83	70.74	31.87
1872.....	13.80	10.55	74.13	29.15
1873.....	15.91	12.12	76.10	26.37
1874.....	13.26	13.31	79.37	27.77
1875.....	11.07	11.36	76.95	26.21
1876.....	10.29	11.64	71.67	27.67
1877.....	9.49	12.72	72.63	26.91
1878.....	9.21	14.39	77.07	26.31
1879.....	8.09	14.29	78.12	22.99
1880.....	12.51	16.43	83.25	17.43
1881.....	12.68	17.23	82.63	16.49
1882.....	13.64	13.97	75.31	15.77
1883.....	13.05	14.98	77.00	16.04
1884.....	12.16	13.20	73.98	17.16
1885.....	10.32	12.94	72.96	15.29
1886.....	10.89	11.60	72.82	15.52
1887.....	11.65	11.98	74.40	14.30
1888.....	11.88	11.40	73.23	13.98
1889.....	12.10	11.02	72.87	14.34
1890.....	12.35	13.50	74.51	12.87
1891.....	13.36	13.63	73.69	12.46
1892.....	12.44	15.53	78.69	12.34
1893.....	12.64	12.44	74.05	11.54
1894.....	9.32	12.73	72.28	13.30

The specie value of merchandise exported and imported in millions of dollars is given by the Bureau of Statistics as follows :

	Exports.	Imports.
1845.....	106	113
1855.....	218	257
1865.....	166	238
1875.....	513	533
1885.....	742	577
1894.....	802	654

How small a portion this foreign commerce of the United States is of the total commerce can

be seen by a few figures. In 1890 the total exports were \$857,828,684 (including both domestic and foreign exports), but the total value of simply the articles manufactured in that year was \$9,372,437,283. There were mined in that year and largely transported, often a long ways, 140,882,729 tons of coal; 9,202,703 tons of pig iron were produced. The three larger cereal crops alone were valued at \$1,311,255,615. (See also EXPORTS; IMPORTS; MANUFACTURES; AGRICULTURE, etc.)

COMMERCIAL CRISES. See CRISES.

COMMERCIAL FAILURES. See BANK FAILURES; BANKRUPTCY.

COMMON CARRIERS.—The law distinguishes between *private or special carriers* and *common carriers*. By the former are meant persons who carry persons or goods not as a business, but only on occasion or by special agreement. *Common carriers* are those who carry as a business, inviting the employment of the public generally. The latter are bound by the law to serve without favoritism all who desire to employ them, and are liable for the safety of all goods intrusted to them except by losses from the act of God or from public enemies, or unless special exemption has been agreed upon. In respect to persons, they are liable for injuries which they might have prevented by special care. Drivers, log drivers, and others who do not literally carry property have been in part exempted, also telegraph companies. (See STRIKES; FRANCHISES; MUNICIPALISM, etc.)

COMMON LAW.—It is generally considered and has been expressly recognized by the courts of the United States that the common law of England is the basis of American law, on the well-known English doctrine "that whenever a new and uninhabited country was found out by English subjects, as the law is the birth-right of every subject, so, wherever they go, they carry their laws with them, and therefore such new-found country is to be governed by the laws of England, tho after such country is inhabited by the English, acts of Parliament, made in England without naming the foreign plantation, do not bind them."

Ordinarily in the United States those States which constituted the original thirteen colonies fix upon the time of their settlement as the date at which the decisions and statutes made in England cease to form part of their common law. The other States generally agree upon the year 1607, the year of the earliest English colonization. Yet principles which were established in England after these dates are in many cases regarded as parts of our municipal law. To prove a certain principle part of our common law it is not now required that it should have been practically enunciated before 1607. If the principle involved was recognized before that date, it is regarded as sufficient, without requiring a precedent for every practical application of the principle. In short, to sum up the varying authority of English law:

"English precedents prior to the settlement of this country are looked upon as of binding authority, except in so far as they are affected by the peculiar condition

and requirements of our citizens. Such precedents rendered subsequent to the settlement and prior to our independence are viewed with great deference, but are not deemed absolutely conclusive. Such precedents rendered subsequent to our independence are accounted worthy of respect and attention, but have no further weight attached to them."

Whatever portions of the United States which have been acquired by treaty or purchase retained their previous systems of law until abrogated by the proper authorities and replaced by new enactments.

The common law may be called an unwritten one, having been in some cases handed down as a mere tendency. In some particulars the traditions have taken definite form, as in the law of primogeniture, the jurisdiction of the courts, etc. Most of the laws have been developed since the last century. Few are of great antiquity. It thus naturally follows that conflicting decisions are given since the common law is so indefinite and traditional. It has never yet been systematized to a regular code. A court may even reverse its own decision, if sufficient reason is shown for so doing. Where all decisions are consistent the law is regarded as established. Any single decision may be set aside by equal, tho not by inferior, courts. The maritime and ecclesiastical courts of England recognize some of the rules of the civil and canon law as part of the common law. Almost any long-established custom may become part of the common law in England, especially if its practice dates from about the reign of Richard I.

COMMONS (see also LAND; COMMUNES; FEUDALISM). The first colonists of America divided land among themselves in proportion to the size of their families; and in some parts of New England according to rank. For many years, however, in Plymouth pasture lands were assigned by lot in town meetings, and wood was cut down and hauled in common. The forests were for more than a century known as "commons." In 1710 Plymouth comprised over 30,000 acres of common land, and to-day there are still over 200 acres of "town land," chiefly forest.

In the old town of Sandwich there is still a parcel of land known as the "Town Neck." This is owned by a company of 24 proprietors, the descendants or heirs of the first settlers of the town. Originally the Town Neck, like other common lands, belonged to the whole town. In the town records, under the date May 22, 1658, stands the following note: "If an inhabitant wanteth land to plant, hee may have some in the Towne Neck, or in the common for six year and noe longer." Later, in 1678, April 6, townsmen are given liberty to improve Neck lands "noe longer than ten yeares, and then to be at the townsmen's ordering againe." In the year 1695 the use of the Town Neck was restricted to the heirs of original proprietors, and the land was staked out into 38 lots. The lots were not fenced off, and the whole tract continued to lie as a common field, under the authority of the entire body of proprietors, like the arable lands of a Germanic village community. In 1695, April 4, it was agreed that the Town Neck should be improved for the future as a common field, until the major part of those interested should see cause otherwise to dispose or improve the same. The common fence was to be made up, and a gate to be provided by May 1. A field-driver or hayward was to keep the Town Neck clear of creatures, and to impound for trespass. In 1700 it was voted that the Neck be cleared of creatures by April 16, and that no part of the land be improved for tillage other than by sowing.

Lately, it has been proposed to sell this land to a private company for the Cape Cod Canal, a proposal which the Massachusetts Nationalists have strongly

opposed. The above is only one instance of the survival of communal lands in New England. In Salem there were 10 fields which belonged each to a number of proprietors, who had individual rights, but were subject to communal authority, a majority vote being supreme. They were tilled, sown, reaped in common. And this was only a part of their communism. The forests around Salem were long kept "for the commons of the town, to serve it for wood and timber." No townsman could make profit by exporting the logs or lumber, but every man was free to take all he needed for fencing, fuel, or building purposes. Like many other towns, Salem had large tracts of meadow land, where every man had liberty to mow. After the grass crop had been gathered, the cattle of the town were turned into the meadows to graze. Along the Connecticut River this custom continued until quite recent times. Boston Commons was thus used for many generations. The Town Neck, in Salem, which is now a public pleasure ground, remained a common pasture for milk cows until lately. At present there are 300 acres of common land, called the "Great Pastures," being the last remnant of a vast tract of 4000 acres. It is owned by the descendants of the original commoners. In 1640 the town voted that "none of the commons within the cattle range should be granted to any individual use." Generally, however, the increase of population led to the gradual breaking up of the system of communism. It was, however, only after a long contest that the landless citizens triumphed over the village patricians. The immediate result of the abolition of common lands was very beneficial to the interests of the community, as the number of small landowners was increased.

It is not only in New England that traces of the early land communism appear, but in all English or Dutch settlements. There were commons in Nantucket, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Almost everywhere in the South certain communal customs prevailed. Forests, streams, and foot-paths are generally regarded as common to all. The court-greens in Southern towns are as free as village greens or commons. Annapolis has a town pasture which is typical of scores of others. In the Southern parishes the glebe lands are only an ecclesiastical phase of the original communism, separated and administered by church boards for church purposes, similar to the town lands of New England, which yielded support to the schools and clergy.

References: *The Survival of Land Community in New England*, an article in *The Nation*, January 10, 1878, by W. F. Allen; the *Johns-Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. 1, No. 2, on *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns*, and Nos. 9 and 10, on *Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem*.

COMMONS, JOHN ROGERS, was born at Hollandsburg, O., in 1862, educated in public schools, and graduated at Oberlin College. He studied political science at Johns Hopkins University in 1889-90, receiving the degree of A.M. from Oberlin in 1890. He became tutor in Economics at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 1890-91; Associate Professor of Political Economy at Oberlin, 1891-92, and since that time for three years Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in Indiana University, and since 1895 in Syracuse University. Deeply interested in social reforms, he was one of the founders of the American Proportional Representation League (*q.v.*), and was active in the American Institute of Christian Sociology (*q.v.*). He is author of *Distribution of Wealth*, published by Macmillan (1893), and *Social Reform and the Church*, published by Crowell & Co. (1894). He belongs to no one school except as holding to the so-called ethical view of political economy. He favors a tariff on products where there is domestic competition, free trade where there is domestic monopoly, but holds the tariff of minor importance. He favors the nationalization and municipalization of natural monopolies, and the complete governmental control of currency. This year

(1896) he has published another book, *Proportional Representation*.

COMMUNE OF PARIS. See PARIS COMMUNE.

COMMUNE, COMMUNALISM, AND COMMUNARDS.—A commune (from Latin *communis*, common) is in general a community organized, or the government of such a community. Under the Roman Empire every province appears to have had its own provincial diet or assembly, called a *concilium* or *commune*, and these are held by some to have been the first attempts at representative assemblies. But see COMMUNISM; MIR, etc. In the Middle Ages many cities and towns formed confederacies of citizens, and all such confederacies of towns or provinces were called communes. We read of the Commune of Florence, the Commune of Paris, etc. In France especially these communes at one time developed very considerable power and obtained large rights which they gradually lost under the centralizing tendencies of the government of the Louis. Beginning with the Revolution, however, there has been a constant agitation for, and some serious insurrections in order to gain, the supremacy of the old *communes*. This has led to a theory particularly popular in France, which would make the commune the political and social center, and do away with all central government save a loose federation of communes. This was the ideal of Bakounin (*q.v.*), and is the view of most anarchist communists. (See ANARCHISM, section "Anarchist Communism.") It was this theory that largely led to the rising of the Paris Commune (*q.v.*) in 1871. One who advocates this view is sometimes called a *communard*, tho this phrase has been particularly appropriated for the supporters of the Paris Commune. Professor R. T. Ely and other writers, however, prefer the word *communalist* for the believer in this theory. (See also COMMUNISM; PARIS COMMUNE.)

COMMUNISM, the economic theory which advocates the total or partial abolition of the right of private property, actual ownership being ascribed to the community as a whole or to the State. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*:

"Communism is the theory which teaches that the labor and the income of society should be distributed equally among all its members by some constituted authority. For an example of what communists mean by equal division of labor and income, the following explanation may suffice: 'Here equality must be measured by the capacity of the worker and the need of the consumer, not by the intensity of the labor and the quantity of things consumed. A man endowed with a certain degree of strength, when he lifts a weight of 10 lbs., labors as much as another man with five times the strength when he lifts 50 lbs. He who, to satisfy a burning thirst, swallows a pitcher of water, enjoys no more than his comrade who, but slightly thirsty, sips a cupful. The aim of the communism in question is equality of pains and pleasures, not of consumable things and workers' tasks' (Buonarroti, *Conspiration de Babeuf*, i. 297)."

Says John Stuart Mill (*Political Economy*, Book II., chap. i.):

"The assailants of the principle of individual property may be divided into two classes: those whose scheme implies absolute equality in the distribution of

the physical means of life and enjoyment, and those who admit inequality, but grounded on some principle, or supposed principle, of justice or general expediency, and not, like so many of the existing social inequalities, dependent on accident alone. At the head of the first class, as the earliest of those belonging to the present generation, must be placed Mr. Owen and his followers. M. Louis Blanc and M. Cabet have more recently become conspicuous as apostles of similar doctrines (though the former advocates equality of distribution only as a transition to a still higher standard of justice, that all should work according to their capacity, and receive according to their wants). The characteristic name for this economical system is communism, a word of continental origin, only of late introduced into this country. The word socialism, which originated among the English communists, and was assumed by them as a name to designate their own doctrine, is now, on the Continent, employed in a larger sense; not necessarily implying communism, or the entire abolition of private property, but applied to any system which requires that the land and the instruments of production should be the property, not of individuals, but of communities or associations, or of the government."

This is probably the best use of the word, though there is some authority for using the word "communism" simply as identical with extreme and radical socialism. It is unnecessary, however, to use two words for the same thing, and communism is being limited more and more by the best writers to apply to that school of socialists who believe in holding all property in common, except the merest personal effects, and giving to every man equally, in contradistinction to socialists, who would only have capital, or the means of production, in common.

HISTORY.

Communism has always existed, to more or less an extent. According to Laveleye (*q.v.*; see also PROFERTY) and many other sociologists, communism was the earliest known form by which property was held, as evidenced in existing conditions among the North American Indians and most savages, and as witnessed to by the Russian *Mir*, the Javan *Dessa*, and many other Asiatic and European survivals from primitive forms. This

has been strenuously denied by some authorities, notably by Fustel des Coulanges; the denial is more apparent than real, since they admit that property was held by some great chief or strong man for the community fraternally or feudally rather than in the ordinary sense of private property. The Buddhist monasteries, where the devotees renounced marriage and property, are another early communistic attempt. Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle and other Greeks largely favored communism. (See PLATO; ARISTOTLE.) Some of the Jews, the Essenes and Therapeutæ taught and practised communism. (See ESSENES. See also PROFERTY.)

The early Christian Church was, in places at least, undoubtedly largely communistic. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) We are distinctly told of the first Christian church at Jerusalem, that they had all things in common. It was, however, a perfectly voluntary communism. Christians were not required to renounce private property. Peter said to Ananias of the price of his land, part of which Ananias had kept back—"While it remained was it not thine own, and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?" Yet the fact remains that, led by the power of love, some early Christians did practise communism. After the third century the Church became a much more worldly power, but in the fourth century the communistic tendency developed into the communistic monarchism of the anchorites and monks. Ever since there have been various communistic orders and sects appearing in the Christian Church—the Humiliates; the Beghards and Beguines; the various mendicant orders of the Middle Ages; the Brethren of the Free Spirit, in the thirteenth century; the Adamites, during the Hussite wars. This last advocated the community of women, and some of the other sects and orders degenerated into disorder and excesses; but, on the whole, considering

Medieval Communism.

the ages in which they appeared, they usually stood for the purest and most vital Christianity of their times. Often these communities of brotherly love were the only spots of quiet in the darkness and bloodshed of lawless ages. (See MONASTICISM AND MIDDLE AGES.)

The Reformation developed a new impulse toward communism, as indeed has been the case with every new religious movement. The Peasant War in Germany was largely an outcome of the communistic idea working out among the peasantry, but the influence mainly appeared in the organization of the Heavenly Prophets, by Storch, the Anabaptists in Munster, the Libertines of Geneva, the Familists of Holland and England, and the Buchanites of Scotland. The communistic principle is also present in a purer form among the Herrnhuters (Moravians) and in some communities of Auvergne. In Germany many communistic sects arose in the eighteenth century. (See ANABAPTISTS; PEASANT'S WAR; MORAVIANS, etc.)

The eighteenth century also saw a wave of communistic thought in France. Morely (*q.v.*), in his *Code de la Nature* (1755), taught that man naturally possesses every virtue, and is only depraved by bad institutions, the chief of which is private property. He declared that it would be "in conformity with the intentions of nature," if every citizen contributed to the resources of the State, in accordance with his strength, talents, and age, and in return were wholly maintained at the public expense. Mably (*q.v.*), who was a brother of Condillac, endeavored to show, in opposition to Mercier de la Riviere (*q.v.*), that private property in land is not the natural and necessary basis of society. On the contrary, he said, society could exist without property, as is proved by the cases of Sparta, the Jesuits in Paraguay, and the monastic orders; while the establishment of property in land and inequality of condition has been the great source of avarice, ambition, and vanity.

Babeuf (*q.v.*) and his fellow-conspirators of 1796, calling themselves the "Equals," were the most remarkable representatives of this thought. In the Babouvist Utopia, as described by Buonarroti, every one is allotted two different occupations, the one light and the other hard. To give variety and change of scene, all are employed by turns in the transport and postal services. Those who will not work are treated as thieves. Education, carried on in vast boarding-schools, subordinates the family to national life. Distribution is to follow the strictest equality. In England Robert Owen is the great teacher of communism; but for his views, see OWEN.

The Reformation.

The Eighteenth Century.

COMMUNISM IN AMERICA.

The history of American communism divides itself into three portions: Religious, Fourierite, and what may be called, for lack of a better name, Secularist Communisms. The religious communities were the first, and have been, on the whole, the largest and the most successful. The Fourierite communities have been the most brilliant. The secularist communities have been the most varied and the most numerous.

Many of the early colonists practised principles and forms somewhat communistic. Both at Plymouth and Jamestown some land was held in common. (See COMMONS.) The Labadists in Maryland (1684-1722), Johann Kelpius' colony of "The Woman in the Wilderness," in what is now Philadelphia (1605-1704), the Dunker celibates at Ephrata in Lancaster County, Pa. (1713), and a community at Snowhill, near Harrisburg, Pa. (1820), all practised more or less communism. Better known are the Shakers (*q.v.*), or more exactly, the Shaking Quakers, followers of "Mother" Ann Lee. Their first establishment, Mt. Lebanon, in Columbia County, N. Y., is still the home of the strongest Shaker settlement in the land, existing and growing in wealth to-day, after a history of 104 years, a living contradiction to those who consider communism utterly beyond the pale of practicality. Living in groups or families, quietly, working in common for the good of all, and practising equal enjoyment of whatever is produced, economic failure they have never known, and to the future they look forward with steadfast hope. Their religious tenets we cannot here discuss. Suffice it to say they enter upon their communal life with religious conviction, and carry it on in a spirit of the deepest duty. That,

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however, the Shaker communities are a complete success by no means believe; that they will continue to endure we are more than doubtful. Their religious spirit and their character of faithfulness and honesty have been their safeguard. The latter will, doubtless, remain with the faithful few, but how if advancing thought and education undermine their religious faith, and men and women decline to become followers of Ann Lee? Already, in spite of economic success, their communities seem slowly dwindling. (See SHAKERS.)

Next in age, and perhaps next in importance among the religious communists, stand the Harmonists, or the followers of George Rapp. George Rapp was born in Württemberg in 1757, and came to this country with a little band of followers in 1803. Settling first in Pennsylvania, they moved soon to Harmony, Ind., and, later, in 1824, selling out to Robert Owen, they went to Economy, near Pittsburg. Practising celibacy, they are dependent upon converts for numerical growth, and converts do not come. Their communism is also a part of their religion and, as they believe, the consequence of Christianity. It makes them faithful, honest, successful, but the spirit of to-day hungers for something larger than the straitened tenets of these German dissenters.

They are to-day enormously wealthy, largely through investments of their first earnings; but the number of the society is very small, most of those now living at Economy simply being hired workers, and already there is talk of ending the community. (See ECONOMY.)

Württemberg seems to have been prolific in communists. In 1817, persecuted in their home, there came to this country a little band of Separatists, as they called themselves, led by Joseph Bäumeler, and with the assistance of some Quakers purchased land at Zoar, in Pennsylvania, where, practising communism, they exist to-day, prosperous and rich. Zoar and Amana—the latter being in Iowa—are the strongest communistic societies in the United States, excepting only the Shakers. Among Separatists marriage is allowed, and they number now some 300 or 400 souls. Professor R. T. Ely gave their wealth in 1886 as \$1,500,000, or a per capita wealth of \$5,000, against the average per capita wealth of the United States, which is not over \$1,000. Who shall say that communism cannot financially succeed? (See ZOAR.)

Next to Zoar comes Amana, another German colony of a sect beginning in the Fatherland in the eighteenth century, but not attaining strength till 1817, when Christian Metz became, as he believed, an "instrument" of revelation to lead his followers on to a higher and a communal life. They came to this country in 1842 and settled near Buffalo, N. Y., whence they removed to Ebenezer and later to Amana, in Ohio, in 1855. Amana is not a village, but a plain with seven villages all tied together in the bonds of communism. The Amana community believes in marriage and the family, and is upon the whole perhaps the broadest and most attractive existing communism in America. This community too is to-day very wealthy. (See AMANA.)

Among religious communities must undoubtedly be included the Oneida Community, or the "Perfectionists," established by John Humphrey Noyes, at Oneida, N. Y., in 1847, with a smaller community at Wallingford. Economically, this community too succeeded, being wrecked on other lines. But Noyes believed in what he would call collective marriage. He claimed that it was not free love, since the relations between men and women were not left to the shifting caprice of love or of desire, but were entered into with religious ceremony and thoughtfulness. Only one woman was not tied to one man, or *vice versa*, but all were tied together. Enduring many years, New York State was, on account of their marital practices, at last made too hot for them, and the community as a religious community dissolved in 1881, existing to-day only as a joint-stock concern for the management of their wealth. (See ONEIDA.)

Such have been the main but by no means the only religious communistic socialists in the United States. Hopedale, in Massachusetts, founded by Rev. Adin Ballou (*q.v.*), a relative of the great Universalist; Brockton, in New York State, founded by Thomas L. Harris, now of California, and author of *The New Republic*; Mountain Cove Community (spiritualistic), with the home of the Oaksites in Aurora, in Oregon, and Bethel, in Missouri, are all of interest, and have endured for a longer or shorter time successfully, most of them splitting, however, finally on the rocks of discord or of unwise management. Brook Farm might be considered a religious community, first Unitarian

or Transcendental and then Swedenborgian; but as it finally became a Fourierite phalanx, and belongs to the same epoch in time, we consider it under that head. (See HOPEDALE, etc.)

The Fourierite wave of communistic socialism swept over this country from 1840-50. In 1840 Albert Brisbane published his *Social Destiny of Man*, a presentation of Fourierism. In 1843 Horace Greeley opened the columns of the New York *Tribune* to the teachings of Brisbane, and socialistic articles appeared in its columns at first once a week and then every day. There was a rush into Fourierite communities or "phalanxes." "By 1843," say Noyes in his *American Socialisms*, "phalanxes by the dozen were on the march for the new world of wealth and harmony." A paper entitled *The Phalanx* was started and edited by Brisbane. In 1844 a national convention of associations was held at Clinton Hall, New York City, with George Ripley for president and Charles A. Dana, Brisbane and Horace Greeley among the vice-presidents.

The Sylvania Association was the first phalanx, and was located in Lackawaxen, Pa. It had 145 members and owned 2300 acres of land. Greeley was one of its officers. It existed two years and then failed, mainly from lack of management. There was said to have been not a practical farmer among them. It was the type of most of the Fourierite communities.

The North American phalanx was the most successful, enduring 12 years. Situated in Monmouth, N. J., it commenced in 1843 with 12 members and a capital of \$8000. By 1844, it had 77 members and a capital of \$28,000. In 1854 it suffered heavily from fire and then more from dissension, coming to an end in 1855.

Noyes, in his book, enumerates 34 phalanxes, most of them, however, too insignificant to deserve mention here. Undoubtedly the greatest and best of them all was Brook Farm, near Boston. It did not begin as a Fourierite phalanx. It was at first simply a cooperative farm and school under the lead of George Ripley. His thought, however, fell on friendly soil, and Boston's culture and Boston's genius joined the new enterprise. Not professedly religious, it was still largely Unitarian, or, more exactly, Transcendental. George Ripley, Dr. J. C. Warren, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, and George William Curtis were all more or less interested, many of them being residents. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Dr. Channing were also interested, though not residents. *The Dial*, published from 1840-44 by Margaret Fuller, was its main organ. The best brains of Boston delighted to come here; its members discussed philosophy and milked cows and hoed potatoes, greatly to their enjoyment and their health, if not greatly to the benefit of their pockets. In 1844 it became avowedly Fourierite and then gradually went down, partly from misfortune in having its central house or phalanstery burned, partly because its interest was spasmodic and not enduring, mainly from lack of business management. In 1846 it was practically at an end.

The trouble with all the Fourierite communities was that they were fanciful and theoretical schemes, not simple and natural growths. They had little definite religious spirit to hold them together. They had little business headship. At the least discouragement and misfortune they melted away. Only religious communism, the facts seem to prove, can be successful.

We come now to the third class of communities, which, though the most numerous, are on the whole of the least importance. We have called them secularist communities, not because they all held secularist doctrines, but as indicating their opposition to any spiritual or revealed religion. The first and most interesting of these was New Harmony. In 1824, after his industrial experiments at New Lanark, in Scotland, Robert Owen, who may be almost called the father of English socialism, bought as above related, of the German Rappists, Harmony, and calling it New Harmony, established his colony. Entering into land and buildings prepared by the Rappists, some 900 persons were gathered from all portions of the United States. Education was made prominent; religious thought was unfettered; all worked for the good of all. Hope was on every hand. But there was no deep religious bond of union. Dissensions sprang up. Various methods of conducting the community were attempted, some wholly communistic, others only partly so; Mr. Owen was at one time sole manager, at another time a committee was elected to manage the community; separation was tried, to let different parties manage affairs in different ways, but the trouble lay not in the mode

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Secular Communities.

of management, but in the lack of the spirit of unity. In 1827 the community was virtually at an end. (See *NEW HARMONY*; OWEN.)

Akin to this, tho more enduring, was the non-religious community of Icaria, established in 1848 by some French followers of Cabet, the author of the charming communistic romance, *Voyage in Icarie*. Headed by Cabet himself, it numbered at one time 1500 souls, and for five or six years was successful. Dissensions, however, set in, and finally Cabet and 170 adherents departed and removed to St. Louis, Mo., where the enthusiast died in 1856, tho the community lingered on till 1895.

Such are the two main non-religious communities. Upon others, too numerous to mention, we need not dwell. They have all been unimportant.

Since the close of the Fourierite period in 1850 there has been no important movement toward communism till the present socialistic impulse, which is not yet over, and which has produced Kaweah in California, Topolobampo in Mexico, the Ruskin Colony in Tennessee, and other experiments. (See *KAWEAH*; *TOPOLOBAMPO*, etc.)

In England even John Ruskin, in his St. George's Community, attempted an artistic communism. (See *RUSKIN*.) He says in his *Fors Clavigera*: "For indeed I am myself a communist of the old school, reddest also of the red."

Concerning communism in general, Mill says (*Political Economy*, book ii., chap. i.):

"Whatever may be the merits or defects of these various schemes, they cannot be truly said to be impracticable. No reasonable person can doubt that a village community, composed of a few thousand inhabitants cultivating in joint ownership the same extent of land which at present feeds that number of people, and producing by combined labor and the most improved processes the manufactured articles which they

required, could raise an amount of productions sufficient to maintain them in comfort; and would find the means of obtaining, and if need be exacting, the quantity of labor necessary for this purpose from every member of the association who was capable of work.

"The objection ordinarily made to a system of community of property and equal distribution of the produce, that each person would be incessantly occupied in evading his fair share of the work, points, undoubtedly, to a real difficulty. But those who urge this objection, forget to how great an extent the same difficulty exists under the system on which nine tenths of the business of society is now conducted. The objection supposes that honest and efficient labor is only to be had from those who are themselves individually to reap the benefit of their own exertions. But how small a part of all the labor performed in England, from the lowest paid to the highest, is done by persons working for their own benefit. From the Irish reaper or hodman to the chief justice or the minister of State, nearly all the work of society is remunerated by day wages or fixed salaries. A factory operati^ve has less personal interest in his work than a member of a communist association, since he is not, like him, working for a partnership of which he is himself a member. . . .

"Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint, equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers, or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-popula-

tion, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil.

"A more real difficulty is that of fairly apportioning the labor of the community among its members. There are many kinds of work, and by what standard are they to be measured one against another? Who is to judge how much cotton spinning, or distributing goods **Difficulties.**

from the stores, or bricklaying, or chimney sweeping, is equivalent to so much plowing? The difficulty of making the adjustment between different qualities of labor is so strongly felt by communist writers, that they have usually thought it necessary to provide that all should work by turns at every description of useful labor: an arrangement which, by putting an end to the division of employments, would sacrifice so much of the advantage of cooperative production as greatly to diminish the productiveness of labor. Besides, even in the same kind of work, nominal equality of labor would be so great a real inequality, that the feeling of justice would revolt against its being enforced. All persons are not equally fit for all labor; and the same quantity of labor is an unequal burden on the weak and the strong, the hardy and the delicate, the quick and the slow, the dull and the intelligent.

"But these difficulties, though real, are not necessarily insuperable. The apportionment of work to the strength and capacities of individuals, the mitigation of a general rule to provide for cases in which it would operate harshly, are not problems to which human intelligence, guided by a sense of justice, would be inadequate. And the worst and most unjust arrangement which could be made of these points, under a system aiming at equality, would be so far short of the inequality and injustice with which labor (not to speak of remuneration) is now apportioned, as to be scarcely worth counting in the comparison. We must remember too that communism, as a system of society, exists only in idea; that its difficulties, at present, are much better understood than its resources; and that the intellect of mankind is only beginning to contrive the means of organizing it in detail, so as to overcome the one and derive the greatest advantage from the other.

"If, therefore, the choice were to be made between communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life—if this, or communism, were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance. But to make the comparison applicable, we must compare communism at its best with the *régime* of individual property, not as it is, but as it might be made.

"The perfection both of social arrangements and of practical morality would be to secure to all persons complete independence and freedom of action, subject to no restriction but that of not doing injury to others; and the education which taught, or the social institutions which required them, to exchange the control of their own actions for any amount of comfort or affluence, or to renounce liberty for the sake of equality, would deprive them of one of the most elevated characteristics of human nature. It remains to be discovered how far the preservation of this characteristic would be found compatible with the communistic organization of society. No doubt this, like all the other objections to the socialist schemes, is vastly exaggerated. The members of the association need not be required to **Freedom.**

live together more than they do now, nor need they be controlled in the disposal of their individual share of the produce, and of the probably large amount of leisure which, if they limited their production to things really worth producing, they would possess. Individuals need not be chained to an occupation or to a particular locality. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The generality of laborers in this and most other countries have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules and on the will of others as they could be on any system short of actual slavery:

to say nothing of the entire domestic subjection of one half the species, to which it is the signal honor of Owenism and most other forms of socialism that they assign equal rights, in all respects, with those of the hitherto dominant sex. But it is not by comparison with the present bad state of society that the claims of communism can be estimated. . . .

"It is yet to be ascertained whether the communistic scheme would be consistent with that multiform development of human nature, those manifold unlike-nesses, that diversity of tastes and talents, and variety of intellectual points of view, which not only form a great part of the interest of human life, but by bringing intellects into a stimulating collision, and by presenting to each innumerable notions that he would not have conceived of himself, are the mainspring of mental and moral progression."

For the Communists of Paris in 1871, see PARIS, COMMUNE OF. (See also ANARCHISM; BAREUF; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; COOPERATION; PROPERTY; PROUDHON; SOCIALISM.)

References: *Histoire du Socialisme*, by B. Malon (1870); *Life Written by Himself*, by R. Owen (vol. 1, 1857; vol. 1, A, continuation of appendices, 1858); *Outline of the Various Social Systems and Communities which have been Founded on the Principle of Cooperation*, by M. Hennell (1844); *History of Cooperation in England*, by G. J. Holyoake (vol. 1, 1875; vol. II, 1879); *History of American Socialisms*, by J. H. Noyes (1870); *Communistic Societies of the United States*, by C. Nordhoff (1875).

COMMUNIST ANARCHISM. See ANARCHISM, Section II.

COMMUNITIES.—A community may be defined in a general way as any body of persons living together in one place or under one régime. It follows that all communities are not necessarily communistic. (For those that are communistic, see COMMUNISM; for monastic communities, see MONASTICISM; for the early or primitive communal life, see PROPERTY, also MIR; for various community experiments, see AMANA; BROOK FARM; ECONOMY; ICARIA; KAWEAH; NEW HARMONY; NORTHAMPTON; ONEIDA; RUSBER COLONY; SHAKERS; TOBOLOBAMPO, etc.) It must not be forgotten, however, that there are communities which come under none of these heads, but which consist of bodies of persons establishing a new village, town, or group of people who desire to live in a certain way or under certain conditions. Often a company will be formed to buy land, open it up, and sell it to emigrants or people, who will improve it according to certain methods or on certain conditions. Several important Western cities and towns have arisen in this way. Greeley, Col., is an instance of this. Important instances of colonies which form real communities and are yet by no means communistic are the Jewish colonies established in New Jersey by the Baron Hirsch Fund. The largest of these is Woodbine, with some 5000 acres, tilled by 500 colonists. Rosenhagen, bought in 1882, has 25,000 acres, occupied today by about 90 families. A community of a different type, mainly cooperative, is being developed by Mr. N. O. Nelson at LeClaire, Ill. (*q.v.*). There have been at various times attempts at communities of almost every description—vegetarian communities, spiritualistic communities, cooperative communities, etc. The large majority of them, however, have been too ephemeral to deserve separate notice, and their condition is too changeable to allow of exact statistics. (See COMMUNISM, etc.)

COMPENSATION.—Among the most difficult problems arising in social reform is the question how far, if at all, individuals should

be compensated by Government when the Government decides, for the public good, to take a business from them that they hitherto have conducted under the permission of the law. The problem, too, is very different in different forms of industry or traffic. If railroads are nationalized, what compensation, if any, should be given to the present stockholders is of necessity a different question from the question what compensation, if any, should be given to liquor manufacturers and sellers when their business is forbidden and their establishments closed. The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution says: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Under the right of Eminent Domain (*q.v.*), according to the first amendment the Government can indeed take any property that it deems necessary for the public good, but only upon the payment to the former owners of a fair valuation of the property, the valuation to be made by an impartial tribunal. In different States the details of the laws determining the compensation vary, but in substantially all they demand that the value of the property is not to be measured by its present use, but to be estimated on the use to which it may be put, based on the uses of men of ordinary business foresight and prudence. The complications that may arise under such laws are naturally very great.

As applied to compensation to liquor manufacturers and sellers, when their business is forbidden by a State, early legal decisions did not favor compensation; but January 21, 1886, Judge Brewer decided, in the case of *Kansas ex rel. John Walruff, et al.*, that "national equity as well as constitutional guaranty forbids such a taking of private property for the public good without compensation." Other similar cases arising and being diversely decided by State courts December 5, 1887, the Supreme Court of the United States decided, by a vote of seven to one, that compensation was not necessary, on the ground that all property held in this country is held under the implied obligation that the owner's use shall not be injurious to the community. The decision said:

"The power which the States unquestionably have of prohibiting such uses by individuals of their property as will be prejudicial to the health, the morals, or the safety of the public is not, and—consistently with the existence and safety of organized society—cannot be burdened with the condition that the State must compensate such individual owners for pecuniary losses they sustain by reason of their not being permitted by a noxious use of their property to inflict injury upon the community. . . . It is true that when the defendants in these cases purchased or erected their breweries the laws of the State did not forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. But the State did not thereby give any assurance or come under an obligation that its legislation upon that subject would remain unchanged."

In England there has been considerable popular agitation upon this subject. In 1888 Lord

Salisbury, then in office, introduced a local government bill, of which an important feature was a provision for recognizing a vested interest in existing liquor licenses by granting compensation to liquor sellers whose applications for renewals should be refused. It was claimed that the object of the bill was to reduce the number of licenses. Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals strongly opposed the bill, and it was, amid much excitement, after finding a dwindling majority in its favor, on separate readings, finally withdrawn.

The problem of compensation to the stockholders of railroads and other forms of business which cannot at all be considered "prejudicial to the health, morals, or safety" of the public, and which yet may be nationalized or monopolized, is obviously another matter. The Constitution evidently calls for compensation to the owners of such property at its full present and within reasonable limits, prospective market

Compensation for Sociologic Industries.

value. The fact that the value concerned may consist very largely of a franchise originally obtained from the State, perhaps on terms utterly unjust to the State, seems to make no legal difference. The franchise is owned to-day by the stockholders, however gained, and has to-day a certain value, however watered. Unless, therefore, illegal fraud can be proven, the owners of the property seem to be entitled by the Constitution to full compensation. The more conservative friends of nationalizing or municipalizing industries believe that the present owners should receive, irrespective of how the value of their property has been gained, full compensation for present and prospective values. They argue this both on the grounds of equity and of expediency. It is equitable, they say, because these people have invested in such enterprises under the guaranty of the Constitution, and that guaranty should be kept even if the Government did make a mistake in granting the franchise. It is expedient, they say, because, in a democratic country the socialization of industries cannot be effected unless the people vote it, and if compensation be not promised, it will enlist against the proposal the interests of wealthy, influential, and numerous stockholders. Even when there has been dishonesty in the obtaining of the franchise, the dishonesty has usually been on the part of the few managers and not of the general stockholders; so that to make the general stockholders in this case suffer would be doubly unjust and inexpedient. (For a fuller statement of this view, see a quotation from Professor Ely, in article NATIONAL MONOPOLIES.)

On the other hand, many radical reformers hold that to compensate the present owners of railroad and other similar stock at anything like its present face market and prospective value would be utterly unjust to a community that has already been too indulgent to the corporations, and would render nugatory many of the purposes for which socialization is proposed. At least one of the objects of the socialization of industry (see SOCIALISM) is to substitute

Views Opposing Compensation.

a cooperative for a capitalistic civilization. If, then, the face value of the present watered and inflated stock is to be given to the owners of a socialized industry, it will by no means lessen the amount of capital to be invested, and that amount will simply go in some way to perpetuate the capitalistic sum. Thinkers of this school, therefore, propose, as does the Fabian Society of England, to grant no *compensation*, but to grant relief to any of the poor stockholders who may be reduced to extremity by the socialization. This is defended ethically on the ground that the value of the stock of present railway and similar corporations has scarcely, in any case, been the result of real effort or sacrifice on the part of its holders. It has been gained, in many cases, by first obtaining from the Government, and often for nothing, large concessions of land or capital; second, this original sum has been very largely watered, sometimes 50 per cent. or more. (See WATERED STOCK.) What work has been done on the railroads has been done often by poorly paid employees; the amount of money put in by the stockholders themselves is often very little. Still other persons would grant some compensation, but only as much, perhaps, as would correspond to the money actually paid in, or, perhaps, to the amount for which the present plant could be today replaced. Constitutional difficulties would be met, by persons not believing in compensation, by proving what probably could be proved in almost all cases, that the corporation has in some way violated the terms of its franchise, and so cannot stand upon that.

Still another school of thought upon this point would get around the difficulty by recognizing it and having the government not buy up the railroads, etc., but build new roads, and by competition running out those managed by private corporations. Some would make this a way of employing the unemployed, of issuing non-interest-bearing bonds, etc.

Such are some of the diverse ways in which the problem is met to-day by different men. See RAILROADS; NATIONAL MONOPOLIES; SOCIALISM.)

COMPETITION (Lat., *com*, and *petere*, to seek together) is in social science the strife of the individual or of a group of individuals to gain the utmost possible profit, rent, or wage in free rivalry with other individuals or groups of individuals. It is defined in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* as "the free action of individual self-interest." But this is not enough. The free action of individual self-interest may lead a man into cooperation or socialism, the opposites of competition. The distinctive characteristic of competition is in its being the free action of self-interest *in fair rivalry with some other individual or group of individuals*. One man cannot compete. He must compete with somebody. This is seen in the derivation of the word, from *com* and *petere*, to seek with.

Definition.

Competition, so conceived, is held by most to be to-day the supreme law of trade. As such it is defended by believers in present industrial methods, is bitterly condemned by socialist

reformers, while perhaps the majority of minds and almost all political economists to-day, seeing evils in unlimited competition, would modify its free play, but not supplant it by any other principle. Still another school of thought denies that we have free competition to-day, and declares that what is needed to save us from our present industrial ills is not less competition, but more competition. We must notice these four views:

I. The believers in competition usually assert first that it is the law of nature, and they sometimes add that it is "therefore the law of God." "Theorists and sentimentalists may talk as they will," say the believers in competition, "of abolishing the strife for self or the struggle for existence, the play of self-interest; but the fact remains that this principle always has existed in the world, always has ruled the world, has produced and exists most in the most progressive civilizations." "Progress," says Professor Flower (*Reply to an Address by the Trades Council*, New Castle,

September, 1889), "has been due to the opportunity of those individuals who are a little superior in some respects to their fellows, of asserting their superiority, and of continuing to live, and of promulgating as an inheritance that superiority." "To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginnings of life has been," Mr. Benjamin Kidd tells us (*Social Evolution*, p. 34), "one of the principal results of the biological science of the century." "It is," says Professor Flower, "the message which pure and abstract biological research has sent to help us on with some of the commonest problems of human life" (*idem*). "It is," Mr. Kidd adds (*idem*, p. 37) "an inevitable law of life among the higher forms, that competition and selection must not only always accompany progress, but that they must prevail among every form of life which is not actually retrograding." Socialism, therefore, which aims "at the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence," cannot, according to Mr. Kidd, "in any case avoid progressive degeneration" (*idem*, p. 210). This is the main argument urged in a hundred forms by the believers in competition. Competition is the source of progress. We must, therefore, have competition in order to have progress. Theological writers sometimes add that this is the law of God.

But, secondly, competition is defended as working on the whole for the good of all classes. Most orthodox economists take this position. Professor Fawcett (*Political Economy*, book ii., chap. ii.), says of competition:

"The poverty of the poor is often attributed to it; but we shall have reason to show that it is no enemy to the working classes. Without it, their poverty would be rendered doubly severe; for it is an active spirit of competition which maintains the capital from which the wages of the laborers are paid. Competition befriends the working classes in other respects; it cheapens commodities, and ensures that the maximum of wages shall always be paid. Competition is not confined to one class; it may be as rife among buyers as among sellers, or among the employers as among the employed. Individuals who have goods to sell are anxious to realize as large profits as possible; but when there is competition, a trader cannot be paid more than what is termed a fair price for his goods, because if he attempts to obtain more than the ordinary price he will be undersold by other traders. When buyers compete with each other they are anxious to secure the greatest gains, or, in other words, to buy upon the best possible terms; and thus, when buyers are each intent on purchasing on the most favorable terms, a commodity is sure to realize what it is worth. It therefore follows that if, on the one hand, competition prevents a trader obtaining exceptionally high profits, on the other hand it ensures to him a fair price for his goods. Some, perhaps, may think it unfortunate that employers, stimulated by a desire to realize the largest gains, should seek to engage their laborers on the lowest possible terms. But such conduct upon the part of the employers inflicts no injury upon the laborers; for whenever there is activity of competition, an individual manufacturer or trader is as powerless to get laborers to work for him at less than the ordinary wages as

he would be to buy cotton at a cheaper rate than his fellow-manufacturers. The price of cotton is maintained because there are those who are anxious to purchase it; the rate of wages is also maintained by those who are anxious to purchase labor. Competition, consequently, exerts no tendency to reduce profits or wages; the tendency is rather one of equalization."

Another form of the same argument is that competition works for the good of all because it tends to make each one and each nation do what he can do best. Where each individual and each nation is striving in a free market, that individual and that nation that can do given work or produce a given commodity the best will win. We will thus have the survival of the fittest. But there is something which each man and each nation can do best. Therefore under free competition each man and each nation will do what he or it can do best, and all be benefited by the exchange.

Thirdly, believers in competition say nothing can be substituted for it. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* says: "It is difficult even to imagine upon what other principle certain complicated transactions of modern trade and industry could be regulated."

"The difficulty of finding any adequate substitute for it (the motive of self-interest) is an almost invincible obstacle in the way of reconstructing society on any but its present individualistic basis" (Sidgwick). Jevons says (*Scientific Primer*, ch. vii.): "There is no way of deciding what is a fair day's wages" outside competition."

Lastly, the believers in competition defend it on the ground that it tends to make individuals self-reliant, independent, inventive, alert, quick to conceive, strong to execute, ready to dare. They point out that the most progressive nations are those where competition has had the greatest development.

II. Coming to the views of those who disbelieve in competition, they, in the first place, deny that competition and the struggle for existence is the *only* cause of progress. Says Charles Kingsley: "That self-interest is a law of human nature I know well; that it ought to be the root law of human society I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire and a cage of wild beasts." "Competition," said F. D. Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it a lie by word and deed."

That competition and the struggle for existence have entered into and do still enter into the progress of the world, no one denies; it is simply denied that it is the *only* way of making progress. Mr. Kidd's new *Social Evolution*, that lauds competition as "the immutable law of progress," is full of instances of progress in civilization made by the spirit of altruism and self-sacrifice. Even animals (like the beaver and the ant) progress by cooperation. Human society has progressed immeasurably by organization, by combination, by cooperation. It is not true that those States are the most progressive where competition is the least controlled. One chief function of the State is to limit competition, and when the State has reached the fullest development, as in Germany, England, and America, then civilization is the best. Biology, if it asserts that competition is the law of progress, has studied the lower forms of life more than the higher. It is almost more true that progress is proportional to man's escape from competition. Competition patterns after the brutes; cooperation patterns after the nobler instincts of humanity.

It is not, however, claimed by the disbelievers in competition that competition has no place in society. They simply argue for an evolution of competition. Competition does tend to the survival of those most fit to compete in the form of struggle in which the competition takes place. The primitive competition was purely physical. Men fought with bare hands, with clubs, or with spears, poisoned arrows, etc. It produced physical giants—Agamemnon, Hercules, Nimrod. "There were giants in those days." But gradually developing combination, law, order, the State, checked the competition of force and replaced it by a competition more intellectual. Did the race deteriorate? No; it simply developed a higher form of leaders, the Alexanders, Hannibals, Cæsars, Napoleons of society. To-day cooperation, combination, arbitration are replacing the competition of conquerors; competition is now industrial. It is developing leaders in that form of competition—"Napoleons of finance"—the Rothschilds, the Jay Goulds, Carnegies, Rockefellers, etc.

The Argument for Competition.

Develops Self-Reliance.

The Argument against Competition.

For the Good of All Classes.

Wages.

What the disbelievers in industrial competition ask is not that competition be wholly done away with, but simply that it be lifted up to a higher level. As the State now in the main prevents physical competition and protects the life of the weakest citizen, so they would have the State replace industrial competition by fraternal co-operation, and set men free to compete for honor in art, in science, in learning. This, they say, will produce not degeneration, but simply a higher type of men. They deny that industrial competition produces the best citizens. It exists nowhere so fiercely as in the United States. What is the result? Smart business men—the "smartest" in the world. But are these the highest type of men? Says Mr. Bryce, *American Commonwealth* (part iv., chap. 8i): "In no country does one find so many men of eminent capacity for business, shrewd, forcible, and daring, who are so uninteresting, so intellectually barren, outside the sphere of their business knowledge." Industrial competition produces a survival of the industrially smart, with little reference to their morals. Morals do help to a slight extent, but very slight. Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1891): "If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices; by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man

Competition Does not Produce the Best.

succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in out-generalizing and ruining a rival. It is as much as any moralist ventures to assert, that, other circumstances being given, honesty is the best policy, and that with parity of advantages an honest person has better chances than a rogue. Even this in many stations and circumstances of life is questionable; anything more than this is out of the question. It cannot be pretended that honesty, as a means of success, tells for as much as a difference of one single step on the social ladder. The connection between fortune and conduct is mainly this, that there is a degree of bad conduct, or rather of some kinds of bad conduct, which suffices to ruin any amount of good fortune; but the converse is not true; in the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted upon for raising them in the world, without the aid of fortunate accidents." As for what competition means to the working classes, says Louis Blanc, quoted by Mill in the above review:

"What is competition from the point of view of the workman? It is work put up to auction. A contractor wants a workman; three present themselves. 'How much for your work?' 'Half a crown; I have a wife and children.' 'Well; and how much for yours?' 'Two shillings; I have no children, but I have a wife.' 'Very well; and now how much for you?' 'One and eightpence are enough for me; I am single.' 'Then you shall have the work.' It is done; the bargain is struck. And what are the other two workmen to do? It is to be hoped they they will die quietly of hunger. But what if they take to thieving? Never fear; we have the police. To murder? We have got the hangman. As for the lucky one, his triumph is only temporary. Let a fourth workman make his appearance, strong enough to fast every other day, and his price will run down still lower; there will be a new outcast, a new recruit for the prison perhaps!

"Who is so blind as not to see that under the system of unlimited competition, the continual fall of wages is no exceptional circumstance, but a necessary and general fact? Has the population a limit which it cannot exceed? Is it possible for us to say to industry—industry given up to the accidents of individual egotism and fertile in ruin—can we say: 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther?' The population increases constantly; tell the poor mother to become sterile, and blaspheme the God who made her fruitful, for if you do not the lists will soon become too narrow for the combatants. A machine is invented; command it to be broken, and anathematize science, for if you do not, the 1000 workmen whom the new machine deprives of work will knock at the door of the neighboring workshop, and lower the wages of their companions. Thus systematic lowering of wages, ending in the driving out of a certain number of workmen, is the inevitable effect of unlimited competition. It is an industrial system by means of which the working classes are forced to exterminate one another."

If it be answered to this that such is not the fact;

that the working classes are not exterminating each other; that their condition has steadily risen through the century, and that the higher workmen of England and America, for example, do not fear the competition of China and India, it is to be said, "Yes, it is true that wages have risen; but is this the result of competition? Is it not because competition has to no little extent been limited in England and America by trade-union combination and factory legislation? Have not higher wages and shorter hours as a rule been forced from unwilling employer by organized labor and by legislation?" Until trade-unions were developed, and before there were efficient factory laws, when competition was unrestrained, wages were lower and conditions more terrible among working men than ever in English history. In the Middle Ages competition was, somewhat restrained by feudalism, and later by monopoly grants. Only in the latter part of the last century and first of this has competition been at all unlimited. Now of this period Thorold Rogers says (*Work and Wages*, p. 63): "I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was from 1780-1820, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortunes rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural land was doubled."

Competition Modern.

The trouble with competition is that it puts even those manufacturers and employers who would be just at the mercy of those who are willing to do anything for gain. Says Professor Henry C. Adams, Ph.D. (*An Interpretation of the Social Movements of Our Time*, p. 11):

"Without legal regulation the struggle between men for commercial supremacy will surely force society to the level of the most immoral man who can sustain himself. The fittest to survive unregulated competition will be he who is morally the least fit to live. For purpose of illustration, suppose 10 manufacturers competing with each other to supply the market with cottons. Assume that nine of them, recognizing the rights of childhood, would gladly exclude from their employ all but adult labor. But the tenth man has no moral sense. His business is conducted solely with a view to large sales and a broad market. As child labor is actually cheaper than adult labor, he gives it a decided preference. What is the result? Since his goods come into competition with the goods of the other manufacturers, and since we who buy goods only ask respecting quality and price, the nine men whose moral instincts we commend will be obliged, if they would maintain themselves in business, to adopt the methods of the tenth man, whose immoral character we condemn. Thus the moral tone of business is brought down to the level of the worst man who can sustain himself in it."

As for the assertion that competition is necessary to produce independence, self-reliance, and individual exertion, the socialists who would supplant competition by cooperation do not argue for paternalism. Says a socialist writer: "Socialists are the opposite of paternalists. The socialists of Germany, for example, recently cast 1,500,000 votes against the so-called paternal socialism of the emperor. It is the wealthy Carnegies who would manage all business and give of their fortunes for the good of working men, who are the real paternalists of the day. Under democratic socialism the people would be the government, and work and manage for themselves. It would be the very 'open sesame' of character. Each man would then have to work. No drones here; no beggars living on the rich; no wealthy parasites fattening on the poor. If any man refused to work he would be left to starve, yet with no one to blame but himself, for every man would then have an opportunity to work." By simply doing a few hours of honest work each day for a few years of his life (each man choosing his own kind of work, the more disagreeable kinds of work being favored by less hours being demanded in them, so that men would be found to choose even them), every man would be sure of an honest competence. Does any man assert that this would not produce better and more independent character than we have to-day? No sycophancy of employee to employer; no dependence of professional men upon patrons; no servility of men of genius to men of money. There would still be competition, but for honor, not for money. Men would battle to see who should best serve the community, and so be honored by their fellow-men; they would not be forced to battle, as men are forced to battle to-day, however much they hate it, to undercut their rivals, or enter into "combines" against the public. Competition for honor would alone be appealed to, as that alone would mean success. Mrs. Annie Besant well

says, 'It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and honor alone supplies the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the "reward of valor," far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population.'

"She continues, 'Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel to exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multifarious desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure.'

'The final argument of the opponents of competition to-day is, that competition cannot endure, that competition inevitably leads to combination, and that, therefore, the only question is not a choice between competition or combination, but between different kinds of combinations. Starting with competition, the few strong competitors find that it pays to combine. They therefore combine, and establish a private monopoly. The problem thus, for the

people, becomes not whether they shall compete or combine, but whether they shall submit to the rule of private combinations or democratically combine themselves through the State. It is a question of monopoly *vs.* monopolies, of democracy *vs.* the worst kind of an oligarchy, the rule of the plutocrat. The choice comes, they say, not between socialism or individualism, but between socialism and plutocracy.

These opponents of industrial competition thus assert that competition is not the only condition of progress; that cooperation in the State has been at least as much a source of progress; that industrial competition develops the smart trickster rather than the true man; that it treads down the weak and the altruistic, in the mad rush for gold; that it develops sycophancy and the rule of gold rather than independence; that socialism, municipalism, cooperation are proving to-day that industrial competition is *not* necessary to a progressive society. (See MUNICIPALISM; SOCIALISM; COOPERATION; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; BERLIN.)

III. Many minds to-day and most professed political economists would not abolish industrial competition, but simply limit it. Says Professor Jevons, in the last chapter of his *The State in Relation to Labor*, summing up his whole argument: "The subject is one in

which we need above all things—discrimination. Restrictions on industry are not good nor bad *per se*, but according as they are imposed wisely and with good intentions, or foolishly, and with sinister intentions. *Prima facie*, indeed, restriction is bad, because Providence

is wiser than the legislator—that is to say, the action of the natural forces of evolution will ensure welfare better than the ill-considered laws of the prejudiced and unskillful legislator. But reason is a Divine gift, and where upon the grounds of clear experience interpreted by logical reasoning we can see our way to a definite improvement in some class of people without injuring others, we are under the obligation of endeavoring to promote that improvement. The greater part of the interference of trade societies is objectionable, because, though directed toward the welfare of a part, it is directed against the welfare of the rest of the community. All other industrial problems must be solved by similar careful estimation of the total utilitarian results.

"If such be a true view of the case, it is clear that there can be no royal road to legislation in such matters. We cannot expect to agree in utilitarian estimates, at least without much debate. We must agree to differ; and though we are bound to argue fearlessly, it should be with the consciousness that there is room for wide and *bona fide* difference of opinion. We must consent to advance cautiously, step by step, feeling our way, adopting no foregone conclusions, trusting no single science, expecting no infallible guide. We must neither maximize the functions of government at the beck of quasi-military officials, nor minimize them according to the theories of the very best philosophers. We must learn to judge each case upon its merits, in-

terpreting with painful care all experience which can be brought to bear upon the matter."

This is probably the view of most professional economists to-day, though as to Jevons's assertion that Providence works through competition, it may be questioned if the State is not quite as much a natural development under Providence as any fiercest competition.

IV. We must not forget the view of those who assert that we do not have competition to-day. They say that under various laws of protective private property in land, men are not free to compete. They trace most monopolies in America, for example, to a protective tariff, and the most radical among them assert that as long as the law recognizes private property in land, men cannot be really free to compete. Some would abolish all taxes, save on land values.

The total value of the land, which no individual has created, they would take by taxation for the community that has given land its value, and then, thus putting all men on a natural equality, they would let man be absolutely free to work, sell, or cooperate as he will. They argue that men, when natural opportunities are not monopolized, are so nearly equal in ability, that no man could take much advantage of his neighbor, but each would be led to do that which he could do best, and exchange the fruits of his activity in equality and in freedom. (For a complete statement of this view, see SINGLE TAX.) It is said, on the other hand, that men are not equal in ability; that even on free land the smart, the shrewd, the strong would soon lord it over the altruistic and the weak, and free competition lead to the tyranny of the shrewdest and smartest competitor.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION. See ARBITRATION.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION. See EDUCATION.

COMPULSORY VOTING. See SUFFRAGE.

COMSTOCK, ANTHONY, was born in New Canaan, Conn., March 7, 1844, and educated in the academies of New Canaan and New Britain. From 1863-65 he served in the Union army. Since March, 1873, he has been post-office inspector, and secretary and chief special agent of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice since its organization in 1873. In 20 years the society has made 1795 arrests and seized and destroyed 44½ tons of obscene matter and 17 tons of gambling materials. He has written *Frauds Exposed* (1880); *Traps for the Young* (1883); *Gambling Outrages* (1887); *Morals versus Art* (1887). See ART.

COMTE, ISIDORE AUGUSTE MARIE FRANÇOIS XAVIER, was born at Montpellier, France, January 19, 1798. He studied at the Polytechnic School in Paris, and early attracted attention by his speculations. He became acquainted with St. Simon (*q.v.*), and entered enthusiastically into his theories. In 1820 Comte was appointed to prepare an exposition of the *Politique Positive* of the St. Simonians. The work did not satisfy St. Simon, who deplored the absence of the "religious and sentimental aspects" of his system. In 1825, on the death of St. Simon, Comte broke off altogether from the school, and in after years was accustomed to speak slightly of his old master's abilities. In 1826 Comte was attacked by a cerebral disorder, brought on by "overwork and heart anxieties." He recovered, however, and in 1832 was appointed teacher of mathematics at the *École Polytechnique*, which posi-

The Individualistic View.

tion he held for 20 years, till he was forced to resign in 1852, on account of differences with his colleagues. He died at Paris, September 5, 1857.

Comte's works are: *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (6 vols., Par. 1830-42; freely translated into English and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols., 1853); *Traité Élémentaire de Géométrie Analytique* (1843); *Traité d'Astronomie Populaire* (1845); *Discours sur l'Ensemble du Positivisme* (1848); *Système de Politique Positive* (4 vols., 1851-54; Eng. trans., 1875, et seq., Longmans); and *Catéchisme Positiviste, ou Sommaire Exposition de la Religion Universelle* (1 vol., Par. 1852). In brief, Comte's central and governing doctrine is this:

The race (like the individual) necessarily passes through three intellectual stages—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. "The theological conception assumes the direct intervention of an intelligent agent, presiding over the universe, to whom is attributed the arbitrary distribution of each modification undergone by nature. The metaphysical conception searches for some entity to whose intervention the phenomena in question are to be ascribed. The positive conception disregards all causes and addresses itself solely to the study of phenomena as they present themselves to the senses" (Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*, vol. 1, p. 93). The theological conception, Comte tells us, ruled to the thirteenth century; the metaphysical, in western Europe, to the close of the eighteenth. To-day man asks, according to him, simply what are phenomena, without seeking for intelligent agent or intervening entity. Sociology under the first period, he argues, assumed God as the center of society; in the second period, it forgot God, yet found naught. It was critical, negative, destructive; its only positive tendencies were in wild, visionary and anarchistic schemes, like those of most of the French revolutionists. To-day, he says, sociology must be constructive, based not on assumption of God or man, but only on proved facts.

This leads us to Comte's great distinction as a sociologist, that he first gave sociology a place as a science. His merit is to have laid emphasis upon facts rather than upon theories; to have given us a plan of arranging facts, which, if not a good plan, at least teaches us to have some plan, to insist upon action and legislation based upon knowledge of facts.

Says Dr. Ingram of Comte (*History of Political Economy*, p. 196): "The negative movement which filled the eighteenth century had for its watchword on the economic side the liberation of industrial effort from both feudal survivals and governmental fetters. But in all the aspects of that movement, the economic as well as the rest, the process of demolition was historically only the necessary preliminary condition of a total renovation, toward which western Europe was energetically tending, tho with but an indistinct conception of its precise nature. . . . The critical philosophy which had wrought the disorganization could only repeat its formulas of absolute liberty, but was powerless for reconstruction. And hence there was seen throughout the West, after the French explosion, the remarkable spectacle of a continuous oscillation between the tendency to recur to outworn ideas and a vague impulse toward a new order in social thought and life, this impulse often taking an anarchical character.

"From this state of oscillation, which has given to our century its equivocal and transitional aspect, the only possible issue was in the foundation of a scientific social doctrine which should supply a basis for the gradual convergence of opinion on human questions. The foundation of such a doctrine is the immortal service for which the world is indebted to Auguste Comte.

"The leading features of sociology, as he conceived it, are the following: (1) it is essentially *one* science, in which all the elements of a social state are studied in their relations and mutual actions; (2) it includes a dynamical as well as a static theory of society; (3) it thus eliminates the absolute, substituting for an imagined fixity the conception of ordered change; (4) its principal method, tho others are not excluded, is that of historical comparison; (5) it is pervaded by moral ideas, by notions of social duty, as opposed to the individual rights which were derived as corol-

laries from the *jus natura*; and (6) in its spirit and practical consequences it tends to the realization of all the great ends which compose 'the popular cause;' yet (7) it aims at this through peaceful means, replacing revolution by evolution. The several characteristics we have enumerated are not independent; they may be shown to be vitally connected with each other."

In the fourth volume of the *Philosophie Positive* (1839), Comte marks out the broad division between social statics and social dynamics—the former studying the laws of social coexistence, the latter those of social development, together forming sociology, which to him is the master science, for in his remarkable ordering of science he shows how the different sciences, as they emerge into the clear light of positivism, take their proper place, all leading up to sociology as, so to speak, the architect who builds up the thought of society, using other sciences as materials. Yet is Comte essentially a dogmatist. He starts out with asserting that "the essential spontaneous sociability of the human species, in virtue of an instinctive penchant for a life in common, can in no way be henceforth contested." In the matter of the dynamics of sociology, Comte finds the great forces of life in the instinct for material self-preservation, in the battle of the attributes of humanity over those of animality, and in the restlessness of *ennui*. Of *laissez faire* Comte was no friend. He favored a State ruling all life, conducted by a scientific priesthood. Such were, in brief, the teachings of the world's first great sociologist.

Comte's sociologic weakness is that he himself knew little of sociologic facts. He discovers the ocean and tells us that we ought to know it, but not much of the ocean does he himself report.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH. See WEALTH.

CONCILIATION, COURTS OF.—For conciliation as applied to the settlement of industrial disputes, see ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION; but the principle of the settlement of disputes by conciliation, as developed especially in the Norwegian courts of conciliation, is capable of a very general application.

The first establishment of tribunals of conciliation seems to have been in Denmark in 1795, and in Norway in 1797, but the germ of the idea was developed in the French Revolution and adopted in the system of civil justice created in March, 1790, by the National Assembly. According to this idea, proposed by Thouret, justices of the peace were to be elected by the people in each canton and to have the power of deciding without appeal cases not involving over 50 livres. They were, Louis Blanc tells us, to be considered as outside the judicial order, "on the threshold of the Temple of Justice to warn intending litigants away." Thouret, judging by the name chosen, got his suggestion from England; but the first real application of the plan was in Denmark. In France the plan did not survive the Revolution. In 1795 courts of conciliation were actually established in Denmark, and in 1797 in Norway. The preamble to the royal edict establishing them says:

"Inasmuch as it has come to our notice that peasants and other lowly good and true subjects in our dominions are incited to quarrel about trifling things by dishonest lawyers, who generally keep their clutches on their unsuspecting clients till they have robbed them of all their property, we have, etc." Then follows the establishment of the new institutions.

Few laws were ever more popular, and the plan has stood the test of time. Every city, every village of at least 20 families, and every parish constitutes a separate "district of conciliation." The court is made up of two men, chosen for three years, by the voters of the district. The

court meets weekly in the cities and monthly in the country. It is not public. Admissions or concessions made by any party cannot be used against him in court. But a party willing to settle before the commissioners can receive a certificate to that effect. Appearance is compulsory, and the court has power in all civil and private cases. The method of procedure is very simple. The plaintiff states his case in writing. A fee of 25 cents is charged for the summons, and 50 cents more if settlement is reached. These are the total costs. Evidence may be submitted. Personal attendance is necessary except in cases of extreme sickness, etc. Rules and forms play a small part. The personal element is mainly relied on. The judges are usually personally known. In Norway it is stated that 75 per cent. of the cases can be settled in these courts of conciliation. During the year 1888, 103,969 civil actions were begun in Norway. Of these, 2300 cases were dismissed by the courts of conciliation. Of the remaining 101,669, no less than 81,015, or 80 per cent., were conciliated; 7886 more were adjudicated by the courts of conciliation, thus settling nearly nine tenths of the whole number.

Some attempt has been made to introduce similar courts into the United States, but only in North Dakota, the most Norwegian State, has anything really been accomplished.

On March 10, 1893, the Governor of North Dakota affixed his signature to "an Act providing for the establishment of courts of conciliation, and prescribing the mode of procedure in the same."

This Act provides as follows:

"Sec. I. There shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the justices of the peace, in each town, incorporated village, and city, from the qualified voters thereof, four commissioners of conciliation, whose term of office shall be two years, and until their successors are duly elected and qualified.

"Sec. II. At the time of issuing the summons in any civil action begun before a justice of the peace, the justice shall issue a subpoena summoning two of the commissioners of conciliation elected for the town, village, or city where the action is brought, to appear before him at the time and place designated in the summons, which subpoena shall be served at least three days before the return-day, and in the same manner as a summons is required to be served in actions in the district court. If either party fails to appear at the time designated in the summons, judgment shall be entered against the party so failing to appear, as is now provided by statute. If both parties appear, they shall then go before the justice and the two commissioners summoned, as aforesaid, and state their differences, which statements, or so much thereof as is necessary to show the issue between the parties, shall be reduced to writing by the justice and entered on his docket, and shall constitute the pleadings in the case. The parties shall then introduce such evidence as they may think proper in the order and under the restrictions prescribed by the commissioner's and justice. It shall be discretionary with the justice and commissioners whether or not the witnesses shall be sworn before testifying.

"After hearing and considering all the evidence offered, it shall be the duty of the justice and commissioner, to the best of their abilities, to persuade the parties to agree to an amicable settlement of their differences on such terms as are just and equitable. If an agreement is reached, it shall be entered by the justice on his docket in the form of a judgment of the court of said justice; provided that no agreement shall be entered, unless it can be put in the form of a judgment now authorized by law to be entered by justices of the peace. At the hearing herein provided for, each party must appear in person, or by an agent duly authorized in writing to appear. No attorney shall be allowed in any way to appear or act in any proceeding for either of the parties or otherwise. If, at such hearing, the parties are not able to agree to an amicable settlement, the case shall be adjourned for trial for such time as the justice shall designate,

which shall not be less than one week, and the justice shall allow the parties such time as he may think proper in which to file amended pleadings. The action shall then proceed to trial and judgment as is now provided by law.

"Sec. III. The commissioners shall receive the same mileage and per diem as is now paid jurors. The fee of the commissioners, justice, and officer shall be included in the settlement, and paid by the party designated in the judgment. If a commissioner disobey the subpoena of the justice, he shall be proceeded against in the same manner as a juror who fails to appear when summoned.

"Sec. IV. No part of the proceedings had before the justice and commissioners shall be admitted as evidence or considered at the trial of the case, nor shall the commissioners who took part in the hearing be allowed to testify."

This is not much compared with the Norwegian system and yet a beginning. References: Two articles on *Courts of Conciliation*, by Nicolay Grevstad in *The Atlantic* for September, 1891, and November, 1893.

CONFISCATION. See COMPENSATION.

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—Democracy in religion, the fundamental principle and *raison d'être* of Congregationalism, has made it a reformatory force in modern life. In the stand for freedom of worship taken by a few churchmen within the Church of England in 1567 and thereafter, began the far-reaching movement that issued in ecclesiastical Separatism, Independence, Nonconformity and Congregationalism, and in the many reformatory tendencies toward social democracy necessarily involved therein. The first organization of this force was effected in Bridewell Prison by those incarcerated for holding religious services at a wedding in Plumbers' Hall, London, who provided for a continuance of the same during their term of imprisonment and thereafter. Under the leadership of Robert Browne, others became Separatists, at first only from "the world," but involving thereby the principle of their separation from the state church, and of the church from the state by establishing the ecclesiastical right of self-government and local autonomy. Thriving under the persecution which branded Nonconformity in religion as treason to the state, and punished it with death, the blood of their martyr ministers became the seed of the social revolution of the English people. Barrowe and Greenwood, in 1593, formulated this growing sentiment into a polity which, because it vested the only recognized ecclesiastical authority in the local congregation, came to be known as Congregational. The only chance for the survival and growth of this tender plant of liberty being in transplantation to more hospitable soil, the little village congregation of Scrooby "resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

Resident long enough in Holland to be deeply impressed with the civil and religious liberties, popular education, local self-government, and democratic tendencies of the Dutch, who were then the freest and most progressive people in Europe, the Pilgrim Fathers again tried the experiment of planting the free life on English soil in the new world.

With their landing at Plymouth, the process of settling the New England by church congregations began. "In pursuit of religious freedom they established civil liberty. Meaning

only to found a church, they gave birth to a nation; and in settling a town in Connecticut, they commenced an empire."

The reformatory force of the Congregationalists both in England and America has been most profoundly and practically felt in the political life of both countries.

The ecclesiastical polity of these locally autonomous congregations of worshippers became the formative principle and framework of their politics when they formed themselves into the colonial bodies politic. November 21, 1620, when, in accordance with the farewell letter of instruction from their pastor, John Robinson, the pilgrims signed their compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, is declared by Bancroft to be "the birth-hour of popular constitutional liberty." But constitutional government in America had another, the Congregational source. It is to be traced through the independence of the town, as that political unit was first constituted in Connecticut. There the federation of three independent self-governing towns constituted the commonwealth. These three original towns were the Congregational churches of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Their compact, made with each other in Hartford, January 14, 1638, more than that of the *Mayflower*, is to be regarded as "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation of governmental power known in history." This first constitutional government was forged out in fact and formulated in statute by men who, on May 31, 1638, had heard Thomas Hooker, the pilgrim pastor of these migratory towns, preach from Deut. 1:13 these political doctrines of Christianity:

"Doctrine I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

"II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

"III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

"Reasons: 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of the people.

"2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience.

"Here is the first practical assertion of the right of the people," writes Alexander Johnston in his volume on Connecticut, "not only to choose, but to limit the powers of their rulers," an assertion which lies at the root of the American system.

"It is on the banks of the Connecticut, under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker, and in the Constitution to which he gave life, if not form, that we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is now so familiar to us. The birthplace of American democracy is Hartford." This historian also attributes that union of the democratic and federative ideas, and the peculiar constitution of our Congress in the different basis of the Senate and the House of Representatives, to Connecticut's long maintenance of a federative democracy, which, as we have seen, grew out of her three Congregational townships.

"The civil codes of the colonies at first consisted of the 'Judicials' and the 'Body of Liberties,' published by their early ministers, and long thereafter were proposed by their successors.

"Altho more tolerant than the Puritan colonists, and more liberal in refusing to restrict the suffrage to the Church membership, the Pilgrim body politic was virtually the civic assembly of the congregation, and the congregation was the religious society of citizens. Of this reciprocal relation of their independent church and state the 'ecclesiastical societies' remain as the survivals of the days when the legal voters of the

town provided the financial support of the church and were recognized as having a right to act conjointly with its members in control of its temporal affairs, and even in the selection of its minister. Taxation carried with it the right to representation.

"The apprehension of Episcopacy, which was being forced upon the colonists," contributed as much as any other cause," so John Adams wrote, "to arouse the common people to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies." The Declaration and War of Independence were the consequences of this thinking. How much the Congregational pulpit contributed toward both is in evidence. Resistance to encroachments upon civil liberties was urged by the old war cry of religious liberty. Protests against the Stamp Act and other English aggressions rang out on Sabbaths and fast days. Church buildings were seized and occupied by British soldiers to prevent their use as revolutionary centers. The constructive influence of the churches in building the colonies into the nation is illustrated in pastor Mayhew's letter to James Otis, in which he wrote: "You have heard of the communion of the churches; while I was thinking of this in my bed, the great use and importance of a communion of the colonies appeared in a strong light."

The anti-slavery reform was largely prompted and promoted by the Puritan and pilgrim spirit embodied in Congregational churches. As early as 1830 the "Arnistad Committee" was formed in New York for the legal defense and religious instruction of a cargo of negroes captured on the slave schooner *Arnistad*. They were declared free by the United States Supreme Court, taught at Farmington, Conn., and sent back to Africa. This and other similar organizations united to constitute the American Missionary Association in 1846, which from the beginning has deserved recognition as the foremost expert agency for raising the abject, restoring the subject, and reclaiming the alien elements of American population. At first this association scattered its work in Africa, Jamaica, Hawaii, Siam, and Egypt, while at home it espoused the cause of the Indians, the fugitive negro slaves, and the struggling and persecuted anti-slavery churches East and West.

In 1836 Congregationalists, upon securing control of the recently founded Oberlin College, made it the first educational institution which accepted the basis of Christian equality and opened its full privileges to all alike, irrespective of color or previous condition of servitude. It founded its theological department to receive the students from another seminary which had proscribed the discussion of slavery. Subsequently it was the first college to open its doors to women upon the same terms as to men.

In 1851 Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe honored her distinguished Congregational lineage by publishing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which defeated the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law and made emancipation possible, as did her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, later, by his overpowering advocacy of the abolition of slavery and the cause of the Union. The struggle for the freedom of the soil of the Western States called upon the children of the Pilgrims to become the Pilgrim Fathers of the New England colonies in Western territory, which restricted slavery to the South and marked the beginning of the end of it. Entering the Southern States with the Union armies, the American Missionary Association began the work of educating to self-help and citizenship the millions of slaves whose freedom it had helped secure.

Its schools, colleges, universities, educational funds, industrial, technical, and professional training, and its churches are the greatest forces at work in the nation for civilizing, Christianizing, and unifying the negro, Indian, Chinese, and mountain white elements of its population.

The reformatory movements in the American

body politic cannot be accounted for without recognizing the large part which Congregational educational institutions have borne in them all. Harvard, Yale, Mount Holyoke, and the New England colleges; Oberlin, Marietta, Beloit, Whitman, and the Western colleges have woven their names into the social and political history of the country. The acquisition of the rich and vast Northwest Territory of Oregon and Washington was due to Marcus Whitman, the pioneer missionary and educator, whose famous ride to the nation's capital saved the "great American desert" to the sisterhood of States. One in four of the entire male membership of churches in the interior and trans-Mississippi States was enrolled in the Union army during the Civil War. To reformatory literature the churches and schools of this order have contributed names than which none are more illustrious. Of the periodicals which have formed and led public opinion in these directions, such as the *Independent, Christian Union, Youth's Companion*, and others, many owe their origin and success to the aggressive spirits, born of these churches, who founded and conducted them.

In the adjustment of church life and work to the changed social conditions in city centers and large towns, the Congregationalists have been foremost. The so-called "institutional" churches, which by corporate effort and organized agencies seek to Christianize conditions of common life, have been from the first and still are found in the Congregational fellowship. The contemporary sociological movement in life, literature, and education has found no quicker and more practical response than in Congregational theological seminaries. While Harvard University was the first to offer social ethics as an elective course to its divinity students in 1880, Andover introduced the same in 1887; Hartford prescribed sociology as necessary to graduation in 1880; Chicago established an entire department exclusively devoted to sociological training in 1890, and Yale a distinct professorship of social ethics in 1894. In Iowa College, likewise, a department of Applied Christianity was founded. In connection with three of these seminaries social settlements have been successfully inaugurated—the Andover House, now the South End, in Boston, Chicago Commons, and the Hartford Settlement. Among the foremost specialists in sociology and social economics a notably large proportion are Congregational professors and ministers. While it cannot be said of any class of the American churches that they are to American social reform movements what Mr. Gladstone called the Nonconformist churches of Great Britain—*viz.*, "The backbone of the Liberal Party"—yet the Congregational churches of America, by virtue of their polity, principles, and history, have a supreme opportunity to exemplify and make more largely possible a Christian social democracy. What these churches have always in principle and often in practice stood for in America they have planted in many lands and nations by that splendid world movement of Christian civilization in which their American Board of Foreign Missions has led, and whereby the kingdom of God is coming to earth.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

CONGRESS.—In separate articles we treat of the *House of Representatives* and the *Senate*, considering under this article only the history of the development of Congress as a portion of the political system of the United States, and those characteristics of Congress which belong to both the House and the Senate. Congress as it now exists is the result of a long evolution.

The first union that was formed between the American colonies was as early as 1643. A union was formed to resist the Indians between the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, under the name of "The United Colonies of New England." A more important step to union was in 1754, when, at the request of the "lords commissioners for trade," commissioners from seven of the colonies—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland—met in Albany and held prolonged sessions. The object of this convention was to form a treaty with some of the Indian tribes, and to consider the best means for defending America against France. But the commissioners carried their views much farther than had been intended by the Government. A plan of union was proposed by Dr. Franklin, who was a member of the convention, providing for a confederation of all the colonies, with a council to be chosen triennially, and a president to be appointed by the crown. The president and council were to have power to regulate all affairs with the Indians, to control settlements on lands which should be purchased from the Indians, to govern such settlements, to raise soldiers, build forts, and equip vessels for guarding the coast and protecting the trade. They were to have power to make laws for the execution of these purposes, and to levy duties and taxes as they might think proper. The president was to have the veto power on all laws and acts of the council, and it was his duty to see that the laws were properly executed. The plan never went into operation, but was important in preparing the way for what followed, when in 1765, on a proposition made by Massachusetts, a congress met in New York to consider the Stamp Act. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina elected commissioners. Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were not represented, the governors of these colonies having refused to call the assemblies together to appoint delegates. New Hampshire thought it prudent not to send delegates, although she approved the plan.

This was the first general meeting of the colonies for the purpose of considering their relations to the mother country. As a result, the Stamp Act was repealed, but the British ministers imposed new duties quite as obnoxious. The colonies determined to form a closer union, and sent delegates to Philadelphia with the general authority "to meet and consult together for the common welfare." This was the first Continental Congress. It was suggested by Massachusetts. On September 5, 1774, delegates from 12 of the 13 colonies assembled at Philadelphia. Georgia, the youngest colony, alone was unrepresented. Among the members were John Adams and Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, John Jay, of New York, George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia. Randolph was chosen president, and the congress proceeded to business.

The first resolution adopted was one which subsequently proved of great importance. It provided as follows: "That in determining questions in this congress, each colony or province shall have one vote." This rule of equal State suffrage remained in force through the entire history of the second Continental Congress, and down to the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

The session was short, and the business quickly dispatched. The Congress adopted an address to the king, one to the people of Great Britain, another to the inhabitants of the several colonies, and another to the inhabitants of Quebec. It was the confident belief of the majority of the members of this Congress, that the measures which they had adopted would produce a redress of their grievances. They adjourned after recommending that another Congress should convene on May 10 of the next year, provided that a redress of grievances was not previously obtained.

Origin of
Congress.

The breach, however, between England and the colonies became wider. Consequently, in accordance with the recommendation of the first Continental Congress, delegates were appointed by the several colonies, who met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. This body is known as the second Continental Congress. It became the national government of the people, and continued its sessions for 14 years.

The delegates to this Congress were chosen in some instances by the colonial legislatures, and in other cases by conventions of the people. Their object was not to establish a new government, and they had little thought of independence. Before they had assembled, however, General Gage, at Boston, had commenced open hostilities. Massachusetts sent a letter to Congress giving an account of the battles of Lexington and Concord, and requesting the advice and assistance of the Congress. The journal of Congress shows that in this letter was the following suggestion: "With the greatest deference we beg to suggest that a powerful army on the side of America is considered by us as the only means left to stem the rapid progress of a tyrannical ministry." The Congress at once appreciated the urgency of the case, and felt obliged to take measures to put the country in a state of defense, and so practically assume control over the military operations of the colonies. They organized an army, and appointed a commander-in-chief. They created a continental currency by issuing bills of credit. They established a treasury department and a post-office department, and from time to time adopted regulations concerning commerce; in fact, they drifted, apparently without design, into the exercise of sovereign powers. With the story of the Declaration of the Independence of the United States accomplished by this Congress we are not here concerned, but rather with the development of its powers.

On July 21, 1775, Dr. Franklin submitted to the assembly of delegates a plan entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the Colonies." This appears to have been the basis of a plan reported to Congress from a committee July 12, 1776, which is in the handwriting of Mr. John Dickinson, of Delaware, to which as amended the Congress agreed on November 15, 1777, and which they recommended for adoption to the several States. But the ratification by all the States was not completed till March 1, 1781, near the close of the war, when Maryland was the last of the States to give its consent. These articles formed the compact of confederation, and settled the powers of that Congress, which continued, very feebly, the Federal Government until the adoption of the Constitution of 1787.

It had but the most meager power. It was an executive without power to execute. It was a single House, composed of delegates from States, each of which expressly retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." Each had the right at any time to recall and replace its delegates; and even their compensation was paid by the States sending them, so that no bond should hold them to the common government. Voting was by States. The separate States retained their sovereignty, refused at will their quota of contributions for national debts and national expenses, managed foreign and interstate commerce to suit their local interests, and made partial compacts with neighboring States in a manner which produced a general confusion bordering upon anarchy. But more union was necessary. In his *The Critical Period of American History*, Professor Fiske shows how the country was "drifting toward anarchy" (chap. iv.). The difficulty was met by the Constitution (*q.v.*) of 1787, the present Constitution of the United States. According to this, all legislative powers granted by the Constitution of the United States are vested in Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The powers of Congress are enumerated in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, and all powers not granted to Congress, or prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people; but the power of Congress is absolute within the scope of its authority. The Senate is composed of two members from every State, regardless of size or population; the members of the House are apportioned on the basis of population. Thus, while in the House the influence of the people is felt directly, according to their numbers, the Senate provides the means of defending the smaller States from the possible encroachments of the larger; and to assure the safety of the smaller States, the Constitution, Article 5, provides that "no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Bills that have passed

both Houses are sent to the President, who may either sign or veto them, or do neither, in which case the bill becomes a law after 10 days unless Congress has previously adjourned. (See VETO.) The veto of the President is the only check upon the power of Congress to legislate within the scope of its authority. Legislation exceeding the constitutional power of Congress will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, if that body is appealed to by either party to any controversy arising in an attempt to enforce such laws. Each House is, by the Constitution, "the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

Each Congress must have at least two sessions. A new Congress comes into existence on March 4 in each odd year. The first regular session begins on the first Monday of December following. This session may hold, if the two Houses choose, through the entire year, or they may adjourn at any time during the year. Their second regular session begins on the first Monday of December following, and that session must close by March 4 following, when the new Congress comes into existence. The members of both Houses receive a salary from the Federal Government.

Congress has, from time to time, increased the compensation of its members from \$6 a day in the House, and \$7 a day in the Senate, until, by a law passed in 1874, the compensation of each Senator was fixed at \$5000 per annum, and the salary of each Representative at \$5000. The pay of the Speaker of the House and of the Vice-President, or, if there is none, the President of the Senate *pro tempore*, is \$8000 per annum. All these salaries are besides mileage and many other perquisites.

No Senator or Representative can hold any office under the United States during his membership. This prevents cabinet officers from being members of Congress.

"All bills for raising revenue originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills."

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate must, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he signs it, but if not he returns it, with his objections, to that House in which it originated, who enter their objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House agree to pass the bill, it is sent, together with the objections, to the other House, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it becomes a law. If any bill is not returned by the President within 10 days (Sundays excepted) after it has been presented to him, it becomes a law, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it does not.

Coming now to the important subject of how this system works, we notice, first, the general characteristic that Congress works mainly by committees. With 357 members of the House and 90 Senators (the present number) it is obvious that all legislation cannot be put into shape by Congress as a whole. If there was no division of labor, little legislation could be enacted. It does not follow, however, that the present system is the best for dividing the work.

In England, Parliament is divided into two well-defined parties, the one supporting, the other opposing the ministry in power. Each party has its regular leaders or whips, and these leaders plan the legislation, their followers usually supporting them as armies follow a general. Between these two parties legislation is whipped into being. Only to a comparatively small extent are committees entrusted with preparing or discussing bills. In Congress, however, Committees, while there are the two great parties and party caucuses, committees are relied upon to outline all legislation and report them to Congress for final action. This in itself seems harmless and wise; but as at present conducted the system is of very great evil. Why this is so can in a moment be seen.

Powers of Congress.

The powers of Congress are enumerated in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution, and all powers not granted to Congress, or prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States or to the people; but the power of Congress is absolute within the scope of its authority. The Senate is composed of two members from every State, regardless of size or population; the members of the House are apportioned on the basis of population. Thus, while in the House the influence of the people is felt directly, according to their numbers, the Senate provides the means of defending the smaller States from the possible encroachments of the larger; and to assure the safety of the smaller States, the Constitution, Article 5, provides that "no State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." Bills that have passed

The number of bills before each Congress is large, reaching into the thousands; only the few most important can be adequately discussed by Congress as a whole. All others, if they are favorably reported by the committees to which they are referred, can be and usually are passed with little or no discussion. It follows that the fate of most bills depends not upon Congress as a whole, but upon the small committees to which they are referred. The committees usually sit in secret. They ordinarily give a public hearing to the friends and opponents of a measure, but the final voting of the committee is usually in secret. This gives the utmost opportunity for underhand influence and corruption. Small changes can be made, bills can be defeated or wholly altered at the last moment and then rushed through Congress. Especially is this the case with personal bills and special legislation. The fate of a bill thus often depends on the make-up of the committee. Now the appointing of the committees is made for the House, by the speaker, which gives him enormous and sometimes dictatorial power. In the Senate, the committees are voted on by the Senate; but in both cases they are almost invariably appointed in consultation with the leaders of the party in power and for strictly party purposes. The Senate has toward 50 standing committees; the House over 50. Besides these, special committees are continually being appointed. The most important standing committees are the following: Ways and means; appropriations; elections; banking and currency; accounts; rivers and harbors; judiciary (including changes in private law, as well as in courts of justice); railways and canals; foreign affairs; naval affairs; military affairs; public lands; agriculture; claims; and the several committees on the expenditures of the various departments of the administration (war, navy, etc.).

Each congressman is usually put upon some committee (a committee usually consisting of from 3 to 11 members); but the more important committees and the chairmanship of all committees are usually given to old party leaders who often hold the same committee ship year after year, and are always (in the case of standing committees) appointed for the two years' session of Congress.

It is obvious from these conditions what a grip party machinery has upon Congress, and how helpless against the machine is the individual congressman. Especially in the last days of Congress, when bills are rushed through, enormous influence is brought to bear upon any obstreperous member who dares to resist the party's will. Corrupt special legislation can thus be easily gotten through, provided that the party leaders acquiesce. This gives enormous power to lobbyists, who know what ropes to pull. A bill can be defeated or rendered successful by inducing the leaders to refer it to the right committee. In the committee the purchase or influencing of one or two votes will usually decide legislation. Considering the enormous financial interests involved in most congressional legislation, the wonder, perhaps, is, not at the corruption, but at the lack of corruption in Congress.

The system, however, is more effective in

stopping legislation than in enacting it. It is easier to stop a bill than to pass it. Most bills are choked in committees. Almost any bill can be conveniently pigeon-holed and not reported. Hence the defeat of most reform legislation in which the great parties are not immediately interested. Almost all bills are, as a matter of course, passed to a first and second reading and then referred to a committee, where it is said that over nine tenths of all bills stop. Occasionally a committee is compelled to report a bill, but usually not. When reported, it is rarely stated how large a majority or who of the committee favored or rejected the bill. The parties thus responsible for the adoption or rejection of a measure are often unknown. The whole system may be considered one of secret legislation.

The system, too, enables the administration to exert a strong but unseen influence on Congress. In the English Parliament the Cabinet appears in Parliament to propose and defend its measures. In Congress the Cabinet does not openly appear. But it can appear before and influence the committees, and yet this most important connection between the administration and Congress is wholly secret.

This committee system is the most important characteristic of congressional working, but others are of only less moment. Congress is rendered largely inefficient for wise patriotic legislation by the fact that since all senators and representatives must, when elected, be inhabitants of the State or district they represent, each member is all but expected to speak and vote, not for the good of the country as a whole, but of his particular section. Debates, therefore, become sectional rather than of real statesmanship. Again, the above fact often keeps out of Congress the best men. If a leading Republican happens to reside in a Democratic State, or *vice versa*, he has little or no chance of election to Congress. Any congressman who rises above sectional feeling and for the good of the country opposes the interests of his section can be retired, and no other section of the country can elect him. Machine politics, rather than fitness, elect congressmen. Terms of office, too, in Congress, especially for Representatives, being short, and the intricacies of politics often preventing re-nomination, few congressmen have power to accomplish much. Before they have well learned the ropes their term of office has expired. The result is that few congressmen have a chance to develop statesmanship. This is, of course, more true in the House than in the Senate. The House is usually a confused mass of new men whom the country does not know, managed by a Speaker who becomes an autocrat, ruling through committees which can alone be influenced by trained lobbyists who know the ropes.

In the Senate, men have more training and are better known; but it is a notorious fact that the best men of the country are not in the Senate, and the difference between the Senate today and in former times can be seen by comparing the names of Senators early in the century with those now in office. Yet degenerate as is

Other Characteristics.

Lack of Statesmanship.

the Senate, it is far more efficient than the House, and it is to this body that the country has often had to look to save it from the worst legislation or from the aggressions of the executive.

Congressmen notoriously to-day do not represent the people, but special interests and great moneyed corporations. This may be the result, not of any particular fault in the Constitution, but of the prevailing plutocracy, yet the fact remains. The Congress is almost the only great national legislative body owned wholly by the well-to-do. In the legislative bodies of Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium there is a large and growing number of socialists representing the toiling classes. In Parliament, even after the Con-

Composition servative victories of the last election, there are 13 labor men. In

Congress there is not one. In the Senate of the Fifty-fourth Congress, 1895-97, there were about 88 members (not including the senators from Utah). Of these 57 were lawyers, 2 were termed capitalists, 1 manufacturer, 2 merchants, 2 railroad presidents, 2 miners, 1 brewer, 1 steamship manager, 1 railroad and coal operator, 1 car builder, 2 bankers. The remaining 15 members out of the 88 were 3 journalists, 4 public officials, 3 farmers, 1 literary man, 1 physician, 1 clergyman, 1 planter, 1 stock grower. In the House, out of 356 members, 228 were lawyers, 14 bankers, 15 manufacturers, 12 merchants, 4 real estate dealers, 2 contractors, 2 capitalists. Of the remaining 79, 27 were farmers, 5 journalists, 5 public officials, 4 planters, 5 physicians, 8 editors, and the rest scattering. A Congress thus constituted becomes almost inevitably the tool of interested corporations and dominated by corporation attorneys.

The two Englishmen who most recently have studied American political developments—one favorably, the other unfavorably—have come to the following conclusion as to Congress: Mr. Lecky, in his *Democracy and Liberty*, says that Mr. Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, tho trying to minimize the gravity and significance of the situation, has to admit that several prominent men of both parties in the Senate have been suspected of complicity in railroad jobs and revenue reforms; that all legislation affecting corporations and manufactures is systematically managed, or at least influenced by corruption; that about 5 per cent. of both houses of Congress take direct money bribes; that from 17 to 20 per cent. are pretty certainly open to corruption, and a much larger number suspected to be dishonest. (For further evidence on this point, see PLUTOCRACY; LOBBIES, etc.)

Corruption. These, however, tho the main evils in Congress, are not the only ones. Another characteristic of Congress is that there is no connection between money-raising and money-spending. Bills for revenue originate in the House and are referred to one committee—the Committee of Ways and Means. The bills for spending money are referred to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and various committees on departments, like the army, navy, pensions, etc. The whole committee system breaks up all unity in Congress.

tees on departments, like the army, navy, pensions, etc. The whole committee system breaks up all unity in Congress.

Another important characteristic of Congress is that when the Senate and House disagree on the details of a bill, as continually happens, a conference committee is appointed, and this committee, meeting in secret, shapes the final and important details of many bills to which the Senate and House are almost compelled to assent on pain of failing to pass any bill at all.

Such are some of the evils of the present workings of Congress.

It is not to be denied that there is a more favorable side. (For a review of this, see CONSTITUTION.) Perhaps the wonder is not that Congress is so bad, but that it is so good.

How to make it better is a question much discussed. The problem, as far as discussion goes, seems to be to increase the opportunity for discussion in the House and to check discussion in the Senate. The House, especially under the rules brought in by Mr. Reed, is far too much under the thumb of the Speaker. The Senate, under the claim of senatorial courtesy, talks too much and acts too little.

Reforms Proposed.

But these reforms do not go to the bottom of the matter. Probably the reforms most needed in Congress are reforms out of Congress, that will send better men there and weaken the influence of the corporations; but passing this by, the more immediate reforms proposed are to change the requirement that congressmen inhabit the districts they represent and to lengthen the term of office. These proposals, however, are by no means assented to by all. A large body of reformers believe that relief can be obtained only by the principles of the Referendum and Initiation (*q.v.*), which will largely take from Congress its power of legislation and vest it in the people. Others believe that Congress should adopt the English system of a ministry represented in Congress, defending its measures and opposed by an organized opposition. Concerning present evils and the English system, Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November, 1893) says:

"When the next Congress assembles there will be 356 members—and the reasoning is just as good for the Senate with its 88 members—all precisely equal. Probably not more than one half of the members have ever been there before, and very few for more than one term. . . . They can do nothing at all till they have elected a speaker. That speaker makes up, at his absolute discretion, the standing committees, some 50 in number, to whom everything is referred."

What Mr. Bradford proposes in place of this legislation by irresponsible committees and lordly senators is to make of the members of the Cabinet leaders, with a voice in Congress, such as the members of the English Cabinet have around, whom independent members as well as parties can rally, and against whose lead an opposition can be openly formed, the people being left free to decide between the two policies. Woodrow Wilson, in his *Congressional Government*, advocates the abolition of standing committees, and recom-

Methods of Reform.

mends that the Cabinet should have seats in Congress and be advisers of both President and Congress. Albert Stickney, in his *A True Republic*, argues that we cannot have a true republic until our Constitution be revised. He proposes the abolition of the term system, the giving to Congress all the legislative and removing power, but no appointing power, which he would place wholly in the hands of the President and department heads. Radicals in America usually look for reform by proposing to give to Congress only the shaping of bills, as stated above.

References: Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (revised edition, Macmillan, 1895); W. Wilson's *Congressional Government* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885); Gamaliel Bradford's *Congress and the Cabinet* (*American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1892); Albert Stickney's *A True Republic* (Harper, 1890). See also CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following shows the present composition of the Fifty-fifth Congress (March 4, 1897, to March 4, 1899):

STATES.	SENATE.				HOUSE.		
	Dem.	Rep.	Pop.	Silver.*	Dem.	Rep.	Pop.
Alabama	2	..	..	..	8	..	1
Arkansas	2	..	..	..	6	..	..
California	1	1	..	..	2	3	2
Colorado	..	1	..	1	..	..	2
Connecticut	..	2	..	..	..	4	..
Delaware	2	..	..	..	1	..	..
Florida	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
Georgia	2	..	..	..	11	..	..
Idaho	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
Illinois	..	2	..	..	5	17	..
Indiana	1	1	..	..	4	9	..
Iowa	..	2	..	..	..	11	..
Kansas	..	1	1	..	2	2	4
Kentucky	1	1	..	..	7	4	..
Louisiana	2	..	..	..	6	..	..
Maine	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
Maryland	1	1	..	..	6	..	..
Massachusetts	..	2	..	..	1	12	..
Michigan	..	2	..	..	2	10	..
Minnesota	..	2	..	..	..	7	..
Mississippi	2	..	..	..	7	..	..
Missouri	2	..	..	..	11	3	..
Montana	..	2	..	..	..	..	1
Nebraska	..	1	1	..	4	2	..
Nevada	..	..	2	..	..	..	1
New Hampshire	..	2	..	..	2	..	..
New Jersey	1	1	..	..	8	..	..
New York	1	1	..	..	5	29	..
North Carolina	..	..	1	1	..	5	4
North Dakota	1	1	..	..	1	..	..
Ohio	..	2	..	..	6	15	..
Oregon	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
Pennsylvania	..	2	..	..	3	27	..
Rhode Island	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
South Carolina	2	..	..	..	7	..	..
South Dakota	..	1	1	..	1	..	1
Tennessee	2	..	..	..	8	2	..
Texas	2	..	..	..	12	1	..
Utah	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Vermont	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
Virginia	2	..	..	..	8	2	..
Washington	..	1	1	..	2	..	..
West Virginia	1	1	..	..	..	4	..
Wisconsin	1	1	..	..	..	10	..
Wyoming	..	2	..	..	1	..	..
Total	34	45	7	4	134†	206	16‡

* Three Silver Republicans and 1 Silver Fusionist.
 † Including 13 members classed as Fusionists.
 ‡ Including 3 members classed as Silver party men.

The following table shows party divisions in Congress since 1856:

CONGRESSES.	SENATE.			HOUSE.		
	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.
XXXV	39	20	5	131	92	14
XXXVI	38	26	2	101	113	23
XXXVII	10	31	2	42	106	28
XXXVIII	9	36	5	75	102	9
XXXIX	11	41	..	40	145	..
XL	11	42	..	49	143	..
XLI	11	58	..	78	151	..
XLII	17	57	..	103	138	5*
XLIII	20	47	7*	92	194	14
XLIV	29	43	2*	168	107	..
XLV	39	36	1*	151	142	..
XLVI	44	32	..	148	129	16†
XLVII	38	37	1‡	138	146	10†
XLVIII	35	40§	..	198	124	17
XLIX	34	42	..	204	120	17
L	37	39	..	168	153	4
LI	37	39	..	159	166	..
LII	39	47	2‡	159	88	8‡
LIII	44	38	3‡	220	126	8‡
LIV	39	42	5‡	104	246	7‡

Parties as constituted at the beginning of each Congress are given. These figures were liable to change by contests for seats, etc.

* Liberal Republicans.
 † Greenbackers.
 ‡ David Davis, Independent, of Illinois.
 § Two Virginia Senators were Readjusters, and voted with the Republicans.

¶ People's party, except that in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress one member is classed as Silver party.

‡ Three Senate seats were vacant (and continued so) and two Representative seats were unfilled (Rhode Island had not yet effected a choice) when the session began. Rhode Island subsequently elected two Republicans.

CONRAD, JOHANNES C.—Professor Conrad was born in West Prussia in 1839. He studied at Berlin and Jena. In 1868 he became *Docent* and then professor of political economy at Jena, but in 1870 was called to Halle. In 1872 he commenced assisting his father-in-law, Professor Hildebrand, in the editorship of the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, and in 1878 became sole editor. He is in economics identified with the historical school. Among his writings are: *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft* (1848); *Liebig's Ansicht v. der landwirtschaftl. Bodenerschöpfung* (1864). Since 1889 he has been chief editor of the important *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*.

CONSENT, AGE OF. See AGE OF CONSENT.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE (English).—The use of the term *Conservative*, as applied to an English political party, dates from about 1831, when the discussions over Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform were bringing up new issues and teaching the more progressive Tories to call themselves *Conservatives*, as the more progressive Whigs were learning to call themselves *Liberals*. The leaders of this movement called themselves *Conservatives*, because, altho they admitted the necessity of reform, they desired to conserve by every constitutional means the existing institutions of the country, both ecclesiastical and civil, and to oppose such meas-

ures and changes as they believed would impair these institutions. Mr. Wilson Crocker is credited with the first use of the word, when he spoke in the *Quarterly Review* of being conscientiously attached "to what is called the Tory, but which might with more propriety be called the Conservative Party." Sir Robert Peel was at this time the leader of the party. Disraeli was just coming into notice. The party early took an active part in social reform. If it is, on the whole, to the Liberal Party that England owes its extension of the suffrage giving the working classes their opportunity in politics, it is to the Conservative Party that much of England's advance in industrial legislation must be credited. The first modern factory bill was brought in by the elder Peel in 1802, the first effective bill was that of 1833; and it is to Lord Ashley, afterward Lord Shaftesbury (*q.v.*), that we owe the ensuing bills of 1842, 1844, and, above all, the ten-hour bill of 1847. The Liberal Party of this epoch, led by the school of Cobden and Bright, was committed to suffrage reform and *laissez faire* in industry. Its leaders therefore, as a rule, bitterly opposed industrial legislation. The Conservative Party naturally, then, supported such legislation for two reasons: first, to oppose the Liberals, since the Conservatives were a party of the landlords and of "the country" in contrast to the free-trade manufacturers, who were largely Liberals; and, secondly, because the Conservatives numbered among themselves such zealous philanthropists as Lord Shaftesbury, who on somewhat paternal principles worked for the benefit of the oppressed workers in mines and factories. Thus early were sown the seeds of the later so-called "Tory Democracy." The bitterest opponent of this legislation was John Bright. We thus see the historic grounds for the connection between the Conservative Party and industrial legislation. Yet it took talent to develop this into a political factor, and this was largely done for the Conservative Party by Benjamin Disraeli. In 1845 Disraeli published his *Sybil*, and in this boldly advocated a so-called "Young England Toryism." He attacked the principles of Sir Robert Peel, and declared that Peel was leading the Conservative Party into the enemy's forts. He said that Peel "had caught the Whigs bathing, and run away with their clothes." He showed that the Reform Bill had created a young England, and that it was for the Conservative Party to champion the cause of industrial protection for the working classes against the middle class *laissez faire* of the Liberals. Whatever one may think of Disraeli, and whatever were his motives, there is no doubt that he followed this policy more or less faithfully through his brilliant career, and laid the basis of the Conservative policy which has extended the poor laws, assisted emigration, checked foreign immigration, and favored industrial legislation.

But the exactions of political situations have compelled both Liberal and Conservative parties in England to outbid each other in introducing popular legislation. The connection of the Liberal Party with the Irish Home Rule movement, having led Mr. Gladstone to extremely socialistic measures on the Irish land

question, the Conservatives, as usual, had to go them one better, and the result has been Lord Randolph Churchill and the Tory Radicalism of the so-called "Liberal Unionists." This meteor-like statesman outdid Disraeli in favoring radical legislation in order to win support for Conservative principles. In 1880 he began to develop his program, and by 1886 he was strong enough for a few months to have almost the key to the political situation. His program was non-intervention in foreign politics, reduction of army and navy expenditure, household suffrage, equal electoral districts, democratic elective councils, abolition of London coal and wine dues, free education, peasant proprietorship in Ireland by State purchase. With this radical program he succeeded in creating a strong following. In concert with his mother and wife, he formed the Primrose League. As chairman of the Conservative caucus, he placed this body on a democratic basis. More recently and more enduringly Mr. Chamberlain, with his "Liberal Unionists," has to an extent stood for the same policy, but with a distinct falling away from the progressive policy he so brilliantly carried out in Birmingham (*q.v.*). This radicalism has led to somewhat of an opposition in the Conservative Party, yet it has had its effect in the almost revolutionary extension of local self-government granted by the Conservative Government of 1888, and the extension of factory acts, truck acts, sanitary acts, Costigan's dwelling acts, the allotments acts of 1886—all of which are Conservative measures.

It is true that the Liberal Party (*q.v.*) in its Newcastle program has gone still further, but it shows why English working men, weary of the large promises and slight fulfilment of the Liberal Party, could, not without at least some excuse, vote for the Conservatives in 1895. Nevertheless, it must be said that the attitude of some of the Liberal leaders against the liquor interests had in many localities more to do with bringing the Conservatives into power than any particular fondness of the working classes for the Conservatives, and what was not due to this was rather due to dissatisfaction with the lack of action by the Liberals than hope of any action from the Conservatives. Nevertheless, some of the more progressive Conservatives have outlined something of a program on social reform. Sir John Gorst, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1895, advocates the creation of permanent boards of arbitration and conciliation, with authority to conciliate industrial troubles, the employment of the unemployed by establishing free labor registries and experimental labor colonies, employees' liability laws, the adjustment of the poor laws to care for dependent children, placing them out when possible, and for the aged granting a free State pension. Mr. Whitelaw, Unionist, advocate for N. E. Lanark, advocated in the late election a resolute foreign policy to help trade, pensions for the aged, improved workmen's dwellings, compensation for accidents, boards of conciliation, increased inspection of dangerous trades, restriction of alien pauper immigration, reform of the licensing system, and of registration. It remains to be seen what the government will

do, but undoubtedly the majority of the party are not ready for all the above measures, and will probably carry out no more than they are obliged to. Few Socialists in England look forward with any hope to even the most alluring promises of this Tory Democracy. The Liberty and Property Defense League (*q.v.*) are doing all they can to protest against this incipient socialism of both the Conservative and Liberal parties. The Earl of Wemyss, speaking in the House of Lords August 15, 1887, protested against the "socialism at St. Stephen's," and declared that in that year alone there were 83 "socialistic" bills before Parliament, 39 brought in by Liberals and 44 by Conservatives. Yet when one compares the little done and the much promised, few friends of social progress in England believe that real progress will come from either party.

CONSIDÉRANT, VICTOR PROSPER, was born at Salins, Jura, October 12, 1808. He studied at Paris in the Polytechnic School, entered the army as an engineer officer, but resigned his commission in 1831 to spread Fourierite socialism. He took part in the socialistic experiment of 1832 at Condé-sur-Végre, and was associated with Fourier as editor of *La Phalanstère*. In 1834 Considérant published *La destinée sociale*, 3 vols. (1834-45). When Fourier died, in 1837, Considérant became the chief of the Fourierites; was editor of *La Phalange* (1836-43), and of a daily paper, *La Démocratie Pacifique* (1843-50). He was chosen to the Republican constituent assembly of 1848 as representative for Loiret. In 1849 he was returned as member for Paris for the Legislative corps, but on account of certain indiscreet acts he was soon compelled to retire from the country. He went to Belgium, and thence, in 1853, to Texas, where he afterward organized the unsuccessful socialistic colony of La Réunion. He was naturalized, and stayed in Texas till 1869, when he returned to live in quiet in Paris. Among his works are a *Manifeste de l'école sociétaire* (1841); *Exposition abrégée du système phalanstérien* (1841); *Théorie de l'éducation naturelle* (1845); *Principes du socialisme* (1847); *Théorie du droit de Propriété et du droit au Travail* (1848); *L'apocalypse, ou la prochaine rénovation démocratique* (1849).

CONSOLIDATION OF RAILROADS.
See RAILROADS; MONOPOLIES; TRUSTS, etc.

CONSPIRACIES (in Trade, etc.).—A conspiracy may be defined in general as a combination of two or more persons to commit in concert some reprehensible, injurious, or illegal act. Conspiracy laws are the laws forbidding such combinations. According to the common law of England, which is also the basis of the American law, conspiracy laws forbid combina-

(1) To falsely charge another person with a crime punishable by law. (2) To wrongfully injure or prejudice a third person, or any body of men. (3) To commit any offense punishable by law. (4) To do any act with intent to pervert the cause of justice. (5) To effect a legal purpose with a corrupt intent or by improper means. (6) Until recently and even now in malicious ways combinations to raise wages.

Under the United States laws the following are the

things a concerting to do which made between two or more persons constitutes the offense of conspiracy:

(1) An agreement to overthrow the Government of, or levy war against, the United States; to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force, or oppose the authority thereof; by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States, contrary to the authority thereof. (2) To deter a party or witness from attending or testifying in a court of the United States, or to injure one on account, or to influence a verdict or indictment by grand or petit jury, and to impede the due course of justice with intent to destroy equal protection of laws. (3) To hinder or prevent any person from voting or qualifying to vote at any election, or to injure, oppress, or intimidate any citizen in the full exercise or enjoyment of the right or privilege secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States. (4) To hinder by force or intimidation any person from occupying or holding office under the United States, or to injure such officer on account. (5) To induce any officer of the United States to leave any State, or to injure such officer on account. (6) To defraud the United States by obtaining approval of any false claim against the same. (7) To cast away any vessel with intent to defraud the underwriters.

General Laws.

Besides these the various States have their special laws. Criminal conspiracies in the United States consist not in the accomplishment of any unlawful purpose, nor in any one act moving toward that purpose, but in the actual concert and agreement of two or more persons to effect the unlawful thing so concerted or agreed upon. Mere concert in itself is not a crime, for associations to prosecute a felon have been held to be lawful; but it is the object or purpose of the concerting that make the offense. Where the object or intent if carried into effect would be a wrong, then concert is indictable, as an act in itself tending to produce it; as, for instance, to support a cause, in itself just, by false testimony. A combination to do a criminal act is indictable; also an agreement or confederation to do a lawful act by unlawful means; because, in the first instance named, the act being in itself criminal, a conspiracy to do it must in the very nature of things be also criminal, while in the second instance, the means being unlawful, it matters not what may be the act to be done.

In this cyclopedia we are specially concerned with the application of conspiracy laws to industrial combinations. For their application to combinations to raise prices, fares, etc., see MONOPOLIES. We consider here simply their application to combinations of working men—a subject which has a long and important history.

The general theory in the Middle Ages of the relation of the workman to the State was one of tutelage. The law undertook to control him at well-nigh every point. This was largely attempted through the guild. The old craft guilds were originally composed of apprentices, journeymen, and masters, joined in one association. As the guilds, however, grew in wealth they became more and more purely instruments of the masters to oppress the journeymen. These naturally resented this, and formed combinations of their own, usually secret, and sometimes under the guise of religious brotherhoods, but really organized to protect their rights. It was against these brotherhoods that the first laws concerning workmen's combinations were directed.

As early as 1383 the city authorities of London issued a proclamation forbidding all congregations, covins, and conspiracies of workmen in general. In 1387 three journeymen cordwainers were carried to Newgate for trying to found a brotherhood. In 1415 the brotherhood of Workmen's tailors was for a while suppressed. An early law of Henry VI. forbade the yearly confederation of the masons, on the grounds that these gatherings tended to destroy the force of the famous Statute of Apprentices, which had tried to fix wages at the wages

Workmen's Combinations.

of 1327. In 1548 a more general statute of Edward VI. prohibited all conspiracies and covenants not to make or do work but at a certain price, under penalty, on a third conviction, of a loss of an ear and the pillory. This act was not repealed till 1824. In the Elizabethan period the famous poor laws were passed decreeing that wages should be fixed by justices of the peace, etc. This led to numberless combinations and prosecutions, particularly during the eighteenth century. The earlier laws forbade combinations of masters and of workmen alike. The later laws were directed against workmen only. In 1799 they were combined in a general act, repealed and replaced the next year by 40 Geo. III. c. 106, which prohibited all combinations for raising wages or reducing hours. Mr. Justice Stephen says of this act (*History of the Criminal Law of England*, vol. iii., p. 20): "The only freedom for which it seems to me to have been specially solicitous is the freedom of the employers from coercion by their men." This act was in force till 1824, during all the period when the workmen were feeling the first results of the factory system, and were breaking machinery, etc. In 1803 three linen weavers were sent to jail simply for carrying a letter requesting help from other workmen. At last, in 1824, a change came, due to Joseph Hume, in Parliament, and Francis Place, a London tailor, out of Parliament. All previous statutes so far as they related to working men were repealed, and workmen combining to advance wages or lessen hours were not liable to prosecution for conspiracy. But the masters next year succeeded in changing this and replacing it by the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129. This new act, while it repeated the previous statutes, did not in express terms legalize combinations of workmen—the legality of such combinations was left to be dealt with by the common law—it simply rendered men liable to punishment for the use of threats, intimidation, molestation, and obstruction directed toward the attainment of the objects of trade-unions. A few alterations in the act were made by 22 Vict. c. 34. The recommendations of the royal commission of 1867 on trade-unions led to the repeal of the 6 Geo. IV. c. 129, and the 22 Vict. c. 34, by the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 31, and the 38 and 39 Vict. c. 32, which declared that the purposes of a trade-union were not to be deemed unlawful by reason merely that they were in restraint of trade, and carefully defined what acts should be deemed criminal offenses.

Present English Law.

The protection afforded by these acts was greatly diminished by the gradual extension of the common law doctrine of conspiracy, and at length, in 1875, the act was repealed and replaced by the Conspiracy and Protection Act, 38 and 39 Vict. c. 86. According to this act, an agreement between two or more persons to do any act in furtherance of a trade dispute is not indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person is not punishable as a crime.

Such is a brief record of English legislation on this subject, but it does not show the bitter struggle of the working men against these combination laws. In 1834 the case of the six Dorchester laborers elicited general indignation. These poor and ignorant men, of good previous record and characters, were convicted nominally of administering unlawful oaths, really of committing the crime of combination. They were transported to Australia and sold to labor contractors for £1 per head. It aroused all English labor. A monster meeting was held in Copenhagen Fields, attended, it was said, by 400,000 persons; 50,000 workmen marched to the official residence of Lord Melbourne, presenting a petition for clemency signed by 266,000 persons. Pardon was finally granted against strong protests from the manufacturers, but was not properly promulgated, and some of the convicted only heard of it by accident after years of slavery. All through this period there were conspiracy prosecutions and condemnations. One of the most important of these was the prosecution of the Wolverhampton tin-plate workers in 1851, at a cost of some \$10,220. There had been a strike, and the strikers picketed the factory, and, inducing workmen to keep

away, had brought the business to a standstill. They were charged with conspiracy, and convicted under common law misdemeanor, punishable by two years of penal servitude. It was this conviction that brought the first modification of the law of 1825. In the sixties a series of conspiracy trials led to the commission of 1867, which resulted, in 1871, in the change of the law and a careful definition of what was a conspiracy in trade disputes. This law, tho generally an advance, on one point—the right of the workman to address another employee during a strike—was retrograde, and led to the great act of 1875. Since 1875 three main cases have arisen—those of the engineers' strike at Erith, of the shoemakers' at Bethnal Green, and the bricklayers' in Lambeth. The first was on a charge of "picketing," accompanied with approximate mobbing; the second was on a charge of picketing, with threats of personal violence, and, according to George Howell (*Conflicts of Capital and Labor*, 1878, p. 338), the men were condemned to two months' imprisonment, because they were unable to prove their innocence or disprove the evidence against them. The third case was a trial on charge of a strike, the accusers not bringing any charge of picketing or personal interference; the charge being not on the ground of strikes in general being a combination, but that this particular strike was a conspiracy. For the trial of John Burns and others at Old Bailey, and for similar trials on the charge of using seditious language, etc., see ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.

In the United States, the first trial for conspiracy to raise wages was in 1741, when certain journeymen bakers of New York City were convicted for conspiring not to bake till their wages were raised. It does not seem, however, that any sentence was passed. The first case of which complete records exist was the trial of journeymen boot and shoemakers of Philadelphia in 1806. They were found "guilty of a combination to raise their wages," and were fined \$8 each and costs. The next important case was that of the people of the State of New York against James Melvin and others in 1809. It was finally decided July 12, 1810, before the Mayor of New York City, against the men, because, tho possibly a combination not to work except for certain wages might not be indictable, they were organized to compel members of their union not to work if the union voted to strike.

The same position was taken in a court of quarter sessions for Alleghany County, Pa., when Judge Roberts said: "It is not for demanding high prices that these men are indicted, but for employing unlawful means to exact these prices, for using means prejudicial to the community. . . . A conspiracy to compel an employer to have only a certain description of persons is indictable." Similar verdicts were rendered in various trials.

In 1834, in Hartford, Conn., the Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Company brought suit against W. Taylor and others for conspiring to raise the price of wages, hindering others from working, and declaring a strike. The

United
States
Law.

defendants won. The court charged the jury that a peaceable arguing with workmen not to work except for a certain price was not a ground for civil action.

In 1840 certain journeymen of the Boston Bootmakers' Society were indicted for conspiracy in the municipal court. They were convicted in the lower court, but the Supreme Court did not sustain the verdict. It is claimed by labor leaders that the decision of Judge Shaw decided definitely that men have a right to combine to raise wages. The *Third Annual Report of the United States Commission of Labor* says (p. 1130) that this is a mistake, but that the verdict was not sustained simply because the indictment was not rightly framed.

Chief Justice Shaw, in his decision, said :

"The general rule of the common law is, that it is a criminal and indictable offense for two or more to confederate and to combine together, by concerted means, to do that which is unlawful or criminal, to the injury of the public, or portions or classes of the community, or even to the rights of an individual. This rule of law may be equally in force as a rule of the common law, in England and in this Commonwealth; and yet it must depend upon the local law of each country to determine whether the purpose to be accomplished by the combination, or the concerted means of accomplishing it, be unlawful or criminal in the respective countries."

"Without attempting to review and reconcile all the cases, we are of opinion, that as a general description, tho perhaps not a precise and accurate definition, a conspiracy must be a combination of two or more persons, by some concerted action, to accomplish some criminal or unlawful purpose, or to accomplish some purpose not in itself criminal or unlawful, by criminal or unlawful means."

The next important cases were those of the Master Stevedores' Association *vs.* Peter H. Walsh and others, decided in 1867, important because Judge Daly reviewed adjudications; and the case of some members of the Knights of Labor of District Assembly No. 91, arrested March, 1887, for alleged interference with the employees of John H. Hanan and Gardner & Estes, shoe manufacturers of New York City, important for the opinion delivered by Judge Barrett. Nevertheless, no new principles were established, and the case was appealed. Meanwhile, many of the States have enacted legislation on this subject.

In New York, by the act of 1870, labor unions are made lawful; also the peaceful and orderly combinations in any trade or profession to secure an advance in rates of wages or compensation, or maintenance of such; but combination of workmen to raise their wages by conspiring to compel journeymen to conform to rules established by the conspirators for the purpose of regulating the price of labor, and to carry such rules into effect by overt acts, are indictable, and not within the scope of the act. Several attempts have been made to do away with the operation of this act, by the enactment of others tending against the workmen, but they have not been successful.

In Pennsylvania, by the act of June 14, 1872, trade-unions were made lawful; the act provides that it shall be lawful for laborers, workmen, or journeymen, acting either as individuals or as members of any club, society, or association, to refuse to work or labor for any person or persons, whenever in his, her, or their opinion the wages paid are insufficient, or the treat-

ment of such laborers, journeymen or workmen by the employers is brutal or offensive, or the continued labor of such laborers, journeymen, or workmen would be contrary to the rules, regulations, or by-laws of any club, society, or organization to which he, she, or they belong, without subjecting them in so refusing to work or labor to prosecution or indictment for conspiracy under the criminal laws of the State; provided that the rules of such society shall not conflict with the constitution of the State, also that the act shall not prevent the prosecution and punishment under existing laws. This act was supplemented by the act of March 22, 1877, which in order to provide for the better protection of passengers upon railroads, and insure the prompt transportation and delivering of freight, enacts that in case of strikes by locomotive engineers and railroad employees, and the abandonment by them of their engines and trains at points other than their schedule destinations, endangering the safety of passengers and subjecting shippers of freight to great inconvenience, delay, and loss, it shall be a misdemeanor for any engineer or other employee to abandon engines and trains at points other than their destination, with a view to incite others to strike, or to refuse to give aid in the movement of cars of other companies, or to interfere with other employees, or to obstruct tracks or injure property of the company, and upon conviction punishes with fine and imprisonment. Such are examples of recent State legislation.

The recently commenced *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, in its first number (November, 1895, p. 98), thus summarizes the present state of the common law bearing upon combinations :

"Every one has the right to work or to refuse to work for whom and on what terms he pleases, or to refuse to deal with whom he pleases; and a number of persons, if they have no unlawful object in view, have the right to agree that they will not work or deal with certain persons, or that they will not work under a fixed price or without certain conditions. The right of employees to refuse to work either singly or in combination is balanced by the right of employers to refuse to engage the services of any one for any reason they may deem proper. . . . In short, both employers and employees are entitled to exercise the fullest liberty in entering into contracts of service, and neither party can hold the other responsible for refusing to enter into such contracts."

It has been held, however, that employees in separate, independent establishments have no right to combine for the purpose of preventing workmen who have incurred the hostility of one of them from securing employment upon any terms, and by the method commonly known as blacklisting, debarring such workmen from exercising their vocation, such a combination being regarded as a criminal conspiracy.

On the other hand, a combination of employees, having for its purpose the accomplishment of an illegal object, is unlawful; for instance, a conspiracy to extort money from an employer by ordering his workmen to leave him and deterring others from entering his service is illegal, and an association which undertakes to coerce workmen to become members thereof or to dictate to employers as to the methods or terms upon which their business shall be conducted by means of force, threats, or intimidation

tion, interfering with their traffic or lawful employment of other persons, is, as to such purposes, an illegal combination. Commissioner Wright says, in the *World Almanac* for 1895 (p. 94):

"The States having laws prohibiting *boycotting* in terms are Illinois and Wisconsin.

"The States having laws prohibiting *blacklisting* in terms are Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

"The following States have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting *boycotting*: Alabama, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, and Vermont.

"The following States have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting *blacklisting*: Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, and Vermont."

Recent decisions have, however, opened up the whole question. March 25, 1893, Circuit Judge Billings, at New Orleans, held that the terms of the Anti-Trust Act, in reference to combinations in restraint of trade, applied to laborers as well as capitalists, and that a combination to allow no work to be done in moving interstate commerce was within the prohibition of the statute; tho the mere refusal to work or a combination not to work, with no intimidation to prevent others from working, would not contravene the statute. April 3 of the same year Judge Ricks, of the United States District Court, at Toledo, O., having previously issued an injunction restraining the Lake Shore Railroad from refusing to take freight from or to the Ann Arbor Road, whose engineers were on strike, fined for contempt of court an engineer of the Lake Shore Road who refused to take a freight car from the Ann Arbor Line. At the same day and place Judge Taft, of the Circuit Court, granted an order restraining Chief Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, from enforcing a law of their association requiring members to boycott freight and cars from any road on which a Brotherhood strike existed. Both of these decisions were based on the Interstate Commerce Act. April 8, 1893, Judge Speer, of the United States Circuit Court, at Macon, Ga., granted a petition of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, that the receiver of a road in the court's control should contract with the organization in reference to terms of service, tho he sustained the above decisions. December 19, 1893, Judge Jenkins, at Milwaukee, granted an injunction restraining the officers of an employees' organization from carrying out a threat to strike on a road in the receivers' hands. April 6, 1894, he modified the language, but insisted on "the right of a court of equity to restrain a strike on a railway."

April 5, 1894, the Circuit Court at Omaha refused, under similar circumstances, to enjoin employees from striking. October 1, 1894, the Circuit Court of Appeals at Chicago modified the decision of Judge Jenkins, and held that "the rule is without exception that equity will not compel the actual affirmative performance by an employee of merely personal services any more than it will compel an employer to retain in his personal service one . . .

who is not acceptable to him." The evils of strikes, it held, must be met by legislation, and "in the absence of such legislation the right of one in the service of a quasi public corporation to withdraw therefrom whenever he sees fit must be deemed so far absolute that courts of equity cannot interfere." But the injunction was sustained so far as it prohibited employees from combining or conspiring to quit the service of receivers with the object of crippling the property in their custody, either by obstructing the management or by using force or intimidation against employees who chose to work. For the recent developments of this question, see INJUNCTIONS.

References: *Report of the United States Commission of Labor, 1887*; *Report of New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1890*; *Howell's Conflicts of Capital and Labor*.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE.—For a general view of constitutions, see CONSTITUTIONALISM. We consider here the working of the United States Constitution especially in relation to social reform. The Continental Congress, which declared the independence of the United States, was a revolutionary body, called into existence by the necessity of common action between the colonies in protecting their rights, and when it was so voted, of obtaining their independence.

It gave itself, in 1777, a new legal character by framing the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, whereby the 13 States entered into a "firm league of friendship;" but this confederation was rather a league than a national government. Each State, according to the articles, retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

There was no Federal execution, no Federal judiciary, no Federal taxing power, no means of paying an army, or any Federal bills, save as the States voluntarily contributed money. The confederation did not work. It was, in fact, little better than anarchy, as men like George Washington declared. Some firmer union was evidently needed.

In 1786 delegates from five States met at Annapolis, Md., and recommended that Congress call a general convention to consider the condition of the Union and needed amendments to the Constitution. Congress did so, recommending the States to send delegates to a convention which should "revise the Articles of Confederation, and report to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union."

The convention thus summoned met at Philadelphia on May 14, 1787, and became competent to proceed to business on May 25, and sat nearly five months. Every State was represented save Rhode Island. George Washington was chosen President, and the leading men of the country were the delegates. It boldly decided to prepare a wholly new Constitution, to be considered and ratified neither by Congress nor the State legislatures, but by the people of the several States. The delegates were 55, and 39 signed the Constitution; the debates were secret; the difficulties were very great.

Two tendencies manifested themselves, which led to the formation of the two great political parties which, under different names, have divided American political life. On the one hand was a strong desire for a national unity, with a highly developed central power; on the other, a still more powerful fear of centralization and

the desire to retain the sovereignty of each State. As is well known, the constitution adopted was a compromise between these two tendencies. The framers of the Constitution had the experience of the English

Fundamental Principles. Cabinet, its House of Commons, and its House of Lords. They had the State constitutions, which had to

an extent been modeled after the English pattern, modified by the peculiarities of the different States as they had grown up under the different charters originally granted to the different colonies. On the other hand, the minds, particularly of the Virginian delegates, were filled with theories regarding the natural rights of individuals, derived, in fact, from Rousseau and other French writers, and made them very jealous of granting power to any government. The Constitution framed was a resultant of these and other forces. The framers had in mind the principle of English common law, that an act done by any official person or law-making body beyond his or its legal competence is simply void, which principle Mr. James Bryce declares became the key to their difficulties. They carefully assigned to different branches of the government certain fixed forms which they held it necessary for them to hold, and all powers not mentioned were therefore retained in the hands of the people. They sought so to divide the powers between federal and State governments, and between the different branches of government, that no branch should absorb too much power or trespass upon the power of another branch.

September 17, the convention adjourned to submit its result to the people of the various States for ratification. Then began a struggle. It was declared by many that the Constitution gave too much power to the central government. Men said that liberty would perish. It was asserted that freedom won from George III. was being slain by her own children. The vote to ratify was nearly defeated in Massachusetts and New York. Several of the States suggested amendments, and most of these were adopted, in 1791, soon after

Adoption. the adoption of the Constitution itself, in ten amendments, called, after the English precedent, a Bill or Declaration of Rights. The first State to ratify the Constitution was Delaware, December 7, 1787. When nine States had ratified, the Constitution was to be adopted, and this was accomplished when New Hampshire ratified, June 21, 1788, by a majority of 11. Four days after Virginia ratified, not knowing of New Hampshire's vote; next New York and North Carolina. Rhode Island had sent no delegates to the convention, but finally ratified, May, 1790. Congress voted that the Constitution go into effect March 4, 1789. Elections had previously been held, and on that day the first Congress under the new Constitution met, but for lack of a quorum did not organize till April. Then the electoral votes were counted in the presence of both Houses, and George Washington was found elected President, and inaugurated April 30, 1789, in New York City.

The characteristic feature of the American Constitution is its union of Federal and State Govern-

ment. The Federal Government was restricted to the minimum of power necessary to a national union, yet the State governments were prevented from exerting undue power. **Analysis.**

The Constitution being a creature of the States, only the States can amend it. (See AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.) The States, too, form the national Government by choosing presidential electors, senators, and fixing the franchise which qualifies the citizens to vote for representatives. On the other hand, the Federal court is supreme in the interpretation of the Constitution, and can overrule any State or National legislation which it decides to be unconstitutional. (See JUDICIARY.) The President and Congress, too, have power over the States in certain specified matters, the presumption, however, always being in favor of the State. The States cannot make treaties, tax exports or imports, save with the permission of Congress. They must surrender fugitives from justice in other States. They can be sued by other States or foreign powers in Federal courts. Congress has power to establish uniform bankruptcy laws. Resistance to Federal authority or attacks on Federal property may be repulsed by Federal troops. In all other cases States are to act, tho they may call upon the Federal Government for aid.

The Federal Government comes into direct contact with the people of the States by the Federal courts, its taxing power, its power to raise an army, above all, by the election of Presidential electors and representatives to Congress by the people. It was on these two last points that the framers of the Constitution found their greatest difficulty. Whether the States should be represented in Congress as States, or simply by the representatives of the people, was a burning question. The smaller States desired representation as States, while the opponents of this position declared that this would be unjust, since it would give the few people in the smaller States equal power with the large populations in large States. The question, too, of States rights *versus* the Federal Government was involved. It was finally settled by having the members of one house—the Senate—elected by the State Government, and the members of the lower house—the House of Representatives—elected by the people, the number of the latter depending on the population of the State.

The election of the President caused even more discussion, but was finally decided by having the people choose electors who should choose the President. (For the working of this, see ELECTORAL COLLEGE.) The chief matters which, as national, were intrusted to the Federal Government were:

- The conduct of the national defense, and the making of treaties.
- The maintenance of federal courts.
- Commerce, foreign and domestic.
- Currency.
- Copyrights and patents.
- The post-office.
- Taxation for general purposes.
- Protection of citizens against unjust legislation by States (Amendments XIV, XV).

The three branches of Government established by the Constitution were the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. It was attempted to make these independent of each other and coordinate, with such a balance of powers that no branch could wield too much power. To the President (*q.v.*) is given the supreme executive power. He has command of the army and navy, he can make treaties and appoint ambassadors and consuls, but must have the advice and consent of the Senate. He appoints the judges of the Supreme Court and all high federal officers, but again must have the consent of the Senate. He can grant reprieves and powers except in cases of impeachment. He can summon both Houses on occasion. He can veto any bill or resolution of Congress. He must inform Congress of the state of the Union, and recommend legislation. He must see that the laws be executed. He is prevented from exerting too much power, because he can raise no money to pay an army; he can appoint no officers unless the Senate approves; he cannot prevent legislation passed over his veto; he can be impeached for faithlessness in office. The legislative power is given to the Senate and House of Representatives (*q.v.*). No federal officer can be a member of Congress. This is an attempt to preserve the independence of the legislature. It has the power to enact all federal laws, to vote taxes and appropriations, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, to coin money, to establish post-

The President.

offices and roads, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to determine the certificates and to count the votes of the Presidential electors, to impeach and to try the President, to judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. Congress is limited in the exercise of its power, because it cannot change the Constitu-

Congress.

tion, it can pass no bill unapproved by the President except by a two-thirds vote, and no bill of Congress is valid if declared to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The members of the House of Representatives must be elected every second year by the people of their several States, and all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments. To the Senate is given the power of approving or advising in the matter of executive appointments and treaties.

To the federal judiciary is given the power of interpretation of the Constitution, and the trial of all cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, United States treaties, controversies between States, controversies to which the United States is a party, and controversies between

Judiciary.

a State and citizens of another State, or between citizens claiming lands under grants of different States, and between States or citizens and foreign States or subjects. (For the working of the federal judiciary, see JUDICIARY.) Its power is limited simply to the interpretation of the Constitution and of the law. Trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, must be by jury. (See INJUNCTION.) All federal judges have a life tenure, subject to impeachment by the House of Representatives, and trial by the Senate. Such are the main features of the American Constitution. Certain actions are expressly forbidden. A writ of habeas corpus may not be suspended save in cases of rebellion or invasion. No tax or duty may be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference by regulation of commerce may be given to one State over another. No money may be drawn from the treasury save in consequence of appropriation made by law. No title of nobility may be granted, and no person holding office under the United States may receive a present or title from any king, prince, or foreign State. All duties, imposts, and excises must be uniform through the States. See also AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, forbidding any law respecting an establishment of religion, or curtailing the free exercise of religion, free speech, freedom of the press, the right to peaceable assembly, to petition Government, to keep and bear arms, to trial by jury on indictment by a grand jury for capital or infamous crime, and trial by jury in all criminal prosecutions. By other amendments, the powers not delegated by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States or the people. No State may enact or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of any citizen. The right of citizens to vote shall not be abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment upon conviction for crime, shall be allowed.

Such is a general account of the Constitution of the United States. Its practical working, while open to not a few serious criticisms, has undoubtedly been a success. Even its most serious defect may be said to be the result of its virtues. At the present time, when conditions are so different from those under

Successes.

which it was drafted, the Constitution, with its slow process for amendment, seems to bind the nation against its will and unduly check wise action. But this defect, if defect it be, is assuredly the result of the strength of the Constitution, and a strength absolutely needed both in the days of weakness when the nation was young, and in the days of strength when the nation was rocked with discussions over the question of State rights.

De Tocqueville 60 years ago was more hopeful of the future of the separate States than of

the Union. He believed that with the first serious difference in views the Union would be dissolved. At the time of the Rebellion most Europeans and some Americans believed that the end of the Union was come. A strong constitution was needed. To day the Union exists more firmly knit than ever, and no small part of this must be attributed to the wisdom and strength of the Constitution. Perhaps, too, the greatest triumph of the Constitution has been that it has so marvelously succeeded in its compromise between federal and State powers. This was the greatest difficulty presented to the framers of the Constitution; it has been till now the burning question of American politics. The Constitution has weathered the storm. A small republic is comparatively easy to conduct. In the United States alone are giant States confederated in one republic.

Again, the Constitution, for the first time in history, has enabled a great nation without radical constitutional changes to preserve popular liberties. In the late election of 1896 a people numbering over 70,000,000 went into an intense and even passionate contest, one in which the numbers on each side were about equal, which raised issues of section and still more issues of class—an election in which each party believed it stood for the preservation of liberty and for the defeat of principles subversive of honest and free government, and yet under a Constitution framed a century ago, the nation has come out of the conflict whole and unharmed. Surely such a Constitution has stood the test of time. It has succeeded, too, in the main in realizing that division of powers which its authors thought so necessary. The President has not been able to defy Congress; Congress has not been able to ignore the President. If the Supreme Court has been able to exert at times enormous power, it has, after all, usually but recorded the popular verdict. If, as a large majority believe, in 1876 a President duly elected was set aside for his rival candidate, the claims of the two were nearly equal, so that gross injustice was not done. If, more recently, a decision of the Supreme Court prevented an income tax which a large majority of the people desired, there can be no doubt that the decision will ultimately be reversed, provided the people continue to demand such a tax. No constitution can work without favor. Considering the vigor with which the nation has acted in emergencies and the moderation and freedom of its general policy, the experience of the century must be thought to bear out the verdict of Mr. Gladstone, that “as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.”

There have been, however, notable failures in the working of the Constitution. Some of these we consider elsewhere. The plan of the electoral college has been a notorious failure. (See **Failures, PRESIDENCY.**) The whole presidential election machinery is out of gear and gives undue prominence to certain States and certain cities. Vast classes of citizens are

practically disenfranchised. (See PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.) Congress has very serious defects. (See CONGRESS.)

Above all, the Constitution in many ways does not really give the people a chance to rule. It has been said that it is based on the theology of Calvin and the philosophy of Hobbes. It was the work of men who believed in total depravity, and they seem to have bound men at every point.

To many social reformers this seems the supreme vice of the American Constitution, that by its legalism, resting on individualism, it prevents strong social action. In the Federal Government, as in our States and cities, all powers not enumerated in constitution or in charter are reserved to the people—that is, to individuals. Democrat and Republican

Individualism.

may contend for strict or for broader construction, but both agree that what is not or cannot be read into the Constitution is illegal and unconstitutional. Back of Congress and above Congress is the sovereign State; back of the State and above the State is the town meeting; back of the town meeting and above the town meeting are John Smith and Henry Jones, and Congress may do only what John Smith and Henry Jones have contracted to allow Congress to do. This theory of the social contract is wrought into the very warp and woof of our national life. It, more than aught else, makes America the *bête noire* of all who would develop the social organism. Our government is not an organism, but a mechanism. We can do naught, because we have not the machinery, or rather because we have too much machinery. Is it proposed for the city to employ the unemployed, is Congress asked to attack the sweating system, the ardent reformer is told, not that the proposed action is impractical, not that it is unjust, but that it is unconstitutional; it is "not so nominated in the bond." Over America today there hangs a dead hand, born of the atomic or individual theory, that the State can only do that which sovereign and separate individuals have contracted that it may do. Such at least is the view of many American socialists.

Again, many criticise the Constitution as giving too much power to the Supreme Court. Since this court has the final decision as to what legislation is or is not constitutional, and since any legislation which it decides to be unconstitutional is thereby rendered null, the Supreme Court can, by forcing the Constitution (and what meaning cannot on occasion be read into any long legal document), prevent any legislation whatsoever that the Supreme Court happens not to fancy. The recent decision of the Supreme Court as to the unconstitutionality of the income tax is quoted as a case in point. For this matter, however, see JUDICIARY.

References: James Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (revised ed., Macmillan, 1895); J. Fiske's *Civil Government in the United States* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1890) and *American Political Ideas* (Harper, 1885); Jesse Macy's *Our Government* (Ginn & Co., 1890); W. A. Mowry's *Studies in Civil Government* (Silver Rogers & Co., 1887); C. Nordhoff's *Politics for Young Americans* (Harper, 1877); W. Wilson's *State and Federal Governments of the United States* (Heath & Co., 1890); Albert Stickney's *A True Repub-*

lic (Harper, 1879); Simon Sterne's *Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States* (Putnam, 1888); H. E. Von Holst's *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (translated from the German by J. J. Lalor, 8 vols., Callaghan & Co., 1885).

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

See AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

CONSTITUTIONALISM.—Most civilized States are governed under constitutions varying in form and precision.

The utility of a constitution for any given people must, of course, depend very greatly upon the nature and traditions of that people. There may be but a brief framework stating the trend of governmental authority and functions, or a definite plan of organization of the various departments. The constitution may be to guard the masses from the tyrannical power of an executive or despot, or to protect the people from themselves—*i.e.*, from the turbulent and ambitious elements and from the rash and hasty expression of popular feeling.

It is important, however, that a distinction be made between simple charters and bills of rights, and a form of government crystallized into a document which defines the scope and functions of departments and officers. The former long antedate the latter.

"A constitution is a system of principles, laws, and rules combined in a written document or established by prescriptive usage, for the government of a nation or State" (*Century Dictionary*). In strong contrast are the unwritten British constitution, composed of charters, traditions, and usages, and the recent State constitutions, which closely define the duties of officers and rigidly prescribe the limits of the several departments.

Altho writers upon the history of constitutions usually trace their origin to Magna Charta, or to the Roman laws of the twelve tables, or possibly even to the Ten Commandments, written constitutions, in the present understanding of the terms, have nearly all been made since the United States Constitution of 1787, and all have been greatly influenced by, if not mostly founded upon it.

The French people, in the years between 1789-91, framed a constitution to effect the change from an absolute monarchy to a limited monarchy. It was not modeled upon that of the United States or directly upon any other, yet the United States and English constitutions each were strong influences. The Massachusetts Constitution, mentioned below, was carried to France by John Adams and circulated to a limited extent in 1780; and Benjamin Franklin had already discussed with the French philosophers the Pennsylvania Constitution.

In 1783 Franklin published in the French language all of the constitutions of the 13 States of the new republic, with notes. These publications, with a vast array of historical causes, contributed to the form and matter of the Constitution of 1791. Ten other constitutions have been made by or for the French since that date—five of them republican and five of them monarchical. The organic law of the present republic, formed since the overthrow of Napoleon III., in 1870,

was adopted by the National Assembly at Versailles in 1875. It is the shortest of the written constitutions of important nations or States. The provisions are few and simple. The outlines of organization are given, and the remainder is to be provided for by ordinary statutes of the chambers. Precedents established in former constitutions and such provisions of earlier laws as are not incompatible with the new republican law still remain in force. The influence of the series of revolutions in France and elsewhere brought about constitutions in many of the smaller German States between 1820-36. The general political upheaval in Europe in 1848 and the few years following resulted in many more, the characters of which cannot be examined in a brief article.

Switzerland deserves notice, however, for one feature connected with its latest constitution. The first one formed in Switzerland was in 1793, on the pattern of that of the French republic. A civil war gave birth

History. to the constitution of 1848, and in 1874 the present one was adopted by a popular vote. In all but one (Freiburg) of the cantonal constitutions based upon and guaranteed by the federal constitution, the people have the right to demand that all important legislation be referred directly to them. "It may even be said that in some cantons the councils merely formulate the laws, while the people pass them" (Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, § 519). In general, however, the laws are submitted to popular vote only upon demand by petition of a specified number of voters.

The English Constitution is of another type, and yet, directly or remotely, has influenced nearly all others. It is a collective name for the principles of public policy on which the government is based. It embraces statutory law, custom, tradition, and precedent. No one document outlines the whole system of government. "The British Constitution is a barrier which yields under the pressure of circumstances as often as that pressure reaches a certain degree of intensity, but a barrier which never breaks, being steady and firm despite, or rather on account of its flexibility" (C. Borgeaud, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vii., p. 613). It is maintained not by safeguards formulated within itself, but because it has the sanction of time and the protection of a conservative privileged class and the loyalty of the people.

The British colonies in North America, Australasia, and elsewhere have written constitutions in general features conforming to the practices and precedents of the English Government, the most noteworthy being the responsible ministry.

The most recent government on earth (1894), organized under a written constitution, is the republic of Hawaii. Its fundamental law embraces provisions similar to parts of those of Great Britain and of the United States.

The South American States and Mexico, which achieved their independence of Spain in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, are all now living under formal republican constitutions. The limits of this article will not permit of an examination of either these or the afore-

mentioned English colonial constitutions. Sufficient to say, however, in all the recent ones the tendencies are markedly in the same directions as in those which will be considered more closely.

A constitution comes from a sovereign power, and its nature must depend, then, upon what power is recognized as sovereign. It may come from a king in the form of a charter or grant while he is absolute, and in order to get a recompense of some kind; later he may grant it because the people are so far recognized as the source of power that he is forced to a compact, so one is agreed upon by the ruler and the representatives of the people. Later, when the people are acknowledged as sovereign, the constitution proceeds from them—*i.e.*, they, by representatives, draw it up and then ratify it by a stipulated majority. **Theory.** The theory of the constitution is really far to seek. It is

found directly connected with the origin of a State. Three theories are proposed for the origin of a State—the theological, the historical, and the contract theory. The contract theory, the work of J. J. Rousseau, is interesting in this connection as a curiosity, and because so many of its expressions have crept into constitutions. The theory, in brief, is that a State originates in the agreement of individuals to establish it. The theory itself has often been refuted by showing that men have always been associated in groups, larger or smaller, and that society in this sense needs no definite agreement, but rather is a state of nature. It is certain that the idea of a contract only entered the comprehension of men ages after they had already well-established forms of society, ruler and ruled, law trials and judges.

The preamble of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 is so much like a quotation from Rousseau's *Contrat Social*, that the framers of that instrument must either have believed in Rousseau or have interpreted him in another manner than the common one—that is, instead of understanding his contract to be the basis of association, it may have been only a philosophical device for explaining the relations of the independent members of an already free State. The professing itself to be a contract between individuals, such a contract is really by the ratification of the citizens of the State, the fundamental law and not a mere contract and equalizer of rights.

We shall make no effort to detail the probable steps between the recognition of binding contracts as in practice by the Romans, charters of medieval towns and monasteries, and the nineteenth century State and national written instruments. All medieval charters, especially the Magna Charta, signed by King John in 1215, and early colonial charters have their place in the order of development of constitutions; but the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut (1639) is the first document which created a complete form under which a government was organized. This document, which was not superseded by a constitution till 1818, must be taken as the real and immediate origin of the present constitutions of Christendom. The Puritan is to be credited with the introduction of the written

constitution into political life. The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut was the first, and there were two others emanating from the Puritans in England in 1647 and 1653.

Whether a constitution, after it is ratified, shall be effective or not depends entirely upon how firmly its principles are already an accepted part of the national consciousness, and hence how far it faithfully reflects the national will.

Numerous instances might be cited where constitutions have either been imposed upon a people who did not thus already experience the sentiments contained in them, or

Authority. where people themselves, having overturned an existing government, have framed a constitution containing principles which call forth no patriotic response from the mass of the people. Constitutions, like poets, are not made. A constitution, to be at all effective, must be an evolution. No wonder that the new States of the United States should find their constitutions to work fairly well, and the numerous States nominally set free by France in her revolutionary period should find almost the exact opposite. In one case the whole experience of the past two or three generations has been in a constitutional atmosphere and in contact with the much praised and almost worshipped United States Constitution, while in the other a newly prepared paper constitution was presented to those who were almost totally unfitted for it by their previous political experience. It is not at all uncommon to find Americans and others who are such worshippers of their constitutions that they believe their principles to be of universal application, amazed to find that these constitutions, when imposed on people of different training, do not work satisfactorily.

In a period of 84 years, France has had 11 constitutions. The abandonment of one and the adoption of another has in each instance been accompanied by a revolution or a *coup d'état* or a national calamity.

The history of the South American constitutions is almost a continuous tale of adoption, revolution, and a new instrument. May it not be a pertinent question whether even a sovereign people have authority over the next and succeeding generations?

The authority of a constitution is certainly not sufficient to prevent revolution, yet often it has taken revolution to amend a constitution. Those who make a constitution, appreciating their own necessity for altering the form of government, should also appreciate that others may wish to modify theirs without the accompaniment of revolution.

The most important feature of American constitutions is the division of governmental powers into the three heads—legislative, executive, and judicial—and the definition of the powers of each. The main difficulties that have arisen among these departments have been from the encroachment of one department upon another. The numerous alterations in the State constitutions during the last 100 years have mostly been in the direction of limiting the functions of legislatures and enlarging the power of the executive. Possibly this has grown from

Principles. observing that in the Federal Government during the same period Congress has been encroaching on the executive, and it has been easier to modify the State constitutions than that of the United States. In both State and national government the judicial department has been steadily gaining in importance.

It is rather a disappointment to those who, in idolizing the Constitution, think that its framers were so inspired that they could strike off at once such a remarkable instrument, to learn that the Constitution is not nearly so much the result of inspiration and foresight as it is the result of a series of compromises. The compromises were the result of the collision in the convention of two forces which are present in all political bodies—viz., the centralizing and decentralizing, otherwise the aristocratic and democratic forces. The first class is fearful of the power of the masses, and the second of the tyranny of office-holders. The aristocratic faction fearing the thoughtless despotism of majority rule, endeavored to make a government popular in form, yet of such a nature that it could be controlled by a minority which would presumably be from the better side of society, and to so plan that amendments could with great difficulty be made and no radical change adopted as the result of popular clamor. With one party, then, in the convention fearing the masses, and the other a possible tyrant, the resulting Constitution was reasonably satisfactory to both, but for different reasons. John Adams, in a private letter, recapitulates the arrangements whereby one department acts as a check upon another. "First, the States are balanced against the general Government. Second, the House of Representatives is balanced against the Senate and the Senate against the House. Third, the executive authority is in some degree balanced against the Legislature. Fourth, the judiciary is balanced against the Legislature, the executive and State governments. Fifth, the Senate is balanced against the President in all appointments to office and treaties. Sixth, the people hold in their own hands the balance against their own representatives by periodical elections. Seventh, the legislatures of the several States are balanced against the Senate by sexennial elections. Eighth, the electors are balanced against the people in their choice of President and Vice-President" (*Works*, vol. vi., p. 467). If these checks were all operative now, just as was expected by those who placed them in the Constitution, the work of the Government would be even slower to express the real feeling of the nation than now. But even with the last-mentioned check entirely nullified, and some of the others not fully operative, through certain practices that have grown up, the work of government has in several instances been so clogged as to have well-nigh stopped.

It is very doubtful whether, in the development of society along the lines which are apparent, one generation ought to legislate for another. Each generation, perceiving its own needs and difficulties, and devising some means of satisfying and obviating them, also feels that if the arrangements by which they have surmounted difficulties can be made into fixed laws, then difficulties of the same kind will not

be repeated. It is very doubtful whether, in the development of society along the lines which are apparent, one generation ought to legislate for another. Each generation, perceiving its own needs and difficulties, and devising some means of satisfying and obviating them, also feels that if the arrangements by which they have surmounted difficulties can be made into fixed laws, then difficulties of the same kind will not

occur in the future. Thus those who planned the Constitution of 1787 intended to guard against innumerable possible dangers. One evidence that they cannot prepare for changed conditions is that the method planned for the election of

President, when tried, worked successfully for only four elections.

United States. An amendment was made and put into effect in 1804, so modifying the mode of election as to vote by the electors for President and Vice-

President separately. This portion of the provision is still operative, but the whole aim of separating the choice of President from the necessary excitement of popular election has been defeated, and the electors have become mere machines, to cast ballots according to instructions. This would be no calamity, but rather in accord with the growing tendency to elect all officers if the real voice of the people were heard, or even the voice of the majority. This, however, has not been the case. In several elections the successful candidates have not received a majority of the votes cast, and in two elections not even as many popular votes as the defeated candidates; but the only way in which the people have been able to express their dissatisfaction with the prescribed form in the Constitution has been by an evasion of the real intent in Article XII. of amendments in such a manner that the article is nullified without being violated in the letter. After the twelfth amendment, in 1804, no amendment was possible until the social upheaval caused by the Civil War, and it seems indeed apparent that no amendment further is possible without revolutionary proceedings and excitement.

In the absence of ability to amend there must be some way of permitting Government authorities to act according to the exigencies of the occasion, where there is no provision for or against, or where a literal reading would seem to obstruct. This way has been through the right of interpretation. Instead of seeking the probable intent of the writers of the document, there should rather be sought the view of the present political power—*i. e.*, the people. Under a government where the constitution is established and ordained by the people it is absurd to consider the people ruled by the thoughts or intents of a past generation. Their utterances, even though they be in the form of a fundamental law, can really be binding only when they are the reflection of the will of the living power. Hence in a government which rests ultimately for its support upon the whole people, or that portion of the people which molds public opinion, the interpretation of a constitution must be that which best reflects the "prevalent sense of right," or that which is the interpretation of the present possessors of political power. "The cases are not rare in which forced construction has been resorted to in order to justify the exercise of powers which are deemed necessary by public opinion. Nor can we expect to prevent altogether this tendency to strain and force the literal meaning of the constitution in order to bring it into conformity with that unwritten constitution which is the real constitution, and which embodies the living rules of conduct; for the unwritten constitution is steadily but

slowly changing under the pressure of popular opinion and public necessities, checked only by the popular reverence for the written word" (C. G. Tiedeman, *The Unwritten Constitution*, p. 136).

The following table of facts, obtained from the constitutions of all the States in the Union, will partially illustrate the tendencies of the present in constitution-making. The constitutions called "earliest" are those which were first actually put in practice in the government of each State, and were mostly adopted between 1776 and 1850, and the "latest" are mostly those which have been adopted since the Civil War. The earliest and latest of each State are the ones meant:

In the earliest constitutions 7 States had a 4-year term for governor.

In the latest constitutions 20 States have a 4-year term for governor.

In the earliest constitutions 12 States had a 2-year term for governor.

In the latest constitutions 18 States have a 2-year term for governor.

Two States have decreased the term of governor.

Five States have increased the term of governor from 1 to 4 years.

In latest constitutions 4 have term of governor 1 year.

In latest constitutions 2 have term of governor 3 years.

In earliest constitutions 9 elected governor by Legislature or by Assembly and Council.

In latest constitutions all elect governor by all voters.

In earliest 8 executives had a veto to be overruled by a majority.

In earliest 13 executives had a veto to be overruled by a two-third majority.

In earliest 10 constitutions had no provision on subject of veto.

In latest 4 constitutions have no provision on subject of veto.

No constitution before 1845 (Texas) gave the executive authority to veto items in a bill, and with this exception none fill after the Civil War.

In latest constitutions 5 pass a bill over veto by a mere majority.

In latest constitutions 24 pass a bill over veto by a two-third majority.

In latest constitutions 16 allowed items in bills to be vetoed. (Some confined to appropriations.)

In latest constitutions 30 have biennial sessions of the Legislature.

Fourteen of this 30 have been changed from annual to biennial.

One of this 30 have been changed from semi-annual to biennial.

One has changed from semi-annual to annual.

Fifteen Legislatures have always been biennial.

In earliest constitutions 4 have members of lower House hold 2 sessions.

In latest constitutions 6 have members of lower House hold two sessions.

Tho the people themselves are responsible for the legislators whom they are unwilling to trust, they have in all the more recent constitutions so shown their distrust as to make the constitution in length more like a code of laws, and have imposed restrictions of various kinds upon the legislative power. Several causes may be assigned for this untrustworthiness in legislatures, such as the spoils system, the political boss system, small salaries, suggesting dishonest dealings with public money, etc.; hence special legislation in certain enumerated cases is prohibited. These prohibitions amount, in the Constitution of Montana, to 35, and in that of North Dakota to 100.

Another method which legislators have used for making questionable laws is by means of riders to appropriation bills, and by introducing doubtful appropriations into general appropria-

tion bills. The people have guarded against this to a certain extent by giving to the governor in at least 16 of the States the right to veto particular items in a bill, while endorsing the remainder and causing it to become a law.

All the latter constitutions are really of a different class from the older ones, and represent new tendencies in the people. This is especially apparent in the development of the fourth department of government—viz., the administrative. In a few States this is made a distinct department of government, but in general it has not yet been separated from the executive. Certain bureaus and officers, such as those of agriculture, railroads, land, and insurance commissioners, indicate direct connection of the economic interests of the people with the administration of the States. The people in the early days of the republic knew nothing of these interests, and were quite content to leave them all to the Legislature. But now the skill of experts to collect and classify information in these various fields is demanded in order that legislation may be intelligent rather than experimental, and to the immediate welfare of the whole people. These officers are now in every State chosen by the qualified electors instead of by the legislatures, and indeed nearly all officers which were in the earlier constitutions appointed by the Legislature are now chosen at a general election. The State judiciary is also now elective.

In addition to reducing the frequency of legislative sessions, the length of session in many of the States is limited to a period of from 40 days (the briefest) to (in general) 90 days, or by prescribing a definite salary for the whole period, thus offering an incentive to briefness; or a per diem compensation, to be stopped after a specified number of days. The multitudinous restrictions placed in all the more recent constitutions on legislative, executive, and other State officers shows clearly the desire of the voters to retain power in their own hands.

While the great length of the later instruments would seem to indicate a crystallization of the governmental powers, and hence the removal of them from the people, in truth the opposite of this is the case. The ease of amendment by general vote, the checks put on the officers, the change in several instances of the impeaching power from the Senate to the Assembly—these and other considerations point rather toward a retaining of the powers of the government in the hands of the people.

In the preamble or bills of rights introducing most of the constitutions, the statement is curiously made that all political power is inherent in the people.

A feature of the Constitution of Washington of 1789 is the provision for home rule in the cities—*i. e.*, the charters, instead of being granted by the Legislature, as in other States, are to be framed by the inhabitants—a noticeable step in the direction of real democracy.

Trusts and monopolies, developments of the last few decades, are not left open to arrangements by and with the legislatures, but are regulated by a code of laws enacted by all electors and embodied in the constitution under the head of provisions for "Corporations other than Municipal."

Between 1776 and 1894, 111 constitutions have been adopted in the United States. This, of course, means that many of the States have remodeled or made anew their constitutions, as well as that Territories have made constitutions and become States. One State only (Massachusetts) has lived the whole time under one constitution, while Kansas has changed her constitution oftener than any other State. Only 14 of the States retain their original constitutions, and six of these are the recently admitted ones—Montana, Washington, the two Dakotas, Idaho, and Wyoming.

The United States Constitution, lacking flexibility, has failed to allow for changed conditions, and has been modified only by the effects of war, by nullifying portions in spirit if not in letter, and by forced construction. According to the present trend of present national life, amendments would seem to be demanded for the election of United States Senate, President, and Vice-President by direct vote.

The modifications of State constitutions—viz., increasing power of executive, curtailing power of legislative departments, shortening legislative sessions in length and frequency, election of many officers formerly otherwise chosen, embodying in the constitution laws concerning tendencies regarded as dangerous—all are indications of the sovereign people's determination to retain in their own hands the actual management of government, and to delegate power solely for purposes of administration, and that in such a manner that all responsibility can be located.

The reforms which are next likely to be proposed are the referendum and proportional representation. (See REFERENDUM; PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.)

References: *Annals of the American Academy* (September, 1891); *Recent Constitution Making in the United States* (*Political Science Quarterly*), December, 1892; *Origin of Written Constitutions: Constitutions, European*, by Demobynnes; *Constitutions of the United States*, compiled by Ben. Perly Poore; *The Unwritten Constitution*, by C. G. Tiedeman; *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (third series); *The Constitutions (Documents) of the New States*, by George Emory Fellows.

CONSUMPTION may be defined in social science as the use of commodities or of anything having exchange value (*q. v.*).

"Consumption," says Adam Smith, "is the sole end and purpose of all production, and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer." "Later criticism," says Professor Nicholson in *Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy*, "has thrown doubt on the possibility of making such a sharp distinction between the interests of producers and consumers. Apart from women, who are largely employed in domestic duties, and old men, invalids, and children, the number of those returned in the census of any civilized country as 'unoccupied' is extremely small, and thus the great majority of the adult males are both producers and consumers. Accordingly the conditions as regards health, variety, moral and intellectual effects on the worker of the work done, etc., are of coordinate importance with the amount and quality of the definite commodities consumed."

J. S. Mill (*Polit. Economy*, bk. 1, chap. iii., sec. 5) makes the important distinction between productive and unproductive consumers. He says: "All the members of the community are not laborers, but all are consumers, and consume either unproductively or productively. Whoever contributes nothing directly or indirectly to production is an unproductive consumer."

The only productive consumers are productive laborers: the labor of direction being, of course, included, as well as that of execution. But the consumption even of productive laborers is not all of it productive consumption. There is unproductive consumption by productive consumers. What they consume in keeping up or improving their health, strength, and capacities of work, or in rearing other productive laborers to succeed them, is productive consumption. But consumption on pleasures or luxuries, whether by the idle or by the industrious, since production is neither its object nor is in any way advanced by it, must be reckoned unproductive; with a reservation, perhaps, of a certain quantum of enjoyment which may be classed among necessities, since anything short of it would not be consistent with the greatest efficiency of labor. That alone is productive consumption which goes to maintain and increase the productive powers of the community; either those residing in its soil, in its materials, in the number and efficiency of its instruments of production, or in its people."

For an analysis of consumption and the amount of consumption of various utilities by various nations and classes, see EXPENDITURE.

The subject of consumption is specially treated in Roscher's *Political Economy* and in Schönberg's *Handbook*, by Professor Lexis.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY. See CURRENCY.

CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.—There are few monetary questions more important than that of the contraction and expansion of the currency. We shall consider the subject under four heads, supporting each point by quotations from recognized authorities, and in case of divergence of view, from representatives of the various views. We consider:

- I. The Economic Principles Involved.
- II. The Practical Importance of the Subject.
- III. The Facts as to the United States.
- IV. Proposed Remedies.

I. THE ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES INVOLVED.

These, fortunately, are not in debate. Upon them all economists are practically more agreed than upon almost any other principles in economic science. They are:

(a) That a contraction of the currency tends to lower prices, and, *vice versa*, that an expansion of the currency tends to raise prices. Says Ricardo:

"That commodities will rise and fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible. That such would be the case the most celebrated writers on political economy are agreed."

Says Jevons (*Primer of Political Economy*, chap. xii., p. 79): "If the quantity of money increases, its value is likely to decrease, so that more money is given for the same commodity, and *vice versa*."

Says Mill (*Political Economy*, Book III., chap. viii., § 2): "If the whole volume of money in circulation were doubled, prices would double. If it was only increased one fourth, prices would rise one fourth."

Says President Walker: "That prices will fall or rise as the volume of money be increased or diminished is a law that is as unalterable as any law of nature."

The reason for this is of course simple. When a currency expands there is more money to meet the demands of trade. People are able to

give more to purchase what they desire; hence the seller can raise his prices. It is, of course, implied that the currency has expanded *more than the demand for it*. If, as is often the case, a slight expansion of currency is accompanied by a greater expansion in the volume of exchanging, so that more currency is needed, the slight absolute expansion of the currency is more than counterbalanced by the greater expansion of the need or demand for it, and there is, therefore, virtually not an expansion but a contraction of the currency, and prices fall instead of rising. Of course also by expansion of currency is meant currency *in circulation* actually available for making exchanges. If in any country currency is coined or issued, no matter in how great quantities, and is locked up either in government vaults or withdrawn from active circulation by private or other cornering of the money market, there is no real expansion of the currency. But, allowing for these two simple and yet not always remembered exceptions, or apparent exceptions, the above principle invariably holds.

(b) Economists are agreed that it follows from the above that a contraction of the currency tends to benefit the credit class, and that, *vice versa*, an expansion of the currency tends to benefit the debtor class. Says President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 8):

"Increase in the value of money robs debtors. It forces every one of them to pay more than he covenanted—not more dollars, but more value, the given number of dollars embodying at date of payment greater value than at date of contract. Decrease in the value of money robs creditors, necessitating each to put up, in payment of what is due to him, with a smaller modicum of value than was agreed upon."

**Contraction
Tends to
Benefit Credit
Class.**

Says Professor Symes (*Political Economy*, p. 109):

"If prices have risen by 20 per cent. it is little satisfaction to the creditor that he is receiving the amount in money that was promised him, for he can now only purchase 10 things with that which when the loan was made would purchase 12. Every rise in prices benefits debtors at the expense of creditors; and conversely every fall in prices benefits creditors at the expense of debtors."

So substantially say Jevons, Walker, Chevalier, and all authorities, altho all have not realized the importance of the subject. It should, however, be realized what this means. The credit class is, generally speaking, the small class who live directly or indirectly upon investments. The debtor class is the large class of producers in any nation. Contraction of the currency, therefore, aids the investor as an *investor*, and expansion aids the worker.

A full amount of currency, aiding the producing class, who are also the main consumers of any country, creates a demand for goods, stimulates trade and investment, and so very materially aids every wage-worker. This is true, of course, only of an expanding *sound* currency. Expansion of an unsound currency eventually at least aids no one except a few speculators, and hurts the wage-worker most of all. But this is another, altho most important question. (See MONEY.) In this article we are concerned simply with the quantity, not with the quality of money.

We consider at this point one objection sometimes raised. It is said that the farmer is not hurt by a contracting currency, because, though he receive less, he has to pay out less; but the mortgaged farmer has already made his main purchases when prices were *up*, and now has to sell when prices are *down*. Turn it, therefore, which way we will, producers, including farmers, wage-workers, professional men *whose salaries or incomes are liable to change*, and small manufacturers or storekeepers, *who are conducting business on borrowed capital*, are hurt by a contracting currency, while the non-producing classes—capitalists of all kinds and men *whose salaries are not exposed to change*—are hurt by an expanding currency.

(c) Economists are agreed that what is wanted is an "elastic currency"—that is, a currency that can decrease in volume when prices go up and increase when prices go down, thus operating to check the increase and decrease. Exactly on what basis this should be done there is, however, disagreement.

Gold monometallists hold that the general price of labor should remain constant, so that the debtor may return as much command over labor as he originally received. Bimetallists affirm that the general price level of commodities should remain constant, so that the creditor should receive no more command over consumption goods than he originally loaned.

A more subtle plan recently proposed by Professor E. A. Ross, in the *Annals of the American Academy* (November, 1893), holds that *total utility*, and not either the amount of commodities or their labor cost, is the standard to which money should conform in order to do justice as a standard of deferred payments. But whatever be the standard, all are agreed that currency should change in quantity to balance the rise and fall in prices.

Says President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 8):

"Were money merely a medium of exchange, something to be spoken into being for each act of traffic and then annihilated, permanence in its worth could be dispensed with. But money, also, besides furnishing our system of value-denominations, measures value, serves as a reservoir of value, and as a standard for deferred payments. To fulfil ideally any one of the last-named offices it must preserve its general purchasing power unchanged."

Said Major Winn, of Massachusetts, in a speech in Faneuil Hall, October 7, 1891:

"What is an honest dollar? What do you use dollars for? A measure of value, of course, a yardstick for your exchanges. Now, if you were exchanging cloth in the market, what would you think of a yardstick which some days was a few inches too long, and others a few inches too short, but, on the whole, was steadily growing longer? You wouldn't call it an honest yardstick. . . ."

"The only honest dollar is a dollar invariable in value relative to the mass of commodities in general, as other weights and measures are relatively to their standards. Can we produce it? We keep the standards of weight and measure under glass, that a breath may not affect or a grain of sand abrade them. Why not use equal care with the standards of value?"

Says Professor Commons, of Syracuse University (in *The Voice*, September 14, 1893):

"An elastic currency is one in which the volume of money expands at the time when prices begin to fall, thereby preventing the fall, and in which, on the other

hand, the volume contracts when prices show a tendency to rise, thus preventing the rise."

To this we say all economists are agreed—that is, as to its desirability. Whether it is possible to have such a dollar is another question, and one on which economists are not agreed. But as to its desirability there is no question. No one desires a yardstick which, when one makes a loan, measures one yard, and when one comes to return the loan measures off twice as much cloth and calls it one yard.

We pass, then, to consider

II. THE PRACTICABLE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

This is also admitted to-day by all thinkers, although it has not always been sufficiently realized. Says President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 13):

"Jeavons, at any rate, is too moderate. After enormous admissions touching the ravages of changing currency values, he almost apologizes for the change in money value, on the ground that the sorrows springing from it are mostly occult, and that the people habitually refer them to other causes. The question is not whether the infelicities accompanying these monetary vicissitudes are appreciated or not, but whether they are real and serious. That they are both will be the conviction of every student in proportion to his acquaintance with them. . . . It is certain that none who have not made the subject a study at all adequately conceive the magnitude of the evil."

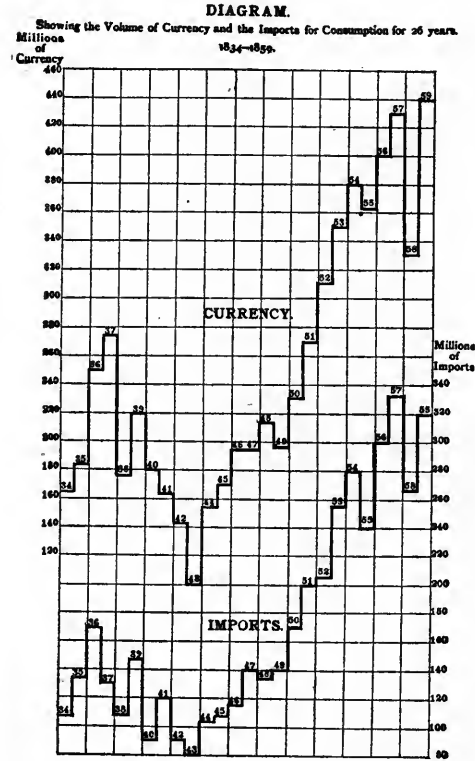
Says Professor Commons (*The Voice*, September 14, 1893):

"What is the significance of price fluctuations? Nothing less than the very essence of modern industry. . . . It is estimated that the debts of the world are \$100,000,000,000. Every nation, State, county, city, and township is a debtor. These debts run from three months to three decades. All business and productive enterprises are a speculation. The farmer borrows money expecting to sell wheat at a certain price and pay his debt in money. Meanwhile, the price of wheat falls 50 per cent. Where one bushel would have paid his debt when contracted, it now requires two bushels, and the burden of the debt has grown 100 per cent. During the past 20 years this is exactly what has occurred. . . . When we consider that the private debts of the country are one half the value of the country, it is no wonder that panic, depression, idleness, and despair are upon us." (For statement as to the public debt, see later on in this article.) At the last Paris Monetary Conference of the leading financiers of the world, President Andrews says (see *MONEY CONFERENCE*): "The vast injustice which the fall of prices causes in the payment of debts and the fulfilment of contracts was dwelt upon somewhat—less, doubtless, than would have been the case had it been seriously questioned by any." Mr. Balfour recently said before an audience of London bankers and merchants, "It is perhaps the most deadening and benumbing influence that can touch the enterprise of a nation." With these statements from trained economists there is no need to quote, and there is much excuse for the sometimes hysterical utterances of the papers and leaders of the farmers' movement in this country, who hold that by contraction of the currency they have been deliberately robbed over and over again.

It is of far more importance to pass on to consider

III. THE FACTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

These can be fully studied only in a complete review of the currency of the United States. (For this, see CURRENCY.) We here consider only such facts as bear directly upon the case, and mainly those since the war. For the ante-bellum period we present from Amasa Walker (*Science of Wealth*) the following charts :

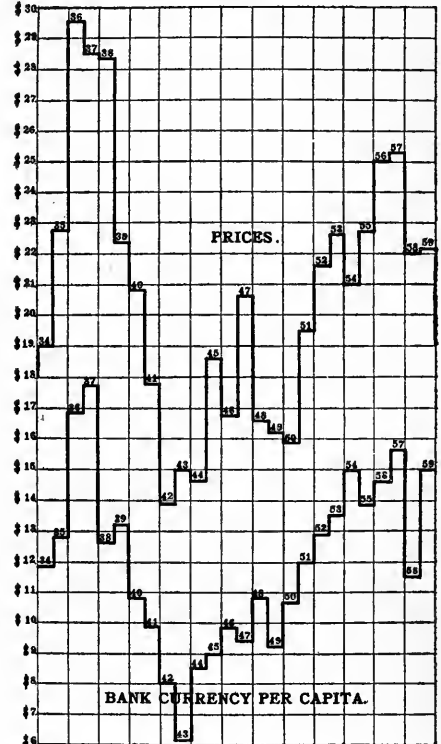


This diagram shows at once how close general prosperity, as measured by imports, follows upon an increased currency. Taken with the next diagram, which we print in the next column, taken from the same source and showing how closely prices follow fluctuations in currency, we have the clearest possible evidence both of the truth of principles asserted above in this article, and also of the vast importance of the subject to the general prosperity of the nation. Discussions about the inflation or contraction of currency usually turn about conditions since the war. It is well to have this plain showing drawn from ante-bellum facts. Had we room we could quote still other of Mr. Walker's admirable charts, showing the effect of an increased currency in still other directions, all proving the intimate connection between an abundance of good currency and national welfare.

For the period since the war we must ask two

questions : First, has the currency expanded or contracted in volume? Secondly, how have general prices changed? We shall then be in

DIAGRAM.
Showing the Corresponding Fluctuations in Currency and Prices for 26 years.
1834-1859.



a condition to see how the problem of currency contraction and expansion really affects the United States. We ask :

(a) *Has there been contraction or expansion of our currency since the war?*

This is a disputed point. We shall give both sides.

According to the authorities at Washington, no contraction has taken place. In the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury appear the data printed in the table on the next page.

It should be presumed, however, that the data reported by the secretary are really misleading on several points. He gets the per capita circulation by dividing the total amount in circulation by the total population ; but during the war millions of people in the South were not using United States money—at least not entirely. They had a currency of their own. The secretary should either have divided the currency only by the Northern population, or have added the Southern currency to the Northern and have divided by the total population. Either process would show a larger per capita circulation during the war days.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNTS OF MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES, IN THE TREASURY AND IN CIRCULATION, ON THE DATES SPECIFIED FROM 1860 TO 1892.

YEAR.	Amount of Money in United States.	Amount in Circulation.	Population.	Money per Capita.	Circulation per Capita.
1860.....	\$442,102,477	\$435,407,252	31,443,321	\$14.06	\$13.85
1861.....	452,005,767	448,495,767	32,064,000	14.09	13.98
1862.....	358,452,079	334,607,744	32,794,000	10.96	10.23
1863.....	674,867,283	595,394,938	33,365,000	20.23	17.84
1864.....	795,588,067	669,041,478	34,046,000	20.72	19.67
1865.....	770,129,755	714,792,995	34,748,000	22.16	20.57
1866.....	754,327,254	673,488,244	35,469,000	21.27	18.99
1867.....	728,200,612	661,992,069	36,211,000	20.11	18.28
1868.....	716,553,578	680,103,661	36,973,000	19.38	18.39
1869.....	715,351,180	664,452,891	37,756,000	18.95	17.60
1870.....	722,868,461	675,212,794	38,558,371	18.73	17.50
1871.....	741,812,174	715,889,005	39,555,000	18.75	18.10
1872.....	762,721,565	738,309,549	40,596,000	18.79	18.19
1873.....	774,445,610	751,881,809	41,677,000	18.58	18.04
1874.....	806,024,781	776,083,931	42,796,000	18.83	18.13
1875.....	798,273,509	754,101,947	43,951,000	18.16	17.16
1876.....	799,683,284	727,609,388	45,137,000	17.52	16.12
1877.....	763,953,847	722,314,883	46,353,000	16.46	15.58
1878.....	791,253,576	729,132,634	47,598,000	16.62	15.32
1879.....	1,051,521,541	818,631,793	48,866,000	21.52	16.75
1880.....	1,205,929,197	973,382,228	50,155,783	24.04	19.41
1881.....	1,406,541,823	1,114,238,119	51,316,000	27.41	21.71
1882.....	1,480,531,719	1,174,290,419	52,495,000	28.20	22.37
1883.....	1,643,489,816	1,230,305,696	53,693,000	30.60	22.91
1884.....	1,705,454,189	1,243,925,969	54,911,000	31.06	22.65
1885.....	1,817,658,336	1,292,568,615	56,148,000	32.37	23.02
1886.....	1,808,559,694	1,252,700,525	57,404,000	31.50	21.82
1887.....	1,900,442,672	1,317,539,143	58,680,000	32.39	22.45
1888.....	2,062,955,949	1,372,170,870	59,974,000	34.39	22.88
1889.....	2,075,359,711	1,380,361,649	61,289,000	33.86	22.52
1890.....	2,144,226,159	1,429,251,270	62,622,250	34.24	22.82
1891.....	2,195,244,075	1,497,440,707	63,975,000	34.31	23.41
1892.....	2,372,599,501	1,601,347,187	65,520,000	36.21	24.44
1893.....	2,323,402,392	1,596,701,245	66,946,000	34.70	23.85
1894.....	2,421,461,747	1,661,835,674	68,397,000	35.40	24.30

NOTE.—The difference between the amount of money in the country and the amount in circulation represents the money in the Treasury.

Currency certificates, act of June 8, 1872, are included in the amount of United States notes in circulation in the tables for the years 1873-91 inclusive; in 1892 they are reported separately.

The foregoing tables present the revised figures for each of the years given.

This assuredly seems to show that our currency in the United States has not been contracting, but steadily expanding. Equally assuredly, however, there is another and a *more important side*. Vast portions of this currency are not available for the common people, and some portion of this claimed currency is not available for any one.

According to the Treasurer's report for 1892, for example, of the \$1,601,347,187 reported in circulation July 1, 1892, \$408,568,824 was in gold coin. Now, except on the Pacific slope, the common people do not see gold from year's end

to year's end. Large amounts of money, too, are known to be hoarded, and therefore not in circulation, but which the report counts as in circulation. That this amount is included in the report may be shown by going still further into details. The report of the Director of the Mint (p. 161, *Treasurer's Report*) shows how the amount of gold in circulation is obtained. It says:

"The ownership of the stock of United States coin and of the gold and silver bullion in the country on July 1, 1892, is exhibited in the following table:

OWNERSHIP OF GOLD AND SILVER IN THE UNITED STATES JULY 1, 1892.

OWNERSHIP.	Gold Coin and Bullion.	SILVER COIN AND BULLION.				Total Gold and Silver Coin and Bullion.
		Silver Dollars.	Subsidiary Silver Coin.	Silver Bullion.	Total Silver.	
United States Treasury.....	\$114,601,767*	\$39,308,448†	\$14,224,714	\$77,068,783	\$121,601,945	\$236,203,712
National banks (July 12, 1892)...	190,751,183‡	32,089,995§	5,579,392	.....	38,569,297	229,320,480
Private banks and individuals...	358,922,385	350,690,292	57,717,462	1,734,548	410,142,302	769,064,687
Total.....	\$664,275,335	\$413,988,735	\$77,521,478	\$78,803,331	\$570,313,544	\$1,234,588,879

* Gold coin and bullion in Treasury, exclusive of \$147,235,339 gold certificates outstanding.

† Silver dollars in Treasury, exclusive of \$326,880,803 silver certificates outstanding.

‡ Includes \$94,028,100 Treasury and clearing-house gold certificates.

§ Includes \$25,523,399 silver certificates held by national banks.

And (p. 160) it says :

"It may be proper to repeat here that the basis of the annual tabulations of the stock of gold coin in the United States was the actual amount of gold coin in the Treasury and in national banks on June 30, 1872, with an addition of \$20,000,000 as an estimate of the minimum amount of gold coin in circulation in the States of the Pacific Slope.

"No allowance was made in the initial estimate for any stock of gold outside of the Treasury and national banks or for any gold in circulation in the States east of the Rocky Mountains.

"Since that date the official estimates presented from year to year have been compiled by adding to the actual visible stock June 30, 1872, the coinage of the mints (less recoinage of our own coins) and the gain (or loss) by import and export of our own coin as registered at the custom houses, with an annual allowance for melting of United States coin for use in the industrial arts based upon three censuses taken by the Bureau of the Mint of the jewelry trade.

"In the case of silver the stock of silver dollars is estimated to be the coinage since March 1, 1878, and the stock of subsidiary silver coin the coinage since 1873, with an estimate of the amount in the country at that date of \$5,000,000, and the annual gain or loss by coinage and import and an annual allowance for melting in the industrial arts, as in the case of gold."

Statistics.

There is, therefore, no slightest allowance here for money hoarded, lost, or taken by emigrants and others out of the country but not registered at the custom-house. All moneys coined since 1872 in the case of gold, and since 1878 for silver, are considered by the treasurer as in circulation. That this is not the case; that large amounts have been hoarded, lost, or taken from the country is notoriously true, tho statistics of the amounts may not be available. Unquestionably, therefore, the reports include from this cause moneys in circulation that cannot be properly so called.

Again the report misleads because it does not fairly represent the circulation in the later war days.

The secretary's report states the "amount in circulation" in 1865 to have been \$714,702,995. This evidently includes only United States notes (greenbacks) and notes of National and State banks and coin, and omits all interest-bearing legal tenders. When Hugh McCulloch was Secretary of the Treasury in 1865, he stated the paper circulation to be substantially as follows :*

United States notes and fractional currency	\$454,218,038
Notes of National banks.....	185,000,000
Notes of State banks.....	65,000,000
Estimated 5 per cent. and compound interest notes.....	30,000,000
Total.....	\$734,218,038

The last item here mentioned is conceded by Secretary McCulloch as being too low. It does not include any of the seven-thirties, of which \$30,000,000 were outstanding (p. 17). "Many of the small denominations (he says) were in circulation as money, and all of which tend in some measure to swell the inflation" (p. 9). The total quantity of interest-bearing legal tenders outstanding October 31, 1865, were (see Report, p. 17):

Compound interest notes.....	\$173,012,141
Seven-thirty Treasury notes.....	830,000,000
Treasury notes 5 per cent.	32,536,901
Total.....	\$1,035,549,042

To what extent these notes should be counted as circulation is doubtful. Certainly the amount held by banks should be so considered in so far as they were a legal reserve against deposits. The comptroller reports the banks as holding \$74,261,847 compound interest notes, and estimates that \$10,000,000 besides are in circulation. (*Report on the Finances*, 1865, p. 64.)

* See *Report on the Finances*, 1865, pp. 9, 10.

The fact is, that besides the \$714,000,000 given by the secretary in 1862, there were also \$1,000,000,000 latent legal tenders which were alternately being injected into and withdrawn from circulation, and which were a legal tender together with their accumulated interest. A conservative estimate would place the circulation at \$800,000,000 in 1865. Now the population for 1865 is stated in the report of 1862 to have been 3,474,000. This evidently includes 9,000,000 population of the Southern States, which had its own Confederate currency. If the secretary wishes to calculate the per capita circulation for 34,000,000 people, he should include the currency used by all those people. Otherwise he should deduct the 9,000,000 Southern population, leaving 25,000,000 Northerners with \$800,000,000 currency, equal to \$32 per capita instead of the \$20.58 actually estimated.

The contraction of the currency, therefore, from 1865 proceeded from \$32 to \$15.32 per capita in 1878, when it was arrested by the Bland Bill.

Since 1878 there has been an apparent expansion to \$24.30 per capita; but this has been in subsidiary and token money, and not in the standard money—gold; whereas the contraction from 1865-78 was a contraction of what was then the only effective standard—paper money.

And this takes into no account the increase of business over the increase of population. We shall consider this more at length in a moment, but must first note an objection that seems to vitiate our argument. It is said that the amount of currency really makes very little difference, because the vast majority of our monetary transactions are done, not by money, but by instruments of credit for which money only furnishes the basis. The one thing we are told is to have this basis reliable and trustworthy; its amount matters little. Professor Commons (in the article above mentioned in *The Voice*) has well stated the objection and well answered it.

"There is a current statement emanating from the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency, and based on the statements of bank officers throughout the Union to the effect that only 7 per cent. of the business of the country is paid for in cash; the other 93 per cent. is represented by credit instruments, such as checks and drafts. From this statement it is sought to minimize the share of money in influencing the range of prices. The conclusion is reached that 93 per cent. of general prices is based on credit and only 7 per cent. on money, and therefore that the question of the volume of money in a country has very little significance compared with the importance of a good credit system.

Professor Commons.

"But there are two objections to this conclusion. What would be thought of the sanity and the conclusions of a man who should gather statistics only from the meat markets in the land and then should expound the statement that 95 per cent. of all the industry of the country consisted of fresh meat and only 5 per cent. of the country's industry consisted of all other kinds of commodities? The conclusion is no less credible than is the aforesaid statement regarding credits. The statistics are gathered only from enterprises whose sole business almost is dealing in credits. But if you go to the retail merchant he will say 25 per cent. to 75 per cent., and even 100 per cent., of his business is paid for in cash. The farmer uses very few checks and drafts. The millions of day laborers use none at all. Taking the country as a whole, perhaps not 50 per cent. of all transactions are settled by credit instruments, while the cash of the country must be actually transferred in settling the other 50 per cent."

President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 26) takes the same position; and says :

"While substitutes for money have been multiplying in certain directions, others have been withdrawn. The truck system of paying factory help is dying out. More significant is that increase in the division of labor, by which many important products, like wagons, harnesses, shoes, and clothing, whose manufacture used to begin and end under the same roof, are now gotten

up by a dozen, more or less, different establishments. The wagon-maker buys his wheels of one man, his bodies of another, his tops of another. Nearly all country shoemakers, for new work, purchase the uppers ready made and the soles all cut from some city firm. Blacksmiths no longer make their nails, rarely even point them, and almost never think of forging a shoe or a bolt. All these things they purchase.

"Two years ago I found a man who had for a decade owned and carried on the chief store in a flourishing New England village ignorant how to draw a check. If this in the East, how slight must be the play of banking methods in the West and South! The gross *per capita* mode of estimating monetary need is fallacious, and I never appeal to it, but it is far more applicable in this country than in England.

"The *per capita* capital surplus, undivided profits, and individual deposits in banking institutions of all kinds was, on January 1, 1887, for the entire United States, \$76.19. For Rhode Island, the highest figure, it was \$304.83; for Massachusetts, next highest, \$207.86; for New York, third highest, \$251.08. For Mississippi it was but \$3.23—the lowest; for Arkansas, \$4.20; for North Carolina, \$5.45; for South Carolina, \$9.61.

"With nations, as with individuals, those best able to get credit use it least. In all the wealthiest countries the proportion of cash payments to total volume of trade is steadily increasing. According to Rae, from 70 to 90 per cent. of the world's business is done on credit. In Germany, Siam, and Canada the proportion is 90 per cent.; in Belgium and China, 80. Credit traffics its feeblest development in Holland; its strongest in Turkey and Yucatan. With progress in economic organization, the sphere of credit becomes less extensive, its operation more intensive and useful. Cash payments, getting the mastery first in wages, in retail trade, and in raw products, spread gradually over other fields, shutting up credit to its most helpful and least dangerous functions. People are everywhere more and more replacing book credit by bills, long credit by short, mercantile credits by banking credits, and banking credits themselves they are making more widely effective and available by specializing the organization of financial institutions to particular branches of industry."

The question of the amount of currency, then, cannot be dodged by the statement that credit fills all gaps. On the other hand, let us now see how great has been the increase in the demand for currency. Mr. W. C. Fisher, in a careful study of the facts of the case (*Appendix to An Honest Dollar*, p. 47), admits an actual increase of circulation, but not in proportion to the increased demand. He says:

"In the period, 1870-1888, there was an increase in the *per capita* circulation outside of the Treasury from \$20.24 to \$22.46; but the increase in the amount of exchanging—that is, in the demand for money—seems to have been much greater. For example, Poor's figures show that the amount of railway freight transportation rose from about 2½ tons in 1868 to 9,2176 tons in 1887; while the Census gives the *per capita* wealth in 1870 as \$783, and in 1880 as \$870. But the large numbers which express the business of America are best understood when reduced to percentages, and I have, therefore, taken the amount of money in the circulation and the amounts of production, consumption, exchange, etc., in 1870, as the bases, and have computed the increase in percentages to the latest years for which data are accessible.

"The standard against which the growth of industry is to be measured in this connection is the rate of increase in the amount of circulating medium; and for this the figures, from 1870, are to 1886, 50 per cent.; to 1887, 70 per cent.; to 1888, 77 per cent. Population to 1888 shows an increase of 50 per cent.; cereal crops, 97 per cent.; pig iron produced, 200 per cent.; bales of cotton, 112 per cent.; postal receipts, notwithstanding two reductions in the charges, 167 per cent.; railway mileage, 235 per cent. From 1870 to 1887 some of the increments are: cotton consumed, 101 per cent.; tea, 106 per cent.; coffee, 117 per cent.; sugar, 88 per cent.; wool, 87 per cent.; tonnage entered and cleared in the foreign trade, 114 per cent.; freight carried on 13 trunk lines, carrying 22 per cent. of total in the United States, 317 per cent.; ton-miles of freight transportation on same lines, 333 per cent.; insurance against fire reported to the New York Department being 80 to 90 per cent. of the whole 203 per cent. To 1886 there was an increase in the coal mined of 225 per cent.; in hay cut,

70 per cent.; in potatoes, 46 per cent.; in tobacco, 37 per cent. Other figures of the same general bearing might be given, but they would only fortify what is already proved by the cumulative evidence of the foregoing—that is, that since 1870 the money worth of this country has increased much more rapidly than has the amount of money in circulation."

Mr. Fisher comes finally to these conclusions:

"I. That the increase of the currency has not at all kept pace with the expansion of industry.

"II. Improvements in the means of communication, and in the facilities for transporting money, the extension of savings institutions, and the rising value of money itself, have all probably had a right tendency to accelerate the circulation; but the total effect of these causes must have been quite inconsiderable.

**Increase not
Rapid
Enough.**

"III. The operations of the clearing houses are presumably a fair index of the use of checks, and seem to show but a very moderate expansion during the period under consideration. The amount of the clearings at New York per head of the population of the country has each year since 1883 been less than in any one of the years between 1863 and 1874, or between 1870 and 1884, and has exceeded by only a little the clearings in the years of depression which intervened between the panic of 1873 and the revival of 1879. It is scarcely safe to draw conclusions from the scanty data of the other clearing houses; but, so far as these go, they point in the same direction. If the amount of deposits against which checks may be drawn be taken as the index of the extent to which they are actually drawn, a slightly greater increase seems probable; but there is nothing to indicate that the use of checks has increased at equal rate with the exchanging of the country. An examination of the conditions under which book accounts fully take the place of money and checks will make it quite clear that the range of this substitute for money not only is not extending, but is rather growing narrower."

Such, then, seems to be the well-substantiated facts, that credit does not replace the use of money to at all the extent popularly claimed, and that it is doing so less rather than more, and that, secondly, the treasurer's figures are not to be implicitly accepted without analysis; while even accepting them, it is plain that the claimed expansion of the currency has not kept pace with the increase of demand, thus making, even on this basis of the treasurer's figures, a virtual contraction of the currency, and on the basis of fairer figures, a criminal contraction which has damaged every debtor and every worker in our land. But this is only one half the question. If, as we have seen, to have an honest dollar it is necessary to have one which will always purchase the same amount of value or total utility of standard commodities, so that the farmer, for example, who borrows the cost of 10 loads of hay will not, in order to repay the same nominal sum, have to pay back 20 loads, let us ask:

How have prices varied in the United States since the war? Notoriously, generally speaking, they have declined; how much, we shall see in a moment. But this is the same as to say that the value of money has appreciated—that is, every dollar will buy more of the average commodities. Consequently, he who lent a dollar soon after the war and receives it back now receives, or even if he does not receive it, by law has a right to more value as measured in commodities than he lent. Let us see how much this is. There are several ways of measuring the facts. One may consider gold the standard, and see how prices have fallen; or one may consider silver the standard, and see how prices have fallen; or one may consider

prices the same, and see how gold and silver have appreciated. In some admirable tables Edward B. Howell, in the *Review of Reviews*

for September, 1893, has presented the facts in the two first ways. We present them here by permission :

CHART I. SHOWING THE FALL IN PRICES, GOLD BEING THE STANDARD.

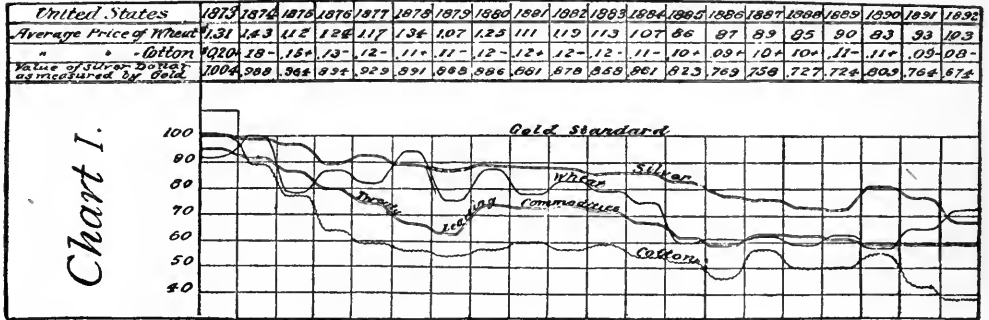
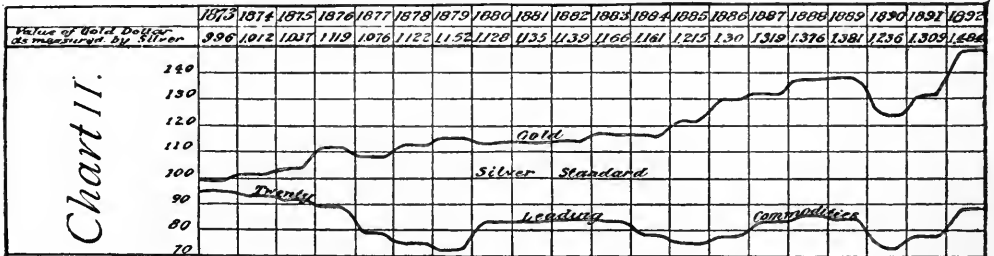


CHART II. SHOWING THE FALL IN PRICES AND APPRECIATION IN GOLD, SILVER BEING THE STANDARD.



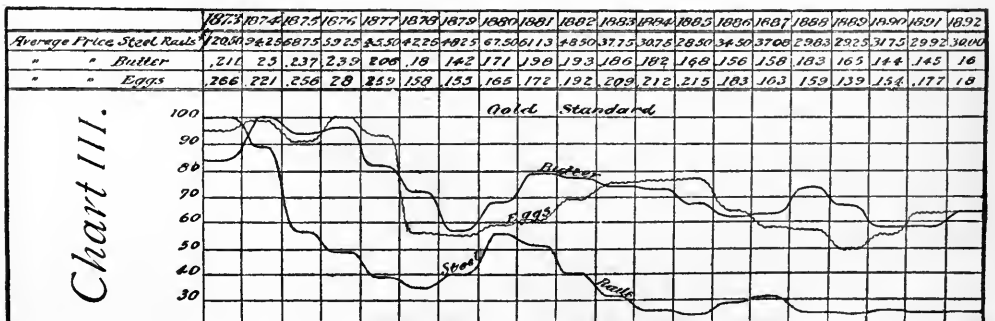
"In these tables, says Mr. Howell, "the statistics for the intrinsic value of the silver dollar as measured by gold are taken from the last report of the Director of the Mint. The 20 leading commodities whose percentages are averaged include cotton, with three or four of its staple fabrics, wool, corn, wheat, wheat flour, mess pork, butter, eggs, leather, anthracite and bituminous coal, etc., such as constitute the chief sources of America's wealth. If more commodities had been included, or different ones, the showing might have been modified somewhat, but not materially, for what is true of the fall of these commodities is true of all."

The statistics for these commodities were taken, Mr. Howell also tells us, from government statistical returns.

Now the question arises whether this fall in prices has been occasioned by improved methods in production, etc., or by the appreciation of money? Mr. Howell answers this, and says :

"An editorial in the June *Century* denies the appreciation of gold, and claims that the fall of prices has been due to improved methods of production and distribution. It is impossible to wholly disprove a statement that is partially true. No doubt improved methods of production have lowered the prices of certain commodities. In most of the commodities named above there have been no materially improved methods of production in the last 20 years. In Chart III, I have compared the range in price of a commodity in which there have been improved methods of production with two others in which there have not. The methods of producing steel rails have been greatly improved in 20 years, and as a result the price has taken a veritable 'header.' Yet butter and eggs have also declined in price, though there have been no improvements made on the ordinary cow and hen as methods of producing them. In other words, improved facilities may in some cases have augmented a fall that has been due to another and more universal cause."

Here is his Chart III :



We see thus plainly that while improved production undoubtedly has lowered the price of many commodities, money has even apart from this appreciated.

But whatever be the *cause* (for a further study of this subject see SILVER ; BIMETALLISM ; CURRENCY), we are here concerned simply with the *fact that money has appreciated*. How much this is the case is well illustrated by President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 13) :

"Our national debt on September 1, 1865, was about two and three quarter billions. It could then have been paid off with eighteen million bails of cotton or twenty-five million tons of bar iron. When it had been reduced to a billion and a quarter, thirty million bales of cotton or thirty-two million tons of iron would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about fifty-five per cent. had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured in either of these two world-staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent. . . . Between 1870 and 1884, the debt of the United States decreased not very far from three quarters of a billion dollars. Yet if we take beef, corn, wheat, oats, pork, coal, cotton, and bar iron together as the standard—assuredly not a bad one—the debt not only did not decrease at all, but actually increased by not less than 50 per cent."

Now, it can be seen what expansion and contraction of the currency means to the producing and debtor class of this country. As with public debts, so with private debts. Measured by what a dollar will buy from 1870-84, every debt increased, according to President Andrews's statement, threefold. Immediately after the war American enterprise filled the West with new farms. The farmers borrowed money, and mortgaged their farms to get stock and "plant." To-day their unpaid debt has increased threefold in value. Contraction in the currency will increase their debt still more. Expansion in currency will reduce their debt to nearer its value when they contracted the debt. Can any one wonder that almost desperately the farmer, mortgaged often beyond all hope of payment, battles desperately, wildly, pathetically for an enlarged circulation, be it of silver, paper, or aught else that seems to promise relief? Is it any wonder, too, that in his desperate condition (see MORTGAGES) he makes mistakes, and is willing to get money, *even of bad quality*, if he can only get quantity? When it is remembered, too, that, according to the best authorities (see BIMETALLISM), it is at least very doubtful if there be gold enough in the world to do the business of the world, is it any wonder that those already burdened under a load of money contraction and falling prices struggle desperately, sometimes almost insanely, for bimetallism or anything which promises deliverance from the further contraction of the currency and the appreciation of gold value by what they consider "the gold conspirators of the world"? For a fuller study of the situation, see CURRENCY ; but here, from the best authorities and principles accepted by all economists, we can see somewhat of the appalling results of monetary contraction in the United States.

We therefore come to consider

IV. PROPOSED REMEDIES.

(a) Choose that standard which varies least, which is gold, say some ; which is silver, answer others. But either vary very much in

value. (See SILVER ; GOLD.) Is there no better way?

(b) Choose both, say the bimetallists. (See BIMETALLISM.) But even this is not sufficiently elastic, and if it were, seems to-day to be impossible. Says Professor Commons (in article already quoted) :

"Both bimetallism and monometallism leave the regulation of the volume of currency to the wasteful, irregular frolics of nature. A truly elastic currency can be obtained only by substituting scientific human design for nature's unconscious lottery.

"But the insuperable obstacle to bimetallism is the impossibility of reaching an international agreement. The United States have invited the nations of Europe to three international conferences, but to-day an agreement is no nearer than 14 years ago, when the first conference was held. Until the last year or two it may have been possible that the United States, with their boundless resources and industry, could have maintained the parity of the two metals without the help of the European nations. But no longer does there remain any doubt. We must face the fact now that the money policy of Europe is dictated by a league of the money-lenders and the army chiefs. The masses of the people are ignorant, apathetic, and powerless. With millions of gold collected into 'war chests,' regardless of cost, with Austria-Hungary suddenly calling for \$200,000,000 of gold, and now at last with India, for centuries (as a Frenchman has said) the historical abyss of silver from which there is no return, with the mints of India ostracizing the white metal at the command of the money princes of England, there is no hope that the United States alone can maintain free silver coinage. Already our gold has been rapidly disappearing and has reached the danger line with a law considerably short of free coinage. Should the greater measure be enacted the rest would follow, and our foreign trade would be reduced to a gambling joust, like that of Mexico."

It has therefore been proposed to

(c) Choose some standard or standards, and increase the quantity by a commission controlled by fixed law, taking it out of the hands of political interests. For this several detailed plans have been presented.

Professor Walras, of Lausanne, would work *a priori*. He judges that the volume of commerce, the volume of money, and the relation between the two can all be so closely figured out and followed that threatened changes in general prices may be forecast and prevented. President Andrews would follow a similar plan, but work *a posteriori*. His method, he says, "would involve (1) the critical, official ascertainment of the course of prices ; (2) the use of some form of subsidiary full legal tender money ; and (3) the injection of a portion of this into circulation, or the withdrawal of a portion therefrom, according as prices had fallen or risen.

"There is, of course, much labor and care involved in determining the course of prices ; but the task can be accomplished, with all sufficient exactness, without excessive difficulty. Plans for a compound standard of value have been numerous. The articles composing them, it is always and justly urged, must be staples, and must be the same in kind, quality, and amount at all the successive listings. There are five conditions besides these on which stress should be laid. One is that the commodities must be taken from each of the two great classes, those subject and those not subject to the law of diminishing return, as far as possible in the proportion which each bears to the total consumption. The second is that those articles must be chosen which are the least subject to accidental and artificial fluctuations, as by customs regu-

lations, peculiarity of seasons, weather, and the like. Thus Soetbeer is doubtless right in thinking prices in Hamburg, which till lately has been a wholly free market, somewhat more normal than those of London even. The third is that the greater the number of staples the better, provided the just indicated requirements be adhered to. The fourth is that, as a rule, prices are to be registered in all the major markets of the country or countries whose prices are in question. In not a few cases, as wheat and standard silver, London prices would serve as well for other countries as for Great Britain. For many staples trustworthy price records are now kept, as by the London *Economist* and *Gazette*. For others, new or more accurate records would have to be instituted. The fifth special condition is that of quantity coefficients—an arrangement by which the figures for each commodity are made to enter into the grand total a number of times in proportion to the quantity of it consumed.

"At intervals, now, whether directly or index-numberwise, as may be found intrinsically the more correct as well as the less subject to mistakes of calculation, the entire price-list of the articles determined on is to be added up. The geometrical, the arithmetical, or the harmonic mean may be sought. If the amount at any addition is greater than at the last, general prices have risen; money has grown cheaper, has lost in purchasing power; too much of it is in circulation; and some must be withdrawn.

"If, on the contrary, the amount is less than at the last summation, prices have fallen; money has grown dearer, has gained in value; too little of it is in circulation, and more must be set free or coined, to redress the balance. In a word, inflate or contract, rarefy or condense, so as to keep the footing of your great price-list perpetually the same.

"The universally conceded equity of a composite value standard would in this way be incorporated in the monetary system itself, and would spread to all the exchange transactions of the nation. The very knowledge of an existing purpose thus to regulate would do much to regulate."

The Hon. Henry Winn, of Massachusetts, has formulated a plan not dissimilar. In the speech quoted above he says:

"It seems to me that the remedy lies in a currency of legal tender treasury notes, not redeemable at any fixed ratio in coin, but receivable for at taxes and public dues, and kept as nearly as possible, by expansion or contraction of their volume, at a fixed par in value by comparison of the average market price, in such currency, of a specified number of commodities selected as affording the best barometer of values. The value

ratio of the dollar to this fixed par should be declared at stated periods by a commission of experts, who might be authorized to reject, for declared cause, any commodity of which the price should appear abnormal or forced, replacing it from a list of authorized substitutes. The basis of their action would be so completely public that fraud would not occur. All time and overdue debts should by law be payable by such an amount of this currency as would give to the creditor value equivalent to value given by him, as determined by the ratio for the period when the debt was contracted compared with the ratio at the time of payment, with his interest, and no more.

"In ordinary transactions and account current the ratio or variation would not enter or be thought of, and the only inconvenience would be a computation at

settlement of time obligations, involving perhaps half the usual labor required to compute interest.

"Thus currency at 1.10 would indicate that it would buy one tenth more of the commodities than when it was at par, and at 90 it would buy one tenth less. So a note for \$1000 given when currency is at 90 would be paid at \$818.18 when currency is 110; and given at 110 would be paid at \$122.22 with currency at 90."

Finally Professor Commons has presented a plan, perhaps the wisest in the present situation. It is a combination of President Andrews's plan with one proposed by Secretary Windom in 1889. Says Professor Commons (*Annals of the American Academy*, September, 1893):

"In the April number of *The Forum* Mr. José F. de Navarro proposes, instead of the present system of silver certificates and treasury notes redeemable in silver dollars, to substitute a system of bullion notes redeemable in silver bullion at the gold price of silver on the day of payment. This is essentially the plan submitted to Congress in 1889 by Secretary Windom, who proposed to restrict the issue of these bullion notes to the yearly commercial value of the product of the American mines. This would have resulted in an annual increase of the currency of about \$55,000,000 (\$57,600,040 in 1891). All the advantages of the plan as claimed by Mr. de Navarro may be readily conceded. It would check at once the scare about the loss of our gold. In fact, with such a system of currency, the United States could dispense with gold altogether. This is a contingency, however, which neither Secretary Windom nor Mr. de Navarro seems to have considered safe or allowable. Yet further consideration will show that, having adopted the system of bullion notes, every dollar of gold now on hand might be exported to Europe, and every new ounce from the mines might follow it, yet every dollar of American currency would be as good as a gold dollar. Should all the gold leave the country in this way, cablegram reports from London every day would give the gold price of silver, just as the Director of the Mint to-day receives prices to guide him in the purchase of bullion under the act of 1890. Every bullion note presented to the Treasury would be redeemed in silver bullion at the world's gold price of silver on that day, and would, therefore, be equal to a redemption in gold on the markets of the world.

"If these principles be true, may not the United States go further and adopt a scientifically elastic system of currency, based on bullion notes?"

Professor Commons then goes on to state the plans of Professor Walras and President Andrews, and objects to them on the ground that they would make the subsidiary money mere token money, which, when prices were rising, could not be contracted except by issuing bonds redeemable in silver certificates, since it could not sell silver for the certificates, and when prices were falling could only be expanded by an injection of depreciated coins.

"But," says Professor Commons, "these objections would not hold if the subsidiary money were bullion notes redeemable in silver bullion at the current gold price of silver. With such an amendment, the scheme of President Andrews could be carried out with eminent success by the United States alone. We could become the great regulator of world-prices, and not with great loss, such as France incurred when she played that role under simple bimetallism, but with unexampled profit. Our six hundred millions of gold would go abroad in just the quantities we desired and keep up Europe's prices, while we would be doing business on a gold basis without need of the gold. The monetary commission, if prices were falling, would purchase silver bullion at its market value at any figure below \$1.29 per ounce, and legal-tender certificates would be issued in payment thereof, in such quantities as were necessary to keep up prices. Then, again, if prices were rising above the standard, the commission could sell silver bullion at its market value, and could lock up the certificates received therefor, thus contracting the currency without the issue of bonds. With the expansion of the country, however, it is likely that the purchase of bullion rather than its sale would be the normal operation.

"It may be objected that quantity of money is not

the only factor influencing the rise and fall of prices, but that inflation and collapse of credit have the same effect. This is undoubtedly true. But credit depends largely on the prospects of the money-supply. The knowledge that a commission of experts is ready to contract the currency will prevent undue and over-inflated credits, and the knowledge of power to expand the currency will give infinite confidence and power of resistance in times of panic and depression.

"The possible objection that the stock of bullion in the vaults of the Government may become depreciated and the Government may lose through corners or otherwise, when it sells bullion, need have little weight. In the first place, there will be more buying than selling, which would stiffen the price of silver. And, secondly, tho the bullion value should fall, the Government would be as safe as it is at present with \$100,000,000 gold to redeem \$340,000,000 greenbacks and some \$400,000,000 of silver certificates. Let the United States adopt this plan, and we should be independent of international monetary conferences and bimetallic treaties. An international money would be created which the nations of Europe would soon be driven to imitate."

Such are the main ways proposed for the meeting of the evil. For still other plans for an elastic paper currency, see PAPER MONEY. For references, see MONEY and BIMETALLISM. For the latest facts in regard to the circulation, see SILVER.

Revised by PROF. J. R. COMMONS.

CONTRACT LABOR.—When a national, municipal, county, or other government desires to erect a building or undertake any other work, like printing, supplying the army, etc., the custom has grown of giving out the work to be done by some contractor or contractors, who usually sign a contract with the government to do the work or furnish the required supplies for a certain sum, taking the responsibility of purchasing the material, hiring the workmen, and concluding the whole work. Even private persons and corporations usually give to contractors the job of doing for them all work not wholly in the lines of their own industry. Business, therefore, done on contract forms a very large proportion, particularly of the building, constructing, and furnishing trades. This method of business has grown up mainly for two reasons: Firstly—and this reason applies particularly to private corporations and individuals—because it is usually the easiest method. An individual or a corporation, and to a less extent government, has not often either the time or the ability to conduct an operation apart from his, her, or its own line of industry, and it is therefore much easier and sometimes the only possible way to give the whole job to some contractor, whose exact business it is to do the kind of work that may be required, and leaving to him all responsibility for details, to pay him a lump sum for the completed work, usually with certain specified requirements and by a specified time. Secondly, it is usually claimed—and this reason is applied particularly to governments—that it is cheaper to let out the work

might be obviated, especially on the part of governments that are always having such works performed, by hiring paid specialists not to take a contract for the work, but to conduct it for the government itself; but this, it is usually said, is expensive. It is a common opinion in business and public circles that public work is never as cheaply done as private work. Public work, carried out by paid officials and employees, it is said, is always comparatively expensive, because it is no one person's interest to see that the work is cheaply done. The only party that suffers if it is not cheaply done is the general public, and the public often knows little if anything about it, and when it does know is often unable to speedily and readily act in the matter. Consequently, it is said, government work is usually carried out by corrupt officials and lazy, inefficient employees. Contract labor is cheaper, it is argued, because rival contractors will bid against each other to do a job as cheaply as possible in order to get the job, and will then see for the advantage of their own pockets that their men do work cheaply. To insure this, legislation, and often the special legislation authorizing the undertaking, requires that the work be bidden for in the open market, and the job be given to the contractor agreeing to do it for the lowest figure. Therefore exact specifications of what is wanted are usually advertised by the government, and sealed bids from various contractors are received for doing the work, and at a certain time the bids are opened and the contract awarded to the contractor offering the best terms. This, until recently at least, has been almost universally regarded as the best way of getting work done.

than for the government or individual to do it for himself or itself. This second reason naturally springs in part from the first reason. What we know little about we cannot do cheaply. A contractor whose special business it is to undertake a work can naturally do it more cheaply. This, it is true,

But three main difficulties have resulted from this system. In the first place, it has developed some of the greatest political scandals of modern times. It being, of course, for the interest of the contractor to get all he can from the government for doing the job, it has repeatedly happened that contractors in some way bribe the administration or the officials in charge of the works to award them the job, even when they do not offer the lowest price. So frequently does this happen, that public officials expect, as a matter of course, to be bought in this way, and a job is created simply to afford a chance to the officials to sell the contract. Sometimes contractors seem all but compelled to bribe their way to receiving a contract. Not infrequently officials will form bogus companies of their own, and award a contract to themselves at exorbitant rates, and then secretly sublet the contract to some company or contractor, pocketing themselves the enormous difference. "Jobs" of this kind, especially in municipal governments, have at times in America been almost the rule. (See JOBS.) Secondly, it being the interest of the contractor not only to get a high price for his work, but having gotten a high price, to perform it as cheaply as possible, he often defrauds the public, and sometimes with the connivance of public officials, by furnishing anything but the specified quality of material and the specified quality of work.

**Arguments
against.**

**Arguments
for.**

The rotten jobs that have been thus put upon the people disgrace almost all American cities, and exist wherever the contract system is found. Thirdly, it being the interest of the contractor to pay low wages to his men, the contract system has often become synonymous with the employment of the lowest forms of imported labor, to the exclusion of the more educated workmen of the country. Roads are built, dwellings, etc., put up in America by contractors who employ imported Italian and Hungarian labor, while American workmen go idle for lack of employment. This not unnaturally has greatly incensed trade-unionists, and they continually urge, and occasionally succeed in compelling municipal governments to give the preference to workmen resident in the city; but more and more are they agitating for the abolition of the whole contract system, which has proved itself fruitful of such corruption, and is built often upon the low wages of working men. They argue that it is the first duty of a government to be just to its own citizens, and that it has no right to leave the management of public works to irresponsible contractors. They would have government employ its own workmen at fair prices, for fair hours, and avoid the costs of paying middlemen and contractors. They claim, too, that this will really give the public both better and cheaper work. They do not, of course, claim that all corruption will disappear, but that work conducted by public officials can be more easily investigated and watched than work given out to private contractors. Such are the general arguments on both sides. We close this article by giving a statement of a representative believer in the contract system and a representative believer in the public doing its own work. For the contract system the Hon. Nathan Matthews, Jr., the Mayor of Boston, said in his valedictory address, January 5, 1895:

"One of the chief difficulties in municipal government under democratic institutions is the treatment of the labor problem in its various aspects. The relations between the municipal corporation and its employees engaged in manual labor are everywhere the cause of unceasing agitation and discussion; and this is particularly the case in Boston, where from the earliest times a larger proportion of the public work has been done by day labor than in the other large cities of the country. The collection of garbage, at first let out to contractors, was intrusted to a department of the city government to be handled directly by its employees, as early as 1824; and in the same year a street-cleaning service was inaugurated upon the day-labor plan. The lighting of the public lamps, which prior to 1868 had been done by the gas companies or other contractors, was at various times between that year and 1870 handed over to the lamp department, and has since been attended to by the employees of that department. Work upon the streets was done very largely by day labor as early as 1850; sewers have been built by day labor from an early period; the laying of pipes for our waterworks has almost always been done by the day; since 1865 the construction of the great basins has frequently been attempted by day labor; and a large part of the work of park constructions since 1882 has been done by the day.

"The present practice is to do all the work of maintenance, repairing, jobbing, pipe-laying, and all matters the proper execution of which is a question of opinion, and therefore difficult to secure through written specifications, by day labor employed directly by the city departments, and to let all works of large construction out by contract.

"The day-labor system, even if excluded entirely from works of large construction, costs the city very much more than contract work, as, owing to the higher rate of wages paid, the smaller number of

hours, and the large number of holidays and half-holidays without loss of pay, the city pays about 60 per cent. more than the market rate of wages.* A further loss is experienced through the necessity of furnishing, so far as practicable, permanent employ- **Day Labor.** ment throughout the year, and also by the continued employment of men who have grown old in the service of the city.

"On the other hand, a good deal of the city's work could not be done by contract without constant complaints from the citizens that it was not properly done. This applies to the collection of garbage, the cleaning of streets, the lighting of lamps, and other work of the sort, the proper execution of which is in the nature of things a matter of opinion, and therefore incapable of accurate specification in a written contract. In the next place, work in the nature of jobbing—of which there is a great deal in the street department—probably costs no more under this system than if let out by contract, for the reason that the profits of the middleman in small jobs are necessarily large. Then there is a class of work difficult of inspection, such as the laying of water-pipes, which it is for the interest of the city to have done by day labor, even if it costs more, in order that the city authorities may be certain that it is well done.

"Notwithstanding all that can be said against the execution of public works by day labor, I am satisfied that it is on the whole for the advantage of the city that work of the character mentioned should be done in this way; and as to the high rate of wages, shorter hours of work, and other privileges which swell the cost, it may be said that the wages paid to the city laborers have not been increased since 1882;† that the hours of labor are regulated by statute; and that if the city is to employ day labor at all, it has been found practically necessary that the laborers should receive high wages, permanent employment so far as practicable, and generally a more liberal treatment than in private work. Whether city laborers work as faithfully as those employed by contractors depends on circumstances, principally on the discipline of the department and the energy of its foremen.

"Passing now to the consideration of works of construction, we find wholly different conditions. Here the cost of the day-labor system is very much greater than contract work, and the results are in no respect more satisfactory.

"While there are opportunities for collusion and corruption in the contract system, still these opportunities can be, and so far as my experience goes, are avoided with comparative ease. Contracts for work of this character can be so drawn as to permit of accurate inspection, and with upright and watchful heads of departments there is no reason why public work of this sort cannot be carried on fully as cheaply and quickly as private work.

"I have been at some pains to secure accurate comparisons of the cost of works of large construction done by day labor and by contract, and the following instances are given by way of illustration: At Lake Cochituate, in 1887, about 50,000 cubic feet of shallow flowage work was done by day labor, at a cost of \$28,877.16; while the following year about 57,000 cubic yards of similar work was done by contract for \$16,202.25. Stripping 54,000 cubic yards of loam from the bottom of Basin 6 cost by day labor 71 cents per cubic yard; while the average of five sections let out by contract, involving the removal of about 400,000 cubic yards, cost about 40½ cents a cubic yard. Rubble masonry was built on Basin 6 by day labor at a cost of \$12.50 per cubic yard, and by contract for \$7.50 per cubic yard. The work on Basin No. 5 (that now under construction, estimated to cost \$2,500,000 for land and construction) is being done by contract; while the greater part of the work at Basin No. 6 was done by day labor; and the following table shows a comparison of the results obtained.‡

* The cost in the street department alone of holidays and half-holidays amounts to nearly \$75,000 per annum. A city laborer (unskilled) receives about 24 cents per hour of actual work, while the contractors pay about 15 cents.

† When they were fixed by vote of the city council at not less than \$2 per day.

‡ The city engineer, from whom these figures are obtained, makes the following explanation:

In the item of 496,007 cubic yards of stripping is included one section of 90,870 cubic yards, which was very difficult. Excluding that section, the average cost of stripping 405,197 cubic yards was 35½ cents per

	DAM No. 5.	DAM NO. 6.	
	Contract.	Contract.	City.
Stripping of basin and dam	0.24	.....	0.57
Sodding embankment.....	0.28	.....	0.90
Concrete core-wall.....	4.70	.....	6.61
Plastering Portland cement	0.67	.....	0.99
Delivering gravel on embankment.....	0.206 (est.)	0.206	.....
Spreading and rolling.....	0.119 (est.)	.....	0.226
Stripping 496,207 cubic yards.....	.....	0.405	0.64
Stripping 110,232 cubic yards.....	.....	.....	.....

"The plan now being pressed by certain labor organizations (not composed of city employees) for the construction of public buildings by day labor employed directly by the city is too preposterous for discussion. The city has no opportunity to give constant employment to the skilled labor required in building operations, and would, therefore, be unable to secure the best workmen; it has no plant; the administration of such work would greatly enlarge the scope of political patronage; the cost may be safely set down as two or three times that of the present system; and all the advantages to be gained from competition under our present admirable contract law would be lost.

"Between the demands of the taxpayer for the execution of all public works by contract, and the demands of the labor organizations that all public works should be done by the day, I believe that the safe, reasonable, and prudent course to follow in the public interest is the system now and for some time past in operation. According to this, all work of large construction is done by contract, through competition, except, perhaps, in certain special cases of peculiar difficulty; while jobbing, maintenance, repairs, and other work of the kind, including all that cannot be accurately specified and inspected, is done by day labor employed directly by the city departments upon liberal terms, in respect to wages, hours, holidays, and length of employment."

To this it may be said that even if contract labor be cheaper, it is at least questionable if a city should seek cheapness by importing or encouraging the importation of cheap, ignorant laborers, who are often a danger and a burden to the community, and who prevent its own citizens from earning a fair living; but it is even argued that experience shows that contract labor is not cheaper. Mr. Sydney Webb, in a paper read before the Economic Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1894, relates the experience of the London Council. He says:

"We come to an altogether different range of criticism when we consider the council's determination to dispense, wherever possible, with the contractor, and execute its works by engaging a staff of workmen under the supervision of its own salaried officers.

cubic yard. The city work necessarily costs more than that done by contract for the reason that the city pays in the country \$2 for nine hours' work, gives one half-day per week during four months, all holidays, and two days for voting. The men work from eight to nine months per year. This makes the price paid for one hour of actual work about 24 cents, while the contractor pays in ordinary years, in the country, 15 cents per hour.

The division of cost of building the dams is about as follows: Labor, 6 per cent.; teaming, 13 per cent.; tools, etc., 20 per cent.; and on this basis the city must pay 1.42 times as much as the contractor for the same effort. For stripping, the division of cost would be for labor, 75 per cent.; teaming, 20 per cent.; tools, etc., 5 per cent.; and the city must pay 1.49 times as much as the contractor.

This has been fiercely attacked as being palpably and obviously opposed to political economy and business experience. It is worth while to place on record the facts. The first case is that of watering and cleaning the bridges over the Thames, a service which the Metropolitan Board of Works let out to a contractor. The new council perversely went into calculations which led the members to believe that the contractor was making a very good thing out of the job, and finally to decide upon engaging labor direct. There have now been over three years' experience of the new system, with the result that, whereas the contractor charged 4s. 7½d. to 4s. 10½d. per square yard, the work is now done at an average cost of 3s. 2d. a square yard, everything included.

"In July, 1892, it was necessary to do the annual cleaning and repairing of the council's offices. The architect's estimate for the work as executed was £740. Instead of giving this work to a contractor, the architect was asked to engage a foreman and artisans, and have it done under his own supervision. The result of the experiment was that the total cost was £686, an apparent saving of £54.

"This, however, was merely a matter of hiring labor, no constructive work being involved. It is interesting to trace the stages by which the council was driven, by force of circumstances, to its present position of builder. The first piece of actual building executed by the council was a schoolhouse at Crossness. The architect's estimate was £1800, and tenders were invited in due course. The lowest tender proved to be £2300. After considerable

Remarkable Results.

hesitation the Main Drainage Committee resolved to try to save this large excess over the estimate, and set to work to do the job under its own officers. Certain items which had been put down at £112 were omitted, reducing the estimate to £1688, and the lowest tender to £2188. The actual cost proved to be £1652 only, a saving of £536. But the case which finally convinced three out of every four members of the council of the desirability of executing their own works was the York Road sewer. The engineer estimated the cost at £7000, and tenders were invited in the usual manner. Only two were sent in, one for £11,588, and the other for £11,668. The council determined to do the work itself, with the result that a net saving of £4,177 was made.

"This remarkable result naturally created a sensation among the contracting world, and attempts were made to impugn the engineer's figures. In his crushing reply he pointed out that the contractors had reckoned out their tenders at absurdly high prices in nearly every detail, charging, for instance, 60s. and 70s. per cubic yard for brickwork and cement, whereas the work was done at 30s. It is clear from the particulars given, and from facts notorious at the time, that an agreement had been come to by the contractors not to compete with one another for this job, in order to induce the council to abandon its fair wages clause. The council preferred to abandon the contractor.

"The outcome was the establishment, in the spring of 1893, of a Works Committee, to execute works required by the other committees in precisely the same manner as a contractor. The Works Committee has an entirely distinct staff, and keeps its own separate accounts. The committee requiring any work prepares its own estimate, as if tenders were going to be invited, and the Works Committee is asked whether it is prepared to undertake the work upon that estimate. Up to the present date 16 separate works, varying in amount from £100 to £4004, have been completed, and the accounts settled and checked by the comptroller. The result shows an aggregate net saving of £2420, or over 8 per cent.

"Now, it is obvious that, incomplete as statistics necessarily are, and difficult as it must always be to decide a question of policy upon mere statistical results, the figures, as far as they go, afford no assistance to those who denounce the council's action, and are distinctly encouraging to its progressive members. No sound induction on such a matter can, however, be made upon mere statements of profit and loss, extending, too, over a very brief period.

"When we thus find even the county councils in rural districts giving up the contractor, it ceases to be surprising that the town council of Manchester, in the city of Cobden and Bright, now manufactures its own basins, or even that the ultra-conservative commissioners of sewers of the city of London actually set the county council an example by manufacturing their own carts. The superiority of direct municipal employment, under salaried supervision, to the system of letting out works to contractors has, in fact, been slow-

ly borne in on the best municipal authorities all over the country by their own administrative experience, quite irrespective of social or political theories."

Comparing the present cooperative system in New Zealand with the former contract system, the Under Secretary for Public Works in that colony says: "The contract system had many disadvantages. It gave rise to a class of middlemen, in the shape of contractors, who often made large profits out of their undertakings. Under this cooperative system works are carried out for their actual value—no more and no less. . . . Work also is better done under the cooperative than under the contract system." See NEW ZEALAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.

CONVICT LABOR.—It is now almost universally conceded that convicts of all kinds should as a rule be made to work at some useful form of labor during their imprisonment (see PENOLOGY); but the important problem arises how convicts may be employed at useful work without diminishing the demand for the labor of honest workmen outside of penal institutions. The manufacture of commodities by the enforced labor of convicts, who are paid nothing, enables prison authorities, if they are allowed to do so, to sell these commodities at prices with which firms employing paid laborers cannot possibly compete, and so tends to lower the wages of honest laborers by taking the market from the employing firms. Naturally this condition of things is bitterly resented by labor organizations, who see their livelihood taken from them. That it is not an unreasonable feeling will be seen by the facts stated in this article. That it is not a small matter can be seen by the number of convicts in the United States. In 1886 there were no less than 45,277 convicts in the United States engaged in productive labor (*Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, p. 51). Between 1880 and 1890 our prison population had increased 45 per cent. (Statistics of the Tenth Census and Bulletin 71, 72, and 95 of the Eleventh Census.) Yet the community, in its desire to reduce taxes, by making the convicts support themselves, and also to benefit the convicts themselves by teaching them a trade, has repeatedly allowed convict labor to thus injure honest labor. Even when the produce of convict labor is not sold in competition with the product of honest labor, but simply made to produce the necessities of the prisoners themselves—*i.e.*, making their own clothing, prison buildings, etc., it still makes the convict do work which, if not done by convicts, would have to be given to outside labor, and so increase the demand for their labor, and thus tend to raise their wages. On the other hand, to keep convicts in idleness is physically inhuman to the convicts and not for the good of

the community, since a convict trained to idleness, when he is discharged is almost the worst foe a community can have. The results of training convicts to work, as is done at Elmira (*g.v.*), are so markedly beneficial, that it would seem criminal to prevent such results. Nor is the problem to be solved by teaching the convicts to labor at useless tasks or in producing commodities which are to be destroyed. This is a waste of labor that no wise economy can seriously advocate. The problem, therefore, becomes very intricate, and is the only problem we shall consider under this head. For the different ways in which, for the convict's own good or reformation, it is wise to have them labor, see PENOLOGY; ELMIRA REFORMATORY, etc. We ask here simply how can convicts be made to labor without affecting the interests of honest laborers. It is, of course, to be remembered that this problem only arises under a system of society where men can only get a living by doing all the work they can get. No man cares to work at long hours of hard labor for the sake of working. The modern laborer only looks upon work as a privilege, because it is his only way of living. Under a socialistic system, when all production was for the community, to be divided in some way equitably among the citizens, the more that was produced the more each citizen would get, and the honest laborer, therefore, would be delighted to have the convict work for him. The convict labor problem, therefore, belongs solely to the wage system. Under this system, however, it is a difficult one. Undoubtedly the general solution of it lies in setting the convict to produce that which, if he did not, would not be produced; but how to reach this end is the question. The problem is of such importance and of such difficulty that Congress in 1886 directed the United States Commissioner of Labor to especially investigate and report upon the problem. It is this report that we condense here, considering:

The Problem Stated.

I. The extent to which convict labor competes with honest labor.

II. The best way of employing convicts without injuring the interests of outside labor.

The report (*Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, p. 51) gives for three classes of penal institutions—*viz.*, institutions of severe penalties, of moderate penalties, and institutions mainly reformatory—the following summary of convicts engaged in productive work at the close of the year 1886 in the United States:

CLASS.	EMPLOYED IN PRODUCTIVE LABOR.			Engaged in Prison Duties.	Idle and Sick.	Aggregate.
	Male.	Female.	Total.			
I.....	32,625	1,036	33,661	8,146	2,705	44,512
II.....	5,407	452	5,859	3,205	775	9,839
III.....	4,767	990	5,757	3,749	492	9,998
Total.....	42,799	2,478	45,277	15,100	3,972	64,349

The following shows the industries in which convicts were employed and the amount of free labor displaced:

INDUSTRIES.	Convicts.	Free Laborers Required for the Same Work.	Approximate or True Value of Goods Made or Work Done.
Agricultural implements	651	529	\$664,000
Barrels, etc.	607	528	834,093
Boots and shoes	7,609	5,378	10,100,279
Bricks	861	754	286,787
Brooms, brushes, etc.	2,123	1,545	834,955
Carpeting	242	163	95,497
Carriages and wagons	1,376	1,155	1,989,790
Clothing	5,591	3,645	2,199,634
Farming, gardening, etc.	3,569	3,817	762,313
Furniture	3,446	2,435	1,280,006
Harnesses and saddlery	1,455	1,933	1,374,494
Iron goods	1,195	997	1,159,097
Lumber	228	252	63,800
Mining	3,273	3,228	1,666,075
Public ways	3,089	3,088	1,046,779
Public works	611	631	242,547
Stone	4,876	3,160	1,375,202
Stoves, hollow ware, etc.	1,845	1,277	1,254,125
Tobacco	763	564	462,499
Wooden goods	368	205	338,431
Miscellaneous	1,499	1,150	752,631
Total	45,277	35,534	28,753,999

The report says of these tables: "By this summary it is seen that the total value of goods made and work done by productive labor in the penal institutions of the whole country is \$28,753,999.13. It took 45,277 convicts one year to produce this total value. It would have taken 35,534 free laborers to have produced the same quantity of goods in the same time; or, in other words, a free laborer is equal to 1.27 convict, or, to reverse the statement, one convict is equal to .78 of a free laborer.

"The State producing the largest amount of convict-made goods is New York, the value there being \$6,236,320.08. The next State in rank is Illinois, producing \$3,284,267.50 worth of convict-made goods. Indiana comes next, with a product of the value of \$1,579,901.37; while Ohio stands next in line, with a product of the value of \$1,368,122.51; then Missouri, \$1,342,020.07; then Pennsylvania, \$1,317,265.85. Kansas ranks next, with a product worth \$1,279,575.77. Tennessee comes after Kansas, with only \$1,142,000; then Michigan, \$1,087,735.62, and, last of the States producing over \$1,000,000 worth, New Jersey, \$1,019,608.32. Each of the other States and Territories drops below the million-dollar point, Dakota coming at the bottom of the list, with a product of \$11,577.36. It is interesting to examine these values by industries. Boots and shoes lead, the product being \$10,100,279.61, or 35.13 per cent. of the whole product of the penal institutions of the country, \$28,753,999.13; the next largest item being the manufacture of clothing, which is \$2,199,634.25, while carriages and wagons are manufactured to the value of \$1,989,790. In all other industries the product is less than \$2,000,000, the smallest being lumber, to the value of \$63,800. These values are for the year covered by the investigation.

"In regard to the competition with the industries of the whole country, a few figures will suffice: The total manufactured products of the United States, according to the tenth census, amounted to \$5,359,579,191. The total product of all the penal institutions for the year covered by this investigation amounted to \$28,753,999, which is $\frac{1}{187}$ of 1 per cent. of the value of the total products of the industries of the country. To produce the products of the industries of the whole country in 1880, there were paid in wages \$947,953,795, or \$1 in wages to \$5.66 in product. The wages paid by contractors and lessees to States and counties for the labor of convicts, from which resulted a product of the value of \$28,753,999, was \$3,512,970, or \$1 in convict labor wages to \$8.19 of product of convict labor."

In its final summary from these facts the report says (p. 372):

"It is perfectly evident, from information drawn from the tables, that the competition arising from the employment of convicts, so far as the whole country is concerned, would not of itself constitute a question worthy of serious discussion. The product of the prisons is but $\frac{1}{187}$ of 1 per cent. of the total mechanical products of the country. The whole prison population of those institutions in which productive labor is carried on is but 1 in 1000 of the population of the country, and those engaged in convict productive labor but 1 in 300 of those engaged in free mechanical labor. These facts, however, do not invalidate the claim that locally and in certain industries the competition may be serious and of such proportions as to claim the most earnest attention of legislatures. It is firmly established by all the testimony adduced in this report that such is the fact. Working men, individually, everywhere, and collectively through their organizations; manufacturers, individually, and collectively through association; penologists, commissioners, and legislators, both State and Federal, have arrived at this conclusion."

Concerning the different ways in which convicts are employed in production and the way in which they should be employed, so as not to compete with honest labor, it must be remembered that there are in the United States several different systems of convict labor more or less in vogue. There is (1) the *contract system*, under which a contractor engages to employ a certain number of convicts at a certain price per day, the convicts to be employed as a general thing within the prison walls, the State usually furnishing power and machinery. This system was (in 1886) the most prevalent. (2) The *piece-price system*. Under this system the contractor has nothing to do with the convicts; he simply furnishes the prison officers with material, and the officers return the completed work made by the convicts, and the Government receives a fixed price for the work. (3) The *public account system*, according to which the prisoners produce under State management, the produce is sold, and all the profits go to the State for the general good of the community. (4) The *lease system*, whereby the State leases its convicts to a lessee or contractor for a round sum, the lessee taking the convicts, managing them, guarding them, and working them for a profit. The number of convicts employed under these various systems in 1886 and the value of the goods they produced were as follows:

Various Systems.

SYSTEM.	Convicts.	Free Laborers Replaced.	Value.
Public account system.	14,827	10,571	\$4,086,637.87
Contract system	15,670	11,443	18,096,245.74
Piece-price system	5,676	3,986	2,379,180.52
Lease system	9,104	9,534	4,191,935.00
Total	45,277	35,534	\$28,753,999.13

We now come to the definite question how convicts can be best employed with the least minimum of injury to outside labor. On this the report says in substance, first, that in some way the convict must be made to labor. To abolish convict labor would either make the convicts insane, or if they escaped this fate, have them go from the prison more demoralized and vicious than ever, to demoralize and render vicious those with whom they came in contact. (See PENOLOGY.) The report then considers various propositions that have been made for meeting the difficulty.

1. The establishment of a penal colony. This, says the report, "is often advocated as an effective plan for removing criminals from society, and for supporting them in such a way that no competition whatever could arise from their being employed in productive labor. The suggestion is predicated upon a

constitutional amendment, to be adopted, of course, by the States, giving to the Federal Congress power to regulate police matters. This suggestion, therefore, cannot be entertained as a practical plan, for it is not reasonable to suppose that the separate States of the Union will take the course necessary for its adoption, and the States as individuals cannot adopt any such plan,

because of the small proportions of the prison population of each State. The penal colony plan has been abandoned by some nations that had adopted it. (See PENOLOGY, section *England*.) Moreover, it is not reasonable to suppose that the moral sentiment of the nation will ever permit the herding of criminals in any section of the land, whether in Alaska or on any of the islands within the jurisdiction of the United States; for the establishment of a penal colony would entail upon a single community all the evil results now seen to accrue from hereditary taint. Neither the prison reformer nor the producer, whether employer or employed, can afford to increase the opportunities for perpetuating the criminal classes.

"2. *The employment of prisoners upon public works and ways.*—The adoption of this plan would not avoid competition in labor, but it would completely remove any real or supposed competition in prices—that is, it would not affect the products of manufactures.

"This proposition is warmly advocated both by manufacturers and by working men. It is plausible and somewhat seductive. It removes the actual competition

from one realm to another. By industrial labor in the prisons the contractor competes with products of industries in price and sale. The manufacturer has his goods to sell, and his operatives their labor; and both desire to keep prices up. In transferring prison labor

to public works the State would not compete with the price of artisans' or laborers' work, but with the work itself. The brick and stone-masons, the carpenters and painters, the hodcarriers and tenders, would not find the price of their labor affected to any material extent, but would find the market for that labor occupied to the extent of the works in process of construction.

"It has been suggested that the State might engage in some work that would not be performed unless by convicts, such as macadamizing the roads of the whole State. This would necessitate one of two things—either the preparation of stone at the prisons, involving the transportation to the prison from the source of supply and from the prison to the place for use, or the mobilization of the convicts at the points not only of supply, but of consumption, involving a heavy expense for guard duty and confinement."

Such work would be costly work to the State. This is, perhaps, of no particular consequence, as the convicts must be supported in some way, but at best the plan offers a mere palliative, shifting the burden from skilled to unskilled labor, and would result in aggravating many of the evils which grow out of the employment of convicts. It would seem fairer to distribute the work of the convicts among different trades than to concentrate all their work upon public improvements, and thus compete mainly with one form of labor alone.

"3. *The employment of convicts in manufacturing goods for Government.*—If our State governments supported large bodies of troops and the Federal Government had a large standing army the plan might have some force in it, altho in some European countries, where the consumption of goods of the coarser grades, such as shoes and army clothing, camp equipage, harnesses, etc., is very large, the plan has not been made to work very successfully, on account of the objections of army officers to the manufacture in prisons of the goods they require for the equipment of their forces, the objections arising, not only on account of the quality and make of the goods, but on account of the impracticability of massing a force in any way so as to supply goods upon emergencies. The experience of these countries, however, is worth but little in the United States, for the same conditions do not exist. If each State should supply all its wants, so far as the kinds of goods that would be the employment of but a very small fraction of the convicts of the State. In Illinois this amount of employment could have been utilized last year to the extent of less than \$50,000, and this is a fair specimen of the demands of other States. It is urged, however, that the United States Government requires supplies sufficient to warrant the constant, or nearly constant, employment of the convicts

of the different States under contracts which might be made by the heads of departments requiring the goods. An examination of these wants shows that the entire expenditures of all the executive departments of the United States Government for furniture, clothing, mail-bags, harnesses, wagons, infantry, cavalry, and artillery equipments, clothing for the Indian service, etc., and for such other things as are now made in the different prisons of the various States, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, amounted to a sum little less than \$4,000,000, while the total product of the prisons of the country amounted for that year substantially to \$29,000,000. This answers the suggestion completely. If it could be adopted, however, competition in the wages of labor and in the price of goods would be avoided, altho the individual concerns now manufacturing the goods used by the Government would lose that much trade, which would also result in the loss of so much labor."

"4. *The exportation of the products of convict labor* is sometimes suggested as a solution of the whole problem. It is not easy to see how the exportation of the products of the prisons of the country can be made, for there is no demand for such products at all proportioned to the need, and the same objection may be made to the counter proposition to prohibit the sale of convict-made goods outside of the State in which they are manufactured. If this could be done by establishing custom houses on the borders of each State (an impossible and undesirable step), there would be no such demand for prison-made goods as would prevent their coming into direct competition with outside labor. It would thus utterly fail of solving the problem how to avoid competing with outside labor.

"5. *Convict-made goods to be stamped.* 'Prison-made' is a suggestion very frequently offered, either as a partial or as a full remedy in the case. In the majority of instances this would defeat the very objects for which the suggestion is proffered, for, as a rule, prison-made goods do not sustain the character for quality and faithfulness of manufacture belonging to the products of free labor, and if all convict-made goods were stamped in accordance with the suggestion, the competition in prices and sales would simply be intensified. The carrying out of the plan would, however, make a general boycott of prison-made goods very easy of accomplishment. The laws of some States already compel such marking, and with curious results. In one State, where some of the convicts are employed in making cigars, the boxes are stamped 'Prison-made,' or whatever the law demands; but over this stamp the internal-revenue stamp of the United States is placed; so, while the law of the State is complied with, the sale of the goods meets with no interference by the law. In another locality a certain prison has a reputation of making most excellent goods in a certain line, and these goods stand so high in the market that outside manufacturers have been known to stamp the products of their free shops 'Prison-made.' This plan would only result in a palliation of some forms of the difficulties and an aggravation of others.

"6. *The payment of wages to convicts.*—Some sincere friends of labor suggest that State governments pay to prisoners for their labor wages equivalent to those paid outside labor for the same quantity of work performed or amount of goods produced, and then sell the products in the open market, charging the prisoners for their maintenance, and leaving any surplus which might accrue over such charge in the hands of the prisoners. On the face of it this suggestion is exceedingly attractive in some ways. If it were practicable, it would lead the prisoners to an ambitious discharge of their duties, and would invest the product with a cost for labor and material equal to goods produced outside prison walls. An examination of the facts relating to income and expenses, however, dissipates the attractive elements of such a plan, and reduces it to the impracticable, for, under the most favorable circumstances of prison labor, as exhibited in the contract system, the average income from such labor pays but 65 per cent. of the running expenses of the prisons of the country. Of course, if the prisoners were paid wages equivalent to those paid outside, the income from labor would be greater, provided the goods could be sold. The result financially, however, would probably be that the State would pay the convicts for their labor and have to take back all such wages for maintenance, and draw on the treasury through appropriations for deficiencies. This becomes significantly true by an examination of the table on income and

Penal Colonies.

Public Works.

Convict-made Goods Stamped.

Payment of Wages.

expenses, so far as overtime work is concerned. Of course, overtime work is allowed in but few institutions, but in those wherein it is allowed the amount is not sufficient to create much hope that the convicts could earn enough with safety to the State for each man to pay his share of the running expenses of the institution in which he lived. The suggestion is worthy, however, of most serious consideration and study. It is apparently new, and it would be interesting to have some institution make the experiment."

7. *The reduction of hours of labor in prisons* is a suggestion often made as one calculated to reduce the output of prisons, and thereby the amount of competition from the sale of products; but while this might be wise, it would be a very partial remedy of the difficulties complained of, since outside industries are moving toward the eight-hour day.

8. *Diversified industries.*—This is a plan prominently presented, and would meet the problem by scattering the competition over as many trades as possible, and therefore reducing the evil in any one trade to a minimum. One difficulty, however, is that great diversity of labor in prison is not practicable, except by the possession of such diversified plant as is almost impossible in ordinary prisons. States have often limited by

law the number of prisoners to be employed in any one industry; but even a small number in any industry may lower the wages in that industry. Moreover, however scattered, the total number of persons displaced by prison labor may be the same, altho not so noticeable as when concentrated in one trade.

9. *The utilization of convicts upon farms.*—This plan would cover, if adopted, but a limited field. In some of the great farming States, and in the South, it might be practicable, temporarily. The advantages of such a plan have been well stated by Governor Gordon, of Georgia, his reasons for recommending it being as follows:

"It would at once eliminate from our penitentiary system the serious objections to the old plan of close confinement, and the equally grave objections to the present plan of leasing.

"It would confine the convicts thus employed to such labor as would least compete with the honest labor of the State.

"It would place the State in direct and full control of its prisoners.

"It would restore to the State the full power to enforce the exact punishment imposed by the courts.

"It would place upon the State the just responsibility for guarding the health of the convicts, and would confine them to the most healthful employments.

"It would enable the State to separate them at all times according to classes, conditions, sexes, and fitness for different kinds of labor, and to institute methods for reformation with greater promise of success.

"It would make such portion of the penitentiary at least self-sustaining, I think, and, with proper management, might cause it to yield a larger net revenue, per capita, than that now derived from leasing.

"The adoption of this plan would in a very few years arouse the farming population of the country, and the opposition to convict farm labor would be greater than any which now exists against the employment of convicts in mechanical pursuits; but as a temporary matter, and in some favorable localities, it offers great advantages. Certainly, it would be well in all States to carry on small farms with prisons, the work to be done by convicts, and the products to be used for the prison itself, but not to enter the market.

10. *Hand-labor under the public-account system.*—This plan offers many advantages over any other that has been suggested to the Bureau. It involves the carrying on of the industries of a prison for the benefit of the State, but without the

Hand-Labor. use of power machinery, tools and hand-machines only being allowed, the goods to be made to consist of such articles as

boots and shoes, the coarse woolen and cotton cloths needed for the institution or for sale to other institutions, harnesses and saddlery, and many other goods now made by machinery or not now made at all in prisons. With such a plan in vogue throughout the United States, or in the majority of the States, there could be no complaint as to the effect of convict labor upon the rates of wages or upon the sale of goods, either in price or in quantity. The convicts could be employed under the direction and supervision entirely of the prison officers. None of the objections or disadvantages arising under the contract system, or the piece-price modification thereof, or under the public-account system with power machinery, can be raised

against this plan. The adoption of it would leave the State free to undertake the very best and most humane efforts for the reformation of prisoners."

It would be an expensive plan, but would reform the convict and reduce competition to a minimum. Says the report:

"The objection as to expense is not one of sufficient importance to merit very serious consideration. An objection, however, is raised, which comes closer to the prisoner himself, and that is that if this plan should be adopted, he goes out of the prison unfitted to take part in the industries as they are now carried on—that is, with power machinery. Is this objection valid? In the first place, it is seldom that a discharged convict enters the trade or the calling which he practised while in a prison, as they are at present conducted. If he works at boots and shoes in the prison, he runs a pegging machine, or a stitching machine, or a skiving machine, or a heeling machine, and if the objection is valid, when he goes he is limited to running that particular machine, except in this, that any man, skilled in the running of any machine, can easily run any other machine to a certain extent; but suppose he learns in the prison the whole trade of shoemaking, from cutting the stock to polishing the edges, is he at a disadvantage when he leaves? His chances of earning a living as a cobbler, where he works on his own responsibility and by himself, are greater than if he depended on getting into a great shoe factory. If he learns to run a hand-loom in weaving flannel or cotton cloth, is he thereby deprived of any advantage when he leaves the prison walls? He is better fitted to enter a cotton factory or woolen mill than if he had not had that experience, and far better fitted than the thousands who have been imported to engage in such work. If he is employed in making harnesses, which is almost entirely hand-work, he has a profitable trade when he leaves the prison. And so in almost any other direction. The convict who has spent his term of sentence on hand-made goods is, to say the least, as well qualified to earn his living when released as if he had been employed with the aid of power machinery. So this objection has no real vital elements in it, or any elements of sufficient vitality to prevent the adoption of the plan.

"Does not this plan offer the best possible opportunities for the technical education of convicts in all the various uses of tools, both in wood and metal working?"

"Suppose such a system, then, could be adopted, and the evidence shows that the system, on the whole, offers the best features of any that has been suggested to the Bureau, how can it be made to prevail in this country, where there are

48 distinct State or territorial governments? The system has this peculiar quality in it, that each State could adopt it without concerted action, altho the advantages to be gained by individual adoption would be small compared with those to be gained by its general adoption; but whatever plan is adopted must be adopted by the States individually. No plan for general adoption can be suggested except one to be enforced, by the United States Congress under the rights to be granted it through a constitutional amendment. If one State, however, adopts a plan, and that plan proves fairly successful, the other States will wheel into line.

"The plans which have been treated comprehend the majority of those which have been suggested to the Bureau, or which have, as already stated, been observed as coming from those who have investigated the subject of convict labor. It is clear to the mind of the writer that the facts sustain the complaints against the contract system to a sufficient degree to make it an objectionable system, but they also show—

"That such system, however, is the most profitable; that most of the plans offered simply shift the burden from one class in the community to another, but that with one exception they do not provide for the support of prisons by the whole people; and

"That the only plan offered which does accomplish, or approximately accomplish this, is that involving the employment of convicts under the public-account system without the use of power machinery.

"There are other considerations, however, in regard to this whole question, which are quite as important as the method of employment, but which affect the results of employment. It is of far more consequence to the working man of this country to reduce crime, and consequently the number of criminals, than it is to adopt this or that system of labor; but if there can be adopted a satisfactory system of labor and a contemporaneous reduction of the number of criminals,

Conclusion.

the highest possible results will have been reached. Labor is more thoroughly interested in securing the absence of crime and of the criminal than in the question as to how the criminal shall be employed.

"The true interests of the working men demand as much the study, by themselves and their leaders, of rigid and practical moral questions as the study of economic matters. As already intimated, convict labor is of no great account compared with the presence of crime itself, and to avoid the presence of crime its commission must be prevented. It is not enough to shut up criminals, and the tendency to lessen terms of imprisonment has not been salutary.

"So, the convict-labor question involves not only the system of work under which the convict shall be employed, but the higher consideration of a more statesmanlike treatment of the question of crime itself than has yet prevailed." (See PENOLOGY; CRIMINOLOGY.)

So far the report. It may be added that the objection to the various proposals for meeting the convict-labor problem always turns upon and implies the difficulty of outside labor in securing well-paid work. Provided that outside labor were treated better, there would be no objection on the part of working men to treating the convict in any way that might seem best for his or the community's advantage. What working

The Socialist View.

men object to is letting convicts earn their support or reformation at the expense of outside labor. They object to having convicts better treated than free laborers. Even the plan favored in the above report of the employing of convicts under the public-account system at hand work would, the report says, graduate the convicts in a condition much better fitted to earn their own living than many honest laborers. Even today many laborers commit crime in order to be imprisoned. It is exceedingly questionable, then, whether the problem is not to improve the condition and opportunities of outside labor, and then to approach the convict-labor problem. Socialists would have the State provide all with well-paid work, and maintain that crime would, in the first place, largely disappear, and, secondly, could then be wisely handled. Whether this be so or not must be discussed in the articles SOCIALISM and UNEMPLOYMENT; but this side of the case must not be forgotten in treating the convict-labor question.

References: See the *Report of the United States Commission of Labor for 1886*; also PENOLOGY and CRIMINOLOGY for further references.

COOKING SCHOOLS.—Schools for the teaching of cooking have been established in England many years. As early as 1863 Mrs. Mitchell opened a school of cookery at 111 Great Portland Street, London. By 1876 there was a Northern union of schools of cookery in England, which included many training schools, and has supplied teachers for all the world. The schools of Glasgow, Liverpool, and South Kensington have taken the lead. Cooking is now being introduced into the English board schools as well as others. France and Belgium have also followed suit, usually teaching laundry work in connection with cookery.

In the United States instruction in cookery was first given to public school children under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association in 1880, but private schools were established before this. In 1872 Juliet Corson was made secretary of the Free Training School for Women, and devoted herself to the study of healthy and economical dietetics. In 1876 she established the New York School of Cookery. In 1877 Maria Parloa lectured on cooking in Boston, and opened a school. She also gave classes and lectures at various seminaries and in evening schools. In 1882 she opened her own school in New York. In 1883 the North Bennet Street Industrial School, in Boston, established teaching in cooking for classes from the public schools. In 1885 Mrs. Hemenway established a vacation cookery school, and in the fall

it was accepted by the school committee as Boston School Kitchen No. 1. In 1888 the city assumed charge of it, and soon established other similar schools. Mrs. Hemenway also established a normal school in cooking. The examinations require a grammar school education and special acquirements in domestic and household economy, in the principles and processes of cooking in chemistry and physiology as applied to cookery. Under the name of the New England Kitchen, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with the assistance of Mrs. Mary H. Abel, has worked careful and valuable experiments, and other experiment stations have been started in the United States, following somewhat the theories of nutrition and of food values expounded in recent years by Vait and the physiologists of the Munich school. Most women's colleges, many Western agricultural colleges, the Drexel Institute, in Philadelphia, and the Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, give courses in domestic science.

References: *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education, 1893*. See also article HOUSE-HOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

COOPER, PETER, was born in New York City, February 12, 1791. The son of a hatter, he received a meager education, and entered the trade of carriage-making. He gradually, however, took up one enterprise after another, with continuous success. In 1830 he established the Canton Iron Works, at Canton, Md., where he constructed from his own designs the first locomotives ever made in the United States. Soon after he established a rolling and wire-mill in New York. In 1845 he moved it to Trenton, and made it the largest rolling-mill of the day in the United States. He built three blast furnaces in Phillipsburg, and conducted other similar enterprises. He was one of the chief supporters of the laying of the Atlantic cable and other important enterprises. Deeply interested in the free education of the industrial classes, he gave the money for and laid the corner-stone of the Cooper Union in 1854, and saw its completion in 1859, to be "forever devoted to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of the United States in practical science and art." He gave \$200,000 as an endowment during his life, and \$100,000 by his will. The original cost when he conveyed it to the trustees was \$630,000. In 1876 Mr. Cooper was candidate for the Presidency of the Greenback (*g. v.*) or National Independent Party, and received some 100,000 votes. He died in New York City, April 4, 1883. He published *Ideas for a Science of Good Government, in Addresses, Letters, and Articles on a Strictly National Currency, Tariff, and Civil Service* (New York, 1883).

COOPER, THOMAS, born in Leicester, England, March, 1805; died in Lincoln, July 15, 1892. The son of a poor widow, he learned the shoemaker's trade. At the age of 23 he opened a school in Lincoln, and a year later became a Wesleyan Methodist local preacher. In 1839 he went to London to engage in journalism, but finding little success, he later returned to Leicester and joined the Chartists. He published a newspaper in their interests, and was nominated

for Parliament. He addressed many meetings, and aroused great excitement. A riot occurred at Hanley after he left; at Manchester military guards were placed in the street. He was arrested and taken back to Staffordshire on a charge of arson in connection with the Hanley riot, but he proved that he was not there when the offense was committed. He was then arraigned for conspiracy and sedition and tried before Sir Thomas Erskine, March, 1843. He defended himself eloquently, but was condemned to two years' imprisonment in Stafford jail, during which time he wrote the greater part of an epic, the *Purgatory of Suicides*, dealing with the social and religious questions of the age. After his release he wrote several other books of poetry and prose. He joined Mazzini's International League, but took no part in the Chartist agitation of 1848 on account of differences with O'Connor. He lectured on political and historical subjects. Having been a sceptic for 10 years and a follower of Strauss in 1855, he changed his views and lectured against atheism. In 1859 he became a Baptist preacher. Later his health broke down, and W. E. Forster and Samuel Morley obtained for him a small annuity. In 1882 he published his autobiography.

COOPERATION.—We consider this subject in this article under five heads: I. Definition; II. Varieties of Cooperation; III. History and Statistics of Cooperation in England and her Colonies, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and the United States; IV. Methods of Cooperation; V. Arguments for and Objections to Cooperation.

We commence with

I. DEFINITION.

Cooperation (from Latin *co* and *operare*, to work together) is used specifically in social science for the voluntary union of persons, in joint production, distribution, purchase, or consumption, apart from government, on equitable principles and for their mutual benefit. Such is, perhaps, a rightly exclusive and inclusive definition. Yet it must be admitted that the word is used by good authority both in a larger and a narrower sense.

George J. Holyoake, for example, defines it as "the concert of many for compassing advantages impossible to be reached by one, in order that the gain may be fairly shared by all concerned in its attainment" (*History of Cooperation*, vol. 1., p. 68). But this definition is obviously too broad. This definition would include the State, socialism, communism, every trades-union, almost every church, society, trust, monopoly, or combination of any kind. To use words so loosely is to misuse them, even tho it be admitted at the same time that the essence of the cooperative idea does often lie deep in all concerted life, especially in the true State, the true church, the true trades-union. Yet cooperation is not socialism, communism, trades-unionism, or aught else but cooperation, and should not be confused with them. On the other hand, the word has been too narrowly used. It has been said to mean simply "the voluntary union of consumers or producers for the purchase or production of commodities and the division of profits on the basis of the amount purchased or produced by the cooperators." But this is too narrow. It identifies one form of cooperation with cooperation itself. There are other forms. Each form of cooperation, indeed, is claimed by some to be the true form, but this claim cannot be allowed. The definition given above is believed to be inclusive of all forms of cooperation and

exclusive of all else. We may therefore proceed to distinguish cooperation from various propositions which have been confused with it, and first from ordinary joint-stock enterprises.

Says Mr. E. V. Neale, the veteran cooperator: "It is not unimportant that cooperators should make clear to themselves in what the essential difference between simple joint-stock enterprises and enterprises truly cooperative consists. The clear apprehension of this difference would, I believe, go far to remove the half-heartedness which checks the progress of cooperation from the indifference shown by too many cooperators to their own professed principles.

Not Joint-stockism.

"In a certain sense and to a certain extent all joint-stock companies are cooperative. The capitalists who form them club their resources for some common purpose; they choose the managers of the concern by common acts; they share together the profits; they bear together the losses of their venture. Why, then, are they not truly entitled to be called cooperators? Because all these acts, according to the common constitution of joint-stock companies, are done simply from the desire of the parties who do them to promote their own immediate advantage.

"No doubt joint-stock companies, *i.e.*, companies registered under the Joint-Stock Companies Acts, might be formed for a purpose of a far higher character. I deal with these companies only in the character which they commonly assume; in which they continually enter into an injurious competition with cooperative enterprises. And I say this is the essential distinction between the two. Joint-stock companies are trading corporations, established to carry on business for the benefit of those who set them up, by means of any contracts which the recognized rules of justice, enforced by courts of law, permit. Cooperative societies are trading corporations, formed to carry on business in accordance with principles of justice more perfect than those now enforced by courts of law; principles voluntarily adopted by their founders, who resolve to seek their own advantage only through and in subordination to these principles, and would regard the proposal to depart from them, in order to gain some greater advantage for themselves, as a bribe to wrong-doing. In this higher aim the true strength of cooperation, its inner strength, consists."

Again, cooperation must be distinguished from socialism, communism, and all similar theories. Socialism and communism attempt cooperative life in *all* its industrial aspects. Cooperation admits of persons uniting only for *certain* industrial ends. Communism contemplates communal colonies or separate communes; socialism aims at the development of cooperative life by the

Not Socialism.

whole community, the town, the city, the State, the nation. Cooperation differs from both in allowing a few individuals in a community, without leaving their homes or social environments, to unite for special cooperative purposes. Cooperation springs from individuals, socialism from the natural or geographical unity of a community. Socialism gives prominence to political methods. Cooperation *per se* makes little or no use of political life. The distinction thus between cooperation, on the one hand, and socialism and communism, on the other, is marked. And yet it must be pointed out that the two ideas are by no means inconsistent. The distinction lies more in the methods than in the aims, and even the methods may be united, altho not blended. The Belgian socialists, for example, have developed a strong cooperative movement. It were doubtless well, whenever possible, if all socialists and cooperators should work together. There is no reason in their aims why they should not. As a matter of fact, most socialists do theoretically believe in cooperation, only considering it unpractical on a small scale, while most cooperators believe their movement to be an education toward and preparation for the true socialism, in a cooperative state, a cooperative commonwealth, a cooperative civilization.

Still more carefully must cooperation and profit-sharing be distinguished, for tho in some aspects similar, they are in reality in economic and ethical principles radically distinct. Cooperation is a union of consumers or producers for their common benefit.

Not Profit-sharing.

Profit-sharing (see PROFIT-SHARING) is simply the employee sharing beyond his wages to some greater or less extent in the profits of his employer. Cooperation starts with the worker. Profit-sharing starts with the employer.

Cooperation gives the worker a voice in the management. Profit-sharing is the employer giving his employee no voice in the management, but simply a slight interest in the profits. Cooperation is fraternal. Profit-sharing is paternal. Cooperation tends to develop the individual worker by giving him a share in the responsibility. Profit-sharing gives him a little interest in the business, but with no general responsibility. Cooperation thus immediately aims higher, and is more difficult to put in successful operation. It comes into competition with gigantic private combinations and corporations. Profit-sharing, tho temporarily not aiming so high, claims to be more practical in preparing the way for eventual cooperation, and in not antagonizing great corporations, but rather in carrying into these very corporations the principles of equity and fraternity and generosity. Which, then, is to be preferred will depend largely on the temper and character of the parties concerned in the given case; we are here concerned simply with pointing out the difference.

II. VARIETIES OF COOPERATION.

Cooperation may be divided into at least three distinct kinds, and these, it must be remembered, are capable of subdivision into an almost infinite number of methods and combination of methods in carrying on cooperation. We may, however, indicate three general classes, leaving the history and argument to suggest the subdivisions. The three classes are:

1. Societies of distribution or consumption, where consumers unite to bring together or to maintain together stores of goods where members can buy at a cheaper rate, or with some advantage to themselves. Such are cooperative stores, wholesale, retail, etc.

2. Societies of production, where producers combine to gain the advantage of combination in production, and to sell the collective or individual work. Such cooperators are their own capitalists. They may cooperate in manufacturing, or in agriculture, or in any department of production.

3. Societies of credit or banking, where accounts of credit are opened with the members, and loans advanced to the members at favorable terms on fair securities. Such societies, in numerous modifications, as cooperative banks, friendly societies, burial societies, building societies, etc., exist in most cities. Owing, however, to these societies being in many ways different from the other kinds of cooperation, we shall consider them in articles by themselves under their separate heads. (See BUILDING SOCIETIES; COOPERATIVE BANKS, etc.)

Between these various classes of cooperation it is necessary carefully to distinguish, for one class is often perfectly practical when the other is not. Distributive cooperation has been largely successful, but was not the first attempted, and is by many severely criticised. Productive cooperation was first attempted, and is unquestionably the highest kind, but not unnaturally has met the least success. Credit cooperation has been the most successful, but as being nearest to ordinary business methods and least developing the principle of cooperation is by many not considered true cooperation.

The respective merits of these various kinds of cooperation will be best considered after studying

III. THE HISTORY OF COOPERATION.

We notice first the beginnings of cooperation, and then consider it in the principal leading

countries where it has been developed. For its beginnings we quote from George J. Holyoake, the eminent author of the *History of Cooperation in England*:

Writing in the *Fortnightly Review* (August, 1887), he tells us that cooperation dates from the latter portion of the last century.

"Ambelakia," he says, "was almost a cooperative town, as may be read in David Urquhart's *Turkey and its Resources*. So vast a municipal partnership on industry has never existed since. The fishers on the Cornish coast carried out cooperation on the sea, and the miners of Cumberland dug ore on the principle of sharing the profits. The plan has been productive of contentment and advantage. Gruyère is a cooperative cheese, being formerly made in the Jura Mountains, where the profits were equally divided among the makers. In 1777, as Dr. Langford relates in his *Centenary of Birmingham Life*, the tailors of that enterprising town set up a cooperative workshop, which is the earliest in English record.

Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, who established at Mongewell, in Oxfordshire, the first known cooperative store; while Count Rumford and Sir Thomas Bernard published in 1795, and for many years after, plans of cooperative and social life, far exceeding in variety and thoroughness any in the minds of persons now living."

"The only apostle of the social state in England," continues Mr. Holyoake, "at the beginning of this century, was Robert Owen, and to him we owe the cooperation of to-day. With him it took the shape of a despotism of philanthropy. Lord Sidmouth and the Duke of Kent gave him their personal influence to advance his views. Mr. Owen carried into practical use his ideas in his New Lanark Mills for educating his work-people, and with a success that has had no imitators except Godin, of Guise, whose Palace of Industry is known throughout civilization. Jeremy Bentham, who held shares in New Lanark, said it was the only investment he had made that paid him. It was here that Mr. Owen set up a cooperative store on the primitive plan of buying goods and provisions at wholesale and selling them to the working men's families at cost price.

"The benefit which the Lanark weavers enjoyed was soon noised abroad, and clever workmen elsewhere began to form stores to supply their families in the same way. The earliest instance of this is the Economical Society of Sheerness, commenced in 1816, and which is still doing business in the same premises and also in adjacent ones lately erected. Its rules stated that its object was 'to supply the members with wheaten bread and flour and butchers' meat.' The great war had long deprived them of both, and this society was commenced by intelligent dockyard-workmen, who, altho better paid than ordinary workmen, were yet subject to privations.

"Cooperation was also put to use on the Sussex coast, where Lady Noel Byron aided it, in order that the savings of the store might assist poor men in the way of self-employment, by keeping market gardens, and setting up tailors', shoemakers', and carpenters' shops. The desire of workmen to become their own masters, and the double prospect of independence and profit, spread the idea over the country as a new religion of industry. The cooperative stores now changed their plan. They sold retail at shop charges, and saved the difference between retail and cost price as a fund with which to commence cooperative workshops. By 1830 from 300 to 400 cooperative stores had been set up in England. There are records of 250 societies, distributive and productive, existing at that period, cited in the *History of Cooperation*."

Such is Mr. Holyoake's review of the early history of cooperation. Yet the real history of cooperation does not commence until 1844 in

ENGLAND.

England is the classic home as the birthplace of cooperation as a practical movement. Its beginnings here we have seen. But the early movement died away.

It should not be forgotten that cooperation received its first practical solution at the hands of the few poor weavers of Rochdale, in North England, who saved up a few shillings, afterward investing them in a bag of flour, which they distributed among themselves at cost price. It was this humble enterprise which marked

the beginning of the great Rochdale system, that now counts its establishments by thousands, its investments and profits by millions of pounds sterling, and takes its name from those poor weavers, the Rochdale Pioneers. April 25, 1844, the day when this society commenced work, is a red-letter day in the history of cooperation.

Rochdale Pioneers. When their society began it only had 28 members—£28 of funds—and the first year made no profit. In its second year it had 74 members, £181 in funds, £710 of business, and made £22 profit, 2½ per cent. of which was used as a fund for education. In 1876 its members were 8892, its funds were £254,000, its year's business exceeded £305,000, its profits were more than £50,500. Its profits have since been greater, tho, from causes it would be a digression to explain, they are now less. (For details, see ROCHDALE PIONEERS.)

The methods of the Rochdale and other early stores were very simple, as the following early account will show. "The societies have a public store, where goods are sold even to those who are not members. The condition of membership is the payment of a few pence. At certain intervals, further payments of a few pence are required from the new member (in most cases 2½ pence a week, or 10 pence a month), until their aggregate, together with the interest and dividends placed to his credit, amount to the prescribed minimum share in the undertaking. The sum in Rochdale was at first £4 (\$19.36), afterward £5 (\$24.30); in Manchester, however, only £1 (\$4.84). Each member has the privilege of letting his share increase to £100 (\$484); altho, in case of an excess of capital, the society can diminish the amount. Each member can, after previous notice, demand that his share, over and above the minimum share, be paid back to him, after an interval varying according to the amount; the minimum share itself, however, is not paid back to the member when he resigns, but may, with the approval of the society, be carried over to the credit of another, who thus becomes himself a member.

"A distribution of the net profits is made quarterly. After an interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum has been deducted from the shares of the members, and 2½ per cent. of the profits have been applied to the educational fund, the balance is placed to the credit of the members, in proportion to the purchases that each has made at the store during the preceding three months. The members are liable for no losses beyond the value of their respective shares. This right of allotment is governed by a special statute of August 7, 1862, which secures to the companies the same legal rights possessed by an individual.

"Every month there is a general meeting, in which every member has a vote. By this meeting, an Executive Committee of 12 is elected to manage the business of the society for one year, which holds a weekly session. This is the gist of the rules of the English societies, which differ only in minor particulars."

In 1849 commenced the Christian Socialist movement of the Rev. F. D. Maurice—the "Master," Charles Kingsley, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, and, above all, J. M. Ludlow, the real founder of the movement. (For their general principles and the history of their movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) It is sufficient here to state that their efforts were important, not for the immediate

Christian Socialists. results, since these were meager, but for the impetus they gave to the cooperative ideal, and to its ethical and enduring character. They started a society for aiding cooperative production, and as the result some cooperative tailor shops were begun. These, however, either did not live or were merged in the larger Rochdale movement. A more enduring result was the gaining by the Christian Socialist leaders successive improvements in laws which gave cooperative stores legal protection, and enabled cooperators to become bankers, to hold land, and to increase their savings to £200; which last provision led to some stores becoming rich, through the prospect it opened to members to acquire houses. This legislation with the ethical principles they so brilliantly advocated was the real contribution of the Christian Socialists to cooperation.

It is, however, the Rochdale movement that we must study to follow the real development of English cooperation. By 1856 the Pioneers had a capital of £12,000, and sold not only articles of grocery, but bread, meat, and clothing. In 1855 they commenced cooperative production, first hiring a small room, in which they placed a few looms, the beginning of their cooperative cotton mills. It was a success. Says Professor Fawcett (*Manual of Political Economy*, p. 266):

"Encouraged by this first success, the promoters of the undertaking determined to extend their operations, and part of a mill was accordingly rented. Their capital at that time was about £5000, and the system of conducting the business was as simple as it was excellent. A dividend of 5 per cent. on capital was the first charge on profits. After this dividend had been secured, the remaining profits were divided into two equal shares. One of these shares was given as an extra dividend on capital, and the other was distributed as a bonus among the laborers employed. Each laborer's share of this bonus was proportioned to the aggregate amount of wages he had earned. The most therefore was given to those who worked with the greatest regularity and the greatest skill; and as, in addition to this bonus, the wages current in the trade were paid, it was natural that the best efforts of those employed were stimulated, and the most prudent operatives in the locality were powerfully attracted to an undertaking where their labor received an extra remuneration, and where they obtained a lucrative investment for their savings. The undertaking developed so rapidly that soon a larger mill was required than any that could be rented. It was therefore resolved to build one: it was commenced in 1856, and completed in 1860, at a cost of £45,000. The mill was fitted with the best machinery and was complete in every respect. So confident were the workmen of the success of the scheme that the outlay involved in the erection of this mill did not exhaust the capital they were willing to invest, and accordingly a second mill was soon commenced. These mills had scarcely time to get into full working when the breaking out of the civil war in America brought the cotton trade of Lancashire into a state of unprecedented depression. Long after many of the surrounding manufactories had been closed the cooperative mills courageously struggled on."

Better times were awaiting them. Meanwhile, the success of their movement had created efforts at cooperation all over England, particularly at Manchester, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, Newcastle, and Oldham. The last named became a cooperative town. Says Mr. E. B. Osborn, in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*: "The 'Oldham Building and Manufacturing Society,' the first of its kind registered under the Joint-Stock Companies Act, was founded in 1853: capital, £1000 in £5 shares. The promoters were members of the Oldham Industrial Cooperative Society. Calls on shares were to be *qd.* weekly, and the directors were paid *6d.* a week for their services. Several months elapsed before all the shares were taken up, and a longer delay occurred before the society's business, weaving, could begin. At the end of the first quarter's working, a dividend of 7½ per cent. was paid, but afterward the looms were run at a loss. The difficulty of disposing of the manufactured goods, disputes among the directors, and between the shareholders and non-shareholders employed by the company, and, above all, the unsuitability of the climate for weaving, led to this result. It became necessary to make a radical change in the scheme, and accordingly the promoters decided to increase the capital to £14,870, and build premises for cotton-carding and spinning. The engines were 'christened' in 1863, and under the new name of the 'Sun Mill Company' business was carried on through the period of the Cotton Famine (see COTTON FAMINE) eventually with considerable profit."

The success of these somewhat numerous stores led to united effort. In 1863 the present Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited, was founded as the North of England Cooperative Wholesale Society, Limited. It confined itself at first to purchasing articles at wholesale price and selling them to cooperative societies and companies, whether members or not, at a small profit, which was divided half yearly among all customer societies in proportion to their purchases, mere customers receiving only half dividends, customer members whole. Its sales in 1865 (the first complete year of its working) were £120,754. In 1872 these had reached £1,153,132. In 1872, however, the society began production, purchasing some biscuit works, and working in Leicester a boot factory in 1873, then soap works in 1874, other boot works at Heckmondwike in 1880. Leather-curring was entered on in 1886, a woolen mill taken over in 1887. Cocoa works were opened in 1887, a ready-made clothing department in 1888 (clothing having been already made up in two branches as an adjunct to the woolen cloth and drapery departments); a corn mill was opened in 1891, jam-making entered on in 1892, and a

Growth of Cooperation.

The Wholesale Society.

printing department undertaken, besides building departments in the society's three English branches—Manchester, London, and Newcastle (there is also a branch at New York). In addition to these there is a shipping department, the society having quite a little fleet of its own. During the quarter ending June 30, 1894, the society purchased a factory at Leeds for the manufacture of ready-made clothing.

Says Mr. J. M. Ludlow (*Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1895), to whom we are indebted for these statistics: "The success of the society as a whole has been prodigious. Its business in the distributive departments during the last quarter (ended June 30) was £2,272,946, or at the rate of upward of £9,000,000 a year, making it one of the largest commercial establishments in the world."

This society soon led to another. Says Mr. Ludlow: "The Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society was established in 1868. It entered upon production in 1880 with a shirt factory, followed in the same year by a tailoring department (the two were united in 1888), by a cabinet factory in 1884, boot works in 1885, currying works in 1888, a sloop factory in 1890, and a mantle factory in 1891. A printing office had been opened in 1887, to which business ruling and bookbinding were afterward added. Preserve-making and tobacco-cutting have also been entered on. Many of the productive departments have been grouped together on 12 acres of land at Shieldhall on the Clyde, about three miles from Glasgow. The requisite buildings have been put up by the building department of the society, as well as several of its warehouses; and latterly a large flour mill at Chancellor, near Leith—I believe the latest productive venture of the society—has been built by it.

"The Scottish Wholesale Society has paid bonus to labor since November, 1870. The principle on which such bonus has been granted has varied, but by an alteration of rules made in 1892 bonus is credited to all employed at the same rate on wages as on purchases, half the bonus remaining on loan at 4 per cent."

In 1869 the first annual cooperative congress was held, and congresses have been held annually since. The present reports of these congresses cover over 200 large, closely printed, two-column pages, and give the latest information of the movement. Before these con-

gresses England's bishops and foremost preachers are invited to preach, and her ablest statesmen and leaders in social reform are eager to appear. The various cooperative societies, boards, and organizations in England are now limitless. There is a cooperative union, which represents the federated cooperative industrial and provident societies.

What it has done in the way of gaining legal advantages for cooperative societies may be summed up under two main heads.

1. The incorporation of the societies, by which they have acquired the right of holding in their own name lands or buildings and property generally, and of suing and being sued in their own names, instead of being driven to employ trustees.

2. The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, which consolidated into one act the laws relating to these societies, and, among many smaller advantages too numerous to be mentioned in detail, gave them the right of carrying on banking business whenever they offer to the depositors the security of transferable share capital.

The literature furnished by the union is varied and extensive. It publishes some hundreds of leaflets, pamphlets, and books for propaganda purposes. Lists and specimens may be had from the secretary. Among the writers are Messrs. Holyoake, Hughes, Kaufmann, Tom Mann, E. V. Neale, and Beatrice and Sidney Webb. One of its most useful publications is a *Manual for Cooperators*, edited by T. Hughes and E. V. Neale. Its 280 pages contain an introductory historical sketch of cooperation, and treat of the relations between cooperation and different philanthropic, political, and social movements.

September 2, 1871, was published the first number of the *Cooperative News*, the recognized organ of English cooperators. It is a penny weekly published in Manchester by a federation of cooperative societies, and had in 1894 a circulation of 41,500. For 13 years the cooperative wholesale societies have issued an *Annual* giving full statistical tables and diagrams of the growth of cooperation.

The following table, taken from the report of the Twenty-sixth Annual Congress (1894), shows the details of this growth:

COOPERATION IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES FROM 1861 TO 1893.

Compiled by H. R. Bailey, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

	Societies Making Returns.	Members.	Share Capital.	Loan Capital.	Trade.	Profit.
			£	£	£	£
1861.....	....	48,184	333,290	.....	1,512,117	.....
1862.....	450	91,502	319,731	54,452	2,349,955	166,302
1863.....	460	108,583	573,582	73,543	2,626,741	213,623
1864.....	505	129,429	684,182	89,122	2,836,606	224,460
1865.....	148,586	148,586	819,367	107,263	3,373,847	279,226
1866.....	915	174,993	1,046,310	118,023	4,462,676	372,307
1867.....	1,052	171,897	1,475,199	136,734	6,001,153	398,578
1868.....	1,242	208,738	2,027,776	184,163	8,113,972	425,544
1869*.....	1,300	220,000	2,000,000	190,000	8,100,000	500,000
1870.....	1,375	249,113	2,034,261	167,128	8,202,466	555,435
1871.....	746	262,188	2,305,951	147,471	9,437,741	679,721
1872.....	748	300,931	2,785,777	344,599	11,388,590	807,748
1873.....	980	387,701	3,512,062	497,750	15,662,453	1,119,023
1874.....	1,026	411,252	3,903,608	586,972	16,358,278	1,226,010
1875.....	1,163	479,284	4,709,990	844,620	16,088,077	1,425,267
1876.....	1,165	507,857	5,304,019	919,762	19,909,699	1,741,238
1877.....	1,144	528,582	5,487,959	1,073,265	21,374,013	1,900,161
1878.....	1,181	560,703	5,730,218	872,686	21,128,316	1,817,943
1879.....	1,169	573,084	5,747,841	1,495,243	20,365,602	1,949,514
1880.....	1,183	604,063	6,232,093	1,341,290	23,248,314	1,979,873
1881.....	1,230	642,783	6,937,284	1,483,583	24,602,005	1,979,576
1882.....	1,145	654,038	7,289,359	1,463,959	26,573,551	2,106,958
1883.....	1,165	681,691	7,500,339	1,538,544	28,089,310	2,324,031
1884.....	1,264	849,615	8,205,073	1,717,050	29,295,227	2,658,646
1885.....	1,288	803,747	8,799,753	1,827,109	29,882,679	2,883,761
1886.....	1,296	835,200	9,297,506	1,999,658	31,253,757	2,966,343
1887.....	1,291	896,910	9,817,787	2,044,498	32,697,253	3,069,268
1888.....	1,369	943,949	10,383,882	2,282,519	36,005,235	3,304,843
1889.....	1,438	1,014,086	11,187,400	2,517,940	39,089,087	3,628,668
1890.....	1,435	1,056,152	12,067,425	2,790,545	41,503,196	4,079,287
1891.....	1,509	1,126,516	12,064,693	3,054,262	46,915,965	4,548,411
1892.....	1,682	1,222,821	14,105,181	3,357,121	49,599,800	4,674,893
Total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	638,369,711	53,602,596

* No return published in 1869; these figures are an estimated amount.

The following tables from the same report give the details of the present condition :

A SUMMARY FOR ALL THE SECTIONS.

NAME OF SECTION.	No. of Societies.	No. of Members at end of 1893.	LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.			
			Share Capital at end of 1893.	Loan Capital at end of 1893.	Reserve Fund at end of 1893.	Value of Salable Stock at end of 1893.	Value of Land, Bldgs., & Fixd. Stk. at end of 1893.	Allowed for Depreciation during 1893.	Investments at end of 1893.
Irish	46	2,561	£ 18,066	£ 6,712	£ 600	£ 4,233	£ 25,198	£ 2,138	£ 4,483
Midland	251	120,700	188,096	139,448	42,395	386,233	573,238	19,936	322,002
Northern	158	109,525	1,836,301	108,615	60,621	590,845	744,875	29,864	806,323
Northwestern	496	509,638	8,232,279	1,649,163	330,705	2,782,584	4,032,107	191,149	4,109,816
Scottish	331	213,220	1,762,362	1,376,462	187,389	1,000,807	1,263,864	54,616	1,266,282
Southern	247	161,765	1,256,809	146,609	132,333	742,981	736,981	26,889	340,711
Western	126	61,178	493,047	39,864	29,513	215,605	206,039	8,820	162,824
Totals	1,655	1,298,587	14,556,960	3,457,873	783,556	5,813,288	7,582,302	331,412	7,012,441

A SUMMARY FOR ALL THE SECTIONS.

NAME OF SECTION.	TRADE.		PROFITS.			
	Received for Goods Sold during 1893.	Trade Charges during 1893.	Total Net Profit Made during 1893.	Applied for Educational Purposes during 1893.	Applied for Charitable Purposes during 1893.	Subscription to Central Board.
Irish	£ 225,437	£ 16,265	£ 4,450	£	£ 5	£ s. d. 14 1 8
Midland	2,580,983	209,854	219,054	2,520	1,905	480 10 5
Northern	5,700,713	343,969	860,560	2,583	2,954	732 0 5
Northwestern	26,008,737	1,269,611	2,158,079	21,774	22,517	2,212 5 7
Scottish	9,993,635	560,115	1,051,125	4,124	4,047	689 18 1
Southern	4,485,523	469,202	222,966	2,233	1,194	574 12 3
Western	1,439,277	107,663	161,770	1,253	484	278 8 8
Totals	59,434,395	2,976,679	4,678,004	34,487	33,136	4,981 17 1

DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETIES.

	No. of Societies.	No. of Members at end of 1893.	LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.			
			Share Capital at end of 1893.	Loan Capital at end of 1893.	Reserve Fund at end of 1893.	Value of Salable Stock at end of 1893.	Value of Land, Bldgs., & Fixd. Stk. at end of 1893.	Allowed for Depreciation during 1893.	Investments at end of 1893.
Distributive Societies	1,465	1,202,738	£ 12,581,742	£ 1,391,901	£ 519,767	£ 3,668,703	£ 5,751,196	£ 224,553	£ 6,103,203
Productive Societies..	176	31,563	720,626	442,277	53,600	441,347	599,288	35,672	150,281
Supply Associations.	11	62,982	549,225	73,038	100,168	505,688	301,562	9,699	154,302
Fed. of Creameries...	1	16	138	542	.....	64	64	3	.....
Eng. Wholesale Soc.:									
Distributive	1	1,010	173,095	999,789	.....	633,568	408,879	34,307	345,592
Productive .....	...	.....	397,143	.....	21,564	184,265	188,928	14,977	.....
Scot. Wholesale Soc.:									
Distributive	1	278	6,777	640,326	88,448	274,666	270,276	10,251	168,973
Productive .....	...	.....	137,394	.....	.....	74,987	62,109	3,959	.....
Totals	1,655	1,298,587	14,556,960	3,457,873	783,556	5,813,288	7,582,302	331,412	7,012,441

DETAILED SUMMARY OF THE SOCIETIES.

	TRADE.		PROFITS.			Subscription to Central Board.
	Received for Goods Sold during 1893.	Trade Charges during 1893.	Total Net Profit Made during 1893.	Applied for Educational Purposes during 1893.	Applied for Charitable Purposes during 1893.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£ s. d.
Distributive Societies.....	32,553,070	2,140,407	4,321,304	337,783	24,200	4,562 18 5
Productive Societies.....	2,450,300	281,743	107,676	604	842	159 18 6
Supply Associations.....	2,723,690	283,743	68,818	.....	89	58 15 2
Federation of Creameries.....	45,516	2,006	.....	.....	5	0 5 0
English Wholesale Society:						
Distributive.....	8,770,990	196,525	69,073	100	7,520	150 0 0
Productive.....	755,177	.....	15,083	.....	.....	.....
Scottish Wholesale Society:						
Distributive.....	2,840,018	72,255	70,234	.....	450	50 0 0
Productive.....	295,544	.....	16,816	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	50,434,395	2,976,679	4,678,004	34,487	33,106	4,981 17 1

Says Mr. N. O. Nelson (*The Outlook*, April 27, 1895), summarizing the history of English cooperation:

"Cooperation has already passed beyond the experimental stage. In Great Britain alone it now handles a business of over \$250,000,000 a year, from which a profit of over \$25,000,000 is returned on purchases, besides paying 5 per cent. interest on capital and accumulating a surplus.

Summary.

There are nearly 2000 retail associations, of which many have several branches. Some of the societies have as high as 30,000 members. The annual sales of the Leeds Society exceed \$4,500,000.

"Twenty-five years ago the retail stores formed a federation and established a wholesale society. Fifty millions a year is the business now done by the wholesale society. It has its own buyers in the important supply centers of the world, buying from first hands. It owns six steamships, which carry its cargoes from the continent and from Ireland. It does the banking and the insurance for the cooperative societies and individuals.

"The membership of those societies which are regularly incorporated and report to the Government is now 1,450,000, which represents a population of about 7,000,000, or one fifth of the United Kingdom. The societies predominate in the great manufacturing midland counties; in Lancashire and Yorkshire probably one half the people are cooperators.

"This whole system has grown from a little club of 28 very poor workmen who joined together just 50 years ago to buy their tea and flour at wholesale, for cash, and deal it out to themselves at the ordinary retail prices, for cash. That pioneer society now has 12,000 members and nearly \$2,000,000 capital. Two principles were adopted and rigidly adhered to—cash payments and full market prices. These seem small matters, but they are in fact far-reaching. For cash they can buy at the lowest value, and for cash they can sell without loss of bad debts and with less account-keeping. They cannot become insolvent, and they know all the time just how business is going. By charging the full market price, and incurring only the necessary expenses for distributing the goods, they accumulate a profit fund. This profit is made up in large part of what in private business goes out in advertising, expensive premises, bad debts, and disproportion between fixed expenses and business done. Those who know something of business will recognize that these items amount to a large percentage on sales and form a constant danger to capital itself. The customers and the proprietors being the same persons, the customer reverses the usual order and seeks the store. Dividends being upon purchases and not upon capital, the member has the strongest possible incentive to do all his trading at the store.

"Customarily he may become a member by subscribing for one share of, say, \$50, and paying thereon 75 cents or \$1. The remainder may be paid by applying the dividend on his purchases. He thus becomes a small capitalist by the mere process of trading at the store. Simple interest is allowed on capital, and a surplus is built up, but the divisible profits fall to the consumers in proportion to their respective purchases.

Each member has one vote, regardless of the number of his shares. A percentage of the profits is set aside to provide libraries, lectures, and propagandist literature. The original Rochdale Society has a most complete library, chemical laboratory, astronomical instruments, and branch libraries and reading-rooms at the branch stores.

"In connection with the stores, especially the wholesale, factories have been started on the capital accumulated in the surplus funds. They have many shoe factories, one of which is the largest in the world. They have extensive flour-mills, cloth-mills, bakeries, soap factories, and farms, and are gradually covering the whole field of their consumption. Having abundant capital, experienced managers and men, and consumers within their own organized ranks, the chief difficulties of manufacturing are eliminated. They are thus bringing face to face the actual producer and consumer, without the interposition of any middleman or private profit. The association and members being on a cash footing, they are not nearly so dependent on depression in trade. Consumption is not cut off, and the factories are not obliged to respond to the first breath of financial stringency. Thus it is that work in cooperative factories is much steadier than in private hands."

For further information as to English cooperation, see COOPERATIVE BANKS; COOPERATIVE FARMS; COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

THE COLONIES.

The Royal Commission on Labor report that in 1889 "little evidence was found of cooperation in industry or trade, and none at all of participation in profits by working men." They recommend that a labor bureau shall be established, and that, if established, it shall publish from time to time such information respecting cooperation and profit-sharing as may be obtainable. Distributive stores exist in Toronto and London, Ontario.

Canada and Newfoundland.

One of the London stores sells goods considerably cheaper than other establishments in the town, and another sells goods to stockholders at wholesale prices. Members must pay cash, and their orders are then executed at a wholesale house. They receive 3 per cent. discount, but this is reserved for the support of a reading-room and for other expenses. There is a cooperative store at the Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia, which has been in operation more than 20 years. The stock is owned by the miners, and they are only allowed credit up to the amount which they have invested; outsiders must pay cash. A similar store is reported to exist at the International Mines, Nova Scotia. No other instances of even comparatively successful cooperation are recorded, with the exception of two cooperative building societies, one at Hamilton, Ontario, and the other at Halifax. One hundred and twenty-eight houses had in 1888 been built with the help of loans from this association, and all but five of these were owned by mechanics. The Halifax Association is a cooperative savings and loan association, which lends money to stockholders only

on real estate security. Borrowers receive \$234 for each share, the face value of which is \$240, and pay \$4.20 monthly in instalments and interest.

Cooperation has little hold in Australasia. According to evidence given before the Royal Commission on Strikes, New South Wales, the establishment of purely cooperative business undertakings is hindered in Australia by the difficulty of raising sufficient money on such security as workmen can give. However this may be, practical experiments in Australasia have been few and far between. The Mosgiel Woolen Factory at Ashburton, New Zealand, which is conducted upon

cooperative principles, has proved a financial success; in 1891 it paid a dividend of 8 per cent. upon the share capital. But perhaps the greatest success in cooperation that has as yet been achieved in Australasia is that recorded by the Victorian butter factories and creameries, which were established with Government assistance in 1888, and which in 1891-92 exported 5,207,044 lbs. of butter to England. The Government fitted up a traveling dairy and sent lecturers throughout the colony to give practical instruction; they also grant a bonus on every pound of exported butter, graduated on the price which the butter fetches in the London market. The farmers, thus encouraged, send their milk to a creamery or a butter factory in which they hold shares, and receive every fortnight the proportion due to them according to the price of butter. There are 366 such factories now in existence in Victoria.

FRANCE.

The following review of cooperation in France and the other countries of Europe is mainly based upon and, in part, abridged from the reports on the various countries of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, 1893-94. France, while the classic home of profit-sharing (*q.v.*), has had little development of cooperation. In the early half of the century, while there was much discussion of the principles of cooperation, it usually took the form of plans for cooperative communities or communism, and little resulted. What did result will be best studied under COMMUNISM; FOURIERISM; ST. SIMON; BUCHEZ; GUISE, etc. Cooperation proper in France dates from the Revolution of 1848, when the National Assembly opened a credit of \$600,000 to be loaned to cooperative societies. July 15 of that year a council was established to control the loans. In six months there were 430 requests for loans, amounting to \$5,400,000. Only 29 could be complied with, and that partially. Few of these prospered, and on the establishment of the empire a decree of March 25, 1852, abolished all workmen's societies. The law of 1867 gave an opportunity for cooperation, but little was done. In 1881 M. Flouquet endeavored to favor cooperative societies in Paris, and in 1888 certain privileges and exemptions from taxation were given to all cooperative societies in France. In spite of this little has developed. The socialists of France have usually repudiated cooperation and profit-sharing as reactionary, and the attention of capitalists and of the well-to-do has been mainly called to profit-sharing (*q.v.*). Nevertheless gradually some cooperative societies have developed. *The Almanach de la Cooperation Française* for 1892 (p. 93) publishes a list of 81 productive societies, besides cooperative dairies and fruit farms, 3 building societies, 18 cooperative banks. For the building societies and banks, see COOPERATIVE BANKS. Besides these there were 942 cooperative supply associations. One of the most flourishing of these, the Society of the XVIII. Arrondissement of Paris, was established in 1886, and owns premises costing \$68,000. In the first half of 1892 its sales were \$81,317. Another society, La Moissonneuse, was founded by 18 men in 1874. It has today 17 departments, with 13,574 members, employs 150 workpeople, and does an annual business of \$1,400,000. There are similar societies among the railway employees and the miners. A society at Nîmes, L'Abeille Nimoise, founded in 1883, works very closely after the Rochdale system. In 1886 a Comité Central de l'Union Coopérative was established. See also PROFIT-SHARING; GUISE; LECLAIRE; BOUCICAUT, etc.

GERMANY.

Cooperation in Germany has developed more recently, but with considerable strength. Says the English Labor Commission's report on Germany:

"The cooperative movement as a whole began much later in Germany than in England or France, and in its first beginning it took a different form. England

had made a start with distributive cooperation from the point of view of cheapening the necessaries of life, and France had begun with productive cooperation among laborers and small artisans, but the first attempts at cooperation in Germany arose from the desire on the part of the artisan class to relieve the distress due to factory competition, by obtaining the credit and the raw material necessary for their work at a more reasonable cost. In 1848 certain loan associations, or people's banks (*Darlehenskassenvereine*), were established, but as they lent money without interest, and were subsidized by philanthropic outsiders, they soon came to be regarded by the artisans as mere charitable associations, and were held in small esteem. In 1849 Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, who for years was the life and soul of the cooperative movement in Germany, founded the first cooperative society for the purchase of raw material among 13 cabinet-makers in Delitzsch, his native town. A shoemakers' cooperative society soon followed, and the results of these two first attempts were so favorable that during the next few years a considerable number of such societies were formed in the neighboring towns. In 1850 Herr Schulze founded the first of his loan associations (*Vorschussvereine*), which differed from the earlier banks in that the persons to whom loans could be granted must themselves be members of the association paying regular monthly contributions. They thus themselves indirectly furnished the security for the credit afforded them. After a time both the societies for procuring raw material and the loan associations were federated, and the security thus afforded by the unlimited liability of all the members of all the associations for the obligations of any one association rendered it easy to procure the necessary capital. Tho the societies for procuring raw material form the necessary basis for productive cooperation, the highest development of the cooperative idea, their expansion was less rapid than that of the loan associations which had been founded later. Productive cooperation itself scarcely appears at all, and indeed, as has been already stated, it has at no time been able to show a very successful record in Germany. Herr Schulze himself was averse to premature effort in this direction, and held that success must be preceded by a long preliminary education in other forms of cooperation. Between 1860 and 1870 a movement was set on foot for the establishment of retail distributive societies (*Konsumvereine*), and the attention of the working classes was attracted to these stores by the quarrel which resulted between Schulze and Lassalle. The history of cooperation in Germany has since been a continuous progress. It has not yet been possible to establish a wholesale society, but the rapidly increasing number of distributive societies are strongly in favor of such a measure, and Dr. Crüger speaks of its early adoption as probable. The movement has spread from industry to agriculture. The necessity of economy in procuring the requisite stock and implements, if agriculture is to be pursued at a profit, is now generally recognized, and cooperative societies for the purchase of agricultural necessities, cooperative dairies, cooperative workshops, and agricultural banks or loan associations are exceedingly numerous. Cooperative societies for the settlement of estates in the Eastern Provinces are the latest development, and cooperation as applied to the actual working of the land is regarded by many authorities in Germany as likely to be productive of most important results. Much of the success of cooperation in Germany may be ascribed, according to Dr. Crüger, to the fact that at a very early period the individual societies were organized into larger associations, and thus enabled to profit by each other's experience and to afford each other necessary support. In 1859 a congress of members of loan associations was summoned by Herr Schulze to Weimar; here a central committee was appointed, with Herr Schulze at the head, which in 1864 developed into the General Association of German Cooperative Societies (*Allgemeiner Verband Deutscher Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*), including all forms of cooperation within its limits. The secretary of the association publishes a yearly report of the financial position of the societies, with a critical account of the progress of the various forms of cooperation. The association is subdivided into 33 minor associations, some for certain provinces or districts, others for particular trades. The directors of the smaller associations constitute the committee of the general association, whose duty is to advise the secretary in all important matters. The secretary is himself elected at the annual meeting of the association.

Schulze-Delitzsch.

The agricultural cooperative societies possess a similar organization, founded with Herr Schulze's assistance in 1833, and known as the German Agricultural Cooperative Union (*Vereinigung der landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften des Deutschen Reichs*). In 1886 it included 1730 credit associations, 975 associations for procuring raw material, 931 cooperative dairies, and 101 other cooperative societies. The peasants' land banks, founded by Dr. Raiffeisen, have an association of their own, and there are other smaller federations of cooperative societies." (See COOPERATIVE BANKS.)

Such is a general view of German cooperation in actual effort, but its real beginning is to be found even before the efforts of Schulze-Delitzsch in the work of Hüber (*q.v.*), who as early as 1838 was invited by Friedrich Wilhelm IV. to establish in Berlin a paper called the *Janus*, advocating cooperation.

On May 31, 1893, according to statistics furnished to the English Cooperative Congress by Dr. F. Schneider, and printed in its report for 1894 (p. 141), cooperative institutions are of the following classes:

Statistics. 4791 people's banks against 4401 on May 31, 1892; 2770 societies carrying on various trades against 2840 on May 31, 1892; 1283 distributive societies against 1222 on May 31, 1892; 77 building societies against 55 on May 31, 1892; 8921 on May 31, 1893, against 8418 on May 31, 1892. Dr. Schneider adds:

"Trading societies, as we record at the commencement, show a decrease in numbers. Especially is this falling off noticeable in the societies of handicraftsmen, altho year by year the example of few societies which have been in existence over 30 years for the purpose of supplying the necessary unworked material to tailors and shoemakers, proves that such material can be obtained from these societies considerably cheaper than from the merchant. Unfortunately, however, the present feeling among handicraftsmen is not favorable to cooperation. The cooperative warehouses and productive societies also show a decline in numbers.

"Some of the various classes of agricultural societies have likewise experienced a decline. In some places they appear to have proceeded with the establishment of societies for the supply of raw agricultural produce, where the essential conditions for the existence of such societies have not been present, and consequently many of the concerns have ceased to exist. On the other hand, the number of agricultural productive societies, mostly dairies, has gone up in 1892 and 1893 from 1087 to 1196. The Agricultural Union at the end of 1893 numbered 1868 societies with 150,000 members (including 551 country banks). The General Union of German Industrial and Agricultural Cooperative Societies was composed at the end of 1893 of 1480 societies, with a membership of not under 500,000.

"Of the distributive societies 344 (against 302 in 1891) have published their balance sheets for 1892. We tabulate therefrom the most important figures, comparing them with the corresponding figures for 1891.

	1892.	1891.
Total number of members.....	243,529	229,126
Sales for year.....	£3,360,028	£3,164,644
Working capital—		
In members' share claims ...	240,231	223,066
In reserve funds.....	123,700	118,036
In loans.....	276,019	239,406
Amount owing to societies for goods.....	45,385	49,406

"These outstandings for goods issued arise owing to several of the societies not strictly adhering to the principle of cash sales. At the end of 1892, 920 societies (against 75 ending 1891) had £11,856 (against £10,492 in 1891) outstanding for goods sold on credit. Where true economic principles are observed it may sometimes be excusable (with such goods as coals, potatoes) to sell on credit, but unfortunately many large outstanding accounts cannot be explained away in this manner. Of the membership of distributive societies dependent work-people of the various trades form 56.7 per cent.; tradesmen, 13.0 per cent.; doctors, chemists, public officials, etc., 8.7 per cent. All classes are represented on the membership roll of distributive societies as they are in the People's Banks, altho naturally in a different ratio. Eight building societies have reported progress. Ten societies had 1600 members, with £16,494 share capital, £3501 reserve fund, £106,720 in loans repayable

after the lapse of at least two years and in mortgages, £5458 in loans repayable under two years. On the other hand the property, completed and in course of erection, was estimated at £90,403, the land not yet built upon, £17,750. Of the 99 houses built from time to time by one society, 33 had passed into the hands of individual members."

According to the English Labor Commission report, the 2840 trade societies of May, 1892, were divided as follows:

(1) *Raw Material Societies*, the members of which combine for the purchase, at wholesale prices, of the raw materials necessary for their trades, the great majority (1020 out of 1130) being agricultural.

(2) *Work Associations*, the special object of which is the purchase, with capital subscribed by the members, of tools, machinery, etc., which is then hired by members at a fixed rate, the moneys so received being divided among the members in proportion to their shares; a certain sum having first been put aside for a reserve fund. The great majority of these associations (299 out of 312) are agricultural.

(3) *Depot Associations*, which provide a general store or shop in which members may sell the produce of their trade. The loan societies very often carry on business with these by advancing money to members on the security of their goods. They also, under certain circumstances, have something of the nature of raw material and productive societies. There are said to have been 71 of these associations in operation on May 31 last (64 industrial and 7 agricultural).

(4) *Productive Associations*, of which the report mentions altogether 1238—1014 being dairy societies, while 73 exist for other purposes, including cattle-rearing, forestry, and fishing, and 151 are industrial.

BELGIUM.

The beginning of the cooperative movement in Belgium was simultaneous with the formation in Paris, after the revolution of 1848, of a large number of productive cooperative societies. A considerable number of tailors', shoemakers', and printers' cooperative societies were established in Brussels and Ghent, but were with one exception, shortly afterward dissolved. The first distributive societies were the cooperative bakeries established in 1854 at Ghent and Antwerp, but these also enjoyed only a brief existence. A certain number of societies for the purchase of stores for the winter were established a little later, chiefly among the members of friendly societies; in 1865, 12 of these societies were in existence. Between 1864, when the first "people's bank" was instituted at Liège, and 1873, a large number of societies were established, mainly through the influence of the *Internationale*, but the lack of recognition and protection by the law, as well as of proper organization among the working classes, and in some cases the bad management and dishonesty on the part of the managers, brought about the dissolution, by 1873, of almost all the societies, with the exception of the various distributive societies established in 1869 at the Mariemont and Bascoup collieries. In 1867, M. Anspach, the burgomaster of Brussels, established cheap dining-rooms for working men, one of which still remains in Brussels. In 1871 M. Bara brought forward a bill for the recognition of cooperative societies, which became law in 1873, and, with certain slight modifications introduced in 1886, still remains in force. In January, 1878, however, there existed only 13 cooperative societies established in accordance with this law, and of these 10 were people's banks.

The real development of cooperation in Belgium has been in connection with the Belgian socialist movement. (See BELGIUM AND SOCIAL REFORM.) In 1879, largely under the lead of the socialist Anserle, a cooperative bakery was begun in Ghent. This movement has given cooperation in Belgium a firm hold. Between 1885 and the end of 1892, 303 societies were established, whereas only 45 were instituted between 1873 and 1884. Agricultural cooperative societies were commenced in 1885. There are also cooperative dairies, drug stores, insurance societies, banks, and distributive societies of many kinds.

At present, no general federation of cooperative societies has been formed in Belgium. In 1869 a federation of people's banks was established, which holds an annual congress, and in 1887 the question of federation was debated at a congress of delegates from cooperative distributive societies, convoked by the "*Vooruit*," and a provisional committee was appointed. At the annual congress of the Labor Party in 1890 the question was again in-

Cooperation and Socialism.

General Condition.

roduced, and a few days later a federal council was established at Ghent. About the same time, the cooperative societies of Government employees instituted a federation, to which 13 societies of employees are now (1893) affiliated. A local federation of cooperative societies was established at Liège about 1891.

The really most general cooperative organization in Belgium is the Labor Party, which is so strong and so thoroughly organized that by declaring a general strike, it forced the Legislature, against its will, to grant, the recently very much enlarged suffrage. (For further details see BELGIUM AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

A cooperative bakery and club called Vooruit were formed at Ghent, followed soon by a similar society in Brussels called the *Maison du Peuple*. Soon the movement spread through all the Belgian towns. The most important societies are those at Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Liège, Louvain, Charleroi, Namur, Verviers, La Louvière, and "*Le Progrès*" at Jolimont. In industrial centers such as Charleroi, Borinage, and the Center of Hainault, the cooperative society began by selling flour and butter, but it was soon found that a cooperative bakery could produce bread far more cheaply than it could be produced by each family for their own consumption. With the exception of the cooperative society at Jolimont, where bread is sold at the lowest possible price, these societies have almost all adopted the system of the Pioneers of Rochdale, selling at the current trade prices, and dividing the profits realized at the end of a certain period, generally a year or six months.

The movement, however, is wholly in the hands of the (socialist) *Parti ouvrier*, and no small portion of the profits are spent for socialist education, literature, and propaganda. The club houses are centers of socialism, and usually one must belong to the party to have the benefits of the society.

The great society "*La Maison du Peuple*" at Brussels, begun 1882, is representative. It was legally established in 1888, and in 1893 it numbered 10,000 members, and manufactured more than

La Maison du Peuple.

100,000 loaves a week. It possesses real property, having a tool-store, a library, and other premises, worth in all several hundred thousand francs. The objects of the society are to establish and work bakeries, and, as the funds allow, to establish butchers' shops, restaurants, cooperative workshops, general provision shops, libraries, reading-rooms, and other institutions. Its duration is fixed at 30 years from July 1st, 1888. The minimum capital of the society is 10,000 francs, and its liability is limited to the amount of the assets. Each share is worth 10 francs, payable in four half yearly installments. Persons who wish to join the society must purchase a share and adhere to the program of the Labor Party (*Parti ouvrier*), to which it is affiliated. Members who deal for one month elsewhere than at the society's establishments, or otherwise infringe the rules, may be excluded by the council of management and a majority of two thirds at the general meeting. A member who has resigned or been excluded receives his share, and the dividends to which he is entitled, in bread or other goods sold by the society, except in special cases, when he may be paid in cash. General meetings are convoked quarterly by the council of management, which meets at least twice a month, and consists of members of all the sections. An executive committee, to carry out the decisions of the council and the sections, is composed of one member from each section. The sections consist of six members, five elected by the general meeting and one by the men employed (*personnel*) in that branch; the bakery section is composed of nine members, two of whom represent the men employed. Deductions from the half yearly dividends are made of 2½ per cent. for the staff, and of 25 per cent. for a reserve fund, at least half of which is employed for socialist propaganda, and the remainder is added to the funds. Each member pays five centimes a week to the provident fund, from which he is allowed, in case of sickness, seven loaves weekly for two years. In 1890 a medical aid society (*Service médico-pharmaceutique*) was established, which, for a weekly payment of five centimes for each person, provides members of the cooperative society and of the Brussels federation of the Labor Party with medical attendance and medicine gratis.

HOLLAND.

Dutch cooperative associations are subject to a special law passed in 1876, which determines their scope and constitution. Several cooperative associations existed before this law was passed, but their number has since been considerably increased.

The cooperative form of association has been applied to building societies and credit banks, as well as to the more usual forms of distribution and production. The principal productive societies are two printing establishments situated respectively at the Hague and at Leeuwarden, the cooperative bakery "*Volharding*" at the Hague, and another at Amsterdam.

The Leeuwarden printing establishment has been in existence for 17 years, during which time it has paid an annual dividend of from 7 to 10 per cent. over and above the 5 per cent. interest on share capital. Some 10 workmen out of a staff of 38 are shareholders.

The *Volharding* bakery at the Hague is managed chiefly by socialists, tho the socialist party as such has nothing to do with it. The workmen's wages at this bakery are higher than elsewhere, and the hours are much shorter; there is no Sunday work and the hours per day are only eight. In 1890 the bakery paid a dividend of 11 per cent., in 1891 of 10 per cent., and in 1892 the price of bread was reduced 1 cent per kilogram.

Cooperation has succeeded better where it has confined its efforts to retail distribution. In 1886 the number of these associations was stated as 33, and cooperative shops are now to be found at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Haarlem, Leiden, and many other towns and villages.

The most important among distributive societies, that, namely, known as the *Eigen Hulp*, was founded at the Hague in 1887 with the object of supplying the working classes with the necessities of life at very moderate prices. It has, however, lately developed into what is practically a joint-stock supply association, with branches in all the large towns, and drawing its customers chiefly from the upper classes. The "*Social Interest Society*" was formed to counteract the aristocratic tendencies of the *Eigen Hulp*. The rise of cooperation in Haarlem is attributed to the discussions which took place among working men during the congress of the *Internationale* at the Hague in 1872. The employees of the Holland Railway Co. at Haarlem thought that the projects of the socialists were somewhat visionary, and as a step toward more practical results they formed an association for the purchase of coal, potatoes, rice, etc., on cooperative principles. The numerous building societies which now exist in Haarlem are the result of this beginning.

The *Verbruiks-Vereeniging* of Rotterdam was founded in 1874. Every member must hold a share of the value of 25 florins. The accounts are made up quarterly, and the net profits divided among the members in proportion to the value of their purchases.

All these societies are strictly local, and no central organization exists.

SWITZERLAND.

Cooperative distributive societies formed on the English pattern were founded in Switzerland at an earlier date than in any other continental country. The institution soon took firm root, and now 63 societies, exclusive of local branches, are reported in various parts of the country. The most usual form of the distributive society is an association for the wholesale purchase of food and household commodities. The articles bought at wholesale prices are sold to customers at prices varying from 5 to 7 per cent. below those of ordinary retail dealers. Some societies have also undertaken the management of restaurants, where a meal of soup, meat, and vegetables can be had for about 40 c. (8 cents).

The capital is formed either by weekly subscriptions or by the issue of small interest-bearing notes for sums as low as three frs. The net profits go to form a reserve fund or to extend the operations of the society. Most of these societies enjoy a high degree of prosperity. In 1880 the *Société Suisse* of Geneva sold 272,000 francs' worth of commodities in a single week, on which it realized a net profit of 30,000 frs. The average quarterly dividend of this society is 12 per cent., its reserve fund amounts to 10,000 frs., and its capital consists of 10,000 frs. in shares of 10 frs. each. One of the oldest and most important associations is the *Consumverein* of Zurich. This society was founded in October, 1853, by eight members of the *Grütliverein*, with a joint capital of 75 frs., which they employed in the purchase and sale of cigars. At the end of a month the membership had increased to 10, and by the end of January, 1854, 128 new members had been enrolled. The joint capital was employed in making and selling bread. Our figures are taken from the (English) Labor Report.

The cooperative principle has been applied with great success to banking operations in Switzerland,

where 242 out of the total number of savings banks are owned by cooperative societies. Some 600 cooperative societies of various kinds are now in existence; these include 305 cooperative dairies, besides a large number of societies for the insurance of cattle, fire insurance, etc.

ITALY.

Cooperation in Italy, as we shall in a moment see, connects itself with the past, yet has only recently been thoroughly organized. In 1886 and 1887 the first and second congresses of Italian cooperators met at Milan, and the Federation of Italian Cooperative Societies was constituted. A central committee was appointed, reports on the progress of cooperation in Italy were read, and accounts of the sums expended by the federation were rendered. A journal, *La Cooperazione Italiana*, was established, statutes for the federation were drawn up, and an international federation of cooperative societies was projected.

The most marked and peculiar success of cooperation in Italy has been of cooperative societies of day laborers. The origin of day laborers' associations has been traced back to the companies of Lombard masons, who, in the Middle

Day Laborers' Unions.

Ages, wandered through Europe building cathedrals and palaces. The movement has developed in an extraordinary manner since 1838, especially in Romagna, where it first began, and where the metayer system, which has now almost disappeared, was once widely diffused.

In October, 1887, the deputies Marin, Badaloni, Tedeschi, and Villanova made an appeal to the peasants of Rovigo (*Polesine*), urging them to form a cooperative society. Their appeal was published in *La Cooperazione Italiana* as an appendix to the Report of the Second Congress of Italian Cooperators, but it met with no response. In October, 1888, Signor Marin opened a "cooperative campaign," which lasted for a whole year. The first conference was held at Contarina on November 24, and soon afterward a day laborers' cooperative society was formed. Other conferences followed, and fresh associations were constituted at Isola di Ariano, Papozze, Laura, Gavello, and many other places. In all 15 day laborers' societies were established, besides four associations of day laborers and builders. These 19 unions had almost 8000 members, drawn from the ranks of the poorest peasants in Italy. In 1890 Signor Marin was using his utmost efforts to unite them all in a federation (*consorzio*), in order to enable them to undertake important public works.

The organization of these societies and the system of payment to members which is observed are very simple. The society makes a contract for a given piece of work at a given price, and then sublets the work by the piece to gangs (*squadre*) of its members. It provides the necessary tools if the workmen do not possess them, and gives a price equal to that which it has received, minus the expenses of administration. While the work goes on the members receive instalments of pay for their immediate maintenance. When the work is finished the quantity done by each man is estimated, and he is paid a proportionate share of the profits.

The most important associations are those of Ravenna and Budrio.

Cooperative dairies also occupy a prominent place in Italy. (See COOPERATIVE FARMING.)

The first distributive societies in Italy were founded early in the second half of this century. A cooperative store was started in 1853 by the General Society of the

Working Men of Turin, followed by another at Alessandria, which was opened in 1854. The capital of many of these original societies was obtained by means of subscriptions from wealthy persons, and in some places they were even organized by the municipal authorities. To this form of distribution others opposed the more purely cooperative English type, based upon the scheme of the Rochdale Pioneers. They believed that the consumers would benefit more by receiving the profits of the society in the form of dividends than by a constant diminution of retail prices. The Italian Industrial Association was formed at Milan, to promote the development of industry in Italy, by the foundation of people's banks, benefit societies, and strictly cooperative societies of consumption and production. Other associations with the same objects were instituted in several Italian towns, and a newspaper, called *Cooperation and Industry*, was started. In 1864, distributive societies on the English system were founded at Como, San Pier

d'Arena, and Milan, and between 1867 and 1870 many others arose at Bologna, Belluno, Cremona, Chiaravalle, Città di Castello, Faenza, Ferrara, Imola, Lodi, Lugo, Piacenza, Siena, Treviso, Udine, Verona, Vicenza, Venice, and elsewhere. In 1865 there appear to have been about 52 such societies in Italy, and by the end of 1873 this number had risen to 85, including 16 associations on the English system. Unfortunately the hopes raised by this brilliant beginning were destined to disappointment. The Italian distributive societies were a foreign importation and the result of many isolated forces; they lacked unity in direction, in form, and in aims. The severe English type, with its complicated system of reckoning, could not be maintained, for the consumers, urged by necessity, preferred a great immediate fall of prices to the slow accumulation of profits. The original stores have succeeded better, especially the one at Milan.

In 1864 a woman's cooperative store was started in Turin. In 1888 the men's stores distributed goods to the value of 1,051,840 lire, and the women's stores had effected sales to the value of 600,966 lire. Both societies sold below the market prices, yet in 1888 their respective realized profits amounted to 20,128 lire and 7,318 lire.

Another form of Italian cooperation are associations among railway officials. They are of recent origin, but are becoming widely diffused throughout Italy. They are formed by means of small shares, varying from 20 lire to 100 lire. Their object is to provide the members and their families with the necessities of life, of good quality, and at a moderate price. With this purpose they open cooperative stores for the sale of necessities to the members, and some even directly produce salted meat (*salsini*), bread, and other commodities. They all appear to sell their goods below the market price. Some even pay no interest to the shareholders, and sell at cost price, with a slight addition for the expenses of the society and for the reserve fund. Others sell at a higher price, dividing the profits among the shareholders, or using them to increase the number of shares. These societies have a great advantage in the ease and cheapness with which, owing to their connection with the railway, they can convey goods from one place to another. The first cooperative society among railway officials in Italy was founded at Turin in 1873.

"The question of improving the dietary of the peasantry is one of great and increasing importance in Italy." In Northern Italy the staple food of the agricultural population is Indian corn, which often induces *pellagra* from being used in a damaged condition. Since

Bakehouses.

1860 the question of establishing cooperative and other bakehouses in the rural districts has been before the public.

Don Rinaldo Anelli started a small cooperative bakehouse at Bernate, which proved a great success. In 1884 the Government offered to pay half the expense of starting new establishments, and by 1885 the total number of cooperative bakehouses in Italy had risen to 38. Some of these, however, appear to have been subsequently closed with loss, and Signor Volpi, a landed proprietor of the province of Milan, is of opinion that the peasantry are not yet ripe for cooperation, but that it is the personal duty of the landlord to see that his tenants are well and properly fed. The various communes and the Milan Savings Bank, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture, have voted subsidies for the same purpose.

A beginning has been made toward the formation of cooperative farming associations in Italy, but the movement is not as yet of much importance.

The statistics of cooperation in Italy in 1891 were:

Dairies.....	208
Day Laborers' Societies.....	49
Masons'.....	43
Industrial.....	109
Manufacturers.....	52
Raw Material.....	9
Building.....	69
Distributive.....	681
Various.....	22
Total.....	1,242

AUSTRIA.

The first and still to-day the most numerous cooperative societies in Austria are the loan societies, modeled after the German. They began to come into existence between 1850 and 1860. Distributive societies are the next in importance. Building societies were commenced about 1870. Productive societies number only

about 200, and of these more than one half in Vienna. There are besides cooperative dairies, societies for buying raw material, etc. There is a general cooperative union, which in 1892 had a membership of 217 societies. *The Austrian State Handbook for 1893*, p. 236, reports 2301 cooperative societies of all kinds in Austria, 1882 being loan societies and 324 distributive.

THE UNITED STATES.

Cooperation in the United States has had a very much longer and fuller history than is usually realized. It has reached very large proportions. In cooperative credit associations it is scarcely equalled; in attempts in cooperative communities it has led the world, and seems to-day as fertile in new attempts as ever in its history. It, however, is, except in the cooperative bank movement, utterly unorganized as a national movement, and most of its early attempts have proved of short duration. Dr. R. Heber Newton, in his *Social Studies* (1887), gives the following interesting table of the main events in the history of American cooperation:

- 1730 (*about*).—Share system introduced into New England fisheries.
- 1752.—Fire assurance introduced in Philadelphia. "The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire." Benjamin Franklin first director. Corporation still prospering.
- 1767.—Life insurance introduced in Philadelphia. "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America." Composed of clergymen. Still flourishing.
- 1819.—Mutual assurance bodied in a national order—the Odd Fellows.
- 1820-30.—Owen's movement; socialistic.
- 1830-40.—Loan and building societies formed in Philadelphia. New England Association of Farmers and Mechanics agitate the formation of stores. Labor organizations in New England open some stores.
- 1840-50.—Brook Farm, Hopedale, etc. Fourierite phalanxes. New England Protective Union builds up a system of stores; which at their height did a business of about \$2,000,000 per annum; some of which still survive. The earliest essay in cooperative production—Tailors' Association in Boston (1849).
- 1850-60.—Loan associations arise in Massachusetts. Associate dairies started in New York. Anaheim.
- 1860-70.—Stores started in several States. Productive societies also. Revival of building and loan associations in Pennsylvania. Mutual assurance assumes business forms. Renewed attempts at cooperative production. Ship-yard in Baltimore (1865), in Boston (1866); machine shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities; shoe manufactory in Lynn and in North Adams (about 1868); cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1869).
- 1870-80.—Knights of St. Crispin agitate cooperation. Founding and growth and decline of the Patrons of Husbandry; which order claimed to save in one year (1874) \$12,000,000 to its members, through its cooperative agencies. Founding and growth of the Knights of Honor—a great mutual assurance association. Still flourishing.
- Founding, growth, and dissolution of the Sovereigns of Industry; which order did a cooperative business in one year (1877) of \$3,000,000; representing a saving to its members of \$420,000; all of its stores being on the Rochdale plan; some of which are still prosperous. Scattered stores in many States; Massachusetts reporting 15 independent stores organized since 1870. Philadelphia Industrial Cooperative Society organized (1875). Independent productive societies in many States. Rapid growth of associate dairies, of which there are now 5000 in the United States. Rapid growth of mutual assurance companies; the

Patrons of Husbandry having at one time in one State alone 38 fire insurance companies; three companies in one county carrying over \$1,000,000 of risks; New York State claiming 300,000 members of various mutual assurance societies at end of decade.

Rapid growth of building and loan societies in Pennsylvania, which now number over 600 in Philadelphia, with a membership of 75,000 and a capital of \$80,000,000; which number in Pennsylvania from 1500 to 1800; which have led to investment of \$100,000,000 in real estate in Philadelphia alone.

Revival of loan associations in Massachusetts; where are now over 22 societies incorporated, having a total membership of over 6000.

Institution of loan associations in New Jersey, Ohio, California, etc.; New Jersey reporting 106 associations in 1880; Ohio reporting the incorporation of 307 associations during the seven years preceding the report (1880); total estimated societies (1880), 3000 in United States, with membership of 450,000; and aggregate capital of \$75,000,000.

Experiments in colonization.

1880, *et seq.*—Formation of the New England Cooperative Association.

Revival of the Patrons of Husbandry.

Greatly quickened growth of cooperation in all lines.

Development of the Knights of Labor.

Organization of the Central Labor Union.

Formation of the American Cooperative Union.

Reports from all directions of new enterprises.

Thus far Dr. Newton, writing in 1886. If, however, he had written later, he would have had to add a less favorable outlook. The cooperative ventures of the Knights of Labor (*q.v.*) and those of the Patrons of Husbandry have almost wholly disappeared to-day. What endures to-day are only a few strong cooperative stores, and numerous, tho, as a rule, poorly managed and weak and small attempts at cooperative colonies and communities of many kinds. Coming now to details of the history, we pass over the system in the New England Fisheries as *Profit-sharing* (*q.v.*) rather than cooperation. The early attempts at insurance in Philadelphia will be considered under INSURANCE. The cooperative efforts of Owen, the Fourierites, and other communities will be best studied under COMMUNISM. The subject of cooperative credit is considered under BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS and COOPERATIVE BANKS. We therefore come, as the beginning of American cooperation proper, to the formation of the New England Protective Union. We shall consider first distributive cooperation and then productive cooperation.

Mr. John G. Kaulback, a wholesale grocer of Boston, took the initiatory step. A member of the New England Association of Mechanics and Working Men, he proposed to the members that they contribute a certain sum individually, purchase certain necessaries of daily consumption, and meet weekly to divide them. A so-called dividing store was opened. From this small beginning, step by step, the work went on until the year 1845, when the first protective union store was organized and began business. Some dozen or more persons with "faith in God and the right" thus began in an upper room over the Boylston Market, their first purchase a box of soap and one half box of tea. Out of this Working Men's Protective Union grew the New England Protective Union, which was organized January, 1847. The 12 local divisions thus organized, of which 10 were in Massachusetts, grew so rapidly that in 1850 there were 106 divisions. The membership in 82 of them was 5100, and the capital in 84 of them was \$71,800.36. By October, 1851, the number of divisions had grown to 403, of which 167 reported a capital of \$241,712, and 165 reported sales for the year of \$1,606,825. The success of the union was largely due to Mr. Albert Wright, the energetic secretary, down to 1850.

New England Protective Union.

Discord finally split the organization. The new branch took the name of The American Protective Union. The old organization showed, in 1855, 72 divisions reporting, with 4,527 members, an aggregate business of \$1,130,719.29. The decline set in during the next year. The new branch did a business, between 1853 and 1858, ranging from \$1,000,000 to \$1,536,000 per annum. In 1859, the board of government believed that there were 600 stores in operation. By this time the decline had begun in this branch also. The aggregate business for 1859 was only \$930,376.36. Both branches were soon practically defunct. The great majority of the local stores were gradually wound up, or passed into ordinary joint-stock concerns, or into private hands. The civil war put an end to most of the few that lingered on that far. A handful endured even that strain, and some live still, under new names generally, *e. g.*, the stores in Worcester, New Bedford, Natick, etc. During the war no general society for cooperation was in existence, but not a few local stores were opened, some very successfully.

From 1873 to 1875, the Patrons of Husbandry (*g. v.*), founded in Washington in 1867, developed cooperation.

In six months of 1873, more than 10,000 granges were formed. The membership doubled in 1874. At the meeting of the National Grange, in November, 1875, the secretary reported 24,290 granges, with a membership of 763,263. The minutes of the National Grange show, from the start, a discussion of various schemes of cooperation, with references to experiments actually made. The favorite method was an imperfect form of cooperation, in which each local grange resolved itself into a purchasing club, and the various granges of a State united to support a general agent, who, combining the orders of the scattered clubs, bought in large quantities at a considerable discount, and shipped by carload to the several granges at reduced rates. The business of these agencies became immense. Pennsylvania had an agency store in Philadelphia, which was filled from top to bottom with samples. The Ohio agency, in one year (1875), ran a business of a few thousand dollars up to "not far from one million," with a saving to the granges of \$240,725.40.

These business methods, however, led to losses, and the Rochdale system was widely developed. The rapid growth of the movement, however, brought on a reaction, and another order arose to develop the next wave of cooperation. This was the Sovereigns of Industry, a secret order with ritual founded in 1874, to do for the artisan classes what the Patrons of Husbandry were doing for the farmers. Its first president was William H. Earle, of Worcester, Mass., and its national organizer John Orvis. It, too, grew very rapidly. The second annual council reported 166 councils, with 20,000 members. In 1877, the National Council had reports from councils in 17 States and Territories. At first, the members of a local council used to club together in buying at a certain store, saving thus from 10 to 20 per cent. They would buy flour by the carload, saving from two to three dollars a barrel. A general distributing agency was established in Chicago, through which all local councils could procure goods direct, at cost. The General Council urged upon the order the establishment of cooperative stores on the Rochdale system, and clearly and accurately enunciated the principles and methods of that system in a plan which was printed for free distribution. This plan was somewhat adopted, but not generally, until many of the councils had suffered by loose and unorganized methods and dissatisfaction had set in. The movement had reached large proportions, 94 councils alone in 1877 doing a business of \$1,089,372. In Worcester a Sovereigns of Industry was erected at a cost of \$35,000. By 1880, however, the order had collapsed, though not a few stores in various parts of the Union still remain as a result of the movement.

The next great order to take up cooperation was the Knights of Labor (*g. v.*), organized in Philadelphia in 1869, but which became general only early in the eighties, and then grew with mushroom growth. The fourth plant in its principles declared for the "establishment of cooperative institutions, productive and distributive." Cooperation, mainly productive, was therefore early agitated by the Knights, and led to many attempts in all parts of the Union, but few, if any of them, with enduring success. The mushroom growth of the order

has been, after 1886, followed by a steady and rapid decline, and of their cooperative efforts scarcely anything endures. What exists to-day out of all these waves of cooperation are a few local and disconnected stores and productive companies. Some of these, however, are very strong and successful, and instances of them we shall name in a moment.

We pause now to consider the history of productive cooperation in America. The movements thus far noticed, with the exception of that of the Knights of Labor, were mainly distributive. The first productive association of which we have any record was that of the Boston Tailors' Associative Union, which was formed in 1849, but did not endure long. Dr. Newton in his article (see above) mentions similar attempts at shipyards in Baltimore (1865); in Boston (1866); a machine-shop in Philadelphia (1866); foundries in various cities—Troy, Albany, Cleveland, Cincinnati, St. Louis (1865-68); shoe manufactories in Lynn and North Adams, Mass. (*cit.*, 1868); a cigar manufactory in Westfield, Mass. (1866); a machine-shop in Greenfield, Mass. (1870). Says Dr. Newton:

"The most promising of these early experiments was the stove foundry of the Iron Molders' International Union. This was started in 1867, in Allegheny County, Pa., the 10,000 members of the union having been expected to become stockholders. The paid-up capital, however, proved insufficient in a critical moment—the oft-repeated experience—and the enterprise failed.

"The decade 1870-80 experienced a marked increase in the number of productive societies. In the mid-year of this decade, Massachusetts had 16 productive societies reporting to the State, and nine not reporting, tho' duly chartered. All but one of these had been organized since 1870. The 16 societies reporting gave an aggregate paid-in capital of \$114,210. The nine not reporting were incorporated for \$47,110. Other societies were known to exist. These societies were located in Lowell, Truro, Weymouth, Westborough, Chelmsford, East Templeton, Holyoke, Somerset, North Adams, Newburyport, Orange, Marlborough (2), Boston (2), Stoneham (2), Fall River (4), Lynn (4), Westfield (8). Their work may be classified as follows: furniture-making (1), chair-making (1), foundry work (1), manufacture of gas (1), dairy-work (1), cotton manufacturing (1), printing (2), the building of houses (4), cigar-making (5), boot and shoe manufacture (6). An illustration of their work may be taken at random in the Cooperative Furniture Company of Orange, which in 1879 sold chamber sets to the value of \$15,743.52. A very promising association was the Rochdale Cotton Manufacturing Association, of Fall River, organized in 1874, with a share subscription of \$125,000. This was the work of a philanthropic mill-owner, whose family took the largest amount of the stock. It had a short career. Ohio had a number of associations for manufacturing, but the cooperative feature did not long survive in the few societies that were successful. One of these associations had a capital, in 1877, of \$100,000, but lapsed into a joint-stock concern, votes counting not by persons, but by shares. . . .

"A number of these societies were the results of strikes. The strike at North Adams, *e. g.*, on the introduction of Chinese labor, led to the establishment of a cooperative shoe factory. A report says: 'The men speak with pride of their new feelings of self-reliance and freedom, as well as of the quality of their work.' . . . The Patrons of Husbandry were reported in the *Economist* of November 8, 1876, as having 730 manufacturing associations, whose capital ranges from \$200,000 to \$500,000; . . . 16 grist-mills, one of which produces 100 barrels of flour per day; . . . 3 tanneries and 6 smitheries.'

"The Sovereigns of Industry contemplated entering upon this field, and made some essays in it, *e. g.*, the Kingston Cooperative Foundry Company, in Kingston, Mass. Its members consisted chiefly of picked men from other foundries. It organized with a capital of \$8000. Details of the experience of this and other societies have vanished with the order."

This brings us down to the attempts of the Knights of Labor and the present time. The attempts of the Knights were most various and most widespread, including boot and shoe companies in Massachusetts, painters' and decorators' associations in Minneapolis, clothing companies, tobacco factories, plumbers' associations, printing companies, mining associations, etc. All these, however, as Knights of Labor organizations have come to grief, and only a few of them remain in any form. Nevertheless, not a few strong productive cooperative enterprises have secured enduring form.

Productive Cooperation.

Patrons of Husbandry.

Sovereigns of Industry.

Knights of Labor.

Says the Report on the United States of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor :

"The most successful cooperative enterprises of a productive character are those existing among the coopers of Minneapolis. Between 1874 and 1886 no fewer than nine associations have been formed there which conduct business on cooperative principles. As early as 1868 the experiment of renting a small shop and selling the product direct to the mills was tried by a few journeymen coopers; they allowed themselves the ordinary rate of wages, calculated on the piece system, and then divided the profits in proportion to the work done. A suspension of trade in the flour mills caused the discontinuance of the enterprise, and on its resumption in 1870, it proved a financial success, but a failure from the cooperative point of view, owing to the determination of the treasurer, who had secured a large contract for himself instead of for the firm, to set up as a master cooper. The rapid increase of the milling industry and the consequent influx of coopers to supply the demand for barrels caused the labor market in Minneapolis to become overstocked; the wages of coopers fell so low that the former co-operators decided in 1874 to renew their experiment. Having obtained the promise of a contract, the Cooperative Barrel Company was formally incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, and entered upon a prosperous career. There were 16 members at the outset, who were to be equal shareholders, and to receive a share of the profits in proportion to the work done by each. The membership increased rapidly, and by the spring of 1885 it had reached 120, besides 20 employees working for wages, while the paid-up capital amounted to \$50,000. The introduction of machinery in that year caused some members to retire, as there was no longer sufficient work for all, and the numbers have since stood at 90. The assets of the company are \$58,000 and the liabilities \$73,000, so that the net value of its property amounts to \$45,000, or \$500 for each member. About three fourths of the members are married, and nine tenths of the married members own their own houses, so that, according to the statement of the President of the Association, nearly all the members have property worth from \$300 to \$10,000. About 25 of them are of American birth, 35 are Scandinavians, and 20 Irish; the rest being of various nationalities. The other establishments have had a similar history; all have been more or less successful, tho in one case, that of the Twin City Barrel Company, the treasurer absconded with about \$75, and his defalcation resulted in a great loss of mutual confidence among the members."

Minneapolis Coopers.

Cooperative dairies have also had considerable development in the United States. In 1886 the combined business of the Massachusetts creameries amounted to \$500,000. Ohio possesses a number of these creameries and cheese factories; in the latter case the factories are generally rented to reliable tenants, who contract to manufacture the milk delivered daily into cheese at 75 cents for each cwt. Sometimes the dairy farmers allow the manufacturer so much for each hundred cheeses, and then divide the remaining proceeds. There are similar establishments in Iowa, and, indeed, in most agricultural districts.

Such are the great classes of cooperative enterprises in the United States down to the present time, except those which are cases of profit-sharing and building and credit associations, both of which are considered under their respective heads. The latter associations form, however, it must be remembered, by far the most successful form of cooperation in this country.

The present condition of cooperation in the United States is very difficult to state, owing to the utter lack of any national cooperative union or the collection of any reliable data on a large scale. Efforts at the establishment of a national union or bureau have recently been made, but with little efficiency. Many successful local cooperative undertakings are known to exist. Says Mr. N. O. Nelson, himself the founder and manager of perhaps the best cooperative enterprise in the United States, at Leclaire, Ill., a full account of which will be found under the head Leclaire, Ill. (writing in *The Outlook*, April 27, 1895):

Present Condition.

"In the United States cooperation is far behind England and France. Spasmodic movements have been inaugurated, but they have stranded on the rocks of credit or politics or low prices. The discoveries in business principles, which the Rochdale working men co-operators may be credited with making—namely, cash dealings, market prices, dividends on purchases,

and an ever-accumulating surplus—have been overlooked or ignored by the American wage-earner, who feels no need of small economies when wages are high and work abundant, and who has nothing to spare for a business venture when bad times leave him stranded. The Rochdale plan looks puny and prosy to open-handed Americans who do not understand its principles and its possibilities.

"But the start has been made. Genuine Rochdale stores are to be found in every part of the Union. Most of them are young and small, but there are some with a membership numbering from 1 to 2000, and sales as high as \$250,000 a year. Lawrence, New Bedford, and Springfield, Mass., Brattleboro', Vt., Trenton, N. J., Lyons, Ia., Olathe, Kan., Galveston, Tex.—all have prosperous and growing societies."

A letter from Mr. Nelson gives the following information in regard to some representative existing associations:

"The Lyons Cooperative Association at Lyons, Ia., grew out of the Knights of Labor, and was started in 1886; the initial subscribed capital being \$6,57. This store had in 1891 10 employees, 5 horses, 2 delivery wagons, and an annual retail trade of from \$60,000 to \$75,000 a year. They pursued the conservative policy of depreciating fixed plant, and paying 8 per cent. per annum on capital. Its capital was in 1890, \$20,720, the net profits, \$197; it owns its own store, and buys entirely for cash.

"At Trenton, N. J., a cooperative store grew out of labor disturbances in 1885, and started with 90 members. They paid up \$150 in cash, agreeing to pay 50 cents a week toward a full share. The store had in 1890, \$11,745 capital; \$90,440 sales; net profits, \$14,808; total sales for six years amounting to \$441,247; and in that period paid back to the customers \$60,000 in dividends and interest.

"The Cooperative Store of Allegan, Mich., was started in 1875. Its sales in 1890 were \$103,827. Sales are on the cost plan; the expenses and interest on capital amount to less than 5 per cent. on the business done.

"The Johnson County Cooperative Association, of Olathe, Kan., started business in 1876, with a capital of \$800. It had in 1891 a capital of \$105,000; sales of \$208,000, and net profits of \$15,722.

"The Texas Cooperative Association, of Galveston, Tex., started business in 1879, with a capital of \$250. It had in 1890 a capital of \$80,945; 709 shareholders, and divided \$14,798."

The latest statistics in regard to some of the representative cooperative stores in this country are as follows—Arlington Cooperative Association, of Lawrence, Mass. (central stores and two branches, with grocery, fuel, and dry goods departments):

CASH STATEMENT FOR FORTY-SECOND QUARTER ENDING MARCH 31, 1895.

RECEIPTS.	
January 1, cash on hand.....	\$5,161.88
Sales.....	72,336.58
Shares and instalments.....	9,446.15
Initiation fees.....	74.00
Sale of manure.....	17.00
Rents.....	87.75
Sale of fixtures.....	35.00
	\$87,158.36
EXPENDITURES.	
Interest and dividend paid out.....	\$2,074.32
Shares and instalments canceled.....	5,827.46
Horse-keeping.....	639.81
Expense.....	975.33
Salaries, merchandise.....	3,117.92
" dry goods.....	260.44
" fuel.....	1,752.92
Purchases.....	47,399.84
Freight.....	316.04
Non-members' dividend.....	34.86
Insurance and taxes.....	97.43
Fixtures.....	511.51
Cash on hand.....	24,153.48
	\$87,158.36
Gross profits.....	\$14,071.18

Natick Protective Union (established December 10, 1866, in Natick, Mass.):
Amount of sales for the year 1894, \$85,140; of this amount, \$52,443 was sold from the store at a profit of

\$1003.76 and \$32,697 from the market at a profit of \$1421.01.

The profits of the year, \$2424.77, and the balance of profits of the previous year, \$133.17, gives \$2557.94 for interest and dividend.

Industrial Cooperative Association, of New Bedford, Mass. (dealers in groceries, provisions, and general merchandise), organized January 27, 1876; capital stock, \$20,278.41; shares, \$10; present rate, 5 per cent.:

QUARTERLY REPORT FOR THE QUARTER ENDING
SEPTEMBER 11, 1894.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand.....	\$374.38
Cash for merchandise sold Central.....	51723.92
“ merchandise sold Branch No. 1.....	4,171.95
“ merchandise sold Branch No. 2.....	7486.81
“ rents.....	383.97
“ shares.....	248.84
“ dividends.....	32.64
	<hr/>
	\$18,422.51

PAYMENTS.

All expenses.....	\$17,510.05
Dividends and interest.....	614.12
Balance.....	298.34
	<hr/>
	\$18,422.51

Farmers' and Mechanics' Exchange, of Brattleboro, Vt. (commenced business April, 1877):

Business in 1894, \$83,400; shareholders, 507, at \$5 a share.

Recently the various farmers' organizations have made various attempts at cooperative purchasing, etc., with varying success, and too recently to show permanent results. As an example, the secretary of the Farmers' Supply Company reports in January, 1894:

“We point with pride to our first 11 months' trial under the most trying financial conditions possible. We handle nothing at present but coal and groceries. In 11 months we sold \$4327.35 worth of groceries and \$3864.92 worth of coal, at a cost to us of \$745.50. Our gross profit was 17 per cent., and cost of handling 9 per cent., leaving a net profit of 8 per cent. to shareholders on every dollar sold, which gave us 95 per cent. net profit on our average paid-up stock for the 11 months. In round numbers we sold to shareholders \$3000 and to outsiders \$5000 worth of goods. In making dividends, we pay 10 per cent. on paid-up stock and 16 per cent. on each dollar's worth of goods purchased by a member, besides making a donation of \$70 to one of our members, and carrying \$50 over to next year. We paid cash for all we bought, and sold in the same way. We started with 31 members, and we now have 79.”

The present popular but not usually effectively organized cooperative efforts are at cooperative communities. A few of these, notably the one at Tennessee City, Tenn., are strong. Most of them are very weak and ephemeral. They are, however, best studied under communism.

IV. METHODS OF COOPERATION.

No one can study the history of cooperation, particularly in England, without discovering two almost contradictory methods and ideals at work.

Says Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), the author of *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain*, in a tract on *The Relation between Cooperation and Trades-unionism*:

“On the one hand, we have associations of consumers, such as the corn mills, the stores, and the wholesale societies, who together transact over 95 per cent. of the cooperative trade of the country. On the other hand, we have a few associations, not of consumers, but of producers, such as the Eagle Brand Boot Works, at Leicester, or the Slipper Makers' Society at Newcastle. The idea of the associations of consumers is that of the cooperative or socialist state—the management of industry by salaried officials for the profit of the whole community. The ideal of the rival form of industrial cooperation consists of groups of self-governing workers owning alike the instrument and

the product of their labor, and competing for profit in the markets of the world. These ideals appear to me antagonistic to each other, and mutually exclusive. But, however that may be, they most assuredly present separate problems, and are as different in their limitations and their advantages as they are in their aims.”

These two forms of cooperative industry have each had earnest supporters, tho the ideal of the Association of Consumers has had much the larger following. The Association of Producers was, however, the earlier ideal, and has been strenuously advocated to the last by such men as E. V. Neale and Thomas Hughes. Said Mr. Neale at the Congress of 1886:

“The original pioneers looked forward to self-employment, and the many advantages that might thus be brought within their reach, as the goal to be attained through the accumulation of the profits on their own purchases. Their successors, to whom the idea of self-employment has melted into the haze of a distant future, have too commonly got to look on the profits on their purchases as so much addition to their ordinary income; and have even been disposed to measure the benefits of the store by the amount of this addition—the actual dividend on their purchases—without caring to inquire closely how much of it is legitimately earned in the ways as specified above, and how much has come out of their own pockets by arbitrary additions to the prices of the goods sold. These departures from the original idea have produced a reactionary movement, a tendency to place the benefits of the store not where they really lie in the collective action which they make possible, and the educational and recreative resources that the members may obtain by their union beyond what they could secure individually, but simply in the power of getting what they want at a cheaper rate, by selling to themselves as nearly as may be at cost price.”

On the other hand, Mr. Thomas Tweddell said in his inaugural address at the Congress of 1894:

“To my mind the most melancholy episode in the whole history of cooperation was that in which Messrs. Neale and Hughes, a year or two ago, took their farewell of the movement, pointing out how they had striven to direct it, how they had held this ideal of the self-governing profit-sharing workshop aloft, and how cooperators had resolutely refused to follow. I respect these leaders, one of whom has since taken a permanent farewell of us, and crossed that 'bourne from which no traveler returns.' I respect them from their consistency, their courage, their devotion. But while conceding to the fullest extent that respect which is their due, we may be permitted to doubt whether, after all, the theory of the few has been consistently right, and the practice of the many has been persistently wrong. I incline rather to the belief that the imagination of the movement has been captivated by a beautiful ideal presented with all the charm that eloquence and earnestness could lend to it, but which, if experience is any guide, is delusive and impracticable, and which, like the fabled treasure said to be buried beneath the rainbow, ever recedes as you pursue it.

“Originating in the Utopian dreams of French socialists like Duchez, Fourier, and Louis Blanc, this idea was introduced to England by the Christian Socialists about the year 1849, and was made the subject of much earnest and self-sacrificing propaganda. The theory which they endeavored to enforce, as described by one of their number, was 'the conception of workers as brethren—of work as coming from a brotherhood of men associated for their common benefit, who therefore rejected any notion of competition with each other as inconsistent with the true form of society, and without formally preaching communism sought to form industrial establishments communistic in feeling, of which it should be the aim, while paying ordinary wages and interest, to apply the profits of the business in ways conducive to the common advantage of the body whose work produced them.' This beautiful and captivating ideal, which lends itself so freely to platform declamation, and is so admirably adapted to win acquiescence from a sympathetic audience, has been sedulously preached from the year 1849 until now, and with what result?

“From a work published recently by Miss Potter (a name that will live in our movement, although the lady

herself has recently abandoned it)—from Miss Potter's volume, which ought to be read by every cooperador, I quote the following:

"Of some hundreds of associations of producers known to have existed before 1870 only three remain. And passing over the dead bodies of some hundred societies registered from 1870 to the present day, let us rapidly survey the actual existing societies which have been, or claim to have been, organized in the interests of the producer. We take as a basis of our investigations the list of cooperative societies published in the Report of the Central Board for 1890. First we must eliminate from this list the productive departments of the wholesale

societies, and the corn mills and baking societies avowedly organized in the interests not of the producer, but of the consumer. Secondly, we must cast out as unworthy societies such as Mitchell Hey, registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, but which have practically become joint-stock associations, participating neither profit nor government with the workers. Thus, from a list of 106 separate societies, with a turnover of £2,308,028, we are reduced to 74 manufacturing and 5 agricultural associations, with an aggregate turnover of £455,477. Of the 74 manufacturing societies 20 are not in working order. . . . We have therefore a remainder of 54 manufacturing associations and 5 agricultural associations. . . . Now this cursory examination of all the present forms of cooperation that represent even in the vaguest and most remote degree the aspirations of the Christian Socialists, reveals one all-important fact. The ideal advanced by the Christian Socialists, and constantly forced by the individualist school of cooperators on the attention of the stores and the wholesale societies—this fair vision of a brotherhood of workers, of a self-governing cooperative workshop, in which the manager and committee are to be elected by the members from among their own body—vanishes into an indescribable industrial phantom, which, unlike the texture of real existence, becomes more and more imperceptible with the application of the magnifying glass. For when we look carefully into these 54 societies, we discover that over one third of the trade is transacted by establishments which are simply capitalist associations adopting some scheme of profit-sharing. It is true that a small proportion of them compel or encourage workers to become shareholders. But in all cases, without a single exception, outside shareholders hold the balance of power. If we turn our magnifying glass from off the bulk of the trade on to the majority of the societies, we lay bare a positive evil instead of a harmless self-delusion. So-called associations of workers are constantly resolving themselves into associations of small masters, into an industrial organization which is perilously near if not actually included within the sweating system, or we discover associations of workers so indifferent and skeptical of the advantages they offer as employers that they prefer the security of private trade and leave the cooperative workshop open to hirings. Or, again, we watch associations beginning with fervor and success, but surrendering in the course of a year or two at discretion to a dictator; or we see farsighted-promoters carefully securing their own position as irremovable managers. Thus these 54 associations, with a trade of £449,228, disperse in various directions, and we are left with our microscope pointed at eight minute specks on our industrial system, as the net result of 45 years' agitation in favor of the self-governing profit-sharing workshop."

"In this hasty retrospect, I think I have shown that that form of cooperation bequeathed to us by the Pioneers is the only one which has stood the test of practical experience, the organization—not of capitalists, not of workers, not of sellers, but of consumers, and the reasons why it has succeeded when other forms have failed are because

IT RESTS UPON THE WIDEST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BASIS.

"In our discussions on this subject we are too apt, I think, to commit the mistake of assuming that the worker and the consumer are two distinct and conflicting agents, or, in other words, that the community is divided into two great classes, production being the function of the one and consumption that of the other. Such a classification is absurd and untrue. We may divide the human race on the basis of sex, or of nationality, or of color, because such divisions are absolute; but we cannot divide it into producers and consumers, because one class embraces and includes the other. As

well divide the race into human beings and females. Take away the human beings, and where will the females be? And so take away the consumers, and where will the producers be? In making consumption, therefore, the basis of their organization, the Pioneers selected the widest possible foundation upon which it could rest."

The same result is the opinion of Mr. N. O. Nelson, in this country. He says, in his *Outlook* article:

"The most feasible method of getting into cooperative manufacturing is through the cooperative store. Store-keeping takes less money to start with, is simpler in its operations, and when once under good headway easily accumulates capital for factory plants. . . . Working men who really want to better the condition of their class should get together, familiarize themselves with the working details, and make a beginning in a small way. The difficulties to be encountered are not so much the business itself as the people's indifference. Where as many as 50 can be gotten together and imbued with the proper spirit a safe start can be made. Some members can pay their shares in full, and others 50 cents or \$1 a week. Some vacant room can be rented cheaply or obtained for nothing; the work can be done evenings by volunteers or by some one out of work for small pay. The beginning should be confined to staple articles of food, and books should be kept under advice of a friendly bookkeeper. Care should be taken to keep the expenses so proportioned to the business that a fair net profit will be made from the start. Purchases and sales should be rigidly cash, and prices should be the same as at the neighboring retail stores. Every one of the 50 should be a missionary to explain the plan to his friends and get them to join. Members should loyally do all their trading at the store, even at some inconvenience. Undertaken in this way, a cooperative store can be started anywhere and be assured of success."

There is, however, another view. The *Labor Copartnership*, the publication of the Federated Productive Societies, reports 120 in the Federation, a large part of which are well established, strong and healthy. They are doing very active propagandist work; about 30 of the largest ones have formed a guarantee company to receive loans at 4 per cent., to be lent under careful conditions to productive societies. The Federation has frequent meetings, similar to the Cooperative Union, district meetings and congresses. They do an enormous amount of lecturing and stimulating and advising, especially through H. H. Vivian, Thomas Blandford, and N. Williams, who are devoting themselves entirely to this program. George Jacob Holyoake is President of the Federation, and E. O. Greening, of the Agricultural Association, and J. Greenwood, of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Company, are active promoters. Independent production is more difficult to start and make successful in the competitive field than the stores. But in a good cooperative field, as there now is in England, many are unable to see any constitutional difficulty in the way of such associations, big and little, spreading on an extensive scale. They believe the conditions of success to be now all present in England, and that the rapid growth which has occurred in the last two years will henceforth be continually accelerated.

Perhaps one of the most needed things in making cooperation a success is not to claim it as a substitute for other social reforms, but to claim for it a place in social reform. In England and Belgium they are rapidly learning this lesson. Said Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney-Webb), in a paper read at a conference of trade-

How to Commence.

union officials and cooperators at Tynemouth, August 15, 1892 :

"I contend, therefore, that the cooperative and trade-union movements are the necessary complement of each other. In the cooperative society or the municipality the citizen consumer unites with his fellows to control and manage for their common benefit as much as possible of the industry which supplies their needs. Their aim must necessarily be to obtain good articles at a low expense of production. But as they themselves are also producers, it is easy for

them to realize the truth of Owen's great principle, that the community is in the long run injured, not profited, by any beating down of the standard of life of its members. These same citizen-consumers combine, therefore, among themselves in a second organization, according to industries, in order that in no case may the heedlessness of the consuming majority depress the condition of the minority in which any one set of producers is bound to find itself. Without cooperation, voluntary or municipal, there is no guarantee that any industry will be carried on for the public benefit; without trade-unionism there is no security that this public benefit will not be made a source of injury to the minority of producers. Combinations of workers may, therefore, be regarded as a permanent element in the democratic State, whether the control over industry be in the hands of voluntary associations of consumers or in those of the State or municipality itself.

"My conclusion, therefore, is that trade-unionists and cooperators are in duty bound to swell and maintain each other's organizations in every possible way. The artisan cooperator who is not also a member of his trade society is a traitor to all the essential principles of the cooperative faith. The trade-unionist who is not a cooperator is hugging his chains as a wage-slave without taking his part in the struggle toward the democratic control of industry. And both trade-unionist and cooperator, let me add, are forgetful of their rightful duties and responsibilities unless they are also active citizen politicians, eager to secure their full share of control over those branches of cooperation in which the proper unit of administration is not the store or the trade society, but the municipality or the State."

V. ARGUMENTS FOR AND OBJECTIONS TO COOPERATION.

The argument against cooperation is never against cooperation as an ideal, but simply against it as a practical method of social reform. On this line the opposition to cooperation has been varied and often strong; the argument, however, being different against different forms of cooperation.

1. Against distributive cooperation it has been claimed (tho in part, as we shall see, unjustly) that while it enables the cooperative consumer to obtain lower prices and save some of the profits that would otherwise go to middlemen, it does not tend to raise wages, and may even tend to lower wages through the interest the purchasing cooperators have in purchasing as cheaply as possible.

As a matter of fact, cooperation has not been proved to pay the lowest wages. The cooperative Wholesale Society in England is an agent for 1,000,000 cooperators, and pays union wages; so, with the rarest exceptions, do all cooperators. The argument, therefore, that cooperation lowers wages must be given up.

Consumer and Producer. Says Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, upon this point: "As the consumer and producer is the same person, he is benefited as well by economy in his purchases as by profit on his work. When buying in a competitive market, there is no other practical method than to buy the cheapest for given quality. Such buying does not imply expedients or sharp practices. There is no apparent reason for cooperative buying depressing prices. So far as consumers are producers, if the purchase price be lowered, so is the selling price. The function of the middleman, to get a profit for himself, is eliminated, because the profit goes to reduce

the cost to the consumer. With rare exceptions if any the cooperative factories pay union wages, and the operative can in every instance make himself a cooperative consumer. The English Unionists do not now claim that cooperation lowers wages. They did so formerly only in furtherance of the union cause, as the only means of improving the working man's condition. Tom Mann is now lecturing for cooperation, and the union congresses of the last few years have unqualifiedly indorsed cooperative stores and factories. The sweating charge against the Wholesale is entirely unfounded."

2. On the other hand, it is claimed that productive cooperation tends either to develop little companies or groups of producers competing against each other, or, if these little companies combine into one whole, to develop a monopoly which is Competition, either against the community, or, if large enough, to include the whole community, is socialism and not cooperation. Says Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb), in her tract *Cooperation and Trade-Unions* :

"Let us suppose, for instance, that the cooperative corn mills in the north of England were owned and managed, not by associations of consumers, but by the workmen now employed in each of them. It is clear that there would, in that case, be no room for the present Millers' Trade-Union, and strikes against employers would be unknown. But should we by this social revolution have achieved industrial peace? Our self-governing corn mills would be forced inevitably to adopt one of two courses. The workers in each mill might, in the first place, preserve their entire independence of the other mills, and they would all compete with each other for the custom of the community. This course is, in fact, the one pursued by such associations of producers as already exist. But, unfortunately, this unrestrained competition inevitably leads, in bad times, to the lengthening of the hours of labor of the associated producers, and the reduction of their remuneration. Profit disappears, at any rate for a time, and it becomes a question of working longer and for less than before, in order to avoid running behind-hand and seeing their whole capital disappear.

"But, on the other hand, the self-governing workshops, if they ever came to be the typical form of cooperative industry, might be wise enough to avoid this disastrous competition by learning a lesson from the American capitalist. We might, in fact, have a 'ring' of flour producers against the consumer. A few years ago there was actually an attempt to form a flour syndicate in the north of England, which broke down through the determined opposition of the mills owned by associations of consumers. If these mills had been owned and governed by the workers in them, they might, in order to avoid the horrors of unrestrained competition, have fallen in with this arrangement. Instead of the spectacle of the sweating system, we should then have before us a gigantic 'ring' or 'combine' of capitalist workers, associated to keep up prices against their customers. We should, indeed, have done away with the Millers' Trade-Union, with its modest and legitimate desire to maintain the standard of life of its members. But we should have created in its place a body of monopolists, exploiting the public for their own private gain. Industrial conflict would have been replaced by industrial oppression."

But this, again, is argument not against cooperation, but against its misuse, and any social reform may be misused. Mrs. Webb in her tract argues not against cooperation, but for the necessity of combining trade-unionism with cooperation—a combination which is, fortunately, rapidly on the increase in England. In the great miners' strike in England last year the miners were very greatly helped by the large funds they had to draw from in their shares and deposits in the cooperative stores. The tendency of cooperation to develop little competing groups of cooperative producers is a very real one, but is an evil only incident to the beginnings of cooperation, and its cure is not less cooperation, but more cooperation.

3. A stronger argument against cooperation is that it so fixes the mind of investors and co-operators on saving or earning a few cents that he forgets questions of much larger economic importance. Says Beatrice Potter in the tract quoted above :

"It would be a fatal error if the million members of cooperative societies allowed their comparatively small interests as dividend receivers for one moment to divert their attention from their much vaster interests as wage-earners and citizens. The dividends of a cooperator amount on an average to about £3 a year, or just about a farthing per hour on his wages. A 'good' cooperator, dealing pretty constantly at the store, will make perhaps double this amount, or a halfpenny per hour of his working time. Now I need not remind you how very easy it is to lose a halfpenny per hour in wages for the want of a strong trade-union. Take, for instance, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, with its 500 branches all over the kingdom. Their standard rates of wages vary from 5d. per hour in some towns up to 9½d. per hour in others—a difference equal to no less than 18 times as much as the average cooperator makes out of his store. In a score of towns last year the carpenters gained a rise or suffered a fall of a halfpenny an hour on their wages—more than they stood to gain in cash if they could have suddenly sprung at one bound into as successful cooperators as the men of Durham themselves. . . . Cooperators must not, in their zeal for their own movement, lose sight of the vital importance of maintaining, all along the line, the dyke of the standard rate of wages. If the cooperative artisans in any town lag behind their fellows elsewhere, even to the extent of an advance of a farthing an hour which might have been gained by strong trade-unionism, they will probably have lost as much in actual cash by the end of the year as they will have gained by all their devotion to the cooperative store. The engineers at Keighley, for instance, a strongly cooperative town, are earning at least 10s. a week less than the engineers at Manchester; a fact which can, I think, only be accounted for by the superior capacity for trade combination exhibited by Lancashire mechanics. It will hardly be maintained that the £5 a year dividend of the Keighley 'good cooperator' is equivalent to the £26 a year additional wages earned by the Manchester 'good trade-unionist.'"

Yet this, again, is no argument against cooperation, but simply for (as Mrs. Webb uses it) a combination of cooperation *with* trade-unionism. Cooperation may not accomplish all things, but a penny saved is a penny earned, and trade-unionists in England have learned that they cannot afford to sneer at the millions of pounds in the English cooperative movement, gained by saving pennies.

4. Perhaps a still stronger argument against cooperation is that it not only is in danger of making men forget larger economic interests, but tends to positively develop a competitive mercantilism, instead of a truly socialistic spirit. There is some truth in this; nevertheless, it is also true that cooperation tends to develop mercantilism less than does the ordinary life of commerce, and hence is a step in advance. Cooperation does not claim to introduce the ideal at once, but only to be a long first step toward that ideal.

5. The main argument against cooperation, as applied to the United States at least, is that it is almost an impossibility to introduce it successfully to-day except through the form of profit-sharing, against which form there are especial arguments. (See **Difficulties. PROFIT-SHARING.**) Cooperation, unless introduced by some large and established firm, some schools of thought claim, can scarcely expect to succeed in the United States. The reason is that in the

United States, as, perhaps, nowhere in the world, have we developed large, powerful corporations and monopolies. Nowhere is competition so organized as in the United States. With mills, stores, and all forms of business carried on by these gigantic corporations and monopolies, it is almost impossible for the small cooperative store to successfully compete. Against corporations able to run a year or more at a loss, in order to run out the small venture, small cooperation is helpless. Too often, too, these corporations do not need to run out the small venture. Small cooperative ventures too often run themselves out. They can rarely be well managed, because good managers can get larger salaries than the small venture can afford to pay, and even when well managed, the small venture cannot buy, or manufacture, or sell on a small scale so cheaply as the corporation on a large scale. Small cooperation is, thus, often hopeless, swallowing up the hard-earned money invested in it, and sometimes, in spite of the best intentions, becoming a veritable sweating den, simply because of the inability of the small venture to compete with large stores and yet pay living wages.

This, we say, is usually the case, but not always. Where a small cooperative venture is fortunate enough to secure a good manager, where it can secure some capital, where there is a community or a body of working men willing to support it, where there is willingness and determination to carry it through, then in trades and under circumstances where the competition is not too intense, the cooperation may succeed. Such cases are by no means wanting in the United States, tho exceptional.

One must not be misled by the success of the English movement. In the first place, the foundations of that success were laid before business was so monopolized as it is to-day by large corporations, while even to-day in England monopoly is not so developed as in the United States. Secondly, it must be remembered that 95 per cent. of English cooperation is consumptive, not productive—in other words, the least beneficial form of cooperation to the producer. Thirdly, some so-called cooperative successes are not cooperative at all, but profit-sharing, which is a very different thing. Even in England, Sidney Webb says (in his tract on *English Progress toward Social Democracy*) :

"Less than one four hundredth part of the industry of the country is yet carried on by cooperation. The whole range of industrial development in the larger industries seems against it; and no ground for hope in cooperation as a complete answer to the social problem can be gained from economic science. It fails to deal even with the real elements of the case. It may claim to obviate competition; but, as Mill himself quotes, 'the deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is *not* competition, but the subjection of labor to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of production are able to take from the produce.' Cooperation can make no real defense against the continuance of the exaction of this 'enormous share'—rent and interest—the continued individual enjoyment of which it, indeed, actually presupposes. It affords a valuable moral training, a profitable savings bank for investments, and a temporary means of interest resting the worker in the industrial affairs of his country. But ordinary joint-stock investment is now rapidly outgrowing it, and is already 160 times as great as cooperation. Now even the most enthusiastic believer in the virtues of association will hardly expect salvation merely from a *régime* of joint-stock companies; and this, and not co-

operation, is clearly the line in which our industrial development is rapidly traveling, so far as all large enterprises are concerned. The final goal of many industries is, moreover, obviously not the cooperative society, but the municipality. Nearly twice as much capital is already invested by town councils in a single industry (gas supply) as the whole 12,000,000 of the accumulations of the 1500 cooperative societies. A larger extension of 'municipal industry' is made every year than the progress, great as it is, of the cooperative industry. Already, where there is most cooperation, there is also most municipalization."

But this statement in part answers itself. It shows that cooperation and municipalization and socialism can develop together. In Belgium, as we have seen, cooperation practically supports the socialist movement and gives it an organized strength, perhaps greater than that of any other country. In England, trade-unionism, socialism, and the cooperative movement are coming to see that they are natural allies, and can be of the greatest benefit to each other. Mr. N. O. Nelson writes:

"There is, probably, nothing that has been so great an aid to the growth of the socialistic and radical reforms now being actively and successfully prosecuted in England, as the education which a million and a quarter of cooperators have received in the value of workers' mutual operations, and the feasibility of self-help. There is one pre-eminent value in cooperation as compared with reforms, which must be inaugurated by political methods. The former can produce some available and influential results at once, and continuously; the latter must do an enormous amount of political work before a majority can be persuaded and stirred up to final action, and of course many reforms fail altogether for lack of persistence.

"As to the 95 per cent. of cooperators who are merely consumers, there is no difference whatever between a 10 per cent. dividend on purchases and a 10 per cent. dividend or increase in wages. There is really more opportunity for education in connection with a cooperative store than a factory. In the factory, it must be in the main a one-man power, each man working in the same automatic way that he does for a private employer. In a cooperative store there is greater freedom; there are elections; there is service on committees; there are meetings; and also, as there may be in any cooperative association, libraries, reading-rooms, lecture courses and the like.

"While cooperation is greatly preferable to profit-sharing in the technical sense, it is nevertheless true that profit-sharing is cooperative to a large extent. Its chief objection is, that it does not introduce democratic responsibility in the selection of managers and the conduct of the business, and is dependent solely on the initiative and friendly disposition of a single proprietor or corporation stockholders.

"The recent business history of this country goes to show that enormous combinations are palpable failures; witness the Cordage, National Lead, Cotton-Seed Oil, and numerous other great aggregations. All of these have actually lost money. The reason for this, which was not at first apparent, is, that the attempt to run at many different points and for many different markets, under one head, does not get sufficiently careful attention to the details of operations. It will probably be found that a single factory of fairly good dimensions and self-contained is the most likely to succeed; and a decided advantage would be gained for it if, besides having the careful personal supervision of its chief owner, it also had the concurrent interest of all of its workers. The enormous retail stores are not necessarily, nor probably, disposed to sell any lower than they need to; and it is a fact that they make very handsome profits. A cooperative store, while it would have a much harder time getting started in a city

Small Stores large enough to have these large and well-established retail stores, would nevertheless be perfectly able to compete with them, when once established.

Practical. For apparent reasons, it is much harder to start a dry-goods or drapery store than in the smaller goods, such as groceries, meats, shoes, furniture, and the like. In all considerable cities there

are large stores; yet there are a multitude of small stores and shops of every conceivable sort. It would probably be found, too, that the big retail stores of any large city do not supply the inhabitants of that city and vicinity with anything like the hundredth part of the goods of all kinds consumed by the inhabitants. There is plenty of room for cooperative stores or factories, if, as a matter of fact, they have any economic advantages. If Mr. Brassey believes that £5000 a year insures a more competent manager than £300, I venture my opinion, as a business man of 25 years' experience, that he is mistaken. It is more frequently the case, that the larger the price the less the service that is actually rendered. There is a great deal of pure fiction and sentiment about a large part of the few high-priced salaries paid in the commercial world.

"Profit-sharing, introduced by wealthy manufacturers, is, by no means, the only way in which cooperative factories can be started. It is, in fact, practicable to start them just as nearly all other factories have been started, by beginning in a small way. The advantages of a large and well-equipped factory over a small one are not so great as may be supposed. The large manufacturer has many purely extravagant ways, which the small manufacturer does not indulge in. The best paying planing mill in this city [St. Louis], year after year, is the Mechanics, which, while not cooperative in the true sense, was started entirely by striking workmen on capital which they had scraped together of their own, and the stock is still mainly held by the men who work in the factory. Other planing mill masters here admit that they have the advantage, and make more money than any other mill in the city. A cooperator, who is at one and the same time a member of a cooperative store at which he buys his goods, and a member of a cooperative factory, gets (not quite, but) nearly all he produces. What he pays in taxes which should, by right, be secured from land value tax, is about the only thing that he loses; and he gains besides a very great advantage over the mere members of a trade-union."

References, for England.—*The History of Cooperation in Rochdale* (Part I. only, 1844-57; 1893); *History of Cooperation* (2 vols., 1885); *The Cooperative Movement of To-Day*, all by G. J. Holyoke; *A Manual for Cooperators*, by T. Hughes and E. W. Neale (1881); *Working Men Cooperators*, by A. H. D. Acland and B. Jones; *Life, Times, and Labors of Robert Owen*, by Lloyd Jones; *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain*, by Miss B. Potter (1891); *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*, by D. F. Schloss; *Cooperative Production*, by E. Jones (1894). See also the *Reports of the English Cooperative Congresses*, published by the Cooperative Union, Limited, Corporation Street, Manchester; the valuable *Annals of the Cooperative Wholesale Societies*, published at 1, Ballour Street, Manchester; *The Cooperative News*, published weekly at Manchester. For Europe the best references are the reports on the various countries of the English Royal Commission on Labor. For America we have *The History of Cooperation in the United States*, published by the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (1888); *Cooperation as a Business*, by C. Barnard (1881); *Manual of Distributive Cooperation*, by Carroll D. Wright, in Massachusetts Labor Report, 1885.

Revised by N. O. NELSON.

COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURE. See COOPERATIVE FARMING.

COOPERATIVE BANKS may be defined as cooperative organizations for mutual financial aid. They are organizations mainly of people possessed of little or no capital, and with limited incomes from wages or any other source, whereby they can put their small savings together and create a fund from which the members can borrow at low rates of interest.

In the United States such banks are usually spoken of as Building Associations, and are considered under that head, but it must not be forgotten that these associations are truly and not seldom are called cooperative banks, and that their special and marked development in this country make the United States one of the pioneer countries and chief homes of this form of cooperation. Apart from the building and

loan associations of the United States, however, Germany is the classic home of cooperative banking. Schulze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen are the two great founders of the movement, tho there existed some germs of the idea before their time.

In this, as in so many other things, China claims to be the originator, and Mr. Wolff, in his *People's Banks: a Record of Social and Economic Success*, finds other germs in the early banks of Italy, in some of the early communities among the German artisans who were taken to Russia to develop the trades there. As early as 1830 the German Gail (*q.v.*) proposed to fight capital by putting together the pennies of the poor.

But the ones to really develop cooperative banking were Schulze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen. Of these two men, each commencing his work without the knowledge of the other, Raiffeisen seems to have begun **Beginnings.** slightly the earlier, and to have developed the more strictly cooperative system; yet Schulze was the first to gain for the movement popularity and general following.

Schulze-Delitsch (*q.v.*), a prominent German Liberal and a man of some wealth and position, was deeply moved by the sufferings of the poor, in the days of the Revolution of 1848, and devised his system of cooperative banking for their relief. In conjunction with his friend, Dr. Bernhardt, of Eilenburg, he commenced his work among the joiners of Delitsch and the shoemakers of Eilenburg. He first formed simply a sort of provident fund, but established his first credit association in 1850. His ideas and example took root and found a large following. In 1863 he was opposed by the Socialist Lassalle (*q.v.*), and in several debates before working men's organizations Lassalle carried the audience with him against Schulze-Delitsch, whom he considered a reactionary Liberal. Yet Delitsch adhered to his work, and when he died, in 1883, he saw a network of his banks all over Germany and in adjoining countries. Of the exact nature of his system and of its status we shall speak later; meanwhile, we turn to the system of Raiffeisen.

F. W. R. Raiffeisen (*q.v.*), in Westerwald, began his work by establishing a cooperative bakery, and then a cooperative bank in 1849. It had only a capital of £300. Contesting against great odds, his system was little known till 1874, but before his death, in 1888, "Father Raiffeisen," as he was called, saw his system a distinguished success.

The following gives the essential points of difference in the two systems:

The Schulze-Delitsch credit associations put the *lender's* interest foremost; Raiffeisen, on the contrary, places the *borrower's* interest as the keystone of his system. He aims at social benefit, not at business profits. Every member joining one of the Schulze associations is expected to take one share valued at from \$40 to \$125 (each association determining the value of its shares). This share may be paid for in small instalments. The shares draw dividends ranging from 1 to 30 per cent. Some associations have declared dividends of nearly 60 per cent. This is gained by charging a somewhat high rate of interest. Loans are only made to members and are for short periods, never more than 90 days. As security, mortgages, pledges, bills, and surties are taken. These associations are managed by a well-paid committee whose salaries are increased by commissions based on the amount of business done. In order to increase their commissions, a committee often takes bad securities. In 1892 the as-

sociations borrowed about one fourth of this amount, mostly from private individuals.

The Raiffeisen loan banks were established to assist borrowers, and at the same time to free the small agriculturists from the merciless grasp of usurers.

Raiffeisen offered to supply the peasantry with money if they would subscribe to his rules. As his aim was to benefit the poorest classes he exacted nothing from those joining, and as most members were agriculturists, he made long credits the rule. Each bank membership is confined to a small district. Within this district members are elected with great care and discrimination. No difference is recognized between the poor and rich except that the latter are allowed to take the brunt in the administration. There is an executive committee consisting of five members and a council of supervision consisting of six or nine members, according to the size of the banking society. None of these officers receive a cent of remuneration. Only one man connected with a bank is paid, viz., the cashier, and he has no say whatever in the employment and the distribution of the money. All banking in the ordinary sense is strictly forbidden. The banks are *loan* banks and their sole instrument is credit. No dividends are paid. All profits go into a reserve fund, which is used to meet deficiencies or losses or it is voted to some public work or charity. Money is loaned only to members, and no request for a loan is granted until after a careful examination is made into the object of the loan, whether it is economically justified, and if found to be so the applicant for a loan is never refused. When the money is granted it must be used for the specific object for which it was requested. The rate of interest usually charged is 5 per cent. The banks obtain their money from various sources, paying from $\frac{1}{2}$ to per cent. They have more money than they can use as their reputation is excellent. In the 30 years of their existence neither member nor creditor has ever lost a penny. The lending is on character, no pledges or mortgages are taken as security, but simply a note of hand backed by one or two other members. It is thought by many that one of the strong points of these *loan* banks is that they are based on the *unlimited liability* of members.

In both the main object is to found an association which grants credit to persons who would otherwise scarcely be able to procure it, except at an exorbitant rate on the security of funds composed of small regular contributions made by all the members. Before the passing of the law of 1889, loans were sometimes made to non-members, but the law forbade this extension of the business of the associations on the ground that it destroyed their cooperative character. Since 1889 also the liability of the members has been no longer universally unlimited; but according to Dr. Crüger experience has shown that associations with limited liability have not always proved able to procure the necessary capital. On the whole, he regards it as probable that, in the future loan associations which do not possess any very large capital will be organized on the basis of unlimited liability, unless local circumstances determine them to adopt the contrary principle. The agreeing in their main object, the Schulze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen banks differ considerably in other details. The former admit members of every class, and think this safer, since it is improbable that a demand on the bank will occur in every industry at once; the latter limit their advantages to agriculturists. The former charge high interest (8 to 12 per cent.), and pay high dividends, with salaried officers. The latter charge low rates and have no salaried officers, and claim to be more ethical, while the former they consider merely commercial.

A connection between the associations, however, is maintained by means of the Central Agricultural Bank for Germany. The General Secretary's Union, presided over by Dr. Raiffeisen until his death, and since then by his son, aims to extend the system. The firm of Raiffeisen & Co. has been founded to supplement the funds of the association, and render them independent of subsidies hitherto granted by the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture. The firm publishes a journal, *The Cooperative News (Genossenschaftsblatt)*.

The Schulze-Delitsch and Raiffeisen systems are not, however, the only ones in Germany. Mr. Wolff mentions, besides the Buernverein or cooperative associations of the Roman Catholic Church, which do not a little at supplying credit, the Haas, Westphalian, Franconian, Posen, and Broich banks.

In 1889 a general German agricultural cooperative union was established, and gave a great impetus to agricultural cooperation.

The Two Systems.

The total number of cooperative credit associations in Germany, exclusive of the Bauernverein, is some 4800, with 500,000 members, and a capital of from 100 to 125 million dollars. Financial statements are published for 1076 out of the 4401 societies, showing that in 1891 the sums advanced, including extensions of loans previously granted, amounted to 1,561,610,000 marks (£78,080,000) as compared with 1,641,574,191 marks (£82,079,000) in 1890, representing an average of 3035 marks (£152) per member in 1891, as compared with 3111 marks (£156) in 1890.

On May 1, 1891, 3746, or about 95.8 per cent. of the whole number of credit and loan associations were based on the principle of unlimited liability; in 148 the liability was limited; while in 18, founded by Herr von Broich, there was an unlimited liability to be called upon to make subsidiary payments. The number of bankruptcies among loan associations between 1876 and 1886 was only 36.

With regard to the Raiffeisen banks, Dr. Crüger reports that in 1890 364 of these associations, with 33,166 members, had assets worth 17,184,362 marks, and liabilities amounting to 17,011,439 marks. The net profits were 172,590 marks, and the reserve fund about 822,000 marks. In 1891 the 735 banks belonging to the Neuwied association, with 70,000 members, did business to the extent of 30,000,000 marks. In 1892-93 the assets of 635 banks amounted to 27,182,348 marks, and their liabilities to 27,122,036 marks.

Cooperative banking has spread from Germany into other countries, especially into Italy. The report on Italy of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor tells us that the question of providing credit for the working classes was raised as early as 1858, in the Congress of Working Men's Associations held at Vercelli. The discussion was renewed at the next annual meeting held at Novi, and again at Milan in 1860, when certain proposals, put forward by Signor V. Boldrini, were carried.

Meanwhile, Signor Luzzatti, in a series of lectures delivered at Milan, in the course of 1863 and 1864, refuted the opinions advanced by Signor Boldrini, recommending instead the promotion of popular credit by means of co-operation and reciprocity, and advocating the establishment of people's banks similar to those founded in Germany on the Schulze-Delitsch system, and his advice prevailed.

The movement quickly spread through Lombardy, Tuscany, Emilia, Romagna, and Venetia, and finally penetrated into the southern provinces. In 1866 there were 8 people's banks in Italy, with a total capital of 1,940,000 lire; by 1871 the number had risen to 64, with a paid-up capital (*capitale versato*) of 23,968,984 lire, and a subscribed capital (*capitale sottoscritto*) of 26,640,440 lire; by 1881 it had reached 171, with a paid-up capital of 41,538,042 lire, and a subscribed capital of 43,449,670 lire. Notwithstanding financial crises, cooperative banks have continued to increase both in number and importance during the last 10 years, and it may be noted that in 1887, a year of acute crisis, 101 new banks were started, chiefly in the south. By the end of 1890 the total number of Italian cooperative credit societies was 738, with a paid-up capital of 92,000,000 lire, and a nominal capital (*capitale nominale*) of about 100,000,000 lire. This rapid progress is probably due partly to the action of cooperative congresses and the support of other cooperative societies, and of the Neapolitan and Sicilian banks, and other banks of issue.

In 1887 there was, on an average, one people's bank for every 46,809 inhabitants in the kingdom, and these banks were most numerous, relatively to the population, in Apulia and Basilicata, a fact which is the more striking when it is considered that the means of obtaining credit were formerly in a most primitive state in these southern districts, where the peasantry were completely in the power of the local usurers.

The people's banks have been to some extent transformed, or rather they have been supplemented by the institution of other popular credit societies, based generally on the same principle, and organized on similar lines, but differing in their character and in their aims from the original associations. Some of these societies are called "workmen's banks" (*banche Operaie, casse operaie*), "workmen's credit banks" (*banche di credito per gli Operaie*), "popular banks" (*casse popolari*), names which show the predominance of working men in the new associations. In one such bank at Modigliana, at the end of 1882, out of 350 shareholders (*soci*) 122 were working men, while the Cooperative Working Men's Bank of Cortado had a total of 337 shareholders, and numbered no less than 202 operatives and 63 agricultural day laborers.

A new form of credit cooperation has been introduced into Italy during the last few years by the institution of rural loan banks on the Raiffeisen system. These banks were first started in 1883 by Signor Leone Wollemborg, to protect the rural laborers and small landed proprietors of Venetia and Friuli against the exorbitant demands of money-lenders, by making it possible for them to borrow capital at a moderate rate of interest.

La Cooperazione Rurale, the organ of the Federation of Italian Rural Banks, mentions in the leaflet issued on January 15, 1893, that at the end of December, 1892, there were 50 rural banks in Italy which had received a total of about 103,697.08 lire in deposits, had granted about 554,761.76 lire in loans, and retained about 20,862.73 lire in reserve.

In other countries the development has not been so great. Austria in 1890 had 1489 credit out of a total of 1898 cooperative societies. Hungary had, in 1889, 576 cooperative credit societies. In Russia there were, in 1883, 1000 cooperative credit societies with 207,259 mem-

Other Countries.

bers, but the number of societies has since dwindled to some 800. Switzerland, in 1891, reported 20 cooperative banks with a capital of £88,987,032, and many other cooperative societies partly doing the work of banks. The Scandinavian countries have done little in this direction, and Holland has but few. In Belgium there has been more activity. In 1865 Leon d'Andrimont started the first Banque Populaire at Liège, and to-day there are some 15 such banks with a constituency of 11,000. Besides these, there are some Unions de Crédit. France has a few Banques Populaires, but they are little different from joint-stock societies. The function of cooperative banks, too, is partly fulfilled by the Syndicats Agricoles, and by Catholic societies founded by Father Ludovic de Besse. The government policy of aiding the savings-banks has, perhaps, prevented the extension of cooperative banking. In England, the home of cooperation of other kinds, cooperative credit has had little development, but is now making a beginning. In December, 1893, an agricultural banks association was formed to aid in establishing such banks, and its committee decided that the Raiffeisen system had been found the most uniformly successful. For the very great extension of cooperative credit in the United States, see BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS; for the principles involved, see COOPERATION.

References: H. W. Wolff's *People's Banks* (1893). See also COOPERATION.

COOPERATIVE COLONIES.—The principle of cooperation has been applied in recent times to the formation of innumerable colonies, or attempt at colonies. The more successful of these we consider under their respective names, but there are many more which we can only mention. They are cooperative colonies distinctly; communistic colonies we consider under the head of COMMUNISM. The exact principles governing the cooperative colonies are almost as numerous as the colonies, but they all turn more or less around the central idea of a number of colonists taking shares in the purchase of land, each share representing a certain amount of land, assessing themselves to meet improvements for the common good, and so developing the value of each share. Each shareholder here owns his own land, and there is no communal ownership as under communism. Colonies of this general description have been made by Swedes at New Sweden, Me.; by Swiss, near Chattanooga, Tenn.; by Russians, in Middlesex County, Va.; by Italians, in Bowie County, Tex.; by Germans, at Anaheim, Cal. There is a German Catholic colony at Marionfeld, Martin County, Tex.; a cooperative colony at Pasadena, Tex.; numerous colonies of Russian Jews in New Jersey (see COMMUNITIES), Illinois, Iowa, and Texas; a colony of Russian Menonites (*q.v.*) in Kansas, Scandinavians in Dakota and Minnesota. The establishment of New Rugby, in Tennessee, by Thomas Hughes, in 1880, led to quite a number of English colonies in Cranford, Woodbury, Plymouth, and Sioux counties in Iowa. *The Cincinnati* of May 16, 1895, gives the names of still other cooperative colonies: Fairhope Colony, Battles, Ala.; Gibbonsville Cooperative Colony, Grand Blanc, Mich.; Manistique Colony, Manistique, Mich.; Grander Age Colony, Handsborough, Miss.; Cooperative Colony, Greenwood, Ark. It must not, however, be supposed that all these colonies are established institutions. Many of them will probably be non-existent before this book reaches its readers, while new efforts will be taking their places, but such lists as these show how general and deep-seated is the ideal of a cooperative life. It must not be forgotten, too, that this does not include the communistic colonies, which are almost as many more, and which, as a rule, have been more successful (see AMANA; ECONOMY; ICARIA; KAWEAH; NEW HARMONY; ONEIDA; RUSKIN COLONY; SHAKERS; TOBOLOBAMPO; ZOAR, etc.); and these are colonies in the United States alone. For cooperative colonies and attempts more or less on this line in other countries, see COOPERATION; COOPERATIVE FARMING; GODIN; LECLAIRE; see also COMMUNITIES and COMMUNISM.

COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, THE.—A designation often applied to the ideal socialistic state (see SOCIALISM). It indicates that socialism is not to be regarded as a despotism or paternalism governing the people, but rather as a fraternal brotherhood, where industry is to be conducted through the cooperation of all the members of the community. In its term *commonwealth*, it distinguishes socialism from mere cooperation, which may be the cooperation simply of a few individuals in a com-

munity. Socialism, or the cooperative commonwealth, is the cooperation of the whole community, and not of a few individuals only. The name "cooperative commonwealth" is also the title of a work descriptive of socialism by Laurence Gronlund (*q.v.*), the first and one of the ablest presentations of socialism which has appeared in the United States.

COOPERATIVE DAIRIES have had a very large success. Recent statistics put them at 1014 in Germany, 305 in Switzerland, 208 in Italy, while they are to be found in successful operation in England, France, Belgium, Austria, the United States, Australia, and elsewhere. (See COOPERATIVE FARMING.)

COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTION.—For the history and statistics of cooperative distribution in different countries, see COOPERATION, Section III. For the contrast and opposition between cooperative distribution and cooperative production, see COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

COOPERATIVE FARMING. (See also COOPERATION.)—The application of cooperation to agriculture has been from the first the constant dream of all interested in cooperation in any way. It formed an important part of the plans of Robert Owen (*q.v.*), and has led to the formation of innumerable communities. These attempts, however, are best considered under the head of COMMUNITIES. In this article we notice the attempts at cooperative agriculture not by communities, but by cooperators free from community life.

ENGLAND.

The earliest English experiment of that kind, and one of the best known, is the one made by Mr. John Gurdon, at Assington, Suffolk, commencing in 1829.

In that year Mr. Gurdon let an off-hand farm to 20 laborers of his parish at the ordinary rates of farm rent, but agreeing to lend them capital without interest, provided they would each advance £2 as guarantee. A manager, accountant and stock-keeper were to be selected; any man convicted of fraud or crime was to forfeit his share; the capital was to be paid back as profits arose. The society was called the *Assington Agricultural Cooperative Society*. It was successful, and Mr. Gurdon, in 1854, lent another smaller farm in the same way to 34 more laborers. In 1864 Mr. Gurdon reported to the Social Science Congress that there were on the two farms 59 men who, out of their profits, had paid back all the capital he had advanced, and owned stock and crops on the farms valued at £50 a share. In 1892 the larger association was still existent, with 21 members, and each share worth £40, but only one member of the society worked on the farm. In 1883 the younger society was broken up by a long series of disastrous years, tho each shareholder received £16 10s. for every £3 paid in. However, a new association was formed, and struggled on. It took increased land, but had to pay a heavy rent, and in 1892 voted that unless the landlord would reduce his rent 25 per cent. it must disband.

Early Experiments.

In 1837 Mr. T. G. Craig, a disciple of Robert Owen, was invited by an Irish landlord, Mr. J. S. Vandaleur, to form a cooperative society at Rathlakin (or Ralakin). A society was formed with 28 men, 12 women and 52 children. It was successful for two years, when it was suddenly broken up by the flight of Mr. Vandaleur, who had ruined himself by gambling.

About the same time Lord Wallascourt commenced another Irish experiment, and reported it in 1846 a success. After these early efforts, we find record of no experiments of this kind in England till Mr. William

Lawson's attempt at Blennerhasset, Cumberland, commencing in 1861. Mr. Lawson became an enthusiast on cooperation, and devoted a farm of 420 acres to it. He found his people, however, apathetic. At first only one voted for his plan. Two years later only eight would vote at all, and three voted against it. They were afraid of his experiments, and doubted his ability. However, a start was made. There was a weekly "Open Council;" there were free reading-rooms, library and schools, baths, concerts, festivals, etc. Mr. Lawson introduced a steam plow. To help make profits, Mr. Lawson mortgaged his farm and invested in American securities. In 1872, however, the farm did not pay, and was sold at a total loss of £18,622. The failure, however, was laid to Mr. Lawson's methods, not to cooperation.

February 1, 1873, Mr. Waller Morrison made a cooperative attempt in the parish of Brampton Bryan. The shares were £5, and no one could become a member without Mr. Morrison's approval. He rented the society a farm of 143 acres at £140, and later £130. The experiment endured till 1879, when a small deficiency was reported.

The North Seaton Cooperative Farming Society, founded in 1873, has been more successful. It began in a small way by some colliers cooperating to establish a cooperative dairy, and has made a small dividend each year. In 1891 it had a capital of £330 and 104 members.

In 1883 Mr. Bolton King commenced an experiment at Radbourne Manor Farm, under very generous rules, but it was not successful.

Such are some of the earlier typical experiments in England. Lately much general attention has been given to the subject, and there has been much successful result. In connection with the failure of many efforts, it must not be forgotten how depressed has been the condition of all British agriculture. Indeed, it has been this very depressed condition that has been the main cause of so much attention being given to cooperative attempts in the hope of their meeting the need. Said Mr. G. Thorpe at a conference at Manchester, December 16, 1893, in regard to agricultural cooperation:

British Agriculture. "The grave condition of British agriculture is exciting no small amount of interest in nearly every class and condition of society. One can scarcely take up a daily paper without finding some reference to it. Quite recently it had been debated in the House of Commons by leading agriculturists, who take as a rule a gloomy view of the situation, and especially if they be large landholders as well. No great reform meeting is held in any part of the country without the land question or agriculture being discussed; indeed, the Government have already appointed a royal commission to make the fullest inquiry into the causes which have led to its present depressed state. It has forced the formation of an Agricultural Union composed of laborers, farmers, and landowners. The union has held two great national meetings in London for the express purpose of calling the nation's attention to agricultural grievances, and to enlist its support and sympathy for their removal by legislative enactments. . . . The average price of wool from 1871 to 1881 was 31s. 3d. per stone, and for the 10 years ending 1891, 11s. 3d. In other words, there is a loss of £19 13s. on every 100 sheep, and since there are over 33,000,000 of them in the United Kingdom, it follows that from this source alone the loss to the farming population annually must

be very great. . . . In 1872 the average price of wheat was 57s. per quarter; for the 10 years ending 1881, 50s.; for the 10 years ending 1891, 34s. 11d., and for the last month in December, 1893, 25s. 7d. It has been estimated that through a fall in prices the loss on wheat, barley, and oats, during the last 15 years, to the agricultural interest is equal to £193,000,000. . . . The decrease in acres of wheat last year (1893), compared with 1892, is 322,350, or 14.5 per cent., and with the previous year 409,798, or 17.8 per cent.; and since there are not more than 2,000,000 acres at present devoted to wheat in the United Kingdom, it follows that if the same ratio of reduction goes on, we as a nation will cease to grow wheat in less than five years from now. The average yield per acre for 1893 is put down at 26 bushels, which means 6,500,000 quarters, and since our annual consumption amounts to about 28,958,000, we shall be dependent upon the foreigner for nearly 22½ million quarters during the year 1894. The number of cattle has decreased also during the same period by 244,107, and sheep by 1,454,370. Therefore, we have this serious fact, contemplate it as we will, that while the daily addition to our population is between 700 and 800, our home-food products have decreased during the past year from 3.5 per cent. to 14.5 per cent., with every tendency to a still further decrease in the items here named in 1894. . . . I have given you these facts and figures to prove (if proof is required), first the depressed state of our farming industry, and in the second place to show that there is a market at our very door for all the produce we as cooperators can obtain from the land. Mr. George Gale, in a letter to the *Leeds Mercury*, December 22, 1892, stated that 'during the last 10 years nearly 300,000 small holdings have been destroyed, in many cases in order to satisfy the greed of men who desire to hold more land than they can effectively use.' He further stated that there is not a county in England to-day in which small farms are not at a premium at double the rent, or nearly so, compared with the 6000 large farms which are unlet, ranging from 5s. to £1 per acre. Indeed, our allotment system has given such overwhelming evidence in favor of small farms that we may safely anticipate in the near future a gradual breaking up of large farms into lesser, for the simple reason that lesser ones require in proportion a larger number of men to look after them than large ones in proportion to their yield. That something is being done to reduce the size of large farms is shown by the returns in regard to the progress of allotments. In 1885 the number of allotments in England was 348,872, but in 1890 they had increased to 441,024, or 26 per cent."

The result of such a depressed condition of affairs has been to make the English cooperators at once very anxious to apply cooperation to agriculture, and very cautious in the attempt. At the Congress held in Edinburgh in 1883, the president, the Rt. Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P., laid especial stress upon the subject, and as the result a Scottish Farming Association was founded. It has met with a marked success, altho with great difficulties. More recently several successful English distributive societies have taken up a farm to operate cooperatively in connection with their stores, and not a few successful farms, dairies, and creameries have thus been commenced.

According to the report of the Central Cooperative Board for 1894, the following are the statistics of cooperative farming in Great Britain:

Recent Attempts.

SECTION.	Societies.	Acreage.	Capital.	Rent.	Profit.	Loss.
Midland	6	180½	£3,695	£346	£277	...
Northern	14	1,451½	25,563	1,622	518	£342
Northwestern	14	636¼	17,897	1,117	266	110
Scottish	3	800	11,175	1,640	206	1,167
Southern	5	392	16,613	340	403	288
Western	2	190	1,300	400	...	185
Total.....	44	3,650	£76,243	£5,525	£1,670	£2,092

The report for 1891 gives details of several farms at that time :

NAME OF SOCIETY.	County.	Acreage.	Capital.	Rent.	Profit in 1890.	Loss in 1890.
Derby	Derby	26	....	£78	..	..
Lincoln	Lincoln	11½	£700	..	£34	..
Lye	Worcester	14	....	38	6	..
Ripley	Derby	50	1,000	100	..	£5
Aspatria	Cumberland	64	850	154	..	71
Bedlington	Northumberland	74	927	116	92	..
Cleator Moor	Cumberland	52½	250	150	..	..
Consett	Durham	100	981	129	35	..
Middlesborough	Yorkshire	28	75	95	..	39
Newbottle	Durham	50	180	116	45	..
Newcastle-on-Tyne	Northumberland	122	7,331	..	..	..
West Stanley	Durham	188	2,200	88	33	..
Willington	"	10	15	27	..	..
Bingley	Yorkshire	25	....	90	..	..
Halifax	"	48	318	175	21	..
Lancaster	Lancashire	100	1,500	190	..	..
Manchester and Salford	"	370	4,000	600	..	646
Mirfield	Yorkshire	15	80	45	..	..
Pendleton	Lancashire	36	250	73	..	18
Plymouth	Devon	103	1,200	280	..	25
North Seaton	Northumberland	30	302	..	48	..
Scottish Farming	Renfrew	282	3,362	..	480	..
Assington	Suffolk	223	3,127	211	..	351

The three last on the list are farms worked by separate farming societies; all the others are farms attached to stores.

The above tables do not include attempts at profit-sharing (*g.v.*) in agriculture.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Cooperative agriculture in France has developed mainly along the lines of cooperative dairies, and of so-called *syndicats agricoles*, for cooperative societies for purchasing at favorable rates.

France.

"Of the success of these syndicates," says Mr. H. W. Wolf in the *Economic Journal*, "there can be no doubt. Begun most modestly scarcely 10 years ago by a handful of agriculturists brought into union by Professor Tanviray, of Blois, they have in little time overspread France, multiplying in all to the number of 1300, with about 600,000 members, and doing an annual business at present of 100,000,000 francs, which promises to grow rapidly to higher figures. They are to be met with in almost every part of France.

"The syndicates help the vine-grower and the sugar-beet grower, the horse-breeder and the market-gardener; they lend a hand in the destruction of obnoxious insects, the embankment of watercourses, fumigation for keeping off the frost; they have even provided French agriculture with boards of conciliation and arbitration, and insurance of laborers against accidents; and, above all things, they have, in M. Gatalier's apt words, wholly 'democratized' the use of artificial manures, insecticides, feeding stuffs, etc., placing what was formerly a luxury reserved for the rich within the easy reach of the poor, improving the quality, reducing the market price by from 20 to 30 per cent., and yet increasing the annual consumption from the paltry figure of 52,000,000 francs—barely more than 2,000,000 for all France—to 120,000,000 francs."

The constitution of these associations, which were avowedly promoted in order to "suppress socialism," varies considerably: "Most of the *syndicats* have two classes of members—the rich, who take up heavy shares, must not borrow, and are bound to remain members for a definite time—five years or so; these are the *membres fondateurs*; and the poor, who take up smaller shares, are free to leave, and who may borrow, these are the *membres effectifs*."

Agricultural cooperative societies in Belgium date from 1885, when the first was established at Landen. Others exist at Perck, Tinglemont, Ghent, Marche, Genappe, Hasselt, Liège, Tongres, Namur, Grivegnée, Virginal, Jodoigne-Perwez, Cerexhe-Mélin, and Brée, the last of these was instituted in 1890.

Belgium.

All these societies were founded by large landowners and farmers. With the exception of the two last mentioned, their object is to purchase and retail to members, fodder, corn, and other articles. The cooperative dairy at Cerexhe-Mélin, established in 1889, is the earliest instance of an agricultural productive society in Bel-

gium. At the end of the same year another cooperative dairy was instituted at Peuthy, with a minimum capital of 2000 francs, divided into 80 shares of 25 francs. Twenty shares have been purchased by purveyors of milk, the remainder by other persons admitted to membership. Each member is paid according to the quality of the milk supplied by him, after a slight deduction has been made for the expenses of the dairy. The dairy at Brée, established in 1890, has now (1893) 11 members, all farmers, and works satisfactorily.

Cooperative agriculture in Germany has had a very large development, perhaps because Germany is the classic home of the cooperative land banks. (See CO-OPERATIVE BANKS.) In 1883 a German agricultural cooperative union was formed, which in 1889 included credit societies or land banks, associations for buying raw material, dairies, and other societies. In May, 1892, there were 1020 agricultural societies for buying raw material, 299 for buying tools, etc., 1014 dairies, and some 80 stores, and societies for cattle rearing, forestry, etc. (See COOPERATION; CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTION, etc.)

Germany.

Switzerland has 305 cooperative dairies and various cooperative land bank societies for insuring cattle, etc.

In Italy cooperative dairies occupy a prominent position. In some districts the cooperative dairies have existed from time immemorial, in others they are of more recent origin. They have different names, and are not all organized after the same pattern. The simplest and most primitive form is that of "milk-lending" (*prestito del latte*). A number of cattle-breeders agree to lend each other their milk day by day in turns. The member whose turn it is to receive the milk makes it into cheese and butter in his own cottage, for his own profit. In some places each man possesses all the necessary utensils for cheese-making, in others they are common property, and are carried from house to house. This custom, which in many districts has been observed for centuries, still exists, according to Professor Ugo Rabbeno, in certain Alpine valleys and in southern Italy. The report of the Director General of Statistics for 1890, however, states that the usage of "milk-lending" does not appear to be practised anywhere at the present day.

Italy.

"Milk-lending" has been almost if not entirely superseded by the "alternating system" (*sistema turnario*), which is also very ancient. All the producers of milk in a village unite to employ a cheese-maker to look after a cottage and a set of cheese-making utensils, which they hold in common, and to help in working up the common supply of milk. Each small cultivator, when he has produced as much milk as can be worked up in a day, has a right to the whole produce of one day's cheese and butter-making. On the day appointed him he goes up to the cottage, laden with fire-wood, rennet, and salt, superintends and helps in the cheese and butter-making, and pays all expenses incurred. The butter he at once sells, or carries away with him. The cheese is marked with

his name, and is kept for salting in the common stock until the time for selling it arrives. This system of cooperative dairy farming is found in the Alpine districts in Piedmont, Friuli, Carniola, Emilia, and parts of Lombardy.

The dairies in 1891 were 208. A beginning has also been made at cooperative bakeries and farming itself, for the benefit of the peasants, but as yet with little result. (See COOPERATION, section "Italy.")

THE UNITED STATES.

The following account is taken from the Report on the United States of the English Royal Commission on Labor (1893). There exist to-day no accurate statistics. Several of the stores mentioned in this account have since failed, but newer ones have been started. There is much talk to-day and many attempts—mainly weak ones—at cooperative agricultural communities. (See COMMUNITIES.) The account in the report is, in part, as follows:

"In the 10 years which succeeded the war, farmers suffered greatly from the low prices at which they were obliged to sell their produce and the ruinously high prices demanded by the retail traders for agricultural implements and machinery and for the necessities of life. To remedy this evil the Grangers inaugurated a cooperative system whereby farmers might combine to obtain goods in large quantities direct from the manufacturers, or to contract with local merchants to supply them at reasonable prices. The so-called Grange stores arose in this way. The purchasing and distributing agencies found it convenient to have central warehouses and stores in which to conduct their growing business. Want of business knowledge and incompetent agents led to the collapse of many of these stores; but a considerable number were successful, and still continue to flourish. Many successful branches exist in Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and the more agricultural parts of New England, though here the need for them is, perhaps, less

The Grangers.

keenly felt than farther West. The Patrons' Cooperative Corporation of Portland, Me., has a capital of \$40,000, and does an annual trade of \$175,000. Most of these stores sell goods at low prices to members of the Grange, and divide the profits between the shareholders.

"In the Northwestern States the Grange movement has had considerable influence, and there are a number of stores. The most successful is the Farmers' Exchange at Grinnell, Ia., founded in 1874. The membership is not now restricted to patrons of husbandry, and the profits are divided among the shareholders; indeed, no Grange store appears to have actually adopted the Rochdale principle of dividends to purchasers, though any purchaser of \$20 worth of goods has recently been allowed an extra dollar's worth at the Farmers' Exchange. The history of the Farmers' Protective Association of Des Moines, Ia., is of some interest. In 1880 the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company of Worcester, Mass., had obtained a monopoly of the manufacture of barbed wire fencing, by buying up a number of the patents and then claiming the proprietorship of the principle of a barbed wire fence. Their claim was sustained by the decision of a Federal court sitting in Illinois, and they then formed a combination whereby 40 establishments were licensed to make and sell a limited amount of barbed fencing at a fixed price, paying a royalty on each pound to the Washburn Moen Company. Retail prices were increased 40 per cent., and the farmers in revolt determined to employ an agent to secure the wire for them at a lower rate. The first agent was won over by the company, but a second was appointed who obtained the necessary supply from an unlicensed factory at Grinnell. In 1883 the case was tried, and the claim of the company was disallowed. In 1885 a monopoly in a special and favorite kind of wire was again sanctioned, and the Grinnell factory found itself obliged to close, whereupon the farmers established a factory of their own at Des Moines, which regulates prices, tho its own product is comparatively small. In Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Kansas, and the West and South generally, Grange stores are to be found, tho in Ohio they have been comparatively unsuccessful."

ADVISABILITY OF COOPERATIVE FARMING.

Concerning the general advisability of cooperative agriculture, the following extracts from a paper read by Mr. W. G. Loveday, of Rugby, at the Cooperative Congress of 1887 in England, tho primarily applicable

to that country, is of general application. He says (in part):

"Notwithstanding the present deplorable state of agriculture, and the wretched condition of a large portion of the land, I believe that, without returning to the policy of taxing bread, agriculture can be restored to its former prosperity and trade participate in its blessings, by cooperators and cooperation putting back the land into the hands of the people. But for agriculture, even in the hands of cooperators, to become permanently successful, it is absolutely necessary for us to purchase the land that we intend to cultivate. This will require the efforts and capital of cooperative societies for years to come. It may be the slowest means of getting cooperators upon the land, but I am convinced it is the safest, and that the end will abundantly justify the means. Far be it from me to say that no society ought to engage in farming land that may be taken on reasonable terms and under favorable conditions; but I do consider it to be *absolutely necessary*, in order that cooperators may farm with safety and profit, that they should own the land they cultivate. The following reasons have guided me in coming to this conclusion: 1. The miserable condition of the land. 2. The unfavorable restrictions under which the tenant farmers often labor. The foul, poor, neglected state of the land speaks for itself. An enormous amount of labor must be put into it before it will yield crops sufficient to pay the cultivator. Draining, ditching, fencing, cleaning and manuring are immediately necessary; in other words, much money must be sunk in a farm, such as cooperators would be likely to secure, before there could be a fair return of profits. There would be no difficulty with many societies in finding money to meet these requirements, nor would there be lack of spirit to invest it, but there is the almost absolute certainty that it would never return to them again. As yearly tenants they would be entirely at the mercy of the landlord, who could either raise the rent and make them pay for the improvements, and so prevent them from receiving their money in profits; or he could turn them out and let the improved farm to another tenant at a higher rent, and so put their outlay into his own pocket. . . .

"The kind of land to be purchased for cooperative enterprise is worthy of serious consideration. Cheapness should not be the main or only object in view. Cheap land, like other cheap things, is not always the most profitable. Heavy clay land should be avoided at any price, at least for the present. A mistake at starting might retard the progress of cooperative agriculture. A farm that can be worked under reasonable conditions, in moderate weather, should not be refused because it is foul. Labor and capital, if judiciously applied, will improve it and make it yield a profitable return. But I would warn societies against *taking* land of this description to farm, as yearly tenants or upon short leases. Indeed, there are baits on land as well as in the water, and those who swallow them may find a hook in them. It is impossible for me to mention the exact size a farm should measure, for the simple reason that no standard size would be suitable in every case. The society's purse should in each case be the rule by which the farm should be measured. In other words, take no more land than you have money to stock and work properly, whether your farm measure 20 or 200 acres. A farmer without capital is a worker with both hands tied behind his back.

"Societies that engage in farming must choose for themselves the best system of cultivating their land. No uniform system can be profitably adopted in all places and under all conditions. If the farm produce can be consumed at home, the expense of carriage will be dispensed with, and the profits increased by doing without the middleman. The nature and quality of the soil must be taken into consideration, or the best efforts may end in failure. But a few general remarks on the size of farms and on the profitable working of them may not be out of place here, and may be useful to societies about to engage in farming whose members have had no practical experience in these matters. In many respects a farm of moderate size should be preferred. It gives ampler scope for the employment of agricultural implements, so useful to farmers in cleaning the land and helping on the heavy farm work. Besides, the small farmer has often cast upon him the unpleasant and sometimes unsuccessful work of borrowing of his neighbor those things which are so needful for his use, but too expensive for him to purchase. Better opportunities too are given for growing a variety of crops to feed the stock with during the winter on a moderate than on a small farm. . . .

Practical Advice.

"Dairy farming is becoming the rule, but it has brought little relief to the farmers as a class. In my opinion, for dairy farming and feeding to become profitable, the plow must again become partner with the milk-pail. There has been a divorce, but the separation has brought neither pleasure nor profit. Roots and corn are necessary to successful dairy farming. The mixed farm gives the farmer considerable advantages in his business. He can make the whole of his land contribute to his success, and the arable portion of it will prove as profitable as—perhaps more so than the pasture. A heavy root crop, tho costing a large amount for labor, will be found invaluable in the winter for dairy and feeding purposes. The farm should supply *straw* for litter and for chaff, to return to the land in manure; *green clover*, which cannot be surpassed for feeding purposes and for milk, and when dried will furnish the horses with food for the winter; *corn* to feed mutton, beef, pork, and poultry, and the remainder can be taken to market; *roots* for sheep and cattle, which will probably make the best return of all. The root crop, besides furnishing the best farmer with his best food supply for his cattle in winter, gives him the best opportunity for cleaning his land, and leaves it in better condition for the next crop. Should the hay crop prove a failure, the loss would not be felt so severely if the farmer had corn, straw, and clover to fall back upon. I have made no attempt to give lists of figures showing that so much land can be secured for a certain rent, that there must be so much outlay for labor, manure, and other expenses, and that the receipts for corn, meat, milk, and eggs amount to so much, leaving a balance in favor of or against the tenant. Farming by figures on paper may be pleasant, but it is not very practical; but farming on land is practical work. And what we as cooperators want to know is, how it can be made profitable. The results given by those who are engaged in agriculture may be of great interest and some service to us, as also may a knowledge of their methods of cultivation, but these will only be of partial use; for the same outlay in the same manner on another farm will produce different results. Neither has any scientific nor new-fangled system of farming been referred to, because there is no 'royal road' to fortune in farming, by which every one who walks upon it is brought to certain success. In farming one ounce of practical knowledge is worth one ton of theory. And this knowledge must be gained to a very great extent by observation and practical experience. The secret of success in any system of farming is the art of burying in the land carefully, constantly, and securely, a large amount of time, talent, labor, and manure, and of waiting patiently to see it rise again, under the blessing of Providence, in a continual harvest, to reward the worker for his toil. Poultry and fruit-growing should have particular attention on cooperative farms." (For references, see COOPERATION.)

COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION.—The student of cooperation (*q.v.*) will find in that movement two ideals at work, not only separate and distinct, but to an extent contradictory and mutually opposing. These two ideals are cooperative production, or workers cooperating to produce goods for the benefit of themselves as producers, and cooperative distribution (*q.v.*), or persons cooperating to purchase together for their benefit as consumers. It is true that it is quite possible to exaggerate the opposition between these two ideals. All producers are consumers and most consumers are producers, and this should never be forgotten. Nevertheless it does, in carrying the cooperative idea, make deep difference even now whether you consider first and foremost the interest of the producer or the consumer, and, above all, it leads to still greater differences. Cooperative production is by no means impossible under a general system of individualism. Cooperative distribution is much more apt to lead straight to socialism. Why this is so we shall see in a moment. Under cooperative production a little or a large body of workers agree to work together, not under an employer, but cooperatively, altho

usually choosing one or more of their number to manage the business. They then sell the product of their united labor and divide the profit equally, or according to the amount or value of work done by each according to some equitable Cooperative Production vs. Distribution system previously agreed. The unit of cooperative production is thus the body of workmen who produce together. It is true that various bodies of cooperating workmen may federate, and so develop one large cooperative productive body, and possibly eventually a complete cooperative civilization, resting on the cooperation of workers, but this is really individualism and not socialism, since it rests on the cooperating of individual workmen who choose to come together. Under cooperative distribution, on the other hand, it is not the producees who come together, but it is people who agree to cooperate in making purchases, and so getting cheaper prices, partly by buying by the wholesale, partly by doing away with the middleman. Now this in itself is not socialism, but it does lead toward it, for the reason that it tends to unite all classes of the community, and appeals to the poorer workers even more than to the better paid, and so lends itself to the communal and collective organization of society much more quickly than cooperative production. Cooperative production is so much more difficult to start than cooperative distribution or cooperative stores, that it is usually only the higher class of laborers who can cooperate in production, or if the less educated do attempt it and succeed, it is not seldom under the guidance of some individual or society of the more educated. Cooperative production thus almost insensibly tends to develop little groups of skilled workmen whose interest is to sell as highly as possible for their own good. Its ideal is the self-help, the self-development, the independence of the producer. Cooperative distribution, on the other hand, can be commenced by almost any one. Even the poorest can agree to club their purchases together and so start a cooperative store. Anybody, too, can purchase there. It thus tends not to develop little groups of competitive producers cooperating for their own good, but larger groups interested in buying cheap, and so saving middlemen, etc., and thus, as some claim, leading to a cooperative commonwealth resting not on the producers as producers, but on the whole community. Recognizing all the community, it strives to give each a chance to live, and so does not in the long run tend to lower wages in order to get commodities cheap, tho it must be admitted that at first, in the endeavor to buy cheap, cooperative stores have been tempted to scrimp wages in order to lessen cost. This tendency has, however, not endured, and as a matter of fact distributive cooperation has not in the long run lessened wages. (See COOPERATION, Section V.)

We do not need here to dwell upon the history or statistics of cooperative production. They will be found under cooperation. It should be said, however, that cooperative production was the earlier ideal in the cooperative movement. It was the ideal of the first Eng-

lish Christian Socialists (*q.v.*)—Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, E. V. Neale, Hughes. It is still the ideal of the survivors of this little group, and generally of the older

History. English cooperators. Messrs. E. V. Neale and Hughes have at times severely criticised the present Eng-

lish cooperative movement, because the majority (tho not all) of English cooperators have gone over to the distributive ideal. On the Continent, too, cooperative production was the first ideal, and still has a larger following than in England. (See below in this article.) In the United States also cooperative production had, on the whole, the first support. Witness the various attempts which have now for the most part passed away of cooperative productive communities, cooperative workshops, cooperative mines.

On the other hand, the advocates of distributive cooperation claim that actual experience shows that this is at once the easiest, the most practical, and ultimately the most beneficent kind of cooperation. It is unquestionably the kind that has thrived best in all countries, tho some claim (see below) that this is now changing. In England the contest between the two schools of cooperators has elicited no small attention. The great English cooperative wholesale society has come to stand in the main for the distributive idea, the Scottish wholesale for the productive idea. Of the present situation in Great Britain, John Graham Brooks says, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. x., p. 538):

"Over this relation of the worker to the profits, a long and somewhat bitter fight has been waged. Year after year resolutions have been passed, such as that in Bristol, 1893, urging 'the principle of copartnership of labor as an essential of industrial cooperation.' A few great leaders of the Christian-Socialist movement still attend the congresses to shape and urge such resolutions. These seem, however, only a respectful concession to the framers. The resolution is not kept nor is it meant to be kept by the great body of those who control the real business of cooperation. It is true that the Scottish Wholesale pays a bonus to labor (the English society abolished bonus in 1876) and comes distinctly closer to the hope of those who wish to make capitalists of the laborers. Yet it is all plain in this history that, so far as actual achievement is concerned, the form of ideal cherished by the Christian Socialists is losing its hold.

"So far as this is denied, appeal must be made to the superiority and more hopeful condition of the Scottish Wholesale, which still keeps the welfare of the producer (as against the consumer) clearly in view. Bonus is now given to labor, as profits are given to the consumer. The Investment Society exists to bring the workers into the Wholesale as shareholders, and care is taken to make the investments of the Wholesale also cooperative investments. In a word, the ideal of the Scottish society regards the worker as producer, making it possible for the laborer to become a shareholder and 'capitalist.' It wishes profits to go to him as a worker. Before the royal commission, Mr. Maxwell stated this as his 'highest ideal.'

"Both the leaders of the English societies, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Jones, place their emphasis not on the producer, but upon the consumer. This difference is not without importance. The old idea would (as profit-sharing does) help the *élite* workers. The newer and more socialistic idea is to raise the standard of living among the mass. The older writers, like Ludlow, laid stress upon the greater moral significance of production. Consumption was regarded as selfish, while production was unselfish; 'the divine element in man is the productive one, the consuming element is the terrene,' etc. It must be confessed that this moral distinction is not a helpful

one. The more socialistic view lends itself quite as fitly to ethical fervors as the other—is indeed made the ground of a higher moral appeal. The very aim of this more democratic cooperation is 'to eliminate all other motives in business except those that can be honestly recompensed.' 'Where production and consumption so work that profit on price is abolished, social utilities may exchange in such manner that none may rob another.'

The main argument, however, against cooperative production is made from experience. Beatrice Potter (now Mrs. Sidney Webb), in her *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain*, shows that 95 per cent. of cooperation in England is distributive. She says:

"Of some hundreds of associations of producers known to have existed before 1870 only three remain. And passing over the dead bodies of some hundred societies registered from 1870 to the present day, let us rapidly survey the actual existing societies which have been, or claim to have been, organized in the interests of the producer. I take as a basis of our investigations the list of cooperative productive societies published in the Report of the Central Board for 1890. First we must eliminate from this list the productive departments of the wholesale societies, and the corn-mills and baking societies avowedly organized in the interests not of the producer, but of the consumer. Secondly, we must cast out as unworthy societies such as Mitchell Hey, registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, but which have practically become joint-stock associations, participating neither profit nor government with the workers. Thus, from a list of 106 separate societies, with a turnover of £2,308,028, we are reduced to 74 manufacturing and 5 agricultural associations, with an aggregate turnover of £455,477. Of the 74 manufacturing societies 20 are not in working order."

Productive Associations not Successful.

The completest study of cooperative production, however, is Mr. Benjamin Jones's *Cooperative Production* (two vols., Oxford, 1894). Mr. Jones is, however, London manager of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, and a disbeliever in cooperative production, and it is claimed, therefore, that his conclusions and even his statistics, which are very strongly against cooperative production, are unfair.

As a statement favorable to cooperative production, we quote from an article on cooperative production by Henry W. Wolff, in the *Economic Review* (January, 1895). It says:

"In Italy cooperative societies of working bricklayers, stonemasons, and even ordinary navvies have become a recognized institution. Germany already possesses some very successful productive cooperative societies. In France, the *Associations Ouvrières* are moving onward on a triumphal progress. In England, the small band of productive associations, applying the cooperative principle as yet only in the more or less elementary form of copartnership of labor, constitute at present actually the

Argument for Cooperative Production.

only section of the cooperative host which has any victories to show. Cooperative supply appears to have met with something like a check, and almost to be coming to a standstill. The roll of societies newly forming does not equal the number of those dropping out of existence. As against 1471 societies existing in 1892, there were in 1893 only 1465; and, tho members have increased from 1,142,962 to 1,202,738, sales have not kept pace with such advance, and profits have dwindled. The last balance-sheet published by the Wholesale Society actually shows a decline of sales to have taken place, amounting to £105,793 on the three months. At the same time there has been abundant wreckage. The total of 1313 supply associations existing in 1891 survived, so to speak, by the graveside of no less than 844 societies registered between 1870 and 1880, but passed away since. Copartnership societies, on the other hand, have slowly multiplied, and at the time of writing number 108, with every promise of further increase."

Argument against Cooperative Production.

Mr. Wolff then goes on to vehemently criticise Mr. Jones's book, and says :

"It is quite true that the organization of cooperative production constitutes a most difficult problem, and that we have in the past fallen into many serious mistakes. What great movement has fared otherwise? *Errando discimus*. Swift tells of a general who was asked in his old age why he won so many battles. 'Because I lost so many when I was young,' so went the reply. Even without his remarkably ingenious handling of facts, which, to apply Mr. Chamberlain's figure, converts a harmless picture gallery into a 'Chamber of Horrors,' Mr. Jones could not have found it difficult to string together, out of past experience, a tolerably formidable catalogue of failures. Dr. Häntschke, in his book, written in a very different spirit, does exactly the same. But he rightly observes that, as an argument bearing on the question, one single success proves very much more than any number of failures. Even among Mr. Jones's long calendar of charges it is not difficult to pick out many a case calculated to inspire encouragement. Men have begun well, have striven well, have almost or partially succeeded. But fashion has changed; ill luck has had its sway; things have gone against them. Such reverses are not unknown among non-cooperative enterprises. There have been other forces at work to mar results. The jealousy of the Wholesale Society stands for not a little in past cooperative failures. The want of judgment shown in the relief work done by the Aid Association is accountable for some more. It is an utter mistake to seek to prop up productive concerns by little doses of £25 or £50, coming from outside. Such support has, indeed, often proved fatal, because the Aid Association, however willing to lend when things went well, showed itself extremely careful to call in its loans the moment that the horizon became clouded. The proper aid association for a cooperative workshop is a cooperative bank, which gives support, as a matter not of charity, but of business, and therefore compels borrowers to calculate well their chances of success before they borrow. Apart from all this, our productive associations have, like many others, in not a few instances started on obviously wrong lines. They have chosen unfavorable ground, or else selected precarious trades. . . .

"What the cooperative workshops therefore mainly want is sound instruction of the employees in business ways, in bookkeeping and shop-management, and in strict adherence to cooperative principles. How very apt even the best of our cooperators have been, in the past, to sin against this sound canon of cooperation appears very strikingly from a

Successes.

comparison which Dr. Häntschke draws between the very successful weaving-mill of Lübbecke in Westphalia, founded on the philanthropic model by the Rev. P. Bloink, and the Atlas Iron Works, of Southwark, founded in 1851 by the late Mr. Vansittart Neale. Both establishments were based practically on the same principle. They were philanthropically cooperative workshops. Looking at the general want of success of our own cooperative weaving-works pointed out by Mr. Jones, the presumption seemed to be against the German establishment. Nevertheless, it has achieved very signal success, while Mr. Neale's works have failed *simply* because Mr. Neale, after laying down his money, left the men to themselves, whereas Pfarrer Bloink took them personally in hand, and trained them step by step to business management, until he could trust them to carry on the concern by themselves. Similarly, it is to their good fortune in securing a capable bookkeeper and a very able manager, that the Milan cabinet-makers owe their success. And it is the business capacity of men like M. Buisson which has led the French *Associations Ouvrières* to triumph. It really seems to matter less on what basis a cooperative workshop is in the first instance started, whether as a purely working men's establishment, or as a philanthropic or partial partnership venture, so long as its management is kept on strictly cooperative lines. Sound instruction in business ways and in cooperative practice appears to be really the chief essential to success. And it is on this ground that our labor associations has been already found so extremely serviceable. It shows co-operators how they ought to set to work. It provides them with teachers and leaders for as long as is necessary. It has no funds to give; but it gives what is better. It is for this reason that it has shown itself so fruitful of satisfactory results. . . .

"Associations of the kind described, unions of what Mr. Ludlow has called 'associated self-employees,'

are, however, manifestly practicable only in small establishments, or else in enterprises in which the main element contributed to production is labor. It is so in the Milan Cabinet-makers' Society, a body of about 500 members scattered over 26 villages. It is so to an even greater degree in the Italian *Società dei muratori*, and *Società dei braccianti*—societies of working stonemasons and bricklayers, or else of mere ordinary navvies, who, as the official *Relazione* referred to shows, have carried out very considerable contracts—more particularly since the passing of the Baccarini law has empowered public bodies, giving out such contracts, to dispense in their case with the ordinary condition of caution money. Here we have the great problem, which was long considered hopeless, solved—cooperative production applied to unskilled labor. And wherever the *società* have been well officered, they are allowed to have done their work well. I have this from men in authority who are opposed to the system. The *Relazione* puts the total value of contracts executed by the *società* from May, 1888, to December 31, 1891, at 5,300,000 lire (£212,000). Since then these societies have carried out larger contracts still, and have done all their work well wherever ably led."

Such are the *pros* and *cons* of cooperative production and distribution. (For the general history of such cooperation, for its statistics and the surprising development of cooperation as a whole, see COOPERATION.)

COOPERATIVE STORES. See COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTION.

COOPERATIVE WORKSHOPS. See COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION.

COPYRIGHT is the exclusive right to publish intellectual productions, such as books, papers, plays, paintings, sculptures, designs, music, photographs, etc.

The first copyright law of England dates from 1710, tho somewhat previous to that exclusive rights of publication had been granted for limited periods. The law of 1710 granted copyrights to authors for 21 years for books then in print; for books to be printed it granted copyright to publishers for 14 years, and then to the authors, if living, for another 14 years. After various changes, by the law of 1842, copyright could be given for 42 years, or to seven years after the author's death. Foreigners could acquire copyright by publishing in England.

In Germany, copyright laws date from 1837, and by the law of 1845 could be extended to 30 years after the author's death.

In France, copyright exists for the life of the author or his widow, for 20 years for his children, and for 10 years for other heirs. The Belgian law is the same, except that all heirs can hold copyright for 20 years after the author's death.

Copyright in the United States, by laws dating from 1790, were granted only to citizens or residents. Art. 1, Sec. 8 of the Constitution authorizes Congress to issue *copyrights* to authors and *patents* to inventors. There is no limitation to science in the strict sense of the word, nor to the useful as distinguished from the fine arts. All books, maps, charts, musical compositions, engravings, photographs (or negatives), chromos, statues, etc., whatever the subject may be, are included, and so are all inventions.

In England, authors have rights to their works by common law as well as by statute; but in this country the right is derived entirely from legislation. Prior to the adoption of the

Constitution, the States granted copyrights, and the first act of Congress on the subject recognized the rights thus granted. The first law gave to the authors the exclusive right to their works for 14 years, with liberty of renewal for a like period. In 1832 the term was made 28 years, with the right to renew for 14 years longer. The present law is as follows :

Section 4952 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in force December 1, 1873, as amended by the act of June 18, 1874, as amended by the act of March 3, 1891, provides that the author, inventor, designer or proprietor of any book, map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, engraving, cut, print, or photograph or negative thereof, or of a painting, drawing, chromo, statuary, and of models or designs intended to be perfected as works of the fine arts, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of any such person, shall, upon complying with the provisions of this chapter, have the sole liberty of printing, reprinting, publishing, completing, copying, executing, finishing, and vending the same; and, in the case of a dramatic composition, of publicly performing or representing it, or causing it to be performed or represented by others. And authors or their assigns shall have exclusive right to dramatize or translate any of their works for which copyright shall have been obtained under the laws of the United States.

A printed copy of the title of the book, map, chart, dramatic or musical composition, engraving, cut, print, photograph or chromo, or a description of the painting, drawing, statue, statuary, or model or design for a work of the fine arts, for which copyright is desired, must be delivered to the Librarian of Congress, or deposited in the mail, within the United States, prepaid, addressed "LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C." This must be done on or before day of publication in this or any foreign country.

The printed title required may be a copy of the title-page of such publications as have title-pages. In other cases, the title must be printed expressly for copyright entry, with name of claimant of copyright. The style of type is immaterial, and the print of a typewriter will be accepted. But a separate title is required for each entry, and each title must be printed on paper as large as commercial note. The title of a periodical must include the date and number; and each number of a periodical requires a separate entry of copyright.

The legal fee for recording each copyright claim is 50 cents, and for a copy of this record (or certificate of copyright under seal of the office) an additional fee of 50 cents is required, making \$1, if certificate is wanted, which will be mailed as soon as reached in the records. In the case of publications which are the production of persons not citizens or residents of the United States, the fee for recording title is \$1, and 50 cents additional for a copy of the record. Certificates covering more than one entry in one certificate are not issued.

Not later than the day of publication in this country or abroad, two complete copies of the best edition of each book or other article must be delivered, or deposited in the mail within the United States, addressed "LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.," to perfect the copyright.

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person entering the copyright, the words: "Copyright, 18—, by —"

The law imposes a penalty of \$100 upon any person who has not obtained copyright who shall insert the notice, "Entered according to Act of Congress," or "Copyright," etc., or words of the same import, in or upon any book or other article.

The copyright law secures to authors and their assigns the exclusive right to translate or to dramatize any of their works; no notice is required to enforce this right.

The original term of copyright runs for 28 years. Within six months before the end of that time, the author or designer, or his widow or children, may secure a renewal for the further term of 14 years, making 42 years in all.

Applications for renewal must be accompanied by printed title and fee; and by explicit statement of ownership, in the case of the author, or of relationship, in the case of his heirs, and must state definitely the date and place of entry of the original copyright. Within two months from date of renewal the record thereof must be advertised in an American newspaper for four weeks.

The time of publication is not limited by any law or regulation, but the courts have held that it should take place within a reasonable time. A copyright may be secured for a projected as well as for a completed work. But the law provides for no caveat, or notice of interference—only for actual entry of title.

Copyrights are assignable by any instrument of writing. Such assignment, to be valid, is to be recorded in the office of the Librarian of Congress within 60 days from execution. The fee for this record and certificate is \$1, and for a certified copy of any record of assignment, \$1.

A copy of the record (or duplicate certificate) of any copyright entry will be furnished, under seal of the office, at the rate of 50 cents each.

In the case of books published in more than one volume, or of periodicals published in numbers, or of engravings, photographs, or other articles published with variations, a copyright must be entered for each volume, or part of a book, or number of a periodical, or variety, as to style, title, or inscription, of any other article. To complete the copyright on a book published serially in a periodical, two copies of each serial part, as well as of the complete work (if published separately), should be deposited.

To secure copyright for a painting, statue, or model or design intended to be perfected as a work of the fine arts, a definite title and description must accompany the application for copyright, and a photograph of the same, as large as "cabinet size," mailed to the Librarian of Congress not later than the day of publication of the work or design. The fine arts, for copyright purposes, include only painting and sculpture, and articles of merely ornamental and decorative art should be sent to the Patent Office as subjects for Design Patents.

Copyrights cannot be granted upon trade-marks, nor upon names of companies or articles, nor upon an idea or device, nor upon prints or labels intended to be used for any article of manufacture. If protection for such names or labels is desired, applications must be made to the Patent Office, where they are registered, if admitted, at a fee of \$6 for labels and \$25 for trade-marks.

This is the law for domestic copyright. At last, after years of endeavor, an international copyright law has been passed.

The provisions as to copyright entry in the United States by foreign authors, etc., by act of Congress approved March 3, 1891 (which took effect July 1, 1891), are the same as the foregoing, except as to productions of persons not citizens or residents, which must cover return postages, and are \$1 for entry, or \$1.50 for entry and certificate of entry (equivalent to 4s. 5d. or 6s. 7d.). All publications must be delivered to the Librarian at Washington free of charge. The free penalty-labels cannot be used outside of the United States.

The rights of citizens or subjects of a foreign nation to copyright in the United States extends by Presidential proclamations to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Denmark, and Portugal.

Every applicant for a copyright should state distinctly the full name and residence of the claimant, and whether the right is claimed as author, designer, or proprietor. No affidavit or witness to the application is required.

International copyright arrangements between the

United States and foreign countries now include Great Britain and her possessions, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland.

For an American citizen to secure copyright in Great Britain, three conditions are necessary:

1. The title should be entered at Stationers' Hall, London, the fee for which is 5s. sterling, and 5s. additional if a certified copy of entry is required.

2. The work must be published in Great Britain or in her dominions simultaneously with its publication in the United States.

3. Five copies of the publication are required—one for the British Museum and four on demand of the Company of Stationers for four other libraries.

Copyright may be secured in France by a foreigner by depositing two copies of the publication at the Ministry of the Interior at Paris. No fee nor entry of title required.

To secure copyright in Belgium a foreigner may register his work at the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Public Works at Brussels.

In Switzerland, register of title at the Department of Commerce and Industry at Berne is optional, not obligatory; fee two francs. If registered, deposit of one copy is required.

The Librarian of Congress cannot take charge of any copyright entries or arrangements with other countries.

Concerning the infringement of copy, the Librarian of Congress makes the following statement to inquiries as to remedies for infringement of copyright:

No question concerning the validity of a copyright can be determined under our laws by any other authority than a United States court.

This office has no discretion or authority to refuse any application for a copyright coming within the provisions of the law, and all questions as to priority or infringement are purely judicial questions, with which the Librarian has nothing to do. A certificate of copyright is *prima facie* evidence of an exclusive title, and is highly valuable as the foundation of a legal claim to the property involved in the publication.

As no claim to exclusive property in the contents of a printed book or other article can be enforced under the common law, Congress has very properly provided the guarantees of such property, which are embodied in the "Act to revise, consolidate, and amend the statutes relating to patents and copyrights," approved July 8, 1870. If you obtain a copyright under

the provisions of this act, you can claim damages from any person infringing your rights by printing or selling the same article; but upon all questions as to what constitutes an infringement, or what measures of damages can be recovered, all parties are left to their proper remedy in the courts of the United States.

CORNERS.—A corner in commerce may be defined as the purchase or contract to purchase enough of a commodity to enable one to fix its price. A man who corners a market usually agrees to take at a future date enough of a commodity to enable him to fix its price, and compel the speculators who have promised to sell at that time, thinking that they could buy cheap, to buy instead at the terms fixed by himself at an advanced price. For instances of cornered market and the fortunes thus made and the speculators and dealers ruined, see SPECULATION.

CORN LAWS were certain laws in England repealed in 1846, but coming down from most ancient times, restricting the trade in grain. The first corn laws are at least as old as 1360, of the reign of Edward III., while even before that date there seems to have been a general prohibition of the exportation of corn. The object of prohibiting exportation was to prevent the price of grain rising too high. There were continual changes in the corn laws. By an act of 1436 it could only be exported when the price of wheat was below 6s. 8d. In 1463 this was exactly reversed. By some laws it could only be exported when and where the king decreed.

The law depended on the class in power. In 1670 the land interest got a law passed forbidding importation, unless the price was 53s. 4d. or more. At the time of the Revolution a bounty was awarded on exportation. (See BOUNTIES.) For a century the law oscillated from import duty to bounty. In 1773, by Burke's act, exportation was prohibited when the price reached 44s.; at 48s. it allowed importation at a normal duty of 6d. It was claimed that this kept the price down in the interests of the poor, and that even a bounty worked in the same way, since it encouraged the raising of more corn than was needed, and so tended to lower the price. By acts of 1814 and 1828 a sliding scale was fixed. Gradually the contest over the corn laws became very bitter. Supporters of the laws claimed that protecting grain raising helped the country by bringing poor land into cultivation and employing men; that it tended to free the country from foreign dependence; that it enabled the landed proprietors to patronize manufactures. These views were mainly held by the landed interests and by most of the working classes. On the other hand, the free traders, led by Cobden and Bright, used the well-known arguments for free trade (*q. v.*). In 1843 Sir Robert Peel tried a modification of the sliding scale, and finally, through the exertions of the Anti-Corn Law League, the laws were repealed in 1846. The results have not met the extreme fears or claims of either side. Evil prognostications have not been fulfilled, and the prices have not fallen, as was hoped. (For the principles involved, see FREE TRADE and PROTECTION.)

CORPORATIONS.—A corporation may be defined, in general, as a body formed and authorized by law to act as a single individual in carrying out the purposes for which it is incorporated. It is the creature of the state, and can do only that which it is allowed to do by the state in the act which gives it birth, but within those limits it can act as freely as any individual. Corporations are usually divided into public and private corporations.

"Over the former the Legislature, as the trustee or guardian of the public interests, has the exclusive and unrestrained control; and acting as such, as it may create, so it may modify or destroy, as public exigency requires or recommends. . . . Private corporations, on the other hand, are created by an act of the Legislature, which, in connection with its acceptance, is regarded as a *compact*, and one which, so long as the body corporate faithfully observes, the Legislature is constitutionally restrained from impairing, by annexing new terms and conditions, onerous in their operation, or inconsistent with a reasonable construction of the compact." (*Angell and Ames on Corporations*, § 31, chap. 1.)

Corporations are of comparatively recent growth. Says Professor Ely, in his articles on *The Growth of Corporations*, in *Harper's Magazine* for 1887:

"In 30 years, in the second half of the eighteenth century, only one corporation was formed in Massachusetts, and that was of an eleemosynary character. When Alexander Hamilton wrote his celebrated report on the establishment of the First United States Bank in 1790, there existed only three banking corporations in the United States. Some estimate that railway corporations own one fourth of the wealth of the country, but they did not begin to exist until

more than half a century had elapsed after the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence. Gas companies, which have been so fruitful a source of corruption in States and municipalities, did not exist at all in the eighteenth century, and not in large numbers much before 1820. Manufactures were carried on in the last century in insignificant shops by men of little wealth and of no great social importance."

It was the general opinion a hundred years ago that corporations or joint-stock companies could not succeed, because they did not appeal to the stimulus of self-interest as much as private concerns, and therefore must go down in competition with them. The opinion of Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), is well known when he says :

"The trade of a joint-stock company is always managed by a court of directors. This court, indeed, is frequently subject in many respects to the control of a general court of proprietors. But the greater part of those proprietors seldom pretend to understand anything of the business of the company. . . . The directors of such companies, however, being the managers rather of other people's money than of their own, it cannot well be expected that they should watch over it with the same anxious vigilance with which the partners in a private copartnership frequently watch over their own. Like the stewards of a rich man, they are apt to consider attention to small matters as not for their master's honor. . . . Negligence and profusion, therefore, must always prevail, more or less, in the management of the affairs in such a company. . . . That a joint-stock company should be able to carry on successfully any branch of foreign trade, when private adventurers can come into any sort of open and fair competition with them, seems contrary to all experience. . . . The only trades which it seems possible for a joint-stock company to carry on successfully, without an exclusive privilege, are those of which all the operations are capable of being reduced to what is called a routine, or to such uniformity of method as admits of little or no variation."

Nevertheless corporations, altho only comparatively recently of large growth, have existed at least some 400 years. Says Professor Ely, in the article mentioned above :

"The earliest home of the corporation engaged in the pursuit of gain appears to have been Italy. In the fifteenth century creditors of the State put together their claims—their bonds, as we should say—and used them as the basis of a banking business. The first one of these banking corporations was the Bank of Genoa, founded in 1407. The seventeenth century is remarkable for the number of celebrated, indeed, one may say epoch-making, joint-stock companies for foreign trade, created in Holland, France, and England. The first of these great corporations for international trade was the Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602. Other companies followed in Holland, and the English East India Company, destined to play a rôle in the world's history, was established in 1600 and received a charter modelled on that of the Dutch East India Company in 1613. Other companies were soon formed, and some of them assisted in the development of the American continent. The London Company, the Plymouth Company, and the Hudson Bay Company may be mentioned. France followed in 1628 with the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, and in 1664 with the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. Germany did not begin the creation of trading corporations so early, and there appears to be no record of any such institution before the foundation of the *Wiener Orientalische Compagnie* in 1710.

"Banking corporations were created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Sweden, England, Germany, Holland, and elsewhere. Some of these banks were of vast national and international importance, but there were comparatively few of them. Burke tells us that in 1750 there were in England not more than '12 bankers' shops out of London.'

"Stock-jobbing and corporate swindling flourished at an early date. Laws were passed in Holland in 1621, 1624, and in 1677 to check speculation and to protect the public. In 1720 we have in France the disastrous failure of John Law's notorious *Compagnie des Indes*, better known as the Mississippi Company. . . .

"The reaction against corporations was so extreme in England that joint-stock companies, save such as

should be chartered by royal grant or by Parliament, were forbidden by the 'Bubble Act' of 1720, and it was not until 1855 that associations with limited liability could be called into existence otherwise than by special act."

To-day, however, almost all large business interests are conducted by corporations. In the single State of Texas 80 charters were granted in 90 days in 1885. Professor Ely in the above article estimates the wealth of corporations in the United States at one fourth of the total wealth, and quotes Abram S. Hewitt as stating that corporations now own from one half to one third the capital of the civilized world. Another authority declares, too, that the wealth of corporations in the United States is increasing three or four times as fast as that of private concerns. According to an estimate made by the English *Economist* of November 6, 1886, the accumulation of capital in England between 1875 and 1885 amounted to nearly £1,000,000,000, of which £186,000,000 was attributed to "home railways," and £200,000,000 to other joint-stock companies, or nearly 40 per centum of the increase belonged to corporations.

The New York *World* of December 21, 1895, estimates the British holdings in American companies as follows :

Railroad stocks and bonds.....	\$1,250,000,000
Mines	150,000,000
Gaslight companies.....	50,000,000

Such are a few statistics illustrating the gigantic part played to-day by corporations. Naturally there arise from such a situation difficult industrial and social problems. Business is to-day passing out of individual *responsibility*. Individuals may yet control and guide business on a large scale, but they do it usually through corporations, and therefore the responsibility falls on the corporation, not, at least technically, upon them. This gives rise to the expression "soulless corporation." Corporations are managed usually by a small body of directors, and the shareholders often know little if anything of the details of the management. Now the directors being paid to manage the business for the stockholders, to do this faithfully and to consider only the interests of their stockholders is considered the one duty of the director. Therefore even upright and honest directors are apt to forget all other elements in the conduct of their business but the making of the largest dividends that shrewd management will allow. As a result, the condition of the employees of the corporation and the effect of the business upon the public are often utterly overlooked; not seldom, too, even the directors of a corporation know themselves nothing or little about the condition of their employees. This is usually left to the treasurer or the department "boss," who hires the hands, pays them, and is the only one of the management who comes into direct contact with the "hands." His interest and his hope of advancement lie in being able to buy labor and material cheap and sell the product at good prices. That is what he is hired to do. As a result, there is often a complete divorce of the employees and the stockholders, who are yet really the legally responsible party. Often, too, the stock changes hands. American mining stock, for instance, may be owned one day

by an English lord, the next by a Scotch capitalist, the third by a German baron, again by an American widow. Under such shifting ownership individual responsibility of ownership becomes very vague, and great moral evils naturally result. Individualists would meet the difficulty by appeal to a deeper ethical sense of responsibility, both among stockholders and directors; socialists assert that corporations, having already socialized industry in the interests of the few, the only way out is now to socialize it in the interests of the many, and put it under the control and operation of the responsible community. They argue that the development of corporations and monopolies is making socialism easy. Business to-day is conducted by salaried managers for bodies of private men. What can be easier, they ask, than for these trained managers to do exactly the same thing for the body politic? Socialism can thus come, they assert, with a modicum of change in present methods, perhaps by the public simply buying the stock. (See COMPENSATION; SOCIALISM; MONOPOLIES; TRUSTS, etc.)

CORRUPTION IN POLITICS.—Under their respective heads we consider special kinds or cases of corruption. (See ASSESSMENTS; BROADWAY STEALS; CONTRACT LABOR; JOBS; LEXOW INVESTIGATION; PLUTOCRACY; STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY; TAMMANY; WHISKY RING, etc.; see also CITIES; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.) We record here the conclusions of some careful investigators and students of general conditions.

Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, writing in *The Century Magazine* for October, 1892, on *Money in Practical Politics*, gives the following facts as to corruption among voters:

"The proportion of voters who are subject to money influence is very great. I have had estimates given me many times by men whose knowledge is based upon experience, and I find that the localities are not very uncommon where from 10 to 35 per cent. of the voters are purchasable. In one county in New York, in which, perhaps, the Mugwump vote is larger in proportion to the total vote than in any county in the State, and in which the largest city has some 12,000 inhabitants, about 20 per cent. of the voters were purchased in 1888. . . . The evil is not confined to the cities nor to any one State. The probability is that, all things considered, in such a State as New York the farmers are as corrupt as the residents of the cities."

Professor Jenks points out how the politician classifies the voters under his jurisdiction as Republicans, Democrats, and "doubtfuls;" the author then says:

"These doubtful voters will not be divided carelessly into 'blocks of five and each block put into the hands of a trusty man,' but each doubtful voter, being known, with his habits, his work, his associates, is considered individually. If he is one whose vote can be affected by honest persuasion, the man in the party who would be likely to have most influence with him is selected to work with him, and to influence his vote by fair means, if possible. If he is a man whose vote must be purchased, he is assigned to the worker who can purchase him to the best advantage. If the number of 'floaters' or 'commercials,' as they are variously called, is relatively large to the number of workers, it may well be that they will have to be purchased in blocks of fives or blocks of tens; or, again, owing to social reasons, they at times can best be bought in groups or clubs, or traded; but in all cases where the best work is done, each individual 'floater,' whether bought singly or as one of a group, is looked after personally by the man best competent to handle him."

The same issue contains, in editorial comment on Professor Jenks's article, the following significant statement:

"In Rhode Island, for example, where money has been used corruptly in every election since the war, and in some before and during the war, there are known to be about 5000 purchasable voters in a total of 54,000, or nearly 10 per cent. of the whole number. These are distributed over the State, ranging from 10 in the smaller towns to 1000 in the cities, but in every case their names and individual prices are matters of record. . . . Prices range from \$2 to \$5 a head, according to demand."

Speaking in confirmation of what Professor Jenks has said regarding the keeping of poll books in which voters are classified according to their politics and their incorruptibility or venality, the editor of the *Century* adds:

"In some sections of the State [New York] the number of purchasable voters enrolled on these books is said to exceed the number of those belonging to either party. What is true of New York is, in a greater or less degree, true of nearly every other State of the Union in which the strength of the two great parties is evenly balanced."

The editor of *The Nation*, discussing the price of votes (vol. lv., p. 274), declares that they have "gone up" in New York.

"The very careful and trustworthy observer who has been traveling in the interior of the State for the *Evening Post*, reports that votes which could be had for 'the defense of American industry' for \$5 in 1888 are now held firm at \$20 apiece."

One of the most noteworthy investigations of recent times was made by Professor J. J. McCook, of Hartford, Conn., published in *The Forum* for September, 1892, in which, from secret lists furnished him by politicians, he constructs tables for 20 towns and one city in Connecticut, showing the number of votes that are known to politicians to be purchasable. He finds that 15.9 per cent. of the whole number of votes is venal.

Says Mr. C. N. Gregory, in a paper read before the Historical and Political Science Association of the University of Wisconsin:

"The political corruption of a considerable percentage of voters is commonly confessed, and this percentage is a danger and injury to all the rest. The periodicals have abounded in articles upon this subject within the past year. In some parts of New York the number of purchasable voters is said to exceed that of those who cannot be bought, and this statement finds a place in the most influential magazine of that State. In Rhode Island it is computed at about 10 per cent. Professor J. J. McCook in a remarkable article in the *Forum*, and upon tables which are at least persuasive, finds about 16 per cent. of the voters in Connecticut purchasable. I do not believe so large a percentage in our own State is venal, but no one can touch practical politics, or talk confidentially with those who have touched them, without finding an amount of assessing, subscribing, treating, promising, and colorable hiring, shameful and degrading to voters and candidates alike.

"How small a percentage of corrupt change will affect results is surprising. At the recent election in Wisconsin for 1892 there were 371,550 votes cast for governor, and the majority of Governor Peck over Colonel Spooner was 7508. From this it is plain that a change of but 15 votes more than 1 per cent. would have defeated Governor Peck, his doctrines, and his party, and seated Colonel Spooner and his friends, and Governor Peck's majority being larger than President Cleveland's in Wisconsin, a still smaller change would have reversed the result in the State as to the federal election."

Of municipal corruption, Andrew D. White, in *The Forum* for December, 1890, introduces an article on *The Government of American*

Cities with words which no honest citizen of these unfortunate municipalities will question :

"Without the slightest exaggeration, we may assert that, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom, the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt. No one who has any considerable knowledge of our own country and of other countries can deny this.

"Among our greatest municipalities, we naturally look first at New York and Philadelphia. . . . One has but to walk along the streets of these and other great American cities to notice at once that some evil principle is at work. Everywhere are wretched wharves, foul docks, inadequate streets, and inefficient systems of sewerage, paving, and lighting. Pavements which were fairly good at the beginning have been taken up and replaced with utter carelessness, and have been prematurely worn out or ruined. The stranger seeking to find his way in the first of these great cities is guided by a few signs giving the names of streets; in the most frequented quarters there are generally none at all. Obstacles of all sorts are allowed; tangled networks of wire frequently exist in such masses overhead as to prevent access to buildings in case of fire, and almost to cut off the rays of the sun. Here and there corporations or private persons have been allowed to use the streets in such manner as to close them to the general public. In wet weather many of the most important thoroughfares are covered with reeking mud; in dry weather this mud, reduced to a impalpable dust, containing the germs of almost every disease, is blown into the houses and into the nostrils of the citizens.

"The city halls of these larger towns are the acknowledged centers of the vilest corruption. They are absolutely demoralizing, not merely to those who live under their sway, but to the country at large. Such cities, like the decaying spots on ripe fruit, tend to corrupt the whole body politic. As a rule, the men who sit in the councils of our larger cities, dispensing comfort or discomfort, justice or injustice, beauty or deformity, health or disease, to this and to future generations, are men who in no other country would think of aspiring to such positions. Some of them, indeed, would think themselves lucky in keeping outside the prisons. Officials intrusted with the expenditure of the vast wealth of our citizens are frequently men whom no one would think of entrusting with the management of his private affairs, or, indeed, of employing in any capacity. Few have gained their positions by fitness or by public service; many have gained them by scoundrelism; some by crime."

In reading these statements of political corruption, however, it must not be thought that only politics are corrupt. The amount of corruption in private business can never be wholly known, but see STOCK-GAMBLING; MONOPOLIES; WATERED STOCK; STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY, etc. It must not be forgotten that much of the political corruption comes from private corporations. For facts upon this point, see PLUTOCRACY. As early as 1871, however, Charles Francis Adams said (chapters on Erie, p. 97) :

"Public corruption is the foundation on which corporations always depend for their political power. There is a natural tendency to coalition between them and the lowest strata of political intelligence and morality. . . . It is a new power for which our language contains no name. We know what aristocracy, autocracy, democracy are, but we have no word for government by moneyed corporations. . . . The influence of corporations and of class interests is steadily destroying that belief in singleness of purpose which alone enables a representative government to exist."

Of the causes of corruption, Professor Jenks writes in his *Century* article.

He begins with the assumption that corruption is "the fundamentally inherent vice of democratic government." He believes, however, that the mass of the people wish pure elections, and that corruption may be so limited as to do away with its serious effect on government. He finds the causes of electoral corruption as it exists to day in "natural motives and often good ones," and illustrates this apparent paradox by citing the influences brought to bear on German officials under Bismarck, to secure support of the government, from patriotic motives, and the subsidizing of the

press in France from the secret service fund, presumably in the interest of the country. "In like manner many an employer who, directly or indirectly, has coerced his employees into voting as he believes, feels that only his party's policy is right, and that his act is therefore laudable and in the workmen's interest. Many a party leader who has raised corruption funds and directed their expenditure has sincerely believed that his party could not win without bribery, and that the success of the opposition would be a far more serious evil to the country than the bribing of a few 'floaters' whose moral sense was already blunted. If the influence of bribery ended with the single act, the argument would be strong."

Professor Jenks goes on to show that the larger number of bribing politicians have far more selfish aims; they work for money and office, while a large proportion of the ignorant men who receive bribes are not even conscious that they are committing any serious wrong. Even the intelligent classes are not fully awake to the wrong involved, it would seem, since college students often receive traveling expenses to and from the polls from the party committees. "The nature of corruption and the difficulty of controlling it appear more clearly, too, when we consider its extent and the places where it is most prevalent. People who live in districts that are 'safe' for either party, especially if the people are also fairly well to do, have no conception of the subject. In such places, there is only here and there a case of corruption, and that is mostly some kind of treating given to add force to an argument, or it is covered under the head of paying for services at the polls. Where, however, the district is a close one, and the ignorant voters are numerous, the proportion treated or bribed is high. In such districts it is uncommon for 25 to 50 per cent. to be thus managed, while cases are found—as they have been found in similar circumstances in England and elsewhere, for we are no worse by nature than other people—where nearly all the voters are corrupted. As was said at the beginning, corruption is the normal condition of a country with many ignorant voters and great electoral prizes. It will always be found, unless special measures are taken to prevent it."

For reform methods in dealing with corruption, see CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; MUNICIPAL REFORM MOVEMENTS; CITY, etc.

THE MASSACHUSETTS LAW.

In 1892 Massachusetts enacted a law that approaches nearer to the English act than any American measure yet passed. It applies to all public elections, including elections by the Legislature or by city council, and nominations by caucus or convention. The only exception to it is the election of town officers in towns. It provides for a complete and public account of all political expenditures. This is its main feature; but it falls short of the English act by not restricting the amount to be spent and by not specifying legal objects of expenditure. With the exception of personal expenses, no candidate is allowed any expenditure to secure his own election otherwise than through a political committee. This political committee is held responsible for violations of the law.

The law defines the term "political committee" to include "every committee or combination of three or more persons who shall aid or promote the success or defeat of a political party or principle in a public election, or shall aid or take part in the nomination, election or defeat of a candidate for public office." It furthermore provides that every individual who, "acting otherwise than under the authority and in the behalf of a political committee," receives or disburses money for any of the above-named purposes, shall be subject to the requirements of the act. "Every such committee is required to have a treasurer, who must, within 30 days after an election, if the total receipts or expenditures of the committee exceed \$20, file a sworn statement 'setting forth all the receipts, expenditures, disbursements and liabilities of the committee and of every officer and other person acting under its authority and in its behalf.' A voucher, 'stating the particulars of expense,' must be kept for every payment of over five dollars. Thus the whole subject-matter of

political expenditures, by whomsoever made, is intended to be brought within the scope of the law and made a matter of record and public concern."

Political committees are not permitted to ask candidates for money, but candidates may make voluntary contributions. An organization has been formed known as the Election Laws League of Massachusetts, to watch over the enforcement of the law. This league has thus far been free from partisanship, and reports encouraging progress. Hon. Josiah Quincy, Assistant Secretary of State of Massachusetts, writes thus of the law in *The Forum*:

"While it cannot be said that there has been any very active or widespread public interest in the operation of the law, as was the case when the Australian ballot system was introduced, there has thus far been no declared opposition, but a strong public sentiment in its favor, and the leading newspapers have given to it their full support. The mere publicity given to the expenses incurred has undoubtedly tended somewhat to limit their amount and restrict their purposes, and this tendency may be found to increase. But the law did not on its first trial work a very marked change in either of these respects. The requirement as to the publication of the names of contributors undoubtedly tended to check contributions, and it was found that many who had been accustomed to give money liberally for political purposes, from purely unselfish and public-spirited motives, were seriously disinclined to face the necessary publicity. The fact that a national election was pending, however, allowed such persons to send their contributions to the respective national committees to be appropriated for use in Massachusetts, the result being that both the Republican and Democratic State Committees returned their respective national committees as contributing over \$20,000 each to their funds. This requirement at the time of the passage of the law met with the opposition of many persons who were otherwise friendly to its provisions, and it is still an open question whether it is not susceptible of too easy evasion."

NEW YORK CORRUPT PRACTICE ACT.

This has been characterized as the "weakest of our American laws to restrict the spending of money for election purposes." Instead of demanding an account of expenditures from the political committee, it requires it of the candidate. As has been shown by several trials of the law, the candidate names sundry unimportant and legitimate expenses of his own, and then gives the amount which he has handed over to the political committee. There is no investigation as to what the committee has done with the money. The candidate may in various ways evade the law—by giving money indirectly to the committee, or by falsifying his returns. The public gains only a more or less correct idea of the "assessments" paid by candidates for the "honor" conferred upon them by nomination. See also MUNICIPAL REFORM LEAGUE and LAW AND ORDER LEAGUE.

CORRUPT PRACTICE ACT.—The agitation against political corruption in this country has drawn attention to the Corrupt Practice Act, which has been passed in England, and has been in general copied in Massachusetts and to a less extent in New York, and is being considered in other States.

The present British Corrupt Practice Act, of which Sir Henry James was author, was passed in 1833. Previous to 1833 there were three corrupt practices known to the law in England: bribery, treating, and undue influence. The act of that year added a fourth, by declaring that "personation, and the aiding, abetting, counseling, and procuring the commission of the offense of personation," should be a corrupt practice.

The British law is very explicit in its definition of bribery. "Every person is pronounced guilty of it who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person, gives, lends, or agrees to give or lend, or offers, promises, or promises to procure, or to endeavor to procure, any money or valuable consideration, or any office, place, or employment, to or for any voter, or to or for any person on behalf of any voter, or to or for any person in order to induce any voter to refrain from voting, or who in any similar manner seeks to induce any person to procure or endeavor to procure the return of any person to parliament or the vote of any voter at any election. Every person is also pronounced guilty of bribery who, in consequence of any of the forbidden acts mentioned, procures or endeavors to procure the election of a candidate, or who advances or pays or causes to be paid any money to or to the use of any other person with the intent or knowledge that it shall be expended wholly or in part in bribery; and every voter who, directly, receives, either before or during election, any consideration of the kind forbidden in the anti-bribery provision above summarized, either for voting or refraining from voting, is also pronounced guilty of bribery; as also is any person who, after election, directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, receives any money or valuable consideration on account of any person having voted, or refrained therefrom, or having induced any other person to vote or refrain from voting."

Treating is also forbidden with explicitness. "Any person is pronounced guilty of it who corruptly or by himself, or by any other person either before, during or after an election, directly or indirectly gives or provides, or pays wholly or in part the expenses of giving or providing any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person for the purpose of corruptly influencing his vote, or inducing him to refrain from voting, or on account of himself or any other person having voted or refrained from voting, or being about to do one of these things; and every voter who accepts such forbidden attentions is equally guilty."

"In regard to undue influence, every person is guilty of that who directly or indirectly, by himself or by any other person in his behalf, makes use of or threatens to make use of any force, violence or restraint, or inflicts or threatens to inflict by himself or by any other person any temporal or spiritual injury, damage, harm or loss upon or against any person to induce or compel him to vote or to refrain from voting, or on account of his having done either of these things, or who by abduction, duress or any fraudulent device or contrivance impedes or permits the free exercise of the franchise of any elector. Personation is also defined and forbidden."

The penalties attached to a conviction of these offenses are for bribery, treating, and undue influence, each of which is a misdemeanor, imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding one year, or a fine not exceeding 200 pounds; for personation, which is a felony, for a term not exceeding two years with hard labor. If it is found by the election court that the offenses of treating, or undue influence, have been committed by a candidate, or that the offenses of bribery and personation have been committed by or with his knowledge or consent, he is declared ineligible ever after to hold a seat in the House of Commons in the county or borough in which the offenses were committed.

To prevent objectionable expenditures, the law restricts the employment of agents, clerks, messengers and others within a very narrow limit. "Voluntary efforts are made to take the place of paid labor. But it was anticipated that there would be a strong desire to evade such a restriction by making contracts to carry on the election work in place of the candidate employing persons for that purpose. And so the plan of controlling the amount of expenditure by a fixed schedule was accepted, and it has certainly proved most beneficial in practice. By the eighth section of the act it is enacted that no sum shall be paid and no expenses incurred by any candidate in excess of any maximum amount in that behalf specified in the first schedule to the act. Any breach of this prohibition by a candidate or his election agent is an illegal practice."

From \$1000 to \$3500 is the maximum amount which may be expended in a parliamentary election. As a result of this law there has been a thorough reformation in British election methods, rendering them at least as pure as those of any country. In most localities corrupt prac-

tices have ceased to exist. Since the operation of the law no member has been unseated for bribery, and three general elections have been held.

CORVÉE, a tax levied on the laboring classes, and paid by them in a certain number of days of labor, either wholly unremunerated or remunerated at a rate less than the ordinary rate of wages. In particular such taxation has been applied to the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, each locality being compelled to defray the cost of such works by contributions of labor. It is a system that has come down from feudal times, when the serf was compelled to give his lord a certain amount of labor. It exists to-day in certain European and some not wholly civilized countries. (See **TAXATION**.)

COSSA, LUIGI, was born in 1831 at Milan. He received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Pavia in 1853. In 1860 he was made full professor of political economy at Pavia, and later in the University of Milan. Cossa, well known also abroad as a *littérateur*, is to-day one of the most prominent of Italian thinkers upon political economy, and from his school have come most of the younger economists. His style as an author is distinguished for its conciseness. His best-known works are his *Guide to the Study of Political Economy* (translated from the second Italian edition [1877] 1880), considered by many not always accurate, but still the most complete manual of its kind, and his *Taxation, its Principles and Methods* (1888).

COST OF LIVING. See **EXPENDITURES**.

COST OF PRODUCTION.—Cost of production may be defined as the amount of exertion or sacrifice requisite to the production of any article. Says Professor Marshall in his *Elements of Economics of Industry* (p. 214):

“The exertions of all the different kinds of labor that are directly or indirectly involved in making it; together with the abstinences or rather the waitings required for saving the capital used in making it; all these efforts and sacrifices together will be called its real cost of production. The sums of money that have to be paid for these efforts and sacrifices will be called either its money cost of production, or, for shortness, its expenses of production; they are the prices which have to be paid in order to call forth an adequate supply of the efforts and waitings that are required for making it; or, in other words, they are its supply price.”

Marshall adds in a note:

“Mill and some other economists have followed the practice of ordinary life in using the term cost of production in two senses, sometimes to signify the difficulty of producing a thing, and sometimes to express the outlay of money that has to be incurred in order to induce people to overcome this difficulty and produce it. But by passing from one use of the term to the other without giving explicit warning, they have led to many misunderstandings and much barren controversy.”

Concerning the analysis of the various elements which enter into the cost of production, Mill says (*Principles of Political Economy*, Book III., chap. iv.):

“The component elements of cost of production have been set forth in the first part of this inquiry. The principal of them, and so first the principal as to

be nearly the sole, we found to be labor. What the production of a thing costs to its producer, or its series of producers, is the labor expended in producing it. If we consider as the producer the capitalist who makes the advances, the word labor may be replaced by the word wages: what the produce costs to him is the wages which he has had to pay. At the first glance indeed this seems to be only a part of his outlay, since he has not only paid wages to laborers, but has likewise provided them with tools, materials, and perhaps buildings. These tools, materials, and buildings, however, were produced by labor and capital; and their value, like that of the article to the production of which they are subservient, depends on cost of production, which again is resolvable into labor. The cost of production of broadcloth does not wholly consist in the wages of weavers, which alone are directly paid by the cloth manufacturer. It consists also of the wages of spinners and woolcombers, and it may be added, of shepherds, all of which the clothier has paid for in the price of yarn. It consists too of the wages of builders and brickmakers, which he has reimbursed in the contract price of erecting his factory. It partly consists of the wages of machine-makers, iron-founders, and miners. And to these must be added the wages of the carriers who transported any of the means and appliances of the production to the place where they were to be used, and the product itself to the place where it is to be sold. . . .

“But in our analysis, in the first book, of the requisites of production, we found that there is another necessary element in it besides labor. There is also capital; and this being the result of abstinence, the produce, or its value, must be sufficient to remunerate, not only all the labor required, but the abstinence of all the persons by whom the remuneration of the different classes of laborers was advanced. The return for abstinence is profit. And profit, we have also seen, is not exclusively the surplus remaining to the capitalist after he has been compensated for his outlay, but forms in most cases no unimportant part of the outlay itself. The flax-spinner, part of whose expenses consists of the purchase of flax and of machinery, has had to pay, in their price, not only the wages of the labor by which the flax was grown and the machinery made, but the profits of the grower, the flax-dresser, the miner, the iron-founder, and the machine-maker. All these profits, together with those of the spinner himself, were again advanced by the weaver, in the price of his material, linen yarn; and along with them the profits of a fresh set of machine-makers, and of the miners and iron-workers who supplied them with their metallic material. All these advances form part of the cost of the production of linen. Profits, therefore, as well as wages, enter into the cost of production which determines the value of the produce. . . .

“Besides the natural and necessary elements in cost of production—labor and profits—there are others which are artificial and casual, as, for instance, a tax. The tax on malt is as much a part of the cost of production of that article as the wages of the laborers. The expenses which the law imposes, as well as those which the nature of things imposes, must be reimbursed with the ordinary profit from the value of the produce, or the things will not continue to be produced.”

We come to a more vexed question when we ask if rent enters into the cost of production. Mill says:

“Does rent enter into the cost of production? and the answer of the best political economists is in the negative. The temptation is strong to the adoption of these sweeping expressions, even by those who are aware of the restrictions with which they must be taken; for there is no denying that they stamp a general principle more firmly on the mind than if it were hedged round in theory with all its practical limitations. But they also puzzle and mislead, and create an impression unfavorable to political economy, as if it disregarded the evidence of facts. No one can deny that rent sometimes enters into cost of production. If I buy or rent a piece of ground, and build a cloth manufactory on it, the ground rent forms legitimately a part of my expenses of production, which must be repaid by the product. And since all factories are built on ground, and most of them in places where ground is peculiarly valuable, the rent paid for it must, on the average, be compensated in the values of all things made in factories. In what sense it is true that rent does not enter into the cost of production or affect the value of agricultural produce will be shown in the succeeding chapter.”

He then goes on to argue the familiar principle that since there cannot long be two prices in an open market for the same thing, and since the amount of population creates a demand for land enough to raise the necessities of life, the price of such commodities must be fixed high enough to cover the cost of production on the most unproductive and expensive land that is needed. Into that price rent cannot enter, because if rent was paid for such land, people owning land of less value could produce the necessities of life without rent and bring down the price. Rent, therefore, cannot enter into the price of commodities produced at the land which fixes the price. People, it is true, owning better land can command a rent, because their land can produce more, or the same amount at less cost, and yet they can sell its products at the same price as that raised on poorer land. But this rent is gained from the superior market value of the land ; it does not enter into the cost of producing that which fixes the market value of any commodity. Mill sums up his view thus :

"Rent is not an element in the cost of production of the commodity which yields it, except in the cases (rather conceivable than actually existing) in which it results from and represents a scarcity value. But when land capable of yielding rent in agriculture is applied to some other purpose, the rent which it would have yielded is an element in the cost of production of the commodity which it is employed to produce."

Such is Mill's view, and practically all economists are agreed with him. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* says :

"The fundamental law of cost (or rather expenses) of production may be thus stated: *The normal selling price of any article tends to be such as to yield the wages, interest, and profits involved in the expenses of production.* If the price is above this rate, labor and capital are attracted to the industry, the supply is increased, and the price falls; while conversely, if the remuneration is not so high, labor and capital are repelled and the price rises. But it must be observed that in any established industry, owing to the want of perfect mobility of labor and capital, the effect of a fall in price due to a lessened demand for the product on the part of other industrial groups may be to cause a quasi-permanent fall in the rates of wages and profits in that industry; and thus lower for a considerable time the expenses of production. (See WAGES.) If, however, we assume that mobility is perfect, or allow time for the full effect of the forces which determine wages and profits, the normal expenses of production are given in the law as stated.

"Besides labor and capital in the ordinary sense of the terms, raw material is required. This raw material, however, is itself the product of labor and capital, and so far would come under the analysis just given. But since Ricardo gave such prominence to the economic theory of rent, the text-books have emphasized the fact that raw material is more directly dependent upon natural sources of supply, and that these sources of supply may be exploited at unequal costs. This leads to the position that when there is a difference in the cost of producing the various parts of the normal supply, the normal price must be such as to give a fair return to that portion produced under most unfavorable circumstances.

"On the whole, it may be said that economic rent, if it can be actually separated from the other elements in cost according to the hypothesis assumed, does not enter into cost, but that practically other factors are closely combined with it to form rent in the popular acceptance of the term, and that, in this sense, rent often does form part of the cost."

(On the still more important and much more vexed question whether the cost of production determines market value, see VALUE.)

COTTON FAMINE, THE, was occasioned by the War of the Rebellion, declared in 1861. It created in England the greatest industrial depression. In 1860 the cotton trade of England had reached an enormous activity. There were 2650 mills, with 30,000,000 spindles, making from 4000 to 6000 revolutions per minute, and employing 440,000 hands, 56 per cent. of them women, 10 per cent. children. The fixed capital was £54,000,000; the wages paid that year, £11,500,000. Of the 1,391,000,000 lbs. of cotton imported, 1,120,000,000 lbs. came from the United States. April, 1861, Fort Sumter was bombarded. The Federal Government early established a blockade of the Southern ports. Only by running this blockade could cotton be sent to England. The price of cotton in Liverpool rose from 7½d. to 12d. The dealers made fortunes, but the mills gradually had to shut down. It was not that there was not cotton; at first there was plenty, but for the manufactured goods there was no market. There was a glut. In November 49 mills shut down and 119 worked half time. The distress among the low-paid operatives began to be intense. Relief committees were appointed, and soup kitchens opened. Cotton district relief funds were opened by Lancashire and some London papers. The Lord Mayor established a Mansion House committee, which received subscriptions from all over the world. In 1862 only 524,000,000 lbs. of cotton were imported. At Christmas of that year 247,000 were totally out of work, and 165,000 only partially employed; 234,000 were in receipt of relief. The rate of wages, however, was not reduced. The operatives were set against that. Relief came from the United States as well. Three vessels, the *George Griswold*, the *Achilles*, and the *Hope* were chartered and sent to Liverpool with food and clothing. In June a Public Works Act was passed, the Government advancing £1,200,000. Private subscriptions reached £2,000,000. But gradually the manufacturers sold off their stock and began manufacturing again at high prices, compelled by high raw material. (See CRISES.)

COTTON INDUSTRY, THE.—The oldest cotton-producing country of the world is India, the early mention of it is made in Egypt. In the United States the introduction of the plant is traced as far back as 1536, tho the export trade did not commence till about 1770, when a shipment of 2000 lbs. was made. In 1791 the shipments reached 189,316 lbs.; in 1800, 17,789,803 lbs.; in 1821, 124,000,000 lbs.; in 1831, 277,000,000 lbs.; in 1841, 530,000,000 lbs.; in 1851, 927,000,000 lbs.; in 1860, 2,160,000,000 lbs. Prices fell gradually from 1s. 6d. per pound in Liverpool in 1793, to 5½d. or 7d. After that the expansion of trade, and especially the War of the Rebellion and the abolition of slavery, raised prices to 8d. and occasionally above that, tho since 1875 they have fallen again. In 1871 a failure of the crop reduced the export of cotton to 933,000,000 lbs. Inventive genius, superior farming and energy have given the United States, however, a firm grasp upon the trade. For recent times the abstract of the eleventh census gives the following as the cotton crop of the United States :

YEAR	COTTON.	
	Acres.	Bales.
1890.....	20,175,270	7,472,511
1880.....	14,480,019	5,755,359
1870.....	.....	3,011,996
1860.....	.....	5,387,052
1850.....	.....	2,469,093

	1893-94.	1890-91.	1887-88.
	Exports to Europe.....	Bales. 5,183,645	Bales. 5,750,443	Bales. 4,602,248
Consumption U. S., Canada, etc.	2,508,850	2,642,912	2,259,606
Total.....	7,692,495	8,393,355	6,861,854

The division between the home and foreign consumption was as follows :

As to the cotton consumption of the world, the *World Almanac* gives the following :

CONSUMPTION BALES, 400 LBS.	Great Britain.	Total Europe.	United States.	India.	Total World.
1880-81.....	3,572,000	6,528,000	2,118,000	371,400	9,017,400
1881-82.....	3,640,000	6,838,000	2,197,000	380,600	9,424,600
1882-83.....	3,744,000	7,124,000	2,375,000	447,400	9,946,400
1883-84.....	3,666,000	7,046,000	2,244,000	520,700	9,810,700
1884-85.....	3,433,000	6,688,000	1,909,000	584,800	9,181,800
1885-86.....	3,628,000	7,093,000	2,278,000	630,300	10,001,300
1886-87.....	3,694,000	7,334,000	2,423,000	711,300	10,468,800
1887-88.....	3,841,000	7,637,000	2,530,000	771,670	10,938,670
1888-89.....	3,770,000	7,839,000	2,685,000	870,880	11,394,880
1889-90.....	4,016,000	8,296,000	2,731,000	988,293	12,015,293
1890-91.....	4,233,000	8,771,000	2,958,000	1,155,328	12,884,328
1891-92.....	3,977,000	8,401,000	3,220,000	1,142,619	12,863,619
1892-93.....	3,583,000	8,159,000	3,189,000	1,147,588	12,495,588
1893-94.....	4,040,000	8,824,000	2,830,000	1,199,234	12,853,234

As to the supply, the following is the estimate of Ellison & Co. for 1894-95 :

	Total.
	Bales.
America.....	8,248,000
East Indies.....	1,100,000
Other countries.....	1,192,000
Total.....	10,540,000
Average weight.....	468
Bales of 400 lbs.....	12,330,000

The importance of the cotton trade is very great, and has been almost wholly developed within a century. The invention of Wyatt's spinning-roller in 1730, of Kay's fly-shuttle in 1738, of Hargreaves' spinning-jenny in 1764, of Arkwright's water-frame (patented) in 1769, Crompton's mule in 1779, Cartwright's loom in 1785 in England, and Whitney's cotton-gin in 1793 in America, has created the trade. It is estimated in England that 4,500,000 persons depend for their livelihood on the condition of the cotton trade. For the United States the abstract of the eleventh census gives the following figures :

INDUSTRY.	Year.	Number of Establishments Reporting.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND TOTAL WAGES.		Cost of Materials Used.	Value of Products, including Receipts from Custom Work and Repairing.
			Employees.	Wages.		
Cotton, cleaning and rehandling.....	1890.....	13	210	\$54,068	\$415,005	\$525,595
	1880.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cotton, compressing.....	1890.....	52	3,000	1,228,619	254,309	2,624,027
	1880.....	29	1,008	573,005	326,808	1,271,700
Cotton, ginning.....	1890.....	1,637	7,660	781,798	542,481	2,367,450
	1880.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cotton goods.....	1890.....	905	221,585	69,489,272	154,912,979	267,981,724
	1880.....	1,005	185,472	45,614,419	113,765,537	210,950,383
Cotton ties.....	1890.....	3	18	3,150	5,980	11,950
	1880.....	6	131	38,069	170,198	262,351
Cotton waste.....	1890.....	31	329	154,257	1,592,041	1,906,622
	1880.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The *World Almanac* puts the spindles in operation in this trade as follows :

	1894.	1892.	1889.
Great Britain	45,270,000	45,350,000	43,500,000
Continent.....	27,350,000	26,405,000	24,000,000
United States.....	15,841,000	15,277,000	14,175,000
East Indies.....	3,650,000	3,402,000	2,760,000
Total.....	92,111,000	90,434,000	84,435,000

COULANGES, NUMA DENIS, FUSTEL DE, was born in Paris in 1830. A member of the Institute and Director of the *École Normale Supérieure*, Fustel de Coulanges is best known in social science for his important studies in the history of early civilizations and primitive tenures of land and other property. His best-known works are : *La cité antique, étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome* (1864); *La Gaule Romaine; Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* (7 vols.); and various essays, an important one of which, appearing in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for April, 1880, has been translated into English under the title *The Origin of Property of Land*, edited by W. J. Ashley, M.A. (1891). It was *La cité antique* which gave De Coulanges his first name; his *Institutions* is his great life work. He died in 1889, before his work was completed, but a creator in the realm of historical economic research. He has freely criticised M. de Laveleye's theories of the communistic primitive property in land, arguing that property in land was always held on the seigniorial rather than the communal tenure.

COUNTY COUNCILS (English).—On March 19, 1888, Mr. C. T. Ritchie, for the Government (Conservative) of Lord Salisbury, introduced into Parliament a so-called Local Government Bill, which took a long step in the direction of self-government, and an important fact of which was the creation of county councils. Hitherto the government of England's counties and the conduct of county works had been conducted by a most complicated system of various local boards and bodies, created by numerous and sometime conflicting acts of Parliament. It had been long felt that the reform of local government was absolutely necessary. The new bill, therefore, was well received. It was, in the course of its various readings, much changed, but on July 19 the bill finally passed through committee. By this act (51 and 52 Vict. c. 41) England and Wales were divided into 60 administrative counties and 62 county boroughs. Over these were placed councils consisting of elected councilors and nominated aldermen. These councils are entrusted with the administrative and financial business of the county.

They can authorize the sanitary authorities to take land compulsorily for allotments; they maintain and control roads and bridges; enforce the River Pollution Prevention Act; license theaters; vary the season for protecting wild birds; enforce orders of the Privy Council as to contagious diseases of animals or insects; license factories and magazines of explosives; regulate fishery districts; provide and manage asylums,

reformatory and industrial schools; decide compensation for damage from riots; verify weights, measures, and regulate gas-meters, etc.

Certain counties possess special powers. (For London, see LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.) All persons registered as local government voters, all persons entitled to be so registered except as to residence, but who live within 15 miles of the county, and are rated to the poor at £30 per annum, or possess £1000 of property, and all persons owning property can be county councilors. Electors must own or occupy land or tenement worth £10 per year, must have resided there six months, have paid all rates and taxes; or if he has paid all rates and taxes, and have resided there 12 months, he may vote, tho the building he occupy be not worth £10. The aldermen are elected by the council, and compose one third of the number of councilors. County councilors hold office three years, and retire together. Aldermen hold office six years; one half retire every third year. The revenue of the council is two fifths of the probate duty, the local taxation licenses, the county rates, which in 1886-87 amounted to £130,000,000 for England and Wales, varying from 15*d.* in Lancaster to 6*d.* in Montgomery. Councils can borrow for periods not exceeding 30 years. (See also LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.)

References: A. Macmarron's *The Local Government Act*, 1888 (London, 1888).

COURCELLE-SENEUIL, JEAN GUSTAVE, was born at Dordogne, Chile, December 22, 1813. He was at first a merchant, but later occupied himself with the study of economics. In 1848 he held for a short time a post under the Minister of Finance; from 1853-63 he was Professor of Political Economy at the University of Santiago, in Chile. Since 1879 he has been State Councillor; since 1882 Fellow of the Academy of Naval and Political Science. His best-known works are *Études sur la science sociale* (1862); *Opération de Banque* (1853); *Traité théorique et pratique d'Economie politique* (1867), one of the best-known treatises on the subject in the French language.

COURTS. See JUDICIARY.

COXEY, JACOB SELCHER, AND "COXEYISM."—The movement popularly called "Coxeyism," or the formation of "armies" or companies of unemployed men or of those sympathizing with them to peaceably march to Washington, and give Congress and the country visible evidence of the distress of the unemployed, and thus induce legislation to meet the need, is a movement which has gained its name from Mr. J. S. Coxey, of Ohio, to an extent the originator of the movement, and the "general" of the leading "army;" but it seems to be a movement that sprang up sporadically at the same time in various parts of the country out of the distress and lack of employment in the hard times of 1894. (For an account of these times, see CRISIS: UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Jacob Selcher Coxey was born in Pennsylvania in 1854, and after leaving school when he was 13 worked for 10 years in a rolling-mill, leaving this to enter business on his own account. In 1879 he purchased a sandstone quarry at Masillon, O., where he has since lived, and in 1889 he added to other ventures a stock farm in Kentucky, making a specialty of blooded racing horses. He prospered, and is reputed by his neighbors to be worth some \$200,000, an honest and successful business man. Originally an Episcopalian, he has become a theosophist, and is said to have believed that he and his lieutenant, Browne, are between them sharers of the reincarnation of Christ.

Long interested in public questions, in 1892 he drafted a bill, which was presented in Congress, calling upon the Federal Government to construct a general county road system in the United States, and to meet the expense of this by issuing \$500,000,000 of treasury notes to be a legal tender for all debts. The bill, however, was pigeonholed by Congress, and this led Mr. Coxey to more radical agitation. There now appeared on the scene a Mr. Carl Browne.

Mr. Carl Browne was born near Springfield, Ill., in 1849. He became a painter, and painted a "Lord's Supper" and panoramas of the Yomsemite, of the Franco-Prussian War, and other subjects, which were exhibited all over the United States. In 1872 he married and settled in Berkeley, Cal. At the time of the great Pennsylvania strikes of 1877 (see STRIKES) he came out for the cause of Labor, and later supported Dennis Kearney's agitation by cartoons and in a newspaper. He then threw himself into the Greenback and later the Populist movements. Christmas Day, 1892, his wife died of pneumonia, and it was during her last days that he was converted to theosophy, believing that he absorbed his wife's soul. He went to the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 and met Mr. Coxey at a bimetallic convention. He later visited Mr. Coxey, and was sent by him to Chicago to induce the American Federation of Labor to endorse the Good Roads plan. He succeeded, and there devised the plan of marching the unemployed to Washington. Mr. Coxey approved the plan. They finally decided to start, and did start from Masillon,

Coxey's Army. Easter morning, March 24, 1894. They planned to reach Washington on May 1, to present a petition to Congress on the steps of the Capitol, and then to camp there until Congress acted upon two bills to be presented by Senator Peffer (*q.v.*)—a Good Roads bill and a Non-interest Bearing Bond bill.

As Mr. Coxey was very busy, tho he accompanied the army, with his wife, daughter, and a little infant son, whom he named "Legal Tender," he left the whole management of the army to Mr. Browne. The plan was to get an army of 100,000; as a matter of fact, they never had over 500. It was a motley, altho perfectly orderly company. It took a religious coloring. They called the army "The Commonweal of Christ" and bore a banner with a portrait of Christ, and the legend "Death to interest-bearing bonds." As they left Masillon, a negro carrying the American flag marched ahead. Then on a gray horse rode Carl Browne, in the dress of a cowboy, with buckskin coat, fringed down the sleeves and plastered with decorations, a broad-brimmed sombrero on his head, around his neck an amber necklace given him by his wife. Next came the trumpeter, "Windy Oliver," the astrologer, "Cyclone" Kirkland, of Pittsburg, and seven musicians. "General" Coxey came next in a buggy drawn by two bay mares. Behind rode Mrs. Coxey with her infant child and her sister. Then came another negro carrying the banner of the Commonweal; next the army proper of 100 men, expected to swell on its way to Washington to 100,000, and accompanied on either side by 43 newspaper men. Three wagons carried a circus tent and supplies. As a rule,

the army was supplied, however, with victuals by people on the way, but went often hungry. Crowds gathered to see them at every point. On Sundays Browne preached, with continual allusion to Scripture prophecies. They met many difficulties, such as a snow-storm in crossing the Blue Mountains. Some of their men were arrested as vagrants. Dissension arose, but they persevered. After reaching the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal they were transported for 90 miles. Everywhere they preserved good order. Mr. Coxey boasted that not a chicken had been stolen on their march.

Meanwhile, the idea had set other "industrial armies" marching. Much larger than Coxey's army was an army numbering at one time 2000, raised by Mr. C. T. Kelly, in San Francisco, which started April 3. Another army from the Pacific coast started from Los Angeles, under "General" Lewis S. Frye. They numbered at first 700 men, and later 1000. The Pacific armies said little about good roads, but wanted the irrigation of the desert. They sometimes induced the railway companies to carry them. Frequently they seized freight trains. This brought them several times into contact with the police, and they found themselves confronted with Gatling guns. But almost everywhere they were supported, aided, and sometimes *flêted* by the people.

Still other armies were organized. Dr. J. H. Randall raised an army of 1000 in Chicago. "General" Hogan formed an army of 500 in Montana. There were other smaller movements. "General" Fitzgerald led an army of 60 from Boston, organized out of an agitation in that city led by Morrison I. Swift. A larger company joined this army in Connecticut. C. C. Jones organized an army of 100 or 200 in Pennsylvania. The West, however, furnished the most men. A second army under "General" Vinette was organized in Los Angeles. It finally numbered 950 men. Other companies were organized in Oklahoma, Nevada, Colorado, Missouri, and there were temporary movements in other States.

Meanwhile, the "Commonwealers" reached Washington the last of April. May 1, in a solemn procession, the army marched to the Capitol to present its petition. Thousands flocked to see the sight. But when Mr. Coxey alighted he is said to have walked on the grass, and he, Carl Browne, and Mr. Jones were arrested "for trespassing on the grass." Mr. Coxey handed his address to the reporters, and was hurried away by the police. The army quietly returned to its camp. Coxey, Browne, and Jones were imprisoned 20 days. When they came out the movement was practically at an end. The army was maintained for awhile, but gradually disbanded. Congress had been somewhat frightened, and considerable talk and discussion arose as to conditions that led to such armies; but no serious action was taken. "General" Coxey himself, however, has entered politics more earnestly than ever, and in 1895 was nominated for governor by the People's Party of Ohio, and polled 52,675 votes, the Populist vote for President in Ohio in 1892 being only 14,850.

The Result.

The other armies continued for awhile after May 1. "General" Kelly's army got as far east as Iowa. They were mainly transported by the railroads and assisted by citizens and sometimes by the mayors. It was thought a good thing to help these unemployed men east, where it was expected they would find work. At Council Bluffs, the railroads refusing transportation, some of the army captured a train from the transfer yards. The Governor considered calling out the militia, but "General" Kelly decided to return the train. Mayor Bemis, of Omaha, promised 1500 lbs. of meat, 2000 loaves of bread, 2000 lbs. of coffee, and the army quietly marched on. The army organized by "General" Hogan in Montana had a more serious time. It captured a Northern Pacific train at Butte City. As the road was in the hands of the United States Court, it was directly under federal jurisdiction, and orders were at once issued by Judge Caldwell for United States deputies to capture the train. They attempted this at Billings, and the citizens, siding with the "industrials," the deputies fired on the "mob." One citizen was fatally shot and others wounded. This enraged the people, and they helped the "industrials" to escape. At Forsyth, however, the flying train was finally captured, and the "army" surrendered.

Such were the main incidents. Gradually the movement came to an end. Returning opportunities for work absorbed most of the men and the rest disbanded. With its *bizarre* side the movement had its serious side, at least as an evidence of the lack of employment among large bodies of law-abiding citizens. The men of these armies were not tramps or law-breakers. They simply asked for work. Of 290 "industrials" selected at random from "General" Randall's Chicago army, Professor Hourwich, of the University of Chicago, says: "One half were American born, two thirds were English-speaking men; they averaged from 30 to 32 in age; 181 were skilled mechanics; of 115 questioned only 2 were uneducated; 26 had attended high school or college; only 5 or 6 appeared of questionable character; 70 were trade-unionists." Carlyle said of a similar Manchester "insurrection in England:" "An insurrection that can announce the disease and then retire with no balance account of grim vengeance opened anywhere has attained the highest success possible for it."

References: Henry Vincent's *The Story of the Commonwealth* (Chicago, 1894); *Coxeyism*, an article by W. T. Stead, in the (American) *Review of Reviews* for July, 1894.

CRAFT GUILDS. See GUILDS.

CRANE, WALTER, was born in Liverpool in 1845; the son of Thomas Crane, a miniature and portrait painter. Apprenticed in 1859 to W. J. Linton, the eminent wood-engraver, poet, and chartist, Walter Crane learned from him reform ideas, as well as lessons in art. A prominent member of various art societies and committees, an examiner at the national competition of drawings at South Kensington since 1879, elected an associate of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colors in 1888, he was associated with the movement against the Royal Academy

in 1886, and favored the establishment of a national exhibition in which *all* arts should be represented. In 1888 he founded with other decorative artists the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, and became its first president. Successful as a painter, he is even better known as a designer and decorator of books, etc. In 1891 an exhibition of his works was held, and the collection was also taken to the United States and Germany, Mr. Crane accompanying it. In 1884 he became associated with the socialist movement, largely under the influence of William Morris (*q.v.*), and has lectured and written for it, besides making numerous designs for socialist books and papers. In 1892 he was appointed director of the Manchester Municipal School of Art.

CREAMERIES. See COOPERATIVE DAIRIES.

CREDIT is a term used in political economy in so many different ways and in so many shades of meaning that it is almost impossible to define it so as to cover all its uses. Certainly many of the definitions given to it by economists are faulty. Credit is defined by John Stuart Mill as "permission to use the capital of another person." Professor Roscher defines it as "the power to use the goods of another, voluntarily granted in consideration of the mere promise of value in return." Credit has also been defined as "confidence in the ability of another to make a future payment."

Professor Knies, of Heidelberg, has defined credit as merely "a commercial transaction between two parties, in which the services or the value rendered by the one falls in the present, and the counter service or counter value of the other in the future."

Says Professor Ely: "There are three elements in a business transaction to which we apply the term credit: first, the present transfer of goods; second, the use of the goods transferred; third, the future retransfer of the goods or an equivalent—that is, repayment."

But these definitions, while emphasizing important points, do not cover all the uses of the word, nor give even its central idea. Professor Jevons does better, in his *Primer of Political Economy*, in reminding us that credit comes from the Latin *credo*, and means *belief*. Any one who sells on credit does so in the belief that the purchaser who does not pay at the time will do so in the future. Credit is trust. A man, a government, or a currency that has good credit is trustworthy. As such, credit enters into all life. It has been said that there is scarcely a human being in a civilized country who does not transact a piece of credit business almost every day of his life. The workman hired by the week, and paid at its end, gives his employer credit from Monday morning to Saturday evening. The same workman, when getting a coat made for himself, even altho he engaged to pay ready money on delivery, gets credit from the tailor during the making.

Into monetary transactions of a more ambitious nature credit enters still more largely, and in many forms credit is the instrument for the greater number of exchanges. Money is used, but, in the latest development of credit econ-

omy, only as "small change." Banks are the chief organs of society for credit economy. We live now in a period of credit, and in business circles the volume of money is small when compared with the amount of annual transactions in what are called instruments of credit, by which we mean principally checks, drafts, and bills of exchange. An American bank in a large city will in a day's business frequently handle over \$40 in instruments of credit for every dollar in actual money. According to Rae, from 70 to 90 per cent. of the monetary transactions of the world are done on a credit basis. Nevertheless, there is serious doubt if this is not an exaggeration. President Andrews, in *An Honest Dollar*, gives elaborate reasons for questioning whether the proportion is so large as is generally supposed. He shows that clearings for many years have fallen in numbers in this country and in England; that never since 1882 has the New York Clearing House cleared in an autumn week a sum reaching the billion figures, which was a regular thing that year. Some credit substitutes for cash have been disappearing. The truck system is dying out. Barter in rural communities is disappearing. Book accounts between neighbors, once common, are now rare. "With nations, as with individuals," says President Andrews, "those who have the most credit need use it the least." Credit traffic has its fullest development in Holland; its strongest in Turkey and Yucatan. Cash payment getting the mastery, first in wages, in retail trade, and in raw products, spread gradually over other fields, shutting up credit to its most useful and least dangerous functions. Many authorities agree with President Andrews, others do not. (For the economic principles involved in and growing out of credit, see MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; PANICS, etc.)

CREDIT CYCLES. See CRISES.

CREDIT FONCIER (credit based on land, from *fond*, bottom or ground) is the name of a large society established in France in 1852 on the plan of borrowing money by mortgaging land (for a sum not exceeding half its value), and repaying the borrowed money with interest in small and regular instalments. Down to the beginning of 1892, the Credit Foncier had loaned \$28,800,932.

CREDIT MOBILIER (credit on movable or personal property) is the name of a large joint-stock company in France, sanctioned by the Government in 1852, with a capital of \$12,000,000. Its object was (1) to initiate trading enterprises of all kinds on the principle of limited liability; (2) to supersede or buy up trading companies—*e.g.*, railway companies, and to issue scrip and shares of its own for the shares and bonds of the company; (3) to carry on banking business on the principle of limited liability. It commanded at first great success, and planned to extend itself all over Europe and issue obligations to the amount of \$48,000,000. This was forbidden by Government, and the stock at once fell. Since then its dividends have greatly varied, till its affairs were wound up in 1868.

CREDIT MOBILIER, IN UNITED STATES HISTORY.—The Credit Mobilier was the name of a corporation to deal in railway stocks, around which has gathered one of the most extensive scandals in the history of this country, tho some believe that many of the names connected with it have been treated with gross injustice. It is inextricably bound up with the history of the building of the Pacific Railroad, and, therefore, we must begin with this.

In 1863 there was talk of a railroad ultimately to reach across the continent, and Congress was induced to pass an act incorporating a company for the purpose of building a railroad and telegraph between a point in the territory of Nebraska, on the 100th meridian, and a point on the western boundary of Nevada. The capital authorized by the act was \$100,000,000. The company was granted a right of way 200 feet wide through the public lands, a right to take grounds for stations and other necessary buildings; and the right also to take from any adjacent public lands earth, stone, timber, and other materials for construction. Beside this a grant of land was made of alternate sections along the whole line, 20 miles wide. The act also authorized the company, on the completion and equipment of 40 consecutive miles, to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for United States 6 per cent. bonds, at the rate of \$16,000 a mile, this loan to be a first mortgage on the whole line and equipment. For 300 miles of the road, however (the most mountainous and difficult part), the loan was to be \$48,000 per mile, to be issued as each 20 miles was completed. On still another part the loan was to be at the rate of \$32,000 a mile. This was the act incorporating "the Union Pacific Railroad Company." Under this charter, however, nothing was done for a long time; \$100,000,000 of capital are always difficult to raise, particularly in the midst of a great civil war; and besides this, the capital under the act was to be *loaned* paid-up stock—for every certificate issued by the company the company must have received its full value in lawful money of the United States. In this condition affairs remained for two years, when it occurred to some ingenious and hopeful men that the act might perhaps be modified so as to make the enterprise a less difficult one. They accordingly applied to Congress and obtained what they asked. There was about this time a very general feeling of interest in the enterprise: "it was felt by the people that we ought to have a railroad connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific, a great national highway, bringing the products of China and Japan—their silks and teas and their labor—to our very doors." The newspapers were in favor of it. Mr. Lincoln himself gave it his warm support. The legislation applied for was granted with a sort of enthusiasm. This time the company received for a land grant, instead of 5 alternate sections per mile, 10; the grant was made 40 miles wide instead of 20; provisions in the former act in favor of the Government were repealed, and the road was empowered to issue first mortgage bonds for an amount equal to the United States loan whenever they had completed 20 miles of road. This act made the United States loan a second instead of a first mortgage. In return for all this, it was provided that the Government directors should be five in number, instead of two. The land grant by this new act was equivalent to 12,800 acres, or 20 square miles for every mile of road.

Still little or nothing was done. Half a million only was subscribed till (in 1865) Mr. Ames decided to take the road on his own shoulders. He did so, and thought he saw a way out of the difficulty. While he could not build the road under the provisions of that bill, it was possible, he thought, to do it "by a contracting company, to which parties owning stock could subscribe a limited amount and be in no danger of losing any more than they subscribed."

There was at this time in existence a charter granted in Pennsylvania in 1850, to a fiscal agency, to negotiate loans for railroads, and take construction contracts. Its name had been changed to the Credit Mobilier of America, but its stock was now almost worthless, and the liabilities of its stockholders very limited; and it occurred to Mr. Ames that he would buy it out for a few thousands, and let the Credit Mobilier build the road. Mr. George Francis Train seems to have been the presiding genius of the old agency, and he was approached, and the Credit Mobilier changed hands.

We are now ready to understand the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. First, 238 miles were built by the Union Pacific Railroad at a cost of \$27-

000 per mile, and then contracts were made with Oakes Ames, H. M. Hoxie, and one Davis to complete the rest. No one of these really did anything but turn their contracts over to the Credit Mobilier Company. Mr. Hoxie at the time he took his contract was simply running a local ferryboat. The Credit Mobilier Company contracted to build the first 100 miles for \$42,000 a mile; the second 100 for \$45,000 a mile; the third 100 for \$56,000 a mile; the fourth for \$80,000 a mile; the fifth for \$99,000 a mile, and the sixth for \$96,000 a mile. This was made to apply to the 238 miles already constructed, less the actual cost, so that for the first 200 miles the Credit Mobilier, without doing a stroke of work, cleared a profit of some millions on that portion alone for work they did not do. The profit on the entire road above all expenses was estimated by a Congressional committee at at least \$43,925,328.34.

Credit Mobilier shares naturally were valuable. Oakes Ames, at that time a member of Congress, in December, 1867, entered into contracts with various members of the House of Representatives to sell to them stock of the Credit Mobilier at par, merely stating that it was a good investment, and in some cases, in answer to a direct question, asserting that no embarrassment to them could flow from it, as the Union Pacific had received all the aid that it wanted from the Government. Some of the members that thus bought stock paid for it; for others Ames advanced the money, agreeing to apply the dividends of the stock to the payment of the indebtedness. Two dividends received in 1868 sufficed to pay for the entire stock of the latter class of members and left a small balance due to them. Among these members was James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and in the Presidential campaign of 1880 his connection with this matter was brought up against him. Charges based on the affair had also been circulated during the campaign of 1872, and on the assembling of Congress a committee of investigation was ordered by the House on the motion of the Speaker, James G. Blaine. The committee was appointed by a Democrat temporarily acting as Speaker, and consisted of two Democrats, two Republicans, and one Liberal Republican. The committee recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, and of James Brooks, of New York, the former for having attempted to bribe members by sales of stock below its value, the latter for having received stock from the Credit Mobilier much below its value, knowing that it was intended to influence his action. They were not expelled, but were subjected to "the absolute condemnation of the House." The committee further found that the national appropriation had been "distributed in dividends among the corporators; that the stock had been issued, not to men who paid for it at par in money, but who paid for it not more than 20 cents on the dollar in roadmaking; that of the Government directors, some of them have neglected their duties and others have been interested in transactions by which the provisions of the organic law have been evaded; that at least one of the commissioners appointed by the President has been directly bribed to betray his trust by the gift of \$25,000" (*Report of the Wilson Committee*, p. iii.-iv.).

It is claimed, however, by many that it was not proven that Mr. Ames had induced Congressmen to take the stock for any corrupt purpose, since he claimed that the Union Pacific had nothing more to gain from Congress. Able lawyers and capable business men assert that if there was some dishonesty and peculiar bookkeeping, Mr. Ames and other leading members were not responsible, but simply made some shrewd contracts and a large venture when capital was slow, and reaped unexpectedly large profits by perfectly legitimate means.

References: *Forty-second Congress*, third session, House Report, 78; J. B. Crawford's *Credit Mobilier* (Boston, 1880).

CREMATION.—Cremation, or, as it is sometimes called, incineration, is the rapid decomposition of human bodies by means of extreme heat. All decomposition or disintegration is, of course, effected through the agency of heat, and the length of time which is occupied in the process depends upon the degree of heat that is employed. If the heat be reduced to the point at which water freezes, decomposition ceases, or proceeds so slowly as to be imperceptible. When bodies are placed within the ground, so

that no more heat than that which is naturally contained in the earth can act upon them, decomposition goes on perceptibly, but still very slowly. During its progress new compounds are formed, and some of these find their way into the air as fetid and noxious gases, while others, in a liquid form, contaminate the water which has its origin in the neighborhood.

To such an extent is this accomplished, that high medical and chemical authorities have pronounced the opinion that organic substance can never undergo what may be called spontaneous decomposition without so contaminating the adjacent air and water as to impair the health of those living in the neighborhood, and to shorten the average duration of life. The rapidity with which these noxious emanations are liberated is in direct ratio to the temperature up to a certain point. Beyond this point the probability of producing these secondary compounds is diminished as the heat is increased; until, at length, with the high degree which is generated in a modern cremation furnace, their formation is reduced to an impossibility. After their segregation the constituents of the body are driven off so rapidly that no time is permitted for recombinations before they have been received in a second superheated chamber, where their capacity for harm is destroyed and their affinities neutralized or changed. As elements they are expelled into the outer air and there absorbed and assimilated by those forms of life of which they are the natural sustenance and nourishment.

The process of disintegration, or resolution into elements, is thus seen to be the same, whatever may be the method employed to encompass the result. The discovery and employment of the best method of effecting this object, in the case of human bodies, is one of the most momentous questions that can engage the attention of man. It is believed by many that a large proportion of the diseases which afflict mankind are due to the slow decomposition of organic matter within or upon the earth. The vast aggregations of humanity in the large cities of the Old World, and the tendency to the same topical accumulation in the New, give the matter to-day an importance greater than it ever had before. "Cemeteries," as was once said by an English prelate, "have become not only a difficulty, an expense, and an inconvenience, but an actual danger." When thousands of bodies are interred yearly in a limited area, the earth becomes in time so saturated with the liquid resultants of decomposition, that it is incapable of further absorption. Then, whatever be the character of the soil, the decomposition becomes still less rapid, and its gaseous products find their way directly into the air. To the power of escape which these gases possess there appears to be practically no limit. They are said to have been detected arising from organic matter within the earth at a distance of ten feet from the surface.

But it is not in modern times only that circumstances have compelled a consideration and discussion of the means by which the human body can be best disposed of after death. In Rome both inhumation and cremation were employed, and either was expressly permitted by the Roman law. It was found, however, that accumulations of decomposing bodies within the

boundaries of the cities was not favorable to the health of the community, and cemeteries were removed to the rural districts. Cicero tells us that by one of the twelve tables it was decreed that *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. From the foundation of the empire to about the fifth century of the Christian era burial in the earth was almost entirely abandoned, and cremation substituted.

When the burning of the dead was first adopted by the Greeks it was not settled. By many its inception is thought to have had no connection whatever with sanitary considerations, but that it was put into practice during the Trojan war, so that the remains of the slain chieftains might be the more easily conveyed back to their native land. This, however, is doubtful. Homer certainly does not mention it as an innovation, but speaks of it as if it were a common custom. It is tolerably certain, nevertheless, that it was not employed on sanitary grounds; for when it became the established custom, the rite was denied to those who committed suicide, to children who died before having cut their teeth, and to those who were killed by lightning.

Greeks, Romans and Jews.

Among the ancient Jews, also, both methods appear to have been in use; and, strange as it may seem among a people whose customs were almost generally based upon sanitary considerations, the health of the living had no manifest association with the disposal of the dead. The burning of the body was ostensibly regarded as the more honorable manner, and the ceremony was performed as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased; while it was explicitly denied to those whose lives were regarded as having reflected discredit upon the nation.

Among these nations, and by the Hindus at the present time, as well as with the native Australian, the American Indian, and other savage tribes, the means by which cremation was effected was the open pyre, consisting generally of a platform of rough logs, upon the top of which were placed both the body and the bier upon which it had been brought. The flames were fed with oil, and perfumes were plentifully supplied for the purpose of counteracting the odors that arose from the burning body. So conducted, it was to the health of the survivors a menace worse than interment in the earth, and there can be no regret felt that the Christians abolished the custom.

This they did so thoroughly that, for a period of 1500 years, we do not know of any cremation having taken place in Europe. From the end of the fourth century of the Christian era until the year 1658, we do not find the subject even mentioned in European literature. The essay of Sir Thomas Browne upon non-burial was then published, and caused a temporary interest in the subject. This soon died out; and, with the exception of a work from the pen of Scipio Piattoli, published in 1774, we hear no more of the matter until the period of the French Revolution, when an investigation was ordered and made, without being followed by a practical result.

In 1817 Dr. Jamieson published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, a paper on *The Origin of Cremation*, and in 1822 public attention was directed, in a forcible manner, to the merits of the question. In July of that year the poet Shelley and his companion Williams were drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the Ligurian sea. Their bodies were washed ashore near the Lighthouse. The quarantine laws of Tuscany required the burning of all material drifting in from the sea. Byron and Shelley had made an agreement that whichever died first should be cremated by the survivor. Thus, by a singular coincidence, was Byron compelled by legal enactment to perform on the body of his friend a ceremony which had been prearranged, but in the conduct of which he had expected to meet with powerful opposition.

This burning of the body of Shelley upon the Italian shore of the Mediterranean was very fully described by Trelawney, who was a witness of the ceremony. It attracted a great amount of notice and comment. Discussions concerning the relative merits of inhumation and incineration were started, and conducted with earnestness and ability. For the first time in its history, Science bestowed its attention upon the subject. It pronounced so emphatically its opinion that injury was done to the living by the accepted method of burying the dead, that public attention was more or less focussed upon the sanitary aspect of the question, and the way was prepared for the permanent literature and the practical efforts which were put forth a few years later, and have continued to make their ap-

pearance, with but short intermissions, until the present time.

Also the first step toward a practical realization of the desires of those who believed that good would result from the substitution of cremation for earth burials was made in England, yet for more than one reason must Italy be regarded as the pioneer in Europe of the modern scientific system of reducing to a minimum the time required for the disintegration of the human body. It was chiefly through the efforts of Drs. Pini and Cristofolini that the first Italian cremation society was formed. This was done in 1876, in the city of Milan. In 1877 incineration, as a substitute for inhumation, was endorsed by a medical congress which met in that city. In this year also two other societies, those of Cremona and Lodi, were formed, and Rome and Udine followed suit in 1879. Several others have since been established, and to-day Italy stands first in Europe as regards the number of its societies, as well as of appliances for putting cremation into operation. This result is, no doubt, greatly due to the fact that the church does not in that country appear to oppose the system, as its clergy do in almost every other land.

Modern Times.

In Prussia, altho the subject has been much agitated, and notwithstanding the fact that Berlin possesses one of the largest cremation societies in the world, the state of the law has, so far, acted as a veto upon all attempts at practical application. In other parts of the German Empire crematories have, however, been constructed. The first of these was in Dresden, but this turned out a premature attempt on the part of the Saxons to change a prevailing custom; for after two incinerations had taken place further operations of the kind were forbidden. Gotha remained for several years the only place in Germany where cremation could be carried into effect; but appliances for that purpose now exist at one or two other places, such as Hamburg and Heidelberg.

In 1874 the first attempt to carry the change into England was made by the formation of the Cremation Society of England. For several years the parliament of the country was asked to take such action as should legalize cremation. At length the body of a child was cremated, and the father was prosecuted upon the charge of having performed an illegal act. At the trial, however, the presiding judge laid down the rule, that, provided it was done without creating a nuisance, there was, in the law, nothing which was infringed by this method of disposing of a body. At this, the crematorium of the society was at once opened and has since continued in operation. The action of this society aroused an interest in the subject in other parts of England, and in the latter part of 1888 a society was formed in Manchester, where a crematory has since been erected, and is now in operation.

In Switzerland Zurich led the way in 1873, and since then incinerators have been constructed in that city and in Geneva. France cremates her dead in considerable numbers, and Sweden has manifested great activity in the matter, crematories being in operation in Stockholm and Gottenburg. In Portugal has been passed a law which many, who have bestowed time and thought upon the subject, think should be in force in every civilized community. The cremation of those who die of contagious diseases is made obligatory. In Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Russia, and Austria great interest has been manifested in the subject, and there are clear indications that here long some, if not all, of these countries will possess the means of incinerating their dead. The number of cremated bodies is undoubtedly still quite small when a comparison is made with the number of persons who die each year; yet, when consideration is had to the shortness of the time in which the matter has occupied public attention in what may be termed a serious manner, and scientifically constructed apparatus has been employed, it must be said that the progress which has been made is such as cannot fail to be satisfactory to the advocates and promoters of the innovation.

This remark applies with equal force to the United States. The first effort to form a cremation society in this country was made in 1874 in the city of New York. The financial stress of the time was such, however, that it was found impossible to raise the money which was regarded as necessary to launch properly an enterprise which was then in such strong opposition to general sentiment. The project died, and for seven years the subject lay in quiescence. In 1881, two societies were formed: the New York Cremation Society, to prepare public opinion for a recep-

tion of the theory, and the United States Cremation Company to construct the machinery necessary for putting that theory into practice.

The United States.

While this agitation was going on and the stock of the cremation company was being disposed of, Dr. F. Julius Le Moyné, of Washington, Pennsylvania, put up a small building with a furnace intended for the cremation of his own body. In the mean time other bodies were received and incinerated in order to familiarize the public mind with this method of disposing of the dead. Thirty-eight bodies were reduced to ashes in this building, the last of which was done in September, 1884.

Early in 1884, the Cremation and Funeral Reform Society, of Lancaster, Pa., was organized, and in November of the same year the crematory, which it had built, was completed and opened to the public. In 1885, the United States Cremation Company, which had met with serious drawbacks in the prosecution of its work, got its apparatus into working order and conducted its first cremation. During the same year a society was formed in Buffalo, N. Y., and a fine building erected. This incinerated its first body in the following December.

Besides those named, four societies were formed in 1885. The Michigan Cremation Society was formed at Detroit, but it was not until nearly two years later that its crematory was brought into use. The Baltimore Cremation Company found difficulty in the pursuit of its plans, and it was not until nearly five years afterward that its apparatus was complete and the first incineration took place. The San Francisco Cremation Company was still more unfortunate, and it was not until quite recently that it was in a position to carry out its objects; while at Davenport, Ia., the crematory of the Northwestern Cremation Society, organized in the same year, opened its building to the public in the year 1891.

The Cincinnati Cremation Company was organized in 1884, but, like many others, had to overcome obstacles in the furtherance of its designs, and it was not until two years later that it was in a position to receive its first body for cremation. In 1886 the Philadelphia Cremation Society first saw the light, and as soon afterward as its building could be erected it was dedicated to the service of the public. The board of health of that city has also stationed a crematory adjacent to the municipal hospital, for the purpose of disposing of the pauper dead and those who have died of contagious diseases in the hospital.

In Pittsburg is located a crematory in which, it is said, more bodies of prominent Americans have been reduced to ashes than in any other in the country. The furnace is situated in an undertaking establishment, and among the bodies cremated here may be mentioned those of Emma Abbott, Major McKee, commander of the Allegheny Arsenal, and Professor Arbogast, a local musician of considerable note. This crematory is peculiar in being the only one in the world situated on a busy street in the heart of a great city, and likewise the only one that has the advantage of natural gas for fuel. It is noted particularly from this fact, and in foreign journals is always spoken of as the "natural-gas crematory." About seven or eight hours are required to heat the furnace to the proper temperature. Within one hour or one hour and fifteen minutes after a body is introduced, nothing remains but the ashes. Not more than a few feet from the crematory is an apartment intended as a receiving vault as well as for the temporary reception of urns.

More than a passing remark must be given to the crematorium at Troy, N. Y. This building is, perhaps, the most beautiful, as it certainly is the most costly structure of the kind in the United States. It stands in Oakwood Cemetery, on the edge of a cliff 300 feet high, overlooking the Catskill Mountains and the waters of the Hudson. It was erected by Mr. and Mrs. William S. Earl, of Troy, as a memorial to their only son, who died March 3, 1887, after having become, while traveling in Europe, so favorably impressed with cremation as there conducted, that he had desired his own body, at death, to be subjected to the same process. This was done at Buffalo on April 20 of the same year. The memorial is a magnificent granite structure, 136 feet in length and 70 feet wide, with a tower 90 feet high. It has been made a gift to the crematory company with the reservations that a place of burial shall be provided within for the members of the Earl family; that there shall be a uniform charge for cremation to all applicants; and that the chapel shall be free for funeral services to all owners of lots in the cemetery. The edifice contains two fur-

naces, placed beneath the room in which the retorts are situated; and, by a combination of gases, which enter the retort at different points, an intense heat can be engendered with the consumption of a comparatively small quantity of fuel.

A few words must also be said about Waterville, N. Y. In the cemetery of this village has been erected a very pretty little Gothic structure, which has been presented to the crematory company by Mr. William Osborne, one of its directors. The building was finished in the autumn of 1891, and contains a furnace 7 by 11 feet, constructed of fire-brick. The sarcophagus in which the body is incinerated is 10 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet high, in which it is said to be possible to obtain a temperature of 2000 degrees Fahrenheit. The erection of this crematorium in a village cemetery, and the formation of cremation societies among the trades-associations of the country, mark a distinct epoch in the history of the subject. They show that the seed is taking root in difficult ground, and permit the indulgence of the hope that progress will be continuous until this system of returning our bodies to the dust of which they are formed will become the prevailing custom in civilized communities.

The history of the movement in New England is well worth a few words of notice. It was not until the year 1883 that any attempt was made to introduce cremation into this part of the United States, and not until November, 1885, that the endeavor was successful. The delay was occasioned by the fact that such a society could not be formed in Massachusetts without the passing by the Legislature of a special act authorizing the proceeding. After the society was organized it was found impossible to raise the necessary funds for carrying out its purposes. At the expiration of three years, the attempt was abandoned.

This was in Boston. In Worcester a like endeavor met with a similar fate; but while in the former instance the society itself was dissolved, in the latter case it was allowed to continue in existence.

In the latter part of 1890, the matter was again brought before the public in Boston. Even then it was found impracticable to launch the enterprise with reasonable hope of obtaining the necessary subscriptions. An "educational society" was, therefore, formed, and the work of disseminating information upon the subject was inaugurated. Early in 1892 proposals were made to the Worcester corporation to allow the re-organization of their society in Boston.

The plan was agreed to, and the change was carried into effect. The advance in general opinion was such that the stock of the newly constructed organization was disposed of with comparative alacrity, and by the end of 1893 the Massachusetts Cremation Society was able to announce that it was prepared to receive bodies for incineration.

Thus it will be seen that, altho the first of the existing operative crematories in the United States of America was not in operation until the year 1885, yet at the end of 1893, a period of somewhat more than eight years, there were, in this country, at least 15 of these appliances for the rapid disintegration of the human body. Of these, New York possessed four, at New York City, Buffalo, Troy, and Waterville; Pennsylvania, four, at Philadelphia (two), Lancaster, and Pittsburg; California two, at San Francisco and Los Angeles; and the following States one each: Missouri, at St. Louis; Ohio, at Cincinnati; Michigan, at Detroit; Maryland, at Baltimore; Iowa, at Davenport; Illinois, at Chicago, and Massachusetts, at Boston. In addition to these there is one at Washington, Pa., of which mention has been made; and one was erected at San Antonio, Tex., but was destroyed by fire in 1891, and has not yet been rebuilt.

The furnaces used in Europe are principally those invented by Siemens, Brunetti, Gorini, and Venini. The latter system is also in use at Buffalo and Troy, N. Y. In the basement of the building is a gas generator, through the bottom of which is admitted a quantity of air not sufficient to allow of the combustion of the entire quantity of fuel, which is wood. The top portion of the wood is thus distilled while the lower is burning. The gases arising from these two processes are carried to the sarcophagus, as the incinerating chamber has been aptly named, where they are met by a volume of heated air, and ignited by a fire just under their point of union. This produces a Bunsen flame of intense heat, which, coming into contact with the body, soon releases the liquid and gaseous components, which are carried off into a flue, where another Bunsen flame receives them and despatches

Later Developments in this Country.

them to the chimney, where a third Bunsen burner makes a thorough combustion certain, should the smallest amount of deleterious product have by any possibility escaped from the two furnaces through which they had already passed.

In the San Francisco building has been placed a furnace which is the invention of Richard Schneider, of Dresden. The result is here also achieved by a sort of Bunsen combination of air and gas; but in this coke is used instead of wood. The greatest number of crematoriums in the United States are supplied with apparatus contrived by Dr. M. L. Davis, of Lancaster, Pa. By his system the flame created by the fuel does not come into contact with the body to be cremated. The sarcophagus is directly over the furnace; its bottom is solid, while the sides and ends are pierced with holes, by means of which the heated air of the furnace has free access to the subject, while the flames are not allowed to enter the chamber which contains it. All the volatile emanations from the body are conducted through another highly heated chamber, where they are rendered odorless and harmless before they find their way into the chimney.

The method employed at Boston is also the production of an American inventor. The principle of the Bunsen burner is here again brought into use. The fuel employed is petroleum, and the gas from this is, at its entrance to the sarcophagus, met with a current of air, forced in by means of a steam fan, and then ignited. The flue by which the gaseous products of the combustion are carried off is heated by another aerated gas flame of equal intensity, and nothing that can be made sensible to either the eye or the nose is allowed to issue from the chimney.

Among the advantages to be derived from substituting cremation for burial besides those which are said to appertain to the sanitary aspect of the question, it is urged that the cost of the former is quite small when compared with that of placing a body in the ground. It is necessarily admitted that, so far as show and circumstance are concerned in the conduct of a funeral, there is no limit to the expense that may be incurred in the one case as in the other. But the necessary outlay for cremation is small when placed by the side of the indispensable expenditure involved in the purchase of ground and the decent and reverent deposition of a body therein. This will have weight with those by whom the scientific features of the question would be passed without notice. Altho it will no doubt be a long time before the burial of the dead is abolished in Christian countries, yet there seems but little doubt that cremation is yearly commending itself more and more to the thoughtful, and that it will gradually work its way into general acceptance.

JOHN STORER COBB.

The *World Almanac* for 1893 gives the

STATISTICS OF CREMATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1876-93.

CREMATORIES.	1876-84.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	Total.
New York .....	..	5	82	61	86	108	152	176	203	245	1,101
St. Louis .....	..	..	..	..	24	20	42	60	60	57	267
Philadelphia .....	..	..	..	..	14	28	31	51	59	64	250
Cincinnati .....	..	..	..	11	21	34	45	43	28	39	227
Buffalo .....	..	..	9	17	16	23	30	37	24	29	188
Los Angeles .....	..	..	..	7	5	12	17	29	39	34	145
Detroit .....	..	..	..	7	9	17	20	23	25	27	128
Pittsburgh .....	..	..	14	9	11	8	9	13	12	11	89
Lancaster, Pa.	3	36	14	13	13	3	..	..	..	..	88
Washington, Pa.	38	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38
Other places .....	..	..	..	..	..	3	9	31	53	80	178
Total	41	41	119	125	199	256	355	463	503	592	2,699

The *World Almanac* adds :

"The total number of deaths in the United States in 1893 was about 900,000; the number of persons cremated that year, 592. As crematories have been in existence in the United States since 1876, these statistics indicate that the movement favoring the burning of the dead is not making much progress.

"There are 23 cremation societies or incorporated companies in the United States. At the crematory at Fresh Pond, Long Island, N. Y., the price of incineration is \$35. Children under ten years, \$25. This does not include transportation or undertaker's services. No special preparation of the body or clothing is necessary. The body is always incinerated in the clothing as received. The coffin in which the body is carried to the crematory is never allowed to be removed from the building, but is burned after the incineration. In every instance of death from contagious disease the coffin will be burned with the body, and no exposure of the body will be permitted. Incineration may be as private as the friends of the deceased desire. On the day following the incineration the ashes will be deliverable at the office of the company, in a receptacle provided by it, free of cost."

References: *Modern Cremation*, by Sir H. Thompson, London, 1881; *Earth Burial and Cremation*, by A. G. Cobb, New York, 1892.

CRIME.—For the general subject of crime, see **CRIMINOLOGY**. For a study of criminals, see

CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY. For the treatment of criminals, see **PENOLOGY**. We consider here simply: I. The Statistics of Crime by Countries; II. Statistics by nature of Crime and Criminals; III. The Question, Is Crime upon the Increase?

I. STATISTICS BY COUNTRIES.

AUSTRIA.*

	CONVICTIONS OF	
	Crimes.	Misdemeanors.
1891.....	28,433	556,398
1890.....	29,090	541,813
1889.....	28,516	547,650
1888.....	28,112	541,570
1887.....	28,745	551,287
1886.....	29,706	563,853
1885.....	30,865	544,692
1882.....	32,092	476,359

* These statistics are collated from various volumes of *The Statesman's Year Book*.

BELGIUM.*

	CRIMINALS SENTENCED.	
	Assize Courts.	Correctional Tribunals.
1870.....	105	22,254
1880.....	137	40,808
1885.....	113	45,606
1886.....	184	46,976
1887.....	127	39,996
1888.....	130	40,273
1889.....	127	40,753
1890.....	97	40,275
1891.....	113	43,660

DENMARK.*

	Convicted of Crimes.
1885.....	3,525
1890.....	3,897

FRANCE.*

	CONVICTIONS IN		
	Assize Courts.	Correctional Tribunals.	Police Courts.
1883.....	3,110	197,394	451,227
1884.....	3,082	195,725	470,904
1885.....	3,028	211,797	450,773
1886.....	3,128	210,895	451,369
1887.....	3,179	216,461	443,763
1888.....	3,034	215,993	429,988

GERMAN EMPIRE.*

	Convictions in Courts of First Instance.	Per 10,000 Inhabitants.
1883.....	330,128	102.3
1884.....	345,977	106.6
1885.....	343,087	104.6
1886.....	353,000	108.2
1887.....	356,357	108.4
1888.....	350,665	105.5
1889.....	369,644	110.1
1890.....	381,450	112.0
1891.....	391,004	112.4
1892.....	422,327	119.6

1891.....	89.
Alsace-Lorraine.....	89.
1892.....	
Hamburg.....	180.5
1889.....	
Prussia.....	112.8
East Prussia.....	174.
West Prussia.....	176.4
Berlin.....	131.4
Posen.....	173.2
Saxony.....	90.7
Hanover.....	84.1
Rhineland.....	77.9
Hohenzollern.....	72.9
1892.....	
Württemberg.....	100.3

GREAT BRITAIN.

	CONVICTED OF SERIOUS OFFENSE.		
	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1871.....	11,946	2,184	2,257
1881.....	11,353	1,832	2,698
1890.....	9,242	1,825	1,193
1891.....	9,055	1,823	1,255
1892.....	9,607	1,778	1,196
1893.....	9,797	1,993	1,378

Besides these there were summarily convicted of minor offenses in 1890-91 in England and Wales, 602,573; in Scotland, 104,793; in Ireland, 107,076. This shows a net increase of these petty offenses in England and Wales of 18 per cent. in five years.

THE COLONIES.*

CANADA.

	Summarily Convicted.	Convicted in Higher Courts.
1888.....	33,902	3,747
1892.....	30,967	4,030
1893.....	31,023	4,630

NEW SOUTH WALES.

	Summarily Convicted.	Sent to Higher Courts.
1893.....	51,299	1,533
1892.....	56,350	1,411
1888.....	50,876	1,425

NEW ZEALAND.

(Europeans.)

1893.....	13,454	260
1892.....	13,300	180
1891.....	13,051	214
1891.....	13,885	192
1889.....	13,861	224

VICTORIA.

1892.....	21,624	1,142
1891.....	22,280	1,142
1890.....	24,494	1,129
1889.....	23,298	1,023
1888.....	23,307	873

ITALY.*

	Convictions.
1883.....	296,710
1884.....	315,409
1885.....	332,079
1886.....	337,394
1887.....	315,359
1888.....	340,381
1889.....	351,218
1890.....	335,753
1891.....	300,235
1892.....	370,305

* These statistics are collated from various volumes of *The Statesman's Year Book*.

JAPAN.*

	CRIMES.	
	Serious.	Lesser.
1885.....	5,636	103,732
1888.....	3,174	73,279
1889.....	2,431	86,555
1890.....	3,260	137,268
1891.....	3,260	154,087
1892.....	3,249	160,884

NETHERLANDS.*

	CONVICTIONS IN	
	Cantonal Courts.	District Tribunals.
1887.....	66,143	17,262
1891.....	69,622	17,428
1892.....	79,911	19,257
1893.....	83,725	20,054

RUSSIA.*

PRISON POPULATION, JANUARY 1, 1892.	Men.	Women.
Under judgment.....	23,701	1,895
Condemned to prison.....	57,082	5,668
Condemned to exile.....	12,938	761
Waiting transport to Siberia..	6,815	896
Kept by administration.....	850	20
Voluntarily following.....	1,360	1,754

SWITZERLAND.*

	Prison Population.
1892.....	4,658
1893.....	4,426

THE UNITED STATES.

For the United States, the compendium to the Eleventh Census (Part II., p. 161) puts the total number of prisoners, January 1, 1890, at 82,329, of whom 75,924 were men and 6405 were women; 57,310 were white and 25,019 colored. It gives the following details:

WHITE.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Parents native.....	20,101	936	21,037
One parent foreign.....	2,729	152	2,881
Both parents foreign.....	11,766	835	12,601
Foreign born.....	13,869	2,063	15,932
Unknown.....	4,429	439	4,859
	52,894	4,416	57,310

COLORED.

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Negroes.....	22,395	1,972	24,377
Chinese.....	406	1	407
Japanese.....	12	1	13
Indians.....	397	15	322
	23,030	1,989	25,019

* These statistics are collated from various volumes of *The Statesman's Year Book*.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

	Men.	Women.	Negroes.
North Atlantic.....	24,883	3,375	2,037
South Atlantic.....	10,505	904	8,863
North Central.....	18,873	981	2,738
South Central.....	15,131	953	10,381
Western.....	6,532	192	258
	75,924	6,405	24,277

PRISONERS TO EACH MILLION OF POPULATION IN 1880 AND 1890.

	1880.	1890.	Increase.
North Atlantic.....	1,425	1,624	199
South Atlantic.....	1,943	1,288	245
North Central.....	862	888	26
South Central.....	1,250	1,466	216
Western.....	2,199	2,221	22
United States.....	1,169	1,315	146

PRISONERS, WHERE FOUND.

Penitentiaries.....	45,233
County jails.....	19,867
City prisons.....	3,264
Workhouses.....	9,968
Leased out.....	2,308
Military prisons.....	794
Hospitals for insane.....	901
	82,329

Besides these prisoners there were 14,846 juvenile delinquents in reformatories, making a total of 97,175.

The compendium gives us also the following statements, among others, as to the birthplace of the parents of prisoners in the United States: Canada, 4388; England, 5997; Scotland, 1996; Ireland, 20,184; France, 1036; Germany, 9987; Italy, 1209; Mexico, 1483; Norway, 487; Poland, 339; Russia, 382; Sweden, 775; Switzerland, 384.

II. STATISTICS OF THE NATURE OF CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

(a) THE UNITED STATES.

The following analysis of crime in the United States is abridged from the summary prepared by Professor R. P. Falkner, Ph.D., as based upon statistics for 1890 collected by the Wardens' Association of the United States and Canada. Says Professor Falkner:

"At its meeting in 1890 the Wardens' Association recognized the need of annual statistics of prisons, and endorsed a plan there presented for obtaining these statistics through its own agencies. . . . In the following the results of this first year's work are exhibited: "The figures presented are in the main for penitentiaries. While there are institutions in the list which are not so classed, yet the percentage of short-term sentences is very small. There are only 4.63 per cent of the prisoners serving sentences of less than one year's duration. In the bulletin of the *Eleventh Census* [No. 106], which gives the sentences of convicts in penitentiaries in 1890, we find 5.65 per cent. whose sentences are for less than one year. This is conclusive that in the following pages we are dealing with penitentiary convicts. In actual practice, no hard-and-fast line is drawn between the penitentiaries and jails. The former contain almost exclusively long-term convicts, and it is needless to insist on the well-known fact that they differ in many essential respects from the prisoners convicted of lesser crimes and for shorter periods.

"On June 1, 1890, there were 45,233 convicts in the penitentiaries of the United States. The tables of this report contain the data relating to 989 prisoners who were received in various institutions during

the year 1890. Judging from the sentences of the prisoners confined on June 1, the total number of prisoners received in all penitentiaries in the year 1890 must have been in the neighborhood of 17,000. It would appear, therefore, that the figures presented comprise considerably over one half of the entire number which might come within the scope of the inquiry, and this must be accounted a very remarkable result for the first attempt of an inquiry that has been wholly voluntary.

"It furnishes the best evidence that the value of the work is thoroughly appreciated, and gives great encouragement to the hope that at a second or third trial the tables will comprise the entire number of prisoners received in the penitentiaries in the year. When that result is reached, we shall have valuable material for ascertaining the quantity of crime in the United States, and its variation from year to year. In the mean time, our use of the present figures must be confined to the discussion of the qualities of prisoners as revealed by the inquiry. We have been forced to draw our conclusions from the totals for the United States, omitting Canada.

"Among the 9859 prisoners included in the tables there are only 227 females, or 2.30 per cent. of the whole number. This proportion seems extremely small, and might be explained either by the fact that females are not sent to the penitentiaries, or it may be indicative of the fact that females do not commit the more serious crimes which involve long sentences.

Sex.

That our low percentage does not arise from the more or less arbitrary selection of the institutions in our tables is shown by the fact that on June 1, 1890, the proportion of females in all the penitentiaries as shown by the census was 3.96 per cent. The supposition noted above that long-term female convicts may be confined elsewhere than in penitentiaries, is rebutted by the fact that in 1880 of all prisoners sentenced for at least one year's imprisonment only 2.78 per cent. were women. The number given therefore is about that which should be expected according to this evidence. It is of interest to note some of the deviations from this average, especially to ascertain where the quota of female prisoners is high. From the tables which are presented it will be seen that the proportion of colored to the total number is 19.65 per cent., while the proportion of colored females to the total number of females is 39.11 per cent. We must naturally expect therefore to find the quota of female prisoners largest in those States which have a considerable colored population. It is not surprising to find the average exceeded in southern Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina. There are, it must be admitted, other institutions which exceed the average, but they are not, like these, typical. In some cases it is evident from the table that all the female convicts from the State are in one institution, and in others that the tables contain only one of several institutions of the State.

"As the number of female prisoners in the various institutions is very small indeed, they are not specifically enumerated in the series of tables for the separate institutions. In a second series of tables, which combine the various facts ascertained with the crimes for which sentenced, females are treated separately, and an occasion will there be offered to study the manifestations of crime which may be peculiar to the sex.

"Nearly one fifth of the convicts, 19.65 per cent., are colored. This proportion is far in advance of the number of colored in the population. In 1880 there were 13.12 per cent. of colored in the population of the United States at large, but

Race, Nativity, and Parentage. as our tables do not include some of the States in which the colored race is most numerous, this comparison is not a fair one. If we consider the colored population in the States which figure in our

table, we have the still more striking contrast of 19.65 per cent. among the convicts, and only 5.59 per cent. among the general population. This enormous contingent furnished by the colored race of our penitentiaries is seen in nearly all the States.

"The question of race is simpler than that of nationality. The answer to the question as to the proportion in which the foreign element of the population contributes to the crime class will demand a more careful weighing. In 1880 the foreign born numbered 13.22 per cent. of the population of the United States, while 18.77 per cent. of the prisoners in the tables were born in foreign countries. But again the comparison does not do justice to the facts, since our tables omit a number of States in the South, where the foreign population is quite slight. In the States which figure in the tables, the proportion of foreign-born to the total population

was, in 1880, 16.72 per cent. It will be noted that the difference between the foreign-born in the penitentiaries and outside of them is very slight. But it must be remembered in this connection that we are speaking of penitentiaries, and not of all the prisons in the land. We find wide divergencies between the different sections of the country. While in some a greatly disproportionate number of foreign-born are inmates of the prisons, there are others in which the proportions are almost identical for the prisons and for the general population, and still others where a less proportion are found in the prisons than in the community. The latter States are Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Maryland, Kentucky, and Rhode Island. Here are, it will be noticed, two distinct groups, one Southern, where the foreign-born population forms an inconsiderable element of the community, and one Western, where the foreign-born element is very important. In the latter case, there can be no doubt that the favorable showing of the foreign element is to be traced to the predominant nationalities, German and Scandinavian. Rhode Island seems anomalous.

"These comparisons, tho they are often made, are in essential features defective. For it will be remembered that the foreign-born are mostly adults, while the native-born include not only the children of native parents, but also the children of foreign-born parents. The importance of this fact in this connection will be seen at once from the facts that in 1880 as many as 43.83 per cent. of the native population were under 18 years of age, while among the foreign-born the corresponding number was only 9.17 per cent. Hence, it is evident that, in estimating the criminal tendencies of these two elements, we can compare the criminals with the adult population only, and not with the total. For this purpose, the adult population has been taken to include all persons 18 years or over. We find the proportion of foreign-born to have been in the whole United States, 21.05 per cent., and in the States included in our table, 26.31 per cent. Thus since, according to our tables, 18.77 per cent. of the convicts were foreign-born, it would not appear that this element is furnishing more than its proportion to the population of the penitentiaries.

"Turning now to the States, and reversing our previous comparison, we find the States which contain a greater proportion of foreign-born convicts than foreign-born adults in the population at large to be Maine, Vermont, New York, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and North Carolina. Disregarding the last named, where the foreign-born population does not reach 1 per cent., and where purely accidental forces would affect the result, we have again two groups, this time the extreme East and the extreme West. Here again the character of the predominant foreign elements gives the explanation of the fact observed.

"Before turning our attention to the question of the ratio in which the different nationalities which make up our foreign element contribute to the population of the prisons, we may consider the foreign element as a whole from the facts brought out relating to parentage. The figures on this subject are not so complete as those on other points, tho it is to be noted that of 6075 native-born whites, we have the facts concerning the parentage of 3897, or nearly two thirds. Lest, however, it might be supposed that this figure is too small to show the distinctive features of the criminal class in this regard, we have introduced into the following comparison the figures for all the penitentiaries as shown by the census of 1890. A study of these figures will throw light on our problems:

PARENTAGE OF THE NATIVE WHITE IN PERCENTAGES.

	Population U. S. 1880.	In Penitentiaries Studied.	All Penitentiaries U. S. 1890.
Both parents native.....	77.46	53.84	55.61
Father native, mother foreign.....	1.55	2.72	
Mother native, father foreign.....	3.63	5.67	7.56
Both parents foreign.....	17.36	29.07	
One or both unknown....	....	8.70	23.51
Total.....	100.00	100.00	8.32

"It will be seen that the percentage of native whites of foreign or mixed parentage is considerably greater in the prisons than in the population at large. On the other hand, the figures given above make it plain that the disproportion is not so overwhelming as is commonly supposed. The final word has not yet been said on this subject, and there can be little doubt that the figures on nationality and parentage to be furnished by the eleventh census will form a much safer basis for comparisons of this sort than those of the tenth census.

"We can form a judgment of the manner in which the different foreign elements contribute to the prisons by comparing the proportions in which the different nationalities figure, first in the population at large and then in the prisons. It is to be regretted that the census figures for 1890 on this subject are not available at present for this purpose. The figures for 1880 may be misleading, inasmuch as the character of the foreign immigration has changed so much in the past decade. In order to secure a basis of comparison, not strictly exact perhaps, in all points, but still overcoming this difficulty, we shall add to the population in 1880 the immigrants that have landed on our shores between 1880 and 1890. If we do not resort to some such method we should find certain elements in the prison population, as Italians, Hungarians, and others, which were hardly represented in the population at large. In the following comparison we give the percentage of each nationality among the foreign population of 1880 plus the foreign immigration of the years 1880-90, and also the percentage of each element of the group of foreign-born convicts comprised in our tables:

	Population.	In Penitentiaries Studied.
British America.....	12.20	13.85
England.....	10.66	11.93
Wales.....	.79	.77
Scotland.....	2.60	2.42
Ireland.....	20.36	19.02
Germany.....	27.78	21.66
Austria.....	2.82	1.43
Sweden.....	4.76	2.31
Denmark.....	1.24	.60
Norway.....	2.03	2.03
Hungary.....	1.15	1.93
Poland.....	.81	1.05
Italy.....	2.61	5.44
Mexico.....	.50	5.06
France.....	1.28	2.00
Spain.....	.08	.16
Others.....	7.36	9.24
Total.....	100.00	100.00

"From this comparison it results that the prominent elements, with the exceptions of the German and Scandinavian, on the one hand, and the British American, on the other, appear in about the same proportions in the populations as in the prisons. In the first two cases named the showing is notably in favor of these elements. In the aggregate they furnish 10 per cent. less of the total among the prisoners than they do in the population. On the other hand, the British American furnishes slightly more to the prisons than

to the population. The difference is notably marked in the case of the Italians and the Mexicans; here the disproportion is very great. It is also large in some other cases, but these are not considerable elements either in the population at large or among the convicts in our tables.

"We can in a more restricted way compare the parentage of the prisoners and of the general population. In this comparison the immigration of the last 10 years will not affect the result, since the comparison is confined to the native whites having foreign fathers. We can use for this purpose the figures for 1880 for the population, and finding the percentage of each nationality to the whole, we have this comparison:

PARENTAGE OF NATIVE PERSONS HAVING FOREIGN FATHERS.

	Population, 1880.	In Penitentiaries Studied.
British America.....	2.90	4.92
Ireland.....	34.88	51.80
Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland.....	14.63	14.40
Germany.....	38.04	21.38
Scandinavia.....	2.54	1.70
Other countries.....	7.01	5.80
Total.....	100.00	100.00

"It will be seen that so far as Germany, Scandinavia and Great Britain exclusive of Ireland are concerned, this comparison agrees with that just given above, and that the children follow in the ways of their fathers. But Ireland presents a curious case: It would appear from these comparisons, if the methods followed be correct, that while in the first generation the Irish element does not furnish more than its appropriate contingent of foreign-born children, that among the second generation of native-born persons of foreign descent, Ireland furnishes considerably more than its share. This result is certainly quite remarkable, and will hardly be accepted until it has stood the test of other investigations besides our own.

"An examination of the general average shows that a comparatively small number of the prisoners exceed 30 years of age, in round numbers only one third of the entire number. An examination of the separate States will show great uniformity in this respect, there being but few cases in which the deviation from the average is very marked. Two causes of deviation from the average occur, one purely accidental, the classification of prisoners in the different prisons of the State, and the other founded on the fact that in some of the recently settled States the proportion of men in the prime of life is generally higher than in the older States. The comparative youth of the inmates of penitentiaries is a striking fact which is observed everywhere. It may be of interest, therefore, to study in what proportions the different ages of society are represented in the prisons. It must be remembered that the prisons are recruited from the adult population, and we must compare the prisoners with this. Now, if we divide the population of the United States in 1880 over 18 years of age, according to the same classification as in our table, we have the following percentages in each class:

	Under 20.	20 to 24.	25 to 29.	30 to 39.	40 to 49.	50 to 59.	60 to 69.	70 and over.
Adult population, 1880.....	Per cent. 7.60	Per cent. 18.06	Per cent. 14.82	Per cent. 22.61	Per cent. 15.83	Per cent. 11.04	Per cent. 6.50	Per cent. 3.54
Table VI.....	18.43	28.73	19.62	20.54	7.74	3.24	1.19	.21

"It will be noted that if, in the above statement, the age of 17 had been taken as the lowest limit of the adult population, the class under 20 would have been about 10 per cent., and the other classes slightly less. We may confine ourselves more properly to the age classes above the twentieth year. It is to be observed that in the period 30 to 39, the quota of criminals approximates the proportion of that class in the com-

munity at large. After that age the proportion of criminals rapidly diminishes. In some of the States it was observed that the higher age classes are more strongly represented than on the average. An instance selected at random is Oregon, where, in the period 30 to 49, the number of criminals is considerably higher than in the whole country. But we also find that in the adult population of that State, these peri-

ods comprise 42.08 per cent. of the population, as against 38.44 per cent. in the whole United States. Similar phenomena are to be observed in a number of States.

"As many as 68.75 per cent. of the prisoners are unmarried. If we follow closely the figures of the separate States we shall find that where the age is high a larger number of convicts are married.

Conjugal Condition.

It would be rather rash to draw from the table any conclusions on marriage as a preventive of crime, since the figures may show either that married men do not commit crime or that criminals do not marry. It is to be regretted that the tenth census did not tabulate the returns on conjugal condition, as this would give us a basis of comparison. In the lack of such comprehensive figures we can present only some facts in regard to Massachusetts, taken from the census of that State in 1885. There were in that State 572,726 males who had attained the age of 20 years, and of these 171,428, or 29.93 per cent., were single. In our tables there are 861 males of 20 years or over, and assuming that all the married are over 20 years of age, there are 490, or 62.58 per cent., single. It will be seen that this figure is far in advance of that for the men of Massachusetts. But it must be remembered that the convicts are largely young men. If we should take any considerable number of persons from the free population with the same age constitution as that for the convicts in our table, we should find that the number of single persons approached much more closely to that of the convicts than it does in the general population constituted as it is.

"Among the occupations followed by the prisoners prior to their entrance into the prison, the group of professional and personal occupations predominates with 72.09 per cent. This class includes common laborers, and they form the

Occupation.

great bulk of the group. But in order to arrive at a proper view we must compare occupations of the prisoners with those of the people. In 1880 there were reported 17,392,099 persons engaged in gainful occupations, and they were thus distributed:

	Population, 1880.	Prisoners.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Agriculture	44.11	15.27
Personal and professional ..	23.42	72.09
Trade and transportation ..	10.41	3.17
Mining, manufacturing, and mechanical	22.06	6.55
	100.00	96.98*

"The figures here quoted show us plainly that the higher the character of the daily pursuits the greater the unlikelihood of falling into crime. They show that prisoners as a rule are accustomed only to the rudest kind of labor. In the main they are unskilled, and probably also irregularly employed.

"As many as 19.56 per cent. of the prisoners could not read or write. The proportion is quite high, even tho it may not point to the fact that lack of education is the chief cause of crime. In the population over 10 years of age in 1880, the percentage of persons who could not read and write in the States named in the tables was 7.88 per cent. In all the States we find the proportion of persons unable to read or write in the prisons considerably higher than in the free population. It is this ratio which should be observed, and not the absolute amount of illiteracy in the prisons. Where this is very high, it find that illiteracy is also high in the general population. The question was asked on the cards as to the number of years of school attendance, but the replies were not sufficiently numerous nor uniform to permit of tabulation. As knowledge increases a certain minimum of information, such as reading and writing, is not difficult to obtain. Many persons who have these powers may still have received the smallest amount of education. They may be unable to do anything more than

Education.

barely read and write. It would be interesting, therefore, if some further test of educational acquirements could be applied.

"The foregoing tables have treated of qualities which the prisoner has in common with other men. We now come to those which are peculiar to him, which relate to his crime. The classification is that followed in the census of 1880. Crimes against property comprise almost exactly three fourths of the entire number, crimes against the person approximately one sixth of the number, while the remainder is about equally divided between crimes against society and those against government. If we now examine the ratios in the various States, we shall find that among the various institutions represented the fluctuation from the average in the class of crimes against property is not considerable. It is exceeded by 10 per cent. only in the reformatories of New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Texas, and these are all institutions which receive only certain classes of persons convicted of crime. A fall of 10 per cent. below the average is found only in western Pennsylvania, Vermont, Nevada, and Arizona. In the class of crimes against the person the variation from the average is more marked. If we take as a test of this fluctuation a range of 3 per cent. on either side of the average, which is roughly proportional to the 10 per cent. taken above, we shall find as many as 13 institutions which show their excess over the average, and in some cases the excess is quite large. As it was stated above, the crimes against the person constitute very nearly one sixth of all the crimes committed, but we find that in Arizona, Kentucky, and Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Vermont, and in the Huntsville penitentiary, Texas, this class makes up as much as one quarter of the total. This class of crimes falls below 10 per cent. of the total in the reformatories mentioned above, in the State House of Correction in Michigan, the Women's Prison in Indiana, and in the State Prison of Rhode Island. The category of offenses against society is somewhat more heterogeneous in the elements which compose it than those which we have just considered somewhat in detail. The variation from the average in the table is very wide, but as the large figures may be made up of serious offenses against the public morals, or lighter offenses, concerning, for instance, regulations for the public health, it is difficult to judge the meaning of the figures without a more minute analysis than we have been able to make.

Crime, Sentence.

"Crimes against property are most frequent among the native white crimes against the person among the colored. Both colored and foreign white are considerably higher in crimes against the person than the native white. Crimes against society average about the same in the three groups, while those against government are much below the average among the colored, doubtless for lack of opportunity. Among the females crimes against the person are more numerous than among the males, least frequent among the native white, and most among the foreign white. On the other hand, crimes against society assume an importance among the females which they do not have among the males, and the native white lead off. As a result the crimes against property, while they still form the majority of the crimes, constitute only 59.91 per cent. as against 76.01 per cent. among the males.

"It may be worth noting that about one tenth of the prisoners on our list are serving under the indeterminate sentence (see PENOLOGY). If the penitentiary convicts sentenced in 1890 be 17,000, it will be seen that 5 per cent. are being subjected to the reformatory treatment.

"The persons sentenced in the year 1890 were, for the most part, novices in crime. It will be seen that only 16.30 per cent. of them had been in prison before. I wish that we could believe it. When we find that in European countries the number of repeaters mounts up to 60, 70, and even 80 per cent., we must have some doubts as to the truth of the statements of the table. In fact, our means of tracing criminals after they leave prison are so defective that it is not improbable that twice as many have been in prison before as would appear from our table."

Thus far Professor Falkner. As to homicides, the Chicago *Tribune* has kept and printed an annual record, upon which the following table has been based:

* Furthermore, 2.79 per cent. of no occupation and 0.23 per cent. of criminal pursuits.

MURDERS AND LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1886-94.

YEARS.	Murders and Homicides.	Legal Executions.	Lynchings.
1886.....	1,449	83	133
1887.....	2,335	79	123
1888.....	2,184	87	144
1889.....	3,567	98	175
1890.....	4,290	102	127
1891.....	5,006	123	192
1892.....	6,791	107	236
1893.....	6,615	126	200
1894*.....	7,747	112	165
Total.....	40,934	917	1,495

The figures in the first column represent manslaughter of all kinds when perpetrated by an individual, whether by premeditation or passion, or by an insane person, or in self-defense, rioting, duels, and resisting arrest by officers of the law. The number of homicides in the partially reported year 1894 is swollen by the deaths of rioters and others in the strike disturbances of July. The percentage of executions to killings in the nine years included in the table is 2.20. The percentage of killings to total deaths from all causes, same period (estimated), is 0.52, or about 52 per 10,000.

The compendium to the *Eleventh Census* (Part ii, p. 192) gives the following summary of the classification of crimes committed by prisoners enumerated in the census of 1890.

CRIMES.	Number.	Per Cent.
Against government.....	1,839	2.2
Against society.....	18,865	22.9
Against the person.....	17,281	21.0
Against property.....	37,797	45.8
Miscellaneous.....	6,637	8.1
Total.....	82,329	100.0

OTHER COUNTRIES.

For England, Professor Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 267, gives from the English judicial statistics for 1891 the following facts:

CRIMES AGAINST	1879-80.		1890-91.	
	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Num-ber.	Per Cent.
Property without violence.....	39,276	75	25,086	67.3
Property with violence	6,782	13	5,938	16
Property, malicious.....	607	1.1	513	1.4
The person.....	2,855	5.4	3,352	9
Forgery and counterfeiting.....	1,109	2.1	446	1.2
Not included in above.	1,798	3.4	1,917	5.1
Total.....	52,427	100.00	37,252	100.0

"The characteristic thing in this classification is the small number of crimes against the person, tho the proportion has increased since 1880.

"In Scotland the number of criminals convicted of offenses against the person appears to be much larger proportionately than in England, constituting 30 per cent. of the total, while those against property without violence constitute 42 per cent., and those against property with violence, 20 per cent.

"In Ireland, owing to the agrarian agitation, there has been an abnormal number of crimes against the person under the head of intimidation, and of malicious offenses against property. In 1880, for instance, over 20 per cent. of the jury trials were concerned with the former offenses, and nearly 15 per cent. with the latter.

* To October 17, 1894.

In 1891, the malicious crimes against property constituted 14 per cent. of the whole; those against the person, 19.2 per cent.; against property with violence, 5.6 per cent., and those against property without violence, 50 per cent.

"When we come to analyze still further the kinds of crime, we reach a great variety of classifications and minute subdivisions which make comparison entirely fruitless. For instance, the principal indictable offenses in England and Wales for two periods were classified as follows:

	1885-86.	1890-91.
Murder.....	136	148
Attempts to murder.....	49	64
Shooting at, wounding.....	652	789
Manslaughter.....	269	147
Concealment of birth.....	90	92
Unnatural offenses.....	156	159
Rape.....	299	232
Defilement of girls under 13 years of age.....	....	128
Defilement of girls between 13 and 16 years of age.....	....	136
Assaults with intent.....	569	769
Assaults.....	633	454
Burglary and housebreaking.....	3,418	3,418
Breaking into shops.....	2,302	2,047
Robbery and attempts with violence..	373	347
Cattle, horse, and sheep stealing.....	559	376
Larcenies, etc.....	27,797	22,367
Total indictable offenses.....	43,962	37,252

"It will be seen from this table that more than one half of the indictable offenses in England consists of larcenies. Attempts to murder and offenses against morality are sufficiently numerous, but comprise only a small percentage when compared with the crimes against property. The crimes against morality show an alarming increase."

Concerning the age and sex of criminals in England and Wales, Mr. Morrison in *Crime and Its Causes* gives the following tables:

POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES IN 1871:		PRISONERS IN LOCAL JAILS IN 1888:	
Under 5.....	13,52	Under 12.....	0.1
5 and under 15.....	22,58	12 and under 16.....	2.8
15 ".....	20,000	16 ".....	16.1
20 ".....	16,66	21 ".....	30.2
30 ".....	12,80	30 ".....	24.3
40 ".....	10,05	40 ".....	14.7
50 ".....	7,32	50 ".....	6.4
60 and upward.....	7.48	60 and upward.....	5.4

He says: "These figures show that, in proportion to the population, crime is, as we should expect, at its lowest level from infancy till the age of 16. From that age it goes on steadily increasing in volume till it reaches a maximum between 30 and 40. After 40 has been passed the criminal population begins rapidly to descend, but never touches the same low point in old age as in early youth.

"Females do not enter upon a criminal career so early in life as males;* in the year 1888, while 20 per cent. of the male population of our local prisons in England and Wales were under 21, only 12 per cent. of the female prison population were under that age. On the other hand, women between 21 and 50 form a larger proportion of the female prison population than men between the same ages

* Ages and proportion per cent. of males and females committed in 1880-90:

AGES.	Males.	Females.
Under 12 years.....	0.2	0.0
12 years and under 16.....	3.1	1.1
16 ".....	17.5	10.7
21 ".....	28.4	31.4
30 ".....	23.9	28.6
40 ".....	14.2	17.5
50 ".....	6.4	6.8
60 years and above.....	6.2	3.8
Age not ascertained.....	0.1	0.1

do of the male prison population. The criminal age among women is later in its commencement and earlier in coming to a close than in the case of men.”

For France, Professor Mayo-Smith (*idem*, p. 264) quotes from the *Zeitschrift des Preuss. Bureaus*, 1882, p. 46, the following items as to proportion of accused persons per 1,000,000 inhabitants :

	CRIMES AGAINST		To-gether.	Mis-demean-ors.	Total.
	Person.	Prop-erty.			
1830-39.	67	161	228	2,081	2,309
1840-49.	64	147	211	2,983	3,190
1850-59.	64	117	181	4,241	4,420
1860-69.	51	69	120	3,869	3,980
1870-79.	51	76	127	4,316	4,443
1887....	43	70	113	5,970	6,083

Out of the 4307 persons tried before juries in France in 1887, the chief accusations were larcenies, 1439; burglary, robbery and arson, 524; murder, man-slaughter, infanticide, and fatal assault, 779; abortion and rape, 726; counterfeiting, forgery, and embezzlement, 570. The causes assigned for murder were covetousness, 25 per cent.; revenge, 22; quarrels, 22; dissipation, 10; adultery, 5; unhappy love, 4; other causes, 12.

For Germany the *Stat. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reichs*, 1894, gives the following table of criminals convicted :

	1882.	1892.	Increase, 1882 to 1892.
			Per Cent.
Crimes against the State, public order, and religion	51,623	66,392	28.6
Crimes against the person...	107,398	157,928	47
Crimes against property...	169,334	196,437	16
Crimes in office.....	1,613	1,570	....
Total	329,968	422,327	28

The following table, quoted by Professor Mayo-Smith from the *Allg. Stat. Archiv*, vol. iii., p. 368, gives the number per 1000 persons of criminal age in different occupations in Germany :

HOMICIDES OF ALL KINDS IN THE FOLLOWING EUROPEAN STATES.

COUNTRIES.	Population over 10 Years.	Years.	TRIED.		CONVICTED.	
			Annual Average.	Per 100,000 Inhabitants.	Annual Average.	Per 100,000 Inhabitants.
Italy	23,408,277	1887	3,606	15.40	2,805	11.98
Austria	17,199,237	1883-6	689	4.01	499	2.90
France	31,044,370	1882-6	847	2.73	580	1.87
Belgium	4,377,813	1881-5	132	3.02	101	2.31
England	19,898,053	1882-6	318	1.60	151	0.76
Ireland	3,854,588	1882-6	129	3.35	54	1.40
Scotland	2,841,941	1882-6	60	2.11	21	0.74
Spain	13,300,889	1883-6	1,584	11.91	1,085	8.16
Hungary	10,821,558	1882-6	....	....	625	5.78
Holland	3,172,464	1882-6	35	1.10	28	0.88
Germany	35,278,742	1882-6	567	1.61	476	1.35

For statistics of prostitution and illegitimacy, see those articles.

Marro, of Italy, gives the following table of ages at which 507 offenders first began to commit crime :

Under 10...	1.5	41 to 45.....	2.1
11 to 15	17.0	46 to 50.....	2.3
16 to 20.....	36.1	51 to 55.....	2.1
21 to 25.....	20.1	56 to 60.....	.8
26 to 30.....	7.1	61 to 65.....	.8
31 to 35.....	5.1	66 to 70.....	.2
36 to 40.....	3.6		

Marro, *I caratteri dei delinquente. Studio antropologico-sociologico*, p. 356.

NUMBER PER 100,000 PERSONS OF CRIMINAL AGE CONDEMNED FOR CRIME AGAINST

	The State.	The Person.	Prop-erty.	Total.
In Agriculture	78.4	302.5	335.2	717.3
“ Industry.....	201.7	571.1	547.8	1,322.4
“ Trade and com-merce.....	294.1	550.6	621.9	1,480.0
“ Domestic service...	11.2	37.2	259.0	307.8
“ Other and no occu-pation.....	667.8	706.3	1,080.7	2,476.0

This general classification shows extraordinary differences between the different classes. The most favorable relations are found among the domestic servants, the next in agriculture, the next in industry, then trade and commerce, and, finally, those with other or no occupation. The number for these five classes stand in the relation of 1:2.4:5:8.

Comparisons between countries are dangerous, because the laws and basis of statistics in different countries are so different; but Baron Garofolo, of Italy, at the International Congress of Charities and Corrections at Chicago, in 1893, presented the following comparative statistics as to crime :

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MURDERS FROM 1881 TO 1887.	
Austria.....	687
Hungary.....	1,231
Spain.....	1,584
Italy.....	3,606
Germany.....	577
France.....	847
Belgium.....	132
Holland.....	35
England.....	311
Scotland.....	60
Ireland.....	129

ACCUSED OF THEFT AND ROBBERY.

Belgium	11,000
France	46,000
Germany	146,000
England	50,000
Italy	125,000

Mr. W. D. Morrison, of Her Majesty's Prison at Wandsworth, England, in his *Crime and Its Causes* (1891), gives the following tables :

Concerning some conclusions from statistical data, Professor Mayo-Smith says (*idem*, p. 270) : “ It is an old observation that crimes against the person are more numerous in Southern climates than crimes against property, and *vice versa*. **Conclusions.** . . . These old observations of Guerry have been confirmed in a general way by the later statistics. . . . It is apparent, however, that effect of climate and geographical position might be easily obscured

by the influence of economic and social conditions. It is pretty well determined that crimes against the person are more numerous in summer than in winter; that crimes against property are more numerous in winter than in summer. . . .

"Large numbers of the criminals are illiterate. In England, of those committed to prison in 1891, 22.8 per cent. could neither read nor write; 74.2 per cent. could read, or read and write imperfectly; 2.9 per cent. could read and write well. . . .

"Hard times increase the number of crimes, especially of crimes against property. A general rule has been laid down that as the price of food increases crimes against property increase, while crimes against the person, decrease." (See also CRIMINOLOGY.)

III. IS CRIME INCREASING?

This is a very difficult and complicated question. Men of careful judgment and extended knowledge come to very different opinions. The answer depends, in the first place, on the period one is speaking of. Comparing the present century with other centuries, at least the grosser forms of crime are certainly diminishing. Speaking simply of the present century, the decrease of crime is perhaps less clear; but as concerns security of life and property from direct violence, advance has unquestionably been made. Speaking of the immediate present, the case is still more difficult. The fact seems to be that some crimes are on the increase and some on the decrease. Professor Mayo-Smith comes to the conclusion (*Statistics and Sociology*, p. 265)

that gross crimes are decreasing and the smaller crimes increasing. Even

Difficulties of Answer. this, however, is by no means certain. It is most difficult and perhaps all but impossible to compare

the amount of crime in one country with that in another, or the amount in one period with that of another. Statistics, even when carefully collected, often utterly mislead. One reason for this is that laws materially differ. What is a crime, forbidden by law, at one period and in one country is not forbidden in another country or at another period. Crimes against education acts in some countries cannot be committed, because there are no education acts. Crimes as to drinking largely swell the modern statistics of crime; yet in former days, when everybody drank, and frequently to excess, offenses of drunkenness were not crime. Again, in former days no statistics of crime were taken. Even in recent days they have been taken very incompletely. To-day a very much larger proportion of criminality is punished and recorded than ever before in the world's history. Increased statistics of crime, both as to arrests and convictions, may therefore indicate not an increase of crime, but an increase of the moral sense of the community and of the efficiency of the repression of crime. Says the *Eleventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (pp. 178 and 193): "Civilization has raised many things formerly considered perhaps as immoral and as offenses against moral law into well-defined crimes, and subject to punishment as such. The result is,

we are constantly increasing the work of criminal courts by giving prosecuting officers new fields to canvass, and by adding to the list of offenses defined as crimes. . . .

The number of offenses designated as crimes by the criminal code of Massachusetts comprehended, in 1860, 158 offenses punishable as crimes, while the code of Virginia for the same year recognized but 108, or 50 less."

Change of Laws.

Perhaps still more important is the change as to collecting the knowledge of crime. Of the apparent growth of crime, the Boston *Journal* (July 11, 1879) says: "The ubiquitous reporter is responsible for the gloomy showing. His note-book and pencil are everywhere, and the telegraph is the ready agent for transmitting views to all parts of the world. . . . We have had the curiosity to look back over some early files of the *Journal* in order to show by comparison the change which has taken place. Selecting an issue of the paper at random we find that out of 32 columns contained in the paper, precisely one third of a column is taken up with telegraph news, and two thirds of a column with local news, half of the latter space being devoted to an account of tenement-house life." **Growth of Knowledge.** Says another writer: "Years ago a crime had to be of unusual proportions to make its way into an adjoining State. Only the great crimes could cross the continent. But now we see and know everything. We skim the whole creation every morning, and put the results in our coffee."

It is only with a clear recognition of these changes in conditions that we can approach the question whether crime is on the increase. But remembering these changes, let us look for a moment to past epochs and compare them with the present. For social evils to-day, see PROSTITUTION; but compare these with classic days, when the noblest philosophers practised and openly defended not only prostitution, but unnatural vice; when in the baths of Rome thousands of men and women were abandoned *en masse* to the lowest crimes. Without referring to Rome under her degenerate Caesars, under Augustus 10,000 gladiators fought, and their bloody games were applauded by Stoic philosophers and by vestal virgins. Naturally recklessness of life spread everywhere, and philosophy defended the right of the master to kill or to torture his slaves.

Classic Times.

The immorality of Rome and Greece cannot be credited, scarcely described, in a modern cyclopedia. Take it in other lands. In England before the Norman Conquest it was the custom to buy men and women in all parts of England and carry them to Ireland for sale, the buyers usually making the women pregnant to insure a better price (*Life of Bishop Wolstan*). The one aim of life was to escape being slain if a man, and being violated if a woman. The violence and crime and bloodshed of the Middle Ages are well known. The Peace of God, when for a few days a week men agreed not to murder, was instituted to preserve society from absolute disintegration. Murders, trea-

Middle Ages.

sons, brawls, poisonings were on every hand. A nobleman declared war against Frankfort because a lady had not danced with his cousin. Together with occasional good men in the Church, the vilest men sat in the chair of St. Peter's; priests went from their mistresses to the altar, and the nunneries were like brothels. The Reformation and Puritanism checked immorality with an unnatural condemnation of all joys, that reacted in a carnival of vice and crime. In 1723 Lady Mary Montagu wrote: "Honor, virtue, and reputation, which we used to hear of in the nursery, are as much laid aside as crumpled ribbons." Says

Eighteenth Century. Lecky (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i., p. 482): "The iniquity with which outrages were committed on the ill-lit and ill-guarded streets of London during the first half of the eighteenth century can now hardly be realized. In 1712 a club of young men of the higher classes, who assumed the name of Mohawks, were accustomed nightly to sally out drunk into the streets to hunt the passers-by. . . . One of their favorite amusements, called 'tipping the lion,' was to squeeze the nose of their victim flat upon his face, and to bore out his eyes with their fingers. . . . [Another] favorite amusement was to set women on their heads and commit various indecencies and barbarities on the limbs that were exposed. . . . Country gentlemen went to the theater as if in a time of war, accompanied by their armed retainers." Macaulay, in his well-known picture of England of the seventeenth century, confirms the same picture of London being utterly unsafe by night, while the country was unsafe by night or day. Banditti and highwaymen infested the roads near London, and ruled the remoter sections.

In America Puritanism first enforced a rigid morality, which, however, gradually declined. Drunkenness became prevalent. Says Theodore Parker (*Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons*, pp. 341-97): "It is recorded in the Probate Office that in 1678, at the funeral of Mrs. Mary Norton, widow of the celebrated John Norton, one of the ministers of the First Church in Boston, 51½ gallons of the best Malaga wine were consumed by the mourners. . . . Towns provided intoxicating drink at the funeral of paupers." The Rev. Leonard Woods says: "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintances 40 ministers who were intemperate." According to Dr. Dorchester, to whom we are indebted for much of the above information (*Problems of Religious Progress*, p. 301), the per capita consumption of distilled spirits in the United States was, in 1810, 4.30 galls.; 1820, 7.26 galls.; 1830, 6.02 galls.; 1840, 2.54 galls.; 1850, 2.21 galls.; 1860, 2.86 galls.; 1870, 2.05 galls.; 1880, 1.27 galls.; 1890, 1.40 galls.; 1893, 1.51 galls.

Intemperance led to quarrels and duelling. Says Dr. Dorchester (*idem*, p. 484): "Not less than 14 of the most prominent statesmen in the United States, not to speak of many of lesser rank, were concerned in duels in the first half of the present century." The *Christian Advo-*

cate of November 30, 1876, argues that financial dishonesty was greater earlier in the century than now. It says: "In the time of Van Buren the loss was \$21.15 on every \$1000; now it is only 26 cents." Whatever one thinks of these statements, it is evident that there were gross evils in other countries and in former decades which statistics cannot cover, but which must not be forgotten in studying the questions of crime.

Coming to the period when statistics are available, the best that can be done is to put side by side the views of those who do and of those who do not believe that crime is on the increase.

Mr. W. D. Morrison, of H. M. Prison, Wandsworth, England, strongly maintains that crime is on the increase. He says (*Crime and its Causes*, p. 12):

"Most of the principal authorities in Europe and America are emphatically of opinion that crime is on the increase. In the United States, we are told by Mr. D. A. Wells* and by Mr. Howard Wines, an eminent specialist in criminal matters, that crime is steadily increasing, and that it is increasing faster than the growth of the population.

"Nearly all the chief statisticians abroad tell the same tale with respect to the growth of crime on the Continent. Dr. Mischler, of Vienna, and Professor von Liszt, of Marburg, draw a deplorable picture of the increase of crime in Germany. Professor von Liszt, in a recent article,† says that 15,000,000 persons have been convicted by the German criminal courts within the last 10 years; and, according to him, the outlook for the future is somber in the last degree. In France, the criminal problem is just as formidable and perplexing as it is in Germany; M. Henri Joly estimates that crime has increased in the former country 133 per cent. within the last half century, and is still steadily rising. Taking Victoria as a typical Australasian colony, we find that even in the Antipodes, which are not vexed to the same extent as Europe with social and economic difficulties, crime is persistently raising its head, and altho it does not increase quite as rapidly as the population, it is nevertheless a more menacing danger among the Victorian colonists than it is at home.‡

"Is England an exception to the rest of the world with respect to crime? Many people are of opinion that it is, and the idea is at present diligently fostered on the platform and in the press that we have at last found out the secret of dealing successfully with the criminal population. As far as I can ascertain, this belief is based upon the statement that the daily average

* "In the United States, while crime has diminished in a few States, for the whole country it has, within recent years, greatly increased. In 1850 the proportion of prison inmates was reported as one to every 3448 of the entire population of the country; but in 1880 this proportion had risen to one for every 855. These results are believed to be attributable in the Northern States mainly to the great foreign immigration, and in the Southern to the emancipation of the negroes." (*Recent Economic Changes*, p. 345)

† *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft* ix. 472, 88.
‡ See *Statistical Register for Victoria*, Part viii.

of persons in prison is constantly going down. Inasmuch as there was a daily average of over 20,000 persons in prison in 1878, and a daily average of about 15,000 in 1888, many people immediately jump at the conclusion that crime is diminishing. But the daily average is no criterion whatever of the rise and fall of crime. Calculated on the principle of daily average, 12 men sentenced to prison for one month each will not figure so largely in criminal statistics as one man sentenced to a term of 18 months. The daily average, in other words, depends upon the length of sentence prisoners receive, and not upon the number of persons committed to prison, or upon the number of crimes committed during the year. Let us look then at the number of persons committed to local prisons, and we shall be in a position to judge if crime is decreasing in England or not. We shall go back 20 years, and take the quinquennial totals as they are recorded in the judicial statistics :

Total of the 5 years, 1868 to 1872.....	774,667
Total of the 5 years, 1873 to 1877.....	866,041
Total of the 5 years, 1884 to 1888.....	898,486

If statistics are to be allowed any weight at all, these figures incontestably mean that the total volume of crime is on the increase in England as well as everywhere else. It is fallacious to suppose that the authorities here are gaining the mastery over the delinquent population. Such a supposition is at once refuted by the statistics which have just been tabulated, and these are the only statistics which can be implicitly relied upon for testing the position of the country with regard to crime.

"Seeing, then, that the total amount of crime is regularly growing, how is the decrease in the daily average of persons in prison to be accounted for? This decrease may be accounted for in two ways. It may be shown that altho the number of people committed to prison is on the increase, the nature of the offenses for which these people are convicted is not so grave. Or, in the second place, it may be shown that, altho the crimes committed now are equally serious with those committed 20 years ago, the magistrates and judges are adopting a more lenient line of action, and are inflicting shorter sentences after a conviction. Let us for a moment consider the proposition that crime is not so grave now as it was 20 years ago. In order to arrive at a fairly accurate conclusion on this matter, we have only to look at the number of offenses of a serious nature reported to the police. Comparing the number of cases of murder, attempts to murder, manslaughter, shooting at, stabbing and wounding, and adding to these offenses the crimes of burglary, house-breaking, robbery, and arson—comparing all these cases reported to the police for the five years 1870-74 with offenses of a like character reported in the five years 1884-88, we find that the proportion of grave offenses to the population was, in many cases, as great in the latter period as in the former.

SERIOUS CASES REPORTED TO THE POLICE IN PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION. ANNUAL AVERAGE FOR FIVE YEARS.

	Murder.	Attempts to Murder.	Man-slaughter.
1870-74.....	1 to 196,046	1 to 441,158	1 to 92,756
1884-88.....	1 to 168,897	1 to 418,923	1 to 116,403
	Shooting, Stabbing, etc.	Burglary.	House-breaking.
1870-74.....	1 to 35,033	1 to 10,188	1 to 17,538
1884-88.....	1 to 33,607	1 to 7,892	1 to 11,911

This table shows that since 1870-74 there has been an increase in murder, attempts to murder, burglary, and housebreaking, and a decrease in manslaughter, robbery, and arson. The decrease in shooting, stabbing, wounding, etc., is very small. (Cf. *Judicial Statistics* for 1874 and 1888, p. xvi.)

This shows clearly that crime, while it is increasing in extent, is not materially decreasing in seriousness; and the chief reason the prison population exhibits a smaller daily average is to be found in the fact that judges are now pronouncing shorter sentences than was the custom 20 years ago. We are not left in the dark upon this point; the judges themselves frequently inform the public that they have taken to shortening the terms of imprisonment. The extent to which sentences have been shortened within the last 20 years can easily be ascertained by comparing the committals to prison and the daily average of the quinquenniad 1868-72 with the committals and the daily average of the quinquenniad 1884-88. A comparison between these two periods shows that the length of imprisonment has decreased 26 per cent. In other words, whereas a man used to receive a sentence of 12 months' imprisonment, he now receives a sentence of nine months; and whereas he used to get a sentence of one month, he now gets 21 days. If it be a serious offense, or if the criminal be a habitual offender, he now receives 18 months' imprisonment, whereas he used to receive five years' penal servitude. As far as most judges and stipendiary magistrates are concerned, sentences of imprisonment have decreased in recent years more than 26 per cent.; and if there was a corresponding movement on the part of chairmen of Quarter Sessions, the average decrease in the length of sentences would amount to 50 per cent. But it is a notorious fact that amateur judges are, with few exceptions, more inclined to pronounce heavy sentences than professional men.

Shorter Sentences.

"We have now arrived at the conclusion that crime is just as serious in its character as it was 20 years ago, and that it is growing in dimensions year by year; the next point to be considered is, the relation in which crime stands to the population. Crime may be increasing, but the population may be multiplying faster than the growth of crime. Is this the condition of things in England at the present day? We have seen that the criminal classes are increasing much faster than the growth of population in France and the United States. Is England in a better position in this respect than these two countries? At the present time there is one conviction to about every 50 inhabitants, and the proportion of convictions to the population was very much the same 20 years ago. If we remember the immense development that has taken place in the industrial school system within the last 20 years—a development that has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with keeping down crime—we arrive at the conclusion that, notwithstanding the beneficent effects of industrial schools, the criminal classes in this country still keep pace with the annual growth of population."

Of the United States, Mr. H. M. Boies (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 1) says: "The Eleventh Census of the United States, as it is being published, furnishes statistics of a national growth in numbers, wealth, and general prosperity unparalleled in the history of civilization. . . . Some of the disclosures made are, however, shocking, if not appalling, in the highest degree to our confidence in the future. One of these is the abnormal and disproportionate increase in the criminal class in society. That increase is from 1 in 3500 of our population in 1850 to 1 in 786.5 in 1890, or of 445 per cent.; while the population has increased but 170 per cent. in the same period.

"In the last decade, with an increase of 24.5 per cent. in population, the number of the inmates of our penitentiaries, jails, and reformatories has increased 45.2 per cent., or nearly twice faster than the general population."

Dr. Josiah Strong (*Our Country*, p. 57) says: "From 1870 to 1880 the population increased 30.06 per cent. During the same period the number of criminals increased 82.33 per cent.

In 1850, there were 290 prisoners to every million of the population ; in 1860, there were 607 to each million ; in 1870, there were 853, and in 1880 there were 1169. That is, in 30 years the proportion of criminals increased fourfold."

He lays this mainly to foreign immigration. But see Professor Falkner's analysis above.

Mr. George R. Stetson, writing in the *Andover Review* for December, 1884, argues a decadence in Massachusetts even among the native white population. He says :

"By the United States Census returns for 1850 we find that the total population of Massachusetts was 994,514 and the number in prisons 1236, or 1 prisoner to 824+ of the population, and in 1880, with a population of 1,783,085, there were in prisons 3659, or 1 prisoner to 487+ of the population; in other words, our prison population, in proportion to the whole population, has nearly doubled in 30 years.

"If it is objected that this does not show the actual amount of crime for which our own institutions are responsible, owing to the great number of idle, ignorant, and vicious immigrants landed upon our shores, we answer, that the examination of the statistics of our native prisoners, from which, of course, the foreign element is entirely excluded, will show that their number, when compared with the whole native population, has increased from 1 in 1267+ as in 1850, to 1 in 615+ in 1880, as can be ascertained by the following table compiled from the United States Census :

	Total Population.	Native Population.	Prisoners.	Native Prisoners.	Proportion.
1850.....	994,514	827,430	1,236	653	1 in 1,267 +
1860.....	1,783,085	1,339,594	3,659	2,175	1 in .615 +

"Stated in another form, our native criminal population has more than doubled in 30 years, notwithstanding our system of public instruction, our churches, our schools, our charitable institutions, and all the educational efforts and appliances known to modern civilization.

"In addition, we find by the same table that in 1850 over one half, and in 1880 nearly two thirds, of the total number of the prison population were natives. As convincing as these statistics of our retrogradation seem, they are thrown into

Foreign Population. obscurity by the really appalling fact which appears in the *Report of the Prison Commissioners for Massachusetts* in 1884 (p. 126)—namely, that the entire number of arrests for crime for the year ending September 30, 1883, was 65,000, or one arrest for every 29+ of the inhabitants of this commonwealth; and assuming that five persons constitute a family, we have the alarming result of one arrest to every six families in the entire State."

It should be remembered, however, that the foreign born by no means measure the contribution of foreign conditions to America. Says Dr. Josiah Strong (*Our Country*, p. 57) :

"The hoodlums and roughs of our cities are, most of them, American born of foreign parentage. Of the 680 discharged convicts who applied to the Prison Association of New York for aid during the year ending June 30, 1882, 442 were born in the United States, against 238 foreign born ; while only 144 reported native parentage against 536 who reported foreign parentage.

"The Rhode Island Workhouse and House of Correction had received, to December 31, 1882, 6202 persons on commitment. Of this number, 52 per cent. were native born and 76 per cent. were born of foreign parentage. Of

the 182 prisoners committed to the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women in 1880-81, 81 per cent. were of foreign birth or parentage. While in 1880 the foreign born were only 13 per cent. of the entire population, they furnished 19 per cent. of the convicts in our penitentiaries, and 43 per cent. of the inmates of workhouses and houses of correction."

See, on the other hand, Professor Falkner's analyses above, in Sec. II.

Mr. W. F. Spaulding, too, in the *Forum* for January, 1892, shows that the increase of commitments in Massachusetts is almost wholly for drunkenness, and that for serious crimes there has been a decrease.

Of the United States generally there is still wider room for difference of opinion. The statistics unquestionably show not only a large absolute growth in the number of prisoners, but a growth in the proportion to the population. Yet it is unquestionably true that the early statistics were not complete. The only question is as to how complete are the present statistics.

In England, in opposition to Mr. Morrison, Mr. E. F. Du Cane, Inspector of Prisons, argues, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1893, that crime is rapidly on the decrease. He holds that the statistics brought forward to show an increase of crime are misleading, because they include offenses that are not really crimes, but simply show an extension of law. "Offenses," he says, "against the Education Acts could not be committed before 1870, but they count for 96,601 in 1890-91." He argues, also, that to add the number of criminals and the juveniles committed to industrial reformatories, and then quote the number as indication of an increase of crime is like adding the number of cases of small-pox and the number vaccinated to prevent their having the disease, and using the whole number to show the spread of the disease. He argues similarly of the increase of the police. So, too, one must not look at the number *tried* for crime, but at the actual number of crimes committed. More people may be tried as the police grow more competent ; but the question is, How many crimes are committed? As to this, he says the **Crime Said to be on the Decrease.**

average number in local prisons in 1876-77 was 20,361 ; in 1890-91, 12,663. At the end of 1869 there were 9726 convicts in prison. On March 31, 1892, there were 4701. He says these facts cannot be explained by the shortening of sentences. If there has been any shortening, it is not enough to account for so large a decrease. He says that we must distinguish between what most people mean by crimes and mere offenses against education, acts, etc. The judicial statistics define crimes in five classes :

I. Offenses against the person, including assaults.

II. Offenses against property with violence.

III. Offenses against property without violence, including stealing, embezzlement, offenses against the game acts, etc.

IV. Malicious offenses against property, destroying fences, fruit, trees, etc.

V. Forgery and offenses against the currency.

Of these, Mr. Du Cane gives the following facts, meaning by the word "indictable" those not summarily dealt with.

"Indictable offenses in these five classes have fallen as a whole since 1867-68, when the number was 57,812, and the fall has been almost continuous since 1877-78, when the number was 52,397, till in 1890-91 the number was 25,335. Summary offenses in the same five classes have been falling since 1873-74, when the number was 192,440. In 1890-91 the number was 159,534."

Of the different classes, he says that indictable offenses in Class I. fluctuated very much before 1884-85, when they suddenly rose, and stood in 1885-86 at 362,6, since when they have fallen somewhat, and stood in 1890-91 at 3352. Summary offenses in Class I. have fallen almost continuously from 100,422 in 1875-76 to 77,857 in 1890-91.

In Class II. he says it is almost impossible to give the fluctuations of indictable offenses, tho since 1881-82 the tendency has been to fall. The summary offenses in this class are too small to be noticed. They never have been over 87, and sometimes have been as low as 1.

In Class III. indictable offenses have fallen almost continuously from 41,341 in 1877-78 to 25,086 in 1890-91. This, he says, is explained by some as due to the Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879, which, he thinks, only accounts for a diminution of 3000 out of a net fall of 16,000. The summary offenses were increased by the diminution in the indictable offenses, for they remained about the same from 1879 to 1882, when they were

72,434, since when they have steadily fallen to 62,990 in 1890-91.

In Class IV. indictable offenses have scarcely changed, being about 600. Summary offenses have fallen from 25,800 in 1873-74 to 18,675 in 1890-91.

In Class V. offenses have fallen from 2839 in 1856-57 to 446 in 1890-91.

Mr. Du Cane quotes various authorities to substantiate these indications, a recent report of the Commissioner of Police of the metropolis saying :

"The criminal returns for 1890 disclose a most satisfactory record for the year. The felonies relating to property numbered 17,491, or 2053 fewer than in 1889, tho the figures for 1889 were a marked improvement on those for the preceding year. . . . There were fewer offenses of this kind committed in the metropolis during 1890 than in any year since

1875. But in 1875 the felonies of this class were relatively to the population in the ratio of 4.182 per 1000, whereas last year the proportion per 1000 was only 3.002, or less than half the number considered normal 20 years ago. . . . Serious crimes against the person were also relatively to population fewer than ever before. It thus appears that there was greater security for person and property in the metropolis during 1890 than in any previous year included in the statistical returns. It should be remembered that in relation to police work the difficulties of dealing with crime, as each decade adds a million to the population of the metropolis, are augmented in a ratio far greater than that of the arithmetical increase."

The Chief Constable of Liverpool says :

"Never, since the first publication of returns of crime in Liverpool (*i.e.*, since 1857), have the statistics disclosed so small an amount of crime or so large a success in making criminals amenable to justice as those for the year ended September 29, 1891."

Mr. Grosvenor, just before leaving the Home Office, read to the Statistical Society in 1890 a paper entitled *The Abatement of Crime*, in which he summed up the matter thus :

"Combined causes have materially assisted in securing the abatement shown to have taken place in nearly all classes of crime during the last 20 years, while the great reduction in the number of known thieves and other suspected persons at large, as well as in the houses of bad character which they frequent, and more especially the extraordinary diminution in the number of receivers of stolen goods, has made manifest the

increasing efficiency of the police. When to this is added the fact that during the period in question the population of England and Wales has increased by nearly 6,500,000, we must admit that the many agencies enlisted for the purpose of diminishing the number of criminals have been most successfully applied, and the result cannot fail to afford the utmost satisfaction and encouragement to all who are anxious for the improved moral and physical advancement of our nation."

Mr. Du Cane quotes Sir William Harcourt as saying : "It is better to be an optimist after full inquiry than a pessimist without."

References: Professor Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology* (1895); W. D. Morrison's *Crime and its Causes* (1891); Dr. Daniel Dorchester's *Problems of Religious [and Moral] Progress* (1895).

CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY is the science of the study of the criminal. Altho there were previously, of course, much consideration and some shrewd judgments as to criminals, the science of criminal anthropology may be said to date from 1876, when Cesare Lombroso published his epoch-making work, *L' Uomo Delequente*. (For a general consideration of crime, see CRIMINOLOGY; for the statistics of crime, see CRIME.)

To understand what the scientific study of a criminal means, we give in detail important points noted by Benelli, Tamburini, and Lombroso.

Generalities.--Name, age, country, profession, civil state.

1. *Anthropometrical examination.*--Development of skeleton, stature, development of muscular system, weight. Color: of skin, hair, iris, uniformly colored, double coloration, peripheral and central, non-uniformly colored, color predominant, color not predominant, beard. Piliferous system. Tattooing. Craniometry: face, height, bizygomatic diameter, facial type, facial index; nose: profile, dimensions, direction, anomalies; teeth: form, dimensions, anomalies; eye; neck; thorax; lungs; heart; genital organs; disfigurements.

2. *Examination of sensibility.*--Touch: electric current, left hand, right hand, tongue; aesthesiometer of Weber: right hand, left hand, tongue. Pain: algometer of Lombroso; left and right hands, tongue. Sensibility: muscular, topographic, thermic, meteorological, magnetic, metallic, hypnotic, hypnotic credulity, visual, acoustic, olfactive, gustative, chromatic, sensual (generative); first sensual relations, aberrations; anomalies.

3. *Examination of motility.*--Voluntary movements: gait, speech, language, writing, reflexes; muscular force; dynamometry; manual skill; anomalies.

4. *Examination of vegetative functions.*--Circulation, respiration, thermogeny; digestion; secretions: saliva, urine, sweat.

5. *Psychical examination.*--Perception (illusions); ideation (hallucinations); reasoning; will (impulsion); memory; intelligence: works, writings; slang; conscience; sentiments: affective, moral, religious; passions; instincts; sleep; moral sense; habitual expression of physiognomy; psychometry; anomalies.

6. *Anamnestic examinations.*--Family, parents; state of family; daughters; sons; age of parents; history, diseases, crimes of parents. Precedents; education, instruction, intellectual and political development, diseases; traumatic accidents, crimes, habitual character, occupation preferred. Latest information: last crimes, cause of crime, repentance, admissions, nervous diseases and mental anomalies (intercurrent); inquiries.

In regard to these various points, however, criminologists are by no means agreed as to their being a criminal type. In his *Crime and its Causes* (chap. vii.) Mr. W. D. Morrison brings out the variety of conclusions. He says (we abridge his words), as to height: "Lombroso says that Italian criminals are above the average height; Knecht says German criminals do not differ in this respect from other men; Marro says the stature of criminals is variable; Thom-

son and Wilson say that criminals are inferior in point of stature to the average man. What-

ever may be the case on the Continent, there can be little doubt that

Physiology. as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the height of the criminal class is lower than that of the ordinary citizen. In Scotland the average height of the ordinary population is 67.30 inches; the average height of the criminal population, as given by Dr. Bruce Thomson, is 66.95 inches. According to Dr. Beddoe, the average height of the London artisan population is 66.72 inches; the average height of the London criminal 64.70 inches; the average height of Liverpool criminals, according to Danson, is 66.39 inches.

"As to weight, Lombroso and Marro assert that Italian criminals weigh more than average citizens. On the other hand, the weight of London criminals is almost the same as that of London artisans, but inferior to the weight of the artisan population in the large English towns taken as a whole. The average weight of London criminals is 136 lbs.; average weight of London artisans, 137 lbs.; average weight of artisans in large towns generally, 138 lbs. The London criminal is considerably inferior in weight to the well-to-do classes, as will be seen from Mr. Galton's Health Exhibition statistics. Average weight, Health Exhibition, 143 lbs.; average weight, most favored class (Roberts), 152 lbs. Respecting the skulls of criminals, the inquiries of continental investigators have so far led to very conflicting results. It is a contention of Lombroso's that the skulls of criminals exhibit a larger proportion of asymmetrical peculiarities than the skulls of other men. On this point Lombroso is supported by Manouvrier. But Topinard, an anthropologist of great eminence, is of an opposite opinion. He carefully examined the same series of skulls as had been examined by Manouvrier—the skulls of murderers—and he discovered no marked difference between these and other skulls. At present we must wait for further light before anything can be said with certainty with respect to the criminal skull.

"Just as little is known at present about the brain of criminals as about the skull. Some years ago Professor Benedict startled the world by stating that he had discovered the seat of crime in the convolutions of the brain. He found a certain number of anomalies in the convolutions of the frontal lobes, and he came to the conclusion that crime was connected with the existence of these anomalies. But he had omitted to examine the frontal convolutions of honest people. When this was done by other investigators, it was found that the brain convolutions of normal men presented just as many anomalies, some investigators (Dr. Giacomini) said even more than the brains of criminals. According to Dr. Bardeleben, there is no such thing as a normal type of brain. Weight of brain is a much simpler question than brain type, but so far it is impossible to say whether the criminal brain is heavier or lighter than the ordinary brain. The solution of this comparatively simple point is beset by a certain number of obstacles.

"An examination of the criminal face has so far led to no definite and assured results. In the imagination of artists the criminal is almost always credited with a retreating forehead. As a matter of fact, representatives of the anthropological school assure us that this is not the case. After comparing the foreheads of 539 delinquents with the foreheads of 100 ordinary men, he found that criminals had a smaller percentage of retreating foreheads than the average man. He also found that projecting eyebrows, another trait which is supposed to be a criminal peculiarity, were almost as common among ordinary people as among offenders against the law. Projecting ears is another peculiarity which is often associated with the idea of a criminal. But Dr. Lannois states that after a careful examination of the ears of 43 young offenders, he found them as free from anomalies as the ears of other people.

"Careful inquiries have been undertaken by criminal anthropologists into the color of the hair, the length of the arms, the color of the skin, tattooing, sensitiveness to pain among the criminal population; but these laborious investigations have so far led to few solid conclusions. According to Lombroso, insensibility to pain is a marked characteristic of criminals, but M. Joly denies this. In this connection it must be borne in mind that a prolonged period of imprisonment will change the face of any man, whether he is a criminal or not. If a man spends a certain number of years sharing the life, the food, the occupations of five or six hundred other men, if he mixes with them and with no one else, he will inevitably come to resemble them in face and feature. A remarkable illustration of this fact has recently been brought to light by the Photographic Society of Geneva.

'From photographs of 78 old couples, and of as many adult brothers and sisters, it was found that 24 of the former resembled each other much more strongly than as many of the latter who were thought most like one another.' It would, therefore, seem that the action of unconscious imitation, arising from constant contact, is capable of producing a remarkable change in the features, the acquired expression frequently tending to obliterate inherited family resemblances. According to Piderit, physiognomy is to be considered as a mimetic expression which has become habitual. The criminal type of face, so conspicuous in old offenders, is in many cases merely a prison type.

"Summing up our inquiries respecting the criminal type, we arrive, in the first place, at the general conclusion that so far as it has a real existence it is not born with a man, but originates either in the prison, and is then merely a prison type, or in criminal habits of life, and is then a truly criminal type. As a matter of fact, the two types are in most cases blended together, the prison type, with its hard, impassive rigidity of feature, being superadded to the gait, gesture, and demeanor of the habitual criminal. In combination these two types form a professional type and constitute what Dr. Bruce Thomson has called 'a physique distinctly characteristic of the criminal class.' It is not, however, a type which admits of accurate description, and its practical utility is impaired by the fact

that certain of its features are sometimes visible in men who have never been convicted.

"In regard to psychological characteristics, deficiencies in memory, imagination, reason, are three undoubted characteristics of the ordinary criminal intellect. Of course, there are very many criminals in which

Psychology. all these qualities are present, and whose defects lie in another direction, but taken as a whole the criminal is unquestionably less gifted intellectually than the rest of the community.

"Respecting the emotions of criminals, it is much more difficult to speak, and much more easy to fall into error. The only thing that can be said of them for certain is that they do not, as a rule, possess the same keenness of feeling as the ordinary man. Some Italian writers make much of the religiosity of delinquents; such a sentiment may be common among offenders in Italy; it is certainly rare among the same class in Great Britain. The cellular system puts an effective stop to anything like active hostility to religion; but it is a mistake to argue from this that the criminal is addicted to the exercise of religious sentiments. The family sentiment is also feebly developed; the exceptions to this rule form a small fraction of the criminal population.

"The will in criminals, when it is not impaired by disease, is, in the main, dominated by a boundless egoism. He may have a sense of duty or a fear of punishment, but his immense egoism demands gratification at any cost.

"The criminal's will is, however, usually diseased. In some cases of this description the will is practically annihilated; in others it is under the dominion of momentary caprice; in others, again, it has no power of concentration, or it is the victim of sudden hurricanes of feeling which drive everything before them. Persons afflicted in this way, when not drunkards, are generally convicted for crimes of violence, such as assault, manslaughter, murder. They experience real sentiments of remorse, but neither remorse nor penitence enables them to grapple with their evil star. The will is stricken with disease, and the man is dashed hither and thither, a helpless wreck on the sea of life.

"There are thus immense differences between criminals. But it can be shown that criminals, taken as a whole, exhibit a higher proportion of physical anomalies, and a higher percentage of physical degeneracy

Degeneracy. than the rest of the community. With respect to the mental condition of criminals, it cannot be established that it is, on the whole, a condition of insanity, or even verging on insanity. But it can be established that the bulk of the criminal classes are of a humbly-developed mental organization. Whether we call this low state of mental development, atavism, or degeneracy is, to a large extent, a matter of words; the fact of its widespread existence among criminals is the important point.

"The results of this inquiry also show that degeneracy among criminals is sometimes inherited and sometimes acquired. It is inherited when the criminal is descended from insane, drunken, epileptic, scrofulous parents; it is often acquired

when the criminal adopts and deliberately persists in a life of crime. The closeness of the connection between degeneracy and crime is, to a considerable extent, determined by social conditions. A degenerate person, who has to earn his own livelihood, is much more likely to become a criminal than another degenerate person who has not. Almost all forms of degeneracy render a man more or less unsuited for the common work of life; it is not easy for such a man to obtain employment; in certain forms of degeneracy it becomes almost impossible. A person in this unfortunate position often becomes a criminal, not because he has strong anti-social instincts, but because he cannot get work. Physically, he is unfit for work, and he takes to crime as an alternative.

"Another important result is the close connection between madness and crimes of blood. We have seen that almost one third of the cases of conviction for wilful murder are cases in which the murderer is found to be insane. And this does not represent the full proportion of murderers afflicted mentally; a considerable percentage of those sentenced to death have this sentence commuted on mental grounds. In Germany, from 26 to 28 per cent. of criminals suffering from mental weakness escape the observation of the courts on this point, and so elsewhere. The actual percentage of criminals who suffer from mental disorders is probably much greater than is generally supposed."

So far Mr. Morrison. Mr. H. M. Boies, in his *Prisoners and Paupers* (chap. xii.), says:

"Herr Sichert, director of prisons of Würtemberg, found by inquiry extending over several years, and including 1714 cases, that 'over one fourth of the German prison population had received a defective organization from their ancestry, which manifests itself in a life of crime.' Dr. Vergilio says that 'in Italy 32 per cent. of the criminal population have inherited criminal tendencies from their parents.' According to Dr. H. Maudsley, 'the idiot is not an accident, nor the irremediable criminal an unaccountable causality.' Of the 527 convicts received in the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania in 1890, 93 were upon their third or more sentence. Seventeen of these had been detected, arrested, tried, and convicted more than six times. One of them was to serve his fourteenth sentence; 68 of these prisoners had relatives who were then or had been in prison; and 103 were received upon their second sentence.

"In a paper on *Criminal Anthropology*, read before the National Prison Association in Cincinnati, Dr. H. D. Wey, physician to the New York State Reformatory, quotes from Dr. J. S. Wright:

"The concurrent and unanimous testimony of those who are, from their experience and knowledge, most competent to judge, is: that the great underclass of criminals have more or less defective organizations, especially as relates to their nervous system, and more especially as to their brain; that they are more or less deficient in moral sense, showing in this respect the lack of development or result of decay; the best and last developed sense, the moral sense, disintegrating first of all; that they are perversely wicked and indomitably inexpedient, committing crimes when doing right would be of more use to them; that they are as passionate as the wild beasts of the forest, and as restless as the ocean that heaves with every gust of wind; that they are at war with mankind and ever in commotion with themselves; that they are like the ship beaten out by the storm—the ship without compass, rudder, or captain; they are formed and fashioned by the hand of an evil genius whose name is bad heredity, and whose handmaid is ignorance; and that their reformation ought to have begun in their ancestors."

"Dugdale in his study of the 'Juke' family traces 1200 criminals and paupers impregnated with the

Heredity.

vicious blood of one ancestor in seven generations, who cost the public over \$1,300,000.

"Rev. O. McCulloch, of Indianapolis, discovered and identified 1750 descendants of Ben Ishmael, living in Kentucky in 1790, who had been criminals and paupers, among whom 121 were prostitutes. In six generations 75 per cent. of the cases treated in the City Hospital in Indianapolis were of the tribe of Ben Ishmael. Court Pastor Stocker, of Berlin, investigated the history of 834 descendants of two sisters, the eldest of whom died in 1825. Among these he found 76 who had served 116 years in prison for serious crimes, 164 prostitutes, 106 illegitimate children, 17 pimps, 142 beggars, 64 paupers in almshouses; estimated to have cost the State more than \$500,000.

"The trustees of the Children's Home in Washington County, O., in their eighteenth annual report, state that 66 per cent. of the inmates of their home from that county in the preceding two years had been related by blood or marriage.

"Major McClaughey, the eminent penologist who had charge of the Joliet Prison in Illinois for many years, and lately resigned the superintendence of the Huntington Reformatory in Pennsylvania, to accept the office of Chief of Police in Chicago, says, 'that criminal parentage, and association, and neglect of children by their parents,' are the great causes of the increase of criminality in America.

"The best authorities abroad fix the proportion of the incorrigible at from 25 to 32 per cent. of the convicts. In America it is undoubtedly larger, because we have so long offered an open haven of refuge to all people, without any application of our proverbial common sense to penal legislation and management."

Mr. Arthur MacDonald, in his *Criminology*, adds many important facts, giving more weight to Professor Lombroso's conclusion than does Mr. Morrison. (See above.) He says:

"From 70 children less than 12 years of age confined in houses of correction, among whom were 40 thieves, 27 vagabonds, 7 homicides, and 3 whose crime is not stated, Lombroso finds as predominating anomalies: 30 with deformed ears, 21 with small, retreating foreheads, 10 **Asymmetry**, plagiocephalic, 16 with projecting cheekbones, 14 with prominent jaws, 7 with raised frontal sinuses, 6 hydrocephalic, 5 cross-eyed, 14 with facial asymmetry, 10 with physiognomy of retins, 9 goitrous, and 9 with deformed nose."

The following table is based upon 3000 cases studied by independent investigators, by Lombroso, Legge, and Amodei:

TABLE OF ASYMMETRY.

	MALES.		FEMALES.		Savage.	Insane.
	Normal.	Criminal.	Criminal.	Normal.		
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.		
Plagiocephalic heads.....	20.0	42.0	21.0	17.2	...	24.0
Cranial sclerosis.....	18.0	31.0	31.0	17.2	100.	50.0
Sutures ("soudées").....	25.0	37.0	26.0	13.3	8.0	23.0
Suture ("metopique").....	9.0	12.0	5.0	10.0	5.1	0.0
Wormian bones.....	28.0	59.0	46.0	20.0	...	68.0
Epactal bone.....	5.0	9.0	1.7	6.8	5.4	3.8
Fusion of atlas with occipital bone.....	0.8	3.0	3.2	...	...	2.7
Middle occipital fossa.....	4.1	16.0	3.2	3.4	26.0	14.0
Hollow of Civini.....	27.0	15.0	8.1	...	...	...
Receding forehead.....	18.0	36.0	6.8	10.0	...	...
Frontal Apophyses of the temporal bone.....	1.5	3.4	6.6	...	12.0	2.1
Superciliary ridges and developed sinuses..	25.0	62.0	29.0	19.0	100.	67.0
Anomalies of lower teeth.....	6.0	2.0	3.2	0.5	40.0	...
Large jaws.....	29.0	37.0	25.0	6.5	...	...
Very large jaws.....	4.5	10.6	...	...	100.	...
Traces of the intermaxillary suture.....	52.0	24.0	3.3	...	...	60.0
"Oxycephalic".....	2.0	7.5	3.3	...	...	...
Double sub-orbital fossa.....	6.0	18.0	...	...	...	...
"Subscafocephalic".....	6.0	6.0	...	...	...	...
Prognatism.....	34.0	34.0	32.0	10.0	100.	...
Projecting zygomatic apophyses.....	29.0	30.0	7.6	6.9	...	...
Nasal Glabella much depressed.....	13.0	31.0	...	...	...	...
Platycephalic.....	15.0	22.0	33.0	0.1	...	...
Asymmetry of the face.....	6.0	25.0	...	...	...	...
Asymmetry of the teeth.....	6.0	1.0	...	...	...	...
Projection of the temporal bones.....	27.0	43.0	...	...	...	...
Frontal beak of the coronal suture.....	2.0	9.0	...	...	...	...
Depression of the coronal glands.....	29.0	50.0	...	...	...	80.0
Wormian bone of pterion.....	16.0	23.0	3.0	...	66.0	18.0
Anomalies of the occipital fossa.....	2.5	10.0	11.5	...	...	0.5
Feminality.....	15.0	6.0	...	...	...	...
Virility.....	...	...	0.2	...	...	...
Projection of the orbital angle of the frontal bone.....	15.0	46.0	7.0	6.9	100.	...

Concerning the intelligence of criminals, Dr. MacDonald says:

"In intelligence the criminal is below the average. It must be remembered that the wandering and uncertain life of a criminal and his knocking about in the world favor a development of his intelligence. The first in Europe to investigate and establish an average were the Spaniards. Out of 53,600 about 67 per cent. had a fair intelligence, 10 per cent. were below the average, and 18 per cent. were depraved mentally; less than 1 per cent. possessed hardly any intelligence, and 2 1/2 per cent. could not be classified.

"Lombroso gives the following table as to education:

	Delinquents. (507)	Normals. (100.)
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
1. Analphabets.....	12	6
2. Elementary instruction..	95	69
3. Superior instruction.....	12	27

"Here 507 criminals are compared with 100 normal men. The criminals are much below the normals in the two extremes, but not in the elementary instruction.

"In Austria the lowest per cent. of crime (0.83 to 0.71

per cent.) for 14 years was found to be among those engaged in scientific work.

"With poets and artists crime is more frequent; they are dominated more by passion than those engaged in severe inductions or deductions.

"Criminality is more frequent among the liberal professions. In Italy 6.1 per cent. of criminals have superior education; in France, 6.0 per cent.; in Austria, from 3.6 to 3.11 per cent.; in Bavaria, 4.0 per cent. The proportion is here relatively greater than in the other classes of society; it is easy for the physician to give poison, the lawyer to cause perjury to be committed, and the teacher rape. Illiteracy is extremely common among prostitutes.

"As compared with the insane; criminals are much more lazy; but what they do has more purpose. Education tends to diminish monomania, religious and epidemical insanity, insanity of murder, and it gives to crime a less violent and less base appearance."

Concerning the power of contagion upon criminals, Dr. MacDonald says:

"Indirect contagion is as certain as the direct. Aubry gives several cases in illustration:

"A woman of Geneva, Switzerland, in 1885, killed her four children, then tried to commit suicide. In her autobiography were these words: 'As a woman did it, which was in the newspaper.'

"In 1881 a lad of 15 years stole from his patron; when the money was spent he found a child and stabbed it in the abdomen, and as he cut its throat he said: 'I have often read novels, and in one of them I found the description of a scene parallel to this which I have executed.'"

Concerning criminal hypnotism, see HYPNOTISM.

As a result of the study of the criminal, criminologists come to the conclusions as to the treatment of criminals stated in the articles CRIMINOLOGY and PENOLOGY. Dr. MacDonald summarizes them thus:

1. It is detrimental financially, as well as socially and morally, to release prisoners when there is probability of their returning to crime; for in this case the convict is less expensive than the ex-convict.

Summary.

2. The determinate sentence permits many prisoners to be released who are morally certain to return to crime. The indeterminate sentence is the best method of affording the prisoner an opportunity to reform without exposing society to unnecessary dangers.

3. The ground for the imprisonment of the criminal is, first of all, *because he is dangerous to society*. This principle avoids the uncertainty that may rest upon the decision as to the degree of freedom; for upon this last principle some of the most brutal crimes would receive a light punishment.

4. The publication in the newspapers of criminal details and photographs is a positive evil to society on account of the law of imitation; and, in addition, it makes the criminal proud of his record, and develops the morbid curiosity of the people. And it is especially the mentally and morally weak who are affected.

5. It is admitted by some of the most intelligent criminals, and by prison officers in general, that the criminal is a fool; for he is opposing himself to the best, the largest, and the strongest portion of society, and is almost sure to fail.

He adds: "If, as Lombroso thinks, crime is a return to the primitive and barbarous state of our ancestors, the criminal being a savage born into modern civilization, then for such there is

little hope of reformation. But these are criminals by nature and constitute a very small proportion, less than one tenth. The French school of criminology has shown that the greater part of crime arises out of social conditions, and hence is amenable to reformation, by the changing of these conditions.

Results.

Buechner says that defect of intelligence, poverty, and want of education are the three great factors in crime. Major McClaughry, of wide prison experience, and chief of the Chicago police, considers criminal parentage and associations, and neglect of children by their parents, as first among the causes of the criminal class. D'Oliverona, author of a French work on habitual criminality, asserts that three fourths of those who enter prison have been conducted to crime from the results of a neglected education.

"Now, education, in the narrow sense of mere intellectual instruction, is not sufficient to reform children who spend one fourth of the day in school, and three fourths on the street or with criminal, drunken, or idle parents. But are there not reform schools? Yes; but no provision has been made for the little children.

"One of the principal facts brought out at the late National Prison Congress at Baltimore was that all prisons should be reformatories. All men, no matter how old in crime, can at least be improved and benefited; that is to say, the best prisons of the future will be *reformatory* prisons, and the main means of reform will be the inculcation of good mental, moral, physical, and industrial habits—in other words, *education*."

Says Mr. Boies: "Permanent seclusion for the natural and incorrigible criminal, and indeterminate sentence to a reform school or reformatory for first and second convictions, except for the most heinous crimes, and special, permanent wardens for all jails, with complete reform of management, are the three vitally essential requirements of modern penology in America."

References: Arthur MacDonald's *Criminology* (1892) and *The Abnormal Man* (1893); Havelock Ellis's *The Criminal* (1892); H. M. Boies's *Prisoners and Paupers* (1893); W. D. Morrison's *Crime and its Causes* (1891). (See also CRIMINOLOGY.)

CRIMINOLOGY is the science which treats of the nature, causes, growth, and prevention of crime, together with the nature, punishment, and reformation of the criminal. Criminal anthropology is that portion of criminology which treats of the nature of the criminal, and penology that portion which treats of his punishment and reformation. We shall, therefore, treat these subjects under their respective heads. (See CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY and PENOLOGY.) The statistics and character of crime we study under CRIME. In this article we consider, I. The Development of the Science of Criminology; II. The Causes of Crime; III. The Prevention of Crime.

I. THE SCIENCE.

Criminology is a comparatively new science. Penology in a way has been studied as long as human punishments have been inflicted, and

from the classic times there has been more or less thought and written as to the nature of crime; yet only recently has crime been studied in a scientific manner, with deduction and induction from carefully observed facts. The father of modern criminology is Professor Cesare Lombroso, of Turin, whose epoch-making work, *L'uomo delinquente*, appearing in 1876, may be said to have almost created the science. Since then the study of the science has been general, yet Italy still leads. Says Dr. Arthur MacDonald, in his *Abnormal Man*, published in 1893 by the United States Bureau of Education:

"In 1885 the first international congress [for the consideration of criminology] was held at Rome. The second congress met at Paris. At first the scientific study of criminology was looked upon with suspicion. At present interest in the subject is greatly increasing. Like every new science, it is in its polemical stage. The Italians are the innovators. The criminologists are divided into two parties: one emphasizes the pathological or atavistic causes; the other, the psychological and sociological. The latter are subdivided into socialists, who would account for everything by the inequality of economic conditions, and those who take into consideration all social phenomena.

"Criminology proper may be divided into general, special, and practical. General criminology consists in a summary and synthesis of all the facts known. Special criminology concerns the investigation of individual cases, physically, psychically, and historically considered. Here, perhaps, is the most promising field for the advancement of criminology as a science. The practical side, which includes all methods and institutions for the prevention or repression of crime, is the most familiar to the public.

"The subdivisions of criminal anthropology or criminology and its relations to other sciences might be indicated as follows:

"Criminal *vegetology* considers the analogies of crime in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. The *anatomy* of criminology includes more especially the craniology, cerebology, histology, anthropometry and physiognomy of the criminal. In criminal *psychology* one

Subdivisions.

would study the entire *psychical* life: intelligence, sentiments, sensibility, ethics, esthetics, and religion. Criminal *sociology* comprehends the association of criminals; their relation to the State; economically, and in connection with poverty and misery. Criminal *jurisprudence* takes into consideration all criminal laws and their underlying principles. *Penology* treats of the principles, degrees, and methods of punishment. *Statistical* criminology has for its object the arrangement, classification, and summary of all criminal data, and their interpretation. Criminal *hypnology* concerns those hypnotic and partially hypnotic conditions in which crime is committed, especially in the case of hysterical individuals. Criminal *epidemiology* considers those conditions where, through imitation or by a sort of contagion, crime suddenly develops. Criminal *teratology* treats of pathological sexuality, onanism, pederasty, sodomy, masochism and sadism, and sapphism. Criminal *prophylaxy* considers the methods of prevention through alterations of social condition, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious education; by means of prisons, transportation, and deportation. The *philosophy* of criminology takes up the more disputed questions and theories, as atavism, infantilism (natural depravity of children), degeneracy, the interpretation of psychical and physical characteristics, and crimo-psychiatrical cases. We may add that the whole study of pathological humanity may do for humanity what pathology has done for medicine."

Prominent among criminologists are, besides Lombroso, the Italians, Beccaria, Ferri, Garofolo, Rossi, Tenchini; the Germans, Benedikt von Holder, Holtzendorf; the French, Drs. Aubry, Berillon, Bernheim, Corre, Joly, Laurent, Magnan, Tarde; the English and Americans, Brockway, Ellis, Falkner, MacDonald, Morrison, Rylands, E. C. and F. H. Wines. To show the present development of the science, we quote the following report of the In-

ternational Congress for Criminal Anthropology in Brussels in 1892, as written by Dr. MacDonald in his *Abnormal Man*. He says:

"Dimitri Drill, publicist at Moscow, in his report as to the fundamental principles of criminal anthropology or criminology, traced the origin of the school to Gall, its grandfather, and to 'Lombroso, the father and founder.' In speaking of the Italian school, he acknowledged the great merits of Lombroso, but could not follow him in all his opinions. His résumé of the principles and tendencies of the school of criminal anthropology is as follows:

"1. Criminology renounces entirely the law of retaliation as end, principal, or basis of all judicial punishment. The basis and purpose of punishment is the necessity of protecting society against the sad consequences of crime, either by moral reclamation of the criminal or by his separation from society; punishment is not to satisfy vengeance.

"2. In criminology it is not sufficient to study the fact of crime; the criminal himself must be considered; it becomes necessary to define the causes which produce crime, to study the sphere of action of the criminal as well as measures for the safety of society against his acts. Criminology does not study the criminal in the abstract and speculate over his guilt or responsibility; but it analyzes him according to results purely scientific, and with the aid of exact methods which apply equally to the investigation of other phenomena.

"3. In crime the results of two factors are seen reciprocally reacting: first, the individual peculiarities from the nature of the criminal or his psycho-physical organization, then the peculiarities of external influences, as climate, nature of country, and social surroundings.

"4. Relying upon exact results, criminology reveals the criminal as an organization more or less unfortunate, vicious, impoverished, ill-balanced, defective, and so not adapted to struggle with surrounding conditions, and consequently incapable of maintaining this struggle in legally established ways. This defect of adaptation for the majority is not absolute, but varies with the conditions.

"5. The causes of crime fall into three categories: (a) immediate, which arise from the character of the criminal; (b) more remote, which are hidden in his unfavorable surroundings, under the influence of which organic peculiarities are developed into more or less constant criminal agents; (c) predisposing causes, which push these ill-proportioned and viciously developed organizations toward crime.

"6. Thus basing crime upon scientific grounds, criminology has as its purpose a fundamental study of the actual criminal and his crimes as ordinary phenomena which it must investigate throughout their whole extent, from their genesis to their full growth and final development. Thus the phenomenon of crime is united with great social questions.

"7. Based upon these principles, criminology logically recognizes an absence of good sense in repressive measures determined *in advance* as to their duration and specific character. Criminology, on the contrary, affirms the necessity of studying individual peculiarities, before rendering decisions in advance. The term of punishment should endure so long as the causes exist which necessitate it; it should cease as soon as the causes do.

"Manouvrier, who is professor in the anthropological school at Paris, and the well-known opponent of Lombroso's criminal type, in his paper on the comparative study of criminals and normal men, did not find any real distinctive differences except in surrounding conditions, which modify the associations or combinations of habitudes and correlatively the anatomical confirmation.

"Dr. Lacassagne, professor at Lyons, in discussing the primordial sentiments of criminals, distinguished three classes: The frontals (intellectual), the parietals or impulsive class, and the occipitals or the emotional class; the brain is an agglomeration of instincts which at a given moment can have a special function, and it is the preponderance of one of these instincts which can control the whole situation; this explains the want of reflection and of prudence in criminals; cerebral equilibrium, on the contrary, indicates virtue. The occipital instincts are in close relations with the viscera, and so with nutrition; hence the importance of these as social factors. This indicates that in the future it may be necessary to found the theory of criminality upon cerebral function.

Various Views.

"One of the most important papers in the Congress was that on 'Morbid Criminal Possession' by Dr. Magnan, physician and superintendent of the Ste. Anne Insane Asylum at Paris. Such a morbid possession consists generally of an idea isolated and independent of the ordinary course of thought; it is a mode of activity in the brain, in which a word or image imposes itself upon the mind, apart from the volition; in the normal state this idea or possession gives no special uneasiness, but in an abnormal person it can produce a painful agony and become irresistible. In the normal state the possession is transitory and generally easy to repress, and does not involve the other intellectual operations. But in an abnormal or diseased subject the individual can be irresistibly pushed to acts which he consciously disapproves of. Owing to a want of knowledge of such states, judicial and medical errors have not been infrequent. Thus a person pushed by the possession of the irresistible idea to murder (generally a cherished friend), altho horrified by the thought, commits the act. One of Magnan's patients, when having a premonition of the impulsion coming on, would shut herself up in a room until relieved.

Morbid Possession.

"According to Dr. Ladame, professor at Geneva, an individual possessed with the idea of murder belongs to the group of hereditary mental degenerates; such individuals are rare. If it be admitted that this morbid possession is frequent, on the other hand it rarely pushes to homicide, but is turned toward the individual himself, resulting in suicide. Dr. Ladame maintains that heredity is the main predisposing cause, but an occasional cause is also necessary, and this is principally in the publication of details in great crimes. An acquired predisposition is due to alcoholism. It is necessary to distinguish between insane murderers and those pushed to murder by morbid possessions. The latter belong to the large category of those affected by hereditary insanity, as dipsomania, kleptomania, etc. The possession of the idea of murder is sporadic, but is more frequently found under the form of a moral epidemic, resulting from the widespread knowledge of great crimes and from capital executions.

"No question stirred up more discussion than criminal suggestion. While distinguished men were frankly agnostic as to conclusions of their colleagues, yet it may be said that those who have made the most experiments on both normal and abnormal subjects are convinced that criminal suggestion and hypnotism can be produced experimentally, and actually do occur in society.

"Dr. Voisin, physician at La Salpêtrière, who is especially qualified to speak in regard to hypnotism, especially as to its therapeutical value, maintained that criminal suggestibility in the waking or hypnotic state is intimately connected with debility or mental degeneracy of the individual to whom the suggestion is given. There is a small number capable of committing criminal acts upon the example of degenerated impulsive individuals. The penal responsibility of an individual having committed a crime under the influence of hypnotic suggestion should be declared null, conforming to the French penal code (article 64), which says: 'There is neither crime nor misdemeanor, if the accused was in a state of dementia at the time of the act, or if he has been constrained by a force which he could not resist.' As to its therapeutical value, hypnotism in the hands of a physician can give admirable results. It can also save from crime and from the condemnation of the innocent, as well as from disease.

"Dr. Bérillon, editor of the *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, as a result of his own investigations and experiments in criminal suggestion, believes he is justified in concluding that certain individuals present in the waking state such a suggestibility that it would be possible to make them execute automatically and unconsciously, when under the influence of verbal suggestion, misdemeanors or crimes. If it is shown that the accused acted under such suggestions, he should not be held responsible. On the other hand, authors of criminal suggestions should be held guilty in the same way as those who by abuse of authority or power or by machinations provoked the accomplishment of a crime or misdemeanor, or simply give instructions to commit it (French penal code, article 60).

"Neither Professor Benedikt, of Vienna, nor Professor Mendel, of Berlin, believe in the existence of crime by suggestion. Dr. Masoin, professor at Louvain, answered that negations cannot prevail in the presence of facts. Voisin insisted again on his opinion, since by hypnotism he had saved from condemnation

a woman, to whom a crime had been suggested. Dr. Houzé, professor of anthropology at Brussels, believed that hysteria could be cured by hypnotism, and that certainly it could be ameliorated; he believed also in the reality of criminal suggestion.

"Judge Tarde, of Sarlat, in France, well known as the author of *The Laws of Imitation* and of *Social and Penal Philosophy*, gave with his usual analytical finesse a curious and paradoxical discourse on the *Crimes of Crowds*. Morally and intellectually men in throngs are less valuable than in detail, that is, social collectivity, especially when it takes the form of a crowd, is morally inferior to the average individual in the crowd; thus a nation is not as moral as its normal 'citizen' type; the public are not as moral as the individuals which compose it. The collective spirit, which we call parliament or congress, is not equal in rapid or sure power of functioning, or in profoundness or amplitude of deliberation, to the spirit of the most mediocre of its members, whence the proverb: *Senatores bonivici, senatus autem mala bestia*. Even a liberal sect will become intolerant and despotic; a crowd still more so; in both cases despotism in any event is much more intolerant and despotic than among a majority of the members. Why? Because the contiguity and concentration of opinions are molded into conviction and faith, which became fanatical; that which was a simple desire in the individual becomes a passion in the crowd. The crowd is a retrograde social organism; no matter how perfect, it is passionate, not rational. The more collective a crime the less it is punished. The best police force cannot suppress the brutality of the crowd, unless the press cease to publish that which produces excitation to crime or misdemeanor. The jury will not punish such crimes, especially when they have a political color. Thus the necessity of an exclusive criminal magistrature is shown. The punishment should be, above all, as an example. The individual should be punished in the measure that his impunity is dangerous.

"Dr. Coutagne, medical expert at Lyons, in his paper on the influence of the profession on criminality, advocated the increase of penalty where the nature of the profession aggravates the crime, as in the case of abortion by physicians. Following the principle of social necessity, the penalties for the use of injurious substances in food, defamation of character by journalists, etc., should be increased.

"The respective importance of anthropological and social elements in the determination of penalty was considered by Dr. Gaucler; he showed that the essential function of criminal law is to prevent crime by intimidation, and that this function is conditioned exclusively by social elements; a secondary function is to be assured as to the 'innocuity' of a first offender, and also in some degree to repair the prejudice from which a victim suffers.

"Professor Von Liszt, of the University of Halle, in considering the applications of criminal anthropology, said that the most important one is subordination to criminal sociology. The profound difference between criminals by nature and by occasion is a result that can be immediately applied to legislation. Among the delinquents by nature are found a large number of degenerated individuals especially marked by heredity. Punition must seek to combat and ameliorate the criminal by degeneracy; if the criminal is young, the most preferable measures are those of education. Whether the criminal is incurable or not, society must be protected against him and he must be protected against himself.

"Professor Benedikt submitted the following resolution, that anthropological and biological studies are indispensable for the placing of penal legislation upon solid foundations.

"Professor Van Hamel, of Amsterdam, in his report on measures applicable to the incorrigible, concluded that the principal indication of incorrigibility is recidivation; against recidivists penalty should assume the character of social defense, on account of the danger; there should be indeterminate detention for the incorrigible; there should be periodic deliberations as to such cases, and a large latitude left to competent authority, which should be judiciary.

"In treating of the same question, Professor Alimena held to the idea of long and increased imprisonment proportionate to the number of crimes; and for those guilty of small misdemeanors, especially with recidivists, an abolition of short terms of punishment, and a substitution of obligatory labor in special institutions, in companies for work and in interior colonization. There should be perpetual relegation or deportation

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for criminals who have passed the maximum of re-education.

"Professor Thiry, of Liège, held to the word incorrigible in the relative sense; for him the basis of incorrigibility is the permanent moral influence to which the individual succumbs; he did not believe in perpetual, but in indeterminate, detention; there was also no necessity for judiciary intervention to prolong or interfere with the detention, as administrative responsibility and the supervision already in use were sufficient to prevent arbitrary action.

"Dr. Maus formulated his conclusions as follows: The measures to be taken in regard to hardened recidivists should be, first, those that are best known; to send into the prison asylums those whose recidivation has a pathological cause; to increase considerably and in a gradual manner the duration of the punishment until it becomes perpetual for

Recidivists. the serious crimes; finally to render repression more subjective by applying it with a view to reformation, according to the state of the criminal and the nature of the crime. Such a difficult task requires not only specialists with experience and knowledge of insanity, but perhaps it cannot be accomplished without the aid of sincere devotion and sacrifice. Prevention also plays a rôle in combatting the social causes of recidivation, as degeneracy, alcoholism, prostitution, misery, etc.; these factors render vain in great part the efforts of the penitentiary, producing more recidivists than the penitentiary can correct.

"Professor Prins, of Brussels, who is the general inspector of prisons, placed the indeterminate sentence under two heads: delinquency for misery and for degeneracy; but in regard to repression proper, he saw great practical difficulties for those who are incorrigible and criminal by passion. As to the liberation of the incorrigible, relatively speaking, the appreciation of a judge or administrator is not sufficient guarantee. The solution of the question of the incorrigible lies in a progressive aggravation of punishment; and it is especially necessary to renounce prison luxury.

"Dr. Paul Garnier, chief physician of the 'Préfecture de Police' of Paris, in considering the necessity of a psycho-moral examination of certain accused persons as a duty of the court, said, if it is deemed excessive to ask judicial authorities to organize a medical inspection for the accused—which does not take the place of the medico-legal expert, but designates to him the cases to be inquired into—it is nevertheless a necessity in presence of frequent judicial errors. A magistrate entrusted with so delicate a mission as to decide whether a medico-legal expert is needed should at least possess certain indispensable notions of a scientific order to make such a decision. If the judge orders experts, he should be able to judge of their utility and to control the results through special knowledge; but such special knowledge necessary for the interpretation of scientific facts is outside the domain of a magistrate, however brilliant and judicious he may be."

As to the principles of the science, different schools would, of course, state them differently. Dr. MacDonald, in his report, states them thus:

"The relation of criminality to the other forms of pathological and abnormal humanity is one of degree. If we represent the highest degree, as crime, by A⁶, A⁵, say, would stand for insane criminality, and A⁴ for alcoholism, perhaps, A³ for pauperism, A² for those weak forms of humanity that charity treats more especially, and A for the idea of wrong in general, particularly in its lightest forms. Thus, crime is the most exaggerated form of wrong; but these forms are all one in essence. A drop of water is as much water as is an ocean.

"It is difficult to draw a distinct line between these different forms of wrong. This will become evident from the fact that they are dovetailed one into the other. Thus, when cross-questioning criminals, one often feels that not only are their minds weak and wavering, but that they border close on insanity. The same feeling arises after an examination of confirmed paupers. Here alcoholism is one of the main causes; the individual, on account of his intemperate habits, finds difficulty in obtaining employment, and this forced idleness gradually, from repetition, develops into a confirmed habit. Pauperism may be, in some cases, hereditary, but it is too often overlooked that the children of paupers can acquire all such habits from their parents, and so it can be carried from one generation to another, without resorting to heredity as a cause, which is too often a name to cover up our ignorance of all the early conditions. The extent to which

alcoholism is involved in all forms of humanitarian pathology is well known; it is often indirectly as well as directly the cause of leading the young into crime; the intemperate father makes himself a pest in his own home; the children remain out all night through fear; this habit leads to running away for a longer time. Altho not thieves, the children are compelled to steal or to beg, in order to live; and thus many become confirmed criminals or paupers, or both. The great evil about alcoholism is that it too often injures those around, who are of much more value than the alcoholic himself. It makes itself felt indirectly and directly in our hospitals, insane asylums, orphan asylums, and charitable institutions in general. However low the trade of the prostitute may be, alcohol is her greatest physical enemy.

"As just indicated, some of the lesser degrees of abnormal and pathological humanity may be considered under the head of charitable. These are represented by the different kinds of benevolent institutions, such as asylums for the insane and feeble-minded, for the inebriate; hospitals, homes for the deaf, dumb, and blind, for the aged and orphans, etc.; and institutions for defectives of whatever nature.

"It is evident, however, that the term charitable may not only be applied to what is pathological or abnormal, but also to that which is physiological or normal. Thus it can refer to institutions of quite a different order, but yet none the less charitable in nature. We refer, of course, to educational institutions, the majority of which are a gift to the public, and especially to those who attend them. It is obvious enough that every student is, in some measure, a charity student from the well-known fact that the tuition money in most cases pays a very small part of the expenses.

"Now, no distinct line can be drawn between penal and reformatory institutions, and between reformatory and educational institutions; it is, again, a question of degree. But, in saying this, it is not meant that difference in degree is of little consequence. On the contrary, it is very important to distinguish between penal, reformatory, and educational for practical reasons, as in the classification of prisoners, not all of whom are criminals. In a sense, all education should be reformatory.

"But, it may be asked, where can a subject end? It goes without saying that divisions are more or less arbitrary, if we are seeking reality, for things are together, and the more we look into the world the more we find it to be an *organic mechanism of absolute relativity.*

Principles.

Most human beings who are abnormal or defective in any way are much more alike than unlike normal individuals; and hence, in the thorough study of any single individual (microcosmic mechanism), distinct lines are more for convenience. Thus the difficulties of distinguishing between health and disease, sanity and insanity, vegetable and animal, are familiar. Whatever may be said from the educational point of view about abnormal cases is generally true, with few modifications, of the normal. Education and pedagogy are thus to be included to some extent in a comprehensive charitable system.

"But altho the distinct separation of one wrong from another is not easy, yet the decision as to the highest form of wrong may not be so difficult. This form consists, without doubt, in the act of depriving another of his existence; no act could be more radical; the least that could be said of any one is that he does not exist. The desire for existence is the deepest instinct in nature; not only in the lower forms of nature, but anthropologically considered, this feeling manifests itself in the highest aspirations of races. In mythology, religion, and theology the great fact is existence hereafter, and in philosophy it has gone so far as preexistence of the soul. Perhaps the deepest experience we have of non-existence is in the loss of an intimate friend, when we say so truly that part of our existence has gone from us. It is death which makes existence tragic.

"Now, the degrees of wrong may be expressed in a general way in terms of existence; that is, in depriving another of any of his rights we are taking from him some of his existence, for existence is qualitative as well as temporal; that is, it includes everything that gives to life content.

"Thus, in this sense, a man of 40 may have had more existence than another at 80, where the former's life has been broader, richer in experience and thought, and more valuable to others.

"We may say in general that the existence of a person is beneficial or injurious in that degree in which it is beneficial or injurious to the community or human-

ity. This statement is based upon the truism that the whole is more than any of its parts.

"The degrees of wrong, therefore, should depend upon the degree of danger or injury (moral, intellectual, physical, or financial) which a thought, feeling, willing, or action brings to the community."

This same principle should be applied to degrees of exaggerated wrong or crime.

"But it may be said, should not the degree of freedom or of personal guilt be the main basis for the punishment of the criminal? The force of this objection is evident; historically, the idea of freedom has been the basis of criminal law; it has also been sanctioned by the experience of the race; and altho no claim is made of carrying it into practice without serious difficulties in the way of strict justice (difficulties inevitable to any system), yet it has not only been an invaluable service, but a necessity to humanity. This is not only true on criminal lines, but this idea has been the conscious basis of our highest moral ideas.

"But at the same time it must be admitted that the exaggeration of the idea of freedom has been one of the main causes of vengeance, which has left its traces in blood, fire, martyrdom, and dungeon; and tho at present vengeance seldom takes such extreme forms, yet it is far from extinct. On moral and on biblical grounds, as far as human beings are concerned, vengeance can find little support; an example of its impracticability is the fact that some of the best prison wardens never punish a man until some time after the offense, so that there may be no feeling on the part of either that it is an expression of vengeance. The offender is generally reasoned with kindly, but firmly, and told that he must be punished, otherwise the good discipline of the prison could not be maintained, which means that he is punished for the good of others. With few exceptions, a revengeful tone of manner toward the prisoner (the same is true outside of prison) always does harm, for it stirs up similar feelings in the prisoner, which are often the cause of his bad behavior and crime, and need no development. Kindness with firmness is the desirable combination. Vengeance produces vengeance.

"But, taking the deterministic view of the world, the highest morality is possible. One proof is that some fatalists are rigidly moral. A psychological analysis will show that persons who are loved and esteemed are those whose very nature is to do good—that is, they would not and could not see a fellow-being suffer; that is, from the necessity of their nature, they were from infancy of a kind disposition. We admire the sturdy nature who, by long struggle, has reached the moral goal; but we cannot love him always. He is not always of a kind disposition; this is not a necessity of his nature. As the expression goes, 'There are very good people with whom the Lord Himself could not live.'

"Is it not the spontaneity of a kind act that gives it its beauty, where there is no calculating, no reasoning, no weighing in the balance, no choice? The grace of morality is 'in its naturalness. But go still further. Do we like a good apple more and a bad apple less because they are necessarily good or bad? And if we admitted that every thought, feeling, willing, and acting of men were as necessary as the law of gravity, would we like honest men less and liars more? True, we might at first modify our estimation of some men, but it would be in the direction of better feeling toward all men.

"But, whatever one's personal convictions may be, questions of the freedom of the will and the like must be set aside, not because they are not important, but simply because enough is not known regarding the exact conditions (psychological and physiological) under which we act and think. If we were obliged to withhold action in the case of any criminal for the reason that we did not know whether the will is free or not (allowing for all misconceptions as to this whole question), the community would be wholly unprotected. If a tiger were loose in the streets, the first question would not be whether he was guilty or not. We should imprison the criminal, first of all, because he is dangerous to the community.

"But if it be asked, how there can be responsibility without freedom? the answer is that there is at least the feeling of responsibility in cases where there is little or no freedom; that is, there is sometimes no proportion between the feeling of responsibility and the amount of responsibility afterward shown. The main difficulty, however, is that in our present state of knowledge it is impossible to know whether this very feeling of responsibility or of freedom is not

itself necessarily caused either psychologically or physiologically or both. If we admit that we are compelled to believe we are free (as some determinists seem to claim), we deny freedom in this very statement. Another obvious and practical ground for our ignorance as to this point is the fact that, altho our generations as the best and greatest minds have not failed to give it their attention, yet up to the present time the question remains *sub judice*. If we carried out practically the theory of freedom, we should have to punish some of the greatest criminals the least, since, from their coarse organization and lack of moral sense, their responsibility would be very small.

"There is no objection to speaking of freedom in the sense that a man as an individual may be free in regard to his surroundings and can influence those around him, as is the case in strong characters which can be independent of their outward environment, and so act freely. But to say that within the man himself, within his character or personality (body and mind), there is freedom, is going entirely beyond our knowledge, for there is little or nothing demonstrated concerning the workings or relations of brain and mind.

"Dr. Paul Carus well expresses a similar idea when he says: 'A free man, let us say an artist, full of an idea, executes his work without any compulsion; he works of his own free will. His actions are determined by a motive of his own, not by foreign pressure. Therefore, we call him free.'

"A scientific ethics must regard the question of freedom as an unsettled problem. Any ethics would be unethical in taking as one of its bases so debatable a question.

"Our general, sociological, ethical principle (as above stated) is that the idea of wrong depends upon the moral, intellectual, physical, and financial danger or injury which a thought, feeling, willing, or acting brings to humanity.

"But, accepting this principle, the important question is, just what are these thoughts, feelings, willings, and actions, and by what method are they to be determined? The first part of this question, on account of the narrow and limited knowledge at present in those lines, can be answered only very imperfectly, if at all. As to the method, that of science seems to us the only one that can eventually be satisfactory. By the application of the scientific method is meant that all facts, especially psychological (sociological, historical, etc.), physiological, and pathological, must form the basis of investigation. Psychological facts that can be scientifically determined, as affecting humanity, beneficially or not, are comparatively few in number. Physiologically, more facts can be determined as to their effect on humanity. But it is preeminently in the field of pathology that definite scientific results can be acquired. As to the difficulty of investigating psycho-ethical effects, it may be said physiological psychology and psycho-physics have not as yet furnished a sufficient number of scientific facts.

"By the scientific application of chemistry, clinical and experimental medicine, with vivisection, to physiology, many truths of ethical importance to humanity are made known. But there is much here to be desired; for example, what is said about questions of diet and ways of living in general is scientifically far from satisfactory. The development of pathology in medicine has been without precedent. Its direct ethical value to humanity is already very great; but the outlook into the future is still greater. It is only necessary to mention the discovery of the cholera and tuberculosis germs (a *conditio sine qua non* of their prevention), immunity in the case of the latter would be one of the greatest benefactions yet known to the race. Medicine can be said to be the study of the future, especially in the scientific and prophylactic sense. It is to experimental medicine that scientific ethics will look for many of its basal facts.

"In emphasizing the scientific method as the most important it is not intended to exclude others. The *a priori* method has been of inestimable value to philosophy, ethics, and theology, and to science itself in the forming of hypotheses and theories, which are often necessary anticipations of truth, to be verified afterward. The *a priori* method is related to the *posteriori* method as the sails to the ballast of the boat: the more philosophy, the better, provided there are a sufficient number of facts; otherwise there is danger of upsetting the craft.

"The present office of ethics is, as far as the facts will allow, to suggest methods of conduct to follow and ideals to hold that will bring humanity into a more moral, physiological, and normal state, enabling each individual to live more in harmony with nature's laws. Such an applied ethics must study especially the

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phenomena manifested in the different forms of pathological humanity and draw its conclusions from the facts just gathered.

"But there are many scientists who look with suspicion upon the introduction of philosophical thought and methods into their field. We may call them pure scientists; that is to say, those who believe that the

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term scientific truth should be applied only to that form of truth which can be directly verified by facts accessible to all. Yet from this point of view the arrangement, classification, formation of hypotheses and theories, or philosophical conclusions are not necessarily illegitimate, provided those processes are clearly distinguished from each other and rigidly separated from the facts. Perhaps the study which, more than all others, will contribute toward a scientific ethics is criminology, the subject-matter of which touches the popular mind very closely, owing, in a great measure, to the influence of the press; and tho this has its dangers, yet it is the duty of this, as of every science, to make its principles and conclusions as clear as possible to the public, since in the end such questions vitally concern them.

"Crime can be said, in a certain sense, to be nature's experiment on humanity. If a nerve of a normal organism is cut, the organs in which irregularities are produced are those which the nerve controls. In this way the office of a nerve in the normal state may be discovered. The criminal is, so to speak, the severed nerve of society, and the study of him is a practical way (tho indirect) of studying normal men. And since the criminal is seven eighths like other men, such a study is, in addition, a direct inquiry into normal humanity.

"The relation also of criminology to society and to sociological questions is already intimate, and may in the future become closer. Just what crime is at present depends more upon time, location, race, country, nationality, and even the State in which one resides. But notwithstanding the extreme relativity of the idea of crime, there are some things in our present social life that are questionable. A young girl of independence, but near poverty, tries to earn her own living at \$3 a week, and if, having natural desires for a few comforts and some taste for her personal appearance, she finally, through pressure, oversteps the bound, society, which permits this condition of things, immediately ostracizes her. It borders on criminality that a widow works 15 hours a day in a room in which she lives, making trousers at 10 cents a pair, out of which she and her family must live, until they gradually run down toward death from want of sufficient nutrition, fresh air, and any comfort. It is criminally questionable to leave stoves in cars, so that if the passenger is not seriously injured, but only wedged in, he will have the additional chances of burning to death. It has been a general truth, and in some cases is still, that so many persons must perish by fire before private individuals will furnish fire escapes to protect their own patrons. It is a fact that over 5000 persons are killed yearly in the United States at railroad grade crossings, most of whose lives could have been spared had either the road or the railroad passed either one over the other. But it is said that such improvements would involve an enormous expense; that is practically to admit that the extra money required is of more consequence than the 5000 human lives. And yet, strange as it may seem, if a brutal murderer is to lose his life, and there is the

least doubt as to his premeditation, a large part of the community is often aroused into moral excitement, if not indignation, while the innocently murdered railroad passenger excites little more than a murmur.

"There is, perhaps, no subject upon which the public conscience is more tender than the treatment of the criminal.

"Psychologically, the explanation is simple, for the public have been educated gradually to feel the misfortune and sufferings of the criminal; it is also easier to realize, since the thought is confined generally to one personality at a time."

II. CAUSES OF CRIME.

Writers, of course, vary very considerably in their opinions as to the causes of crime.

At the Birmingham meeting of the (English) National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in 1868, the Rev. H. S. Elliot gave the following table as to the causes of crime, which he had compiled out of personal observation :

Bad company	351
Drink	205
Poverty	52
Opportunity	77
Want of principle	67
Temper	96
Immorality	39
Wantonness	11
Incapacity	102

Total..... 1,000

Mr. L. G. Rylands says, in his *Crime and its Causes*, from which we quote the above table (p. 46):

"To sum up, the active causes of all kinds are these: Defective training, or total absence of any; immoral associates and bad example in prison as well as out of it; drink, idleness, and the hereditary transmission of evil tendencies. These causes, however, frequently overlap, and one is often found to be the effect of another; the only perfectly simple and absolutely final division is into two main heads: Heredity and Environment."

Considering the separate items here mentioned, various writers have emphasized various causes. In his *Prisoners and Paupers*, Mr. H. M. Boies, member of the Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities, emphasizes the causes of evil surroundings and intemperance. He says that intemperance causes more than 75 per cent. of the crimes committed, while our cities furnish 90 per cent. of our criminals, and in support of which statement he presents the following table :

PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATION AND CRIMINALS IN CERTAIN STATES.*

	Number of Cities.	Percentage of Urban Population to Total.	One Criminal to Every	Total Criminals.
The United States.....	345	27.6	786.5	79,617
Vermont.....	2	7.6	1605.	207
Maine.....	6	17.1	1031.	641
New Hampshire.....	4	24.7	1137.5	331
Pennsylvania.....	33	39.1	929.	5,659
Connecticut.....	10	41.8	454.	1,641
New Jersey.....	15	51.	489.	2,948
Rhode Island.....	4	57.6	556.	621
New York.....	32	57.8	455.	13,159
Massachusetts.....	37	66.	703.	3,182
District of Columbia.....	1	100.	548.	370

* Collated from the *Bulletin of the Eleventh Census.*

He shows the same by the following as to Pennsylvania :

"The county of Allegheny, where are the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, with a joint population of 343,440 out of 551,959 in the county, largely made up by

mining and manufacturing towns, supplies 20.3 of the criminal population of the same date, or one in 272.7 of its population. This is nearly three times the average of the State. Philadelphia furnishes about seven and a half times, and Allegheny nearly nine times as many criminals as the average of the rural counties.

"A similar condition exists in regard to pauperism."

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF PAUPERISM BY RURAL AND URBAN COUNTIES AND THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

	State of Pennsylvania.	County of Philadelphia.	County of Allegheny.	Rural Counties.
Population.....	5,258,041	1,046,964	551,050	1,673,556
Inmates of almshouses.....	9,026	2,877	719	2,075
Inmates of homes, asylums, and other charitable institutions, and receiving temporary aid.....	20,858	16,913	592	5,265
Insane hospitals.....	4,826	1,406	352	2,427
Indigent deaf and dumb.....	606	108	86	159
Institutions for feeble minds.....	800	90	11	58
Other institutions.....	74	12	5	37
Homes and private families.....	561	75	31	291
Average daily occupants of hospital beds.....	3,301	2,271	551	30
Institutions reporting.....	183	97	23	19
Total....	40,952	23,752	2,347	10,342
Percentage of population.....	.759	2.268	.425	.618

* Collated from the Report of the Board of Public Charities for 1890.

City life, with its crowded slums and tenements, he considers one great cause of crime. He says :

"Humanity crowded into cities divides itself into three distinct strata in their extreme divergence, altho so gradually merging together as to leave no positive line of demarcation between them. At the top of the social scale is the wealthy class, able to live without labor, and to indulge itself in the gratification of most of its desires. Next below is the middle class of workers, living in comfort without extreme luxury. At the bottom all the rest, the largest number of all; hustled and swirled in the fierce currents of life hither and thither; packed and crowded into such tenements as are left to them; mostly unable to procure or incapable of enjoying any but the baser sensual pleasures; mixed indiscriminately in their habitations, and everywhere with the most vicious of mankind, with everything to corrupt and but little to improve them.

"The influences of city life upon these three classes are different in nature and degree. The two upper are extensively reached by the conservative and elevating privileges of intellectual and religious culture and stimulation; the lower but slightly. Wealth and the power it confers tend to engender in the highest stratum a sense of independence of, and superiority over, the rules and regulations of human and divine law. Selfishness and indulgence weaken the moral sense and physical powers; the incessant pursuit of pleasure by individuals disturbs and disrupts family relations; domestic enjoyment is abandoned for the more exciting attractions of 'society,' and the family home becomes but little better than a hotel to sleep and eat in when not otherwise engaged.

As a consequence, marriage tends to become simply an arrangement of convenience like the home; children are committed to the training of hired nurses and tutors; parental responsibilities are ignored or neglected, and one by one the members of the highest class sink out of it, by loss of health, character, or wealth, and it makes its contribution to criminality or pauperism in due time from those ruined in it. The display of luxury and splendor by the wealthy also, doubtless, excites ambitions and desires among those who are unable to gratify them honestly, which leads to dishonesty and crime. The inability of many of the young who are in association with the wealthy to maintain the expense of a family in a style to which they are accustomed operates to discourage matrimony, and conduces to licentiousness and the increase of prostitution. It is commonly understood that social morals and religion are at their lowest ebb in the upper and nether strata of society the world over.

"The great intervening mass of citizens which con-

stitute the social leaven, ordained to save the whole lump, are exposed to grave dangers of a different nature in city life. They are subjected to temptations of the most attractive and insidious kinds. Vice clothes itself in its most alluring vesture in great cities. The most capable and skilful of the vicious and immoral naturally seek and find here their most fruitful field of operation, as well as opportunity to hide themselves amid the thronging thousands. Gorgeous saloons for gambling, drinking, and prostitution invite the unwary on all sides. 'Traps for the innocent are baited with every kind of 'entertainment;' names are invented to clothe wrong-doing in the garments of respectability, and the constant, necessary familiarity with the various forms of vice which abound leads the unwary first to 'endure, then pity, then embrace.' The density of population affords also opportunity for secret indulgence in sinful practices, without attracting attention. People live for years in houses whose doorsteps are only separated by an iron railing without knowing one another. Thousands spend their lives in 'flats,' with other families above and below them, others in hotels and boarding-houses. The husband and father is absent regularly every day at his business, the home deserted; Sunday, being the only day when the whole family is together, becomes a day of enjoyment and recreation; religion wanes and dies, and its restraints and elevating influences disappear.

"Worse than all, the children are compelled to play in the streets, and to associate with all they meet there; to learn all the evil known by the worst. Here they become familiar with every form of evil and sin. The curbstones and doorsteps of the respectable resident

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portion of large cities, crowded with children on a pleasant evening, are often a painful sight to a philanthropist. Girls and boys of all ages and kinds, sporting promiscuously of necessity where every foul nighthawk seeks its prey, lose the lovely innocence of childhood before they reach their teens, and each generation of city growth takes a lower level in purity and morals as its average than the preceding. Parents, too, absorbed in the urgent competitions and activities of business and pleasure, become more and more prone to delegate the nurture and admonition of their children to the day-school and Sunday-school teacher--often to omit the latter entirely. Family training and duties grow lax as communal social requirements increase. As the divinely instituted responsibilities are ignored, the conservative and elevating influence of domestic life declines; so the community takes the place of the family.

"It is a threatening and dangerous change which substitutes public pleasures for private enjoyments, or a public for a private life in society, obliterating the home from the consciousness and recollections of a people.

"An inordinate eagerness to accumulate wealth is

inflamed in the ranks of the successful; a speculative spirit akin to gambling depraves honest business. . . .

"If the life of the upper classes of citizens conduces to degradation, what shall be said of the lower and lowest? What can be expected from the helpless and

Slums.

hopeless; the dregs of humanity, settled, out of the ferment of civilization in the cities? Their want and misery, immorality and vice, have reached bottom, and can descend no farther with life. The shocking and deplorable condition of the 'submerged' has been forcibly portrayed by General Booth of the Salvation Army and other recent writers. Whole families (14, even, were found in one room) huddled in single garret or cellar rooms, to feed together on garbage, and sleep together on rags and straw gathered on the streets; murderers, robbers, thieves, worn-out drunkards, and prostitutes crowding together in vile dens; establishing communities which the police scarcely dare enter after dark; filling single tenements with the population of a village; whole precincts living in actual if not open defiance of the law of God and man, of decency, of health, of honesty, social welfare, morals, and religion. Their numbers, constantly recruited by criminal fugitives from every direction, have no thought or study but to prey upon society, and to educate one another in the ingenuities of vice. Few, feeble, and futile are the efforts that are made to rescue or help or save them, and even these are received with a snarl like that with which the hunted street cur takes a morsel from the hand of pity.

"Amid such environments society is corrupted chiefly by the frightfully increasing vices of Sabbath desecration, intemperance, fornication, and gambling. To these debasing influences are to be attributed largely the shocking increase of pauperism and criminality from cities. These are the honor destroyers, the family disruptors, the youth corruptors, the corrodors of vitality, the obliterators of morality, the savage enemies of religion in cities. They all assail classes with equal virulence and assiduity. They are the common enemies of Christianity and humanity, grown already into such proportions and power in our cities as to threaten the public welfare and endanger the State. They have been ignored and tolerated or unwisely dealt with so long, that they have acquired a status and strength which displays its arrogance even in the organization of the government which should suppress them. They demand and often receive official protection, instead of police extinction. Public sentiment, even, is half disposed to recognize and accept their presence as an inevitable necessity. With a contempt bred of familiarity many question and doubt the possibility of their control or eradication, while their minions and votaries, with amazing audacity, assert and proclaim their immunity from interference. The burglar, the robber, and embezzler might, with equal propriety, make common cause with their pals, and claim a right to exercise, unchallenged, their nefarious professions.

"Another prolific source of crime and pauperism in cities is the gambling spirit which pervades all classes. From speculation in real property or in the paper tokens of property, such as stocks and bonds, and social card-playing for

Speculation.

money, down through the gilded gambling saloons, glittering with an almost regal splendor, and made attractive with almost every luxury of temptation to appetite; through the private poker-rooms of the hotels and liquor-saloons; through skillfully disguised lottery schemes; plain betting on competitions, on horse-races, on base-ball games; indeed on every undecided event, the desire and effort to acquire the property of another without labor, or without the rendering of a fair equivalent of value, seems to permeate and corrupt a constantly increasing proportion of city people. The inevitable losses which befall the losing half, and the hope of retrieving them where they were made, are the incitements to more frauds, embezzlements, misappropriations, robberies, and even thefts, than are the demands of actual want. . . .

"Another modern development of urban life contrary to nature and prejudicial to good morals is becoming recognizable in the multiplication of 'clubs' of all kinds. Some of these are useful as midday resorts for those engaged at a distance from home. Others are unobjectionable when formed for the promotion of a laudable object. But when they become substitutes for home, and are made to satisfy the desires and wants of young men apart by themselves, they deserve the condemnation and discouragement of every Christian, moralist, philanthropist, and patriot.

"The *New York City Directory* contains the names of 242 of such clubs as having sufficient prominence to warrant record there. Besides these, there are the unnumbered small coteries, unnamed or unknown beyond their immediate membership, which exist in all parts of the city. This lead of the metropolis is being followed to a greater or less extent in all important cities, and the tendency to club life appears to be growing. Inspired in the inception largely for the comfort and convenience of the unmarried young men abounding in the cities, by providing opportunity and temptation to indulgence of all kinds in comparative privacy, especially for convivial drinking and social gambling, they not only threaten the young there with the dangers of intemperance and gambling, but so ameliorate the loneliness and discomforts of bachelor life as to become an obstacle and hindrance to marriage. It is said that the sales of liquor in some of the most popular clubs in New York exceed those of any bar-room in the city."

It may be noted also that, according to Levasseur (vol. ii., p. 455), urban population in France has a criminality double that of the rural population; while, according to W. D. Morrison (*Mind*, vol. i., N. S., p. 512), London, with less than one fifth of the population of England and Wales, furnishes one third the indictable crimes.

Concerning intemperance as a cause of crime, Mr. Boies says:

"We have attributed the abnormal increase of criminality and pauperism in the United States largely to an increase of intemperance. Alcoholic drink is estimated to be the direct or indirect cause of 75 per cent. of all the crimes committed, and of at least 50 per cent. of all the sufferings endured on account of poverty, in this country and among civilized nations."

For a contrary opinion, see POVERTY, CAUSES OF.

Mr. Boies enforces his statement by the following quotations.

E. C. Wines, D.D., LL.D., President of the International Penitentiary Congress of Stockholm, author of *State of Prisons in the Civilized World*, etc., testifies:

"Intemperance is a proximate cause of a very large proportion of the crime committed in America. Fully three fourths of all the prisoners with whom I have personally conversed in different parts of the country admitted that they were addicted to an excessive use of alcoholic liquors. . . . In a circular letter which I once addressed to the wardens of all our State prisons, this question was put to them, among others: 'What is your opinion as to the connection of strong drink and crime?' The answers were all one way. Mr. Pollard, of Vermont, did but echo the general sentiment, tho he put it more sharply than most, when he said: 'My opinion is that if intoxicants were totally eradicated, the Vermont State Prison would hold all the criminals in the United States.'"

William Tallack, Secretary of the Howard Association, London, England, author of *Defects of Criminal Administration, Penological and Preventive Principles*, etc., testifies:

"It is unquestionable that, in most countries, the worst sufferings inflicted upon women, children, and dumb animals are perpetrated under the influence of intoxicating drink, for this is provocative of both cruelty and lust. . . . Most crimes must be and are attributable to intemperance. . . . What is the origin, in innumerable instances, of the wretchedness of those homes which it is a calamity for a child to be born into? It is intemperance. And what is the main source of that poverty which causes so many children to be either neglected or driven into evil courses? Again it is unquestionably intemperance."†

Ex-Chief-Justice Noah Davis, of the New York Supreme Court, testifies:

* *State of Prisons*, pp. 112, 113.

† *Penological Principles*, pp. 296, 380.

"Among all causes of crime, intemperance stands out the unapproachable chief. That habits of intemperance are the chief causes of crime, is the testimony of all judges of large experience.*"

Dr. Harris, of the Prison Association of New York, testifies :

"That fully 85 per cent. of all convicts give evidence of having in some larger degree been prepared or enticed to do criminal acts because of the physical and destructive effects upon the human organism of alcohol.†"

The State Board of Charities of Massachusetts, in their report of 1869, testify :

"The proportion of crime traceable to this great vice (intemperance) must be set down, as heretofore, at not less than four fifths."

Hon. Sanford M. Green, Judge of the Supreme and Circuit Courts of Michigan, testifies :

"That it (intemperance) is the parent of pauperism. That it is the chief cause of crime.‡"

John C. Park, District Attorney of Suffolk County, Mass., testifies :

"While district attorney I formed the opinion (and it is not a mere matter of opinion, but is confirmed by every hour of experience since) that ninety-nine hundredths of the crime in the commonwealth is produced by intoxicating liquors."

Mr. Fisk, in a report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1871, testifies :

"At the Deer Island House of Industry, Boston, 88 per cent. of the committals were for drunkenness and 93 per cent. of the confinements were connected with strong drink."

Charles S. Hoyt, Secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York, testifies :

"After an examination made of the inmates of the various poorhouses of the State in 1875, numbering 12,614, that 84.36 per cent. of the males and 41.97 per cent. of the females were intemperate; and of 4047 insane examined, 79.21 of the males had been intemperate, and 21.44 per cent. of the females."

A few other minor causes may be mentioned. Mr. Forbes Winslow, Physician to the British Hospital, says, in his *Youthful Eccentricity a Precursor of Crime* (p. 85) :

"The great publicity given to the minutiae of atrocious crimes in the public press is undoubtedly a fruitful source of crime in this and other countries. The evil is a great and admitted one; the remedy has yet to be discovered which does not come under the accusation of interfering with the liberty rightly exercised in most matters by the press. There is always floating on the surface of society a numerous class of persons of questionable moral sense, ripe and ready for any kind of vice, eager to seize hold of any excuse for the commission of grave offenses against person and property. This class is generally more or less affected by the publication of the minute details of murder, suicide, and other crimes. They tend, as it were, to form the type of the moral epidemic, and to give form and character to the criminal propensities. Many years ago, Esquirol, a leading authority in lunacy, with many others of the period of which I write, complained bitterly, even then, of the effect of the public press in increasing the amount of maniacal crimes. This was at a time when newspapers were comparatively scarce, but since then, I regret to say, the tendency for the sensational has been gradually but surely increasing, to the damage and detriment of its youthful readers, ever eager to gloat over the description of a crime or an execution. The daily reports which appear in the press as to the

health, deportment, the general conduct of a notorious criminal, his behavior, quotations from his letters, scenes in prison, are surely the strongest inducements to many weak-minded persons to take the same means of acquiring notoriety by following in the steps of the criminal in question. . . .

"In dealing with the influence of the bar on the spread of crime, I allude to the impressive and eloquent addresses made for the defense in some sensational cases."

"The law of any land is that it allows no man's guilt until it is proven, and all are entitled to such defense as the law allows. But, being conscious of the fact, what a powerful incentive to crime is the love of notoriety! Let any one glance over the detailed, impassioned speeches of those learned in the law, pleading for their client's sake, the thrilling and soul-stirring perorations of those conscientiously pleading for very life, to save a fellow-creature from the gallows, and let him calmly consider whether to be thus spoken of would not be, to hundreds, a strong incentive to go and do likewise, in order to be thus exalted by such advocates at the bar."

Other causes for crime exist besides those of unhealthy city life and intemperance. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in a paper published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science, says concerning the economic causes of crime :

"All great social questions, on careful analysis, resolve themselves, in a more or less degree, into some phase of what we call the labor question, and certainly the causes of crime, in a sociological sense, cannot be studied without considering the status of man in the prevailing industrial order, for among all the causes for criminal action, or for the existence of the criminal class, we find that economic conditions contribute in some degree to their existence. This, however, is only a phase of criminology. It is this phase which has been given me as a subject for discussion. . . .

"Guizot has said that labor is a most efficient guarantee against the revolutionary disposition of the poorer classes. He might have added that labor, properly remunerated, is an effective guarantee against the commission of crime. Certainly hunger leads to more crime of a petty nature, perhaps, than any other one cause."

"In the study of economic conditions, and whatever bearing they may have upon crime, I can do no better than to repeat, as a general idea, a statement made some years ago by Mr. Ira Steward, of Massachusetts, one of the leading labor reformers in that State in his day. He said: 'Starting in the labor problem from whatever point we may, we reach, as the ultimate cause of our industrial, social, moral, and material difficulties, the terrible fact of poverty. By poverty we mean something more than pauperism. The latter is a condition of entire dependence upon charity, while the former is a condition of want, of lack, of being without, the not necessarily a condition of complete dependence.'

"It is in this view that the proper understanding of the subject given me, in its comprehensiveness and the development of the principles which underlie it, means the consideration of the abolition of pauperism and the eradication of crime; and the definitions given by Mr. Steward carry with them all the elements of those great special inquiries embodied in the very existence of our vast charitable, penal, and reformatory institutions, 'How shall poverty be abolished, and crime be eradicated?' The discussion is a very old one, and neither modern professional labor reformers, nor philanthropists, nor criminologists, nor penologists have any patents upon the theme. The progress of the world may be read as well by statutes in the humanity of law, in the existence of prisons, in the establishment of charitable institutions, and by the economic conditions which surround labor, as by written history; for, as the condition of labor rises, pauperism and crime must fall in the general scale."

"To say that pauperism, and crime as an attendant evil, follow the unemployed more mercilessly than the employed, would be to make a statement too simple in its nature to invite serious consideration. Yet the history and the statistics of labor and the conclusions resulting from their study in their relation to pauperism and crime present most interesting and valuable features. Criminal conditions, the evils we are considering, have always existed, no matter what the so-

* Address before the National Temperance Society, 1878.

† *The Relations of Drunkenness to Crime.*

‡ *Crime*, p. 37 et seq.

cial or legal status of men; under the most favorable as well as under the most unfavorable conditions; under liberal and under despotic government; in barbarous and in enlightened lands; with heathenism and with Christianity; under a variety of commercial systems; and yet they are, in a philosophic sense, a rebuke to a people living under constitutional liberty.

"Employment of the unemployed will not crush pauperism and crime, even if every able-bodied man in the country could be furnished with work to-morrow. Universal education will not. The realization of the highest hopes of the temperance and labor reformers will not. The general adoption of the Christian religion will not. But all these grand and divine agencies working together will reduce them to a minimum, and make that community which tolerates them indictable at the bar of public opinion, the most powerful tribunal known.

"Physical agencies, without all the higher elements, can do but little. The early history of this country and the history of all countries where civilization has made any headway teach this truth.

"The proposition that pauperism and crime are less frequent in cultured communities will not, I suppose, be debated. It is true that the intelligent, skilled laborer is rarely found either in a penal or a charitable institution; nor is the person who has the elementary education sufficient to enable him to read, write, and make his own calculations so liable to become a charge as the one who has not these qualifications. I am, of course, aware that the full accuracy of these statements is oftentimes questioned; yet it is statistically true that enough of knowledge to be of value in increasing the amount and quality of work done, to give character, to some extent at least, to a person's tastes and aspirations, is a better safeguard against the inroads of crime than any code of criminal laws. I must, of course, consider this point as a fact, and shall not weary you with the oft-repeated arguments and the usual array of figures used to convince legislators that it is wise economy to foster our educational institutions. This being conceded as to intellectual or mental requirements, including elementary book-learning, how does the fact affect the matter under consideration? Simply that the kind of labor which requires the most skill on the part of the workman to perform insures him most perfectly against want and crime, as a rule.

"This statement is fortified by such statistics as are available. Of 430 convicts, at one time, in the State of Massachusetts, 299, or 69 per cent., were returned as having no occupation.

Unemployment.

"The adult convicts numbered at that time 297. Of these 46 were illiterate; and the warden of the State prison, for the year in question, stated that of 220 men sentenced during that year, 147 were without a trade or any regular means of earning a living.

"In Pennsylvania, during a recent year, nearly 88 per cent. of the penitentiary convicts had never been apprenticed to any trade or occupation; and this was also true of 68½ per cent. of the convicts sentenced to county jails and workhouses in the same State during the same year.

"In Mr. Frederick Wines' recent report on homicide in the United States, in 1890, it is shown that of 6953 men, 5175, or more than 74 per cent. of the whole, were said to have no trade. . . .

"Furthermore, it is true, so far as the statistics which I have been able to consult demonstrate, that during periods of industrial depressions crime of almost all grades is increased in volume. The difficulty of demonstrating this feature of my subject to any full extent lies in the fact that our criminal statistics are given for periods, and not year by year. Could we have annual statements of the convictions in all our States, so that such statements could be consulted relative to economic conditions, I feel sure that we should find a coordination of results that would startle us all. We should find that the lines of crime rise and fall as the prosperity of the country falls and rises. . . .

"It is perfectly true that unsanitary conditions, and all conditions that work a deterioration in the health of people, lead to uneconomic conditions. Bad air, bad housing, bad drainage, lead to intemperance and want. It requires no argument to show that these are precursors of crime. Anything that brings about a higher rate of mortality among the children of the poor leads to crime, and it is perfectly deducible from facts that are known that any occupation which insures a high rate of mortality among the children of its participants tends to conditions most favorable to the prevalence of pauperism and crime.

"The displacement of labor through the application of improved machinery temporarily, and to the individual, produces a condition of want which may or may not be remedied by the increased labor demanded through invention. Society can be easily answered by stating the benefits which come to it through inventive genius, but it is a poor answer to the man who finds the means of supporting his family taken from him. But with the progress of invention and the consequent elevation of labor both pauperism and crime, so far as society is concerned, have correspondingly decreased. This is true in more senses than one. The age of invention, or periods given to the development and practical adaptation of natural laws, raises all peoples to a higher intellectual level, to a more comprehensive understanding of the world's march of progress.

"But the question of the removal of poverty and the suppression of crime is not wholly with the working man; the employer has as much to learn as he, and he is to be held to equal, if not greater, responsibility. Ignorant labor comprehends ignorant employer. Inasmuch as the profits of labor are equitably shared with labor, inasmuch as poverty is lessened, and inasmuch as crime is lessened, inasmuch as crime decreased. The employer should always remember that if conditions become ameliorated, if life becomes less of a struggle, if leisure be obtained, civilization, as a general rule, advances in the scale. If these conditions be reversed, if the struggle for existence tends to occupy the whole attention of each man, civilization disappears in a measure, * communities become dangerous, and the people seek a revolutionary change, hoping by chance to secure what was not possible by honest labor.

Labor.

"In a State in which labor had all its rights there would be, of course, little pauperism and little crime. On the other hand, the undue subjection of the laboring man must tend to make paupers and criminals, and entail a financial burden upon wealth which it would have been easier to prevent than to endure; and this prevention must come in a large degree through educated labor.

"Do not understand me as desiring to give the impression that I believe crime to be a necessary accompaniment of our industrial system. I have labored in other places and at other times to prove the reverse, and I believe the reverse to be true. Our sober, industrious working men and women are as free from vicious and criminal courses as any other class. What I am contending for relates entirely to conditions affecting the few. The great volume of crime is found outside the real ranks of industry.

"The modern system of industry has reduced the periods of depression from the long reaches extending over half a century under older systems. These periods have been reduced to decades and half decades of years. The time will come when periods of depression will occur only for the few months of a single year, and when this time comes the columns of the statistics of crime will show a receding quantity. Infinitely superior as the modern system is over that which has passed, the iron law of wages, when enforced with an iron hand, keeps men in the lowest walks of life, often on the verge of starvation. As intelligence increases and is more generally diffused, the individual man wants more, has higher aspirations for himself and his family; but, under the iron law of wages, at times, all these desires and aspirations are hard to satisfy. The modern system produces mental friction; a competition of mind has taken the place, in a large measure, of mere muscular competition, and the laggard in the industrial race may lose his mind or his conscience, in the latter case causing him to develop into the criminal. The economic condition or environment of this particular man leads him inevitably to crime."

On the other hand, and in opposition to the above views, Mr. W. D. Morrison, of the (English) Wandsworth Prison, in his volume *Crime and its Causes*, denies that destitution or poverty are powerful factors in producing crime. He says that if destitution were a prominent factor in producing crime, the crimes most prevalent would be begging and theft. Yet, he says, out of the total number of cases tried in England and Wales during the year 1887-88, 726,698,

* Rawlinson's *Origin of Nations*.

or only 8 per cent., were offenses against property, excluding cases of malicious damage, and only 7 per cent. offenses against the Vagrancy Acts. This makes only 15 per cent., yet he argues that all these cases cannot be laid to destitution, because his inquiries show that fully one half of the offenders of this class had work when they committed the offense. Add to these the great bulk of juvenile offenders and those who steal because of a thievish disposition, and there is only a small percentage left. Yet this is not all. Many offenders of this class are habitual criminals, professional burglars, shoplifters, etc., who are able often to pay counsel high fees; these cannot be said to be driven to crime through destitution. As for vagrants, we must not forget the large class of habitual or professional beggars who will not work (see TRAMP), who are, perhaps, destitute, but not destitute from necessity. He says M. Monod, of the Ministry of the Interior in France, arranged with some merchants and manufacturers to offer work at 4 frs. (80 cents) per day to any persons he sent them. In eight months, 727

beggars applied to him for help, and were told to come the next day and receive a letter which would enable them to get work at the above price. Four hundred and fifteen never came, 138 more came, but never presented their letter. Of the whole number only 18 continued at work three days. Mr. Morrison figures, after careful argument, that only 4 per cent. of the criminal population commit crime from destitution. As for poverty as distinguished from destitution, Mr. Morrison argues that not much crime can be due to poverty, because if it were there would be most theft where there was the most poverty; and he says this is not the fact, and presents the appended table, extracted from a larger one by Signor L. Bodio, Director-General of Statistics for Italy. The calculations for every country except Spain are based on the census of 1880 or 1881; the calculations for Spain are based on the census of 1877. In all the countries except Germany and Spain the calculations are based on an average of five years; for Germany and Spain the average is only two years.

Country	Year	Annual trials for theft per 100,000 inhabitants,	221
Italy,	1880-84	"	"
France,	1879-83	"	121
Belgium,	1876-80	"	143
Germany,	1882-83	"	262
England,	1880-84	"	228
Scotland,	1880-84	"	289
Ireland,	1880-84	"	101
Hungary,	1876-80	"	82
Spain,	1883-84	"	74

Mr. Morrison says:

"To what conclusions do the statistics contained in this table point? It is useless burdening this chapter with additional figures to prove that England and France are the two wealthiest countries in Europe. The wealth of England, for instance, is perhaps six times the wealth of Italy; but, notwithstanding this fact, more thefts are annually committed in England than in Italy. The wealth of France is enormously superior to the wealth of Ireland, both in quantity and distribution, but the population of France commits more offenses against property than the Irish. Spain is one of the poorest countries in Europe, Scotland is one of the richest, but side by side with this inequality of wealth we see that the Scotch commit, per 100,000 of the population, almost four times as many thefts as the Spaniards. With the exception of Italy it is the poorest countries of Europe that are the least dishonest, and, according to our table, even the Italians are not so much addicted to offenses against property as the inhabitants of England.

"Perhaps the most instructive figures in these international statistics are those relating to England and Ireland. The criminal statistics of the two countries are drawn up on very much the same principles; the ordinary criminal law is very much the same, and there is very much the same feeling among the population with respect to ordinary crime; in fact, with the exception of agrarian offenses, the administration of the law in Ireland is as effective as it is in England. On almost every point the similarity of the criminal law and its administration in the two countries almost amounts to identity, and a comparison of their criminal statistics, in so far as they relate to ordinary offenses against property, reaches a high level of exactitude. What does such a comparison reveal? It shows that the Irish, with all their poverty, are not half so much addicted to offenses against property as the English, with all their wealth, and it serves to confirm the idea that the connection between poverty and theft is not so close as is generally imagined.

"International statistics, then, as far as they go, point to the conclusion that it is the growth of wealth, rather than the reverse, which has a tendency to augment the number of offenses against property, and national statistics, as far as England is concerned, exhibit a similar result. . . .

"If we look at crime in general, instead of that par-

ticular form of it which consists in offenses against property, it will likewise become apparent that it is not so closely connected with poverty as is generally believed. The accuracy of Indian criminal statistics is a matter that has already been pointed out.

When these statistics are placed side by side with our own what do we find? According to the returns for the two countries in the year 1888, it comes out that in England one person was proceeded against criminally to every 42 of the population, while in India only one person was proceeded against to every 195. In other words, official statistics show that the people of England are between four and five times more addicted to crime than the people of India. On the supposition that poverty is the parent of crime, the population of India should be one of the most lawless in the world, for it is undoubtedly one of the very poorest. The reverse, however, is the case, and India is justly celebrated for the singularly law-abiding character of its inhabitants. . . .

"A further illustration of the same fact will be found on examining the prison statistics of the United States. According to an instructive paper recently read by Mr. Roland P. Falkner before the American Statistical Association, the foreign-born population in America is, on the whole, less inclined to commit crime than the native-born American. In some of the States—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and California—the foreign born," says Mr. Falkner, "make a worse showing than the native. In a great number of cases, notably Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee, we notice hardly any difference. Elsewhere the showing is decidedly in favor of the foreign born, and nowhere more strongly than in Wisconsin and Minnesota." (See CRIME.) It is perfectly certain that the foreign-born population of the United States is not, as a rule, so well off economically as the native-born citizen. The vast proportion of the emigrant population is composed of poor people seeking to better their condition, and it is well known that a large percentage of the hard, manual work done in America is performed by those men. The economic condition of the average native-born American is superior to the economic condition of the average emigrant; but the native American, notwithstanding his economic superiority, cuts a worse figure in the statistics of crime. . . .

**Poverty not
a Cause of
Crime.**

"A further illustration of this significant truth is to be witnessed in the Antipodes. In no quarter of the world is there such widespread prosperity as exists in the colony of Victoria. All writers and travellers are unanimous upon this point. Nowhere in the world is there less economic excuse for the perpetration of crime. Work of one kind or another can almost always be had in that favored portion of the globe.

"Even in the worst of times, if men are willing to go 'up country,' as it is called, occupation of some sort is certain to be found, and trade depression never reaches the acute point which it sometimes does at home.

"Nevertheless, on examining the criminal statistics of the colony of Victoria, what do we find? According to the returns for 1887, one arrest on a charge of crime was made in every 30 of the population, and on looking down the list of offenses for which these arrests were made, it will be seen that Victoria, notwithstanding her widely diffused material well-being, is just as much addicted to crimes against person and property as some of the poor and squalid States of Europe. It may be said in extenuation of this condition of things that Victoria contains a larger grown-up population, and, therefore, a larger percentage of persons in a position to commit crime than is to be found in older countries. This is, to a certain extent, true, but the difference is not so great as might at first sight be supposed. Assuming that the criminal ages lies between 15 and 60, we find that in the seven Australasian colonies 563 persons out of every 1000 are alive between these two ages. In Great Britain and Ireland 550 persons per 1000 are alive between 15 and 60. According to these figures, the difference between the population within the criminal age in the colony, as compared with the mother country, is very small, and is quite insufficient to account for the relatively high percentage of crime exhibited by the Victorian criminal statistics.

"All these considerations force us back to the conclusion that an abundant measure of material well-being has a much smaller influence in diminishing crime than is usually supposed, and compels us to admit that much crime would still exist even if the world were turned into a paradise of material prosperity tomorrow."

If it be asked to what causes Mr. Morrison does lay excess of crime, it is to be answered, to the effect of climate and season.

To prove the first point, he shows that while race makes some difference in the amount of crime, people of different races do not materially differ in the amount of crime they commit in the same climate, while people of the same race do materially differ in different climates. He shows that in the proportion of murders to the population in European countries (see HOMICIDE), Italy, Spain, and Hungary head the list; Austria and Belgium come next; France, Ireland, and Germany follow; England, Scotland, and Holland stand at the bottom. He shows that this cannot be due to the conditions of civilization or economic conditions, because poor countries and uncivilized countries do not by any means always have many murders. M. de Quatrefages argues that in crime white men are scarcely more moral than black. If poverty were the

cause of the difference, why should Ireland be so different from Italy? For the same reason it cannot be religion. In America he argues that white men of the South commit more homicides than white men of the North. Above all, he compares the Australian colony of Victoria with Great Britain. He argues that the population in Victoria is better than the average in Great Britain, its general prosperity greater, its police more thorough, and yet he shows crime to be much more frequent in Victoria in proportion to the population.

In the same line of argument, Mr. Morrison shows that crime, from October to February, falls with the falling temperature, and from February to October climbs with the climbing temperature. He says that the cause of this cannot be economic, because in the summer it is easier to get work. He shows, too, that in summer there are more offenses against prison order than in winter.

Climate.

Thus far we have been considering the effect of environment upon crime. But heredity contributes to the result. Says Mr. H. M. Boies (*Prisoners and Paupers*, pp. 266, 279):

"We believe it is established beyond controversy that criminals and paupers, both, are degenerate; the imperfect, knotty, knurly, worm-eaten, half rotten fruit of the race. In short, both criminality and pauperism are conditions and not dispositions. The mind, the intellectual faculties, and the soul, the moral faculties—which are the motive powers of character, which constitute the man—have their home in his body, to which they are conformed, which they represent, and by which they are limited and controlled in their operations, as well as in their conditions. A normal character is not to be expected in an abnormal physique, nor a sound and healthy character in a diseased constitution.

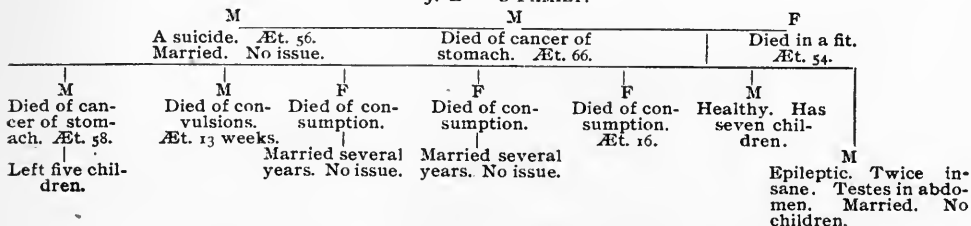
Heredity.

"The law that 'like begets like' is by no means confined to criminals and paupers, but operates inexorably in all classes and conditions of people. A taint of hereditary drunkenness, insanity, suicide, epilepsy, idiocy, deaf-mutism, cancer, syphilis, gout, rheumatism, tuberculosis or scrofulous diathesis in the blood is a symptom of degeneration, likely to be intensified by propagation in succeeding generations until the tainted family becomes extinct. Intermarriage with those tainted diffuses weakness, deformity, and abnormality through the social structure, deteriorates and contaminates all who issue from such unions. These things are well known and completely established. We have not space for the argument here."

The diagrammatic history of eight families, given below, are taken from Dr. Strahan's book (*Marriage and Disease*, a study of hereditary and the more important family degenerations, 1892) and illustrate the evil more impressively than argument.

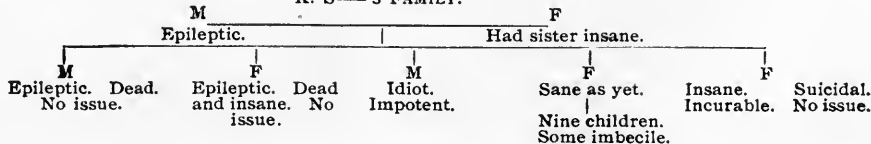
CASE NO. I., p. 49.

J. E.—'S FAMILY.



NO. II., p. 108.

K. S.—'S FAMILY.

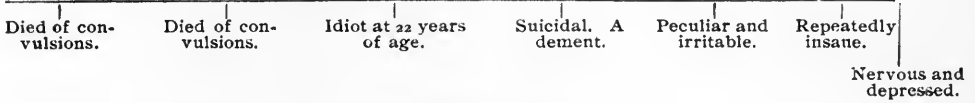


NO. III., p. 125.

Father, a drunkard,

Son,

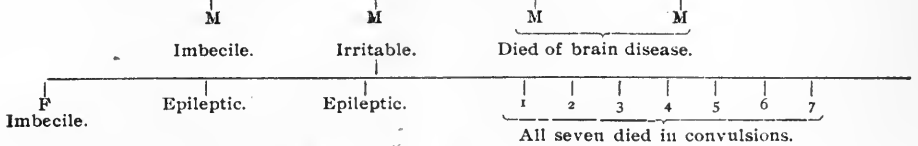
A drunkard, disgustingly drunk on his wedding day.



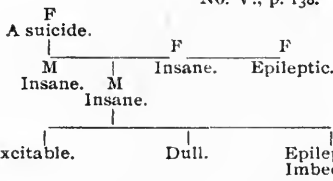
NO. IV., p. 137.

M

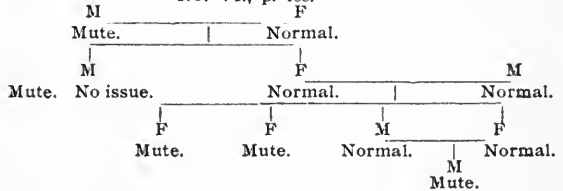
Died mad.



NO. V., p. 138.



NO. VI., p. 166.



NO. VII., p. 231.

J. G. A.—'S FAMILY HISTORY.

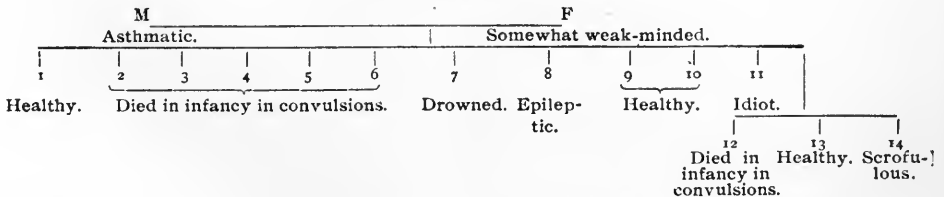
Paternal side.

Maternal side.

First Generation.....	{ Grandfather. A drunkard. Grandmother. Normal.	Grandmother. "Odd." Grandfather. Normal.
Second Generation.....	{ Uncle. A drunkard. Uncle. A drunkard.	Uncle. Epileptic. Uncle. Rheumatic, totally cripple, and his daughter also. Uncle. Rheumatic. Aunt. Rheumatic. Mother. Died in asylum.
Third Generation.....	{ Uncle. An epileptic. Father. Excitable and irritable.	
	{ Daughter. Has had rheumatism and has heart disease. Son. Now insane. Son. Died a few days old of convulsions. Son. Now a chronic maniac in an asylum. Daughter. Suicidal melancholia; died in an asylum; no issue. Family extinct.	

NO. VIII., p. 303.

S. H.—'S FAMILY.



It is true that most scientists to-day believe that environment has greater influence on character than heredity, and that heredity transmits only the natural and not the acquired habits of the parent. Says Mr. Morrison (*Crime and its Causes*, p. 189):

"The son of a rope-dancer does not inherit his father's faculties for rope-dancing, nor the son of

an orator his father's ready aptitude for public speech, nor the son of a designer his father's acquired skill in the making of designs. All that the son inherits is the natural faculties of the parent but no more. Hence it follows that the son of a thief, on the supposition that thieving comes by habit and practice, does not by natural inheritance acquire the parent's criminal propensity. As far as his natural faculties are concerned he starts life free from the vicious habits of his parent, and should he in turn become a thief, as sometimes happens, it is not because he has inherited his

father's thievish habits, but because he has himself acquired them. It is imitation, not instinct, which transforms him into a thief; and if he is removed from the influence of evil example he will have almost as small a chance of falling into a criminal life as any other member of the community."

"Nevertheless, natural characteristics are transmitted. In a recent communication to a German periodical, Herr Sichart, Director of Prisons in the kingdom of Württemberg, has shown that a very high percentage of criminals are the descendants of degenerate parents. Herr Sichart's inquiries extended over several years and included 1714 prisoners. Of this number 16 per cent. were descended from drunken parents; 6 per cent. from families in which there was madness; 4 per cent. from families addicted to suicide; 1 per cent. from families in which there was epilepsy. In all, 27 per cent. of the offenders examined by Herr Sichart were descended from families in which there was degeneracy. According to these figures, more than one fourth of the German prison population have received a defective organization from their ancestry, which manifests itself in a life of crime."

"In France and Italy the same state of things prevails. Dr. Corre is of opinion that a very large proportion of persons convicted of bad conduct in the French military service are distinctly degenerate either in body or mind. Dr. Virgilio says that in Italy 32 per cent. of the criminal population have inherited criminal tendencies from their parents." Of England Mr. Morrison says:

"The population in the local jails in 1888-89, between the ages of 21 and 40, constituted 54 per cent. of the total prison population, while the same class between the ages of 40 and 60 formed only 20 per cent. of the prison population. One half of this drop in the percentage of prisoners between 40 and 60 may be accounted for by the decreased percentage of persons between these two ages in the general population. The other half can only be accounted for by the extent to which premature decay and death rage among criminals who have passed their fortieth year. In other words, the number of criminals alive after 40 is much smaller than the number of normal men alive after that age."

"A direct proof of the extent of degeneracy in the shape of insanity among persons convicted of murder can be found in the judicial statistics. The number of persons convicted of wilful murder, not including manslaughter or non-capital homicides, from 1879 to 1888 amounted to 441. Out of this total 143, or 32 per cent., were found insane. Of the 299 condemned to death, no less than 145, or nearly one half, had their sentences commuted, many of them on the ground of mental infirmity. The whole of these figures decisively prove that between 40 and 50 per cent. of the convictions for wilful murder are cases in which the murderers were either insane or mentally infirm."

The socialist view of the causes of crime is that they may be summed up in one word, *environment*, produced by a capitalistic system. It agrees with Mr. Boies when he says (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 263):

"We have been convinced by our study that most of those characteristics which have hitherto been treated as causes, such as ignorance, intemperance, poverty, disease, and defects, are symptoms indicating a social state or condition of crime and pauperism, rather than causes of them."

Most of the above quotations are simply illustrations of the power of environment produced by capitalism upon character. As for Mr. Morrison's supposed proof that want and destitution do not produce crime, because there

is more crime in wealthy countries like England and France than in poor countries like Ireland and Italy, Mr. Morrison forgets that the average wealth of a country does not prove that there are not poor people there. England and France are wealthier than Ireland and Italy, but still there may be more desperate poverty, above all, more poverty crowded in great cities, in wealthy countries than in poor. India is poor and comparatively free from crime (not necessarily free from immorality), but India does not have the kind of poverty produced by a capitalist system. It is not poverty simply, but poverty and bad environment, produced by a seeking after profits which blesses neither the wealthy nor the poor, and tends to increase crime in both classes.

III. THE PREVENTION OF CRIME.

If the cause of crime be poor homes, intemperance, lack of proper education for children, lack of family life, etc., it is easy to see that the way to prevent crime is to reduce intemperance, educate children, and give a proper environment to all classes. Said Mr. Charlton T. Lewis, President of the New York Prison Association, in the opening address at the International Congress of Charities and Corrections at Chicago in 1893:

"There is now stirring in the general mind a sense that we are on the eve of one of the greatest social revolutions which mankind has ever experienced, and that the revolution will be a reorganization of society, a reconstitution of law, a reformation of the courts, a reconstruction of the system of dealing with crime. . . . The business of society in protecting itself against the criminal, or warring against crime, in striking the blow of vengeance at the criminal, has given place to the work of charity to the criminal."

How society can bring proper education and environment to all classes is too vast a subject to be considered here. It is the subject of this whole encyclopedia. (See especially EDUCATION; INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION; UNEMPLOYMENT; CITY; TENEMENT-HOUSE QUESTION; SLUMS; TEMPERANCE; CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS; SOCIALISM, etc.)

A few points here may be noted. Says Mr. Boies (*Prisoners and Paupers*): "The problem then is that of the reformation of city life. . . . It is important that an improved system of public charities should be organized in all cities to prevent the abuse of benevolence. The organization of charity, which has begun under this necessity, ought to be perfected and sustained by law. It should comprehend within its scope the reinstatement of the family unit in its original potentiality in urban life. It must endeavor to adapt the family to its urban environments, and urban environments to the essential family privacy and integrity."

"The very plan and method of institutional charity is a mistake in almost every direction. It violates the primordial principle of the social organization by the effort to substitute communal treatment for the natural family arrangement. . . .

"The general consensus of the wisest students of sociology is coming to favor a smaller classification and a more domestic provision for dependents, that which most closely resembles and reproduces private family relations in the reduced classification, as most hopeful of wide and permanent success. . . .

"These factors of the problem of city life seem to require the exercise of public power. . . .

"One of the primary objects of good local government in cities should be the restoration of a fair equilibrium in density of population. . . .

Social
Reforms.

"The Health Department of New York reported in 1891 a count of 37,358 tenement houses in the city, occupied by 276,565 families and 1,225,411 souls. This shows an increase of over 200,000 in tenement population in three years, and an average of 32.8 occupants to each tenement! The average density of the 22 largest cities in the country was 15.92 persons to the acre, so that the greatest density in New York was 32 times, and in Philadelphia 10 times the average.

"It ought to be the province of the Government to relieve this social congestion. People do not live in misery from choice, but because they are unable to escape it. Let society, in self-protection, open up the way of escape if it can, and nature will relieve itself. Real estate in cities increases in value according to its accessibility to transportation terminals and occupation centers. The poor abide where they obtain subsistence, because they cannot afford the time and money to live farther away. Offer them cheap and quick transfer to healthier and better homes, and they will quickly spread themselves out of their stifling abodes.

"It becomes a public necessity, then, to provide rapid and cheap transportation from centers to suburbs. . . .

"An autonomic municipality should and would greatly improve its police. It would recognize its increased dependence upon it, and the importance of making it the absolutely safe reliance which it should be. The municipal police is the public executive force, the manifestation of the authority and power of the people's government. Instead of being the tool of politicians, it must be made entirely independent of and superior to partisanship. . . .

"All our cities must provide for the adaptation of the rising generations to the probable needs of the coming time, for the general advantage indeed, but especially to reduce the herds of the idle—the prolific source of crime and poverty. This provision cannot safely be left longer to the bequests of the benevolent. It has become a necessary function of government, as imperative as the public school, as palpable and obligatory as the provision of almshouses, asylums, and prisons, and a thousand times better. A fraction of the sums expended in maintaining these would be sufficient to transform idleness into earning, and largely empty them of their inmates—an ounce of prevention, equivalent to many pounds of ineffectual cure.

"It will be necessary to remove those who are incapable, by nature or disposition, of adaptation to a higher life to the simpler requirements of the country, to locations where labor suitable to their abilities is in demand. The time has come when the public welfare requires not only that the advantages of adaptation shall be general and sufficient, but also that the privileges of a constant and even equilibrium of work and labor shall be maintained uniformly, and without friction. The ease and economy of modern facilities of travel and transportation, in America certainly, have not only made great famines impossible, but human idleness inexcusable. If the hands are unfit, and cannot be made fit for the work at hand, let society see to it that they are taken where fit work waits."

Employment.

As to intemperance, Mr. Boies advocates taxing liquor enough to make it meet the expense of a greatly increased number of asylums, Keeley institutes, etc., and the gradual reduction of intemperance by strict laws restricting or prohibiting the sale of liquor to minors, paupers, etc., and punishing offenders. He would also have coffee houses and other substitutes for the saloon, and have the State teach hygienic cooking to all classes. (See TEMPERANCE.)

The State, he says, cannot, however, do all. The redemption of the urban population is not to be expected from the action of the Government alone, altho this may facilitate it. Government may restrict and abolish drinking-saloons, gambling saloons, and brothels. It may punish vice and crime; it may chase immorality from public sight. It must provide for the helpless indigent, and put forth effort to reform the criminal in its hands. But the reformation and elevation of

society at large devolves upon philanthropy, patriotism, and the Church of Christ.

On this point Mr. Forbes Winslow says (*Youthful Eccentricity a Precursor to Crime*):

"An education which merely instructs will encourage crime. One which coordinates the faculties of the mind, which gives exercise to reason and judgment, at the same time that it represses without ignoring the instinctive part of man's nature, will elevate his position in the scale of the creation, and turn those faculties to the services of his fellow-creatures which otherwise would be employed to their destruction. If the emotions be constantly trampled down and invariably subordinated to reason, they will in time assert their claims, and break forth in insanity or crime; if they be constantly indulged, the result will probably be the same. . . . I am no opponent to the diffusion of knowledge; but I am to that description of information which has only reference 'to the life that is, and not to that which is to be.' Such a system of instruction is of necessity defective, because it is partial in its operation.

"Teach a man his duty to God, as well as his obligations to his fellow-men; lead him to believe that his life is not his own, and we disseminate principles which will give expansion to those faculties that alone can fortify the mind against the commission of a crime alike repugnant to all human and Divine laws."

Concerning the methods of reaching the economic causes of crime, Mr. Carroll D. Wright says, in the paper quoted above :

"Trade instruction, technical education, manual training—all these are efficient elements in the reduction of crime, because they all help to better and truer economic conditions. I think, from what I have said, the elements of solution are clearly discernible. Justice to labor, equitable distribution of profits under some system which I feel sure will supersede the present, and without resorting to socialism, instruction in trades, by which a man can earn his living outside a penal institution, the practical application of the great moral law in all business relations—all these elements, with the more enlightened treatment of the criminal when apprehended, will lead to a reduction in the volume of crime, but not to the millennium."

So far as heredity contributes to crime, Mr. Boies would meet it by strict marriage laws. He says (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 277) :

"It is an astonishing and incomprehensible fact to the student that society, among all the plans and projects it is continually devising for the benefit and elevation of humanity, has in our modern civilization utterly overlooked and ignored the one vital social function upon which improvement of the race depends. Marriage, which constitutes the social unit, which creates the family, whence the generations succeed one another in upward or downward progress, has been left by philanthropy, by Church and State, except by the recognition and solemnization of the fact itself, almost as entirely unregulated as it was in the days of savage life, as it is among wild animals. The union of the pair upon whose fitness will depend the physique and character of the next generation is submitted by society to 'natural selection' and 'chance.' If otherwise influenced at all, it is solely by material considerations of selfish, temporary importance rather than those affecting the real object and purpose of the union, the children who are to come of the union. Its doubtful if one in a thousand of those who marry ever take this subject into consideration in their selections. If they were to do so, indeed, there would be no proper method available to determine the questions needing settlement. So this seriously vital function is settled by caprice and 'chance.' The chances remaining about the same, the results have been about the same for thousands of years, save for the multiplication of the unit.

"Society has willingly expended, and continues each year to expend, vast sums of money and great labor in the support of religious institutions, preachers, and churches for the moral elevation of the people. It submits cheerfully to pay the largest share of the public tax, and contributes immense amounts in addition, benevolently, to promote their intellectual progress. It founds and supports medical colleges, stimulates physical culture by encouraging athletic games and

sports, and advocates the improvement of the physique in every imaginable direction. Religion and philanthropy join their forces in ceaseless and exhausting effort to stem the resistless tide which appears to be sweeping the race over the cataract of extinction, sustained by faith in the eternal promise of a millennium rather than encouraged by any palpable success. They contend valiantly against overwhelming results, ignorant or oblivious of the easily controlled causes.

Let it once assume the regulation of the propagation of the race with wisdom and faithful efficacy, and all the other burdens and labors will become light and full of promise, hope, and fruit. It must control this vital function of marriage for the public welfare, as well as for the private good of the individual. This control is sanctioned and required by the divine right of self-preservation, and has become an imperative duty to the race and to God—a duty supreme in impulse and in consequence.

"Nor is its performance impeded by great difficulties. The tentative measures which have been enacted, the previous license, the consent of parents or guardians for minors, the prohibited marriage of the idiot and raving maniac, have secured unanimous approval. So, eventually, the common-sense of mankind will endorse the enactment of whatever provisions are essential to the common welfare.

"We recommend, as the next step, the enactment of a code regulating marriage fully in these respects, and by some such methods, as follows:

"First, it should be required that a license must in all cases be obtained from a county official before a legal marriage can be made.

"Second, severe penalties should be imposed upon any who perform the marriage ceremony without the presence of the prescribed license, which should have a blank upon it for the marriage certificate, with the ages, residence, parentage, nativity, and race of the parties; the signature of witnesses, and the certificates of one or more reputable physicians, under oath, testifying to a knowledge of the following facts, derived from personal acquaintance with the persons and families of the parties, or from other satisfactory evidence.

"That they are both of proper marriageable age, in good health, sound and complete physically, neither intemperate, criminals, nor paupers; whether either parents or grandparents were lunatics, drunkards, idiotic, epileptic, congenitally blind, deaf, or deformed, or of syphilitic, cancerous, scrofulous, or tuberculous constitution.

"The license papers should be issued in duplicate, and one copy with all blanks filled should be filed and recorded in the county clerk's office. A false certificate by a physician should prevent the further practice of his profession. The law should strictly prohibit the marriage of females under 20, and males under 25; of males over 45 with females over 40 who have not passed the period of child-bearing (for outside of these limitations of age it is generally understood healthy children are exceedingly improbable, if not impossible); of habitual criminals, paupers, tramps, and vagrants; of the insane, idiotic, epileptic, paralytic, syphilitic, intemperate, cancerous, scrofulous, and tuberculous; of the congenitally blind, deaf, defective, or deformed; the children or grandchildren of parents possessed of these taints, or of suicides, which is of itself presumptive evidence of degeneracy.

"The infraction of this law or the cohabitation with prohibited persons should be punished by the permanent seclusion of both parties in the penitentiaries provided for life confinements.

"This is neither a complicated nor impracticable scheme. Consider what the results would be. In the brief course of one generation all the inherited rottenness and corruption of the ages would be purged out of the people. The criminal and pauper class, as a class, would become extinct. Penitentiaries, jails, almshouses, insane asylums, idiot, deaf and dumb and blind asylums would be largely depopulated. Intemperance, the fruitful mother of all evil, sin, and suffering, would become a rare vice; suicide, the refuge of conscious incompetence, which has increased at the rate of 33 per cent. in 25 years in England,* and quite as much here, would be an almost unknown crime; the growing burden of inordinate taxation and benevolence for the dependent would be lifted from society; the evils of divorce would cease, chronic diseases would disappear almost entirely, and temporary ailments be robbed of more than half their terrors;

more than half of the poignant grief and affliction over the untimely death of children would be avoided; health and strength and ruddy cheeks would delight the eyes and hearts that now grieve over puny forms and wan faces; doctors' bills would no longer drain the family resources; the earning power of the next generation would be magnified, its capacity for intellectual improvement and education increased, its susceptibility to moral and religious influence and government intensified, and the whole race rebound from the depression of its past with a buoyancy and power equal to the full development of its age of steam and electricity."

For the treatment of prisoners and its important bearing on the prevention of crime, see PENOLOGY.

References: *Criminology*, by Dr. Arthur MacDonal (New York City, 1893). This volume has an introduction by Dr. Cesare Lombroso, of Turin, and a complete bibliography of the subject. *Abnormal Man*, by Dr. Arthur MacDonal, United States Bureau of Education; *Crime and Its Causes*, by W. D. Morrison (London, 1891); *L'homme criminel, étude anthropologique et médico-légale*, par Cesare Lombroso, traduit sur la IV^e édition italienne, avec préface par M. Letourneau (Paris, 1889); *La criminologie, étude sur la nature du crime et la théorie de la pénalité*, par E. Garofalo, agrégé de l'université de Naples (Paris, 1888); *Hypnotism and Crime*, by Dr. J. M. Charcot (*The Forum*, April, 1890); *Penological and Preventive Principles with special Reference to Europe and America*, by William Tallack, Secretary of the Howard Association (London, 1889); *Prison Statistics of the United States for 1890*, by Roland P. Falkner, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, 1892); *The Restoration of the Criminal*, a sermon by Frederick H. Wines (Springfield, Ill., 1888); *Crime: Its Cause and Remedy*, by L. Gordon Rylands (London, 1889); *Prisoners and Paupers*, by H. N. Boies (New York and London, 1893). (See also articles CRIME and PENOLOGY.)

CRISES (COMMERCIAL AND MONETARY).—A time of general difficulty and pressure in commercial and monetary circles, if acute, is called a *crisis*; if prolonged it is usually called a *period of depression*. A crisis, too, must not be confused with a panic. A panic starts with a group of speculators, perhaps occasioned by some disastrous event or report of a disastrous effect. The market is upset. Weaker firms fail; yet there is no general crisis and the market soon recovers. A crisis lasts longer and is general, tho it is often connected with panics. Crises, whatever be their cause, usually follow a certain course, which it is asserted by some writers, Jevons prominently among them, follows a certain cycle. Jevons in his *Political Economy Primer* thus describes them. He tells us (pp. 115-119) that the cause of this cycle is not well understood, but then says:

"There can be no doubt that in some years men become confident and hopeful. They think that the country is going to be very prosperous, and that if they invest their capital in new factories, banks, railways, ships, or other enterprises, they will make much profit. When some people are thus hopeful, others readily become so too, just as a few cheerful people in a party make everybody cheerful. Thus the hopefulness gradually spreads itself through all the trades of the country. Clever men then propose schemes for new inventions and novel undertakings, and they find that they can readily get capitalists to subscribe for shares. This encourages other speculators to put forth proposals, and when the shares of some companies have risen in value, it is supposed that other shares will do so likewise. The most absurd schemes find supporters in a time of great hopefulness, and there thus arises what is called a bubble or mania.

"When the schemes started during a bubble begin to be carried out, great quantities of materials are required for building, and the prices of these materials rise rapidly. The workpeople who produce these materials then earn high wages, and they spend these wages in better living, in pleasure, or in buying an

* *Marriage and Disease*, p. 88.

unusual quantity of new clothes, furniture, etc. Thus the demand for commodities increases, and tradespeople make large profits. Even when there is no sufficient reason, the prices of the remaining commodities usually rise, as it is called, by sympathy, because those who deal in them think their goods will probably rise like other goods, and they buy up stocks in the hope of making profits. Every trader now wants to buy, because he believes that prices will rise higher and higher, and that, by selling at the right time, the loss of any subsequent fall of prices will be thrown upon other people.

"This state of things, however, cannot go on very long. Those who have subscribed for shares in new companies have to pay up the calls—that is, find the capital which they promised. They are obliged to draw out the money which they had formerly deposited in banks, and then the bankers have less to lend.

Course of Crises.

Manufacturers, merchants, and speculators, who are making or buying large stocks of goods, wish to borrow more and more money, in order that they may have a larger business, the profit seeming likely to be so great. Then, according to the laws of supply and demand, the price of money rises, which means that the rate of interest for short loans, from a week to three or six months in duration, is increased. The bubble goes on growing, until the more venturesome and unscrupulous speculators have borrowed many times as much money as they themselves really possess. Credit is said to be greatly extended, and a firm which perhaps owns a capital worth £10,000 will have undertaken to pay £200,000 or £300,000 for the goods which they have bought on speculation.

"But the sudden rise which, sooner or later, occurs in the rate of interest, is very disastrous to such speculators; when they began to speculate interest was, perhaps, only 2 or 3 per cent.; but when it becomes 7 or 8 per cent., there is fear that much of the profit will go in interest paid to the lenders of capital. Moreover, those who lent the money, by discounting the speculators' bills, or making advances on the security of goods, become anxious to have it paid back. Thus the speculators are forced at last to begin selling their stocks at the best prices they can get. As soon as some people begin to sell in this way, others who hold goods think they had better sell before the prices fall seriously; then there arises a sudden rush to sell, and buyers being alarmed, refuse to buy except at much reduced rates. The bad speculators now find themselves unable to maintain their credit, because, if they sell their large stocks at a considerable loss, their own real capital will be quite insufficient to cover this loss. They are thus unable to pay what they have engaged to pay, and stop payment, or, in other words, become bankrupt. This is very awkward for other people, manufacturers, for instance, who had sold goods to the bankrupts on credit; they do not receive the money they expected, and as they also perhaps have borrowed money while making the goods, they become bankrupt likewise. Thus the discredit spreads, and firms even which had borrowed only moderate sums of money, in proportion to their capital, are in danger of failing. . . .

"No one ventures to propose a new scheme or a new company, because he knows that people in general have great difficulty in paying up what they promised to the schemes started during the bubble. This bubble is now burst, and it is found that many of the new works and undertakings from which people expected so much profit are absurd and hopeless mistakes. It was proposed to make railways where there was nothing to carry; to sink mines where there was no coal nor metal; to build ships which would not sail; all kinds of impracticable schemes have to be given up, and the capital spent upon them is lost.

"Not only does this collapse ruin many of the subscribers to these schemes, but it presently causes workpeople to be thrown out of employment. The more successful schemes indeed are carried out, and, for a year or two, give employment to builders, iron manufacturers, and others, who furnish the materials. But as these schemes are completed by degrees, no one ventures to propose new ones; people have been frightened by the losses and bankruptcies and frauds brought to light in the collapse, and when some people are afraid, others readily become frightened likewise by sympathy. In matters of this kind, men of business are much like a flock of sheep which follow each other without any clear idea why they do so. In a year or two the prices of iron, coal, timber, etc., are reduced to the lowest point; great losses are suf-

fered by those who make or deal in such materials, and many workmen are out of employment. The working classes then have less to spend on luxuries, and the demand for other goods decreases; trade in general becomes depressed; many people find themselves paupers, or spend their savings accumulated during previous years. Such a state of depression may continue for two or three years, until speculators have begun to forget their failures, or a new set of younger men, unacquainted with disaster, think they see a way to make profits. During such a period of depression, too, the richer people, who have more income than they spend, save it up in the banks. Business men as they sell off their stocks of goods leave the money received in the banks; thus by degrees capital becomes abundant, and the rate of interest falls. After a time bankers, who were so very cautious at the time of the collapse, find it necessary to lend their increasing funds, and credit is improved. Then begins a new credit cycle, which probably goes through much the same course as the previous one."

Such is Jevons's description of a general crisis; crises started by particular causes we shall consider under the history of crises below. It is necessary now to point that Jevons and other economists claim that general crises not only follow a **Periodicity**, somewhat fixed course, but occur at somewhat fixed periods. Thornton, Tooke, Langton, Mr. John Mills, of Manchester, and Jevons have all treated this subject at length. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* says:

"An enumeration of recorded years of acute commercial distress—1753, 1763, 1772-73, 1783, 1793, 1815, 1825, 1836-39, 1847, 1857, 1866, 1878, 1890—suggests periodicity. During these 140 years trade and banking have been carried on in war and peace, with a silver standard, with a gold standard, under a suspension of cash payments, in times of plenty and in times of want; but the fatal years have come round with a considerable approach to cyclical regularity. While admitting that the commercial crises to which this generation has been exposed have been less acute than those which afflicted the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, the fact of their recurrence in something like periodicity remains."

Jevons explained crises in part by bad crops, and these by sun-spot periods. He says in a communication to the British Association (1862):

"There is a periodic tendency to commercial distress and difficulty during these months (October and November). It is when great irregular fluctuations aggravate this distress, as in the years 1836, 39, 1847, 1857, that disastrous breaches of commercial credit occur."

And again (*Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1866, vol. xxix., p. 249): "These changes arise from deficient or excessive harvests, from sudden changes of supply or demand in any of our great staple articles, from periods of excessive investment or speculation, from wars and political disturbances, or other fortuitous occurrences which we cannot calculate upon and allow for." Still further developing the notion of periodicity, Jevons (*Political Economy*, 1878, Science Primers) says: "Good vintage years on the continent of Europe, and droughts in India, recur every 10 or 11 years, and it seems probable that commercial crises are connected with a periodic variation of weather affecting all parts of the earth, and probably arising from increased waves of heat received from the sun at average intervals of 10 years and a fraction."

The invention of this theory of "credit cycles" can be traced to Mr. John Mills, of Manchester (paper on "Credit Cycles and the Origin of Commercial Panics," *Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society*, December, 1867). Mr. Mills discusses the pathology of crises; and after alluding to "the occult forces which swell or diminish the volume of transactions through a procession of years," thus speaks of periodicity:

"It is an unquestionable fact that about every ten years there occurs a vast and sudden increase of demand in the loan market followed by a great revulsion and a temporary destruction of credit."

A perhaps safer position is to say that while the cause of crises lies in the various motives which lead men to overspeculation, and in the psychological principles which make the act of one mind or of a few minds influence a whole community, so that overspeculation creates a general overspeculation, in the above-suggested ideas may lie the secret of crises returning so frequently about once in ten years. Many causes, however, may lead to crises. Macleod's *Dictionary of Political Economy* puts the causes of commercial crises as follows :

"1. A long-continued very low rate of interest. Persons in such times who have nothing but the interest of small capitals to live on are so strained in their means that they look out for more profitable investments. At such times wild speculators are sure to abound to take advantage of the credulous. One scheme breeds another, and a speculative fever seizes upon the public like a mania. Multitudes of schemes are set afloat for no other purpose than gambling in the shares. Numbers of persons then rush to buy the shares merely for the sake of selling them again, knowing full well that a crash must come, but hoping to make a lucky hit during the fever. Then, at last, either when calls come, supposing them ever to get to that stage, or when the circle of dupes is found to be exhausted, prices begin to waver and every one rushes to sell, and of course things fall as rapidly as they rose, and then comes the crash."

"2. When some new, large market is opened at home or abroad, in which extraordinary gains are realized by the first adventurers, numbers then rush in and over-production takes place, and the herd of adventurers is ruined."

"3. A great and general failure of some great crop necessary for subsistence. The enormously increased price deranges the demand for other things; the sudden rise of price tempts great speculation, sure to be followed by enormous disasters."

"4. A great derangement of the ordinary course of trade from some great general cause, such as the sudden commencement or the sudden termination of a war. The sudden cessation of demand for some articles deranges the calculations of the producers of them, and the sudden demand for large quantities of others raises their price suddenly, and gives rise to immense speculations in them, which are sure to be overdone and end in general ruin."

"Each of these causes separately, if on a sufficient scale, may produce a commercial crisis; but, as several of them may happen together, it will, of course, be proportionably intensified."

Of peculiarly monetary crises the Report of the United States Monetary Commission of 1876 gives a description from which we quote the following extracts :

"The worst effect, however, economically considered, of falling prices, is not upon existing property nor upon debtors, evil as it is, but upon laborers, whom it deprives of employment and consigns to poverty, and upon society, which it deprives of that vast sum of wealth which resides potentially in the vigorous arms of the idle workman."

Contraction of Money and Crises.

A shrinking volume of money transfers existing property unjustly, and causes a concentration and diminution of wealth. It also impairs the value of existing property by eliminating from it that important element of value conferred upon it by the skill, energy, and care of the debtors from whom it is wrested. But it does not destroy any existing property, while it does absolutely annihilate all the values producible by the labor which it condemns to idleness. The estimate is not an extravagant one that there are now in the United States 3,000,000 persons willing to work, but who are idle because they cannot obtain employment.

"Money capital, labor, and other forms of capital are the warp and woof of the economical system.

Labor, cooperating with the forces of nature, is the source of all wealth, and to reach the highest degree of effectiveness, it must be classified through the aid of capital and supported by capital during the process of production and be measured and paid in money, each unit of which is a sight draft on all other forms of property, bearing a value in proportion to the number of such drafts. In order that any country may reach the maximum of material prosperity, certain conditions are indispensable. All its labor, assisted by the most approved machinery and appliances, must be employed, and the fruits of industry must be justly distributed. These conditions are utterly impossible when the money stock is shrinking and the money value of property and services is declining. Howsoever great the natural resources of a country may be, however genial its climate, fertile its soil, ingenious, enterprising, and industrious its inhabitants, or free its institutions, if the volume of money is shrinking and prices are falling, its merchants will be overwhelmed with bankruptcy, its industries will be paralyzed, and destitution and distress will prevail. . . .

"The peculiar effect of a contraction in the value of money is to give profit to the owners of unemployed money, through the appreciation of its purchasing power, by the mere lapse of time. It is falling prices that robs labor of employment and precipitates a conflict between it and money capital, and it is the appreciating effect which a shrinkage in the volume of money has on the value of money that renders the contest an unequal one, and gives to money capital the decisive advantage over labor and over other forms of capital invested in industrial enterprises. Idle machinery and industrial appliances of all kinds, instead of being productive of profit, are a source of loss. They constantly deteriorate through rust and waste. They cannot escape the assessor and tax-gatherer as the bulk of money does, and must pay extra insurance when idle. Labor, unlike money, cannot be hoarded. The day's labor unperformed is so much capital lost forever to the laborer and to society. It being his only capital, his only means of existence, the laborer cannot wait on better times for better wages. Absolute necessity forces him to dispose of it on any terms which the owners of money may dictate. These are the conditions which surround the laborer throughout the commercial world to-day. The labor of the past is enslaving the labor of the present. At least that portion of the labor of the past which has been crystallized into money is enabled through a shrinkage of its volume and while lying idle in the hands of its owners to increase its command over present labor and over all forms of property, and to transform vast numbers of honest and industrious workmen into tramps and beggars. These laborers must make their wants conform to their diminished earnings. They must content themselves with such things as are absolutely essential to their existence. Consumption is therefore constantly shrinking toward such limits as urgent necessities require. Production, which must be confined to the limits indicated by consumption, is constantly tending toward its minimum, whereas its appliances, built up under more favorable conditions, are sufficient to supply the maximum of consumption. Thus idle labor, idle money, idle machinery, and idle capital stand facing each other, and the stagnation spreads wider and wider."

HISTORY OF CRISES.

In 1634 there was a crisis over tulips which became a *furor* in Holland. This mania lasted four years before it burst. But the first crisis of the modern type occurred in 1720 over the speculative plans of John Law in forming his Mississippi Company. His company possessed in 1719 over 21 ships and nearly \$1,000,000. Shares went up to many times their value. Speculation developed like a fever in France and England. In France the currency was inflated. The fall **Early Crises.** was precipitate. About the same time, too, in England was developed the South Sea Bubble (*q. v.*). Various companies united into one South Sea Company, but they were largely fraudulent, and the leading to great speculation, soon utterly failed. In 1763 and 1799 there were crises in Hamburg. In

England there were crises in 1783, 1793, 1795-1797, in connection with the American and French wars. In 1815 there was a severer crisis at the close of the Napoleonic wars. Hitherto the French ports had been closed to England. After the peace England undertook to flood Europe with manufactures. But there was "over-production" (*q. v.*) and a crisis. In 1825 there was another crisis, an account of which, together with the accounts of the next succeeding crises, so far as they concern England, we abridge from the account by G. H. Pownall in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*. It was one of the most severe:

"At this date speculation ran very high, for the most part in loans and mining adventures, and other investments abroad. The foreign exchanges were so much depressed as to be the cause of a nearly continuous drain on the bullion of the bank. This foreign drain, Tooke remarks, was not counteracted by any operation of the bank; it was suffered, he observed, to run its course, till it ceased of its own accord, that is by

Crises of 1825.

simple efflux, toward the close of the summer. Many and heavy banking failures, and a state of commercial discredit, preceded and formed the earlier stage of the panic. The tendency to speculation, and the undue extension of credit, was preceded, probably caused, and certainly favored and promoted, by the low rate of interest which had existed for some time previously; and this low rate of interest was apparently prolonged by the operations of the Bank of England. Facility of banking accommodation, which had existed for some time previously, favored undue extension of credit.

"This gradually led on to the great difficulties of the year.

"In the summer of 1822 the bank reduced its rate of discount from 5 to 4 per cent.

"The great severity of the pressure extended over a very short time, hardly more than three weeks. Some banking failures, principally in the provinces, in the month of December, were followed by the failure of several banks in London. A severe drain on the resources of the Bank of England took place. The accidental discovery, for such it was said by Mr. Harman in his evidence in 1832 (Bank Charter Report, 1832) to have been, of an amount of £1 notes which had been put away in the bank was, doubtless, a fortunate circumstance; for altho the sum was not large (between £700,000 and £800,000), it served to meet the peculiar difficulty of that time, which consisted in an extensive distrust of the small note country circulation, and it is probable that it had an immediate and very great effect in stopping the demand from the provinces for gold." (Tooke.)

"Tooke describes the spirit of speculation aroused as follows: 'This possibility of enormous profit by risking a small sum was a bait too tempting to be resisted; all the gambling propensities of human nature were constantly solicited into action; and crowds of individuals of every description—the credulous and the suspicious, the crafty and the bold, the raw and the experienced, the intelligent and the ignorant; princes, nobles, politicians, placemen, patriots, lawyers, physicians, divines, philosophers, poets, intermingled with women of all ranks and degrees (spinsters, wives, and widows)—hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the names.'

"The recoil from these speculations was inevitable. The country banks, whose advances and whose issues of notes had both exceeded the limit of prudence, were among the principal sufferers. Several London banks likewise failed. A remark made by Mr. Huskisson, "that we were within a few hours of a state of barter," has often been quoted as showing the severity of the trial the country passed through. The turning-point appears to have been in the week ending Saturday, December 27, 1825. On that day, according to a statement made by Mr. Richards, then deputy governor of the bank, "whether from fatigue, or whether from being satisfied, the public mind had yielded to circumstances, and the tide turned at the moment on that Saturday night." The greater part of 1826 was a time of considerable depression, but by 1827 the trade and manufactures of the country had resumed their usual and steady course."

The crisis in America was at its height in 1826. In July metal had disappeared from the banks. Discount rose from 20 to 30 per cent. By August failures were general.

The monetary disturbances of 1836-37 are not included by Tooke among the memorable commercial crisis. "It was confined in a great measure to two branches of trade, the American and East Indian, including China. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount to 5 per cent., and laid some restriction upon the bills of the American houses, who were notoriously overtrading."

But in the United States this crisis was most severe. Early in 1836 President Jackson counseled an increase of circulation at the expense of small notes, and gold began to come to America; but by the above-mentioned action of the Bank of England credit was withheld, and failures in this country became numerous. Gold in 1837 went back to England, and the crisis in the United States was general. Seven hundred banks stopped payment.

It was the worst period since the Revolutionary War. Early in 1838 there was prosperity again, but a crisis breaking out in France and Belgium, with a great draft of gold from the Bank of England, which came near stopping specie payment, the crisis in the United States became still more formidable. On October 10 the United States Bank (see BANKS AND BANKING) was compelled to close its doors. In 1839, 959 banks stopped payment. There were 33,000 failures, with a loss of \$440,000,000.

The crisis of 1847 affected England more. The failure of the potato crop in 1846 caused the need for a heavy importation of corn. "The price of corn was very high in 1847, the average in May being 92s. 10d.

per quarter, but the imports rose in proportion. The result was the failure of many houses in the corn trade, which became the signal for other heavy bankruptcies. Several banks succumbed, and credit was severely shaken."

Meanwhile the anxiety and alarm were causing hoarding, and it appeared not unlikely that the banking department of the Bank of England might be compelled to stop payment while there was more than £6,000,000 of specie in the issue department. Some of the leading city bankers had an interview with the prime minister, and the desired relaxation was given. The official letter recommended "the directors of the Bank of England, in the present emergency, to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances, upon approved security." A high rate, 8 per cent., was to be charged, to keep these operations within reasonable limits; a bill of indemnity was promised if the arrangement led to a breach of the law. The extra profit derived was to be for the benefit of the public. No really adequate reason has ever been given for this last stipulation, unless it is supposed to have been made to prevent the bank from maintaining the extra rate unduly long.

The effect of the Government letter in allaying the panic was complete. When anxiety as to obtaining bank notes or gold was removed, the immediate pressure shortly disappeared.

The crisis of 1857 began in America. New

Crises of 1837.

Crises of 1847.

companies had been forming in all directions. There was an unusual importation of European goods. The banks were unable to resist the monetary pressure, and on August 24 they stopped payment; 5123 failures were counted, with liabilities of \$299,000,000. The enormous fall of values, however, brought back gold, and by January, 1858, most of the banks had resumed. It affected England later, but most severely. The suspension of the Bank Act of 1844 eased the market somewhat, but the industrial crises were even more marked. Hundreds of thousands of workmen were unemployed. Riots became frequent. The crisis passed, but then gradually reached successively France, Germany, the Scandinavian States, Austria, Italy, South America.

The crisis of 1861 affected England in January and France in the autumn, and was brought on by England's having to pay a heavy balance in favor of the United States. The rate of discount in France had to rise to 8 per cent. to bring back cash.

The crisis of 1866 was mainly in England, once more causing a suspension of the Bank Act, and was marked by the memorable "Black Friday" and of the failure of the almost historic house of Overend, Gurney & Co. September 23, 1869, saw a "Black Friday" in New York, but it was mainly local and connected with gold speculation.

During the first three quarters of 1873 the general prosperity of the United States seemed undiminished; but on September 18, 1873, the most extraordinary panic began which this country has ever witnessed, and reached its height about the middle of October. It prostrated thousands of commercial houses, cut off the wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen, and overthrew the Stock Exchange. It swept down the entire banking system of the country. Even savings banks closed their doors. It broke off the negotiation of American securities in Europe, and prostrated business in every way. The causes were involved.

The closing of the War of the Rebellion had seen the commencement of great industrial activity in the United States. From 1869-73 enormous amounts of money were invested in commercial enterprises. The cost of the railroad construction of those five years is estimated at \$1,700,000,000, while municipalities and private corporations borrowed money for vast undertakings. The land grant policy and cheap transportation developed a new West. In Europe the opening of the Suez Canal stimulated commerce. Interest was based on the high prices of war time. There was increased need of currency. Instead of this the policy of resumption and contraction (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY) limited the amount of currency below the demand. Prices fell, whether owing to contraction of currency or cheaper processes of production is a disputed point. (See BIMETALLISM.) Both causes were probably at work. But it is not disputed that

prices fell. Heavy crops and an unusually large demand for money precipitated the impending crisis. September 18 the great house of Jay Cooke & Co., of New York, failed. This brought trouble to Fish & Hatch, and to McCulloch of London. The worst immediate effects of the crisis were soon met. The bankers met and voted: 1. To issue \$10,000,000 loan certificates, and still later \$10,000,000 more. 2. A general movement on the part of the banks to make large payments in checks only, certified as "good through the Clearing House." 3. Purchase of bonds by the Treasury amounting to \$13,500,000, which liberated an equal amount of legal tenders. 4. The advantage taken by the savings banks of the thirty days' notice of withdrawals by depositors. 5. The closing of the Stock Exchange from the 20th to the 30th of the month. Great pressure was brought to bear upon the United States Treasurer to afford relief by issuing United States notes; but he declined, and only consented to sell \$13,000,000 bonds.

The immediate crisis was stayed; but in industrial lines 1874 was worse than 1873, and there was depression till 1877. The great railroad strikes of that year made matters worse. In 1878 there was improvement, and this continued till 1883. In 1884 another crisis occurred, tho of less serious character, and depression continued through the strikes and industrial troubles, which continued till 1886. Confidence was then in a degree restored, and with some depression in 1888, till the crisis of 1890. That year prominent English houses which had invested in Argentine Republican and African securities were disturbed, and finally on December 15 even the great house of Baring Brothers suspended. In France the great coffee syndicate failed. But the Bank of England stood firm, and a syndicate of strong houses liquidated the debt of Baring Brothers. It affected the United States almost as much, tho not so much in the form of a crisis as of adding to depression, continuing without much improvement to the great crisis of 1893.

The crisis of 1893 was in many ways different from all other crises. It was only very slightly due to overspeculation, almost purely to monetary conditions, yet it affected not only financial circles, but industry all over the United States. Early in the year there was widespread financial unsteadiness, with securities on the down grade. In Congress there was discussion over the repeal of the silver-purchasing act of 1890. (See CURRENCY.) During May and June there was no improvement, tho, with the exception of the National Cordage Company, no important houses were seriously affected. June 26, however, it was announced that India had stopped the free coinage of silver. It at once sent the price of silver bullion down to the lowest point ever recorded, and all stocks went down. The mines of Colorado and other silver States were at once stopped and their workmen left unemployed. There was a panic. Western and Southern banks began to fail. Hoarding set in, even in the East. Currency became scarce. Many manufactories shut down. Even strong manu-

Crisis of 1857.

Crisis of 1861.

Crisis of 1866.

Crisis of 1873.

Crisis of 1890.

Crisis of 1893.

facturing companies could not get change to pay their men. Wealthy men with unquestioned credit could not get checks cashed. All the banking centers except Chicago began to have recourse to clearing-house certificates. In New York during the summer these certificates reached the sum of \$38,280,000. Early in August bank and treasury notes commanded a premium as high as 4 per cent. in New York. There was a money dearth. The President called an extra session of Congress, which opened August 7. It was claimed by the monometallists that the money panic was caused by a lack of confidence in the United States monetary policy, from fear that, the silver was depreciating, the United States would be committed to depreciated silver. In the House a bill was therefore introduced by Mr. Wilson, according to the suggestion of the President's message, repealing the silver-purchase bill, the renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver at the existing or some other ratio. On the other hand, it was claimed by the free-silver men that the financial crisis was caused by the lack of money resulting from the purpose of the gold manipulators to drive silver from the world, enhance the value of gold, and increase their profits. It was claimed that ever since 1873 this policy had resulted in a contracted currency, low prices, suffering for the debtor classes, stoppage of manufactories, etc., a long depression, and that now by a last stroke the crisis had been brought on by the bankers trying to drive silver completely from the market. The conflict was bitter in Congress and through the country, the sentiment of the West and South being bitter against the capitalistic East. Finally, August 28, the Wilson Bill was carried by a vote of 240 to 110, and the silver-purchase clause repealed. Then began a still more heated struggle in the Senate. Not till October 30 was a bill introduced by Senator Voorhees repealing the silver-purchase law, but declaring for the parity of gold and silver in stronger terms, substituted for the Wilson Bill passed by the Senate by a vote of 43 to 32, accepted by the House by a vote of 192 to 94, and signed by the President November 1.

Meanwhile the crisis was already checked. By the middle of August confidence began to return. By September the premium on currency vanished. Foreign investors began sending in money, taking advantage of the low price of stocks. Only one private banking firm in New York City had failed and only one national bank. Of the 301 bank suspensions from May 1 to July 22, 93 per cent. were in the South and West. Yet the business failures from April 1 to October 1 were 8105 against 4171 for those months in 1892, with liabilities of \$284,663,624 against \$41,110,322 for 1892. Thus the number of failures had doubled and the liabilities had increased nearly sevenfold. Three great railway systems were sent into the hands of receivers: the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the Erie. For further details of this crisis and for references, see CURRENCY. For various other views as to the causes of crises, see articles SILVER QUESTION; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; MONOMETALLISM OVER PRODUCTION; SOCIALISM.

CRUSADES, SOCIAL EFFECT OF.—The crusades covering the interval from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and partly inclusive of these, exercised the most profound influence upon Europe; not only upon those directly engaged, but upon popes, kings, and emperors; upon the relations of Church and State, and upon the development of literature, education, and art. Classes were broken up, and nations were brought together. The economic conditions of Europe were changed. The decay of the Western empire had broken off the intercourse between the East and West, and completely ended the maritime traffic which had been begun by the Phœnicians. It was this destruction of naval commerce that compelled the Crusaders to march overland to Asia. The crusades revived the trades of ship-building and merchandising, and dotted the Mediterranean with sails. Asia Minor exchanged products with Norway and Sweden. An enormous impulse was thus given to manufactures and agriculture. Neglected industries were developed, and new arts and occupations introduced from the East. The crusaders learned in Greece the manufacture of silk, in Tyre the art of glass-making, in Africa the cultivation of maize and sugar-cane, and in Damascus the working of metals and making of cloth. Manufactures necessitated the growth of large towns, which was one of the most notable results of the crusades. Great wealth, with all its good and evil consequences, began to flow into the cities of Italy, Germany, France, Flanders, and other European countries.

References: Blanqui, *Histoire de l'Economie Politique en Europe*; Guizot, *History of Civilization in Europe*; Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, viii.

CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM, is best known in economic thought as the leading English advocate of the historical or empirical study of social phenomena. Graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1873, and ordained the same year, he devoted his early years mainly to historical, theological, and ecclesiastical studies. Deputy to the Knightsbridge professor, 1881, and since 1887 Vicar of St. Mary's the Great, Cambridge, he has given his later years largely to economic history. In 1882 appeared the first edition of his important work, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, which Professor Ashley (*q.v.*) calls the first attempt that had been made to trace the whole course of English economic development. He has since developed this book into a practically new work, the first volume of which appeared in 1890 and the second in 1892. In 1884 he published his *Christian Opinion on Usury*; in 1885, *Politics and Economics, an Essay on the Nature of the Principles of Political Economy and a Survey of Recent Legislation*; in 1886 *S. Austin and his Place in the History of Christian Thought*; in 1887, *Political Economy Treated as an Experimental Science*; in 1891, *Use and Abuse of Money*. In 1891 he was made Tooke Professor of Political Economy at King's College, London, and also elected to a fellowship at Trinity, Cambridge. He is a D.Sc. of Edinburgh and D.D. of Cambridge.

CURRENCY.—(See also MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; GOLD; SILVER; BIMETALLISM; MONOMETALLISM; PAPER MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; CRISES; MONETARY CONFERENCES; GREENBACKISM, etc.) The word currency may be defined as money in *circulation*, or the commodity or commodities in use in any country as the medium of exchange. Money (*q.v.*) is the general and philosophic term; currency is money, with emphasis upon its passing from hand to hand. For a statement, therefore, of the economic principles and different theories of money, see MONEY. We present here an historical review of the

UNITED STATES CURRENCY,

our main authorities being, for the earlier periods, Professor Sumner's *History of American Currency*, and Bolles' *Financial History of the United States*; for the later periods, the reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, the Director of the Mint, and the Record of Political Events in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

I. COLONIAL PERIOD.

From Professor Sumner we learn that the first colonies to this country brought little English or European currency with them, and soon found need for more.

Winthrop wrote to his son in 1630 especially to bring £150 of £200 with him. A married clergyman in those days was allowed £30 per annum. Carpenters and skilled workmen, who were greatly in demand, were forbidden to take over 1*sd.* and later 2*s.* per day. When explorers reached Long Island Sound, they found the Indians more advanced in civilization than their northern neighbors, and using a circulating medium of exchange, consisting of beads of two kinds, one white, made out of the end of a periwinkle shell, and the other black, made out of the dark part of a clam shell. They were rubbed down and polished, and when artistically arranged in strings or belts formed objects of real beauty. These beads circulated among the Indians as money, one black bead being reckoned as worth two white ones, and were known as *wampum*, or *wampumpeag* or *peag*. The colonists came to use them first in their trade with the Indians, and then among themselves. In Massachusetts they became by custom the common currency of the colony, and were made a legal tender in small sums. "The white man," says Professor Sumner, "also proved his superiority by counterfeiting it." A fathom or belt of wampum consisted of 360 beads, and one fathom of white would buy furs valued at 5*s.* sterling. Barter was also at this time continually used, and various commodities did duty for money. In 1635 musket bullets were used for change at a farthing apiece. And the more barter was used because money was scarce, the scarcer money became. Interest in 1664 was 8 per cent. Merchants drained the people of their cash. In 1652 Massachusetts set up a mint to coin silver—the famous "pine tree" coinage. She coined shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The coins were to be of sterling alloy $\frac{1}{4}$ fine, and the shilling worth 1*0d.* sterling. It was taken in England at 25 per cent. discount, and declared to be not of even weight or fineness. Barter, however,

Pine Tree Coinage.

continued. Silver was smuggled out of the country or clipped. The silver which came to the colony consisted mainly of Spanish pillar coins. They were not allowed to be circulated. In 1686 a bank was proposed, and seems to have made issues, but soon disappeared. Andrews stopped the mint about 1688. The first enduring issue of paper money made in the colonies was in 1690, six years before the founding of the Bank of England.

An expedition had been sent out against Canada, and returning without spoils, and in a state of misery, the soldiers were clamorous for their pay. So £7000

were issued in notes from 5*s.* to £5. The form of these notes or bills was as follows:

"This indented bill of 10*s.*, due from the Massachusetts colony to the possessor, shall be in value equal to money, and shall be accordingly accepted by the treasurer and receivers subordinate to him in all public payments, and for any stock at any time in the treasury." The soldiers disposed of them at one third discount till 1692, when the Government ordered that they be received at 5 per cent. advance over coin, and promised to redeem them in money within 12 months. This kept them at par 20 years. There were continually at every new crisis new issues of money. Another expedition against Canada in 1700 meant a new large issue. Connecticut and most of the colonies also issued a small amount. South Carolina probably issued more money than any other colony. In 1709 the time for redemption in Massachusetts was set at four years and then later, and the paper began to depreciate. In Connecticut there were four prices for "pay," "pay as money," "money," and "trusting." "Pay" was barter at Government prices. "Money" was Spanish or New England coin. "Pay as money" was barter currency at prices one third less than the Government rate; "trusting" was an enhanced price according to time. The merchant asked his customer how he would pay before fixing his price.

In 1715 John Colman proposed a land bank, which in those days meant simply an issue of paper based on land. Such an issue was made. Banking was arresting attention the world over. The Land Bank of England dates from 1685, the Austrian enterprises from 1700, John Law's scheme from 1715, and the South Sea Company from 1711. In 1720 trade was stagnant, and there was a great cry for more issues. At the same time the commissioners of the New England colonies became alarmed at the tendency to further increase of paper notes. The English Parliament forbade bank-

Land Banks.
ing except under its charter, and forbade the colonial governments from emitting bills. Later the restriction was modified to permit an issue for government expenses only. In 1739 a "land bank" was set in operation, which loaned its notes for 3 per cent. per annum interest, and 5 per cent. in principal, *both payable in merchandise*. This bank became a factor in politics, and as fortunes were to be made through it, the "land bank," says Sumner, "resisted its fate by social and political intrigues." In 1740 Parliament required its wind up, but it managed to evade the requirement.

Rhode Island had the severest experience, as it issued bills the most recklessly. Parties were no longer Whig or Tory, but Creditor and Debtor. In 1721 Massachusetts issued £100,000, and forbade buying or selling silver; but this could not be stopped. It led to the above-mentioned instructions from Parliament to forbid the governors signing any acts for emitting bills, and the history of the next 20 years is a history of struggle over this. In 1749 the paper issue of Massachusetts was £2,466,712. Parliament at this time ransomed Louisbourg from the colonies, and paid Massachusetts in silver and copper £138,649 sterling, which at 11 to 1, the ruling exchange, nearly cancelled the paper, and Massachusetts found herself with a specie currency. Other colonies, and Rhode Island in particular, clung longer to paper money.

2. TO THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

We now come to the times of the Revolution. The colonies commenced the war, many of them with paper already in circulation. To issue paper money was the one way in which they were accustomed to meet a crisis. The Continental Congress ordered in May, and issued in August, 1775, paper for 300,000 Spanish dollars, on the faith of the "Continent," redeemable in three years in gold and silver. This went on till \$9,000,000 were thus issued. In 1776 depreciation began. In 1779 Congress was at its wits' end. It tried to force paper money into circulation by making it legal tender, and by fixing prices, but this only increased depreciation. In 1780 the bills were worth only two cents on the dollar. The following table, con-

densed from Gouge's *History of Continental Money*, gives the issues and depreciation :

Added in	1776	\$20,064,464
"	1777	26,426,333
"	1778	66,965,269
"	1779	149,703,856
"	1780	82,198,320
"	1781	11,408,095
Total,		\$357,476,541

Amount issued up to and inclusive of the year—

{ Rate of exchange }	Jan. 1, 1777	1¼ for 1
{ for gold or silver }	" 1778	4 "
"	" 1779	9 "
"	" 1780	45 "
"	" 1781	100 "
"	" 1782	500 "

The French alliance in 1779 enabled Congress to borrow money, and it attempted to limit the outstanding issues of paper money to \$200,000,000, but did not. The loss of value of the entire issue became complete in 1781, and having been gradual, as it passed from hand to hand through several years, came to be regarded in the light of an involuntary tax for the maintenance of the war, which in general had fallen severely on people, according to their means, tho in cases it produced shameful wrongs. Nevertheless,

of this depreciation of the continental paper money, it should be added that it struggled against fearful odds. Congress issued the bills, but only the individual States could redeem them. Congress collected no duties on imports or internal revenue. For Congress it was all outgo and no income. The continental money was made payable in coin which was at a premium. The wonder is that it circulated as well as it did.

The colonies were contending with the greatest nation on earth, whose armies had generally been victorious on land, who was conceded to be the mistress of the seas. The colonies were poorly prepared for war. They had no army, no navy, no fortifications, no arms, no ammunition, no credit, no money. The odds were immensely against them, viewed from a military standpoint. The contest was not only doubtful, but from any standpoint except justice and right was overwhelmingly in favor of Great Britain. Under these circumstances it would have been difficult to maintain a State paper circulation at par had Congress adopted the best method of doing it. But with the means adopted, it is astonishing that any success attended their efforts. So that, while the continental paper money must be admitted to have failed, small argument can be drawn from it as to the failure of such money under proper conditions. But the real currency of this period was the note circulation of banks, under either national or State charters, altho some metal was coined. For a fuller consideration of this period, we therefore refer the reader to the article BANKS AND BANKING.

In January, 1782, the Bank of North America was chartered in Philadelphia, with a capital of \$400,000. Seventy thousand dollars in specie were put into its capital by citizens, and the remainder by the Government in specie or foreign exchange out of a foreign loan. The bank had its origin in a union of citizens to supply the army. They issued the bank's notes in pay. Gouge, in his *History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States*, published in 1833, shows that it was a mistake to suppose that that bank aided the

Government, as its stockholders only paid in \$70,000, or seven-fortieths of its capital. The Government deposited \$254,000, and was credited by Robert Morris with that amount of stock in the bank. The individual directors thus acquired the power to circulate \$400,000 in the bank's notes, and loaned the Government and others their own money and the \$400,000 additional money which the Government's deposits and sanction soon made current at par. The dividends were soon from 12 to 16 per cent. for the stockholders. "In 1785," says Gouge, "the effects of its operation began to be apparent. . . . A temporary plentifulness of money, followed by great scarcity, usury, ruin to the many, riches to the few." In 1785 the Legislature of Pennsylvania repealed its charter, but it existed under its old congressional charter till Pennsylvania finally rechartered it. In 1785 and 1786 Shay's rebellion broke out in New England. It was an insurrection of debtors who were suffering from a collapse of the currency and return to specie values. They clamored for paper. The rebellion was put down by force ; but Massachusetts passed a law delaying the collection of debts. In Rhode Island the Paper Money Party carried the election of 1786, and £100,000 were issued by vote of the rural districts against the cities.

The new federal Constitution, framed in 1787, had decreed that no State "shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ;" and this would seem to have forever barred a State from giving charters to banks of issue, since it would seem that a State Legislature could not delegate to private corporations a power the Constitution had denied to the State itself. Nevertheless, the rage for banking became so extreme, excited largely by the high profits of the Bank of North America, that Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland gave charters to banks which United States courts did not abrogate. The Bank of North America had already been chartered, and it was held that "bills of credit" were not meant to cover bank-notes. The courts have held that a State may authorize bank issues when it itself owns all the stock ; when the Legislature appoints the directors ; when the faith of the State is pledged for the redemption of the bills, and when they are receivable for public dues, provided also that the capital is paid in and the bank may be sued (Story, fourth edition, vol i., p. 227, note). On the question, Can the national Government do what the States cannot do under this clause ? the courts have decided that it can.

When it was proposed, however, in the constitutional convention to give to Congress the right to emit bills of credit, it was defeated by a vote of nine States to two.

United States Banks.

Thus began the great flood of State banking, which did not terminate till the War of the Rebellion. (See BANKS AND BANKING.) The first United States bank was chartered in 1791, and expired in 1811. The second United States bank was opened January 1, 1817, and finally suspended February 4, 1841. The Secretary of the Treasury began to interfere with the bank market directly about 1814. (For the whole struggle of the Government and of the State banks against the national bank, and for the effect of the national and State bank issues upon the currency, see BANKS AND BANKING.) In 1786 Congress passed a coinage law upon a plan presented by Thomas Jefferson.

The Constitution (Article 1, section 8, clause 5) had vested in Congress the right to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and the Act of Congress of April 2, 1792, was the first act respecting coinage, entitled "An act establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States." The ninth section of this act provided:

"That there shall be from time to time struck and coined at the said mint, coins of gold, silver, and copper of the following denominations, values, and descriptions, viz.: Eagles—each to be of the value of \$10 or units, and to contain 247 grains and four eighths of a grain of pure, or 270 grains of standard gold."

After providing for half eagles, each to be of half the value of the eagle, and quarter eagles, each to be of one fourth of the value of the eagle, the section continues, as follows:

"Dollars or units—each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar as the same is now current, and to contain 371 grains and four sixteenth parts of a grain of pure, or 416 grains of standard silver."

The act also provided for half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes, and half dimes, each to contain, respectively, one half, one fourth, one tenth, and one twentieth of the pure silver contained in the dollar. The coinage of cents and half cents of copper was also provided for.

It thus declared the dollar to be the unit of value, and it measured this value in silver.

The money unit of the United States had been already established in 1785 by the Continental Congress as the dollar. This was a well-known coin, and had been in constant use for many years. Indeed, it com-

Adoption of a Currency. peted with the pound as a measure of value; in some transactions the pound measure was used; in other transactions the dollar measure.

Persons expressed their transactions in their books of account either in pounds or dollars; but for a long period the quantity coined was so small that it was necessary to use foreign coins for monetary purposes. Congress first authorized their use in 1793, declaring at what rates they should pass current, and that they should be a legal tender for the period of three years from the time the mint began operations. When that time expired their use was renewed by additional legislation for short periods until 1809. To determine their value, they were assayed annually, and from the information thus obtained Congress could act intelligently in fixing the rates. After the supply of domestic coin became ample, foreign coins ceased to be used much as money, tho, as they were mingled with the domestic coinage, they were to be constantly seen until the suspension of specie payments in 1861, when all coin disappeared.

By the act of 1792 the proportion of pure gold to the alloy in gold coins was made by this act, 11 parts gold and one part alloy, the alloy being composed of

silver and copper. The proportion of pure silver to the alloy in silver coins was made 1485 parts fine silver to 179 parts alloy. The reason for this proportion of silver to alloy was that the alloy was found in that proportion in the Spanish dollars then current. These coins having been a long time in circulation were more or less worn, and their assay did not show the exact original weight of the coin, and probably not the exact original proportion of alloy. The alloy in the silver dollar consisted of 44 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains of copper, making the dollar 892.25 fine; this, by the act of 1837, was changed to 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains of copper, making the standard nine tenths fine. Section 11 of the act provided:

"That the proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which shall by law be current as money within the United States, shall be as 15 to 1, according to quantity in weight of pure gold or pure silver; that is to say, every 15 lbs. weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments with 1 lb. weight of pure gold, and so in proportion as to any greater or less quantities of the respective metals."

A dollar of gold contained 24.75 grains of pure metal, and a dollar of silver 371.25 grains—being exactly 15 to 1. Section 14 provided:

"That it shall be lawful for any person or persons to bring to the said mint gold and silver bullion, in order to their being coined; and that the bullion so brought shall be there assayed and coined as speedily as may be after the receipt thereof, and that free of expense to the person or persons by whom the same shall have been brought. And as soon as the said bullion shall have been coined, the person or persons by whom the same shall have been delivered shall, upon demand, receive in lieu thereof coins of the same species of bullion which shall have been so delivered, weight for weight, of the pure gold or pure silver therein contained."

Section 16, which follows, made the coinage of both metals equally a lawful tender in all payments whatsoever, thus establishing the free coinage and full legal tender of both metals without limit, at the ratio of 15 to 1. The exact language of section 16 of the act is:

"That all the gold and silver coins which shall have been struck at, and issued from the said mint, shall be a lawful tender in all payments whatsoever; those of full weight according to the respective values hereinbefore declared, and those of less than full weight at values proportional to their respective weights."

The ratio of 15 to 1 for American coins was not exactly in accordance with the ratio which then prevailed in European countries. Silver was slightly overvalued and gold a little undervalued.

The result was that the metallic money of the United States during this period consisted mostly of silver coins and largely of foreign coins. But \$11,908,800 of gold altogether were coined from 1793 to 1834, and this was generally soon exported. The production of gold for the same period in the United States is given at \$4,000,000.

The act of May 8, 1792, provided for the purchase of copper, "not exceeding 150 tons," "to be coined into cents and half cents," which, by the act of April 2, 1792, were to contain respectively 11 and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ pennyweights. The act of January 14, 1793, provided that the cent piece should contain 208 grains of copper and the half cent 104 grains.

The act of February 9, 1793, prescribed the rates at which foreign gold and silver coins should be legal tender in the United States. This act provided that Spanish milled dollars should be legal tender "at the rate of 100 cents for each dollar, the actual weight whereof shall not be less than 17 pennyweights and 7 grains." Section 2 of this act provided, "That at the expiration of three years next ensuing the time when the coinage of gold and silver, agreeably to the act entitled 'An act establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States,' shall commence at the mint of the United States (which time shall be announced by the proclamation of the President of the United States), all foreign gold coins and all foreign silver coins, except Spanish milled dollars and parts of such dollars, shall cease to be a legal tender, as aforesaid."

Section 5 of the act of March 3, 1795, provided for the deduction of two cents per ounce from deposits of silver bullion when below the standard of the United States and four cents per ounce from gold bullion below the standard to cover the cost of refining.

Only the copper, however, at this time was coined, and, being below standard, depreciated. They bore 13 circles linked together, with a small circle in the middle, around this the words "United States," and in the

15 to 1.

centre "We are one." On the opposite a sun-dial with the words "Fugio" and "1787" on either side, and "Mind your business," below the dial. The real currency of the United States at this time consisted mainly of bank notes, nominally convertible, issued by chartered banks. In 1794, the first silver was actually coined, the dollar weighing 416 grains, 1485 parts pure to 1790 parts alloy. Gold was first coined in 1795, the eagle weighing 270 grains, $\frac{1}{4}$ pure, so that one dollar contained 24.75 grains pure gold. It was assumed that silver was to gold as 15 to 1, but the actual market value was $15\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. With slight amendments the above was the coinage to 1834, when there was a change.

Currency Changes.

The act of June 28, 1834, changed weight and fineness of the gold eagle, making it 258 grains of .899225 fineness, or 232 grains of pure gold. No change was made in our silver coins by the act of 1834. Why the ratio should have been changed at this time from 15 to 1, as established in 1792, to 16 to 1, 31 years after the French act of 1803, which had practically fixed the ratio for all Europe at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, is difficult to understand. The reason usually given is that under the ratio of 15 to 1 little or no gold came or stayed here, and new mines of gold having been discovered in North Carolina and Georgia about this time, the higher ratio was adopted in order to give the gold a higher rating relatively to silver, and thereby keep it here.

But it worked evil, and the act of January 18, 1837, established .900 as the standard fineness of both gold and silver. It left the weight of the gold dollar unaltered (thus slightly increasing its value) and reduced the weight of the silver dollar to 412½ grains.

Between the act of 1792, establishing the mint, and the act of 1837, no change whatever was made in the silver coins, and the only change made in these coins by the act of 1837 was the change in the alloy from 44½ grains, as contained in the dollar of the act of 1792, to 41½ grains, the pure silver being left the same exactly by the act of 1837 as it was in the original act of 1792. The pure gold was changed from 24.75 grains to a dollar, as in the act of 1792, to 23.22 grains, as fixed in the act of 1837. As $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains is the weight of pure silver in our present standard dollar, it will be seen that this unit has therefore never varied in weight of pure metal through all the changes of our mint laws. It stands today the same dollar it was when our money system was established.

The change in the ratio to 16 to 1, in 1834, while the European ratio stood at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, led to the exportation of nearly all our full-weight silver coins. For, by this variation in the ratio between the two metals in the United States and in Europe, full-weight silver coins were worth for export a little more than 3 per cent. more than our gold coins; and as our subsidiary coins contained proportionally the same weight of pure silver contained in the dollar piece, it was as profitable to export these coins as the dollar piece; and consequently the country was well-nigh depleted of small coins. To remedy this evil, Congress by the act of February 21, 1853, reduced the weight of the half-dollar from 206½ grains to 192 grains standard silver, and the smaller silver coins in proportion. Until this act fractional silver coins were legal tender for all sums; but by this act they were made legal tender for \$5. only. Deposits of silver for coinage into fractional pieces for the benefit of the depositor were no longer received, but provision was made for the purchase of silver bullion on government account for the fabrication of the light-weight subsidiary coins.

Passing by legislation concerning foreign coin (which by the act of February 21, 1857, was deprived of currency) and concerning minor currency, we now reach the period of the War of the Rebellion. Yet it must not be forgotten that through all this period the currency of the country was really very largely the bank notes, and that the great currency problems and movements of the day were connected with the banks and the battle of the various administrations for or against the national and State banks. (For all this interesting period, however, see BANKS AND BANKING.)

3. THE PERIOD OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion, the Government found itself destitute of the means

necessary to carry on a gigantic war, and unable to procure such means from ordinary sources. Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, had been nominated Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Lincoln, and after much hesitation had accepted. He was without experience, but trusted by the people. He had a difficult problem to meet. Howell Cobb had worked under the preceding administration to ruin the credit of the Government, and the General J. A. Dix, after Mr. Cobb's retirement, had done his best, he had had to borrow at 12 per cent. interest, and raised only \$5,000,000 of treasury notes at that.

Mr. Chase first negotiated some small loans under the authority already existing, and on July 4, 1861, Congress convened to enact measures for suppressing the war. A loan of \$250,000,000 was authorized, duties were increased, an internal revenue system was adopted, and a direct tax of \$20,000,000 was laid. The States were offered 15 per cent. reduction if they paid the tax, and this course was taken by all the States except those in rebellion, Delaware, and two of the territories, altho much of the money was paid by fitting out troops, and brought in no revenue to the general Government. Tax commissioners were appointed to enforce the law in the insurrectionary States, and they made levies and sold land, and after a long effort collected a portion of the tax assessed on them.

As soon as Congress adjourned, Mr. Chase went to New York to effect the loan, obtaining a promise of \$150,000,000. Subscription books for a "popular loan" were opened and brought in \$24,678,866, and the banks agreed to make up the rest. The thought was naturally in people's minds, What if we do not support the Government?

The banks proposed that they should pay their respective portions over to one or two banks, and that the secretary should draw it out by issuing checks like an ordinary borrower. Congress had voted to suspend the law forbidding the Government from receiving anything but specie. The banks said that this would be the easiest way for them, as the checks would then simply go through the clearing house like other checks. Mr. Chase, however, insisted that the banks pay the Government in gold. They undertook to do so, but sought a promise that the treasury notes, which had been authorized to the extent of \$50,000,000, should not be issued. Tho not making any formal promise, Mr. Chase assured the banks that their wishes should be regarded. Soon, however, the notes began to appear in circulation. The effect was soon apparent. The banks could provide for the redemption of their own circulation, but as the Government had only so much gold as the banks could furnish, the banks must provide for the redemption of the Government notes or they must circulate without any foundation. The banks, therefore, feared the notes.

They, however, appeared in small quantities at first, and as the gold paid out quickly came back again in the way of ordinary deposits, all went well. But as soon as the quantity of the treasury issues became considerable, the gold did not return to the banks as before, and see-

ing that it was rapidly disappearing, the banks, on December 28, 1861, concluded to suspend specie payments on the Monday following (December 30).

The balance of the \$150,000,000 they agreed to pay the Government was paid in paper. Professor Sumner says that the banks suspended unnecessarily. Nevertheless they had done so, and the Government was compelled thereby also to suspend specie payment. But more money was needed. Public sentiment favored the issue of treasury notes. Mr. Chase, in his report (see BANKS AND BANKING), had already proposed the creation of a national banking system, but it was seen that this could not be developed in time. Money was needed then. Mr. E. G. Spaulding, of New York, therefore, two days after the suspension of the banks, introduced a bill into the House authorizing the issue of \$50,000,000 of treasury notes to be legal tender in payment of all debts in the United States and receivable by

Greenbacks. Government for all dues to the United States. It was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, consisting of Thaddeus Stevens, Chairman; J. S. Morrill, of Vermont; J. S. Phelps, of Missouri; E. G. Spaulding, of New York; V. B. Horton, of Ohio; Erastus Corning, of New York; S. Hooper, of Massachusetts; Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; and J. L. N. Stratton, of New Jersey. The committee duly considered it, increased the amount to \$100,000,000, and reported it favorably by a vote of five to four, altho Mr. Stratton finally consented to cast a favorable vote only to bring it before the House. Stevens, Spaulding, Hooper, and Maynard voted for it. It immediately created great discussion and interest. Delegates from the banks came to Washington and protested. James Gallatin, President of the Gallatin Bank of New York, made the principal speech, and proposed a counter plan of taxation, and to make a loan with the banks as depositories, the Government to issue \$100,000,000 treasury notes for two years, to be receivable for public dues except duties on imports. The consultation immediately resulted in nothing except that later the delegates favored Mr. Chase's proposals of a national banking system. Meanwhile the \$100,000,000 Legal Tender Note Bill came before the House for debate January 28. It was claimed—and on this point Stevens had at first hesitated—that the bill was unconstitutional, since the Constitution provides that "no State shall . . . make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." It was answered that this pertained only to States. The preceding clause in the same section, "No State shall emit bills of credit," has always been so understood. Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, made the best plea against its constitutionality. It was believed by many that Mr. Chase doubted its constitutionality, and he was appealed to; but he wrote that necessity seemed to demand it. Mr. Morrill proposed a counter scheme. Mr. Stevens closed the debate, arguing that it was "a measure of necessity, not of choice." An amendment was passed increasing the amount to \$150,000,000; but the \$50,000,000 authorized by the July act of the previous year were to be

retired. The act finally passed by a vote of 93 to 59.

On February 10 the bill was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate, with various amendments—among others, that the notes should not be receivable for "interest on bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin," and an amendment relating to the issuing of certificates, which, said Mr. Fessenden, the Chairman of the Committee, "was very much desired by the banks in all the cities." This was opposed by Senator Sherman, and answered by Mr. Fessenden, who, however, opposed the bill as "a confession of bankruptcy," "bad faith," and "a stain on the national honor," altho he admitted that if it were necessary to issue legal-tender notes to sustain the Government, he should have no hesitation in doing so. The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 7. Returning to the House, after a strong contention with the Senate, its principal amendments were finally concurred in. As a fair specimen of the supporters of the bill, few of whom would have voted for it had the notes not been made legal tender, we quote Mr. Wilson, of Massachusetts, who said, February 13, 1862:

"If the legal-tender clause is not retained in this bill, I shall vote against it under any and all circumstances. . . . I shall vote for every measure to sustain these notes by sustaining the credit and good faith of the nation. . . . Your manufacturers, your merchants, your men who have their hundreds of millions trusted out in all parts of the country, are for this measure, for it is their protection and their interest. You will find that the families of your soldiers who are to receive a small pittance from the men who are fighting the battles of your country in the field are in favor of stamping upon these notes the words 'legal tender,' so that when that little pittance comes from the field to them to support them at home, they can use it to pay their necessary debts and support themselves without having to go through the process of broker-shavings. . . . I believe the sentiment of the nation approaches unanimity in favor of this legal-tender clause. . . . The intelligence I obtain from all portions of the country is to the same effect. . . .

**Legal
Tender.**

Senator Sherman said the same day:

"I do believe there is a pressing necessity that these demand notes be made a legal tender, if we want to avoid the evils of a depreciated, dishonored paper currency. I do believe we have the constitutional power to pass such a provision, and that the public safety now demands its exercise. . . . We have the concurrence of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, the opinion of the Committee on Public Safety of the city of New York, composed of distinguished men, nearly all of whom are good financiers, who agree fully in the same opinion. I may say the same in regard to the Chambers of Commerce of the city of Boston, of the city of Philadelphia, and of almost every recognized organ of financial opinion in this country. They have said to us in the most solemn form that this measure was indispensably necessary to maintain the credit of the Government. . . . I desire to show the necessity of it from reason.

"We have to raise and pay out of the treasury of the United States before July 1 next, according to the estimate of the Committee of Ways and Means, the sum of \$343,235,000. Of this sum, \$100,000,000 is now due and payable to your soldiers, to contractors, to the men who have furnished provisions and clothing for your army, to your officers, your judges, and your civil magistrates.

"Where will you get this money?
"A question of hard necessity presses you. We know very well that this money cannot be obtained of the banks."

The bill finally passed as amended by a vote of 97 to 22, and was signed by the President. February 5.

On February 19, 1862, the Hon. Mr. Spaulding spoke to the amendments of the Senate to the legal tender bill :

"Mr. Chairman, I desire especially to oppose the amendments of the Senate which require the interest on bonds and notes to be paid in coin semi-annually, and which authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to sell 6 per cent. bonds at the market price for coin to pay the interest. . . . It might be very pleasant for the holders of the 7³/₁₀ Treasury notes and 6 per cent. bonds to receive their interest in coin semi-annually, but very disastrous to the Government to be compelled to sell its bonds at ruinous rates of discount every six months to pay them gold and silver, while it would pay only treasury notes to the soldier, sailor, and all other creditors of the Government. I am opposed to all those amendments of the Senate which make unjust discriminations between the creditors of the Government. A soldier or sailor who performs service in the army or navy is a creditor of the Government. The man who sells food, clothing, and the material of war for the use of the army and navy is a creditor of the Government. . . . All are creditors of the Government on an equal footing, and all are equally entitled to their pay in gold and silver. I am opposed to all those amendments of the Senate which discriminate in favor of the holders of bonds. . . . Why make this discrimination? Who asks to have one class of creditors placed on a better footing than another class? Do the people of New England, the Middle States, or the people of the West and Northwest, or anywhere else in the rural districts, ask to have any such discrimination made in their favor? . . .

"No, sir; no such unjust preference is asked for by this class of men. They ask for the legal-tender note bill pure and simple. They ask for a national currency which shall be of equal value in all parts of the country. . . . They want a currency secured by adequate taxation upon the whole property of the country which will pay the soldier, the farmer, the mechanic, and the banker alike for all debts due. . . .

"Who, then, are they that ask to have a preference given to them over other creditors of the Government? Sir, it is . . . a class of men who are very sharp in all money transactions. They are not generally among the producing classes, not among those who by their labor and skill make the wealth of the country, but a class of men that have accumulated wealth—men who are willing to lend money to the Government if you will make the security beyond all question, give them a high rate of interest and make it payable in coin. . . . Safe, no hazard, secure, and the interest payable in coin. Who would not be willing to loan money on such terms?"

On February 20, Thaddeus Stevens, closing the debate upon this bill, said :

"I approach the subject with more depression of spirits than I ever before approached any question. No personal feeling influences me. I hope not, at least. I have a melancholy foreboding that we are about to consummate a cunningly devised scheme which will carry great injury and great loss to all classes of the people throughout this Union, except one.

"With my colleague I believe that no act of legislation of this Government was ever hailed with as much delight throughout the whole length and breadth of this Union by every class of people, without any exception, as the bill we passed and sent to the Senate. . . . It is true there was a doleful sound came up from the caverns of bullion brokers and from the saloons of the associated banks. . . . They fell upon the bill in hot haste, and so disfigured and deformed it that its very father would not know it. . . . It is now positively mischievous. . . . It makes two classes of money—one for the banks and brokers and another for the people."

In speaking of the mutilated bill, he said later :

"We did not yield until we found that the country must be lost or the banks be gratified, and we have sought to save the country in spite of the cupidity of the wealthy citizens."

To the legal-tender act Judge Kelley, on January 15, 1876, in Philadelphia, refers in these words :

"But the patriots to whom I have referred had studied the Constitution of the United States. They knew that it had imposed upon them the duty of saving the nation. They knew that money is the sinew of war. . . . A marvelous child was that 'rag baby.' It lighted the fires in every forge and furnace in the country; it hired ships and bought others. . . . It rallied an army of 75,000 men, and we soon after heard ringing through the streets shouts of well-paid and well-clad soldiers—'We're coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more.' It met all demands, and the free States, with the great war on its hands, were prosperous as they had never been before."

Of the Senate's limitations he said :

"That crime perpetrated by the Senate of the United States, or that blunder worse than a crime, has cost the American people more than all the war would have cost had the House bill been adopted as originally passed."

Even Senator Sherman said, in 1862 :

"If we can compel one citizen to take this paper money, why not another and another? Is it any less the violation of contracts in one case than another? Do not all citizens hold their property subject to unlimited power of taxation? Do not all share in the blessings of Government, and should not all share in its burdens? Shall we inflict a loss only on those who trust the labor for the Government, and relieve the selfish, avaricious, idle, unpatriotic citizen who will neither fight for, lend to, nor aid the Government?"

"Sir, to make all these share in the burden of the war, and to relieve those who risk life and property in its defense, I would waive a constitutional doubt."

Such, even in the opinion of men not Greenbackers, was the effect of this limitation.

On the other hand, by many believers in specie it is claimed that it has not even yet been proved that any such notes were needed, and that the United States could not have gotten along without issuing these notes. However, the bill passed, and was soon followed by another of \$150,000,000 more.

Many who voted for the first bill strongly opposed the second; but it passed and became a law. The banks, tho prudently confining their issues for a time after suspending specie payments, turned a fresh issue into the swollen stream. Hav- **Second Issue.** ing suspended specie payment they could issue as much as they chose.

As soon as the legal-tender notes appeared, the banks could legally use these for redeeming their own issues, and thus the way had been made easy for an enormous inflation. Some of the banks did, in truth, collect the legal-tender notes and substitute their own to a much larger amount. The increase in one year, after suspension of specie payment, was \$56,000,000 (Treasurer's Report, 1866, p. 67). This was one of the causes of enmity on the part of Congress against the banks, and helped onward the creation of a rival system and the imposition of the tax of 10 per cent. on the State bank issues, which finally drove them out of existence.

At this time this was one of the strongest arguments made for issuing more treasury notes. Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, said in the debate :

"I confess that I can see no limit to a depreciation of the currency that may be produced by the banks; and were it not that I have great faith in the prudence and wisdom and patriotism of those who manage the banks, I should have great apprehension in regard to it, as no obligation is now recognized by them to redeem their circulation, many of the States having legalized the suspension of specie payments."

Another member said of the banks :

"They have authority to buy up our bonds in the market, to take up our circulation, and put their circulation in place of it, and that is what they are doing all the time, and the question is whether we shall pay these people 6 per cent. upon our bonds for furnishing no better currency than we can furnish ourselves. . . . In other words, it is a struggle on the part of the banking institutions of the country to bleed the Government of the United States to the tune of 6 per cent. on every dollar, which is necessary for the Government to use in carrying on this struggle for our independence and our life." Senator Sherman said the same in milder form: "The legal-tender notes are actually kept out of circulation by the depreciated bank paper of the country; and every issue you make increases that tendency. Every new issue of treasury notes is only a bid for new inflation by the banks, and thus the better money of the United States is hoarded and laid away, and the paper money which is issued on the credit of it is thrown on the country, producing inflation and derangement of our monetary system, and I believe in the end will produce disaster." (A. S. Bolles's *Financial History of the United States*, vol. iii., pp. 79, 80.)

Senator Chandler, of Michigan, spoke strongly against the issue, but it passed. Depreciation set in and gold rose. By August, Professor Sumner says that specie had disappeared. July 11 postage-stamps were made legal payment to the Government in quantities not exceeding \$10. Corporations and individuals began to issue "shin-plasters," and in many cases made them exchangeable for commodities. Cities and towns issued small notes payable in taxes or lawful money. This was forbidden by Congress for amounts less than \$1. In March, 1863, Congress authorized the secretary to issue fractional currency to an amount not exceeding \$50,000,000. But already by February, 1863, Congress had issued \$400,000,000 of treasury notes (the last \$100,000,000 of these being in January, 1863, to pay the soldiers), and had indorsed \$60,000,000 more of other notes with the legal-tender quality, besides the postage-stamps, etc.

The next step we give in the words of Mr. A. S. Bolles (*Encyclopedia Americana*, article FINANCE) :

"The same law which authorized the first issue of legal-tender notes also authorized the issue of \$500,000,000 of bonds bearing 6 per cent. interest and payable after five and within 20 years. The interest was payable in gold collected from import duties, and at this early date Congress also provided that one per cent. of the public debt should be discharged annually. At first the bonds sold very slowly, but, in the mean time, the Government procured considerable funds by two kinds of temporary loans. The first consisted of certificates of indebtedness, which were nothing more than certificates given to such creditors of the Government as would take them, payable in a year, or sooner if it desired, and bearing 6 per cent. interest. The other kind of temporary loan consisted at first of \$25,000,000, and finally increased to \$100,000,000, of deposits of treasury notes by the banks to the Government, which bore not exceeding 5 per cent. interest, and which they could demand after 30 days' notice."

To some members of Congress this operation of the treasury seemed to be wholly for the benefit of banks, as the Government could make no use of money which it was liable to pay at such a short notice. In truth, however, the Government did use all of the money thus loaned, so that it was a highly favorable operation of the Government. To provide more adequately for the payment of these deposits, if they should be demanded when the Government was not able to respond, an issue of \$50,000,000 legal-tender notes was authorized for this purpose. When the country became full of

these notes the bonds began to sell. Arrangements were made with Jay Cooke & Co., and large quantities were sold by them. Mr. Chase then withdrew their sale and tried bonds at only 5 per cent. No one wanted these, and the debt rapidly increased.

Meanwhile the bill establishing the national banking system had been at last enacted. (See BANKS and BANKING.) It was Mr. Chase's favorite measure. He had outlined it in his first report and emphasized it in his second, and President Lincoln strongly favored it. A sentiment against the State banks had developed partly through their expansion of notes to replace or at least add to the treasury notes, and so cause inflation. Many believed that there was a general policy of the banks to cause inflation, and so drive specie into their hands, to be used later when the crash should come. Even a bank officer in Pennsylvania wrote in December, 1862: "The present expansion of the banks is unjustifiable. . . . They will continue to expand until the bubble bursts or the iron hand of the Government interferes to save the people. This *ad libitum* issue of paper is filling up all the channels of circulation and forcing specie into the clutches of hoarders and the hands of brokers" (Bolles's *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 135). Many believed that but for the bank issue the Government notes would not have depreciated. Mr. Chase himself, in his report for 1863, said of these bank issues: "Were these notes withdrawn from use it is believed that much of the now very considerable difference between coin and the United States notes would disappear." Amasa Walker, of Massachusetts, in a speech prepared but not delivered, wrote: "Could I have my own wishes, I should, as I have before insisted, instead of creating a rival system, lay a tax of 3 per cent. semi-annually on all present bank circulation, drive it entirely out of existence, and fill its place with the legal-tender notes of the Government, so that on the return of peace and specie payments by the Government and banks, there would be no credit currency issues except those made by the national currency, which, by suitable limitation, might always be kept at par with gold" (*Bankers' Magazine*, 17, p. 833). Senator Sherman had said in the Senate, July 4, 1862: "When you issue your pay money now, as you are compelled to issue it, it becomes the basis of other issues by the banks, and the inflation which you are compelled to give becomes a double inflation from its consequence on the banks of the United States. When the Government of the United States issued \$150,000,000 of notes, if there had been no depreciated bank paper money in the United States, that of \$150,000,000 would this moment have been at par with gold."

With this hostility to the State from very different sources it was not strange that a national banking system should be favored. Mr. Chase was obstinate in his purpose of effecting it. A bill for its creation was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Sherman, and supported at length by him. Mr. Collamer opposed the bill in an elaborate speech, saying that it would destroy the State banks and create a monopoly that

**National
Banking
System.**

would give the Secretary of the Treasury too much power. The bill passed by a vote of 23 to 21. In the House similar bills had been debated before, but not enacted, and the debate was now brief. Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Fenton, both of New York, supported it. Mr. Baker, of the same State, principally opposed it. It passed by a vote of 78 to 64 on February 20, 1863, and received the President's signature February 25. The bill (see BANKS AND BANKING) provided for an issue of \$300,000,000. Yet no issues appeared till December 21, and conversions of the State banks did not take effect until after the amendments of the bill the next year, the act of March 3, 1865, which forced their conversion by a tax of 10 per cent. on all issues of State banks, and the decision that the act was constitutional. Then the process went on rapidly. But we are anticipating. Many claimed that the delay was because the banks wanted to send the treasury notes to a lower point before they bought them all and exchanged them for bonds, which meanwhile Mr. Chase was gradually placing. Into all the details of the placing of these bonds we need not enter. When Mr. Chase found that he could not place the bonds at 5 per cent. he had recourse to the issue of more legal-tender notes which he induced

Inflation. Congress to authorize till the currency was depreciated to a point where he could place these bonds.

Thus, wittingly or unwittingly, he played into the hands of the bond-buyers, who bought these bonds with a depreciated currency, and then held them for the contraction which later they forced. On the last day of the fiscal year 1864 Mr. Chase retired from the office of the treasury and Mr. William P. Fessenden, of Maine, took his place. Mr. Chase, not a banker by profession and without much experience in financiering, had yet proved himself obstinate and unwilling to learn. Whatever were his intentions—and it must be allowed that they were probably good and his difficulties great—he had, yet without consenting to what the bankers desired on many points, actually played into their hands. Men said that his ambition to be president had been his weakness. Mr. Fessenden was a man of different type. He determined, if possible, to issue no more treasury notes. He advertised for a loan, the lenders to receive treasury notes payable in three years, with semi-annual interest at 7.3 per cent. in lawful money. The response was not great—the soldiers themselves, however, taking over \$20,000,000. Once more then he endeavored to sell bonds, and was successful. Bids reached nearly \$70,000,000, and the premium offered was 4 per cent. and higher. He continued this general policy till, being reelected to the Senate, he retired from the treasury on March 5, 1864, and Hugh McCulloch took his place. In April, Richmond was captured, and soon after the Confederate armies surrendered. Mr. McCulloch knew that he would now need a large sum for transportation, pay, and bounties. To use his own words, "As it was important that these requisitions should be promptly met, and especially important that not a soldier should remain in the service a single day for want of means to

pay him," the secretary perceived the necessity of realizing as rapidly as possible the amount—\$53,000,000—still authorized to be borrowed under the act of March 5, 1865. The 7.3 per cent. notes had proved to be a popular loan, and altho a security on longer time and lower interest would have been advantageous to the Government, the secretary considered it advisable, under the circumstances, to continue to offer these notes to the public, and to avail himself, as his immediate predecessors had done, of the services of Jay Cooke in the sale of them. The result was in the highest degree satisfactory. . . . No loan ever offered in the United States, notwithstanding the large amount of Government securities previously taken by the people, was so promptly subscribed for as this. Before August 1 the entire amount had been taken." This was the last war loan. The other great war loans had been :

\$500,000,000, authorized February 25, 1862 ; \$900,000,000, March 3, 1863 ; \$200,000,000, March 3, 1864 ; \$400,000,000, June 30, 1864 ; \$600,000,000, March 3, 1865.

The acts for legal-tender notes may be thus summarized :

\$150,000,000, February 25, 1862 ; \$150,000,000, July 11, 1862 ; \$150,000,000, January 17 and March 17, 1863 ; \$400,000,000, March 3, 1863 ; six per cent. interest-bearing notes, running not longer than two years ; \$400,000,000, June 30, 1864, and January 28, 1865, 7.3 per cent. interest-bearing notes, running for three years or longer.

The cost of the war was estimated at \$6,844,571,431.03 (Sen. Doc., No. 206, 46 Cong. Second Session). The expenditure by States and Municipalities was \$467,954,364 (Bolles's *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 245).

It will be seen that the issue of non-interest-bearing legal-tender notes was comparatively not large. Their effect has been probably exaggerated. Prices rose not only because of inflation, but because of the enormous demand for arms and other commodities by the Government. The price of gold was comparatively but slightly affected by the issue. It went up and down according as war reports were unfavorable or otherwise. Gold speculation was also rife. **Speculation.** Hugh McCulloch, Comptroller of the Currency, said, in his second report : "Hostility to the Government has been as decidedly manifested in the effort that has been made in the commercial metropolis of the nation to depreciate the currency as it has been by the enemy in the field, and unfortunately the effort of sympathizers with the rebellion and of the agents of the rebellious States to prostrate the national credit has been strengthened and sustained by thousands in the loyal States whose political fidelity it might be ungenerous to question. Immense interests have been at work all over and concentrated in New York to raise the price of coin, and splendid fortunes have been apparently made by their success. . . . Gold has been a favorite article to gamble in. . . . The effect of all this has been, not to break down the credit of the Government, but to increase enormously the cost of the war and the expense of living ; for, however small may have been the connection between the price of coin and our domestic products, every rise of gold, no matter by what means effected, has been used as a pretext by holders and speculators for an advance of prices, to the great injury of the Government and the sorrow of a large portion

of the people." He again, in the same report, gives a statement of the price of gold in the New York market from January, 1862, to September, 1864, and then adds: "None of these fluctuations (from a premium of 23½ to 185) were brought about by an increase or decrease of the currency; on the contrary, gold rose the most rapidly when there was no considerable increase of the currency, and fell in the face of large additions to it. Nothing can be more conclusive of the incorrectness of the opinion that gold is always the standard of value, and that the high price during the progress of the war is the result of an inflated currency, than this brief statement of its variations in the New York stock market." A senator (*Globe*, April 15, 1864, p. 1645) stated a partial cause of gold fluctuations: "It is the immense business that your citizens are now carrying on, domestic as well as foreign; it is the immense amount of bonds which your local corporations throughout the whole extent of the United States are issuing for the purpose of accomplishing some particular local or general improvement. The whole, in one sense, is a species of currency, by means of which the business of the country is being conducted." Whatever were the causes, however, prices did rise. Money was so plentiful that the demand for products of the Old World, especially those of luxury, was unparalleled. Fortunes were made by speculation, and the basis laid for the change of our social life from one of comparative simplicity to comparative luxury. One thing only did not rise in proportion. Wages were the slowest of any "commodity" to advance. They suffered the most from the speculation. Mr. McCulloch said, in a speech at Fort Wayne, 1865: "Men are apparently getting rich, while morality languishes and the productive industry of the country is being diminished. Good morals in business, and sober, persevering industry, if not at a discount, are considered too old-fogyish for the present times." To many the creation of this tendency was the worst legacy left the country by the speculators during the war.

4. SINCE THE WAR.

As soon as the war was over there was general talk of a return to specie payment. Mr. McCulloch, then Secretary of the Treasury, strongly recommended this, and prepared for it. The President, in his annual message, sustained the Secretary, and boards of trade and similar organizations all over the land endorsed the position. "Five years ago," said Mr. Lincoln, "the bank-note circulation of the country amounted to \$200,000,000; now the circulation, bank and national, exceeds \$700,000,000. The simple statement of

Restriction. The fact recommends more strongly than any words of mine could do the necessity of our restraining this expansion. The gradual reduction of the currency is the only measure that can save the business of the country from disastrous calamities; and this can be almost imperceptibly accomplished by gradually funding the national circulation in securities that may be made redeemable at the pleasure of the Government."

Many, however, objected to a reduction of the currency. They argued that it would reduce prices and injure trade, raise the value of the bonds already taken, and the debt of the debtor classes. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.) The Secretary met these criticisms as best he could, arguing mainly that it was better to get to specie payments as rapidly as possible and prevent getting more debts, even if it did hurt the debtor class to some extent. "The process," he said, "need not be injuriously rapid." There was a long and warm debate in Congress, Messrs. Morrill, Hooper, and Wentworth strongly favoring contraction, Messrs. Kelly and Boutwell, with Mr. Sherman, in the Senate, strongly opposing. There were many amendments, and the Secretary was finally authorized to retire \$4,000,000 of notes a month. The bill passed the House by 83 to 53, 47 members not voting. In the Senate only seven voted against it (act of April 12, 1866). By 1868 there was such stringency in the money market that a bill to suspend the retiring of the legal-tender notes was hurriedly passed. In 1870 the banks were authorized to increase their circulation to the amount of \$54,000,000, but a similar amount of the loan certificates were to be destroyed. With the opening of General Grant's administration (1869) Mr. McCulloch had been superseded by G. S. Boutwell, and in October of that year he issued \$1,500,000 legal-tender notes to relieve a Wall Street stringency, and the next year a larger amount; but he was so criticised that he and Mr. W. A. Richardson, who succeeded him March 17, 1873, retired the issue. This was the year of the great crisis, and Mr. Richardson had hardly become Secretary when the cyclone struck the country, and Mr. Richardson was induced to issue more notes. He, however, asked Congress to decide whether the Secretary should be allowed to do this whenever a crisis came, and the House voted that notes could be issued up to \$400,000,000. This was the effect of the growing protest against Mr. McCulloch's policy of contraction. The debtor class were beginning to cry out, and the crisis of 1873 brought this to a head. The bill was then carried to the Senate and debated. Meanwhile, general interest and excitement were aroused. A bill to establish free banking had been introduced into the House. The whole country seemed full of plans to prevent another crisis. Over sixty different bills were sent to the Senate finance committee proposing every conceivable step—from establishing an elastic currency, as proposed by General Butler, to the resumption of specie payments, proposed by Messrs. Cox and Pierce. The Senate finally voted to increase the legal-tender notes to \$400,000,000, and to authorize an additional issue of \$46,000,000 of bank-notes, to be distributed in the South and West. This bill the President vetoed, the specie and bank men believing this to be "one of the crowning glories in President Grant's civil career" (Bolles's *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 289); the inflationists, as friends of the bill were called, believing that it showed that the President was under the influence of the bankers and bondholders. Early the next session a bill was introduced by Mr. Sherman in the Senate entitled "An act to provide for

the resumption of specie payments." Upon it all the Republican senators were agreed except Mr. Schurz.

The main features were the withdrawal of \$80 of the legal-tender notes for each issue of \$100 of national bank-notes, until the aggregate amount should be reduced to \$300,000,000, and the accumulation of coin from customs duties and the sale of bonds. The question arose, Could the treasury notes thus withdrawn be reissued? When Mr. Sherman was asked, he replied that the question must be left unsettled. It was seen that if they could be, the intent of the law could be defeated. It was a defective, double-faced law. Opposition in Congress to any kind of a resumption measure was strong.

But the bill passed. As a matter of fact, the secretaries, Bristow and then Morrill, gradually retired the legal-tender notes, till in March, 1877, Senator Sherman himself became treasurer. He completed the work. He sold as the bill allowed, but, as the former treasurers had not done, bonds enough for coin to resume specie payments. An arrangement was entered into with the banks, and on January 1, 1878, specie payments were wholly resumed, to the delight of the friends of specie and amid the indignation of a growing greenback party. We have followed this portion of our subject to its conclusion; but simultaneously with this question of resumption other great currency questions were being discussed, and were connected with it. From the beginning one of the great objections raised to the issue of legal-tender notes had been their alleged unconstitutionality, Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, making perhaps the strongest speech on that side. The State courts decided in favor of the law, with the single exception of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The Court of Appeals of New York at an early day declared the law to be constitutional. But all felt that the question would not be settled until it reached the United States Supreme Court. When it finally came before that tribunal in 1867, Mr. Chase was the chief justice. He and four of his colleagues (Nelson, Grier, Clifford, and Field) decided against the constitutionality of the law, the other three dissenting. It was said that Mr. Chase now decided against the constitutionality of what he himself had once favored, because he thought it would aid his presidential chances. At the time of rendering this decision, however, two vacancies existed, which were soon after filled. The attorney-general, R. E. Hoar, then applied for a reargument of the question in another case. He claimed that the former decision had been made when the bench was not full, and that a question of such transcendent importance ought not to be declared as definitely settled until all the members had expressed an opinion. The judges who concurred in the opinion given were opposed to opening the question; but those who dissented, uniting with the two new appointees, constituted a majority, and decided in favor of another argument. The decision in the second case sustained the law. At a later period another question was raised—namely, that, admitting it was constitutional to issue

such notes in time of war, could this be legally done in a time of peace? The court in the second case maintained that if the issuing of such notes was necessary to supply the absolute necessities of the treasury, that if nothing else would have enabled the Government to maintain its armies and navy, nothing else would have saved the Government and the Constitution from destruction, while the legal-tender acts would, could any one be so bold as to assert that Congress had transgressed its powers? Whether they were needful, the court declared, was a question for Congress to decide. If it was a question for Congress in the second case, it was equally so in the last case, so the court decided, and thus the law stands. This case was not decided till March, 1883.

Another great question of this period was concerning the paying off of the public debt. In September, 1865, it stood at its maximum, \$2,757,689,571. Public sentiment favored its being paid as rapidly as possible. It was needful to make provision for the debts as they matured, and Secretary McCulloch's policy was to take up from time to time such portions of it as could be advantageously converted into bonds, bonds or paid in currency before maturity, so as to avoid the necessity of accumulating large sums of money or of being compelled to sell bonds at the last moment, when perhaps the condition of the market would prevent their sale on advantageous terms. He asked and received from Congress large discretionary powers as to the sale. He then drew in as rapidly as he thought possible the temporary loans, certificates of indebtedness, the compound interest notes, by converting them into bonds at 6 per cent. He also kept a large gold reserve. Most people believed that Mr. McCulloch acted wisely and well. Not all, however. His withdrawing of the temporary loans, etc., practically acted as a reduction of the currency, since they were to no little extent used as currency, and some of them had been endowed with the legal-tender quality. Men began to feel the pressure. By 1868 the last of the temporary obligations had been funded, and \$271,496,018 of the public debt had been paid. This was well; but men began to question. Bond-seekers were buying the bonds for legal-tender treasury notes at their face value, which they had got perhaps at a depreciation even down to two or three for one dollar, and were now drawing interest in gold, and would get the principal in gold. For some of this payment in gold there was no help, as the bondholders had seen to it that while the soldiers and others could be paid in paper, the law read that their interest should be paid in gold. But of all the bonds this was not true. Of some of them the law did not say in what their interest or principal should be paid. This was true of the \$500,000,000 five-twenty loan of 1863. The question now arose called "the Ohio idea," whether it was not justifiable to pay this off in legal-tender notes. The secretary was pronounced in his utterances that they should be paid in gold, and that honesty demanded this. It was argued that as this was expressly stated of other bonds, this was the implicit understand-

ing in regard to all the bonds. On the other hand, it was held that the mere fact that it was not stated so of some and was stated of others showed there was a difference. Debate ran high through all the country, and, with other causes, led to the formation of the Greenback Party, tho many State conventions of all, and especially of the Democratic Party, favored paying these bonds in paper. Mr. Tilden, however, and the leaders of the Democratic Party in the East, mainly favored gold payment. Failing to get Congress to pay in paper, some extremists favored repudiation. Credit was said to be damaged. Congress therefore, in March, 1869, passed the so-called Credit Strengthening Act, pledging the faith of the United States to pay all principal and interest in gold save where the law authorizing an issue had expressly provided that it could be paid in other currency than gold or silver. This was received with joy and boasting by those who believed in specie, which they called "honest money," and was denounced as the influence of the bondholder upon legislation by the growing number of believers in "soft money," and by not a few who did not so believe, but yet feared the bondholder's power.

It is in these votes, one by one enacted in favor of the so-called "money power," that one must look for the basis of the Greenback charge of a "gold conspiracy," which has played so important a part in the Greenback and People's party movements.

Many soldiers pronounced the enactment unscrupulous. They had faced opposing ranks—had saved the nation and kept its banner from trailing in the dust. They protested against these privileges being granted to a few bondholders by this Government when it could not keep its faith with them. They demanded restitution, and asked their representative in Congress, General James B. Weaver, to introduce a bill in that body asking that the difference between paper and coin payment be made to them as per agreement, but Congress would not hear.

In 1870 a bill was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Sumner, among other things, exempting all national bonds from taxation, State or national, it being urged that to tax them would be simply to lower their value, so that the Government would sell them for less, and thus lose whatever she should gain from them by taxation. After much debate, this was enacted. The Greenbackers, however, claimed that the bank influence was growing more and more. The Greenback claim was that a "bank conspiracy" had caused the greenbacks to be depreciated by putting limitations on their legal-tender value and by themselves inflating the currency with their own notes; that they had then caused needless bonds to be issued by the Government; that they had next, when the greenbacks had got low enough, bought these bonds with the depreciated greenbacks, the Government taking them at their par value; that they then caused Congress to vote that the capital and interest in them all should be paid in gold, and that they should not be taxed. It was, moreover, charged that the banks and

bondholders, having got the bonds with a depreciated currency, were now inducing the Government to contract the currency by withdrawing the notes under the color of returning to an "honest" specie basis, and by funding the debt to make the debt more permanent. The whole national banking system was declared to be an organization to make the debt permanent. It was declared that when Congress voted to pay all interest and principal in coin, amounting to many hundreds more of gold and silver coin than were in its resources to pay, it was proof that the Government intended the debt never to be paid off, but to be the abiding benefit of the bondholding class. Had not Mr. Chase said in 1862 of the national banking system :

"The central idea of the measure is the establishment of a sound uniform currency throughout the country upon the foundation of national credit (in other words, upon a national debt), making this the settled policy of the country."

If, now, this settled policy was based on the national debt, using it to furnish the people with a permanent circulation, did it not prove that the debt was to be permanent? Comparing the Government's treatment of the favored bondholder with its treatment of the soldier, who was paid in paper, and the poor man, whose debt was increased by contracting the currency, the Greenbackers roused bitter feeling against the gold policy.

Nevertheless, the secretaries went steadily on funding the debt, and paying it off slowly. Into all the details we need not enter. The process went on under the secretaries McCulloch, Boutwell, Richardson, Bristow, Morrell, Sherman, Windom, Folger, Gresham. The secretaries were able to get lower and lower interest, till Secretary Windom was able to get $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and later, when rechartering (see BANKS AND BANKING), the national banks were allowed to exchange the "Windoms" of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to other bonds, with longer time to run, bearing only 3 per cent. On November 1, 1884, the net debt was \$1,408,482,948.69. In 19 years the debt had been reduced \$1,347,948,622.74, and the annual interest charge \$103,653,866.37.

"In the management of its debt," said Mr. McCulloch, then again Secretary of the Treasury, "the United States had been an example to the world. Nothing has so much surprised European statesmen as the fact that immediately after the termination of one of the most expensive, and in some respects exhaustive, wars that has ever been carried on, the United States should have commenced the payment of its debts and continued its reduction through all reverses until nearly one half of it has been paid. . . . It is true that all this has been effected by heavy taxes, but it is also true that these taxes have neither checked enterprise nor retarded growth."

Paying the Debt.

But there are other sides to this statement. For the argument that these heavy protective war tariffs were paid by the consumers, see FREE TRADE. We notice here another point. Greenbackers and some not Greenbackers said that by contracting the currency the Government, while paying off a part of the debt, was making the remainder of the debt really worth more, measured by what it would buy, than the

original debt. President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, p. 13) says: "Our national debt on September 1, 1865, was about two and three quarter billions. It could then have been paid off with eighteen million bales of cotton or twenty-five million tons of bar iron.

**Falling
of Prices.**

When it had been reduced to a billion and a quarter, thirty million bales of cotton, or thirty-two million tons of iron, would have been required to pay it. In other words, while a nominal shrinkage of about 55 per cent. had taken place in the debt, it had, as measured on either of these two world staples, actually been enlarged by some 50 per cent." When a trained economist says this, it can be fancied what has been said by men feeling as the Greenback Party felt on this question. It was of not much use for Mr. McCulloch to talk to them of how the debt had been paid off, when they held that he and his fellow-secretaries had made the debt that was left worth more than the original debt, and had, moreover, in proportional measure, increased the debt of every farmer who had a mortgage on his farm, or every poor man who owed any money. It is perfectly true that by no means all this appreciation of the value of the debt could be laid to the contraction of the currency. Undoubtedly a large part must be laid to invention, skill, and the general progress in lowering the expense of production, so that a dollar can now go twice as far in many ways as in war times, and in this progress all classes have had part. (See MONOMETALLISM.) Nevertheless, to men who held that when they borrowed a dollar it represented a certain possibility of purchase in the market, they ought in all equity to be asked only to return the same possibility of purchase, the same real value, and that, therefore, if when they came to return the dollar, it had appreciated, no matter how, enough to be worth the price it was when they borrowed it, they ought in equity only to be asked to return 50 cents. To such people, maddened by what at least looked like a favoring of the bondholding class, we can readily see what paying debts which had doubled in value came to mean, and how bitterly they denounced any approach to contraction of the currency, which would still more increase the value of their debts (for a discussion of this position, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY); but a realization of this thought is necessary to understand the bitterness of feeling and expression which characterized many of the Greenback leaders and to-day characterizes many of their successors, the leaders in the People's Party, robbed, as they believe, by the influence upon Congress of the bondholders.

And early in the seventies came one more element to fan their wrath—an element which has developed to-day into a question of prime importance to currency, and must therefore be well understood. After the suspension of specie payment during the war, Congress did not much concern itself with the coinage.

**Silver
Suspension.**

There were minor changes in minor coins. In 1867 a conference held in Paris, at which 19 nations were represented, proposed a single gold standard and coins of equal weight

and fineness. The Senate Finance Committee strongly favored this; but as the existing five-franc gold piece was to be the unit, it would have reduced the gold dollar in this country 3½ per cent., and Congress was not ready for this. It would have reduced the public debt \$90,000,000, and private debts proportionally. In 1870 Mr. Knox, the Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, reported to Congress, at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, concerning the mint laws, which had not been revised since 1837. Among other things, the report proposed to discontinue the coinage of silver dollars. The reason assigned was that the silver dollar was at a premium, and had long been so, and had therefore long ceased to be a coin of circulation, being bought and melted by manufacturers of silverware. According to Bolles's *Financial History*, vol. iii., p. 378, the bill proposed by the report was reported by the Finance Committee of the Senate, discussed two days, passed, and sent to the House, where it was exhaustively discussed by Mr. Hooper and others, Mr. Kelley, chairman of the Coinage Committee, favoring, and saying that the bill had received as careful attention as he had ever known a committee to bestow on any measure, having gone over the bill not only section by section, but line upon line and word upon word. According to Upton's *Money in Politics*, p. 20, the report of the deputy comptroller distinctly stated that the bill accompanying it proposed to discontinue the issue of the silver dollar pieces; the House considered it during five sessions; the bill was printed 13 times by order of Congress and once by the commissioners revising the statutes. It passed the House by a vote of 110 to 13. Yet later, as we shall see, congressmen asserted that they had not known that the bill contained this measure, and that it had been passed surreptitiously. They asserted that the act was nominally one for the codification of the coinage laws, and new legislation was not supposed to be introduced into a codifying act unless the attention of both houses was called to the change. The act was exceedingly long, and no congressman could be held responsible for not having noticed the few lines first omitted and then inserted by which silver was demonetized. The debate which took place in the Senate was upon the minor point whether the mints should charge three tenths of one per cent. for coinage, or coin free. Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who introduced the codifying act into the House, expressly stated that the principal change proposed related to certain officials of the mint. In 1876, when the knowledge of the great change that had been made, and its consequences, had become apparent, Mr. Kelley introduced the bill to restore silver to its old place in the coinage, and permit greenbacks to be payable in the gold or silver which they promised. Not only a great many members of Congress stated that they voted for the codifying act, not knowing the great change it made, but so careful a political economist as President Walker has written that the bill had been a law for several months before he ever heard of this feature in it. The debate shows that a few members of Congress did know that the single standard was established, but most of them at least attached no

importance to it, for the country was then using neither gold nor silver, and the bullion value of a silver dollar had for many years been \$1.03 in gold, the price offered by the French mints. Only a few experts were aware of the legislation against silver which had just been entered upon by European nations, and which has resulted in making the debts of Christendom payable in gold alone. The codifying act was drafted by experts, and upon them the responsibility for its wording rests, tho it does not necessarily follow that they were guilty of a plot, since few knew how it would result.

But the results at least were momentous, and Greenbackers and believers in free silver generally believe it to have been a part of a world-

Conspiracy Charged.

wide plot to demonetize silver, contract currency, and so enhance the value of the gold loaned by the gold kings and capitalists in America, and especially in England (see **BIMETALLISM; CONTRACTION**), and "traitor" is but among the milder names they have heaped upon Senator Sherman and others, for, as they believe, selling themselves to the gold interest. For hardly had the bill been enacted when silver began to fall as compared with gold. The amount of silver in the dollar could be bought now for only 93 cents in gold; in 1874 for 96 cents; in 1876 for 97⁷/₁₀ cents; in 1877 for 90 cents. An agitation to remonetize silver was started. Mr. Reagan in 1875 introduced a bill into the House to make silver dollars legal tender to the amount of \$50. The Senate amended the bill, and authorized the coinage of a silver dollar nine-tenths fine and weighing 412⁷/₁₀ grains troy to be legal tender to the amount of \$20 in one payment, except for duties and interest on the public debt. Each House passed the amendment. The silver excitement now became universal. The statement was constantly made that silver had been demonetized by stealthy means. The silver producers wanted silver remonetized, and were joined by the growing number of those who wanted the currency expanded, and who, having failed in securing the payment of the bonded debt in paper, now wanted it paid in silver. It became a theme of general discussion in the United States. It was a prolific source of debate in the Forty-fourth Congress; and on August 15, 1876, the Senate initiated a joint resolution for the appointment of a joint commission of three senators, three members of the House, with experts, not exceeding three, to be selected by the former, whose duty was to inquire :

"First, into the change which has taken place in the relative value of gold and silver; the causes thereof, whether permanent or otherwise; the effects thereof, upon trade, commerce, finance, and the productive interests of the country, and upon the standard of value in this and foreign countries; second, into the policy of the restoration of the double standard in this country; and, if restored, what the legal relation between the two coins, silver and gold, should be; third, into the policy of continuing legal-tender notes concurrently with the metallic standards, and the effects thereof upon the labor, industries, and wealth of the country; fourth, into the best means for providing for facilitating the resumption of specie payments."

Monetary Commission of 1876.

The commission as organized consisted of Senators John P. Jones, Lewis V. Bogy, and George S. Boutwell; Randall L. Gibson, George Willard, and Richard P.

Bland, of the House of Representatives; William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, and Professor Francis Bowen, of Massachusetts, with George M. Weston, of Maine, secretary. Circulars were issued by the commission to men of eminence in monetary studies, to authors, bankers, and business men in the United States and Europe. The chambers of commerce in the cities were invited to furnish, and did furnish, lists of persons most competent to give information. The United States representatives in foreign countries were required to aid in the work. The commission entered upon its duties with energy, collected vast stores of information, and were aided by the most eminent political economists and financial writers of all schools, who were glad to have such an opportunity for the elucidation and comparison of their views. The main substance of the report was submitted and ordered to be printed March 2, 1877. The conclusions of the commission were unanimous.

The conclusions of the majority of the committee on the first questions submitted were: That the recent production of silver relatively to gold has not been greater than formerly; that the (then) recent fall in the price of silver was not caused by any recent large production, but mainly by the concurrent demonetization of silver in Germany, the United States, and the Scandinavian States, the closure of the mints of Europe to its coinage, the temporary diminution of the Asiatic demand, the exaggeration of the actual and prospective yield of the Nevada silver-mines, and a prevailing idea that the efforts of holders of Government securities would bring about its demonetization; that gold is more fitful in production than silver; that the average production of both is more steady than of either one; "that to annihilate the monetary function of one must greatly increase the purchasing power of the other, and greatly reduce prices;" that "silver to the amount of \$3,000,000,000 in coin, the accumulation of 50 centuries, is so worked into the web and woof of the world's commerce that it cannot be discarded without entailing the most serious consequences, social, industrial, political, and commercial," that "the evil is enormously aggravated by selecting gold as the metal to be retained and silver as the metal to be rejected;" that "the exchanges of the world, and especially of this country, are continually and largely increasing, while the supplies of both the precious metals, taken together, if not diminishing are at least stationary, and the supply of gold, taken by itself, is falling off; and that to submit the vast and increasing exchanges of this country and the world to be measured by a metal never to be depended on in its supply, and now actually diminishing in its supply, would make crisis chronic, and business paralysis perpetual." Covering the second question the commission recommend the restoration of the double standard and the unrestricted coinage of both metals. The report on the third question for solution refers to the answer to the fourth—*viz.*, "the best means for providing for facilitating the resumption of specie payments." To this question the report answers, that "the remonetization of silver is a measure essential to specie payments, and may make such payments practicable." The commission believe "that the remonetization of silver in this country will have a powerful influence in preventing, and probably will prevent, the demonetization of silver in France and other European countries;" that remonetization by the United States, even without change in legislation elsewhere, will draw to us silver from other countries while it is cheap, in exchange for what we have to export; and that this country will have the benefit of the rise which the committee believe will take place in its value when the temporary causes of its depression have passed. The report concludes with these words: "If the States of the Latin Union, or other countries in Europe, abandon the double standard after we readopt it, or because we readopt it, it will be a policy on their part through which great advantages will inure to us, and great disasters will befall them. It would inaugurate in the United States an era of prosperity, based upon solid money, obtained on profitable terms, and under circumstances necessarily stimulating to our industry and commerce."

Report.

"Finally, the commission believe that the facts that Germany and the Scandinavian States have adopted the single gold standard, and that some other European nations may possibly adopt it, instead of being reasons for perseverance in the attempt to establish it in the United States, are precisely the facts which make such an attempt entirely impracticable and ruinous. If the nations on the continent of Europe had the

double standard, a gold standard would be possible here, because, in that condition, they would freely exchange gold for silver. It was that condition which enabled England to resume specie payments in gold in 1821. The attainment of such a standard becomes difficult precisely in proportion to the number and importance of the countries engaged in striving after it; and it is precisely in the same proportion that the ruinous effects of striving after it are aggravated. We propose to this country a contest for a gold standard with the European nations is to propose to it a disastrous race, in reducing the price of labor and commodities, in aggravating the burdens of debt, and in the diminution and concentration of wealth, in which all the contestants will suffer immeasurably, and the victors even more than the vanquished."

Mr. Boutwell alone made a minority report against remonetization of silver, except on a previously agreed basis, adopted in conjunction with European nations. Professor Francis Bowen expressed his dissent from the conclusions of the majority of the committee at much length; and while he argued for the gold basis alone, he finally reported in favor of the remonetization of silver, on adding to the quantity of pure silver in a dollar enough to make its bullion value equal to the then value of gold per dollar, and also recommended the reduction of the value of our gold coins, so that a \$5 piece shall be the equivalent of the English pound sterling. Meanwhile a bill had been introduced into Congress in 1876, providing for the free coinage of silver. The speeches were voluminous. The bill was amended limiting the maximum amount to \$4,000,000 a month, with a minimum of \$2,000,000, no silver to be coined on private account. Upon its passage President Hayes promptly vetoed it, but it was passed over his veto by both houses by act of February 23, 1878, the so-called Bland bill, from its author, R. P. Bland, of Missouri. The excitement and also the effort to obtain international bimetallicism induced Congress to insert the following: "Section 2. That immediately after the passage of this act, the President shall invite the governments of the countries composing the Latin Union, so called, and of such other European nations as he may deem advisable, to join the United States in a conference to adopt a common ratio between gold and silver, for the purpose of establishing, internationally, the use of bimetallic money, and securing fixity of relative value between those metals; such conference to be held at such place in Europe or the United States, at such time within six months, as may be mutually agreed upon by the executives of the governments joining in the same, whenever the governments so invited, or any three of them, shall signify their willingness to unite in the same." The section further provides that the President shall appoint three commissioners to the conference. Ex-Governor Reuben E. Fenton, of New York, William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, and Professor Francis A. Walker were appointed. Subsequently the President was authorized to add to the list of delegates Mr. S. Dana Horton, of Ohio, an accomplished monetary student and author. Paris was chosen as the place of conference. Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, Sweden-Norway, and Switzerland sent their ablest representatives. The German government alone declined to participate in the conference, tho a second time invited.

The conference opened its session August 10, 1878. Leon Say, Minister of Finance in France under the presidencies of Thiers and MacMahon, was made president of the conference, and Mr. Fenton, vice-president. In his opening address to the conference, Mr. Say stated the reasons which had induced the five States composing the Latin Union, "while preserving to silver its legal-tender quality, to restrict its coinage within narrow limits, and, within the past year, to suspend it entirely." These reasons were the adoption by Germany of the single standard of gold, and the great production of the American silver mines. While Germany continued to gather and sell her silver, he thought it would be difficult to determine the value at which silver might be rated when that disturbing element in its present value was out of the way. The Latin Union, therefore, while glad to join in the American efforts to fix a ratio of value between silver and gold, "as a measure of prudence has remained in an expectant attitude." Mr. Fenton then presented the call to the conference in the words of the act of Congress. After a lengthy discussion, continuing through six sessions, marked on the whole by the position in which France found herself, of approving the double standard in theory but not able as yet to enter into any agreement in regard to it in practice

(little Switzerland alone unequivocally advocating the single gold standard both in theory and practice), the European representatives gave the American representatives the following answer:

"1. That it is necessary to maintain in the world the monetary functions of silver, as well as those of gold, but that the selection for use of one or the other of the two metals, or of both simultaneously, should be governed by the special position of each State or group of States.

"2. That the question of the restriction of the coinage of silver should equally be left to the discretion of each State or group of States, according to the particular circumstances in which they may find themselves placed; and the more so in that the disturbance produced during the recent years in the silver market has variously affected the monetary situation of the several countries.

"3. That the differences of opinion which have appeared, and the fact that even some of the States which have the double standard find it impossible to enter into a mutual engagement with regard to the free coinage of silver, exclude the discussion of the adoption of a common ratio between the two metals."

Messrs. Rusconi and Baralis of Italy at the seventh session entered a protest against the response of the majority of the European delegates as follows:

"1. That by the adoption of the formula proposed, the conference does not respond to the question which was put to it, and that in systematically avoiding to pronounce itself upon the possibility or impossibility of a fixed relation, to be established by way of international treaty, between coins of gold and silver, it leaves its task unfinished.

"2. That since the French law established such a relation (1783) between the two metals, the oscillations of their relative value had been without importance, whatever had been the production of the mines.

"3. That consequently, *a fortiori*, if the law of France had been alone able to accomplish the result, then on the day when France, England, and the United States, by international legislation, should agree to establish together the relation of value of the two metals, this relation would be established upon a basis so solid as to become unshakable."

Mr. Goschen, on the part of England, desired it to be distinctly understood that the adhesion of himself and colleagues to the response was because it *did not* pronounce for a double standard; and that he desired with equal distinction "to combat the theory of the economists who demand the universal adoption of the single gold standard—a measure which, in my view, might be the cause of the greatest disasters." Mr. De Thoroer, the Russian delegate, expressed a decided adherence to the single standard of his country—gold. Count Von Kuefstein, of Austria, said that "in presence of the explanations which had been given, from which might be inferred an admission of the impossibility of an international arrangement for the double standard, he felt himself obliged to declare that if he adhered to the formula proposed by the European delegates, it was precisely because in his view it did not exclude the idea that such an arrangement was possible."

The practical work of the conference closed with the reading of the following rejoinder, signed by the four American delegates, to the response of the European delegates:

"The representatives of the United States regret that they cannot entirely concur in all that has been submitted to them by a majority of the representatives of European States. They fully concur in a part of the first proposition, *viz.*, that 'it is necessary to maintain in the world the monetary functions of silver, as well as those of gold,' and they desire that ere long there may be adequate cooperation to obtain that result. They cannot object to the statement that 'the selection for use of one or the other of these two metals, or of both simultaneously, should be governed by the special position of each State;' but if it be necessary to maintain the monetary functions of both metals, as previously declared, they respectfully submit that special positions of States may become of but secondary importance.

"From so much of the second proposition as assigns as a special reason for at present restricting the coinage of silver, 'that the disturbance produced during the recent years in the silver market has differently affected the monetary situations of the several countries,' they respectfully dissent, believing that a policy of action would remove the disturbance that produced these inequalities."

The report of this monetary conference, prepared by Mr. S. Dana Horton, secretary of the American dele-

Report of the
Commission.

gation, forms vol. v. of the executive documents of the United States, printed by order of the Senate in the third session of the XLVth Congress, 1878-79. In addition to the journal of the proceedings of the conference, and a collection of the monetary tables and statistical tables submitted by each delegation, it contains a large variety of relevant matter of English and American legislation on money, with classic treatises and reports on monetary questions. Besides these it republishes entire the proceedings of the first monetary conference held in Paris, June, 1867; the whole forming a volume of 918 pages.

In the United States, the silver agitation went on. The act of 1873 was specially unpopular at the West, and was violently assailed as well as vigorously defended, and numerous resolutions were introduced into the Forty-fifth Congress to restore the silver dollar. November 5, 1877, Mr. Bland moved to

Act of 1878. suspend the rules of the House and pass a bill providing "that there shall be coined at the several mints of the United States silver dollars of the weight of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains troy of standard silver, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837, on which shall be the device and superscriptions provided by said act; which coins, together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract; and any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any United States coinage-mint or assay office, to be coined into such dollars, for his benefit, upon the same terms and conditions as gold bullion is deposited for coinage under existing laws. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

This was agreed to and passed by a vote of 164 to 34, and it went to the Senate. Mr. Allison moved in the Senate to amend by striking out the last clause commencing "and any owner" and inserting the following: "And the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to purchase, from time to time, silver bullion, at the market price thereof, not less than \$2,000,000 per month, nor more than \$4,000,000 per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly, as fast as so purchased, into such dollars. And any gain or seigniorage arising from this coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the treasury, as provided under existing laws relative to the subsidiary coinage; *provided*, that the amount of money at any one time invested in such silver bullion, exclusive of such resulting coin, shall not exceed \$5,000,000."

The Bland Bill with Allison's amendment passed the Senate February 15, 1878, by a vote of 49 to 22. The bill went back to the House for concurrence February 21, 1878, when it passed by a vote of 203 to 72.

President Hayes vetoed the bill February 28, and in the same day it was passed over his veto by a vote of 106 to 73 in the House and 46 to 19 in the Senate.

June 9, 1879, an act was passed raising the limit of legal tender for subsidiary silver coins to \$10, and also providing for their redemption in full legal-tender money.

In the Forty-ninth Congress a proviso was attached to the sundry civil appropriation bill authorizing the issue of one, two, and five dollar silver certificates. This provision has operated to remove in a measure the objections to silver where large sums are required in small denominations, as in pay-rolls on railroads and other like operations.

The year 1881, however, saw a renewed monetary agitation, when France and the United States jointly issued a call to a monetary conference. It met in Paris on April 19, 14 governments being represented at the opening, and delegates from Great Britain, India, and Canada being present a part of the time. The United States representatives were William M. Evarts, Allen G. Thurman, Timothy O. Howe, and S. Dana Horton. This conference, which continued its sessions with some breaks for nearly two months, indicated a still great approval of the theory of bimetalism, but still could come to no agreement or line of action, England and Germany being still unwilling to act. The United States, therefore, were still left to act alone. No change, however, was made in our currency, these years being marked by large decreases in the public debt and a discussion of what to do with the "surplus" in the treasury. On July 12, 1882, an act was passed providing for the extension of the charters of the national banks, the running out of whose charters had created considerable discussion.

The year 1883, however, was marked by financial depression and many failures, caused partly by poor crops and overspeculation, and fell particularly on the iron trade. Yet there was no panic till May, 1884, when it fell in force, altho in speculative rather than in commercial circles. In 1885 there was a general improvement, yet the Secretary of the Treasury and the President alike in their annual messages recommended the repeal of the silver bill of 1878; but Congress declined to act, and the next year likewise, altho it also declined to pass a free silver bill. In 1887, a year of prosperity, there was still more discussion of the "surplus" in the treasury, and again an effort to repeal the silver bill of 1878, but still Congress refused. In 1888 the revenue of the United States was over \$1,000,000 a day. The circulation of the national banks was, however, contracting, and Congress could still not be prevailed upon to repeal the silver law. In 1890 the failure of several London houses, and notably Baring Brothers, owing mainly to a crisis in the Argentine Republic, was to some extent followed by a stringency in the market here, and by the now famous Sherman Act of July 14, 1890, the treasury was directed to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver, or so much as might be offered at the market price, not to exceed \$1 for 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment therefor treasury notes to be a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, and when held by a national bank to be counted as a part of its reserve. The act further declared that the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem such notes upon their presentation in gold or silver coin at his discretion, and that the established policy of the United States was to maintain the two metals on a parity with each upon the existing legal ratio, or such ratio as might be provided by law. The act was a compromise, but the effect was to put into circulation every month about \$6,000,000 in the certificates authorized, and so its issue created much discussion, it

**Panic
of 1890.**

finally passing in the House by a vote of 112 to 90, and in the Senate by 39 to 26.

We now come to the critical year of 1893. Early in the year gold began to go to Europe, caused mainly by the failures of the Baring

**Panic
of 1893.**

Brothers above referred to, and the resultant stringency in the London market, which continued to this time; still more by failures of Australian banks, and yet more by the decision of Austria-Hungary and Roumania to change to the gold standard. With all the world except the United States thus declaring for gold (see BIMETALLISM), the friends of gold in the United States began to urge that we could not continue to use silver in the face of the position of all the other great powers. They declared that all the gold would go to these other nations, and the United States become a silver nation, and silver depreciate, and give us all the results of a depreciated currency. They therefore agitated for the repeal of the Sherman bill of 1890. It is claimed, too, that in order to force a slight pinch in the market, and so induce people to feel that something was wrong, and therefore demand the repeal of the Sherman act, some of the banks began to decrease their circulation and decline credit. If this is the case, they little knew what they were bringing upon themselves. Credit was decreasing, failures beginning, silver falling, when suddenly came the news (June 26) that the Indian Government had decided to stop the free coinage of silver. Coming upon the other above-mentioned causes, it created at once a crisis. The day after the news, silver experienced a heavy drop, and silver mines in Colorado began to close. Men were discharged all over the country. Anxiety was everywhere. Silver conventions were held in Denver, July 11, and Chicago, August 8. Men and women began to draw their money from the banks, and to hoard what they could. There came a marked money famine. Banks really solvent were compelled to close because they could not get ready currency. Manufacturers with abundant credit closed because they could not get currency to pay their help. Business was prostrated, and millions lost. The newspapers industriously circulated the opinion that the panic was due to hoarding of men and withdrawal of credit, from lack of "confidence," and fear that the United States would have a depreciated silver currency, and argued, therefore, that the Sherman Bill must be repealed and the United States, with the rest of the world, declare for gold. Mr. Cleveland was induced to call an extra session of Congress and urge repeal. The account of the ensuing struggle, together with the account of the bond issues of the last two years, we abridge from the reliable record of events printed in the *Political Science Quarterly*. According to this authority, Congress met August 8. The silver men, without reference to party lines, took an attitude of energetic resistance to any project for unconditional repeal. On August 11 a bill was introduced by Mr. Wilson, of West Virginia, repealing the purchase clause, but renewing the pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver coin at the existing or some other ratio. At the same time an order of

procedure was adopted, providing for a debate of 14 days, to be followed immediately by voting. This program was carried out, and the votes were taken August 28. All the amendments were rejected, those proposing free coinage by majorities ranging from 140 on the 17 : 1 ratio to 100 on the 20 : 1, and that reviving the Bland Act by a majority of 77. The bill was then passed by a vote of 240 to 110. In the Senate much more serious difficulty arose in seeking to carry out the policy recommended by President Cleveland. After much caucusing, with unsatisfactory results, Senator Voorhees, Chairman of the Finance Committee, at last introduced a repeal bill, August 29, with a "parity" pledge in more verbose form than that of the Wilson Bill, and with a recommendation of bimetalist policy for the Government. The silver men immediately submitted a substitute proposing free coinage of silver at the ratio of 20 : 1. Various plans were suggested for a compromise between unconditional repeal and free coinage, but the attitude of the administration was steadily hostile to any such idea. On the other hand, suggestions as to the introduction of some form of closure in the Senate met little favor. On October 11, when it had become pretty clear that there was a majority for unconditional repeal, Mr. Voorhees asked for a continuous session till a vote should be taken, but after a session of nearly 40 hours, occupied by speeches by the silver men and calls of the House, a quorum could no longer be obtained, and the Senate adjourned without voting. Attention now became concentrated exclusively upon the possibility of either compromise or closure. While propositions looking to the latter alternative were under serious and heated discussion, a scheme of compromise that proposed making the date of repeal 12 or 18 months in the future and coining in the interval all the silver purchased, was accepted by the silver Democrats, and seemed likely to secure enough support to unite the majority party, when the authoritative announcement that the President did not approve the scheme turned the current, and the project failed. Thereupon the Democratic silver senators reluctantly gave up the struggle, October 23, and the remainder of the opposition acknowledged the hopelessness of preventing a vote. The final speeches of the debate were made, the various amendments were voted down by majorities averaging about 10, and on October 30 the Voorhees Bill, having been substituted for the Wilson Bill, was passed by a vote of 43 to 32. The substitute was accepted by the House, 194 to 94, and became law by the President's approval, November 1.

**Sherman
Bill
Repealed.**

The inference, however, is by no means to be made that all the voters for repeal were friendly to gold monometallism. Many of them felt that the Sherman Bill, in itself popular with neither monometallists nor bimetalists, had been presented to the country as the cause of the panic, so that its repeal would at least tend to restore confidence, when Congress could then go on to *permanently* legislate as it saw wise. Some felt, too, that since the supply of gold in the

world is not adequate to doing the world's business, if the United States, with the rest of the world, voted to adopt a gold standard, the strain would be so great that all countries would be compelled to remonetize silver, so that this would be the quickest way to reach international bi-metallism. Thus the vote on the bill was by no means a test of the strength of monometallism. Nevertheless, its passage has been bitterly denounced by the believers in silver and an expanded currency, and the continued depression through the country they laid largely to its passage.

The marked features of 1894 and 1895 in the history of the currency have been the bond issues of the Government and their sale to private syndicates. December 20, 1893, the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress, estimated that the year ending June 30, 1894, would show a deficit of \$23,000,000. He asked author-

ity, therefore, to issue a 3 per cent. bond, redeemable in five years, and

Bond Issues. recommended that the denominations be low, so as to enlist the interest of the masses of the people.

Another suggestion for meeting the emergency was the issue of a 3 per cent. one-year bond, to be sold or paid out to Government creditors at par. Mr. Carlisle described the decrease in the gold reserve for greenback redemption, and dwelt upon the necessity of some scheme which should enable him to keep up that reserve as well as to pay the current expenses of the Government. While endorsing the principles of the tariff bill pending in the House of Representatives, he thought it would bring a revenue some \$50,000,000 less than what would be necessary, and to meet this deficit he advocated an increase of the tax on distilled spirits, and the imposition of new taxes on cigars and cigarettes, cosmetics, perfumeries, legacies and successions, and incomes from investments in corporate securities. From the beginning of the period under review the condition of the treasury, which the Secretary's report showed to be so bad, grew worse and worse. Expenditures ran steadily far ahead of receipts, and the balances on hand, both of gold and of currency, tended rapidly to extinction. On January 13 Secretary Carlisle submitted to the Finance Committee of the Senate a statement showing that the excess of expenditures over receipts to that date had reached \$43,000,000, and that at the same rate the deficit for the year would be \$78,000,000, or nearly three times what he had estimated in his report in December. The gold reserve was down to \$74,000,000, and the Secretary declared that the ordinary expenses of the Government would soon have to be paid wholly out of that fund. Unless something were promptly done by Congress to authorize the issue of low-rate bonds, he announced that he would put forth high-rate bonds under the power granted by the Resumption Act of 1875. No steps having been taken by Congress, on January 17 the Secretary announced a bond issue of \$50,000,000. The bonds were to be redeemable after 10 years, and to bear 5 per cent. interest, payable in coin. No bid would be accepted lower than 117.223, the equivalent of a 3 per cent. bond at par. The treasury's policy was immediately antago-

nized by the silver party, who wanted the financial emergency tided over by the coinage of the seigniorage. The House Judiciary Committee adopted a resolution denying the power claimed by the Secretary to use the proceeds of the bonds for paying the current expenses of the Government, and under the auspices of the Knights of Labor a suit was brought for an injunction to restrain the Secretary from issuing the bonds. Financiers found fault with the method of the issue, and claimed that there was absolutely no chance for profit under the terms imposed. On the last day of the term allowed for bids, however, the New York bankers, after several consultations with Mr. Carlisle, decided to sustain him, and subscribed for some \$45,000,000. The subscription terminated February 1, and the total amount called for was about \$58,000,000. The treasury gold balance meanwhile had run down to \$65,500,000, but the proceeds of the bonds raised it for a while above the \$100,000,000 mark. Congress had a lively struggle over the Seigniorage Bill. This measure, introduced in the House by Mr. Bland, provided for the immediate coinage of silver in the treasury to an amount equal to the difference between the cost and the coin value of the bullion purchased under the Sherman Act, which difference amounted to about \$55,000,000. The bill provided that certificates should be issued on this seigniorage as fast as coined, or faster, if the needs of the treasury required. A second section directed that, after the seigniorage was disposed of, the remaining bullion in the treasury should be coined, and the treasury notes based on it should be redeemed and replaced by silver certificates. This bill was passed in the House, March 1, by 168 to 129, the majority consisting of Democrats and Populists, with 19 Southern and Western Republicans; the minority, of Republicans, with 49 Eastern Democrats. In the Senate **Seigniorage Bill.** the friends of the bill took parliamentary advantage of a little carelessness on the part of its adversaries to cut off the long debate that was expected, and on March 15 the bill passed by 44 to 31, 10 Republicans for and nine Democrats against it. On the 20th President Cleveland vetoed the bill. His general position was that of favor to the idea of coining the seigniorage, but of hostility to this particular bill, and especially to the second section, which went beyond this simple idea. He objected to the phraseology of the bill, which was in places ambiguous, but found a wider ground for his veto in the belief that "sound finance does not commend a further infusion of silver into our currency at this time, unaccompanied by further adequate provision for the maintenance in our treasury of a safe gold reserve." The President expressed, in conclusion, a willingness to see the seigniorage coined, if at the same time provision were made for a low-rate, short-term bond to protect the gold reserve. On the question of overriding this veto, the vote in the House, April 4, stood 144 to 115, not two thirds in the affirmative.

By June 22 the gold reserve was down to \$62,000,000. The New York banks at this time came to the rescue, and supplied the export demand. In the uncertainty over the tariff, custom re-

ceipts were small and the condition of the treasury very low. With some variations, however, the gold reserve in the treasury remained at about the above amount till, November 13, subscriptions were invited for \$50,000,000, in 10 years 5 per cent. bonds, and the whole amount was awarded to a syndicate at 117.077, making the rate of interest 2.878. This raised the gold reserve to \$112,000,000, but this immediately began to dwindle. Secretary Carlisle introduced into Congress a plan for reorganizing the banking system so as to protect the treasury against demands for redemption of legal tenders and develop State-bank currency, but it was defeated, and by June 28 the gold reserve was down to \$52,463,173, the lowest point since resumption in 1879. The same day President Cleveland sent an energetic message to Congress to empower the issue of a low-rate bond. Congress declined to act, and another bond issue followed, February 7, when the gold reserve was only \$41,743,136. A contract was made with the banking houses of Belmont, Rothschild, and Morgan, for the purchase of 3,500,000 ounces of gold to be paid for in 30 years, 4 per cent. bonds, on terms which made the price about 104½, and the amount \$62,317,500. The contract provided that half the gold

should be procured abroad, and the bankers were given an option on any other bonds that could be issued up to October 1, and on their part they undertook "to exert all financial influence and [to] make all legitimate efforts to protect the treasury of the United States against the withdrawal of gold" during the same period. The 4 per cents. were soon put on the market, and the quotation rose at once to 118. The administration was violently attacked, tho it defended itself by showing that the New York sub-treasury was within 48 hours of suspension of gold payments, and that, therefore, the treasury was at the mercy of the bankers. Nevertheless the sale of bonds to the syndicate was widely denounced, some papers, like the *New York World*, demanding an investigation of the "scandal" by Congress, in part basing its surmises on the fact that Mr. J. P. Morgan was a former client of Mr. Cleveland, and Mr. Stetson, the legal adviser of Mr. Morgan and the agent of the syndicate in its negotiations, a partner of Mr. Cleveland when Mr. Cleveland practised law in New York in the interval between his first and second administrations. The *World* figured the profits of the transaction to the syndicate as follows :

Face of loan.....	\$62,315,000
Syndicate premium at 104.49.....	2,797,943
United States gets.....	\$65,112,942
Syndicate profit to 112½.....	4,835,644
What inside jobbers pay.....	\$69,948,587
Inside jobbers' profit to 118.....	3,583,113

The public pay and the United States should have received..... \$72,531,700
 United States has lost..... \$8,418,757
 Compounded as a sinking fund at 4 per cent. for 30 years, this lost profit would be..... \$27,628,676
 Or nearly one half the original loan.

PROFIT AND LOSS

Belmont & Morgan buy.....	\$62,315,000 at 104.49	\$65,112,943
Belmont & Morgan sell.....	62,315,000 at 112.25	69,948,587
Belmont & Morgan profit.....		\$4,835,644
Inside jobbers buy.....	\$62,315,000 at 112.25	\$69,948,587
Inside jobbers sell.....	62,315,000 at 118.	73,531,700
Inside jobbers' profit.....		\$3,583,113
General public buy.....	\$62,315,000 at 118...	\$73,351,700
Loss by United States to the jobbers.....		\$8,418,757

Commenting editorially upon this showing, the *World* said :

'The bonds are worth much more than 112½, and the public was not allowed to buy any of them, tho subscriptions were eagerly sent in for 10 times the issue at a much higher price than the 112½ at which the syndicate allotted the securities to its members.

"These people took the bonds as well as the profit, and they will now proceed to take another heavy profit by marking the securities up to their actual market value.

"Does anybody now suppose that Mr. Cleveland 'did the best he could' when he secretly sold these bonds to his former client's syndicate at 104½? With New Yorkers anxious for ten times the issue, and with London bankers bidding, as they did yesterday, for \$600,000,000 at 4½ points above the syndicate distributing price, can there be any doubt that the issue could have been sold in the open market for greatly more than was got for it? Was there any necessity or excuse for a secret negotiation with speculators to discredit the Government and give millions of its money away? Is there any possible reason for supposing that a public at home and abroad which to-day wants ten or twenty times the issue at three or four times the premium would have failed to take this \$62,315,000 at a much better price than that at which it was sold, if the issue had been offered openly in the market?"

Whatever were the profits, the syndicate kept its word as to protecting the treasury until October 1, when it dissolved. Soon after the reserve again began to diminish, and there was talk of another issue. Congress on its convening refused to relieve the situation. Mr. Morgan formed another syndicate, and proposed to buy the bonds on substantially the same basis as before. Some papers, and particularly the *New York World*, agitated for making it a so-called "Public Loan." popular loan, and finally succeeded in forcing this from the Government. Sealed bids were put in up to February 5, and it was found that the whole issue of \$200,000,000 was more than subscribed for at an average of about 111 instead of 104, as offered by the syndicate, saving the Government some \$7,000,000, without counting interest for 30 years. Such a result justified papers like the *World* in claiming that the previous sale to the syndicate might also have been public.

The *World* said editorially February 8, 1896 :

"The Wall Street operator who buncoed the Government out of 8 or 10 million dollars in last year's bond deal, and had his arrangements perfected to repeat the grab on a larger scale this year, and would have succeeded but for the *World*, is certainly not above criticism. Neither are the remnants of Mr. Carlisle's reputation sufficient to cover a transaction of this sort.

"There is something still to be explained in this affair. The suggestion of a Congressional investigation is timely. It might well be extended to cover the negotiations to which Mr. Morgan was invited at Washington by some member of the administration, and which led to the formation of his famous blind pool to take \$200,000,000 of bonds in exchange for gold at 'about the price' of the sale in February, 1895. The flood-light of publicity is needed for this whole transaction."

Western papers bitterly condemned all issue of bonds at any price. Said the *Chronicle* (Republican) of San Francisco :

"It matters very little to the American people whether a sale of bonds nets a few millions more or less. The thing to take into consideration is the fact that with a balance of nearly \$175,000,000 in the Treasury, the President deliberately authorizes the creation of another \$100,000,000 of indebtedness for a period of 30 years. Between the date of their emission and their final redemption these bonds will call for the payment of \$120,000,000 in interest, or \$20,000,000 more than the amount borrowed. And for what purpose are these bonds sold? To maintain a gold reserve for the redemption of United States currency—an impossible feat under existing circumstances. The futility of such attempts has already been exhibited. It has been shown that the gold, as rapidly as accumulated, will be drawn out of the Treasury so long as it is needed for export purposes."

The feeling of the People's Party and the extreme free silver men can be seen in a comparatively moderate quotation from the sensational utterance of Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, spoken on the floor of the Senate January 29, 1896. He charged that the sound-money cry was part of "a damnable scheme of robbery," having in view, first, the utter destruction of silver as a money metal ; second, the increase of the public debt by the issue of gold bonds ; and third, the surrender to corporations of the power to issue all paper money and to give them a monopoly of that function. This, he averred, included the control of the presidential nominations of both the Democratic and Republican parties in 1892 by an Eastern gold ring and the stock gamblers of Wall Street. Accusing the President of weakening on tariff reform for a

financial platform cunningly drafted to force a gold standard upon the people, he said :

"Rothschild and his American agents graciously condescend to come to the help of the United States Treasury in maintaining the gold standard, which has wrought the ruin, and only charges a small commission of 10 million or so. Great God! that this proud Government, the richest, most powerful on the globe, should have been brought to so low a pass that a London Jew should have been appointed its receiver, and presume to patronize us!

"The encroachments of the Federal Judiciary, and the supineness and venality—corruption, I say—of the representative branches of the Government are causes of deep concern to all thinking and patriotic men. We are fast drifting into government by injunction in the interest of monopolies and corporations, and the Supreme Court, by one corrupt vote, annuls an act of Congress looking to the taxation of the rich."

Even the *World*, while condemning Mr. Tillman's speech, said :

"It is unfortunately true that the relations between the Executive and Wall street have been unduly close; that the Treasury has been managed in the interests of syndicates; that the enforcement of the anti-trust laws has been turned into a mockery; that the attempt to adjust taxation in proportion to wealth has been defeated by a majority decision of the Supreme Court; that the influence of plutocracy is manifest in the composition of the Senate, in the control of legislation, and in the organization of national parties, conventions and campaigns."

For most recent events, see SILVER QUESTION.

Following are the tables giving various statistics as to United States currency, the first showing the present money system of the United States as compiled by G. B. Waldron, of the New York *Voice*, from official sources. It shows the kinds of money in use in the treasury, in national banks, and in circulation July 1, 1895 :

	Gold Coin.	Silver Dollars.	Subsidiary Silver Coin.	Minor Coin.	Gold Certificates.
First authorized	April 2, 1792.	April 2, 1792.	April 2, 1792.	April 2, 1792.	March 3, 1863.
Weight.....	25.8 grains to dollar.	412 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains.	385.8 grains to dollar.	5 c. 77.16 grains. 1 c. 48 grains.	.....
Fineness .....	.900	.900	.900	5 c.—75% copper, 25% nickel. 1 c.—95% copper, 5% tin and zinc.	.....
Limit of issue	Unlimited.	Amount required to redeem Treasury notes.	\$50,000,000 $\frac{1}{2}$	Discretion of Secretary of the Treasury.	Issue suspended when gold reserve falls below \$100,000,000
To whom first issued*.....	No restriction.	No restriction.	No restriction.	No restriction.	Depositors of gold coin and bullion.
Denomination	\$20 10 5 2,50	\$1	50 cents. 25 cents. 10 cents.	5 cents. 1 cent.	\$10,000 \$100 5,000 50 1,000 20 500
Legal tender.....	Unlimited.	Unlimited unless stipulated in contract.	Not to exceed \$10.	Not to exceed 25 cents.	Not a tender.
Receiveable*	For all public dues.	For all public dues.	For all public dues to the amount of \$10.	For all public dues to the amount of 25 cents.	For all public dues.
Exchangeable*.....	For gold certificates.	For silver certificates or smaller silver coin.	For minor coin.	.....	For gold coin and other money.
Redeemable* .....	.....	.....	In "lawful money" in sums of \$20 or any multiple thereof.	In "lawful money" in sums of not less than \$20.	In gold coin.
July 1, 1895 :					
Total coined or issued..	\$579,422,971	\$423,289,219	\$76,772,563	.....	\$48,469,959
In Treasury	99,147,914	371,396,057	16,552,845	.....	88,390
In circulation	480,275,057	51,983,162	60,219,718	.....	48,381,569
Held by National Banks					
July 1, 1895	117,476,837	7,248,059	5,834,241	.....	22,425,600
Net circulation.....	362,798,220	44,735,103	54,385,477	.....	25,955,969
Per capita, net.....	\$5.19	\$0.64	\$0.78	.....	\$0.37

	Silver Certificates.	United States Notes.	Currency Certificates.	Treasury Notes of 1890.	National Bank-Notes.
First authorized.....	Feb. 28, 1878.	Feb. 25, 1862.	June 8, 1872.	July 14, 1890.	Feb. 25, 1863.
Weight.....					
Fineness.....					
Limit of issue.....	Silver dollars in Treasury.	\$346,681,016‡	United States notes in Treasury.	\$152,584,417‡	90% of United States bonds.
To whom first issued*.....	Depositors of silver dollars.	No restriction.	National banks.	Depositors of silver bullion purchased by Government.	National banks†
Denomination.....	\$1,000 \$10 500 5 100 2 50 1 20	\$10,000 \$20 5,000 10 1,000 5 500 2 100 1 50	\$10,000 5,000	\$1,000 \$10 100 5 50 2 20 1	\$1,000 \$10 500 5 100 2 50 1 20
Legal tender.....	Not a tender.	Unlimited unless stipulated in contract.	Not a tender.	Unlimited unless stipulated in contract.	Not a tender.
Receivable*.....	For all public dues.	For all public dues except duties on imports and interest on public debt.	Not receivable.	For all public dues.	For all public dues except duties on imports and interest on public debt.
Exchangeable*.....	For silver dollars and fractional silver.	For any money except gold certificates.	For United States notes.	For any money except gold certificates.	For silver and minor coin.
Redeemable*.....	In silver dollars.	In coin in sums of \$50 and over at sub-treasuries in New York and San Francisco.	In United States notes.	In "coin."	In "lawful money" at Treasury or bank of issue.
July 1, 1895:					
Total coined or issued ...	\$328,894,504	\$346,681,016	\$55,755,000	\$146,088,400	\$211,691,035
In Treasury.....	9,162,752	81,571,560	350,000	30,109,692	4,643,489
In circulation.....	319,731,752	265,109,456	55,405,000	115,978,708	207,047,546
Held by National Banks					
July 1, 1895:	30,127,457	123,185,172	45,330,700	.....	6,025,799
Net circulation†.....	289,604,295	141,924,284	10,075,000	115,978,708	201,021,747
Per capita, nett.....	\$4.14	\$2.03	\$0.14	\$1.66	\$2.88

On the basis of an estimated population of 69,878,000 on July 1, 1895, there was a total circulation outside of the Treasury and the National banks of \$1,246,478,805, or \$17.83 per capita.

Concerning the present amount of money in the

United States, the report of the Treasurer for 1894 gives the following statement:

According to the revised estimates the stock of gold, silver, and paper money in the United States on June 30, 1893 and 1894, was composed as follows:

KIND.	June 30, 1893.	June 30, 1894.	KIND.	June 30, 1893.	June 30, 1894.
Gold coin.....	\$519,156,102	\$582,512,083	United States notes.....	\$346,681,016	\$346,681,016
Gold bullion....	78,541,583	44,781,118	Treasury notes of 1890... ..	147,190,227	152,584,417
Silver dollars... ..	419,332,450	419,333,208	National bank-notes	178,713,827	207,353,244
Fractional silver coin.....	77,415,123	76,249,925	Gold certificates	94,041,189	66,387,899
Silver bullion.....	119,113,911	128,764,624	Silver certificates	330,957,504	337,148,504
			Currency certificates.....	12,405,000	60,035,000
			Total paper currency... ..	\$1,109,988,808	\$1,170,190,080
Total coin and bullion ...	\$1,213,559,169	\$1,251,640,958	Aggregate	\$2,323,547,977	\$2,421,831,038

The estimated effective stock of money, which is arrived at by eliminating from the list of paper issues, the certificates of deposit, and Treasury notes, as

merely representative, on June 30 in each of the last five years, was as follows:

KIND.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.
Gold	\$695,563,029	\$646,582,852	\$664,275,335	\$597,697,685	\$627,293,201
Silver.....	463,211,919	522,277,740	570,313,544	615,861,484	624,347,757
Notes.....	532,651,791	514,608,990	519,364,866	525,394,888	554,034,260
Total	\$1,691,426,739	\$1,683,469,582	\$1,753,953,745	\$1,738,954,057	\$1,805,675,218

* By the Government.
 † Total circulation outside of Treasury less amount held by National banks.
 ‡ Acts of July 14, 1875, and April 17, 1876, limited issue to amount required to retire fractional paper currency. This limit was increased to \$50,000,000 by act of July 22, 1876. After resumption of specie payments, 1878, considerable fractional silver reappeared which had been issued previously.
 § Amount outstanding when the act of May 31, 1878, forbade their further retirement.
 ¶ Amount outstanding when the silver-purchasing clause was repealed, November 1, 1893.
 ¶ And reissued by the banks for general circulation.

The following three tables from the Report of the Treasurer give the gold and silver coin and bullion; gold, silver, and currency certificates; United States notes and national and

State bank-notes, and the estimated money in the United States and distribution thereof on July 1 of each year from 1872-94:

JULY 1.	GOLD.						SILVER.		
	COIN AND BULLION.			CERTIFICATES. ‡			IN TREASURY.		
	In Treas- ury, in- cluding Bullion.	Coin in Circula- tion.	Total.	In Treas- ury.	In Circu- lation.	Total.	Standard Silver Dollars and Bullion.	Subsidi- ary Coin.	Total.
1872.....		*\$25,000,000							
1873.....		*25,000,000							
1874.....		*25,000,000							
1875.....		*25,000,000							
1876.....		*25,000,000						\$6,363,666	\$6,363,666
1877.....		*25,000,000						2,952,653	2,952,653
1878.....		*25,000,000					\$15,959,828	6,800,506	21,920,334
1879.....	\$135,236,475	†110,505,362	\$245,741,837	\$133,880	\$15,279,820	\$15,413,700	33,239,917	8,993,491	42,143,318
1880.....	126,145,427	225,695,779	351,841,206	40,700	7,963,900	8,004,600	49,549,851	24,359,482	73,909,333
1881.....	163,171,661	315,312,877	478,484,538	23,400	5,759,520	5,782,920	65,954,671	27,247,697	93,202,368
1882.....	148,506,390	358,251,325	506,757,715	8,100	5,029,020	5,037,120	90,384,724	28,048,631	118,433,355
1883.....	108,078,568	344,653,495	452,732,063	22,571,270	59,807,370	82,378,640	116,396,235	28,486,001	144,882,236
1884.....	204,876,594	349,624,203	554,500,797	27,246,020	71,146,640	98,392,660	139,616,144	29,600,720	169,217,134
1885.....	247,028,625	341,668,411	588,697,036	13,593,410	126,729,730	140,323,140	169,451,998	31,226,899	200,688,897
1886.....	232,554,886	358,219,575	590,774,461	55,129,870	76,044,375	131,174,245	184,523,283	28,886,947	213,110,230
1887.....	277,979,654	376,540,681	654,520,335	30,261,380	91,225,437	121,486,817	221,897,046	26,993,934	248,860,980
1888.....	314,704,822	391,114,033	705,818,855	20,228,500	121,094,650	142,023,150	254,639,063	26,044,062	280,683,125
1889.....	303,581,937	374,481,568	680,063,505	36,918,323	117,130,229	154,048,552	289,489,794	25,124,672	314,614,466
1890.....	321,304,106	374,258,923	695,563,029	26,732,120	130,830,859	157,562,979	323,804,555	22,792,718	346,597,273
1891.....	239,263,689	407,319,163	646,582,852	32,423,360	120,063,009	152,486,429	379,927,323	19,629,480	399,556,803
1892.....	255,706,511	408,568,824	664,275,335	15,530,310	141,093,619	156,623,929	434,249,056	14,227,774	448,467,830
1893.....	189,162,022	408,535,663	597,697,685	1,399,000	92,642,189	94,041,189	481,371,103	11,945,257	493,316,360
1894.....	131,316,471	495,976,730	627,293,201	48,050	66,339,849	66,387,899	495,435,370	17,738,968	513,174,338

* The coin in circulation includes the subsidiary silver in circulation on the Pacific coast from 1872 to 1878.

† Gold coin became available for circulation January 1, 1879, as a result of the resumption act of January 14,

1875.

‡ Gold certificates, being representative of gold coin, became available as circulation on the resumption of specie payment, January 1, 1879.

JULY 1.	SILVER.								
	COIN IN CIRCULATION.			CERTIFICATES. †			CERTIFICATES, ACT OF JUNE 8, 1872.		
	Standard Dollar.	Subsidiary Coin.*	Total.	In Treas- ury.	In Circu- lation.	Total.	In Treas- ury.	In Circu- lation.	Total.
1872.....									
1873.....							\$215,000	\$31,535,000	\$31,730,000
1874.....							755,000	38,000,000	38,755,000
1875.....							445,000	37,970,000	38,415,000
1876.....							275,000	32,565,000	32,840,000
1877.....		\$21,055,128	\$21,055,128				1,135,000	53,825,000	54,960,000
1878.....	\$1,209,259	53,918,322	55,127,572	\$1,455,520	\$7,080	\$1,462,600	570,000	46,245,000	46,815,000
1879.....	8,036,439	61,346,584	69,383,023	2,952,470	414,480	3,366,950	1,450,000	29,355,000	30,805,000
1880.....	20,110,557	48,511,788	68,622,345	6,584,701	5,789,569	12,374,270	360,000	14,235,000	14,595,000
1881.....	29,342,412	46,839,364	76,181,776	12,955,801	39,110,729	51,166,530	275,000	11,650,000	11,925,000
1882.....	32,493,820	46,379,949	78,873,769	11,590,620	54,506,090	66,096,710	75,000	13,245,000	13,320,000
1883.....	35,651,450	46,474,209	82,125,749	15,996,145	72,620,686	88,616,831	315,000	13,060,000	13,375,000
1884.....	40,690,200	45,660,808	86,351,008	23,384,680	96,427,011	119,811,691	195,000	12,100,000	12,385,000
1885.....	50,689,069	43,702,921	94,391,990	38,370,700	101,550,946	139,901,646	200,000	29,585,000	29,785,000
1886.....	52,668,623	46,173,990	98,842,613	27,861,450	88,116,225	115,977,675	250,000	18,250,000	18,500,000
1887.....	55,548,721	48,583,865	104,132,586	3,425,133	142,118,017	145,543,150	310,000	8,770,000	9,080,000
1888.....	55,527,396	50,362,314	105,889,710	28,732,115	209,759,657	229,491,772	250,000	14,665,000	14,915,000
1889.....	54,457,299	51,477,104	105,934,403	5,474,181	257,155,565	262,629,746	240,000	16,955,000	17,195,000
1890.....	56,278,749	54,032,587	110,311,336	3,983,513	297,556,238	301,539,751	500,000	11,890,000	12,390,000
1891.....	58,261,179	58,219,220	116,480,399	7,479,219	307,235,966	314,715,185	1,995,000	21,875,000	23,780,000
1892.....	56,817,462	63,293,704	120,111,166	4,920,839	326,693,465	331,614,304	500,000	29,840,000	30,430,000
1893.....	56,929,673	65,460,866	122,390,539	4,133,656	326,823,848	330,957,504	600,000	11,715,000	12,405,000
1894.....	52,564,662	58,510,957	111,075,619	10,157,768	326,990,736	337,148,504	300,000	58,935,000	59,235,000

* Subsidiary silver, which disappeared from circulation in 1862, was reintroduced under operation of the act of January 14, 1875.

† Silver certificates were authorized by acts of February 28, 1878, and August 4, 1886.

JULY 1.	CURRENCY.					
	UNITED STATES NOTES.			NATIONAL BANK-NOTES.		
	In Treas- ury.	In Circu- lation.	Total.	In Treas- ury.	In Circu- lation.	Total.
1872.....	\$11,331,320	\$346,168,680	\$357,500,000	\$8,627,790	\$329,037,005	\$337,664,795
1873.....	30,050,855	316,949,145	356,000,000	8,304,586	338,962,475	347,267,061
1874.....	68,578,548	313,421,452	382,000,000	11,715,488	340,265,544	351,981,032
1875.....	84,055,245	291,716,335	375,771,580	13,861,463	349,546,545	354,408,008
1876.....	70,889,906	298,882,378	369,772,284	16,877,634	316,120,702	332,998,336
1877.....	75,689,998	284,074,344	359,764,332	15,759,847	301,289,025	317,048,872
1878.....	72,020,121	274,660,805	346,681,016	12,789,923	311,724,361	324,514,284
1879.....	74,391,954	272,289,132	346,681,016	8,286,701	321,404,996	329,691,697
1880.....	33,020,559	313,660,457	346,681,016	7,099,249	337,415,178	344,505,427
1881.....	30,204,002	316,476,924	346,681,016	5,296,382	349,746,293	355,042,675
1882.....	34,670,589	312,010,427	346,681,016	6,277,246	352,464,788	358,742,024
1883.....	36,498,839	310,182,177	346,681,016	8,217,062	347,856,210	356,073,261
1884.....	40,183,802	306,497,214	346,681,016	8,809,990	330,689,893	339,499,883
1885.....	45,047,379	301,633,637	346,681,016	9,945,710	308,631,001	318,576,711
1886.....	41,118,317	305,562,609	346,681,016	4,034,416	307,665,038	311,699,454
1887.....	28,783,797	317,897,219	346,681,016	2,362,585	276,855,203	279,217,788
1888.....	53,345,976	293,335,040	346,681,016	7,055,541	245,312,780	252,368,321
1889.....	47,196,825	299,484,191	346,681,016	4,158,330	207,220,633	211,378,963
1890.....	23,882,039	322,798,977	346,681,016	4,365,838	181,604,937	185,970,775
1891.....	25,348,656	321,332,360	346,681,016	5,706,928	162,221,046	167,927,977
1892.....	37,121,112	309,559,904	346,681,016	5,462,333	167,221,517	172,683,850
1893.....	27,621,500	319,059,426	346,681,016	4,043,906	174,669,966	178,713,872
1894.....	80,091,414	266,589,602	346,681,016	6,635,044	200,219,743	206,854,787

JULY 1	CURRENCY.			
	FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.			State Bank- Notes in Circu- lation.*
	In Treasury.	In Circulation.	Total.	
1872.....	\$4,452,906	\$6,402,929	\$40,855,835	\$1,700,935
1873.....	6,723,360	38,076,005	44,799,365	1,379,184
1874.....	7,047,714	38,233,582	45,881,296	1,162,453
1875.....	4,224,854	37,994,570	42,129,424	964,497
1876.....	1,597,750	32,938,845	34,446,595	1,047,335
1877.....	161,476	20,241,661	20,403,137	.....
1878.....	180,044	16,367,725	16,547,769	.....
1879.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1880.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1881.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1882.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1883.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1884.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1885.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1886.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1887.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1888.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1889.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1890.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1891.....	9,879,713	40,348,794	50,228,417	.....
1892.....	3,453,379	98,258,692	101,712,071	.....
1893.....	6,334,613	140,855,614	147,190,227	.....
1894.....	17,902,988	134,681,429	152,584,417	.....

Treasury Notes Act, July 14, 1890.

The following two tables give the total coinage of the United States mints from 1793 to 1895, as given in the reports of the Director of the Mint, and the money in circulation since 1872. For the per capita circulation before 1872, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY, and see also that article for questioning

the correctness of the showing made in these reports. Note also that the currency certificates (act of June 8, 1872) are included in the amount of United States notes in circulation in the tables for the years 1873 to 1891 inclusive; since 1891 they are reported separately.

* State bank-notes ceased to circulate after passage of the act of February 8, 1875, which laid upon them a tax of 10 per cent. They were not receivable for public dues, and therefore do not appear among the funds in the Treasury.

The following is the coinage of the silver dollar :

1793-95.....	\$204,791	1843.....	\$165,100	1861.....	\$78,500	1879.....	\$27,560,100
1796.....	72,920	1844.....	20,000	1862.....	12,000	1880.....	27,397,355
1797.....	7,776	1845.....	24,500	1863.....	27,660	1881.....	27,927,975
1798.....	327,536	1846.....	169,600	1864.....	31,170	1882.....	27,574,100
1799.....	423,515	1847.....	140,750	1865.....	47,000	1883.....	28,470,039
1800.....	220,920	1848.....	15,000	1866.....	49,625	1884.....	28,136,875
1801.....	54,454	1849.....	62,600	1867.....	60,325	1885.....	28,697,767
1802.....	41,650	1850.....	47,500	1868.....	182,700	1886.....	31,423,886
1803.....	66,064	1851.....	1,300	1869.....	424,300	1887.....	33,611,710
1804.....	19,570	1852.....	1,100	1870.....	445,462	1888.....	31,990,833
1805.....	321	1853.....	46,110	1871.....	1,117,136	1889.....	34,651,811
1836.....	1,000	1854.....	33,140	1872.....	1,118,600	1890.....	38,043,004
1837.....	.....	1855.....	26,000	1873.....	206,600	1891.....	23,562,735
1838.....	.....	1856.....	63,500	1874.....	.....	1892.....	6,333,245
1839.....	300	1857.....	94,000	1875.....	.....	1893.....	1,455,792
1840.....	61,005	1858.....	.....	1876.....	.....	1894*.....	2,443,631
1841.....	73,000	1859.....	636,500	1877.....	.....	Total.....	\$429,807,646
1842.....	184,613	1860.....	733,930	1878.....	22,495,550		

* November 1, 1894.

The following, compiled from the report of the Director of the Mint, gives the approximate amount of money in the world, 1893-94 :

COUNTRIES.	Ratio between Gold and Full Legal-Tender Silver.	Ratio between Gold and Limited-Tender Silver.	Gold Stock.	Silver Stock.	Uncovered Notes.	PER CAPITA.			
						Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.
United States.....	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	\$661,000,000	\$624,000,000	\$460,000,000	\$9.81	\$9.25	\$6.96	\$26.02
United Kingdom.....	.....	1 to 14.28	540,000,000	112,000,000	127,000,000	14.17	2.94	3.33	20.44
France.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	800,000,000	500,000,000	110,000,000	20.89	13.05	2.87	36.81
Germany.....	.....	1 to 13.057	618,000,000	215,000,000	84,000,000	12.51	4.35	1.70	18.56
Belgium.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	54,000,000	54,000,000	54,000,000	8.85	9.00	8.85	26.70
Italy.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	96,000,000	16,500,000	170,000,000	3.16	.54	5.89	9.59
Switzerland.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	15,000,000	15,000,000	12,000,000	5.17	5.17	4.14	14.48
Greece.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	500,000	3,000,000	23,000,000	.23	1.36	10.63	12.22
Spain.....	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	40,000,000	155,000,000	105,000,000	2.28	8.86	6.00	17.14
Portugal.....	.....	1 to 14.08	40,000,000	10,000,000	40,000,000	8.51	2.13	10.42	21.06
Austria-Hungary.....	.....	1 to 13.69	124,000,000	85,000,000	187,000,000	3.00	2.06	4.53	9.59
Netherlands.....	1 to 15½	1 to 15	19,000,000	56,000,000	37,000,000	4.13	12.17	8.04	24.34
Scandinavian Union.....	.....	1 to 14.88	28,000,000	12,000,000	12,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
Russia.....	1 to 15½	1 to 15	422,000,000	41,000,000	550,100,000	3.40	.33	4.44	8.17
Turkey.....	1 to 15½	1 to 15½	50,000,000	44,000,000	.....	1.27	1.12	.....	2.39
Australia.....	.....	1 to 14.28	105,000,000	7,000,000	.....	24.42	1.63	.....	26.05
Egypt.....	.....	1 to 15.68	120,000,000	15,000,000	.....	17.65	2.20	.....	19.85
Mexico.....	1 to 16½	.....	5,000,000	50,000,000	2,000,000	.44	4.38	.18	5.00
Central America.....	1 to 15½	.....	.....	8,000,000	4,000,000	.15	2.42	1.21	3.78
South America.....	1 to 15½	.....	45,000,000	30,000,000	600,000,000	1.31	.87	17.49	19.67
Japan.....	1 to 16.18	.....	80,700,000	81,300,000	.....	1.90	2.01	.....	4.00
India.....	1 to 15	.....	.....	950,000,000	37,000,000	.....	3.31	.13	3.44
China.....	.....	.....	.....	725,000,000	.....	.....	1.80	.....	1.80
The Straits.....	.....	.....	.....	110,000,000	.....	.....	28.94	.....	28.94
Canada.....	.....	1 to 14.95	14,000,000	5,000,000	29,000,000	2.92	1.04	6.04	10.00
Cuba, Hayti, etc.....	1 to 15½	.....	21,000,000	4,400,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	.....	.....	\$3,901,900,000	\$3,931,100,000	\$2,700,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....

See also CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALLISM; GREENBACKISM; PRICES; GOLD; and for the most recent information, SILVER. References: W. G. Sumner's *History of American Currency* (1878); C. F. Dunbar's *History of the United States Relating to Currency and Finance from 1780 to 1890*; Albert S. Bolles's *Financial History of the United States*; for recent times, see *Record of Political Events in the Political Science Quarterly*; for the greenback view, see B. S. Heath's *Labor and Finance Revolution*; for the free silver view, see W. A. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School*; for the bimetallic view, see E. B. Andrews's *An Honest Dollar*; for the monometallist view, see Horace White's *Money and Banking Illustrated by American History*. See also BIMETALLISM; SILVER; GREENBACKISM, etc.

CURTIS, GEORGE WILLIAM, was born in Providence, R. I., February 24, 1824. His father, a business man, desiring him to continue in his footsteps, placed him in an importing house in New York City. A year later, however, the son threw off the restraints of this un-

congenial life, and with his elder brother joined the community at Brook Farm, Mass., being the youngest member of that distinguished company. Mr. Curtis remained four years at Brook Farm, going thence with his brother to Concord, Mass., where they lived for two years, keeping up the admiring friendship he had formed with Emerson, Hawthorne, and others.

In 1846 Mr. Curtis went to Europe, and during his travels contributed letters to the *New York Tribune*. On his return, in 1851, he became connected editorially with that paper. In 1852 he became one of the editors of *Putnam's Monthly*, and when it passed into the hands of a firm that failed, he paid off the debt, tho it took 16 years. In 1853 he began a career as a lyceum lecturer, and soon became one of the most popular speakers of the day. The ele-

gance and dignity of his manner, the melody and sympathetic quality of his voice, the grace and easy flow of his language, made him a general favorite. In 1856 he was married to Anna Shaw, daughter of Francis George Shaw, the philanthropist. In 1857 he became permanently associated with the Harpers, as editor of the "Easy Chair," the remarkable series of papers which he had commenced in 1853. The previous year he had become chief editorial writer for *Harper's Weekly*, a position he held till his death.

In 1860 Mr. Curtis was a delegate to the convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, and in *Harper's Weekly* and on the platform he enthusiastically advocated the cause of the Union and emancipation.

In 1864 he was again delegate to the National Republican Convention, and was candidate for Congress in the First New York District, but was defeated. In 1867 he was delegate to the convention for revising the Constitution of New York State. In 1868 he was a Presidential elector on the Republican ticket. We now come to his great work for civil service reform, when,

in 1871, General Grant appointed him one of the commissioners to draw up rules to regulate the civil service. Yet in 1876 Mr. Curtis opposed the renomination of President Grant for a third term. In that year a civil service league had been formed in New York State, and in 1880 it was revived, and Mr. Curtis became its president. This was superseded a year later by the National Civil Service Reform League, which was essentially of his organization. In the same year Mr. Curtis supported General Garfield's candidacy for President, being again a delegate to the National Republican Convention, and in 1884 he again held a seat in that body, working earnestly against the nomination of Mr. Blaine. In 1890 he became Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, of which he had been a regent since 1864. He died at his home on Staten Island, August 31, 1892. His best-known works are: *Nile Notes of a How-adjji* (1851); *Lotus Eating* (1852); *Potiphar Papers* (1853); *Trumps* (1862); *Eulogy on Wendell Phillips* (1865); *Motley's Correspondence* (1890); *From the Easy Chair* (1892).

D.

DANGEROUS TRADES.—The study of dangerous or unhealthy trades and occupations has been carried to a much further extent in England than in this country. Particularly does Dr. Arlidge's exhaustive work on *The Diseases Incident to Various Occupations*, published in 1892, give us the fullest information. From a study of this great work and similar sources in a tract on *Dangerous Trades*, published by the Humanitarian League of England, we abridge the following account:

"In the white-lead trade, pre-eminent for its fatal effects upon the workers, dust is a constant factor in their lives, and they are continually exposed to the influence of the deadly 'saturnine' poisoning. That lead is highly poisonous is no new discovery. Its effects were well known to the ancients. Yet in this trade the roughest and most dangerous part of the work is done by women, as it needs less muscular strength than work which is far less perilous.

"This will readily be understood by a glance at the process of white-lead making; the deadly white carbonate being manufactured from the ordinary blue lead.

"It is mostly women of the very poorest and roughest class who offer themselves to work in the white-lead factory. The widow who has a family to support, the wife of a drunken husband, the girl whose character will not bear scrutiny"—these are the applicants for employment.

"Here, after a varying degree of exposure, she becomes anæmic. It may be that her gums show a very faint blue line, or perchance her teeth and gums are perfectly sound, and no blue line is discernible. Coincidentally with the anæmia she has been getting thinner, but so gradually as scarcely to impress itself upon her or her friends. Sickness, however, ensues, and headaches, growing in intensity, are developed. These are frequently attended by obscuration of vision or temporary blindness. Such a girl passes into what appears to her friends and medical adviser as ordinary hysteria. This gradually deepens without warning, until she is suddenly seized with a convulsion, beginning in one half of the face, then involving the arm, next the leg of the same side of the body, until the convulsion, violent and purely epileptic in its character, becomes universal. This is attended by loss of consciousness, out of which she passes into a series of convulsions, gradually increasing in severity, in one of

which she dies; or consciousness, partial or perfect, is regained, either, it may be, for a few minutes, a few hours, or days, during which violent headache is complained of, or she is delirious and excited, as in acute mania, or dull and sullen, as in melancholia, and requires to be roused, when she is found wandering, and her speech is somewhat imperfect. Without further warning, save that the pulse, which had become soft, with nearly the normal number of beats, all at once becomes low and hard, she is suddenly seized with another convulsion, in which she dies, or passes into a state of coma from which she never rallies. In another case the convulsions will gradually subside, the headache disappears and the patient recovers, only to find that she has completely lost her eyesight—a loss that may be temporary or permanent."

Yet tho the trade is so dangerous, governments have declined to interfere.

Says Mr. Vaughan Nash: * "The children of the white-lead worker enter the world, as a rule, only to die from the convulsions of lead-poisoning; they are either born prematurely, or die within the first year. These facts have been brought before the country from time to time. Professor Oliver has appealed to the British Association to do something on behalf of these unfortunate people; but the Home Office still continues its inadequate precautions, and its inspection of the lead-poisoned. What, we may ask, is the good of scheduling a trade as dangerous, and drawing up special rules, if this sort of thing is to be the outcome of it? . . . The duty of drying up such poison springs as these carbonate of lead works, the evil effects of which are only begun when the fatal white powder sets off on its journey to the potteries, the house painter, and the artist, seems too clear to be disputed. Various substitutes are in the market, and the Home Office should at once undertake an investigation into their merits with a view to enforcing a safe process."

Of the phosphorus trade we are told:

"Probably but few people are aware of the conditions under which this industry is carried on, or realize that in their endeavors to save an occasional penny they are dooming numbers of their fellow-creatures to agonizing sufferings and to death by slow torture; still less do they realize the urgency of this question. The peril is steadily growing, for the sale of phosphorus matches is increasing, and that of the Swedish safety matches proportionately diminishing. The cheapest

**Phosphorus
Trade.**

kind of matches (those bought by the very poor for one penny per dozen boxes) are tipped with the common white phosphorus, a substance which is prepared from powdered bone ash by mixing it with sulphuric acid.

"This dangerous substance, even when kept under water, gives off deadly fumes, and nothing can protect the workers who handle it, and those who work in the room with it, from their influence.

"The women who use it begin after a time to suffer from toothache. They think lightly of it, perhaps have some decayed teeth extracted, and go on with their work. The pain, however, continues and increases—first the jaw and then the whole face swells up, and the sight on this side of the face is often affected.

"The pain is agonizing. I have heard it described by a sufferer as a 'gnawing and tearing' pain; it is, in fact, the pain of cancer. The jaw gradually becomes green, then black, and it begins to discharge; and now the odor of the wound becomes offensive to those who share a room with the sufferer.

"Death ensues after much suffering, and both before and after death the jaw is seen, if examined in a dark room, to be alight and phosphorescent."

Of other trades the same source says :

"If we look for a moment at one of the largest and oldest established trades, one of the most necessary to the existence of a civilized community—the linen trade—we find bronchitis, pneumonia, severe rheumatism, much more than usually prevalent, in consequence of the frequent wet feet and wet clothes of the workers engaged in deal-

Other Trades.

ing with the flax, which has to be left to soak in stagnant water.

"In the preparing and carding departments, however, the mischief is even more serious, for there the dust which is inhaled is so fine and of such an irritating character that, according to Dr. Arlidge, in the vast majority of instances it produces lung disease; so that a woman who starts carding at 17 or 18 usually begins to break up at 30.

"The chemical laborers—such, for instance, as are employed in the works of the United Alkali Company, and who are picked from the very strongest and most splendidly built men to be found—do not live as a rule to be 48.

"Glass-blowers, who are exposed to more than tropical heat, when still under 40 years of age are pale and thin, prematurely old and worn out, and suffer from headache and giddiness, great prostration, and occasional blindness.

"It is amply proved that 'only by a compulsory reduction of hours can adequate relief be obtained for the chemical workers.' Plumbers and painters suffer from a high death-rate, which is mainly determined by their liability to lead-poisoning. And we know that printers, tailors, shop assistants, bakers, and bookbinders often work in so close and vitiated an atmosphere that their health is impaired and their lives are shortened.

"Another dangerous industry is the trade of fur-cape-making, which is carried on by women in private workshops. The characteristics of this trade are the existence of an offensive smell, prejudicial to health, arising from the skin of the animals used in trade, and also the constant presence in the atmosphere of an irritating stuff, which invades the nostrils and air-passages and hinders respiration.

"Again, artificial-flower-makers suffer much from the strain upon their organs of sight caused by the making of white flowers at night by gaslight. Chronic inflamed eyelids are common with them, as a consequence of using the dry colored dust which surrounds them while they work. And the life is so trying that before they reach the age of 40 they are prematurely old and worn out.

"Again, in the china trade, the dust is extremely injurious to the health of the china scourers and towers. This dust consists of extremely minute particles of flint, the jagged edges of which injure the lungs. The towers, whose business it is to put a fine surface on the revolving plate by means of sandpaper, are exposed to the constant play of the clay dust. 'It is rare to find a woman who has worked for any time either as a tower or china scourer who is free from respiratory troubles.' The scourers, who are always women, and the rougher, more ignorant and reckless of their sex, have to brush and beat off the dust from the chinaware after its removal from the saggars. Statistics tell us that the percentage of deaths in phthisis and respiratory diseases among all classes of

male workers in the potteries is three times as great as among all other adult male workers.

"Speaking of the potter's trade, Dr. Arlidge writes (p. 177) thus: 'All who deal with the clay suffer more or less. Potter's dust does not kill suddenly, but settles, year after year, a little more firmly into the lungs, until at length a case of plaster is formed. Breathing becomes more and more difficult and depressed, and finally ceases.'"

For conditions in still other trades we turn to an account prepared by Mr. Vaughan Nash, and published in the *Cooperative Wholesale Annual* for 1893. Of the Sheffield cutlery trade, he says :

"Every one is proud of Sheffield, and its manufacturers boast that wherever the British flag flies there is Sheffield trade; and when it flies for war, Sheffield steel is not far off. It has a school of protection of its own for Sheffield goods, so keen is the pride it takes in its cutlery. But what a life the Sheffield workman lives who earns his bread at the grindstone! Here is what the medical officer for Sheffield says about the place where these men live and work :

"Houses of the poorest description, with damp walls and cellars, in many instances standing several inches deep in water, contaminated with sewage and giving out foul gases into the rooms above; courts confined and occupied by large, sodden privy-middens so near to the dwellings that ventilation becomes impossible and absolutely dangerous; sink pipes discharging in the channels, usually defective, and allowing the slops to form stagnating pools before reaching the gullies which are situated often 50 yards away; or, what is worse, permitting of percolation into the soil of the yard. All these conditions exist in many parts of the district, and no doubt are largely accountable for the high death-rate. At present almost every available foot of ground is occupied, if not by houses by privies, stables, or outhouses; the air is stagnant and the ground polluted with sewage and decomposing matter."

"Hundreds of these wretched jerry-built slum houses have been turned into workshops in which the grinders and cutlers stoop over their wheels. Somewhere in the court a gas engine is working, and a network of bands are connected with the wheels which whiz around in every dark hole and corner that they can be squeezed into. You go up rickety ladders into lofts where the boards are worn and covered with an ancient grime of steel and stone particles of file dust and filth. Here you will find women finishing off the men's work. Very likely the water comes through the roof when it rains and lays the dust. The grinders and cutlers rent these places. They enjoy the privilege of freedom, which, in this case, is one of the strangest and most ghastly privileges men could claim. They have their own wheels and their own tools. They pay so much rent for the place, so much rent for the gas, and so much rent for the power; meanwhile, the manufacturer, so called, sits in his warehouse or office giving out steel in the rough, first to the forger, who passes it to the grinder, and so on to the polisher and finisher until the round is completed and the finished stuff comes back into the other door 'warranted best Sheffield cutlery.' The trade is a highly skilled one, and the work is extremely hard. The wages run from 16s. for light grinders, to 25s. for heavy grinders. The wages of Sheffield are literally death. The lungs of the cutler and grinder get charged in the course of time with the metallic particles given off during their work, and they contract that form of phthisis locally known as 'grinder's rot.' These particles, owing to their mineral constitution and sharp jagged outline, are peculiarly harmful, and at last the lungs can stand it no longer and cease work.

Cutlery Trade.

1888.

Grinders died from all causes	99
Grinders died from phthisis and respiratory diseases	58
Cutlers died from all causes	156
Cutlers died from phthisis and respiratory diseases	73

1889.

Grinders died from all causes	101
Grinders died from phthisis and respiratory diseases	64
Cutlers died from all causes	130
Cutlers died from phthisis and respiratory diseases	59

	1890.	
Grinders died from all causes.....		131
Grinders died from phthisis and respiratory dis-		
eases.....		92
Cutlers died from all causes.....		171
Cutlers died from phthisis and respiratory dis-		
eases.....		98
	1891.	
Grinders died from all causes.....		121
Grinders died from phthisis and respiratory dis-		
eases.....		87
Cutlers died from all causes.....		147
Cutlers died from phthisis and respiratory dis-		
eases.....		77

"If the 131 grinders who died in the year 1890 had shown the average health conditions of the country, not 92 but 27 ought to have died from phthisis and respiratory diseases. The figures show how terribly large is the proportion of these diseases to the total number of deaths, and yet Dr. Littlejohn, the Medical Officer of Health, asserts that they fall far short of the actual facts, as many workmen at the cutlery trade when their health begins to fail go into some lighter occupation, under which their deaths are registered."

Of another trade he says :

"In the alkali works we come across an entirely different class of labor. With the exception of the men employed in the construction of public works, there is probably no finer set of workmen to be found in the country than those in the employment of the great corporation known as the United Alkali Company. This company has acquired nearly all the chemical works in the country, and it employs something like 20,000 men.

Alkali Works.

The conditions under which these men work have been so fully brought before the public of late in the press and before the labor commission, that it is unnecessary to deal with their case at length. A distinctive feature about the trade is that it wears out the workmen prematurely because of the intensity of the toil, the alternations of heat and chill, and most of all the exposure to noxious vapors. The traveler who passes through Widnes, even in an express train, draws up the window to keep out the choking sulphurous fumes. These centers of the chemical industry are in truth 'hell-holes' for those who have to live and work in them. Taking one week with another, most of the men do their 12 hours a day in the works, and taking one man with another, their life is over by the time they are 47.* The gases and vapors which do the mischief bring on bronchitis, and in the winter-time the hospitals and workhouses are full of patients from the chemical works. The men who work on what is called 'salt-cake' have their teeth rotted away in the course of time by the hydrochloric acid gas; others suffer from contact with vitriol; others again do their work in air which is filled with stinging caustic; the men in the 'lime-house' constantly get burned by the action of the perspiration of the lime particles which settle on their bodies; and worst of all, bleaching-powder men suffer daily semi-suffocation and bodily torture of a dreadful kind in the chlorine chambers, which they enter with their mouths swathed with a huge protuberance of flannel. Nothing could be more barbarous and crude than the labor conditions in these works."

In the United States the reports of the New Jersey Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1889, 1890, and 1891 are almost the only adequate study of dangerous trades. These reports study the pottery, hat-making, and glass-blowing trades. Of the pot-makers, the investigator says he has seen the decay of three generations within 40 years. Among the hatters, out of 240 sizers or makers, 76 had catarrh, 44 rheumatism, 41 coughs, 17 had had and 13 then had "the shakes," 12 constantly caught cold, 7 were dyspeptics. The workmen paid little attention to the conditions under which they worked; 200 of

the number used tobacco or stimulants in some form.

In the United States one of the most dangerous trades is work upon railways, particularly the work of brakemen, in coupling and uncoupling cars not provided with modern couplings, and on walking on freight cars without proper defenses. During the year ending June, 1892, there were 2554 employees killed and 28,268 injured, which is 1 for every 29 employed. Of trainmen, 1 man was killed for every 113 employed, and 1 was injured for every 10 employed (*Interstate Commerce Commission Report*, 1892, pp. 68, 73, 78).

For statistics as to mortality in different trades and the difference between the death-rates of the working class communities and wealthy communities, see DEATH-RATES. For the dangers of machinery to the life and limb of children, see CHILD LABOR, section "United States."

References: Dr. Arlidge's *The Diseases of Occupations* (1892); *New Jersey Labor Reports* (1889-91). (See also DEATH-RATES and CHILD LABOR.)

DANTE AND SOCIAL REFORM (1265-1321).—The great Italian poet we consider here simply in his influence on the social movement of his day. But this was not small. As is well known, he took an eager part in public affairs. Altho of a family traditionally Guelph, he was a Ghibelline, favoring the Empire against the Church, and therefore, for what he believed to be the deepest good of Florence and Italy, opposing the popular party. It was as a result of the strife and intrigues arising out of this controversy that he was expelled from Florence, and given the bitter, sad, noble life out of which has come his great, mystic, and unfathomable song. His one great work on social themes is his *De Monarchia*, written in Latin in rigid dialectical method, perhaps about 1302, tho more probably later. In any case, it represents his mature Ghibelline views. He asks three great questions concerning the Roman Empire (*De Monarchia*, I., II.): 1. Whether it was necessary for the welfare of the world. 2. Whether the Roman people took to itself by right the office of monarchy or empire. 3. Whether the authority of monarchy comes from God directly or only from some other minister or vicar of God. He believes that the authority of the empire came from God direct; he advocates the theory which became the ruling thought of the Middle Ages, and which has affected all European history—that the empire and the Church are two parallel coordinate powers, both divine, both owing respect, but neither owing obedience, to the other. It is this ideal that is revived in the German ideal advocated by Bismarck—*e. g.*, of the Christian State. (See GERMANY.)

DANTON, GEORGE JACQUES, was born in France at Arcis-sur-Aube, in 1759. Of a respectable family, he received a good education and entered the practice of the law in Paris. Of radical views, he was one of the leaders of the club of the Cordeliers, which was from the first the center of the extreme popular party in the French Revolution. Danton became prominent in the Revolution in 1792. He is credited with instigating the rising of the bloody insur-

* I make this statement on the authority of the medical officer of health for St. Helen's, who has kindly supplied me with the figures.

rection of August 10 of that year, which began the Reign of Terror. The next day he was raised to the post of Minister of Justice. On September 2, when Paris was in a panic, Danton made a bold, powerful speech in the Assembly, closing with the words, "Dare, dare again, and forever dare." That evening several hundred prisoners were massacred in the prisons. His admirers claim that Danton adopted this attitude because he believed that a little audacity on the part of the people then would really in the end most preserve life as well as liberty. As a member of the convention he joined the Mountain, as the extremists were called, and voted for the death of the king. He was prominent in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal; was a member of the Committee of Public Safety; aided in overthrowing the Girondists (*q.v.*); but was not a member of the new Committee of Public Safety, being unable to approve their excesses. He could not, however, prevent them, and fell into a sort of apathy till at last Robespierre moved against Danton. He was brought before the Tribunal, sentenced and guillotined April 5, 1794.

Reference: Gronlund's *Ca Ira, or Danton in the French Revolution*, gives the favorable view of Danton. (See also FRENCH REVOLUTION.)

DARKEST ENGLAND SCHEME. See SALVATION ARMY.

DARWINISM. See EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM.

DAVITT, MICHAEL, was born of poor Irish peasants, in 1846, in the village of Straide, Mayo County. When five years old he saw his parents evicted from their home. The family emigrating to Lancashire, he was employed in a cotton mill, and at the age of 11 lost his right arm through a machinery accident. He then attended school at Harlingden until 15, when he obtained work in a printing-office, remaining seven years. He joined the Irish movement in 1866, and was arrested on charge of treason in 1870, and sentenced to 15 years of penal servitude. After seven and a half years he was released on ticket of leave. After a tour of the west of Ireland and a visit to America, he returned to his native country. In 1879 he started the land agitation, and in conjunction with Mr. Parnell and others founded the Land League; and because of his connection with this movement has endured nine years' imprisonment. His third arrest was in November, 1879, when a week's imprisonment followed. He was again arrested February 3, 1881, on revocation of his ticket of leave, but after 15 months was again released on ticket of leave, and was accorded a reception by Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders. In February, 1883, he was once more arrested for a speech against rent and landlordism, and was incarcerated four months. While in prison in Portland in 1882 he was elected M. P. for Meath, but was disqualified by vote of the House of Commons. He also wrote, while in prison at Portland, *Leaves from a Prison Diary*, publishing it in December, 1884.

In 1880 he superintended the organization of the American branch of the Land League, mak-

ing a tour from New York to San Francisco and back. He had the chief direction of the Land League funds during the famine of 1879-80. He is a constant contributor to American and colonial newspapers, and Irish and English reviews and journals. He has pronounced views on land nationalization, and has not only written in its advocacy, but has made many speeches in its favor. He is almost the only one of the Irish leaders who does thus advocate industrial as well as political reforms. In 1890 Mr. Davitt, siding with Mr. Gladstone, demanded the retirement of Mr. Parnell (*q.v.*) because of his proven immorality, Mr. Davitt believing that this was the only way to save the Home Rule cause. The conflict in the Irish Party and in Ireland became bitter, but Mr. Davitt found a large following, and in 1892 was returned to the House of Commons as member for North Meath. In the late election (1895) he was again returned.

DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTIONS.—The first public institution for the deaf was opened in London, England, in 1792, tho in 1760 Abbé de l'Épée, in Paris, and Thomas Braidwood, in Edinburgh, had gotten together classes of the deaf and dumb. The first institution of the kind in America was opened at Hartford, Conn., in 1817, owing to the efforts of Dr. Gallaudet. To-day there are in the United States 49 public boarding-schools for the deaf, 12 public day-schools, and 19 private schools, with 757 instructors and 9104 pupils. In England and Wales in 1881 there were 2713 deaf-mute children at school, with 22 public institutions and many private ones. Germany had 90 schools; France, 60; Italy, 55; Europe and America over 300. The aim of these schools is to teach sign language, finger speech, writing, oral speech, general education, and useful arts. Their success has been among the marvels of science and humanity.

DEATH PENALTY.—The infliction of the death penalty has existed among all peoples and in all times. Only recently has there been any serious agitation for its abandonment. In the earliest times and through the Middle Ages it was often accompanied with the most terrible tortures that the mind of man could conceive. Death on the wheel, by quartering, by flaying alive, by burning, by crucifixion, by immersion in boiling oil, by disemboweling—these were but a few of the simpler methods. The death penalty was in former times inflicted for all manner of crimes. It was once the ordinary punishment for all felonies; in England it was the certain doom of all who could not avail themselves of benefit of clergy—*i.e.*, it was inflicted on all who could not write. Moreover, numerous acts of Parliament created felonies without benefit of clergy. Things grew worse rather than better. Llorente estimates the number that were buried alive under the Inquisition alone at 31,912. Rowe divides this by 10. Protestant England has her shame. Blackstone mentions 160 offenses as punishable by death. Four fifths of these had been added during the reign of the first three Georges. Among these offenses were stealing in dwelling-houses to the amount of 40s.; stealing in a shop to the value of 5s.,

counterfeiting stamps used in the sale of hair powder and perfumery. In the latter part of the reign of George III., due to the efforts of Sir Samuel Romilly, much of this was abolished. Yet has capital punishment been defended in all times and by the greatest philosophers. The Mosaic and the Germanic law allowed retaliation—a life for a life. Plato argued only for its limitation to incorrigible culprits, to whom life was not the most advantageous state, and whose death would serve the public good. Grotius treats the question from a religious point of view, basing his argument on the laws of Moses. Montesquieu defends it as a sort of retaliation by society, based on the nature of things. Rousseau, following Hobbes, defends it on the ground that the criminal is a rebel to the social contract. Kant says that in the social contract man consents to the penal law, and so can be put to death. Beccaria (*q.v.*), in his *Essay on Crimes and Punishments* (1775), was the first to argue for its total disuse. He did so on the ground that society had no right to take away life, since it did not give life, and that it was not the punishment most deterrent to crime. Bentham argued that it was the most deterrent. Romilly argued that if it is not the supreme penalty, and society has the right to inflict worse penalty, it surely has that right. The main arguments for capital punishment have been based on the absolute justice of demanding life for life, on Scripture warrants, and, above all, on the asserted teaching of experience that the death penalty is actually the most deterrent punishment, and therefore the most effective. Men have striven to show that where the death penalty has been abolished murder has decreased. This, on the other hand, is strenuously denied; and the argument against the death penalty is based on the denial of the right of the State to take life, on Christian charity, and, above all, on the claim that it works evil, brutalizes the community, making it think life cheap, even adding a horrible fascination to murder, and delivering juries from convicting murderers, etc.

In the United States the death penalty may be given in most States for treason, murder, arson, rape, piracy, robbery of the mails with jeopardy to life, rescue of a convict going to execution, burning a vessel of war, and corruptly destroying a private vessel. It has been abolished in Michigan (1846), Wisconsin (1852), Rhode Island (1852), Iowa (1877), Maine (1887), and New York; but has been restored in Iowa and New York. In 1888 the latter State substituted death by electricity for hanging.

In Europe it seems going out of use. In Holland there have been no executions since 1860, and the penalty was abolished in 1870. In Roumania it was abolished in 1864; Portugal has done the same. Switzerland did so in 1874, but murders increasing, in 1879 the cantons re-established it where the canton so votes. It remains abolished in 15 cantons. From 1870-79, of 805 persons sentenced to death in Austria, only 16 were executed; in Sweden, only 3 out of 32; in Norway, 3 out of 14; in Denmark, 1 out of 94; in Bavaria, out of 249 committed for murder, only 7 were executed. In North Ger-

many, from 1869-78, 1301 were convicted of homicide, 484 sentenced, but only 1 executed—Hödel, who attempted the assassination of the Emperor. The death penalty for political crimes is all but universally abolished. The French Revolution of 1830 declared for this, and it was abolished in France by the Constitution of November 4, 1848, and the law of June 8, 1850. In Russia it has been retained only for treason and military insubordination. For the principles involved, see PENOLOGY.

References: A. J. Palm's *The Death Penalty (Questions of the Day Series, 1891)*; Basil Montagu's *On the Punishment of Death (1809-13)*; *Memoirs of Sir S. Romilly (1840)*; Jeremy Bentham's *Rationale of Punishment (1830)*; Report of Select Committee on Capital Punishment, New York State Assembly (1851); Beccaria's *Essays on Crimes and Punishments (1775)*.

DEATH-RATE.—For the subject of death-rate and of birth-rate compared together, see the article BIRTH AND DEATH-RATES, prepared for this cyclopedia by Dr. S. W. Abbott, of the Massachusetts State Board of Health. We give in this article some supplementary information gathered from various sources. The report of the Registrar-General of England for 1893 gives the following table of the death-rate of different countries per 1000 of the population (excluding the still-born):

	AVERAGE, 1871-90.		1893.	
	1891.	1892.		
Hungary (15 years)....	33.7	33.1	35.0	31.1
Austria.....	30.6	27.9	28.8	....
Italy.....	28.6	26.2	26.3	25.3
Germany (19 years)....	26.0	23.4	24.1	24.6
Prussia.....	25.6	22.9	23.4	24.2
France.....	22.8	22.6	22.6	....
Holland.....	22.6	20.7	21.0	19.7
Switzerland.....	22.1	20.8	19.3	20.5
Belgium.....	21.4	21.0	21.8	20.3
Scotland.....	20.4	20.7	18.5	19.4
England and Wales....	20.3	20.2	19.0	19.2
United Kingdom.....	19.6	20.0	19.0	19.1
Denmark.....	19.0	20.0	19.4	18.9
Ireland.....	18.0	18.4	19.4	17.9
Sweden.....	17.6	16.8	17.9	....
Norway.....	16.9	17.5	17.8	16.4

Concerning the death-rate of the United States, Professor Mayo-Smith (*Statistics and Sociology*, pp. 148, 133.) says:

"The death-rate in the United States is very difficult to estimate, owing to the absence in most of the States on any adequate registration. The total number of deaths reported as having occurred in 1890 was 875,521, giving a death-rate of only 13.98 per 1000. In some States and cities the registration returns were used, and there we have a death-rate of 20.27 per 1000; while in those States where the returns of the enumerators of the Eleventh Census were alone used, the death-rate was only 10.79 per 1000. Estimating the returns as deficient by 30 per cent., we have a death-rate for the whole country of about 18 per 1000. . . .

"The census of 1890 gives a death-rate of

17 for native-born whites of native parentage ; 24.42 for native-born whites of foreign parents ; 19.85 for foreign-born whites ; and 19.57 for the colored. The excessive rate among the native-born whites of foreign parentage is due to the large number of children in that class. The death-rate of the colored is a trifle less than that of all the whites ; but in the cities the death-rate of the colored is 34.52, while that of the whites is 23.22.

" Jews show everywhere a small death-rate. Thus in Bavaria in 1876 the death-rate for Prot-

estants was 25.5 ; for Catholics, 32.2 ; for Jews, 18.8 ; average for the whole country, 30.3. The low rate for Jews is due partly to their lower birth-rate. In Prussia it was shown that while they were 13.25 per mille of the population, they were only 7.28 per mille of those dying over the average of 15. This shows the preponderance of the Jews in the upper age class."

The mortality in various American States and cities can be seen by the following table of deaths in the census year 1889-90, based on the returns prepared for the *World Almanac*, 1892 (p. 167), by the Census Office :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total Deaths.	WHITE.*		Colored.	UNDER FIVE YEARS OF AGE.	
		Native Born.	Foreign Born.		White.	Colored.
Alabama	20,898	9,215	320	10,591	3,880	3,847
Arizona	573	301	169	30	130	3
Arkansas	14,391	10,089	274	3,627	3,874	1,168
California	17,703	10,605	5,286	1,281	4,234	119
Colorado	5,453	3,929	921	86	1,875	32
Connecticut	14,479	10,733	3,182	309	4,188	106
Delaware	3,197	2,066	241	695	805	282
District of Columbia	5,955	2,512	522	2,893	1,054	1,437
Florida	4,145	2,108	176	1,866	726	642
Georgia	21,774	9,356	269	10,971	3,667	4,321
Idaho	711	522	105	34	246	2
Illinois	53,123	39,336	11,650	1,031	20,795	340
Indiana	24,180	20,505	2,185	862	7,317	208
Iowa	17,521	13,381	3,221	162	5,187	54
Kansas	12,018	9,593	1,321	701	4,278	248
Kentucky	23,877	17,446	1,177	4,479	6,789	1,572
Louisiana	16,354	6,953	1,494	7,716	3,094	2,592
Maine	10,044	8,590	1,164	34	1,835	8
Maryland	18,000	11,279	2,012	4,421	5,346	1,998
Massachusetts	45,112	32,747	11,327	630	15,109	237
Michigan	25,016	18,117	5,746	412	8,267	127
Minnesota	15,488	10,389	4,775	98	6,375	35
Mississippi	14,899	5,834	177	8,560	2,095	2,806
Missouri	32,435	24,499	4,005	2,794	11,390	1,105
Montana	1,012	625	272	26	258	6
Nebraska	8,445	6,591	1,451	91	3,570	33
Nevada	434	217	181	20	69	3
New Hampshire	7,974	5,704	849	17	1,809	3
New Jersey	30,344	22,227	6,330	1,344	11,829	642
New Mexico	2,522	2,234	167	29	1,014	4
New York	123,117	85,592	33,148	1,903	43,580	715
North Carolina	18,420	10,886	69	7,234	4,021	2,680
North Dakota	1,716	1,067	593	4	763	1
Ohio	49,844	38,494	8,151	2,000	15,395	655
Oklahoma	352	302	15	20	133	6
Oregon	2,575	1,959	386	38	636	5
Pennsylvania	73,530	56,401	12,648	2,383	24,824	932
Rhode Island	7,559	5,344	1,939	24	2,627	73
South Carolina	15,495	4,730	178	10,448	1,767	3,786
South Dakota	2,705	1,869	733	11	1,001	3
Tennessee	23,854	15,229	428	7,573	5,363	2,754
Texas	26,478	18,096	1,841	5,190	7,942	1,938
Utah	2,118	1,488	11	11	837	2
Vermont	5,125	4,556	575	13	1,154	3
Virginia	23,232	11,600	400	10,819	3,937	3,999
Washington	2,095	1,750	512	65	834	14
West Virginia	8,275	7,223	328	519	2,724	178
Wisconsin	18,662	11,508	6,493	101	6,014	24
Wyoming	414	258	95	7	127	...
Totals	1872,044	596,055	140,075	114,313	264,784	41,911

The death-rate of each State and of each portion of the community can be ascertained by comparing the number of deaths with the population. (See POPULATION.) But before compar-

isons are made, see the caution suggested on page 469 ; see also STATISTICS. For the causes of death in the United States, see the next page.

* Including birthplace unknown ; total number, 22,501.
 † Exclusive of Indians on reservations.

DEATHS IN TWENTY-FIVE PRINCIPAL CITIES IN THE CENSUS YEAR 1889-90.

CITIES.	Total Deaths.	WHITE.		Colored.	Rate.*	CITIES.	Total Deaths.	WHITE.		Colored.	Rate.*
		Native Born.	Foreign Born.					Native Born.	Foreign Born.		
New York, N. Y.	43,378	27,141	14,747	962	28.6	Washington, D. C. ...	5,955	2,512	522	2,893	25.8
Chicago, Ill.	23,162	15,923	6,567	346	21.1	Detroit, Mich.	4,203	2,871	1,135	81	20.4
Philadelphia, Pa.	23,738	16,837	5,360	1,309	22.6	Milwaukee, Wis.	3,942	2,576	1,286	12	19.3
Brooklyn, N. Y.	20,593	14,146	5,999	383	25.5	Newark, N. J.	5,280	3,737	1,316	190	29.2
St. Louis, Mo.	8,645	50,300	2,356	935	19.1	Minneapolis, Minn. .	2,440	1,765	598	26	14.8
Boston, Mass.	11,117	7,299	3,462	286	24.8	Jersey City, N. J. ...	4,484	3,117	1,264	66	...
Baltimore, Md.	10,752	6,616	1,609	2,450	24.7	Louisville, Ky.	3,514	1,962	606	917	...
San Francisco, Cal. .	7,060	3,677	2,573	681	23.6	Omaha, Neb.	1,397	1,002	269	44	...
Cincinnati, O.	6,640	4,437	1,807	386	22.3	Rochester, N. Y.	2,323	1,526	715	4	...
Cleveland, O.	5,736	4,140	1,444	96	21.9	St. Paul, Minn.	2,240	1,641	526	36	16.7
Buffalo, N. Y.	5,087	3,502	1,593	40	19.9	Kansas City, Mo.	2,553	1,643	323	469	...
New Orleans, La.	6,875	3,198	1,294	2,367	28.4	Providence, R. I.	2,955	2,032	778	141	...
Pittsburg, Pa.	5,206	3,549	1,376	232	...						

* According to Census Bulletin on Statistics of Cities.

Professor Mayo-Smith quotes from News-holme's *Vital Statistics*, p. 143, the death-rate in 1887 for all England and Wales as 19.1, but for 28 large towns, 20.8, while for Manchester it was 28.7; Preston, 27.9; Newcastle, 25.3; Brighton, 16.9; Derby, 17.1; Nottingham, 18.7; London, 19.6; Glasgow, 24.7.

For Germany, he quotes the *Allgemeine Statistische Archiv*, 1890, p. 164, with a death-rate in 1880-85 for all the empire of 27.2, with a high rate from 31.6 to 33.2 for such cities as Munich, Königsberg, and Breslau, while in Frankfurt it was only 19.7; Hanover, 21.9; Bremen, 21.8; Stuttgart, 23.5; Leipsic, 24.1; Berlin, 27.8. Mr. A. R. Conkling, however, in *City Government in the United States*, says that Berlin has reduced her death-rate to about 20. Mulhall puts the death-rate of Paris at 28.6.

In regard to infant mortality, the *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, No. 44, p. 71, gives the following table (as quoted by Professor Mayo-Smith) of the proportion who die in the first year out of each 100 born living :

In Bavaria.....	30.6	In France.....	16.6
European Russia..	29.6	Great Britain.....	14.5
West Austria.....	25.6	Denmark.....	13.8
Italy.....	21.4	Sweden.....	13.0
Prussia.....	21.2	Norway.....	10.4
Holland.....	20.3	Ireland.....	9.7

Concerning the causes of death, the *World Almanac* gives the following tables, based upon the Eleventh Census for the United States, and upon Mulhall for European countries :

CAUSES OF DEATHS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE CENSUS YEAR 1889-90.

Scarlet fever	5,969
Measles.....	9,256
Whooping-cough.....	8,432
Diphtheria and croup	41,677
Enteric fever.....	27,058
Malarial fever.....	18,594
Diarrhoeal fever.....	74,711
Cancer and tumor.....	20,984
Consumption.....	102,199
Pneumonia.....	76,496
Child-birth and puerperal diseases.....	11,237

CAUSES OF DEATHS IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. APPROXIMATE RATIOS OF VARIOUS DISEASES IN 10,000 DEATHS.

DISEASES.	Eng-land.	France.	Ger-many.	Russia.	Italy.	Switzer-land.	Bel-gium.	Nether-lands.	Scandi-navia.
Apoplexy.....	270	400	390	210	360	370	310	280	350
Bronchitis.....	1,150	310	400	1,500	30	600	480	220	620
Cancer.....	235	.....	260	150	160	300	140	180	330
Consumption.....	1,100	1,120	1,270	1,960	900	1,110	1,820	950	1,020
Diphtheria.....	55	360	270	210	360	304	280	130	230
Erysipelas.....	36	48	35	.....	50	.....	40	.....	.....
Heart disease.....	620	290	230	200	580	385	190	180	220
Measles.....	184	180	100	80	95	40	165	150	.....
Pneumonia.....	510	720	400	1,150	540	600	450	570	710
Puerperal fever.....	49	100	.....	70	.....	50	.....	50	100
Rheumatism.....	41	35	25	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	40
Scarlet fever.....	462	20	160	90	10	146	140	40	360
Scrofula.....	62	130	.....	180	30	.....	99	140	70
Small-pox.....	130	80	8	40	.....	.....	150	100	120
Typhoid fever.....	210	720	450	480	240	184	460	460	280
Whooping-cough.....	250	115	.....	.....	50	112	280	180	185

Cancer.—Mental worry, says Dr. Herbert Snow, of the Cancer Hospital, is the chief exciting cause of cancer. In 1888 in England the number of deaths from cancer was 17,506, of which 6284 subjects were males and 11,222 females.

Phthisis or Consumption.—Among 100 people of each trade, the ratios of those suffering from it were : Needle-makers, 70; filemakers, 63; lithographers, 48; tobacconists, 37; watchmakers, 37; stonemasons, 36; glassworkers, 35; hairdressers, 32; weavers, 25; painters, 25; printers, 22; shoemakers, 19; glaziers, 18; hatmakers, 16; carpenters, 14; masons, 13; millers, 11; brewers, 11; tanners, 9; bakers, 7; butchers, 7; charcoal-burners, 2; miners, 1.

Concerning the terrible relation between overcrowded cities, low industrial conditions, and high mortality, we have abundant testimony. Mr. J. A. Hobson (*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 334) gives the following table of the death-rate in town and country districts of England, 1851-90 :*

YEARS.	ANNUAL DEATHS PER 1,000.			Deaths in Town Districts to 100 Deaths in Country in equal Numbers Living.
	England and Wales.	Town.	Country.	
1851-60...	22.2	24.7	19.9	124
1861-70...	22.5	24.8	19.7	126
1871-80...	21.4	23.1	19.0	122
1881.....	18.9	20.1	16.9	110
1882.....	19.6	20.9	17.3	121
1883.....	19.5	20.5	17.9	115
1884.....	19.5	20.6	17.7	117
1885.....	19.0	19.7	17.8	111
1886.....	19.3	20.0	18.0	111
1887.....	18.8	19.7	17.2	115
1888.....	17.8	20.9	17.4	114
1889.....	17.9	19.3	16.4	118
1890.....	.....	20.9	17.4	120

Of this he says: "As matters stand at present, the statistics above quoted do not mark the full extent of the difference of healthfulness in town and country. When allowance is made for age and sex distribution in town and country population, the difference in death-rate appears much greater. For in the towns are found (a) a much larger proportion of females; (b) a larger proportion of adults of both sexes in the prime of life; (c) a much smaller proportion of very aged persons;† hence if conditions of health were equal in town and country, the town death-rate would be lower instead of higher than that of the country. The *Report of the Census of 1881*‡ calls special attention to this point, which is commonly ignored in comparing death-rates of town and country. 'If we take the mean (1871-80) death-rates in England and Wales at each age-period as a standard, the death-rate in an urban population would be 20.40 per 1000, while the death-rate in the rural population would be 22.83. Such would be their respective death-rates on the hypothesis that the urban districts and the rural districts were equally healthy. We know, however, as a matter of fact that urban death-rates, instead of being lower than rural death-rates, are much higher. The difference of healthiness, therefore, between the two is much greater than the difference between their death-rates.'

"The same facts come out in comparing Paris with the rest of France. At each age the death-rate for Paris is higher than for France.

AGE. §	Paris, 1886.	France, 1877-80.
0 to 1 year.....	230 ?	170 ?
1 to 5 years.....	58.2	28
15 to 20 years.....	9.1	6
30 to 40 years.....	13.6	10
60 to 70 years.....	51.2	41

"The English statistics indicate a slight and by no means constant tendency toward a diminution of the difference between town and rural mortality, due, no doubt, to improvements in city sanitation and to some general elevation of the physical environment and standard of living among a large section of the working classes. The same slight tendency is visible in France. During the period 1861-65 the urban death-

rate was 26.1, as compared with 21.5, the rural death-rate; during the period 1878-82 the rates were respectively 24.3 and 20.9."*

The real meaning, however, of the high mortality of towns comes out, not in general statistics, but in definite comparisons between crowded and less crowded quarters, between districts of the poor and districts of the well-to-do. Says Dr. C. R. Drysdale (*Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference*, p. 130):

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to 29 years; and while the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only eight children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real cause of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty."

Death-rates of Rich and Poor.

Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent. of the children of the upper class, 36 per cent. of those of the tradesman class, and 55 per cent. of those of the workmen die before they reach five years of age (quoted at p. 133 of *Dictionary of Statistics*, by Mr. Mulhall, who, however, thinks it "too high an estimate").

The infantile death-rate at Bethnal Green is twice that of Belgravia. Holborn (151,835) and St. George's, Hanover Square (149,748), have almost equal populations; yet in the former 1614, in the latter only 1007 children under five died in 1884 (*Registrar-General's Report*, 1886, pp. 32, 126, C-4722).

Some of this high death-rate is due to trade conditions, but mostly to town conditions. Says Mr. Hobson (*idem*, p. 337):

"The statistics of infant mortality are conclusive upon this point. In comparing the death-rates for town and country, the difference is far wider for children below the industrial age than for adults engaged in industrial work. Mr. Galton has calculated that in a typical industrial town the number of children of artisan townfolk that grow up are little more than half as many as in the case of the children of laboring people in a healthy country district."

A high death-rate is largely, however, the result of poverty in city or town. In Paris, the rich quarters of the Elysée and the Opéra had a death-rate of 13.4 and 16.2 when Ménilmontant, a poor quarter, had a death-rate of 31.3 (Levasseur, *Pop. Française*, vol. ii., p. 403). The comparative mortality in different trades has been tabulated by Newsholme (*Vital Statistics*, pp. 156, 157) in the following way:

(The comparative mortality figure in the last column indicates how many deaths occur out of the same number in the given occupation as in the number of the average population in which 1000 deaths occur. Thus, in the average population, 1000 annual deaths occur per 64,641 males, ages 25 to 65, of whom 41,920 were under and 22,721 were over 45 years of age. The figure for clergymen, 556, represents the mean mortality of the clergy between 25 and 65, as compared with the mortality of all males of similar ages in England and Wales.)

* *Report of Commissioners, etc.*, vol. xxx., p. 65.
 † Newsholme, *Vital Statistics*, p. 137. (Sonnenschein.)
 ‡ Vol. iv., p. 23.
 § Levasseur, vol. ii., p. 402.

* Levasseur, vol. ii., p. 155.

DEATH-RATES OF MALES, 25-65 YEARS OF AGE, IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN 1860-61-1871, AND IN 1880-82, AND THEIR COMPARATIVE MORTALITY FIGURES IN 1880-82.

OCCUPATION.	MEAN ANNUAL DEATH-RATES PER 1,000 LIVING.				COMPARATIVE MORTALITY FIGURE.
	1860-61-1871.		1880-81-82.			1880-82.
	YEARS OF AGE.		YEARS OF AGE.		AGE.
	25-45.	45-65.	25-45.	45-65.	25-65.
All males.....	11.27	23.98	10.16	25.27	1,000
Occupied males.....			9.71	24.63	967
Unoccupied males.....			32.43	36.20	2,182
Males in selected healthy districts.....			8.47	19.74	804
Clergyman, priest, minister.....	5.96	17.31	4.64	15.93	556
Gardener, nurseryman.....	6.74	17.54	5.52	16.19	599
Farmer, grazier.....	7.66	17.32	6.09	16.53	631
Laborer in agricultural counties.....			7.13	17.68	701
Schoolmaster, teacher.....	9.82	23.56	6.41	19.98	719
Grocer.....	9.49	17.05	8.00	19.16	771
Fisherman.....	11.26	15.84	8.32	19.74	797
Carpenter, joiner.....	9.44	21.36	7.77	21.74	820
Bookseller, stationer.....	10.84	21.36	8.53	20.57	825
Barrister, solicitor.....	9.87	22.97	7.54	23.13	842
Draper and Manchester warehouseman.....	14.34	26.33	9.70	20.96	883
Groom, domestic, coachman.....			8.53	23.28	887
Coal-miners (six districts).....			7.64	25.11	891
Plasterer, white washer.....	9.50	27.90	7.79	25.07	896
Watch and clockmaker.....	10.78	24.90	9.26	22.64	903
Tanner, fellmonger.....	10.43	26.57	7.07	25.37	911
Shoemaker.....	10.39	22.30	9.31	23.36	921
Artist, engraver, sculptor, architect.....	11.73	22.91	8.39	25.07	921
Commercial traveler.....	12.28	29.00	9.04	25.03	948
Corn miller.....	9.32	26.65	8.40	26.62	957
Baker, confectioner.....	10.72	26.39	8.70	20.12	958
Builder, mason, bricklayer.....	11.43	27.16	9.25	25.59	969
Blacksmith.....	10.07	23.88	9.29	25.67	973
Commercial clerk, insurance service.....	14.28	28.88	10.48	24.49	990
Tobacconist.....	13.19	21.76	11.14	23.46	1,005
Chemist, druggist.....	13.92	23.56	10.58	25.16	1,015
Tailor.....	12.92	24.79	10.73	26.47	1,071
Printer.....	13.02	29.38	11.12	26.60	1,082
Wool, worsted manufacture (West Riding).....			9.71	27.50	1,088
Cotton, linen manufacture (Lancashire).....			9.99	29.44	1,122
Physician, surgeon, general practitioner.....	13.81	24.55	11.57	28.03	1,122
Law clerk.....	18.75	37.05	10.77	30.79	1,151
Butcher.....	13.19	28.37	12.16	29.08	1,170
Glass manufacturer.....	13.19	29.32	11.21	31.71	1,190
Plumber, painter, glazier.....	12.48	34.66	11.07	32.49	1,202
Cutler, scissors, needle, saw, toolmaker.....	11.88	32.74	11.71	34.42	1,273
Carter, carrier, hauler.....			12.52	33.00	1,275
Bargeman, lighterman, waterman.....	14.99	30.78	14.25	31.13	1,305
Musician, music master.....	18.94	34.76	13.78	32.39	1,314
Hairdresser.....	15.11	30.10	13.64	33.25	1,327
Brewer.....	19.26	36.86	13.90	34.25	1,361
Cab, omnibus service.....	15.94	35.28	15.39	36.83	1,482
Chimney-sweep.....	17.53	42.87	13.73	41.54	1,519
Innkeeper, publican.....	18.01	34.14	18.02	33.68	1,521
Messenger, porter, watchman.....			17.07	37.37	1,595
Filemaker.....	16.27	42.30	15.29	45.14	1,667
Earthen ware manufacturer.....	12.50	41.75	13.70	51.39	1,742
Miner (Cornwall).....	11.94	41.73	14.77	53.69	1,839
Costermonger, hawk, street seller.....	20.09	37.82	20.26	45.33	1,879
General laborer (London).....	18.35	40.64	20.62	50.85	2,020
Inn, hotel, servant.....	21.91	42.19	22.63	55.30	2,205

Commenting on the statistics in his *American Charities*, p. 111, Professor Warner says:

"The mortality in a given occupation may be high, not because the occupation is unhealthful, but because persons of poor health are likely to resort to it.

"But the entire story regarding the degenerative influences brought to bear upon the weaker classes of the community is not brought out by the study of occupational mortality. We must turn to the matter of class mortality in order to obtain this. In his work on *The Rate of Mortality, etc., in the Upper and Professional Classes*, Mr. Charles Ansell, Jr., gives the following figures:

OUT OF 100,000 BORN ALIVE THERE WILL BE LIVING	End First Year.	Age of 15.	Age of 60.
Peerage families.....	93,038	85,890	51,166
"Upper class experience".....	91,955	83,302	53,398
"Clergy children".....	91,667	79,536	.....
"English life tables".....	85,951	68,456	36,983
"Carlisle table".....	84,610	63,000	36,430

"That is, out of 100,000 children born in the upper classes, nearly 10,000 more will reach the age of 15 than in the population at large. The influences which induce a higher rate of mortality among the lower classes are given by Ansell as follows:

"PHYSICAL.—(1) Food insufficient in quantity and improper as to kind; (2) deficiency of warm clothing; (3) want or delay of medical attendance in illness; (4) crowded and unhealthy dwellings; (5) neglect on the part of parents (especially when the mother is at work).

"MORAL.—(1) Illegitimacy; (2) children being a burden upon or considered as such by their parents; (3) parents having a direct pecuniary interest in the death of their children."

Dr. Grimshaw, Registrar-General of Ireland, gives the experience as to class mortality in Dublin for the four years 1883 to 1886, and says:

"Referring to children under five years of age, the rates per 1000 are found to be in the professional class, 20.52; middle, 58.25; artisan class, 69.05; general ser-

vise and pauper class, 108.73. The death-rates are such as to give a specially high percentage of persons under 15 in the second and third classes. The death-rate of children under five years of age is so excessive in Class IV. that the percentage of persons under 15 is there not up to the average."

Commenting on this, Professor Warner says:

"Now let us notice how heavy a burden the condition of things here indicated imposes upon Classes III., IV., and V., as compared with Classes I. and II. Pressure is brought to bear upon the poor, and especially upon Class III., in a fourfold way. First, the number under 15 years of age, and therefore of non-producers, is relatively high; second, the expense of a disproportionately large number of deaths is imposed upon the poor; third, the amount of sickness is disproportionately large; and, fourth, the number of births is larger than in the upper classes. Let us see what effects these influences will have upon a population of 1000 in each class:

Class Mortality.

BURDENS AND BURDEN-BEARING POWER OF 1,000 PERSONS IN VARIOUS CLASSES, POPULATION OF DUBLIN.

CLASS.	No. of Persons under 15.	Persons over 15.	Deaths.	Years of Sickness.	Years of Health for Persons over 15.	Ratio of Sickness to Effective Health.
I.....	229	771	15.20	30.40	746.5	1 : 24.5
II.....	300	700	26.21	52.42	663.3	1 : 12.6
III.....	322	678	23.00	46.00	645.6	1 : 14
IV. and V.....	277	723	37.79	75.58	665.5	1 : 08.8

"By 'effective health,' as used in the table, is meant the health of persons 15 years of age or over—that is, of persons capable of doing something for their own support, and possibly for the care of relatives. It will seem from the table regarding burdens and burden-bearing power, that in Class I. there will be one year of sickness to 24.5 of effective health; in Class II, one to 12.6; in Class III. one to 14; and in Classes IV. and V. one to 8.8. Thus we have some explanation of how the high death-rate among the unfortunate classes operates to impose burdens that crush them.

"There are too many assumptions involved in the derivative tables given to make it possible to consider the results reached entirely accurate, but in their general outline the figures doubtless reflect the actual situation."

Thus far we have been noticing statistics and facts almost exclusively. Concerning their interpretation caution must be exercised. Says Prof. Mayo-Smith (*Statistics and Sociology*, p. 149):

"The ordinary basis for comparison of mortality is to take the number of deaths per 1000 of the population. As the death-rate, however, is greater among males than among females, and at certain age periods than at others, it is obvious that comparison would only be fair between two populations where the sex and age distribution was exactly the same. This never happens, and even in the same population, in course of time, the sex and age distribution may vary. The use of the crude death-rate has given rise, therefore, to many criticisms. In 1881 the general rate in England and Wales was 18.9 per 1000 of all ages, while in France it was 22.0—i.e., 3.1 higher. But had the age distribution of the French population been identical with that of England, the general death-rate would have been 20.9 and not 22.0. Thus, of the 3.1 difference between the two rates, 2.0 was due to difference of health condition and 1.1 to difference of age distribution."

Various plans have been, therefore, proposed for correcting the death-rate by reducing the population to a common standard.

Professor Edgeworth, of Oxford, in Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, thus sums up the generally received conclusions as to death-rates:

One cause of variations in death-rate—namely, "difference of age, may be placed in a category of causes which are of practical importance, largely on the ground that it is necessary to allow for their action in order to estimate the effect of another class of causes which it is more within the scope of human art to alleviate. This distinction is nearly identical with Dr. Farr's of 'causes inherent in the population, and causes outside the population' (*Vital Statistics*, p. 159 *et seq.*). Another cause belonging to the first category is sex. The full effect of this cause may be seen on inspection of a life-table. At the early ages the difference between the mortality of the two sexes is marked. At the zero point of age it appears that the proportion of male to female still-born children is 139:100. For the period 0-5 the proportion of mortality is 72 : 62 (according to Dr. Farr's life-table for England and Wales). At the age of adolescence female mortality gains upon male, but again lags behind at later ages. The disturbing effect which this cause exercises on inferences drawn from the general death-rate is not so considerable as the effect of age. Mr. Humphreys, in his paper *On the Value of Death-Rates* (*Journal of Stat. Soc.*, xxxvii., p. 444), contrasting the English towns which have the greatest and the least proportion of male to female inhabitants, argues that the extreme perturbation of the general death-rates which may be expected from this cause is not more than two per mille.

"Here may be mentioned the effect on mortality of the variations of the seasons. Of the four quarters of the year, the first is the most fatal; next comes the fourth; the mortality of the second quarter is for this country on an average in excess, but occasionally below, that of the third quarter (*Reports of the Registrar-General*, tables showing death-rates in each quarter of the years since 1838). A very elegant graphical representation of such vicissitudes is given by M. Levasseur (after M. Janssens) for Belgian infants, in the *Jubilee Volume of the Statistical Society*, 1885, p. 232. Quetelet's investigations of seasonable mortality in Belgium are particularly instructive (*Physique Sociale*, liv. ii., ch. v., §8). He shows that the curve of death-rate at different seasons varies for different ages, and that very generally it presents two maxima, one in winter, the other in summer. Besides the obvious importance attaching to such observations, they are valuable as enabling us to avoid perplexity in investigating other causes. The Registrar-General, in the investigation which will be presently noticed

concerning the death-rate in different occupations, has very properly selected the samples (of deaths) on which his conclusion is based from all seasons indifferently (*Supplement to the Forty-fifth Report of the Registrar-General*, p. 29). A sophist by taking the samples for one occupation from a healthy season, and for another occupation from an unhealthy season, might have brought out almost any conclusion which he wanted.

Season.

“Other causes, not admitting of such exact measurement, are race and climate (including properties of soil, water, etc.).

“Also it may be expected that the mortality of unmarried persons will, *ceteris paribus*, be particularly large. The married have the advantage at almost all ages, as is shown by Dr. Farr (*Vital Statistics*, p. 441, and references there given). But it is a nice question whether celibacy can be regarded as a cause of high death-rate. The high death-rate attending celibacy may be a case of *post hoc not propter hoc*; the finest individuals being selected for marriage; while ‘men with a weak constitution, ill health, or any great infirmity of body or mind will not often wish to marry, or will be rejected’ (Darwin, *Descent of Man*, part i., ch. v.).

“(β) The causes which have been mentioned require to be taken account of by those who would avoid perplexity in investigating another set of causes which are perhaps of more direct practical interest, as being capable of remedy by human effort. This second category of causes may be divided under four heads: (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) indigence, and (4) insanitary residences—agencies which are apt to be entangled with each other as well as with the first set of causes.

“(γ) There is much truth as well as exaggeration in Stämmilch’s dictum ascribing the chief differences in mortality to ‘the manner of life, the moral circumstances, virtue and vice, indolence and industry.’ One example is the great mortality of illegitimate children. Dr. Farr cites instances in which the death-rate of illegitimate infants is double that of the legitimate (*Vital Statistics*, p. 198). A similar excess of mortality among illegitimate children is shown by Quetelet (*Physique Sociale*, book ii., ch. vii., §2), Wappaeus (*Bevölkerungs Statistik*, part i., p. 214), and other continental statisticians. The vice of drunkenness is also conspicuously fatal. On this subject some of the most recent observations, together with a reference to the best authorities, will be found in the *Report on the Connection of Disease with Habits of Intemperance* by the collective investigation of the British Medical Association, edited by Isambard Owen. Among the earlier authorities may be mentioned Neison, who in his *Contributions to Vital Statistics* fully proves the connection between deep drinking and high death-rate; bringing out the remarkable fact that spirits are more fatal than malt liquors (*Contributions to Vital Statistics*, p. 218). Another authority particularly free from suspicion is the Registrar-General, whose statistics with respect to occupations (*Supplements to Reports for 1895, 1875, and 1835*) point unmistakably to a connection between drink and death. The mortality of hotel-keepers and their servants is appalling—about three times as great as that of the most healthy classes. Among the diseases to which the classes mentioned and several others succumb, ‘alcoholism’ plays a large part (*Supplement to Report for 1835*, p. xxx. *et seq.*).

Intemperance.

“At this point, however, the action of the cause which has been considered is intermixed with that which we have distinguished as cause (2), unhealthy occupations. It is difficult to pronounce with respect to the mortality in some occupations how much thereof is occasioned by irresistible temptation to drink, how much is due to other circumstances. Thus in the case of drivers (*Cab, Omnibus, Service, loc. cit.*), the bill of mortality due to ‘alcoholism’ is particularly large; but the same class also succumb in numbers to phthisis and diseases of the respiratory system, which may no doubt be connected with the exposure incident to the occupations in question.

“(2) The observations referred to prove the influence of occupation on health in many cases to be real and considerable. The number of deaths observed in 1881-82—more than 400,000; the scrupulousity above noticed with which these samples have been selected impartially from healthy and unhealthy seasons; the allowance for the effect of age (expressed in the last column of Table J, *Supplement to the Forty-fifth Report*, 1885, p. xxvi.), are very convincing. The suspicion of accident is precluded by the general agreement between

the statistics for 1861-62, 1871, and 1880-82. The same occupations constantly come out low or high in the scale of mortality. At one end of the scale are clergymen with a coefficient of death-rate or ‘comparative mortality figure’ 556; gardeners and farmers with coefficients respectively 599 and 681, with at the other end of the scale hotel-keepers and their servants, for whom the corresponding figures are respectively 1521 and 2205, also chimney-sweepers, workers in earthenware (1742), and the residual class of general laborer (2020). (See J. T. Arlidge, M.D., *The Hygiene, Diseases, and Mortality of Occupations*, 1892.)

“(3) In the last case, and probably some others, a further cause—indigence—comes into play. The term indigence must be construed strictly as want of necessaries, ‘inadequate warmth and food’ (Farr). Mere absence of riches is not fatal to life, as Neison’s statistics with respect to members of friendly societies show (*Contributions to Vital Statistics*; cf. Wappaeus, *Bevölkerungs Statistik*, part i., p. 201). The very different consequences of actual indigence may be traced in certain statistics of class mortality among the population of Dublin compiled by Dr. Grimshaw, and discussed by Mr. Humphreys in a paper already referred to (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1887, vol. 50). In the same paper reference is made to the observations made by Mr. Ansell and Hodgson and others, proving that the more favored classes enjoy greater vitality. Especially with respect to infant mortality is the poverty of the poor his curse. The death-rate for infants under five, in the ‘general service’ class of the Dublin population, was 110 per mille; in the ‘professional’ class, 22 per mille (*ibid.*, p. 282). So the mortality of peers’ and clergymen’s children is three times less than the mortality of infants of the same age in large towns (Farr, *Vital Statistics*, p. 159). These conclusions are confirmed by numerous observations on the comparative death-rate in the poorer and more flourishing parts of towns; some of which are cited by Wappaeus (*Bevölkerungs Statistik*, part i., p. 200).

Economic Causes.

“(4) Here, and indeed generally, mere indigence, the want of necessaries, is aggravated by a fourth cause, insanitary conditions of residence, or, in Dr. Farr’s more exact language, ‘exposure to poisonous effluvia and destructive agencies.’ The interaction of these two causes is strikingly exhibited in a recent article in the *Giornale degli Economisti*, ‘Nuova Politica Sanitaria, in Italia’ (March, 1891); where it is contended that the sanitary measures carried out in Italy defeated their own end. For the taxpayer, deprived by the burden of taxation of the necessaries of life, becomes thereby more exposed to the shafts of disease. In our terminology cause (4) might be reduced, and yet the effect would be more fatal if concurrently cause (3) were aggravated.

“The nature and variety of insanitary conditions are ably discussed by Dr. Farr (*Vital Statistics*). A vast mass of experience as to the evil effect of crowding is summed up by him in the simple formula that the mortality of districts is as the twelfth root of their densities (*Vital Statistics*, p. 175). In symbols

$$m = \left(\frac{D}{12}\right)^{.12}$$

The fact that in an earlier paper the *sixth* root was proposed, and that in the formula the index .12 does not signify the twelfth, but rather the eighth or ninth root, is not suggestive of extreme precision. At any rate, the law makes no claim to be more than empirical. It is not fulfilled by the experience of the crowded Peabody Buildings, where the mortality is less than for London generally (Newholme, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1891). It is interesting to inquire whether the causes of death which admit of reduction are being reduced by science, or:

“III. More generally, and without reference to causation, whether a decline of death-rate attends the progress of civilization. The most extended series of observations is that which the Swedish census presents (quoted in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, and by Wappaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 220). Looking at these we may now say with even more truth than Malthus said: ‘The gradual diminution of mortality since the middle of last century is very striking.’ According to Dr. Farr, ‘the mortality of the city of London was at the rate of 80 per 1000 in the latter half of the seventeenth century, 50 in the eighteenth, against 24 in the present day’ (*Vital Statistics*, p. 137).

“On the other hand, the returns for France and Russia, extending over a long period of years, which Wappaeus adduces (*loc. cit.*), do not show a marked decline. And it is remarkable that the death-rate for

England and Wales has remained virtually unaltered for the greater part of the time over which the record extends, from 1841 to 1871. Since that period, indeed, a decline has set in, ascribed by some to improved sanitation."

References: Dr. Arlidge's *The Hygienic Diseases and Mortality of Occupations* (1892); Newsholme's *Elements of Vital Statistics* (3d edition, 1892); Professor Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology* (1895); Professor Warner's *American Charities* (1894).

DEBS, EUGENE V., was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, the son of a respected grocer, originally an Alsatian. Educated in the public schools, including the high school, and later attending a commercial college in the evenings, he, in 1870, commenced working in the Vandalia paint shop in Terre Haute, but in 1871 got a position as fireman on a Vandalia locomotive. In 1874 he got a better place in a wholesale grocery, and retained this five years, till he was triumphantly elected city clerk on the Democratic ticket, and re-elected in 1881. His future, however, was to lie in railway labor organizations. As a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, he was early elected to office, and for twelve years served that organization as grand secretary and treasurer, editing also the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*; but he believed that all railway employees should be united in one organization, and so, June 20, 1893, he established, with the aid of others, the American Railway Union. (For an account of this, see RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ORGANIZATIONS.) As its president, Mr. Debs made the American Railway Union one of the strongest labor unions of the country, and was successful in a strike on the "Great Northern." May 11, 1894, the operatives at Pullmanville struck, and after futile efforts to gain a settlement by arbitration, they joined the American Railway Union, and this organization took up their cause. In June Mr. Debs ordered a boycott of Pullman cars. (For the details of this strike, see PULLMAN STRIKE.) The strike gradually spread. On July 2 Judges Wood and Grosscup, at Chicago, ordered a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. On the basis of telegrams and advice sent by Debs after this, he and his colleagues were arrested on two indictments for contempt of court, and were tried in September in the Federal Circuit Court sitting at Chicago. Judge Wood did not render a verdict till December, but then condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his companions to three. Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court for release on *habeas corpus*, the ground being that an equity court had no right to issue such an injunction, and thus deprive men of trial by jury. The Supreme Court, however, sustained the Circuit Court, and Mr. Debs and his companions suffered imprisonment in Woodstock Jail, beginning in May, 1895. Mr. Debs was liberated in November, and was given an ovation in Chicago. He is to-day one of the ablest and most popular labor leaders in America, and constantly in demand as a speaker in the movement. He desires to further labor organization till labor men can all unite in one great strike for their rights at the polls. His imprisonment without jury trial many believe to be one of the most dangerous breaches of

constitutional liberty yet perpetrated. (See PULLMAN STRIKE.)

DEBT.—For a discussion of debt in its economic relations, see CREDIT. We give here the main facts as to national, State, and municipal indebtedness, with particular reference to conditions in the United States. National debts of long duration are of comparatively modern date. Ancient governments usually met their ordinary expenses by extortionate taxation, by plunder, and by warfare on foreign cities and countries. Even Napoleon supported his armies when abroad largely in this way.

The first permanent national debt was created by the papal government. Only a small portion of the money raised for the Pope was put into his treasury. All the nations of Europe were obedient to Pius II., yet he was so greatly in need of money that he is said to have been able to afford only one meal a day for a considerable time, and was obliged to borrow 200,000 ducats to prepare for the war with Turkey which he meditated. Another mode of raising money was to create and sell offices. A certain sum was immediately paid for the office, and the official received at stated times thereafter a fixed sum or interest during his life. These arrangements were essentially annuities. The interest was raised by increasing the imposts of the Church.

Sixtus IV., under the guidance of his prothonotary Sinolfo, established whole colleges by a single act, and sold the places for 200 or 300 ducats each. Leo X. carried this system farther still, encouraged in it by the prosperity which for a time at least came to Rome because of the large sums of money which poured into the city. Under Clement VII. a new system became necessary. Hitherto the money raised had been returned in the way of interest, the interest ceasing at the lender's death. The first real national loan was one received by Clement, amounting to 200,000 scudi. Clement agreed to pay 10 per cent. to the lender, and to continue payment to his heirs. The interest was charged to the custom-house revenues, and the lender had his claims secured by giving him a share in the management of the custom-house. No capitalist would lend his money except where he was given a certain amount of control in the government affairs. In modern days lenders are not allowed, directly at least, to have a share in governmental management; but they still are pledged certain revenues in payment of the debt. Pitt, in England, and Alexander Hamilton, in America, have both strongly advised this latter course. Venice and Genoa were the next States to follow the lead of the Pope, and after them Florence, Spain, and Holland.

In England William III. was obliged, by the expensiveness of his wars, to borrow money and pledge the credit of the State. This was the first English loan of this kind. The item "Interest and Management of the Public Debt" appears in 1694 for the first time in English accounts. The first funded debt was \$6,000,000, borrowed at this date from the Bank of England. The term "fund" meant then the special tax which was set apart for interest on the money borrowed; whereas now the word is understood to

mean the money itself. After this another loan of \$10,000,000 soon followed, and Charles II. had his private debts added to the national debt.

The national debt of France began in 1375; but in 1597 Sully, the chief minister of Henry IV., reformed the financial system and paid the public debt, which amounted to 332,000,000 livres. Besides this he remitted 20,000,000 of taxes and collected a surplus of 17,000,000 livres,

which succeeding French kings soon wasted. During this early period the Low Countries were most heavily freighted with debt. At Amsterdam it was a common saying that every dish of fish was paid for once to the fisherman and six times to the money-lender. The following table, compiled from the Eleventh United States Census Reports (*Bulletin* 64), gives the national indebtedness of the world in 1890:

COUNTRIES.	Debt Less Sinking Fund, 1890.	Debt per Capita.	COUNTRIES.	Debt Less Sinking Fund, 1890.	Debt per Capita.
Argentine Republic.....	\$284,867,069	\$70.40	Hayti.....	\$13,500,000	\$14.06
Austria-Hungary.....	*2,866,339,539	70.84	Hawaii.....	2,302,235	26.57
Belgium.....	380,504,099	63.10	Honduras.....	63,394,267	146.77
Bolivia.....	14,763,367	12.38	Italy.....	2,324,826,329	76.06
Chile.....	585,345,927	41.80	Japan.....	305,172,816	7.83
Colombia.....	85,192,339	31.96	Liberia.....	972,000	0.91
Denmark.....	63,451,583	16.36	Mexico.....	113,606,675	9.98
France.....	†4,446,793,398	116.35	Montenegro.....	749,200	3.14
German Empire.....	77,577,719	1.57	Netherlands.....	439,599,858	95.56
Great Britain and Ireland.....	3,359,719,563	87.79	Nicaragua.....	1,711,206	4.28
Ceylon.....	11,184,400	3.86	Norway.....	13,973,752	7.13
India.....	†88,003,592	3.27	Paraguay.....	19,633,013	59.56
Cape of Good Hope.....	110,817,720	77.25	Peru.....	382,175,655	145.77
Mauritius.....	8,464,662	22.02	Roumania.....	180,145,800	32.75
Natal.....	22,028,424	45.76	Russia.....	3,491,018,074	30.79
Bermudas.....	2,418,64	2.60	Salvador.....	6,013,300	90.05
Canada.....	237,533,212	47.51	Santo Domingo.....	9,895,256	16.17
Fiji.....	678,800	5.41	Servia.....	66,811,330	30.20
New South Wales.....	233,280,245	214.87	Spain.....	1,251,453,696	73.85
New Zealand.....	184,898,395	208.01	Sweden.....	64,220,807	13.53
Queensland.....	129,204,759	333.46	Switzerland.....	19,912,925	3.72
South Australia.....	102,177,500	321.00	Turkey.....	821,000,000	\$37.20
Tasmania.....	22,335,345	147.46	Egypt.....	517,278,200	75.88
Victoria.....	179,614,005	161.63	United States.....	915,962,112	14.63
Western Australia.....	6,509,736	150.23	Venezuela.....	22,517,437	11.00
Greece.....	107,306,518	49.06			
Guatemala.....	10,825,836	7.59	Total.....	\$27,396,955,389	...

* In these amounts there is included debt of Hungary for 1880, \$536,051,184; for 1890, \$837,928,836. Florin reckoned at 50 cents.

† Inclusive of floating debt, but exclusive of annuities whose capitalized value is estimated by good authority to be not less than \$2,000,000,000.

‡ The rupee is reckoned at 50 cents. Its exchange value in 1890 was about 35 cents, making the actual face value of the debt about 30 per cent. less than the amount stated.

§ Reckoning the population of European and Asiatic Turkey and Tripoli in Africa.

The following table gives the outline of the history of Great Britain's national debt:

	Principal.	Annual Charge.
Debt at the Revolution in 1688..	£664,263	£39,835
Debt at Accession of Queen Anne, 1702.....	16,394,702	1,310,852
Debt at Accession of George I., 1714.....	54,145,363	3,351,268
Debt at Accession of George II., 1727.....	52,092,238	2,217,461
Debt in 1762 (George III., 1760).....	138,865,430	4,851,961
Debt at beginning of American War.....	128,583,635	4,471,481
Debt at conclusion of American War, 1784.....	249,851,628	9,559,817
Debt at Accession of George IV., 1820.....	794,980,481	29,789,658
Debt at Accession of Queen Victoria, 1837.....	761,422,570	28,533,192
Debt March 31, 1893.....	671,042,842	*25,200'000

An exceedingly large proportion of national debts have been caused by wars. The four debts of the United States were incurred by war

expenditure, as were also the debts of England, France, the Netherlands, Russia, Austria, and Italy. Italy, France, and Germany, and especially the latter, contracted part of their debt by building railroads and canals.

But with many nations, and especially the weaker ones, loans are usually negotiated abroad. This has led many of them to repudiate their debts. France, perhaps, did this first, but other nations have followed her example. Spain has repeatedly compounded with her creditors; and Portugal, Greece, and the South American States have repudiated their debts. These dishonest nations have been enabled to continue their borrowing only through the aid of cunning bankers, who on receipt of large bribes have undertaken to negotiate loans. Tables have been constructed and arguments put forward in defense of the policy of a gradual payment of national debts; but there is a great deal of sophistry in these calculations.

Undoubtedly the great reasons why debt-paying is so unpopular are that in weak countries it requires too much taxation, and in wealthy countries whose credit is good, bankers like to continue the loan as a favorable investment for

* This is now a fixed charge.—Whitaker.

themselves. This is particularly the case in Great Britain and the United States. It is claimed by some radicals that "the money power" even invents war scares and secures legislation to lower the receipts of the Government in order to make an excuse for fresh loans. (See CURRENCY.)

NATIONAL DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The debt of the United States, as reported to the first Congress at its second session, 1790-91, by Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, consisted of the foreign debt, domestic

debt, and State debts. The secretary recommended that these latter be assumed by the general Government; and after considerable discussion this was agreed to. The debt then stood :

Domestic debt.....	\$42,414,085
Foreign debt	11,710,378
State debts (as finally assumed).....	18,271,786
Total.....	\$72,396,249

The foreign debt consisted of money due in France, Holland, and Spain for loans made to us during the Revolution. Since 1791 the debt has varied as follows :

Statement of outstanding Principal of the Public Debt of the United States on January 1 of each Year from 1791 to 1842, inclusive; on July 1 of each Year from 1843 to 1886, inclusive; on December 1 of each Year from 1887 to 1892, inclusive, and on November 1, 1893, 1894, and 1895.

1791 Jan. 1	\$75,463,476.52	1826 Jan. 1.....	\$81,054,059.99	1861 July 1.....	\$90,580,873.72
1792 "	77,217,924.66	1827 "	73,987,357.20	1862 "	524,176,412.13
1793 "	80,352,634.04	1828 "	67,475,043.87	1863 "	1,119,772,138.63
1794 "	78,427,404.77	1829 "	58,421,413.67	1864 "	1,815,784,370.57
1795 "	80,747,587.39	1830 "	48,565,406.50	1865 "	2,680,647,869.74
1796 "	83,762,172.07	1831 "	39,123,191.68	1866 "	2,773,236,173.69
1797 "	82,064,479.33	1832 "	24,322,235.18	1867 "	2,678,126,103.87
1798 "	79,228,529.12	1833 "	7,001,668.83	1868 "	2,611,687,851.19
1799 "	78,048,666.77	1834 "	4,760,082.08	1869 "	2,588,452,213.94
1800 "	82,976,294.35	1835 "	37,513.05	1870 "	2,480,672,427.81
1801 "	83,038,050.80	1836 "	336,957.83	1871 "	2,353,211,332.32
1802 "	86,712,632.25	1837 "	3,308,124.07	1872 "	2,253,251,328.78
1803 "	77,054,686.30	1838 "	10,434,221.14	1873 "	2,234,482,993.20
1804 "	86,427,120.88	1839 "	3,573,343.82	1874 "	2,251,690,468.43
1805 "	82,312,150.50	1840 "	5,250,875.54	1875 "	2,232,284,531.95
1806 "	75,723,270.66	1841 "	13,594,480.73	1876 "	2,180,395,067.15
1807 "	69,218,398.64	1842 "	26,601,226.28	1877 "	2,205,301,392.10
1808 "	65,196,317.97	1843 July 1.....	32,742,922.00	1878 "	2,256,205,892.53
1809 "	57,023,192.09	1844 "	23,461,652.50	1879 "	2,340,567,232.04
1810 "	53,173,217.52	1845 "	15,925,303.01	1880 "	2,128,791,054.63
1811 "	48,005,587.76	1846 "	15,550,202.97	1881 "	2,077,380,253.58
1812 "	45,209,737.90	1847 "	38,826,534.77	1882 "	1,926,688,678.03
1813 "	55,062,827.57	1848 "	47,044,862.23	1883 "	1,892,547,412.07
1814 "	81,487,846.24	1849 "	63,001,858.69	1884 "	1,838,904,607.57
1815 "	99,833,660.15	1850 "	63,452,773.55	1885 "	1,872,340,557.14
1816 "	127,334,933.74	1851 "	68,304,796.02	1886 "	1,763,438,097.78
1817 "	123,491,965.16	1852 "	66,199,341.71	1887 Dec. 1.....	1,664,461,536.38
1818 "	103,466,633.83	1853 "	59,803,117.70	1888 "	1,680,917,096.23
1819 "	95,520,648.28	1854 "	42,242,222.42	1889 "	1,617,372,419.53
1820 "	91,016,566.18	1855 "	35,586,858.56	1890 "	1,549,206,126.48
1821 "	89,987,427.66	1856 "	31,972,537.90	1891 "	1,546,961,665.61
1822 "	93,546,676.98	1857 "	28,699,811.85	1892 "	1,563,612,455.63
1823 "	90,875,877.28	1858 "	44,911,881.03	1893 Nov. 1.....	1,549,556,353.63
1824 "	90,269,777.77	1859 "	58,496,837.88	1894 "	1,660,154,037.68
1825 "	83,788,432.71	1860 "	64,842,287.88	1895 "	1,717,481,779.90

It will be seen that the debt was considerably reduced by the year 1812; the increase between 1812 and 1816 was due to the War of 1812; in 1836 the treasury had on hand a surplus of over \$40,000,000, all but \$5,000,000 of which was ordered by Congress to be distributed among the States, on certain conditions and in four instalments. Three of these were paid, but not the fourth. The increase between 1847 and 1849 was due to the Mexican War. After the panic of 1857 the debt began to increase. The sudden increase in 1862 was caused by the Civil War. During that struggle in 1866 the debt reached the highest point in the history of the country. (See FINANCE.) The total amount of loans issued by the Government up to the outbreak of the Civil War was \$505,353,591.95; between that time and July 1, 1880, there was issued \$10,144,589,408.69; and later 3 1/2 per cent. bonds to the amount of \$460,461,050, matured 5 and 6 per cent. bonds extended being at that rate, and 3 per cent. bonds to the amount

of \$304,204,350, for the purpose of extending the above-mentioned 3 1/2 per cent. bonds.

At its highest point (1866) the debt of the United States exceeded \$2,700,000,000. This was composed of a great variety of different obligations, some bearing as high as 7 1/8 per cent. interest. Of this debt, \$830,000,000, bearing interest at 7 1/8 per cent., matured in 1867 and 1868, and about \$300,000,000 other debt matured in the same period. To meet this there were issued in 1865, \$332,998,950, 15 years, 6 per cent. bonds; in 1867, \$379,616,050, 15 years, 6 per cent. bonds; in 1868, \$42,539,350, 15 years, 6 per cent. bonds; in 1867 and 1868, \$85,150,000 demands, 3 per cent. certificates. The refunding act of 1870 authorized the issue of not more than \$200,000,000, 10 years, 5 per cent. bonds; of not more than \$300,000,000, 15 years, 4 1/2 per cent. bonds; of not more than \$1,000,000,000, 30 years, 4 per cent. bonds. In 1871 this was amended, increasing the amount of 5 per cent. bonds to \$500,000,000, the total issue, however,

not to be increased thereby. Under this act there were issued a total of \$412,806,450 of 5 per cent. bonds, and after 1876, \$250,000,000 4½ per cent. bonds. In 1879 a bill was passed authorizing the issue of \$10 certificates, bearing 4 per cent. interest and exchangeable into the 4 per cent. bonds of the acts of 1870 and 1871. The net result of all these changes was that the national debt, considerably more than one half of which was in 1865 outstanding at 6 per cent. and over, was in 1879 costing but 4 and 4½ per cent. for more than one half of its then principal. In 1881 over \$670,000,000 of the public debt running at 5 and 6 per cent. matured. Congress failed to provide the means for meeting it, and there was at the disposal of the secretary for this purpose only the surplus revenue and somewhat over \$100,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds under the acts of 1870 and 1871. Under these

circumstances the secretary (Windom) made a general offer to the holders of these bonds to extend the bonds of such as might desire it at 3½ per cent., redeemable at the pleasure of the Government. This measure was a complete success, over \$460,000,000 bonds being extended at 3½ per cent. The next Congress (in 1882) authorized 3 per cent. bonds, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government, to be issued instead of the bonds extended at 3½ per cent., and more than \$300,000,000 were so issued. Meanwhile, the reduction of the debt proceeded so rapidly that the last of the 3½ per cents. were called for payment November 1, 1883, and the last of the 3 per cents. July 1, 1887, leaving outstanding only the 4½ and 4 per cent. bonds. (For further information regarding the debt and recent loans, see CURRENCY.)

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 1, 1895.

INTEREST-BEARING DEBT.		CLASSIFICATION OF DEBT NOVEMBER 1, 1895.	
Funded loan of 1891.....	\$25,364,500.00	Interest-bearing debt.....	\$747,361,560.00
Funded loan of 1907.....	559,630,700.00	Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....	1,681,670.26
Refunding certificates.....	50,960.00	Debt bearing no interest.....	377,335,876.64
Loan of 1904.....	100,000,000.00		
Loan of 1925.....	62,315,400.00	Aggregate of interest and non-interest bearing debt.....	\$1,126,379,106.90
Aggregate of interest-bearing debt, exclusive of United States bonds issued to Pacific railroads, as stated below....	\$747,361,560.00	Certificates and Treasury notes offset by an equal amount of cash in the Treasury.....	591,102,673.00
		Aggregate of debt, including certificates and Treasury notes.....	\$1,717,481,779.90
DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.		CASH IN THE TREASURY.	
Aggregate debt on which interest has ceased since maturity.....	\$1,681,670.26	Gold certificates.....	\$50,585,889.00
DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST.		Silver certificates.....	342,409,504.00
United States notes.....	\$346,681,016.00	Certificates of deposit, act June 8, 1872.....	57,015,000.00
Old demand notes.....	54,847.50	Treasury notes of 1890.....	141,092,280.00
National bank notes:			\$591,102,673.00
Redemption account.....	23,706,619.00	Fund for redemption of uncurrent National bank notes.....	\$8,250,722.82
Fractional currency:		Outstanding checks and drafts.....	2,323,028.84
Less \$8,375,934 estimated as lost or destroyed, act of June 21, 1879.....	6,893,394.14	Disbursing officers' balances.....	26,690,586.34
Aggregate of debt bearing no interest..	\$377,335,876.64	Agency accounts, etc.....	3,822,601.39
CERTIFICATES AND NOTES ISSUED ON DEPOSITS OF COIN AND LEGAL-TENDER NOTES AND PURCHASES OF SILVER BULLION.			41,086,939.39
Gold certificates.....	\$50,585,889.00	Gold reserve... \$92,943,179.00	
Silver certificates.....	342,409,504.00	Net cash balance.....	87,004,819.48
Certificates of deposit.....	57,015,000.00		179,947,998.48
Treasury notes of 1890.....	141,092,280.00	Aggregate.....	\$812,137,610.87
Aggregate of certificates and Treasury notes, offset by cash in the Treasury...	\$591,102,673.00	Cash balance in the Treasury, October 31, 1895.....	\$179,947,998.93

STATE, COUNTY, AND MUNICIPAL DEBTS.

The origin of State debts in the United States dates from the Revolutionary War. The different States contracted debts for war purposes, very various in amount, but all to a considerable degree; and the Congress of the Confederation promised to meet every claim with justice. After the war, it was disputed as to whether the Government should assume the debt of any State. It was urged that as the Government had taken over the customs duties, which previously had belonged to the States, it should with this chief source of revenue take over also the debts of the States. But the motion to assume was carried by only two votes; and while \$21,-

500,000 was assumed, a balance of \$4,000,000 was left unprovided for. In spite of this compromise, the States continued their borrowing careers until \$170,000,000 were scored against them in 20 years. This money was declared to have been spent as follows: 31 per cent., or \$52,640,000, were expended in aiding State banks; \$60,201,551 were expended for canals; nearly 25 per cent., or \$42,871,084, were furnished to railroads, and \$6,618,958 for turnpikes and macadamized roads, and the balance was expended for several objects. Over \$100,000,000, therefore, were spent for internal improvements.

The greater amount of this money had been borrowed from British creditors. Before very

long the States became uneasy under their burden, and at last turned to the Federal Government for relief.

In 1836 there was, as we have seen, a surplus of over \$40,000,000 in the Federal treasury, and \$37,468,859 of this Congress voted to divide among the States in proportion to their population, provided that the States would agree to accept it, but authorize their treasurers to return it on demand. It was to be paid in four payments during 1837, three only of which were actually made, the fourth being prevented by the panic of 1837. For several years there was an annual deficit, and the States could get nothing. They were in great distress. In 1842 they owed \$198,818,736. A plan was presented for assumption of the State debts by the Government. This plan is said to have emanated from the other side of the Atlantic. Benton says that "these British capitalists, connected with capitalists in the United States, possessed a weight on this point which was felt in the halls of Congress. The disguised attempts at this assumption were in the various modes of conveying Federal money to the States in the shape of distributing surplus revenue, of dividing the public land money, and of bestowing money on the States under the fallacious title of a deposit. But a more direct provision in their behalf was wanted by these capitalists, and in the course of the year 1839 a movement to that effect was openly made through the columns of their regular organ, *The London Banker's Circular*, emanating from the most respectable and opulent house of the Messrs. Baring Brothers & Co."

The British capitalists were willing to reduce the interest one half if the Government would assume the obligation. It was not done, however, and the indebtedness increased. The indebtedness of the Southern section was increased far more after the war. Under the guise of being needed for internal improvements, many loans were negotiated under suspicious circumstances. In 1870 and in 1880 the debts of the States stood thus :

	1870.	1880.
New England States	\$50,348,550	\$49,969,514
Middle States	79,834,481	45,672,575
Southern States	174,486,452	113,967,243
Western States	44,018,911	36,565,360
Pacific States	4,178,504	4,547,389
Total	\$352,866,898	\$250,722,081

The reductions shown for 1880 were made by the Middle and Western States by actual payments ; but this was not the case with the Southern States. Their \$60,000,000 of reduction were effected by the much easier mode of repudiation.

It is claimed, however, that the "carpet-bag" debts of the Southern States, under which some of them are still suffering, were created during the reconstruction period, when the South was at the mercy of adventurers from the North and the ranks of the negro population supported and protected by the Federal Government. These burdens aggregated in 1871 some \$201,626,015, distributed among the reconstructed States as follows: Alabama, \$52,761,017; Arkansas, \$19,338,000; Florida, \$15,797,587; Georgia, \$42,569,500; Louisiana, \$40,021,734; North Carolina, \$34,887,464; South Carolina,

\$22,180,316; Texas, \$14,930,000; Virginia, \$47,090,866. It is claimed also that the debts of the Southern States contracted from 1861 to 1865 were repudiated by order of the Federal Government, so that the indebtedness was due almost wholly to "carpet-bag" financing.

The diminution in the total indebtedness of 1880, which stood at the sum of \$250,722,081, and is the indebtedness of 38 States, is partly due to this repudiation. Recent years, however, have seen a very large and dangerous increase of municipal debts. Mr. Bryce, in his *The American Commonwealth* (1st edition, vol. 1, chap. 43), gives the following account of the growth of these debts: "Municipal indebtedness has advanced, especially in the larger cities, at a dangerously swift rate. Of the State and county debt much the largest part had been incurred for, or in connection with, so-called 'internal improvements'; but of the city debt, tho a part was due to the bounties given to volunteers in the Civil War, much must be set down to extremely lax and wasteful administration, and much more to mere stealing, practised by methods to be hereafter explained, but facilitated by the habit of subsidizing, or taking shares in, corporate enterprises which had excited the hopes of the citizens.

Municipal Debt.

"The disease spread till it terrified the patient, and a remedy was found in the insertion in the constitutions of the States of provisions limiting the borrowing powers of State legislatures. Fortunately the evil had been perceived in time to enable the newest States (Minnesota, Wisconsin, Oregon, Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, West Virginia, Colorado) to profit by the experience of their predecessors. For the last 30 years, whenever a State has enacted a constitution, it has inserted sections restricting the borrowing powers of States and local bodies, and often also providing for the discharge of existing liabilities. Not only is the passing of bills for raising a State loan surrounded with special safeguards, such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority in each house of the legislature; not only is there a prohibition ever to borrow money for, or even to undertake, internal improvements (a fertile source of jobbery and waste, as the experience of Congress shows); not only is there almost invariably a provision that whenever a debt is contracted the same act shall create a sinking fund for paying it off within a few years, but in most constitutions the total amount of the debt is limited, and limited to a sum beautifully small in proportion to the population and resources of the State. Thus Wisconsin fixes its maximum at \$200,000 (\$40,000); Minnesota and Iowa at \$250,000; Ohio at \$750,000; Nebraska at \$100,000; prudent Oregon at \$50,000; and the great and wealthy State of Pennsylvania, with a population now exceeding 5,000,000 (Constitution of 1873, Art. ix. § 4), at \$1,000,000. New York (Constitution of 1846, Art. vii. §§ 10-12) also names a million of dollars as the maximum, but permits laws to be passed raising loans for 'some single work or object,' provided that a tax is at the same time enacted sufficient to pay off this debt in 18 years; and that any such law has been directly submitted to the people and approved by them at an election.

"In 31 States, including all those with recent constitutions, the legislature is forbidden to 'give or lend the credit of the State in aid of any person, association, or corporation, whether municipal or other, or to pledge the credit of the State in any manner whatsoever for the payment of the liabilities present or prospective of any individual association, municipal, or other corporation' (Constitution of Missouri of 1875, Art. iv. § 45, a constitution whose provisions on financial matters and restrictions on the legislature are copious and instructive. Similar words occur in nearly all Western and Southern, as well as in some of the more recent Eastern constitutions), as also to take stock in a corporation, or otherwise embark in any gainful enterprise. Many constitutions also forbid the assumption by the State of the debts of any individual or municipal corporation.

"The care of the people for their financial freedom and safety extends even to local bodies. Many of the recent constitutions limit, or direct the legislature to limit, the borrowing powers of counties, cities, or towns, sometimes even of incorporated school districts, to a sum not exceeding a certain percentage on the assessed value of the taxable property within the area in question. This percentage is usually 5 per cent. (e.g., Illinois, Constitution of 1870, Art. ix. § 12), sometimes (e.g., Pennsylvania, Constitution of 1838, Art. ix. § 8) 7 per cent.; New York (amendment of 1883), 10 per cent. Sometimes also the amount of the tax leviable by a local authority in any year is restricted to a definite sum—for instance, to ¼ per cent. on the valuation.

(See, for elaborate provisions under this head, the Constitution of Missouri of 1875.) And in all the States but seven, cities, counties, or other local incorporated authorities are forbidden to pledge their credit for, or undertake the liabilities of or take stock in, or otherwise give aid to, any undertaking or company. Sometimes this prohibition is absolute, sometimes it is made subject to certain conditions, and may be avoided by their observance. For instance, there are States in which the people of a city can, by special vote, carried by a two-thirds majority, or a three-fifths majority, or (in Colorado) by a bare majority of the taxpayers, authorize the contracting of a debt which the municipality could not incur by its ordinary organs of government. Sometimes there is a direction that any municipality creating a debt must at the same time provide for its extinction by a sinking fund. Sometimes the restrictions imposed apply only to a particular class of

undertakings—e.g., banks or railroads. The difference between State and State are endless; but every where the tendency is to make the protection against local indebtedness and municipal extravagance more and more strict, nor will any one who knows these local authorities, and the temptations, both good and bad, to which they are exposed, complain of the strictness. "Cases, of course, occur in which a restriction on the taxing power or borrowing power of a municipality is found inconvenient, because costly public improvement is rendered more costly if it has to be done piecemeal."

The following statement of the indebtedness of the States and Territories in 1890 is compiled from the abstract of the Eleventh United States Census :

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	TOTAL COMBINED DEBT LESS SINKING FUND.		PER CAPITA OF COMBINED DEBT.		STATE DEBT.	COUNTY DEBT.	MUNICIPAL DEBT.	SCHOOL DISTRICT DEBT.
	1890.	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.	1890.	1890.	1890.
North Atlantic.....	\$467,968,615	\$26.89	\$37.28	\$25,149,357	\$27,585,070	\$405,572,083	\$9,671,105	
Maine.....	\$15,600,777	\$23.60	\$35.81	\$3,479,010	\$434,346	\$11,695,523	.....
New Hampshire.....	8,148,362	21.64	31.10	2,691,908	556,087	4,718,025	\$182,331	
Vermont.....	3,785,373	11.39	13.54	148,416	5,108	3,529,014	102,835	
Massachusetts.....	81,550,027	36.42	51.55	7,267,349	4,051,830	70,238,848	.....
Rhode Island.....	13,042,117	37.75	46.91	422,803	.....	12,499,254	119,880
Connecticut.....	23,703,478	31.76	35.33	3,740,200	30,547	18,322,371	1,610,360	
New York.....	201,763,217	33.64	43.06	2,308,230	10,936,638	187,348,163	1,170,186	
New Jersey.....	49,333,589	34.14	43.66	1,022,642	3,728,130	42,990,338	1,502,479	
Pennsylvania.....	71,041,675	13.51	25.03	4,068,610	7,841,484	54,238,547	4,893,934	
South Atlantic.....	165,107,113	18.64	22.10	89,652,873	7,825,561	67,610,380	18,299	
Delaware.....	\$2,919,084	\$17.32	\$16.17	\$887,573	\$618,400	\$1,413,111	.....
Maryland.....	42,175,408	40.46	44.31	8,434,368	893,776	32,477,264	.....
District of Columbia.....	19,781,050	85.86	126.66	19,781,050	.....	.....	.....
Virginia.....	50,837,315	30.70	30.09	34,227,234	1,774,535	14,835,546	.....
West Virginia.....	2,524,460	3.32	2.65	184,511	1,197,462	1,132,188	\$18,299	
North Carolina.....	11,117,445	6.87	12.83	7,793,100	1,514,600	1,899,745	.....
South Carolina.....	13,295,637	11.55	14.25	6,953,582	1,062,750	5,279,305	.....
Georgia.....	20,272,095	11.03	12.74	10,449,542	429,380	9,293,173	.....
Florida.....	2,176,619	5.56	9.89	1,031,913	334,658	810,048	.....
North Central.....	320,238,281	14.32	14.17	41,656,112	69,110,453	184,219,923	25,251,793	
Ohio.....	\$71,065,386	\$19.35	\$16.59	\$7,135,806	\$7,797,005	\$52,888,263	\$3,244,312	
Indiana.....	24,442,631	11.15	9.28	8,438,059	6,406,239	16,498,333	.....
Illinois.....	41,841,649	10.94	15.07	11,849,907	11,016,380	26,456,065	3,183,397	
Michigan.....	16,941,928	8.09	7.36	5,308,294	1,257,698	8,150,439	1,865,497	
Wisconsin.....	10,440,580	6.19	9.19	2,295,391	1,529,681	6,303,605	311,903	
Minnesota.....	26,050,229	20.01	14.51	2,239,482	3,317,657	18,427,368	2,066,422	
Iowa.....	11,275,319	5.90	5.01	245,435	3,416,889	6,391,772	1,221,223	
Missouri.....	51,557,568	19.24	27.79	11,759,832	10,240,082	28,092,103	1,465,551	
North Dakota.....	3,842,790	21.03	3.57	703,790	1,372,261	711,665	1,055,095	
South Dakota.....	6,613,707	20.11	8.82	871,600	2,441,334	1,197,520	2,103,253	
Nebraska.....	15,533,772	14.67	16.56	2,539,790	5,510,175	7,124,506	2,048,212	
Kansas.....	4,629,022	28.47	15.97	1,119,658	14,805,052	16,617,384	6,080,928	
South Central.....	138,255,311	12.60	16.14	66,281,194	19,177,151	52,576,623	220,343	
Kentucky.....	\$19,432,885	\$10.46	\$9.09	\$1,671,133	\$5,712,463	\$11,880,417	\$168,872	
Tennessee.....	29,543,843	16.71	26.42	19,695,974	2,172,059	7,675,810	.....
Alabama.....	18,920,867	12.51	14.26	12,433,196	1,433,321	5,084,350	.....
Mississippi.....	6,911,347	4.66	4.38	3,503,009	1,200,299	1,207,039	.....
Louisiana.....	33,335,497	29.80	45.60	16,008,585	1,779,708	17,140,114	.....
Texas.....	20,172,093	9.02	7.34	4,317,515	6,891,714	8,928,852	33,982	
Oklahoma.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	10,828,809	9.60	13.37	8,671,782	1,559,497	380,041	17,489	
Western.....	43,641,122	14.41	13.85	6,266,853	21,349,810	14,484,051	1,540,408	
Montana.....	\$2,918,893	\$22.09	\$19.54	\$167,815	\$2,004,513	\$614,519	\$132,046	
Wyoming.....	1,647,381	27.14	9.88	320,000	1,083,790	243,501	.....
Colorado.....	8,411,027	20.41	18.67	599,851	4,601,588	2,850,962	253,626	
New Mexico.....	2,831,538	18.44	9.71	870,000	1,815,083	127,085	19,370	
Arizona.....	2,937,971	49.28	0.33	757,159	1,954,414	200,165	26,233	
Utah.....	767,501	3.69	0.81	.....	49,599	717,642	.....
Nevada.....	1,337,501	29.23	22.48	509,525	812,676	.....	15,300
Idaho.....	1,504,333	18.89	7.05	218,493	1,234,987	29,211	111,642	
Washington.....	3,145,658	9.00	3.19	1,507,786	1,507,786	1,046,510	291,362	
Oregon.....	2,479,860	7.90	4.86	1,168,5	905,711	1,386,444	186,020	
California.....	15,569,459	12.89	19.18	2,522,232	5,379,493	7,162,922	504,809	
Total.....	\$1,135,210,442	\$18.13	\$22.40	\$228,997,389	\$145,048,045	\$724,463,060	\$36,701,948	

The *World Almanac* gives the following statistics of the debts of some of the principal cities of the United States as reported by their mayors for January 1, 1896 :

CITIES.	Area in Square Miles.	Estimated Population, Jan. 1, 1896.	Net Public Debt.	Assessed Valuation of all Taxable Property.	Per Cent. of Actual Value.	Tax Rate.
Boston, Mass.	37	494,205	\$39,589,716	\$951,362,519	100	\$1.28
Brooklyn, N. Y.	66½	1,200,000	52,045,000	566,376,667	70	2.74
Buffalo, N. Y.	42	350,000	12,024,608	234,651,400	70	1.62
Chicago, Ill.	189	1,750,000	17,188,950	244,476,825	10	...
Cincinnati, O.	35	365,000	26,560,167	188,129,540	59	2.83
Cleveland, O.	31¾	345,000	5,950,104	135,700,000	59	2.87
Denver, Col.	44½	150,000	2,024,000	66,903,380	33½	1.12
Des Moines, Ia.	54	75,000	3,398,85	16,515,140	33½	...
Detroit, Mich.	28½	300,000	3,601,796	20,441,000	70	1.57
Dubuque, Ia.	15	40,354	701,549	20,441,000	80	1.10
Duluth, Minn.	66	60,000	1,945,250	41,013,261	45	2.79
Indianapolis, Ind.	17¾	155,632	1,877,500	106,373,345	70	1.65
Jacksonville, Fla.	8½	30,000	1,000,000	13,000,000	80	1.18
Jersey City, N. J.	13	182,000	4,506,141	85,000,000	70	2.75
Kansas City, Mo.	13	150,000	3,874,689	58,381,510	40	1.25
Memphis, Tenn.	4	105,000	3,073,600	31,045,766	60	1.89
Milwaukee, Wis.	21	250,000	6,076,750	148,547,413	50	2.34
Minneapolis, Minn.	55¾	195,000	6,505,000	136,293,279	50	2.15
New York City.	65	1,906,438	11,327,686	2,016,947,662	..	1.91
Omaha, Neb.	24½	160,000	3,011,100	19,654,466	10	4.40
Philadelphia, Pa.	120¾	1,350,000	29,806,589	801,028,552	..	1.85
Pittsburg, Pa.	27½	275,000	7,949,638	287,322,894	100	1.20
Portland, Me.	2½	40,000	1,317,800	37,207,025	..	2.00
Portland, Ore.	60	81,000	4,859,618	47,689,025	33½	2.72
San Francisco, Cal.	42½	360,000	243,675	328,537,317	70	2.25
St. Louis, Mo.	61¾	603,837	21,024,711	326,463,600	75	2.05
St. Paul, Minn.	55½	150,000	9,460,000	122,643,703	60	2.00
Washington, D. C.	70	280,000	17,540,620	402,575,792	40	1.50

For statistics as to some European cities, see CITIES, Sec. III. following summary of the indebtedness in the United States, and the following estimate of the indebtedness of the world :

Bulletin 64 of the Eleventh Census gives the

TOTAL AND PER CAPITA INDEBTEDNESS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE SEVERAL STATES, TERRITORIES, AND COUNTIES.

DIVISIONS.	TOTAL DEBT LESS SINKING FUND.		BONDED DEBT.	FLOATING DEBT.	SINKING FUND.	TOTAL DEBT LESS SINKING FUND PER CAPITA.	
	1880.	1890.	1890.	1890.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Total.	\$2,336,949,034	\$1,281,020,840	\$1,065,565,710	\$268,543,707	\$53,088,577	\$46.59	\$20.46
The United States.	1,922,517,364	915,962,112	711,313,110	*204,649,002	.....	38.33	14.63
The several States and Territories.	290,326,643	223,107,883	223,128,544	47,804,012	47,824,673	5.79	3.56
Counties.	124,105,027	141,950,845	131,124,056	16,090,693	5,263,904	2.47	2.27

* Less cash in Treasury.

DEBT OF THE WORLD.

DIVISIONS.	DEBT LESS SINKING FUND.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1890.	1880.		
Total.	\$26,917,096,680	\$25,818,521,219	\$1,098,575,461	.....
Foreign nations.	25,636,075,840	23,481,572,185	2,154,503,655	.....
The United States.	915,962,112	1,922,517,364	.....	\$1,006,555,252
States and Territories.	223,107,883	290,326,643	.....	67,218,760
Counties.	141,950,845	124,105,027	17,845,818	.....

For a study of private debts and their increase, see MORTGAGES.

References: Maurice Block's *Statistique de la France* (for Europe generally); R. Dudley Baxter's *National Debts* (London, 1871); *Statesman's Year Book*; *Muhall's Dictionary of Statistics*; *Census Re-*

ports for 1880 and 1890; Henry C. Adams's *Modern Public Debts and the Payment of Them*, in *International Review* for March and September, 1881; article by R. P. Porter on *Debts*, in the *Cyclopedia of Political Science*; G. Watson Green's *Reputation: Economic Tract No. 11 of Society for Political Education* (New York, 1883). Above all, H. C. Adams's *Public Debts* (New York: Appleton, 1890).

DE COLINS. See COLINS.

DE COULANGES. See COULANGES.

DEGENERATION.—To whatever school of social reform one belong, whatever be his view of the cause of present ills and the methods to be followed to remove those ills and to advance to any ideal condition, whatever that ideal may be, one cannot escape the question of the ability of the individuals who compose society to conduct the methods of reform believed in, and to realize the ideal conditions that may be desired. The socialist, who dwells most upon the power and function of society in developing progress, must meet the question whether the individual be capable of socialism no less than the individualist must consider individual ability. We therefore consider in this article the causes which tend to lower individual ability and to produce that personal degeneration which makes the individual lower than the norm (*de*, from, and *genus*, class or norm), unfitted to play his proper part in life. This is all that we mean here by the degenerate. All forms of unfittedness for life are more or less connected, and pass by degrees from the slightest unfittedness to the extremes of vice, intemperance, and disease.

The conception of degeneration which prevails to-day in the study of mental disease, and which lies at the basis of Max Nordau's well-known book, *Degeneration*, was first clearly defined by Dr. Morel in his *Traité des Dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'Espèce humaine et des Causes qui produisant ces variétés maladières*, published in Paris in 1857. He says, p. 5: "The clearest notion we can form of degeneracy is to regard it as a morbid deviation from an original type. This deviation, even if at the outset it was ever so slight, contained transmissible elements of such a nature that any one bearing in him the germs becomes more and more incapable of fulfilling his functions in the world; and mental progress, already checked in his own person, finds itself menaced also in his descendants." Such degeneracy shows itself, according to many writers, and particularly Lombroso (*q. v.*), in his *L'Uomo delinquente*, in certain physical characteristics termed *stigmata*, such as deformities, stunted growth, asymmetry, etc. Max Nordau, however, argues that there are also certain mental stigmata which appear in degeneracy when coupled with affinity for art or literature. Such higher degenerates he considers to dwell in the borderline between reason and pronounced madness. These mental stigmata he considers to be the lack of moral sense or of moral proportion, egoism, impulsiveness, emotionalism, despondency, fear; a predilection for idle reverie, doubts and curious surmisings as to the causes of the universe, mysticism, etc. His book, which has been by many received as an able contribution to modern thought, and by others as a weak and sometimes ignorant criticism upon new forms of art and literature, is a minute analysis of many of the foremost works of art and literature of the day, with the result of convicting most of the artists and *littérateurs* of the day of being, according to Nordau, degenerate.

We have referred to this book to show how wide is the range that has been covered by the

word degenerate. The causes that produce such an undefined and such an undefinable phenomenon must be themselves undefined and undefinable. Only some of them can be here noted, and one must beware of too exact statements, especially as to the degree to which different causes contribute to producing character and ability below the norm. The main causes we can here only name, for a discussion of them referring the reader to their respective heads. In the first place, we are met by the old question how far environment and heredity contribute to the formation of character, and how far men form their own characters. Without entering into questions of philosophy, it is not difficult to show the results of modern careful investigation upon this point. In Mr. A. G. Warner's *American Charities*, p. 34, he has tabulated the results of careful investigations as to the prime causes of poverty, conducted by trained charity organization visitors in Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and New York, by Mr. Charles Booth in London, and results tabulated by Böhmert for 76 German cities. This tabulates practically all the scientific investigations that have been made. We give the details of it in the article **POVERTY, CAUSES OF**. We here simply point out some of its results. According to this table, in all the different investigations taken by men and women, humanitarians, tho not socialistically inclined, only from 2.7 to 42.2 per cent. of the cases were found to be primarily due to causes indicating misconduct, while the causes indicating misfortune are put at from 46.4 to 92.5 per cent. According to this showing, then, poverty—and since poverty and degeneration usually are associated, degeneration—is very much more due to misfortune than misconduct. And even in cases of poverty due to misconduct, one can by no means be sure how much of the misconduct is due to bad environment or bad heredity. Misconduct causes much poverty—of that there is no question; but that poverty also causes much misconduct, such as drinking, prostitution, crime, theft, can no more be questioned. How much tendency, too, to drinking, prostitution, and crime is inherited, who can say? Cases like the Jukes (*q. v.*) show the terrible power of heredity. The extent to which people thus form their own characters, as taught by modern science, is reduced to the lowest proportions. That people can, however, rise out of the lowest environment to the highest character, numerous instances indicate; how far this, however, is due to heredity remains still to be ascertained.

Coming to the question as between heredity and environment, which is the more effective cause, we are again on a contested field in biological controversy.

Mr. Spencer's philosophy is mainly based on the belief that heredity accounts for much, and that acquired characteristics can be transmitted to posterity. Professor Weismann denies this. Science to-day is undecided upon the point, tending perhaps, however, to the position that while Weismann may not be wholly right, and acquired characteristics may sometimes be transmitted, yet for the future race selection has more to do

with character than environment, and acquired character cannot largely be transmitted. This,

**Heredity
or En-
vironment.**

however, does not prevent environment from being for the individual more important than heredity, which seems to-day largely proven. For further details upon this point, however, see HEREDITY.

Coming to the question of what are the principal factors in environment that produce degeneration in the individual, perhaps the first that should be named is lack of employment. This has the highest percentages of *any single cause* of poverty in Professor Warner's table, its percentages running from 2.2 per cent. to 32.5 per cent., while insufficient employment and poorly paid employment carry the percentage much higher. Not, perhaps, so much as a cause of poverty, since it is rather a result of poverty, but certainly as a cause of degeneration among the very foremost causes, is the lack of a good home. This is probably the supreme cause of degeneration as far as environment goes, mainly because it is the cause most affecting the early years, when, by all experience, character is the most impressionable. The point is too well known, however, to need dwelling upon here. For an alarming confirmation of it, see article CRIMINOLOGY, section "Causes of Crime." It should, perhaps, however, be suggested, too, that in noticing the terrible effects upon character of lack of homes and poor homes, one should not forget the terrible results upon character of unhappy homes, of unhappy marriages, and family quarrels. (See FAMILY.)

Professor Warner puts as a most palpable social cause of degeneration accidents, and shows how in one year, ending June 30, 1892, 28,268 men in railway employ were injured on the railways of the United States, or one man for every 29. (See RAILWAYS. For accidents in manufactories and trades to children, see CHILD LABOR.) It must not be forgotten that the worst results of accidents are often not the direct results, but the indirect, when homes are broken up through the inability of the breadwinner to maintain the family. Akin to this is the effect of unhealthy trades. (See DANGEROUS TRADES.) The effect of this, however, on the individual and the family can be only seen in studying the relative death-rates, and perhaps even more the relative sick-rates that prevail in different occupations. According to statistics prepared by Josef Köröski, as quoted by Professor Warner (*idem*, p. 104), if we start at the age of 25 with 1000 persons of each class, there will be alive at the end of 35 years, of merchants, 587; of tailors, 421; of shoemakers, 376; of servants, 290; of day laborers, only 253. The total number of years of life for the merchants will be 28,501, and of the laborers only 22,317, while, worse yet, of the years falling to the laborer, 1,493 will be years of sickness, while of the merchants' years only 824 will be years of sickness. Such are some of the social causes of degeneration.

Among the causes which may be considered under misconduct, the most recent thought gives a larger place to sensuality than to intemperance. It is often not easy to tabulate this as a cause; but, says Professor Warner: "Careful

observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons in a much larger number of Sensuality. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes." It has, however, been comparatively little studied. The effects of venereal disease have been treated at length, but the amount of vitality burned out through lust has never been and, perhaps, never can be adequately measured. Above all, it brings multitudes of unhealthy children into the world, often to be neglected after birth. (See ILLEGITIMACY.)

Intemperance is much more readily recognized as a cause of degeneration. Says Professor Warner: "Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprise the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one fifteenth to one fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent. of the cases. (See INTemperance.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand in apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'" Such are the chief social causes of degeneration, but by no means all. Speculation in the market, hopelessness and discouragement in business—all are causes. Perhaps the most powerful causes of personal degeneration have not yet been mentioned—the psychological causes. These may be often connected with religion. When in early years moral teachings have been combined with certain religious dogma, it often happens that when in later years the religious dogmas are given up, there results, for a time at least, a moral chaos. Probably far more demoralizing both in extent and degree, and especially to the young, is the skepticism as to honor and virtue which results from seeing those whom they have been taught to respect at the church commit acts contrary to their profession. The degeneration of character that arises from this source can never be measured, but it must be among the most operative causes. Such considerations, however, lead us into fields too wide to be covered here, and apart from the limitations of this cyclopedia. Yet this and a hundred other similar psychological forces must never be forgotten in their effect upon character.

How far such an analysis of the causes of degeneration affect the question of the wisest methods in social reform different minds will differently estimate. Socialists argue that all

**Intem-
perance.**

modern science tends to show that character is almost wholly the result of environment, and hence that by giving right environment vice and crime will disappear, and gradually a race be developed capable of what is to-day impossible. Individualists, while not denying the power of environment upon character, fear that socialism will result in weakened character and impaired individuality, by tending to make men rely too much upon society. (See SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; EVOLUTION; POVERTY, CAUSES OF; CRIMINOLOGY; PROSTITUTION.)

References: A. G. Warner's *American Charities* (chaps. ii. to v., 1895); Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Biology* (concluding chapters, 1891); August Weismann's *Heredité*; Lester Ward's *Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1893); Arthur MacDonal's *Abnormal Man* (1893).

DEMAND AND SUPPLY in political economy may best be considered together as correlates of each other. *Demand* is the desire to purchase and possess coupled with the power of purchasing; sometimes called, by way of distinction, *effectual demand*—a phrase originated by Adam Smith. Cairns (*Political Economy*, I. ii., sec. 2) defines demand as "the desire for commodities or services seeking its end by an offer of general purchasing power." *Supply* is correlatively the amount or quantity of any commodity that is on the market and is available for purchase. Cairns defines it (*ibid.*) as "the desire for general purchasing power, seeking its end by an offer of specific commodities or services." As, then, the things are correlate, the laws of supply and demand are correlate. Marshall states them thus; first of *Demand* (*Economics of Industry*, pp. 69-71):

"It is a matter of common experience that the larger the stock which sellers determine to sell, the lower will be the price at which it can be got rid of. *Vice versa*, the lower the price at which anything is offered for sale, the greater is the amount of it which can be sold off. Examples occur to us every day. In a good apple year, the price of apples is low; in a bad year it is high. At the end of the season a fashionable shop sells off at a great reduction, and so gets many customers. . . .

"The lower the price that a man has to pay for a thing, the more of it is he likely to buy. A fall in price will not, indeed, make every purchaser increase his purchases. It might in the case of sugar; it would not in the case of carpets. But a fall in the price of carpets would induce some of the householders in a large market to buy new carpets; just as an unhealthy autumn increases the mortality of a large town, though many persons are uninjured by it. For in a large market there must be some who are doubting whether to replace an old carpet by a new one; and their decision will be affected by a fall in the price of carpets. There will not be any exact relation between the fall in price and the increase of demand. A fall of one tenth in the price may increase the sales by a twentieth or by a quarter, or it may double them. But in a large market every fall in price will cause an increase of demand. The law of demand then is:

"The amount of a commodity which finds purchasers in a market in a given time depends on the price at which it is offered for sale, and varies so that the amount demanded is increased by a fall in price and diminished by a rise in price. Its price measures its final utility to each purchaser—that is, the value in use to him of that portion of it which it is only just worth his while to buy."

Of *Supply* Marshall says (p. 76):

"The interest of every producer of a commodity is always to calculate the amount of it that is being produced for market. If this amount seems likely to be small, so that its price will rise above its expenses of production, he will produce as much as he can, so as to derive as much benefit as possible from the high

price which he anticipates. If, on the other hand, the amount brought to market seems likely to be so great that its price will fall below its expenses of production, then he will check his own production so far as he conveniently can. So that if the price of a commodity is likely to be higher than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to increase the supply; and the effect of this is to lower the price toward its expenses of production. And if its price is likely to be lower than its expenses of production, it is the interest of each producer to do what he can to check the supply; and the effect of this is to raise the price toward the expenses of production. That is to say:

"Every producer of a commodity calculates the price at which he will be able to sell it, and the expenses of producing it. He thus determines whether to increase or diminish his production. If there is free competition—that is, if he is not acting in combination with other producers—he increases or diminishes his supply according as the price of the commodity seems likely to be greater or less than its expenses of production. Thus he is led by his own interests to act in the same way as he would if his only object were to regulate the amount produced so that it could just be sold off at a price equal to its expenses of production.

"This law of supply may be called the law of normal supply, because it refers to the results that are in the long run brought about by free competition. Of course, all the expenses of production of a thing are themselves liable to variation. Wages may rise and fall, the rate of interest may rise and fall; and so on."

Putting these two laws together, Marshall goes on to say:

"The laws of demand and supply tell us that a rise in price lessens the amount demanded and increases that supplied, and that a fall in price increases the amount demanded and lessens that supplied. This competition tends to make the exchange value such as just to 'equate supply and demand,' i.e., such that the amount that people are willing to sell at that value is equal to the amount which can find purchasers at that value. This tendency of competition to equate supply and demand is the central fact of the theory of exchange, whether applied to normal values or to market fluctuations of value."

Mill says on this point (*Political Economy*, Book III., chap. ii., sec. 4):

"Demand and supply, the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied, will be made equal. If unequal at any moment, competition equalizes them, and the manner in which this is done is by an adjustment of the value. If the demand increases, the value rises; if the demand diminishes, the value falls; again, if the supply falls off, the value rises; and falls, if the supply is increased. The rise or the fall continues until the demand and supply are again equal to one another: and the value which a commodity will bring in any market is no other than the value which, in that market, gives a demand just sufficient to carry off the existing or expected supply."

The above are, perhaps, the best statements of the law of supply and demand, which has played such a large part in economic thought from the days of Adam Smith to the present time. It refers, however, as already stated, only to articles which are not monopolized, and also which cannot be multiplied indefinitely at pleasure. For a discussion of the first case, see MONOPOLY. Other articles have no *exchange value* (*q.v.*), and these need not be studied in the science of exchange, to which the subject of demand and supply belongs. Nevertheless, these exceptions should always be borne in mind, especially at the present, when there is so little of free competition in many industries and so much of combination. The importance of the so-called law of supply and demand, which has hitherto played a part in economic thought, is thus being very rapidly diminished. Certainly, at least, generalizations that have been so rashly made on the subject must be carefully scrutinized, if not

avoided. To say, as is not unfrequently done, that demand is the cause of supply, is as rash as to say that supply creates demand. Many inventions have come into the market before there was an (effectual) demand for them; and for many demands, as for flying machines, there is no supply. No amount of demand will supply a Shakespeare, and no amount of supply can compel a demand for professors of Sanskrit. These are but a few illustrations of the many limits there are to the working of this boasted law. One school of economic thought, the Eight-Hour philosophy (*q.v.*), denies that demand has anything to do, for example, in determining either price or wages; but for this see **WAGES; VALUE.**

DEMOCRACY (from Greek *δημος*, people, and *κρατείν*, to rule) is government by the people, a system of government, or the state where a government exists, according to which the sovereign power is vested in the people as a whole, and is exercised directly by them or by representatives chosen by them. In Greece, whence we derive the name, most of the republics or cities, and notably Athens, were, at their best periods, democracies, if by the word *people* in the definition of democracy is meant *citizens*. Yet they were by no means true democracies, because large classes of the people—some say a large majority—were slaves and not considered citizens, and had no voice in the government. Some even question whether the United States is a democracy, since even here a large half of the people—the women—do not vote. (See **WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.**) Many writers, like Aristotle, claim that it is not necessary, however, that all classes of the people vote to constitute a democracy. He believes that suffrage should be limited to the citizen class. Where all vote, he says, it is an ochlocracy, or mob government. A modern author, like Professor Burgess, of Columbia (*Political Science and Constitutional Law*, vol. i., p. 72), defines democracy as applied to the State as the rule of the majority. On the other hand, John Stuart Mill, in his *Representative Government*, makes the rule of all, not of a majority, and certainly not of a class, the essence of democracy. He says:

"The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people by the whole people equally represented. Democracy, as commonly conceived and hitherto practised, is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with the equality of all citizens; the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a government of privilege, in favor of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken, to the complete disfranchisement of minorities.

"The confusion of ideas here is great, but it is so easily cleared up, that one would suppose the slightest indication would be sufficient to place the matter in its true light before any mind of average intelligence. It would be so, but for the power of habit; owing to which the simplest idea, if unfamiliar, has as great difficulty in making its way to the mind as a far more complicated one. That the minority must yield to the majority, the smaller number to the greater, is a familiar idea; and accordingly men think there is no necessity for using their minds any further, and it does not occur to them that there is any medium between allowing the smaller number to be equally powerful with the greater, and blotting out the smaller number altogether."

He then goes on to make a strong plea for proportional representation (*q.v.*), and says:

"Nothing is more certain than that the virtual blotting out of the minority is no necessary or natural consequence of freedom; that, far from having any connection with democracy, it is diametrically opposed to the first principle of democracy, representation in proportion to numbers. It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a false show of democracy, is possible without it."

Of the advantages of democracy, he says:

"There is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is that in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general. . . .

"It is a great discouragement to an individual, and a still greater one to a class, to be left out of the constitution; to be reduced to plead from outside the door to the arbiters of their destiny, not taken into consultation within. The maximum of the invigorating effect of freedom upon the character is only obtained when the person acted on either is, or is

looking forward to becoming, a citizen as fully privileged as any other. What is still more important than even this matter of feeling is the practical discipline which the character obtains from the occasional demand made upon the citizens to exercise, for a time and in their turn, some social function. It is not sufficiently considered how little there is in most men's ordinary life to give any largeness either to their conceptions or to their sentiments. Their work is a routine; not a labor of love, but of self-interest in the most elementary form, the satisfaction of daily wants; neither the thing done nor the process of doing it introduces the mind to thoughts or feelings extending beyond individuals; if instructive books are within their reach, there is no stimulus to read them; and in most cases the individual has no access to any person of cultivation much superior to his own. Giving him something to do for the public supplies, in a measure, all these deficiencies. If circumstances allow the amount of public duty assigned him to be considerable, it makes him an educated man. Notwithstanding the defects of the social system and moral ideas of antiquity, the practice of the dcaistry and the ecclesia raised the intellectual standard of an average Athenian citizen far beyond anything of which there is yet an example in any other mass of men, ancient or modern. The proofs of this are apparent in every page of our great historian of Greece.

"Still more salutary is the moral part of the instruction afforded by the participation of the private citizen, if even rarely, in public functions. He is called upon, while so engaged, to weigh interests not his own; to be guided, in case of conflicting claims, by another rule than his private partialities; to apply, at every turn, principles and maxims which have for their reason of existence the common good; and he usually finds associated with him in the same work minds more familiarized than his own with these ideas and operations, whose study it will be to supply reasons to his understanding, and stimulation to his feeling for the general interest. He is made to feel himself one of the public, and whatever is for their benefit to be for his benefit. Where this school of public spirit does not exist, scarcely any sense is entertained that private persons, in no eminent social situation, owe any duties to society, except to obey the laws and submit to the government. There is no unselfish sentiment of identification with the public. Every thought or feeling, either of interest or of duty, is absorbed in the individual and in the family. The man never thinks of any collective interest, of any objects to be purchased jointly with others, but only in competition with them, and in some measure at their expense. A neighbor not being an ally or an associate, since he is never engaged in any common undertaking for joint benefit, is therefore only a rival. Thus even private morality suffers, while public is actually extinct.

Morality.

So conceiving of democracy, we notice here, tho' briefly, its growth and steady development

in the world. The first democracies of the world were undoubtedly the city-states of ancient Greece. In Sparta the constitution of Lycurgus (about 850 B.C.), tho maintaining the ancient double monarchy, introduced institutions largely democratic. The kings became little more than presidents of a senate elected by the general assembly of citizens over 60 years of age. This assembly (*ἀπέλλα*) could accept or reject all laws and decide on war and peace, etc. Ephors were created to watch over the constitution.

Greek Democracy. The immediate result was to raise Sparta into preeminence in Greece—a position she never wholly lost till she finally fell, last of the Greek States, before the power of Macedon. Yet her democracy was little more than a military oligarchy based upon birth and age. Athens was more really democratic in her best period. After Codrus, the last of her kings (1050 B.C.), the Eupatrids (nobles) ruled with a council (*βουλή*) on Mars Hill (*Areopagus*), tho all citizens could meet in the agora and express assent or dissent. The Eupatrids elected archons; first for life and then for 10 years. B.C. 594 the legislation of Solon created constitutional government, admitting all citizens to a share in power, but giving the higher orders a preponderating influence. This gave way to the dictatorship of the Pisistratidæ till the constitution of Clisthenes (about 509 B.C.) introduced a complete democracy, so far as free citizens went. All such could vote. Ten strategi, elected annually, were the officers. Then came Athens' classic period of the wars with Persia and of art and letters. By a law of 478 B.C. the last property qualification for office was swept away. Yet the continual reelecting of a favorite statesman gave the republic the continuity of brilliant leadership like that of Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles. Yet within a century dissatisfaction with a Sicilian expedition induced the citizens to change their constitution in the direction of aristocracy, resulting finally in defeat by the Macedonian kingdom. (For the ideals and spirit of Greek democracy, see ATHENS; PLATO; ARISTOTLE; POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

Democracy in Rome begins 508 B.C., when the patricians expelled Tarquin, the last of the kings. Rome was now ruled by two prætors or consuls elected by the centuries, in which all freemen were enrolled. Then came the long struggle between the patricians and plebeians; the oppressions of the former; the secessions of the latter from the city; the creation of tribunes to defend the rights of the people; the election of the decemvirs; the return to the consulate; the creation of censors and military tribunes; the growing militarism; the division between the rich and the poor; the agrarian laws of the Gracchi; the triumph of the aristocracy; the creation of the triumvirs; the development of the empire. Yet through all these changes ran the ideal of the people as sovereign. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Lecky says (*History of European Morals*, vol. i., chap. ii.) that even under the empire "the theory of the Roman Empire was that of a representative despotism. The various offices of the republic were not annihilated,

but they were gradually concentrated in a single man."

Democracy among Germanic nations begins with the mark or clan where the eorls or earls (leading men) elected their chief or voted war and peace, while the free eorls or churls declared assent by the clash of arms. This early democracy, however, gradually disappeared in the development of feudalism, save in the rights maintained in communities like the Russian *mir*; and, above all, in the *Landsgemeinde*, the Swiss cantons. (See COMMUNISM; REFERENDUM.)

The real democracy of the Middle Ages is to be found in the rise of the free cities and centers of art, trade, and commerce, like Florence, Pisa, Venice, and Genoa in the south, and Hamburg, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt in the north. (See CITY.) The southern cities aimed at avowed republicanism, perhaps, more than the northern, but save for fitful periods, as in Florence, were really under dukes and aristocracies more than the northern cities. In the northern free cities one finds the real parent of modern democracy.

Modern democracy begins as an idea with the Christian teaching of the brotherhood of man, the Protestant teaching of the right of private judgment, and of the responsibility of the individual to God alone. It is developed in theory of the social compact by Locke, Rousseau, and the various French writers of the eighteenth century. (For the ideas of this period, see NATURAL RIGHTS.)

Modern Times.

But all history enters into modern democracy. Says De Tocqueville in the Introduction to his *Democracy in America*:

"We shall scarcely meet with a single great event in the lapse of 700 years which has not turned to the advantage of equality. . . . The gradual development of the equality of conditions is therefore a providential fact, and it possesses all the characteristics of a divine decree; it is universal; it is durable; it constantly illudes all human interference, and all events as well as all men contribute to it."

Democracy began, according to De Tocqueville, with the Church, when the clergy opened her ranks to all classes, and "the being who as a serf must have vegetated in perpetual bondage took his place as a priest in the midst of nobles, and not infrequently above the head of kings." Next, he says, the need of civil laws gave the legal functionary a place by the mailed baron. Thirdly, the nobility being exhausted by wars and the lower classes enriched by commerce, the man of money gained position by the side of the man of birth. Next, education, science, and literature opened to any one of ability avenues to power. "In the eleventh century nobility was beyond all price; in the thirteenth it might be purchased; it was conferred for the first time in 1270. . . . It sometimes happened that in order to resist the authority of the crown or to diminish the power of their rivals, the nobles granted a certain share of political rights to the people, or, more frequently, the kings permitted the lower orders to enjoy a degree of power, with the intention of repressing the aristocracy. . . . Some assisted democracy by their talents; others by their vices. Louis XI. and Louis XIV. reduced every rank beneath the throne to the same subjection; Louis XV. descended himself and all his court unto the dust."

But modern democracy finds its first chief actual development in the United States, tho descended from English ancestry. Parliament was in a sense the continuation or revival of the ancient Witenagemote, or meeting of the wise men (eorls) of all England. If it did not rule England in form, it did rule through the purse. The connection between taxation and repre-

sentation, the idea that no man could be taxed save by his own consent—that and the kindred idea embodied in the Great Charter won from King John, that no man could be condemned without a trial

English Democracy. by his peers—"by the country" (see JURY), lie at the basis of English and American ideas of freedom.

The overthrow of feudalism, the struggle with Charles, the Revolution of 1688, the development of constitutional government, had made England to an extent democratic by confiding its government to a Parliament elected by a limited suffrage to represent the people. The American colonies held the same ideal of democracy, no more and no less. The doctrines of natural rights (*q.v.*) and the social compact to some extent found acceptance in America; but this was balanced by the constructive common sense of an English race and in the true spirit of Burke, the consciousness of national development. "No men were less revolutionary in spirit," says Bryce, "than the fathers of the American Revolution."

The United States. The spirit of George Washington and John Adams was opposed to the ideas of Paine, of Rousseau, and even of Jefferson. Hamilton openly preferred monarchy to democracy, which he feared would overthrow morals and property and end in despotism. American democracy was thus a healthy natural development almost forced by circumstances on the people, and developed by a race jealous for rights. (For the constitutional development of American democracy, see CONSTITUTION; CENTRALIZATION.)

De Tocqueville, who studied America in 1831, found one of its fundamental characteristics and safeguards its connection between liberty and religion. "The safeguard of morality," he says, "is religion, and morality is the best security of law and the surest pledge of freedom." Another great tendency which he finds in the United States at this period is one to decentralization. The town meeting is the ideal. This results in weak, irregular administration, but its political results are admirable in interesting all portions of the land in government. "The town meeting is to liberty what primary schools are to science." De Tocqueville believed very much more in the future of the States than of the Union; he believed that would go to pieces when the States desired it or differed in policy. How completely his view has been disproved is well known, but he touched here on the burning question of American politics for more than half a century. The constitution of the Federal Government, however, he highly praises. Its balanced division of powers he considers necessary and admirable. The election of the President by electors he terms a most happy device. He deplures, however, the custom of electing representatives as mere delegates bound by instructions as tending to destroy representative government. The practice of electing judges he criticizes, and praises the independence of the Supreme Court; the speaking of the power of that court to judge as to the constitutionality and therefore legality of any bill, he says, "A more imposing judicial power was never constituted by any people." He fears the power of majorities, and says that the main evil of democratic institutions in the United States arises "not from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength;" he is "not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny. . . . If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minority to desperation and oblige them to have recourse to physical force." This danger, however, is mitigated by the

absence of centralized power, the wise laws, and especially by the morality, religion, and intelligence of the people. "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot."

With these institutions, De Tocqueville says, "the Union is as happy and free as a small people and as glorious and strong as a great nation."

The effects of democracy upon the people of the United States, he considers to be to produce mediocrity. They worship equality more than liberty. Great political parties, he says, have disappeared. The country contains few germs of revolution; America has factions but not conspiracies, the race of statesmen has dwindled. Universal suffrage does not guarantee wise choice of officers. Democracies are better in times of peace than of war. They develop the activities of the individual. De Tocqueville says: "This ceaseless agitation which democratic government has introduced into the political world influences all social intercourse. I am not sure that upon the whole this is not the greatest advantage of democracy. And I am much less inclined to applaud it for what it does than for what it causes to be done."

Such was the view of the most careful critic of American institutions at the close of the first third of the present century. How accurately he judged upon some points, how utterly events have proved him wrong upon others, is apparent. The Union is stronger to-day than the States; democratic government in the United States has not been proven weak in war or fickle in time of peace. Majorities have rarely been tyrannical. Of the faults which have appeared, Mr. Bryce, writing in 1888, says (*American Commonwealth*, 1st ed., chap. xcv.):

"We have seen that the defects commonly attributed to democratic government are not specially characteristic of the United States. It remains to inquire what are the peculiar blemishes which the country does show. . . .

"First, a certain commonness of mind and tone, a want of dignity and elevation in and about the conduct of public affairs, an insensibility to the nobler aspects and finer responsibilities of national life.

"Secondly, a certain apathy among the luxurious classes and fastidious minds, who find themselves of no more account than the ordinary voter, and are disgusted by the superficial vulgarities of public life.

"Thirdly, a want of knowledge, tact, and judgment in the details of legislation, as well as in administration, with an inadequate recognition of the difficulty of these kinds of work, and of the worth of special experience and skill in dealing with them. Because it is incompetent, the multitude will not feel its incompetence, and will not seek or defer to the counsels of those who possess the requisite capacity.

"Fourthly, laxity in the management of public business."

Mr. Lecky, however, in his still more recent *Democracy and Liberty* (1896), is much more severe on the United States. Its success he considers largely due to its wise Constitution and the very favorable circumstances of its trial. Yet he points out no little corruption (see articles CONGRESS, PLUTOCRACY), and then adds:

"There is, however, one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption. No feature of American life strikes a stranger so powerfully as the extraordinary indifference, partly cynicism and partly good nature, with which notorious frauds and notorious corruption in the sphere of politics are viewed by American public opinion." Of one other point Mr. Lecky says: "It must, I think, be added, that modern democracy is not favorable to the higher forms of intellectual life. Democracy levels down quite as much as it levels up. The belief in the equality of man, the total abstinence of the spirit of reverence, the apotheosis of the average judgment, the fever and the haste, the advertising and sensational spirit which American life so abundantly generates, and which the American press so vividly reflects, are little favorable to the production

Lecky's View.

of great works of beauty or of thought, of long meditation, of sober taste, of serious, uninterrupted study. Such works have been produced in America, but in small numbers and under adverse conditions."

So far Mr. Lecky. He seems to consider most of these faults the direct natural and all but inevitable result of democratic institutions, tho he considers them "aggravated" by the unnecessary rule that congressmen must belong to the States they represent, and that senators should receive large salaries.

Mr. Lecky, however, does not seem to see how far political corruption in America is the result, not of democracy, but of commercialism and that moneyed aristocracy which De Tocqueville bade Democrats fear 60 years ago. Lecky does, indeed, say that the industrialism of American life is one of its most characteristic features, and that its influence on politics has been by no means wholly good; he does also notice the fact that in wealthy America, in 1893 alone, 30,000 miles of our railways passed into the hands of receivers, and says, "What an amount of gigantic and deliberate dishonesty as well as unscrupulous gambling does such a state of things represent!" But he does not seem to have a suspicion how far corporations corrupt democracy, and not democracy corporations. Of this, however, we shall speak later. We pass on to notice briefly the result of democracy in other lands.

Europe. French democracy was born of ideals of natural rights falling on a nation perhaps more despotically ruled than any in Europe. These ideals, with those of altruism, as Mr. Kidd has pointed out in his *Social Evolution*, made even the aristocracy aware that their position was unjust, and prevented their effectually opposing the uprising of the oppressed. The result was an explosion. Says De Tocqueville of French democracy (Introduction to *Democracy in America*):

"The existence of democracy was seemingly unknown when on a sudden it took possession of the supreme power. . . . The theory was then submitted to its caprices; it was worshipped as the idol of strength, until, when it was enfeebled by its own excesses, the legislator conceived the rash project of annihilating its power, instead of instructing and correcting its vices. The consequence of this has been that the democratic revolution has been effected only in the material parts of society, without that concomitant change in laws, ideas, customs, and manners which was necessary to render such a revolution beneficial."

This view of a French opponent of democracy, written 60 years ago, is to a less extent true to-day. The French Revolution was one of the middle classes rather than of the lowest. The mass of the people were not ready for it. France, therefore, during the century has vibrated between emperor and commune. Plebiscites have served tyrants. Between 1800 and 1881 France had 11 revolutions and 19 successive constitutions, and between 1870 and 1894, 32 ministries.

Still democracy has steadily grown, and is now probably more firmly established in France than ever. Her suffrage is all but universal, the main restrictions on her democracy being in the Senate, and, for Paris, in its lack of self-government. (See PARIS.) No one is enthusiastic over the French Government. Panama

scandals, coquetting with Russia, the steady growth of her national debt and of taxation, in spite of her widely diffused land property and her popular loans, have made socialism and, to a less extent anarchism, the popular idols in France.

Switzerland is undoubtedly the most democratic and one of the most prosperous countries in Europe. Her well-known referendum and initiative we consider under that head. In Switzerland far more than in America the people rule. This is undoubtedly in part because of the smallness of her territory and of the fact that her commercial and industrial interests have not called into existence the great corporations which dominate and corrupt American politics; but believers in democracy argue that Switzerland shows that the cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. France and America, they say, are plutocracies. With the referendum and the initiative, so that the legislative power is with the people, with a president (see SWITZERLAND) who is little more than a figurehead, with a government largely decentralized between cantons and municipalities, with a judiciary not allowed to enslave a people by interpreting a constitution framed in other days for other needs, Switzerland is really democratic, and tho not a land of extreme wealth, she holds high rank in popular learning, industry, and prosperity for her people.

Other countries in Europe, tho nominally monarchies, are, as in England, Germany, and Belgium, almost as democratic in many respects as America or France. In the extent of national as opposed to municipal suffrage, they rank almost with America. (See ELECTIONS.) They groan under standing armies, but so does republican France. Their legislatures represent the classes more than the masses; but England has 13 labor men in Parliament, Germany has 44 socialists in her Reichstag, Italy 15 in her Parliament, France from 40 to 55, Belgium 33, Holland 10, while in the Congress of the United States there are no working men. Where do the people most truly rule?

Coming now to the arguments for and against democracy, Mr. Lecky, its latest critic, says of its evil results:

"Sometimes the voter will be directly bribed or intimidated. He will vote for money or for drink or in order to win the favor or avert the displeasure of some one who is more powerful than himself. . . . A still larger number of votes will be won by persistent appeals to class cupidities. . . . If the poorest, most numerous, and most ignorant class can be persuaded to hate the smaller class, and to vote solely for the purpose of injuring them, the party manager will have achieved his end. . . . As education advances, news-

papers arise which are intended solely for this purpose, and they are often almost the only reading of great numbers of voters. As far as the most ignorant class have opinions of their own, they will be of the vaguest and most childlike nature. . . . A man will vote blue or yellow as his father did before him. . . . A few strong biases of class or creed will often display a great vitality. Large numbers, also, will naturally vote on what is called 'the turn-about system.' . . . A bad harvest or some other disaster over which the government can have no more influence than over the march of the planets will produce a discontent that will govern dubious votes. . . . The evil of evils in our present politics is that the constituencies can no longer be fully trusted, and that their power is so nearly absolute. . . . One of the great divisions

Unfavorable View.

of politics in our day is coming to be whether, at the last resort, the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence." Some results of democracy Lecky considers to be a lowered character of parliamentary government over all Europe and America. All countries give a sigh of relief when legislatures are prorogued. Wealth still rises, but wealth of the worst kind. Taxes and debts are increased, one class "has the power of voting taxes, which another class must almost exclusively pay." Group system and log-rolling are developed, machines govern parties.

There is, however, another side to this. Even Lecky has to admit that democratic institutions have enormously advanced both the quantity and the quality of popular education, have made enormous strides in caring for the public health, have aided factory legislation, have been favorable to religious liberty.

It is true that he carefully shows that popular education does not accomplish all the good sometimes claimed, but yet he cannot bring himself to actually

Favorable View.

oppose, and he has to admit that opposition to much education for the toiling classes was a Tory doctrine, and that under democracy "hardly any change in our generation has been more marked than that which has made education of the poor one of the main functions of the Government. . . . At the same time," he says, "the standard of popular and free or, in other words, State paid education, seems steadily rising." Sanitary reform he calls "perhaps the noblest legislative achievement of our age." Of religious liberty he says, "On the whole, democracies, at least in the Anglo-Saxon race, seem to me favorable to religious liberty." No forms of liberty are more loved by English democracies than the liberty of expression, discussion, and association. Incidentally he speaks of "the higher wages, the better payment of functionaries and workmen of every order which has followed in the track of a higher standard of life and aspect." He refers to the "intense and many-sided intellectual and moral energy that pervades the country." He thinks there never was a period when more time, thought, money, and labor were bestowed on the alleviation of suffering. He says, "No feature of our century is more remarkable than the skill with which by reformatories and industrial and other schools, by factory laws, by the diminution of insanitary dwellings, and by the better regulation of the drink traffic, modern philanthropy has succeeded in restricting or purifying the chief sources of national crime." . . . "Not less conspicuous is the improvement that has taken place in the decorum, civilization and humanity of the bulk of the poor. . . . [while] the skilled artisans in our great towns within the memory of living men have become not only the most energetic, but also one of the most intelligent and orderly elements in English life." The closing chapter in Mr. Lecky's book in which he shows the almost revolutionary improvements that democracy has introduced in respect to women is one long argument for democracy. Surely if a critic of democracy has to admit all this, we need not regret that, as Mr. Lecky says, democracy is for a considerable time at least "an inevitable fact."

The main charge Mr. Lecky brings against democracy is that it makes the poor tax the rich, but most will think that that is an advance on the Toryism under which the rich tax the poor. Probably, too, it is true that democratic legislatures will be for some time in some ways inferior to aristocratic legislatures, because they admit representatives of classes whom aristocrats have long kept ignorant. But if democracy educates the people and raises their life, it will soon raise the standard of the representatives of the people. Democracy, as De Tocqueville discovered, is best because of its indirect results.

There are, indeed, those in America—and the number is at present growing—who ask if democracy is not a failure; they see the voters of our cities bought and sold; they see offices

put up at auction, legislation obtained by corrupt means. They think this due to the ignorance and corruption of the people, and therefore they desire from good motives to restrict the ballot. They look with envy to the institutions of Great Britain and of Germany, where they find less political corruption and more efficient government. This class forgets that political corruption may be due, not to the ignorance of those who are bought, but to the corrupt power of the educated, who buy. They forget that England **Cause of** and Germany have recently made **Plutocracy.** rapid advances in democracy, and that as they have advanced in trust of the people they have advanced and not retrograded in political and municipal purity. The reason for their comparative municipal purity and our municipal corruption may be, not that they are less democratic than we, but because with them the Government rules the corporations; with us corporations rule the Government. (See CRRY.) This, at least, is a view that needs to be remembered. Whatever be the truth, the fact cannot be denied that a growing class in America desire to restrict the suffrage, to have less frequent elections, to take power from the common people. One of the "reforms" pressed before the recent Constitutional Convention in New York was the restriction of the suffrage. In Massachusetts, the effort for less frequent elections has been very strong. In many States "educational and sometimes property qualifications" are being mooted. In Ohio, the counsel of a great trust recently said, in a United States court, that "too many people vote." It is equally clear that this does not represent the view of the masses of the country, nor of some of the most experienced thinkers. Professor Ely (*Christian Union*, October 9, 1890) quotes Mr. Seth Low, when Mayor of Brooklyn, as saying that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city government. Professor Commons, in *Outlines of Lectures on City Government*, quotes him as saying: "In a country where wealth has no hereditary sense of obligation to its neighbors, it is hard to conceive what would be the condition of society if universal suffrage did not compel every one having property to consider, to some extent at least, the well-being of the whole community." Mr. Albert Shaw, who perhaps has studied municipal administration more widely than any other writer, in an interview published by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 27, 1888, makes it the second most important principle of municipal administration to "trust the people."

The masses of this country want not less democracy, but more. They want not a limited suffrage, but industrial democracy added to political democracy. Their problem is not how to limit the suffrage, but how to save the political liberties of the people. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, in an address before the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago, December, 1893, speaking of present evils in America, said:

"The pioneers who saw a generation ago the thread that would lead us through this labyrinth and into the free air have now become a multitude. That thread is the thread of democracy, whose principles must and will rule wherever men coexist, in industry not less surely

than in politics. It is by the people who do the work that the hours of labor, the conditions of employment, the division of the produce is to be determined. It is by them the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be servants, not masters. It is for the welfare of all that the coordinated labor of all must be directed. Industry, like government, exists only by the cooperation of all, and, like government, it must guarantee equal protection to all. This is democracy, and democracy is not true only where men carry letters or build forts, but wherever they meet in common efforts.

"The declaration of independence yesterday meant self-government, to-day it means self-employment, which is but another kind of self-government. Every dollar, every edifice, every product of human toil is the creation of the cooperation of all the people. But in this cooperation it is the share of the majority to have no voice, to do the hardest work and feed on the crumbs of life. Not as an exception, but universally, labor is doing what it does not want to do, and not getting what it wants or what it needs. Laborers want to work eight hours a day; they must work ten, fourteen, eighteen. Crying to their employers, to Congress, to legislatures to be rescued, they go down under the murderous couplers and wheels of the railroads faster than if they were in active

Need of Industrial Democracy.

service in war, marching out of one battle into another. They want to send their children to school; they must send them to the factory. They want their wives to keep house for them; but they, too, must throw some shuttle or guide some wheel. They must work when they are sick; they must stop work at another's will. . . . This is an impossible situation. No human society ever held together on such terms. This is contrary to the most sacred principles of American society. This is government without consent, and it is the corner-stone and roof-tree of American life that we will have none of it. The men who think it can continue are our idlest dreamers and most impracticable theorists. . . .

"Democracy must be progressive or die. It was by a divine instinct of right, whether they knew it or not, that the hundreds of men who found themselves these winter nights in Chicago without a roof went to the city hall. That is the house of democracy. It stands on the foundation principle that the people live and work for the people. The city hall means nothing if it does not mean that the general welfare, not the advantages or privileges of a few, is the object of society. It means more—the general welfare can be properly planned only if all have a voice, and the plans can be properly carried out only when all join their efforts. The city hall represents an institution ready made for any purpose of the common good for which the common people choose to use it—an institution in which they are equal partners, and no thanks to any one but themselves. The old democracy is the father of this new democracy. The old trade-union is to herald this greater union. The people who vote are bound on their own recognition to get the independence and knowledge to vote right and free. The public schools are a pledge of the public honor that every citizen shall be able to buy books and shall have time to read and digest.

"The progressive genius of democracy is at one with its progressive necessities. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand,' said Lincoln. 'This union cannot permanently endure half slave and half free.' It is equally true that all cannot remain politically free if all are not economically free. Political freedom is but the first installment of economic freedom."

Nor is this the view of those alone who are socialistically inclined. Mr. George Gunton, who opposes socialism, says (*Wealth and Progress*, p. 205):

"Freedom does not consist in the mere absence of legal barriers, but in the actual power to go and to do. The poor can never be free in any true sense of the term. Whoever controls a man's living can determine his liberty. Freedom means independence, which nothing but wealth can impart. Even intelligence cannot give independence, except as it can give wealth. Poverty and freedom are incompatible with each other.

"Whatever may be, theoretically, the form of government, the political freedom—real power and influence—of the masses is always proportionate to their industrial prosperity and progress. Thus, the political influence of the masses is far greater under the present

European monarchies than it was under the ancient republics. And the political influence of the masses is greatest to-day in those countries where the industrial conditions—real wages—are the highest. The laboring classes possess more political influence and freedom in England under a monarchy with higher wages, than they do in France under a republic with lower wages; and there is still more real democracy with higher wages under a republic in America than with lower wages under a monarchy in England. . . .

"It is not and never was true that liberty enlightens the world. On the contrary, our democratic institutions are the natural consequence of our industrial prosperity and superior civilization; and liberty, like morality, instead of enlightening the world, is the golden result of the world's being enlightened by the material and social progress of society. Were this otherwise, the industrial depressions which afflict the Old World would be unknown here. The notorious fact is that the frequency and severity of industrial depressions are as great under the democracies of France and America as under the monarchies of England, Germany, and Belgium."

Such is a view of democracy that is growing to-day.

Be this, however, as it may, democracy unquestionably for weal or for woe has the future. Mr. Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, shows that it is the underlying principle of all modern progress. Of this progress, he says (p. 164):

"It has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of that military organization of society which had previously prevailed in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people, hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. From a remote time down unto the period in which we are living, we have witnessed a continuous movement in this direction. The progress may not have been always visible to the current generation among whom the rising waves surge backward and forward, but looking back over our history, we mark unmistakably the unceasing onward progress of the slowly advancing tide. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes" (p. 164).

Growth of Democracy.

The only question, then, is, accepting democracy, how to save it from defeat, from corruption, from misdirection. For this see various views: Direct Representation, through which it is claimed all the people can legislate, and thus take away from corrupt representatives the power to sell legislation; Proportional Representation, by which it is urged that all parties and all views and all interests can be represented in legislation, the rights of minorities being specially protected; Industrial Reform, by which all being put on the same plane economically and being able to earn a living by a moderate amount of honest toil, will not be easily tempted to either sell their vote or buy legislation. (See also ANARCHISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; MUNICIPAL REFORM; INDIVIDUALISM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM; TEMPERANCE.) All these are claimed by various schools of thought as necessary to the realization of democracy.

References: J. C. Bluntschli's *The Theory of the State* (tr., 1892); J. G. Fichte, *The Science of Rights* (tr., 1889); Sir H. Maine's *Popular Government* (2d ed., 1886); J. S. Mill's *Representative Government* (1885); Giuseppe Mazzini's *Thoughts upon Democracy in Europe* (tr., 1877); James Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (3d ed., 1895); Albert Stickney's *A True Republic* (1890); J. R. Lowell's *Democracy and other Addresses* (1887); *Democracy*, a lecture by Wordsworth Donisthorpe (2d ed., 1886).

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE.—The causes of the rise of the Democratic Party may be briefly stated as follows: The Constitution of the United States, which went into effect March 4, 1789, had been adopted only after a hard struggle. It was declared by many that the Constitution gave too much power to the central government. Men said that liberty would perish. It was asserted that freedom won from George III. was being slain by her own children. The vote to ratify was nearly defeated in Massachusetts and New York. It took all the skill of Washington, and Franklin, and Hamilton to get it ratified. The States were jealous of the powers given to the Federal Government, and the people were jealous of power given to any government. The Constitution was only adopted because it was believed that the powers were so divided between the

different branches of the Government and each branch so carefully tied up with constitutional limitations that no branch could gain too much power. Nevertheless, even so, a strong anti-federalist sentiment or party sprung up, holding that the Constitution should be strictly interpreted and government only be allowed what the Constitution plainly authorized on the strictest interpretation. All other powers, they held, were reserved for the people. It was this feeling which led to what we know to-day as the Democratic Party, but which was first organized under other names.

It may be said to have become a party as early as 1792. The Federalist policy of the administration of Washington only increased the anti-Federalist feeling. In particular was the financial management of Hamilton and the neutrality of this country in the war between France and Spain obnoxious to the anti-Federalists. France to them represented democracy and England aristocracy; the one was loved, the other hated.

An impression got abroad that the Federalists were anti-republican, and that they actually wished for a monarchy. These various elements of disagreement with the policy of the administration began to coalesce into avowed opposition. Jefferson was the leader, and was not backward in opposing by letters and speeches the administration of Washington. The party first took the name of the Republican Party, since it claimed that the Federalists were anti-republican. The first authoritative use of this party name occurs in a letter of Jefferson to Washington, May 13, 1792.

Name. From 1793-96, however, the party took the name of the Democratic-Republican Party in order the better to win the allegiance of the French or democratic school of thought. This is still the official title of the party; but about 1829, when a nationalizing faction had broken off and called themselves National Republicans (see **WHIG PARTY**), the residue adopted the name Democrat, by which the party is to-day popularly known.

The fundamental principle of the party, Jefferson said, was "the cherishment of the people." It believed that that was the best government which governed least. It advocated State rights against too extended federal

power. It stood for a rigid economy in the moneys voted for government expenditure. Its leaders believed in or affected great plainness of dress and conduct in government officials. It stood for the strict construction not only of the Federal Constitution, but of all State constitution and municipal charters. Back of Congress, to an extent above Congress, was the sovereign State. Back of the State, and in a sense above the State, was the town meeting or the local political unit. Back of the town meeting were John Smith and Henry Jones, and Congress, State, or town meeting could only do what John Smith and Henry Jones had explicitly contracted or voted that they might do. On the other hand, the Federalists felt that a somewhat liberal interpretation of the Constitution and a somewhat extended conception of the function of the Federal Government was absolutely necessary to the prosperity and independence of the country; that otherwise it would be little more than a loose federation of petty sovereign and competing republics, like those of South America. Particularly did Hamilton carry this out in his financial policy. This immediately raised somewhat of a sectional feeling. The South was almost wholly agricultural and anti-Federalist. The North was commercial and more federalist. Of the national debt Jefferson said the South "owed the debt while the North owned it." The anti-Federalists, too, strongly objected to the administration's policy of a national bank. (See **BANKS AND BANKING**.)

The first test of political strength came in the elections of 1792, tho it was scarcely a real test of strength, for Washington, as in 1789, was easily reelected President, and what anti-Federalist or Democratic opposition there was scattered between various candidates; but when the third Congress was organized in 1793 the Republicans (Democrats) were in the majority. In 1796 there was more of a test contest. John Adams, the Federalist candidate, received 71 electoral votes, and was elected, but Jefferson received 68, and became Vice-President. The administration of Adams helped the Republicans (Democrats) still more. It was during his administration that the famous alien and sedition laws were passed, an exercise of power by Congress which the new party considered unconstitutional beyond a doubt. The act was taken by the Democrats as a sign that tyranny was rapidly developing. Jefferson considered these laws a nullity as "absolute and palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a graven image." The party, led by Jefferson and Madison, protested in the well-known Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. Their spirit has been the spirit of the party ever since, and gave the clearest expression yet of the doctrine of State rights. In the next election, 1800, the Republicans (Democrats) carried the election, and held the power for 24 years. **Jefferson.**

First Election. Jefferson was elected President, and Burr, also Republican (Democrat), Vice-President. House and Senate were also of the same party. The party also captured

most of the States, but was so successful that divisions began to result. Radical and conservative Republicans began to appear. Jefferson's administration was popular, and not the least the Louisiana purchase, tho it was doubtful if any authority for this could be found in the Constitution. In 1804 Jefferson was reelected President and George Clinton Vice-President. The administration now, however, adopted a policy which raised opposition in its own party. It favored building small gunboats for coast defense rather than a strong navy for the defense of commerce, and claimed that agriculture was America's true interest, not commerce. This would have defeated the party in 1812 except for the growth of the Western States, and Madison, the party candidate, was successful. The opposition in the party, however, increased, led by Henry Clay and Story (afterward Chief Justice). The opposition favored a much more national policy, and Madison, tho adverse to it, was coerced into following a war policy, and the War of 1812 was declared. This made the more national policy of the Republican (Democratic) Party popular, and the Federalists (*g. v.*) all but disappeared. The triumphant party, however, acted very little on its original principles. In 1816 it established a new national bank, modeled after Hamilton's, and imposed a low protective duty.

Monroe. In 1816 Monroe, of Virginia, was triumphantly elected. In 1819-20 the House passed a still higher tariff, which the Senate rejected; but in 1824 a still higher tariff became law. In 1820, in the so-called "era of good feeling," Monroe was reelected almost without opposition. In that year Florida was bought and Missouri was admitted as a slave State. This led to large consequences; henceforth the party, strong in the South, lost in the North, and for 40 years the party at the North had to excuse the course of the South. The party was broken up in 1824, and John Quincy Adams was elected, nominally of the party, but by old Federal votes. He was opposed by the bulk of his party, an opposition which ended in the election in 1828 of Andrew Jackson. At this election the people for the first time really assumed control of the Government, because in all the older States there had been various property qualifications to the suffrage. The admission of newer States without these qualifications had now given the people power. Adams and Jackson had both called themselves Republicans, Adams leading the "administration wing" and Jackson "the opposition wing;" but after the election the Adams men called themselves more and more the "National" Party, while the Jackson men called themselves Democrats or Republican-Democrats. Jackson stood for no policy save one of opposition to Adams, and when in power he first

Jackson. used the national appointing power to strengthen his party and reward his friends. "To the victors belong the spoils" from thenceforward became a too well-known motto. He also favored the theory of the rotation in office. He developed a strong strict constructionist policy, and a conflict against the national bank. (See BANKS.) In the matter of internal improve-

ments and of a national bank Jackson's policy signally triumphed, but he was not so fortunate in the matter of the tariff. In 1832 a protective tariff was passed by Congress, which he thought his best course to sign.

At the end of Jackson's second term Van Buren, who had been Secretary of State and then Vice-President with Jackson, was elected against the Whig candidate in 1836. By this time the organization of the Democratic Party had been systematized much as we see it today. In the national convention of the party at Baltimore, May 5, 1840, what we call a platform was put forth for the first time. It declared that the Federal Government was one of limited powers, opposed expenditure for public improvements and a charter for a United States bank, and favored a tariff for revenue only. No substantial change was made in the various platforms of the party in following years till 1864. Owing to depression, ascribed by the Whigs to the opposition of the Democrats to commercial interests, Van Buren was defeated for a second term by Harrison, who was, however, soon succeeded by Tyler. The Democrats, however, again won with Polk in 1844. The issue in the campaign

Slavery.

had been the annexation of Texas; for now the slavery element was in control of the Democratic Party and determined to gain its ends. The men in power had little of the prudent policy of Van Buren and the leaders of Jackson's time. The war with Mexico followed. As a result a large territory was added to the country. The Wilmot Proviso, which excluded slavery from this territory, was disapproved of by the Southern division of the party, and the Northern Democrats had to yield. But these dissensions in the party led to its defeat in 1848, and Zachary Taylor (Whig) was elected. This administration, however, gradually saw the Whig Party disappear, the Free Soil Party develop, and the Democratic Party become a party in the complete control of the South. This division of the Whigs led to the success of the Democrats in 1852 and the election of Franklin Pierce.

The Southern majorities for Pierce were heavy, and the Southern men naturally claimed preeminence. Many of these leaders were lacking in prudence and altogether too aggressive in advocacy of the claims of slavery. These new Southerners were such men as Davis, Stephens, Toombs of Georgia, and R. C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. Stephen A. Douglas was almost the only great Democratic leader in the North. He stood for the "popular sovereignty" doctrine, and in 1854 brought forward his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Missouri Compromise had forbidden slavery north of the parallel of 36° 30'. The new Territory of Kansas-Nebraska lying north of this limit would naturally be free. But the Kansas-Nebraska Bill asserted the principle of non-intervention by Congress in regard to slavery in States and Territories, and declared the **Missouri** prohibition of slavery in the **Missouri** **Compromise** Act to be void. The passage of the bill by Congress led immediately to the revolt of many Northern Democrats, and by the union of these men with

the Northern Whigs and with other elements the Republican Party was formed. But all the Northern Whigs had not yet joined the new party, and hence another Presidential victory was possible for the Democrats. They put up a very moderate man in 1856, Buchanan, and he was elected, tho he had not a majority of the popular vote. But Buchanan's administration was the last the Democratic Party was to control for years to come. There was fighting in Kansas between the Free State and the Slave State settlers. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had deeply moved the spirit of the North, and the Democratic Party was to split on that rock. At the convention at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860, the Southern and Northern delegates could not agree upon the question of the legality of slavery in the Territories. The Douglas Democrats triumphed, and the Southern men withdrew. Douglas was nominated by the original convention and Breckenridge by the seceding one. Lincoln, however, the Republican candidate, was elected by 180 out of 303 electoral votes, and the Civil War was precipitated.

For many events of the period 1860-95 see **REPUBLICAN PARTY**. The Democratic Party has been for much of this period in opposition. The leading Democrats of the North, as soon as the war broke out, became

War Period. "War Democrats," and many of them in time Republicans. But the party rallied as the war went on

and began to advocate peace. The suspension of the *habeas corpus act* gave rise to a cry against Lincoln's government. The Democratic platform of 1864 denounced the management of the war, and called for efforts for peace. McClellan was the candidate chosen, and he was badly defeated by Lincoln. The party protested in vain against the Reconstruction measures. It, however, succeeded in securing the acquittal of President Johnson on his impeachment.

The candidate for the Presidency in 1868, Governor Seymour, of New York, was defeated. A natural reaction from the forcible Reconstruction policy was now beginning. A Liberal Republican convention, intended to unite Democrats and Liberal Republicans, was held at Cincinnati in 1872, and nominated Horace Greeley, of New York. The Democratic convention at Baltimore ratified the Cincinnati platform, but Greeley was not acceptable to many Democrats, and received but 66 out of 352 electoral votes. In the forty-fourth Congress in 1875 the Democrats for the first time for years had a large majority in the House of Representatives, and maintained it till 1881. At one time they controlled the Senate, but the Southern vote was divided on many questions, and no great measures were passed. The platform of 1876, however, demanded a tariff for revenue only, and reform in the administration of the government. Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, was the nominee, and the result of the voting was in dispute. The Republicans had 184 electoral votes, one short of the necessary number. But in Florida and Louisiana the so-called returning boards reversed the popular vote, and gave the States to Hayes, the Republican candidate. Feeling ran so high over this that Congress created an elec-

toral commission, composed of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court, which counted the votes in favor of Hayes, 8 to 7, and he was inaugurated. In 1878-79 occurred in the House of Representatives a contest over the appropriation bills. In 1880 General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, was the candidate of the party for President, and was defeated by Garfield. It was not until 1893 that the Democrats secured control of all branches of the Government. Meanwhile, in 1884, they had succeeded in electing to the Presidency Mr. Cleveland, then Governor of New York, over Blaine. The vote was very close. The contest was fought on the tariff issue and that of reform, especially civil service reform in the administration. Republican divisions and the desertion from the party's ranks of many who were dissatisfied with Mr. Blaine, the Republican candidate, aided the Democrats. But the Senate remained Republican throughout Cleveland's administration, and prevented Democratic legislation. In December, 1887, however, President Cleveland sent a message to Congress strongly advocating tariff reform in the direction of a tariff for revenue only. This made the issue for the coming Presidential campaign and encouraged the House at once to prepare and pass the so-called Mills Bill, a measure providing for greatly reduced customs duties. The campaign of 1888 was fought between Cleveland and Harrison, the Republican nominee, upon this tariff issue. The Republicans in their platform had advocated a high-protection policy. General Harrison was elected and served one term, till defeated in the election of 1892 by Cleveland, who was for the third time a candidate. The business depression which existed caused the President to call an extra session of Congress, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the silver men, repealed the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act, October 30, 1893. A tariff bill was now framed in the House under the charge of William L. Wilson, of West Virginia. This so-called Wilson Bill made free much raw material and reduced the duty greatly on finished products. The bill was presented to the House in December, but it was not till the third of the next July that it passed the Senate. It had, however, been so greatly amended by the conservative element in the Senate in the direction of protection that President Cleveland allowed it to become law without his signature. The depression in business still continued, and in consequence of this and of the tariff legislation the Democrats were badly defeated in the elections of 1894, and a large Republican majority was returned to the House of Representatives. Into Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy in the matter of Hawaii and Venezuela it is not possible to enter here. In regard to his financial policy he may be said to have steadfastly opposed the free silver men of his party, and to have favored a gold monometallism. His views are those of the bankers and capitalists of his party rather than of the Free Silver Dem-

**Tilden
and
Hayes.**

Cleveland.

**Present
Situation.**

ocrats who proved themselves at the Chicago Convention of 1896 to be in the large majority in the party. (See SILVER.) How genuine is the commitment of the Democratic Party to the Chicago platform some question, considering it only a matter of wire-pulling, but most consider the party to have entered at Chicago upon a new epoch, committed to the battle against a moneyed aristocracy as never before, and as notably expressed in the speeches of its gallant leader, Mr. Bryan. Some think that the party will tend toward a real though perhaps an unavowed socialism. Others hold that its fundamental principles unalterably commit it to individualism, to less government rather than to more, and thus opposed to any measures looking toward socialism. It remains to be seen how far it will be affected by those popular movements of reform which are daily growing more important and significant. For the platform of the Democratic Party in 1896, see Appendix.

References: J. H. Patton's *The Democratic Party* (1884); an article by J. S. Morrill on *Platforms of the Democratic Party in 1892* (*North American Review*, vol. clv.); Lator's *Cyclopaedia*, article *Democratic-Republican Party*. See also DEMOCRACY.

DEMONETIZATION. See MONEY, also CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.

DEMOREST, W. JENNINGS, was born June 10, 1822, in the city of New York, and received most of his education in the public schools. At 20 years of age he commenced his business career in the dry goods trade. In 1860 he entered the editorial and publishing business, and soon after that began the publication of the New York *Illustrated News* in English and German, and also *Young America*. In 1864 these were merged into the present *Demorest's Family Magazine*. Mr. Demorest traveled extensively and wrote largely on his favorite themes of ethics, especially against the evils of the liquor traffic. He distributed nearly 50,000,000 pages of tracts on this question.

Mr. Demorest was active in the great Washington movement, and was one of the originators of the Sons of Temperance. To test the question of the constitutionality of slavery he had a suit instituted and well on its way toward the Supreme Court when President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was issued. He was an ardent supporter of Fremont's candidacy, and with Horace Greeley was on the committee which urged his second nomination. Altho for a long series of years he was associated as an equal partner in one of the largest printing houses in America, Mr. Demorest was interested in many other enterprises, and received numerous medals and diplomas for his inventions. He opened the first store on Fourteenth Street, New York.

Actively identified with the Prohibition Party, Mr. Demorest, since 1884, was a tireless worker for its success. He established the National Prohibition Bureau for speakers and the distribution of literature, and, true to his early convictions, organized the National Constitutional League, through which he was pressing a test suit up to the Supreme Court to establish the unconstitutionality of license to the liquor traffic, when his death occurred, April 9, 1895. He pub-

lished a monthly periodical called *The Constitution*. He served the party as a candidate for Mayor of New York City and for Lieutenant-Governor of the State. An interesting feature of Mr. Demorest's services for the cause of prohibition is the medal contest work for the education of the youth and the creation of public sentiment in favor of the universal prohibition of the liquor traffic.

DENISON, EDWARD, born at Salisbury in 1840, was the son of Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury. Graduated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; from 1862-66 he read law, in the spring of 1864 traveling through Southern Europe and Northern Africa. He became deeply interested in the condition of the poor, and in 1867 took a lodging among the tenements in Philpot Street, Mile End Road, East London. He resided here eight months, studying the conditions of life, building, endowing, and teaching in a school. He was one of the original members of the Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy in 1869, out of which has grown the Charity Organization Movement (*q.v.*). He disbelieved in giving doles, and in 1868 went to Paris and Edinburgh to study the working of the Poor Law. In November of that year he was returned (a Liberal) to Parliament for Newark, but his failing health prevented his continued attendance, and after vainly seeking improved health in the Channel Islands, he went on a voyage to Australia, but died in Melbourne January 26, 1870, two weeks after his arrival. His letters and writings have been published, London, 1870.

DENMARK AND SOCIAL REFORM.—Denmark was first an elective monarchy. In 1660, however, the crown was made hereditary. Her present constitution dates substantially from 1849. The executive power is in the hands of the king and his ministers, the legislative power in the Rigsdag, acting in conjunction with the king. The Rigsdag is composed of a Lands-thing, with 66 members, 12 nominated for life by the Crown, and the others elected by the larger taxpayers, and a Folkething of 102 members, elected for three years by universal suffrage. All members are paid \$1.50 per day and traveling expenses.

The population of Denmark (1890), 2,185,335 on an area of 15,289 square miles, gives it a density of 143 per square mile. Copenhagen, the capital, has a population of 312,859. The established religion is Lutheran, and the population almost purely Scandinavian. Education is widely extended, and since 1814 has been compulsory. The public schools, maintained by communal rates, are free to those whose parents cannot pay. The revenue for 1894 was 58,075,266 kroner, and the expenditure, 62,152,474 kroner (a krone = 25 cents). The national debt was 182,108,483 kroner, accumulated in part by deficits, in part for railways and harbor defenses. In 1893, 999 English miles of the total 1292 in the empire belonged to the State. The telegraph and post are in the hands of the State. The soil of Den-

mark is greatly subdivided, largely due to the law. The leading crops are oats, barley, rye, wheat, potatoes, and hay. For 1893 Denmark's imports were 320,294,907 kroner, and exports, 235,115,937 kroner. The exports, mainly to England, consisted largely of pork, butter, eggs, lard, animals, and cereals. December 31, 1893, Denmark and her colonies (Iceland, Greenland, West Indies) possessed 3675 vessels, of which 374 were steamers.

Agriculture and fishing are the main industries. Wages are low, and agriculture on the small holdings is very precarious. According to the report on Denmark of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, 1894, the average annual wages on farms are 224 kroner, with board, and 371 kroner without. Weekly wages for piece-work in Copenhagen averaged for journeymen, 2268 ore and for women 1008 ore. The maintenance of a single man in Copenhagen is said to cost 770 kroner, and of a man and wife 996 kroner. Hours of labor are about 12, with one or two for meals. There is no legal limitation for adult hours; but since 1873 all factories have been supervised, and by various bills hours for children under 14 are limited to 6½; under 13, to 10. Under 10 they cannot work at all. The employment of children seems on the increase. Employees' liability laws have been much agitated, but little has been done. In old age pensions Denmark has gone farther than most countries. (See OLD AGE PENSIONS.)

Industrial Conditions.

Trade-unions in Denmark owe their origin to the socialist movement of 1871, tho as early as 1860 Herr C. V. Rimestad started a workman's union for education. This movement was developed by Pastor Sonne, of North Jutland, who started the first cooperative society in 1866. In 1874 there were 92 unions in connection with this movement, and a paper, the *Arbeiderin*. Cooperation, however, has had little success. Loan banks have been established, and there were in 1890,220 cooperative dairies. The trade-unions numbered 400, with a membership of some 35,000, about 20,000 of them being in Copenhagen. They are federated in one organization. Most of them are socialistic.

Labor Movement.

Socialism entered Denmark in 1870 in connection with the International (*g.v.*), under the lead of Louis Pio and Paul Geleff. A paper was started, and by 1872 the International counted 8000 members in Denmark. Strikes were inaugurated; but in 1872 the movement was suppressed by the police and the leaders imprisoned. Socialism did not appear again in strength till 1880, when it developed in the German type. There are to-day several socialist papers. The *Social Demokraten*, of Copenhagen, a daily, claims a circulation of 26,000. At the Copenhagen Congress in 1892 there were 104 delegates, and the party reported to the Zurich Socialist Congress of 1893 no less than 35,000 paying members. Socialist club-houses exist in most of the cities.

References: The best English authority on the social movement is the above-quoted *Report on Denmark of the English Royal Commission on Labor*.

DENSITY OF POPULATION. See CITY, Sec. III.; POPULATION.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.—The Constitution gives the President authority to "require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices."

This presupposes that executive departments will be established in order that the various and multiform duties which pertain to the several divisions of the executive work of the national Government shall be systematically and efficiently attended to.

The various executive departments have been established by law. These are now eight in number: 1. The Department of State; 2. The Department of the Treasury; 3. The Department of War; 4. The Department of the Navy; 5. The Department of the Post-Office; 6. The Department of the Interior; 7. The Department of Justice; 8. The Department of Agriculture.

The heads of these eight departments constitute the President's Cabinet. Their official titles are as follows: 1. The Secretary of State; 2. The Secretary of the Treasury; 3. The Secretary of War; 4. The Secretary of the Navy; 5. The Postmaster-General; 6. The Secretary of the Interior; 7. The Attorney-General; 8. The Secretary of Agriculture.

For the efficient management of the business, several of these departments are subdivided into bureaus.

All the heads of departments are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The salaries of these officers are \$8000 a year each.

The Department of State.—This was originally styled the Department of Foreign Affairs. The name was soon changed to the Department of State. The Secretary of State is generally considered as the highest officer in rank of the executive departments under the President. It is his duty to keep the seal of the United States, and to affix it to all commissions issued by the President. He issues all proclamations in the name of the President, and furnishes copies of papers and records of his office when required.

He keeps the correspondence with foreign powers, and it is his special province, also, to preserve the original of all laws, public documents, and treaties with foreign powers. It is also his duty to conduct the correspondence with our ministers and consuls to other countries, with foreign ministers accredited to our Government, and to him is confided the general charge of our foreign relations. He issues passports to our citizens visiting foreign countries, and it is his duty to issue warrants for the extradition of criminals to be delivered up to foreign governments.

The Department of State has a diplomatic bureau, consular bureau, and a domestic bureau.

Public Ministers and Consuls.—All persons who are sent abroad to represent our Government are connected with the Department of State.

The different ranks of our ministers are as follows: 1. Ambassadors; 2. Envoys Extraor-

dinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary; 3. Ministers Resident; 4. *Chargés d'Affaires*; 5. Secretaries of Legation.

The Secretary of Legation is the clerk to the foreign embassy. Consuls are not diplomatic agents of our Government, but commercial agents residing abroad, whose duty it is to watch over the interests of our commerce and our citizens, in the ports of the different countries. It is their duty also to protect the rights of our seamen. We have at the present time, in foreign ports, 20 or 25 consuls-general and commercial agents.

The Treasury Department.—Of late years the importance of this department has greatly increased. During the Civil War the Government issued bank bills termed greenbacks, and established a system of national banks, which have increased materially the number of officers and employees in this department. Under the Secretary of the Treasury are the following officers: 1. The Comptroller; 2. Auditor; 3. Treasurer; 4. Register; 5. Assistant Secretary.

This department has charge of the management of the revenue, superintends its collection, and grants warrants for money to be issued from the treasury, in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and generally performs all needful services relative to the finances of our country. There are various bureaus in the Treasury Department, as: 1. The Bureau of the First Comptroller; 2. The Bureau of the Second Comptroller; 3. The Bureau of the First Auditor; 4. The Bureau of the Second Auditor; 5. The Bureau of the Third Auditor; 6. The Bureau of the Fourth Auditor; 7. The Bureau of the Fifth Auditor; 8. The Bureau of the Sixth Auditor; 9. Treasurer; 10. Register; 11. Commissioner of Customs; 12. Comptroller of Currency; 13. Commissioner of Internal Revenue; 14. Bureau of Statistics; 15. The Mint; 16. Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

The Office of the Coast Survey is connected with the Treasury Department. This office prepares charts from actual surveys of the seacoast of the United States.

The surveys of the Great Lakes are under the control of the War Department.

The lighthouses of the United States were formerly under the control of the Treasury Department, but since 1852 this branch has been committed to the Lighthouse Board of the United States.

This Board consists of three officers of the army, three of the navy, and two civilians noted for their scientific attainments, with the Secretary of the Treasury President of the Board *ex officio*. This Board has in charge more than 1000 lighthouses, besides light vessels, beacons, and buoys innumerable.

Under this department also is the Supervising Architect, who has general charge of the plans and the construction of all United States buildings, such as custom-houses, court-houses, post-offices, etc.

The War Department.—This department has various subdivisions, as follows: 1. The Office of the Adjutant-General; 2. The Office of the Quartermaster-General; 3. The Office of the Commissary-General; 4. The Office of the Postmaster-General; 5. The Office of the Chief

of Engineers; 6. The Ordnance Office; 7. The Signal Office; 8. The Bureau of Military Justice.

These several divisions will be understood from their titles. The Bureau of Military Justice is in charge of an officer with the rank of a Brigadier-General, called a Judge-Advocate-General.

The War Department has the supervision of the United States Military Academy at West Point. This school for the education of officers for the army was established by the Government in 1802. In 1886 the number of cadets authorized by Congress was 344.

The Department of the Navy.—By an act of Congress, passed in 1862, eight bureaus were established in the Navy Department, as follows: 1. The Bureau of Yards and Docks; 2. The Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting; 3. The Bureau of Navigation; 4. The Bureau of Ordnance; 5. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery; 6. The Bureau of Provisions and Clothing; 7. The Bureau of Steam Engineering; 8. The Bureau of Construction and Repairs.

The Government maintains a naval academy, which is established at Annapolis, similar to the military academy at West Point.

The Department of the Interior.—This department was not established until 1849. Under it are the Patent Office, Pension Office, the Land Office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Science Bureau, and the Bureau of Education.

The Land Office.—The chief officer of this bureau is styled the Commissioner of the General Land Office. Under the Commissioner are the following officers: 1. Surveyors-General; 2. Registers of Land Offices; 3. Receivers of Land Offices.

The Post-Office Department.—Probably this is the oldest department under our Government. (See POSTAL SYSTEM.)

The Department of Justice.—The office of Attorney-General was created by the first Congress in 1789, but the Department of Justice was not established until 1870. This officer, however, has always been recognized as a member of the Cabinet. Under the Attorney-General are: The Solicitor-General, four Assistant Attorneys-Generals, a Solicitor of Internal Revenue, a Naval Solicitor, an Examiner of Claims, a Solicitor of the Treasury, and an Assistant Solicitor.

All of these officers are appointed by the President and Senate. Besides these officers, in this department are employed many persons as clerks, copyists, etc.

Department of Agriculture.—In February, 1889, the Bureau of Agriculture, heretofore in the Department of the Interior, was by an act of Congress made a separate department, the chief officer of which is the Secretary of Agriculture, who is a member of the Cabinet.

WILLIAM A. MOWRY.

(See *Studies in Civil Government*, from which, by permission, this is abridged.)

DEPENDENT CHILDREN.—The number of children in the United States dependent upon the community for support, according to Mr. Hart, of the Minnesota State Board of Charities and Corrections, as quoted by Professor

Warner (*American Charities*, p. 202), is 74,000, employing 9000 to care for them, at an annual expenditure of \$9,500,000. To these figures should be added the 14,846 inmates in juvenile reformatories (*q.v.*), and an expenditure of \$2,000,000 per year for maintaining these. The earliest form of caring for infants deprived of or deserted by their parents was probably the founding hospitals started by the Christian Church about the seventh century. For an account of these, see **FOUNDLING HOSPITALS**. They are still to be found in most large cities, often under the conduct of Sisters of Charity. A method far more generally approved to-day by State boards of charity is boarding the children out in good homes willing to take them. In Massachusetts about \$10 a month is paid for boarding an infant, clothing being furnished by the officials, the families being kept under strict supervision by the Board. The effort is being made more and more to keep the mother with the child. Says Professor Warner (*American Charities*, p. 212):

"Experiments in the cities of Boston and Philadelphia have shown that suitable service places in the country can be found to which destitute mothers may go, taking their children with them. 'The demand for this class of help usually exceeds the supply,' and in Philadelphia between 400 and 500 mothers with their children are yearly sent to situations in the country. If judiciously placed, a majority of these women give satisfaction to their employers, and are satisfied themselves. It is said that they do as well as those who take situations without children, and in many instances they are more reliable for help in the country. Of course a destitute woman with no one to help her support her child has not an easy life before her; but, on the whole, life will be happier and healthier in every way if she is aided in keeping her child than if she is aided in getting rid of it.

"Children over two years of age live quite persistently. Therefore, as regards these, we do not need to examine so closely the death-rate, for they may be very improperly cared for and the death-rate still be low. The first question of importance regarding them is upon what terms they shall be received and supported as dependents. . . .

"Perhaps the rule of the Children's Home of Cincinnati, which refuses to receive a child for more than two weeks without having the guardianship of the child vested in the Home, affords as much latitude as ought to be given. It is urged that parents are, after all, the best guardians of their children, and if the time ever comes when they can take care of their own it is better that the children be returned. But experience

shows that it has a bad effect on parents as parents to get rid of the care of their children for a time, and that they spoil the life of a child by selfishly taking it home when they think it is old enough to be of service. Parents who cannot support their children usually have not the capacity required to bring up a child in a healthful way and in a healthful environment. Besides this, the privilege of temporarily disposing of a child is frequently the means of bringing about its permanent abandonment. As affection wanes in consequence of absence, parents that would have found some way to support their children rather than give them up in the first instance gradually accustom themselves to the idea of abandoning their offspring.

"A stock instance of the effect of removing children from institutions to families, with the result that the natural parents will lose sight of and title to them, is that of the Union Temporary Home in Philadelphia. After 31 years of work, it was decided to close the Home and put the children out to board. Out of 70 children, the parents of all but nine were able to take good care of them themselves, and of the rest three found a way before final arrangements were found. . . .

"In 1874 Michigan established a State Public School at Coldwater, and provided, first, that children adjudged dependent should be sent there, and subsequently placed in private families as soon as possible; second, that after an order is made to commit a child to the State Public School, 'the parents of said child

shall be released from all parental duties toward and responsibility for such child, and shall thereafter have no right over or to the custody, services, or earnings of such child, except in cases where the said Board has, as herein provided for, restored the child to its parents.' The result of this system in Michigan has been that, whereas in 1874, she had 600 dependent children supported by public authorities, or one dependent child for each 2223 inhabitants, she now has 300, or one in each 7256 inhabitants. While the population increased 60 per cent., the number of dependent children decreased 50 per cent. Not only is this true, but the children that have passed under her care to December 31, 1892 (3,317), have been well cared for, and, as a rule, restored to the normal population of the State.

"New York took a different course. In 1875 she passed the so-called 'Children's Law,' which forbade the keeping of children between the ages of two and 16 years in the almshouses. It further provided that a dependent child should be committed, if possible, to an institution controlled by the same religious faith as that of its parents, and that the county should pay the child's board. The legal guardianship of the child was not mentioned, and so remained with the parents, if it had any. In addition to this, special acts were subsequently passed enabling certain large institutions in New York City to receive children at will, and collect from the county two dollars per week for the care of each. It only remains to contrast present conditions in New York with those in Michigan. On October 31, 1892, there were in the city and county almshouses of the State of New York 963 children, many of these, however, being crippled, diseased, or under two years of age. Besides this, there were in the private institutions of the State, but supported chiefly by the cities and counties, an army of 24,074 children. In these private institutions alone there was one dependent child to each 270 persons in the State. If we include the almshouse children, the proportion of dependent children to the population is one to 260."

After the child's reception, the next important problem is the right classification, to separate any who are distinctly wanting in vigor of body or mind, those who are delinquent or unmanageable, etc.

Then comes the important question of the method of treatment. Concerning this, Professor Warner says:

"Broadly speaking, there are two systems: the first is the institution plan, and the second is the plan of placing out.

"Without the figures of the Eleventh Census at hand, it is impossible to tell how large a proportion of the dependent children of the country is in institutions; but it is a comparatively large number. To build institutions for children has been the common and obvious thing to do in providing for them. The institution is preferred by parents, because they know where the child is, and can usually visit it, and frequently can retain the right to take it back again when they will. Institutions are also in favor with the benevolent, because the work done is so manifest. A hundred or more children, prepared for the occasion, make an attractive sight to the board of directors or to visitors. . . .

"On the whole, institutions are preferred by the children themselves, at least after they have been in them for some time. They do not feel at home outside of the sheltering walls, and shrink from the rough contact of ordinary life. . . . The children receive many negative benefits. **Institutions.** They are not cold, nor dirty, nor neglected, nor hungry, nor abused—that is, if the management is good. The grosser forms of profanity and vice can be restrained; their attendance on school exercises is entirely regular, as are also their hours of sleep and eating. But admitting these advantages, we have said about all that is favorable to institution life for children. The congregating of them together, which we found in the case of infants to result in high mortality, results in the case of older children in a low vitality.

"The fundamental fault is, perhaps, that life is made too easy. A child ought to have more opportunities of hurting himself, or getting dirty, or being insubordinate, than can possibly be accorded to him here. It is a pitiful sight to see a hundred children together, and none of them making a fuss. The discipline that would make a good soldier ruins a child. It is fatal to him to march in platoons, to play only at the word of command. As a matron in South Australia says, 'They

Children Received.

[the children] never grow up properly if you have a lot of them together. I would never have children of two or three years of age there; for if they get into an institution they never develop into anything: they only grow up into half-idiotic men and women. However good a nurse you have, she cannot draw out the intelligence of every child, and nurse it as it would be nursed in a home. . . . We have only five now, and they are as bright again as when we had 20. . . .

"A great part of the evils of institution life comes from the mingling of individuals, none of whom have a very good heredity behind them, and some of whom have inherited weak constitutions and bad moral tendencies. It is a continual fight on the part of matrons to repress skin diseases and sore eyes; and these contagious diseases are but typical of the contagious vices which are not so obvious, but more to be dreaded. That institution life is partly faulty because of the low grade of children who are received, and who bring about degeneration in each other, is proved by the experience of institutions that have introduced an element of artificial selection, which separates the low from the more highly organized. . . .

"Over against the institution plan of caring for dependent children is the plan of placing them in private families, with or without the payment of board.

Placing-out Plan.

There are two tolerably distinct methods of procedure in this work. By one, the children are sent to a great distance, and given but little subsequent supervision—that is the so-called 'emigration plan'; and by the other they are placed within easy reach of the agency

having them in charge, and subsequent supervision is systematic and constant.

"In London a large number of children are sent to the colonies. The emigration bureau operated in connection with Dr. Bernardo's homes sends about 500 children per year to Canada; and some of these, no doubt, find their way to the United States. The plan is to drop the child amid new surroundings, as carefully as is conveniently possible, and then to keep only so much track of him as is necessary to show to contributors or others that a goodly proportion of cases turn out well. The child is simply given one more chance to sink or swim. . . .

"Placing-out as a speciality has been carried to its most satisfactory results by such public institutions as the State Board of Lunacy and Charity in Massachusetts, and the State School for Dependent Children at Coldwater, Mich., and by such private associations as the Children's Aid Society of Massachusetts, and the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania. With these agencies 'the setting of the solitary in families' is a business. The following description, taken not literally, but in substance, from Mr. Folks's article on *Child-Saving Work in Pennsylvania*,* will give the best idea of how this system operates. The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania consists of a central society, with county committees in each county of the State, or in as many of them as efficient committees can be maintained, who have received from the directors of the poor or others dependent children, whom they place at once in families. Usually they are placed in the county where they become dependent; but when the children are particularly troublesome, or relatives interfere, or the family name is unfavorably known in the locality, the main office often removes the child to a distant part of the State. A large proportion of the children are placed in Pennsylvania, but a considerable number also in adjoining States. The work of the main office is conducted under the supervision of the managers by a corps of eight salaried officials, two of whom are men. One assistant gives her whole time to the problem of homeless mothers with young children, providing for them service places to which they can take their children. Four workers are traveling almost constantly, investigating families who have applied for children, visiting children who have been placed out, or taking children to and from their homes. Having relied so largely upon the family plan, the society has given much attention to the elaboration of the details of its administration, and has thrown around it every possible safeguard. Its investigation of a family is systematic and exhaustive, and is carefully recorded. The applicant fills out a blank containing 26 questions relating to the various phases of the family life, as church relations, distance from school, size of farm, occupation, number of members of family, with their ages, etc. A study of this return usually reveals the real motive of the applica-

tion, and gives the data for an opinion as to the material fitness of the family. Their moral fitness is ascertained by sending a list of questions to six of the neighbors, stating that their replies are confidential, and that the appeal to them is not known to the applicant. A personal visit completes the investigation. After the child is placed out, his welfare is ascertained and protected by from one to five personal and unannounced visits each year, by a monthly report from the teacher of the public schools, and a quarterly report from the pastor. The society uses neither indenture nor written agreement, the terms being perfectly flexible, and subject to change from year to year to suit the circumstances of each individual case. This society considers institutions for normal children needless, and has even had good success in boarding out juvenile delinquents received from the courts. A similar work has been done by the Massachusetts Children's Aid Society, which has one or two home-like institutions where abnormal children are placed until they can be fitted into a proper home."

Such, in brief, is Professor Warner's summary of the best thought of the world as to the care of dependent children under forms of civilization more or less individualistic. An interesting topic in connection with this is the treatment of children under socialism. Some socialists (confer Bebel's *Die Frau*), having argued that under socialism all children should be brought up by the community under proper conditions of hygiene and with a thorough and complete education, mental, moral, and physical, it has been said that this would so tend to relieve parents of responsibility that we should be met with all the evils of overpopulation. (See MALTHUSIANISM.) To this point Mill says (*Political Economy*, Book II., chap. i.):

"There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of overpopulation, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil."

Children Under Socialism.

The problem, then, being reduced to proper proportions, it should be said that no socialists would compel parents to bring up their children in State institutions. Perfect freedom would be granted in this respect, provided it could not be proven that parents abused their children or failed to give them adequate education. Within these limitations all parents would be perfectly free to rear their children in their own way. Now, under socialism it is believed, by socialists at least, that all parents would be abundantly able to care for their own offspring. It is, therefore, to be expected that most parents would under socialism prefer to care for their own children, certainly until able to attend school. On the other hand, if parents able to care for their own should be so unnatural as to prefer to relinquish the care, it is doubtful if it were wise to leave children with such parents. Therefore only those would be reared by the

* *History of Child-Saving*, pp. 146, 147.

State who would not have favorable homes. Nor would there be any necessity for the State to rear the children in large institutions. The socialist state, like the present, could avail itself of all the experience which to-day places dependent children in separate homes and pays for them there. (See also JUVENILE REFORMATORIES; CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY; FOUNDLING HOSPITALS; SLUMS, etc.)

References: H. H. Hart's *Economics as Part of the Child Problem* (1893); J. A. Riis's *Children of the Poor* (New York, 1892); Florence Davenport Hill's *Children of the State* (London, 1889); Report of the Committee on the History of Child-Saving, National Conference of Charities (1893).

DEPRESSION OF TRADE.—For facts as to the depression of trade, see **CRISES**; **WAGES**; **CURRENCY**. For a discussion of various asserted causes, see **OVERPRODUCTION**; **FREE TRADE**; **SILVER**; **SOCIALISM**; **SINGLE TAX**; **MONOPOLIES**, etc.

DE TOCQUEVILLE. See **TOCQUEVILLE**.

"DETROIT PLAN" FOR EMPLOYING THE UNEMPLOYED.—This was a plan proposed and carried out by Mayor Pingree (*q.v.*), of Detroit, for employing the unemployed in the hard times of 1894.

Mayor Pingree's proposition was that the idle land about the city should be used to furnish employment for the idle hands. A call was issued for offers of vacant lots to be used for market-gardening purposes. The response was liberal, several thousand acres being offered. The committee having charge of the project accepted, plowed and harrowed 430 acres (about 7000 city lots), and staked the land off in lots of from one quarter to one half an acre each. Three thousand persons applied for the opportunity to work, but the committee, from lack of funds, was able to provide for only 945 families. To these it furnished potatoes, beans, and other seeds sufficient for planting their plot, and supervised the work that was done, giving instruction to those who knew nothing about gardening. The committee's report upon the success of the experiment was extremely favorable. In brief, it read as follows:

"About nine tenths of the pieces were well taken care of. The committee estimates that the potato crop averaged about 15 bushels per lot, which would give 14,175 bushels of potatoes alone. Large quantities of beans, turnips, and other vegetables were raised and daily consumed, of which there is no record, the whole being sufficient to keep the people from want and habits of idleness. The estimated value of the crops produced was \$12,000 to \$14,000. The entire cost to the committee was about \$3,600. The committee finds that about one third an acre is sufficient land for a family to raise enough potatoes to last them through the winter and furnish vegetables through the summer. The loss by theft was practically nothing. The experiment has clearly demonstrated that many of the destitute are ready and willing to work, and that a large number of these people can be supported by utilizing vacant land on the outskirts of the city, and that the needy are thereby assisted without creating a demoralization in the habits of the people that gratuitous aid always entails."

The plan has been somewhat copied in other cities. (See **UNEMPLOYED**.)

DEWEY, DAVIS R., was born in Burlington, Vt., in 1858. He is an A.B., of the Univer-

sity of Vermont, graduating in 1879. He taught in Vermont and Chicago, 1879-83, and became a Fellow in Economics at Johns Hopkins in 1885, and Ph.D. in the same university in 1886. He then began instruction in economics and statistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, and now holds a professorship there of those subjects. In 1886 he became the Secretary of the American Statistical Association, and under his direction the present series of the publications of that association was begun. In 1894 he was appointed Chairman of the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed, and is one of the joint authors of the report published by that commission. (Boston, 1895. Part I., Relief Measures, pp. lviii., 200; Part II., Wayfarers and Tramps, pp. xxiii., 100; Part III., Public Works, pp. xiii., 122; Part IV., Causes, pp. lxiii., 24; Part V., Final Report, lxiii., 130). He has published short papers in the publications of the American Economic Association on *Street Railways, A Study of Statistics*, and *The Causes of Non-employment*. His main interest is in the subject of statistics, as evidenced in the editing of the publications of the American Statistical Association, referred to above, and in various reviews and articles in newspapers connected with that subject.

DICKENS, CHARLES.—We consider the English novelist here from the standpoint of social reform. Born at Landport, Hampshire, in 1812, and entering life as a parliamentary reporter and journalist, he early won that insight into life which enabled him to portray alike the sufferings and wrongs of the poor and the follies and shams of society. His *Pickwick Papers*, published in 1837, exhibited almost for the first time the life and manners of the lower, middle, and the working classes of London in this century. *Nicholas Nickleby*, his next effort, attacked the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the wretched pupils of the cheap schools in Yorkshire. *Hard Times* mocked the commercialism of the day; all his novels, such as *Old Curiosity Shop*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *Dombey and Son*, *Bleak House*, *Little Dorrit*, *Great Expectations*, *Oliver Twist*, and *David Copperfield*—perhaps his greatest work—have served the cause of social reform by picturing, tho ever with good nature, and always with an eye for the ludicrous, the sufferings and wrongs of the poor, the foibles and delusions of society. Visiting America twice and writing to the last, he died June 9, 1870.

DIKE, SAMUEL WARREN, was born in Thompson, Conn., on February 13, 1839; graduated at Williams College, where he took high rank as a scholar in 1863, and entered the Hartford Theological Seminary, then at East Windsor Hill; but after two years went to Andover, where he graduated with the Class of 1866. After a year and more of ill health, further study, and a few months' service in Pomfret, Conn., he went to West Randolph, Vt., in 1868, where he had an active ministry in the Congregational Church of about 10 years. In 1879 he removed to Royalton, where he was pastor nearly four years, and remained until 1887, when he

left Vermont and became a resident of Auburn-dale, Mass.

Mr. Dike devoted himself wholly to the ministry for many years, but was active in the social reforms of the town and afterward of the State, always carefully discriminating between ecclesiastical and civic functions. In 1872 he began writing occasional articles for the Vermont *Chronicle*, the State religious newspaper of the Congregationalists; and in 1877 wrote a series of editorials, taking the ground that wealth is to afford the great coming question of our country. They attracted considerable notice. Mr. Dike had long given much thought to the family and its problems, and in that year he became interested in the subject of divorce, entering into statistical research, and writing various articles on the subject. In 1881 he was asked to give one of the Monday lectures in Boston. In this lecture he took the ground that the divorce question is but a part of the larger problem of the family, and that this, in turn, is intimately related to the problems of property. That year a New England Divorce Reform League was organized, taking later the name of National League. Mr. Dike became its corresponding secretary. His study of Sir Henry S. Maine's works had led him to see the historical place of our present problems in the movement of the western civilization of the Aryans. This kind of treatment of the family naturally led into the broader fields of sociology. His more important articles have generally been devoted to the opening up of original work in some part of this broad field, while his official work in the League has kept practical measures in movement in investigation, education, and legislation. He has been a leader in securing the great report of the Commission of Labor on marriage and divorce, and in the establishment of State commissions on uniform legislation; he led too in what has been known from his series of articles in the *Andover Review* and elsewhere, as the Religious Problem of the County Town, having proposed and assisted in the widely known statistical investigation of Rev. Henry Fairbanks, in Vermont; he invented the Home Department of the Sunday-school, now extending over the country in many churches; he has helped introduce the study of scientific sociology in higher educational institutions, where he is a frequent lecturer. His sociological notes in the *Andover Review*, and his original methods of studying social structure and the problems of sociology, as well as his papers on the family, have attracted the attention of eminent scholars in this country and Europe. Mr. Dike is a member of the sociological group of fifteen whose papers appeared in the *Century*. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1888 from Williams College. (See NATIONAL DIVORCE REFORM LEAGUE.)

DIMINISHING RETURN, LAW OF.—Says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, p. 21):

"The requisites of production may be classed as land, labor, and capital. We have now to seek for the law of fertility of land, the law of the increase of population, and the law of the growth of capital. The latter two laws depend on the first, which goes by the name of the law of diminishing return.

"We may explain the meaning of this name by an illustration. We shall presently see that the law does not apply to all new countries in which, tho the land is fertile, the population is very sparse. But let us suppose that in a certain district there are 20 agricultural laborers to the square mile, and that in the seasons in which they grow wheat they raise 2000 quarters, which is at the rate of 100 quarters per man. If now the population increases so that there are 30 agricultural laborers to the square mile, there will, of course, be an increase in the produce raised, but not a proportional increase. Perhaps the produce may now be 2600 quarters, so that the amount due to the labor of the additional 10 laborers is 600 quarters, which is at the rate of 60 quarters per man. Now let there be a further increase in the population, till there are 35 agricultural laborers to the square mile; there will again be an increase in the total produce raised, but again not a proportional increase. Perhaps the produce may now be 2850 quarters, so that the amount due to the labor of the last five laborers is 250 quarters, which is at the rate of 50 quarters per man.

"That increase in the amount of corn raised which is due to the labor of each additional laborer may be called the return due to his labor; and we may then say, that in this case the greater the number of men employed on the land, the less is the return which would be due to the labor of an additional man. This result illustrates the meaning of the law of diminishing return.

"But so far no account has been taken of the fact that the cultivation of land requires the farmer's capital as well as the laborer's toil. . . .

"The previous illustration represented the farmer as sending additional laborers into the farm, and then noticing the increase of produce due to their labor, or the return to their labor. We may now suppose that he increases by successive doses (a phrase used by James Mill to denote equal amounts of capital applied to land) the capital he applies to the land, and then notices the increase due to each successive dose, or, as we may say, *the return due to each dose.*"

The result, Mr. Marshall goes on to say, will be the same, a diminishing return; and he therefore thus states the law: "An increase in the amount of capital (or, to speak more generally, in the amount of effort) applied in the cultivation of land causes in general a less than proportionate increase in the produce raised."

The working of this law, however, may be modified by improvement in the art of agriculture, and by special circumstances of soils, especially in new countries.

Mr. Carey (*g.v.*) and a school of economists agreeing with him, and sometimes called the "American school," have taken up the second point:

"These economists argue that history shows that the best lands are not those which are cultivated first, but that the order of settlement of new countries is the passage from poorer to richer soil. The causes of this are various. Mountain districts have sometimes been selected on account of the means of defense which they offer against enemies; but more often the steep and self-draining mountain-sides were chosen because the low, rich lands, until they are drained, are infested by malarious fevers.

"In fact, if land is very rich, full of luxuriant undergrowth or marshy, it is not possible to cultivate it at all with only a small expenditure of capital and labor. But when the growth of population and the advance of civilization give the means of bringing such land under the plow, the return which it gives will abundantly repay the pains that have been spent on it. The tasks of draining marshy lands and freeing them from malaria, and of making roads and railways, are not easily performed when the population is thin and scattered. These writers have done good service in insisting on the fact that up to a certain point the greater the numbers in a country the greater will be the power of organizing labor and capital, and the greater, therefore, will be the return from land. It may be conceded to them that until this point is reached, land may be said to yield an increasing, not a diminishing return; and that, perhaps, more than half of the richest land in the globe is yet uncultivated.

"But this fact is not inconsistent with the law of diminishing return, which merely asserts that the re-

turn to capital applied to land diminishes, provided that there is already a dense and rapidly increasing population, and comparatively little improvement in the arts of cultivation."

Mr. Marshall, in the above-named book, goes on to apply the law to other questions, and says :

"The law of diminishing return is said to apply to mineral as well as to agricultural produce. This is not strictly true; at least there is a fundamental difference between the two cases. The richness of cultivated lands is likely to increase; so that if the demand for produce were to remain stationary, it could be satisfied with continually diminishing effort. But every mine is being impoverished by being worked. And when the richest mineral strata have all been discovered, the difficulty of satisfying the demand for mineral produce must increase, even if the demand should remain stationary. Improvements in the arts of mining may retard the operation of this law, but cannot entirely prevent it. . . .

"But the sternest application of the law of diminishing return is to space. An increased application of capital and labor will increase to some extent our supply of every other necessary; but it cannot increase at all the space afforded by one acre of ground, nor the sunlight and fresh air that is its natural endowment. The evils of overcrowding may be lessened by better drainage and better means of transport. But they still exist, and are a grievous hindrance to that growth of numbers and vigor which would otherwise be brought about by the increase of wealth and knowledge. London and other very large towns attract great numbers of the healthiest and most vigorous of the country population. They earn good wages; their children get abundant food and clothing; but they seldom have sufficient houseroom, scarcely ever any play that is really healthy and joyous, and never perfectly fresh air. So they grow up physically inferior to their parents; and their children in turn are inferior to them. The third generation of Londoners are with but few exceptions weaker and less healthy than the average of Englishmen; and yet their ancestors are the very pick of the race, whose offspring would under favorable circumstances have done much to raise the average quality of Englishmen.

"The law of diminishing return tells us that when population has reached a certain density, an additional amount of labor and capital will not raise a proportionately increased supply of food. The operation of this law is delayed by the progress of the arts of agriculture and manufacture, and by bringing fresh land under cultivation. It is possible that when the whole world is well cultivated, it may afford support for five or even ten times as many people as there are acres in the earth's surface. But a limit to the growth of population must be reached at last.

"The surface of the globe, including sea and land, is about 600,000,000,000 square yards. If we suppose that each yard allows standing room for four persons, this calculation gives room for 2,400,000,000,000 persons. Next, looking at the rate of increase of the population of England and Wales, we find that it doubled between the years 1801 and 1851. At this rate of increase population would in

100	years	multiply	itself	by	4
200	"	"	"	"	16
400	"	"	"	"	256
500	"	"	"	"	(1024, say) 1000
1000	"	"	"	"	1,000,000
2000	"	"	"	"	1,000,000,000,000,000
3000	"	"	"	"	1,000,000,000,000,000,000

"These facts show that sooner or later the growth of population must receive a check; but they do not show that it need be checked at present." (See POPULATION.)

DIRECT LEGISLATION is the direct and constant control of law-making by the people. In small communities it is obtained by the whole body of the citizens assembling in mass meeting to make the laws to govern themselves. This is done in the New England town meeting, which in local matters is the supreme legislative, executive, and judicial power, and which has been the method of country government in New England from its foundation, and from here has spread to many other parts of the United

States. It is seen in the ancient Teutonic *lands-gemeinde* still surviving in several of the Swiss mountain cantons. It is seen in almost all clubs, societies, and other organizations for various purposes.

In communities too large for the whole membership to assemble together for their own self-government, it is obtained by mandatory petitions and votings in two forms, called the Initiative and the Referendum. By the Referendum a law or bill must be held for a certain stated time—say 90 days—before it goes into effect. If during this time a certain per cent.—say 5 per cent.—of the voters sign a petition to have it referred to the people, it is held till the next election, when the people vote on it. A majority against prevents it from becoming a law. By the Initiative, if a certain per cent.—say 5 per cent.—of the voters sign a petition for a law, it goes to the law-making body, and there takes precedence of all other measures. They must vote on it. They can do what they please with it—pass, amend, reject, lay on the table. If they do not pass it, the Referendum takes effect on it, and at the next election the people vote on it. If a majority vote in favor of it, it becomes a law enacted by the people. These two things can be applied to local as well as to State and national law-making bodies.

The Referendum alone is negative, preventive; the Initiative, with the referendary voting, is positive, constructive. The Initiative is the impulse or creative movement; the Referendum is the deciding or will movement. They must be joined as man and wife. Both together make direct legislation.

These two elements, the Initiative and Referendum, we consider in detail under their respective heads (*q. v.*). We consider here the general principles that lie under both. These are the complete realization of democracy and the purification of politics.

Representation, it is claimed, does not represent for at least four reasons :

"1. Whole classes composing the bulk of the community are entirely unrepresented by men of their own class and condition, who are the only ones that can fully understand their wants and needs.

"2. Political parties are not properly represented, and other parties not at all. All we have is geographical representation, and tho that may have been useful a century ago, it is useless now because of changed conditions.

"3. From its very nature, representation can only roughly approximate the wishes of the community. Only a few great interests can be thus determined; where many issues are before the people it breaks down completely.

"4. Representation fails because of the weakness of human nature. The men elected often leave undone the things they were pledged to before election, and do the things they were not pledged to, and in many cases they do it because they have been bought."

In the Senate of the Fifty-third Congress 64, or over 70 per cent., of the 86 members are lawyers, 6 are bankers, 10 manufacturers or merchants, 1 a doctor, 1 a farmer, and 4 are classed as miscellaneous. In the House, with 346 members, 245, or over 70 per cent., are lawyers, 14 bankers, 21 manufacturers or merchants, 5 doctors, 25 farmers, 8 editors, and 28 miscellaneous. According to the census of 1880, out of 17,392,000 persons with occupations, 64,000 were lawyers, or .37 of 1 per cent., and yet they numbered over 70 per cent. of the legislators. Over 184

per cent. of the people are farm laborers, and 25½ per cent. are farmers and others engaged in agricultural work, making, with the laborers, 44 per cent., and they had 1 senator and 25 members in the House, or about 1 per cent. of the legislators. Domestic laborers number 6 per cent. and other laborers over 10 per cent. How are they represented? Perhaps in the miscellaneous? Nearly 10½ per cent. are engaged in trade and transportation. Where do they come in? The bankers number only 15,000, or .09 of 1 per cent., and they have one hundred times the representation they are entitled to in the 6 bankers in the Senate and the 14 in the House. While there are doubtless enough railway attorneys in both Houses to amply represent the .38 of 1 per cent. of railroad officials, where do the 236,000 railway employees come in? and the 204,000 draymen? and the 100,000 sailors? and the 381,000 clerks? and the 120,000 book-keepers and salesmen? These number over 7 per cent. of the population. Doubtless the 487,000 traders and the 44,000 manufacturers, numbering 3 per cent. of the population, are represented by the 10 manufacturers and merchants in the Senate and the 21 in the House. But how about the rest of those engaged in manufacturing? They are nearly 22 per cent. of our working population.

This is also true of our local legislatures. During the decade from 1880-90 the lawyers numbered nearly 60 per cent. of the Massachusetts legislatures. Of the 15 cities producing the largest values in manufactured products, Newark, N. J., has the largest proportion of wage-workers to population. Not one of her 11 representatives in the State legislatures of 1894 or 1895 is a wage-worker, and many of them are lawyers.

This is true of foreign law-making bodies. Four hundred and fifty thousand railroad shareholders in England have 22 members in Parliament, while 380,000 railroad employees have none. Eight hundred thousand agricultural laborers have 1, and the land-owners have 130 besides the House of Lords. One hundred and forty-eight lawyers are M.P.'s, and they are fewer in proportion to the population than in this country. Ship-owners have 25 representatives, and 220,000 seamen have 1. Coal-mine owners have 21, and 655,000 miners have 7. There are 15 mill-owners in Parliament and not one operative. Twenty-four ironmasters and not one worker. This is true of all law-making bodies. Classes are not represented.

One evil effect of the predominance of lawyer legislators is the vast amount of law turned out. Over 13,000 laws were passed in 1890 by the various State and the national legislatures. New Jersey alone passed 600 of these, and many of them were longer than the whole Justinian code. The lawyer, because of his training, uses a redundancy of words. Many laws are so complicated that a large share of the time of other lawyers hired by the State and called courts is required to explain them. We are almost submerged with laws; we need fewer and simpler laws. Many people feel that the sessions of the Legislature are an evil to be dreaded and curtailed as much as possible. This is shown by the growth of biennial ses-

sions. Over half of the State legislatures now meet only once in two years. Half of the law-making is thus saved.

Many of these legislators are noble, patriotic men. But the most pure-minded man cannot help being biased by his training, occupation, and associates. He will see his needs clearer than the needs of those in other walks of life. Belonging, as most of them do, to the "elevated classes," they do not see the needs of the workers. A representative body to be of the highest usefulness should represent all classes of the community, and this has proved under our system an impossibility. Under any system it would be at present an impossibility, as the lower classes do not yet know how to voice their needs and aspirations so as to embody them in law. Hence representation does not represent, because large classes of the community are entirely unrepresented in the law-making bodies.

2. Nor are political parties properly represented. If each party had been represented in the Fifty-third Congress in proportion to the number of votes cast for that party there would have been 153 Republicans instead of 127, 164 Democrats instead of 218, 31 Populists instead of 9, and 8 Prohibitionists instead of none. In the Fifty-fourth Congress there would be 165 Republicans instead of 248, 135 Democrats instead of 104, 44 Populists instead of 7, and 8 Prohibitionists instead of none. In the House of Assembly of New Jersey for 1894 there should be, if actual votes counted, 33 Republicans, 24 Democrats, 1 Populist, 1 Socialist-Labor, and 1 Prohibitionist; but instead there are 54 Republicans and 6 Democrats. In the Essex County delegation to the Trenton Legislature there should be 7 Republicans and 4 Democrats; but instead there are 11 Republicans. Representation does not to-day properly represent our political parties.

Representation does not Represent.

The introduction of religious and other issues into politics shows very plainly that it is impossible for representation to represent our religious parties and others.

Geographical representation is all our present system provides. A century and more ago this was a vital point. In one small local community there were few and unimportant class divisions. That locality was almost homogeneous. A man from it could represent it carrying with him to the central body its local flavor and getting its local wants. Other communities differed from it, and they had to have a representative of their own. But with the growth of our great systems of transportation and intercommunication there has come a churning up of our people. The local lines have been broken down, they have been made more homogeneous as a people. But the growth of great fortunes and the socialization of industries in huge factories has built up class divisions instead of the locality divisions, and geographical representation is to-day almost useless.

3. Representation does not represent because no one man can perfectly represent another. No two human beings are perfectly alike. Even if the best man is always elected, there are some

issues on which he does not represent many of those who voted for him. A thinking voter casts his vote for either of three reasons or some combination of these reasons. First, he thinks the platform of the party whose candidate he votes for suits him on the whole better than that of the other party, but there may be in it one or more planks that he is opposed to. Second, he uses the opinions or record of the candidate in the same way as under the first he used the platform. Third, he votes for the candidate because he believes in his honesty of purpose and ability. Yet that very honesty of purpose may lead the elected candidate to pass some measure to which the voter is much opposed. Even under the best conditions representation cannot perfectly represent.

But under present conditions the voter often has a choice of evils. The party machines, representing only the political wire-pullers, nominate; the ignorant voter is deluded by the shouting of party shibboleths; the enthusiastic voter is drawn in by torchlight parades and violent harangues; the corrupt voter is bought to do something that will be for his permanent disadvantage, and the intelligent voter is distracted by the multiplicity of issues and claims. Is it a wonder that wrong results? And after the election, an issue not made in the campaign, tho it may have been foreseen by the wire-pullers, comes up for the representative to vote on, and he decides it, tho unable to know how his constituency would have him vote. From its very nature representation cannot accurately follow the wishes of the people.

4. Representation does not represent because human nature is weak and the law-maker is bought either by money or by promise of power or place. Every thinking man can easily show where men have been definitely pledged to certain measures before election, and then have either done nothing or just the contrary. During the eighties the Republican Party was given the power to reform and gradually lower the tariff on direct pledges embodied in its platform and in the speeches of such leaders as Garfield, Blaine, Sherman, and others. In 1890 it went back on its pledges and passed the McKinley law, which raised the rates. The issue was clearly made between the two parties; it was the main issue, and on it the people gave the power to the Democratic Party in the election of 1890, and emphasized it by the election of 1892. No mandate from the people could be clearer. Yet the Democratic Party passed a law which their leader in the House, Mr. Wilson, said was a perfidy, and which Mr. Cleveland was ashamed to sign. There is no question here of the wisdom or otherwise of protection. The will of the people, as clearly expressed in the elections, was not carried out. The reason it was not carried out in both cases was the corruption by corporate interests of the representatives of the people.

Direct legislation, it is claimed, will remedy these ills. It will represent all the voters of all classes, and it will take away the main conditions of a corrupt legislature, because the legislators can then not make or unmake laws.

This is the system used in all deliberative bodies: A man rises and says, "I move so

and so," and after discussion, the body votes on it, the majority deciding. Under the Initiative, 5 per cent. of the voters rise and say, "We move so and so," and after discussion led by their representatives, all vote on it. Often a society refers a matter to a committee to examine and report, and after the committee has reported the body takes action approving or rejecting the report. This is the Referendum.

This is the principle by which all the fundamental laws and principles of our government are fixed. The people vote on all constitutions and amendments to constitutions. They are the final authority on the fundamental law of the land. If they are capable of fixing the great principles of government, they ought to be capable of deciding on the by-laws if they wish. The principle of direct legislation is entwined with the very foundation and framework of our whole system. Why should it not be extended to the minor details? The people have tried to do this by lengthening their constitutions and curtailing the powers of their law-making bodies. The Constitution of New Hampshire in 1776 had 600 words; the last Constitution of Missouri, passed in 1835, has 26,000 words, or 43 times as many as that of New Hampshire. This is a clumsy and inefficient way of getting at direct legislation for a few things. It is hobbling the feet of a horse to prevent his running away when it would be better to use the pair of reins of the Referendum and the Initiative. Often when the people want something badly they find they cannot get it because they have tied the feet of their horse.

The advantages are too many to even name fully here. It will remove corruption, because the legislator cannot be sure of delivering the goods. It will make the political discussion on measures and not on men, as at present, thus removing much of the mud-slinging so prevalent to-day. It will make it possible to introduce reforms just as fast as the people really wish. To-day in many cities the majority of citizens desire the municipalization of the natural monopolies (*q.v.*). The reforms cannot be carried, because the corporations, directly or indirectly, bribe the legislators to leave them in possession of franchises which bring them vast returns, and for which they give little or nothing, save just enough to buy the legislature. From legislatures as to-day constituted little or no reform can be expected. Direct legislation, it is claimed, is thus the key to all reforms to be gained by legislation.

Direct legislation has had a long and widespread trial, and has everywhere worked well. It is the principle of the old New England town meeting. It has existed in certain cantons of Switzerland from time immemorial. It exists to-day in **Experience.** Switzerland in modern form, and gives complete satisfaction. It has been used and is being more and more used in all our States for the adoption or rejection of constitutional revisions and amendments. It is adopted by the most advanced national labor unions, and for years was the only political or legislative demand of the American Federation of Labor.

For this history, however, and for exact methods for its adoption, see REFERENDUM; INITIATIVE.

Direct legislation appeals especially to Democratic Socialists. As socialism means brotherhood in economic and industrial life, so direct legislation is the logical fulfilment of and the final step in democracy, which means brotherhood and equality in political life. Socialism is democracy carried into economic life. Socialism cannot be carried out or even successfully attempted without the complete realization of democracy through direct legislation. If it is attempted without complete self-government in politics, it will result in a loss of independence and a new slavery more severe, more insidious, and more difficult to throw off, because the governing class will then, through corruption and through direct control, own the government, which owns all the means of production. The reformer will then have no fulcrum to put his lever on.

With direct legislation, the people will be educated in self-government; no industry will be taken over by any government, local, State, or national, till the people directly interested are persuaded that it is for their own interest to do it, and it will be taken over as soon as they are persuaded of this, and taken over without serious opposition as soon as the will of the people is known, because opposition will be useless.

Direct legislation in its adoption and fullest realization may thus be considered the final step in democracy and the first step toward a rational socialism. Yet it can be advocated on grounds entirely distinct from socialism, and many converts made among those who think they are directly opposed to socialism. So many reformers feel that it is the part of wisdom to concentrate attention on this first step. And the rapid yet sturdy growth of the movement in the United States is encouraging to its advocates.

There have been three attempts to form national direct legislation societies, but little has come of them. The movement has mainly worked through other organizations. One organization was commenced in 1892, with J. W. Sullivan as provisional president. At the conference of reform forces held in St. Louis, Mo., in December, 1893, a second organization was started, with Rev. James H. Lathrop, of Oberlin, Kan., as its provisional president. He has done and is doing a good deal of work in writing letters, but organization has not developed. The third was started at Vineland, N. J., in August, 1895, and is called the National Direct Legislation Reform Society, W. A. Daggatt, President; Rev. Adolph Roeder, Secretary; but it has never done more than a local work. Local societies have been much more active. Nevertheless, the main movement has been through the spread of its principles in other organizations.

ELTWEED POMEROY,

Editor Direct Legislation Record.

The principal objections raised to direct legislation are, first, that the real value of bills depends on their details, and that since these must be left to the legislators in any case, direct rep-

resentation will only give the people the form of power. Yet since nominally the people will have the power, corrupt legislators can so word bills as to appear to serve the public weal, tho really serving some private interest, and yet throw all the responsibility on the people. Again, it is claimed that people prefer to vote for men in whom they have confidence rather than for measures. In Switzerland, 20 referenda, from 1879-91, drew on the average only 58.5 per cent. of the votes. "The result of the small vote is that laws duly considered by the national legislature and passed by considerable majorities are often reversed by a minority of the voters." The recent vote on "right to employment" was rejected 4 to 1. In Ohio an amendment to tax franchises of corporations was lost three times because the constitutional 75 per cent. failed to vote.

It is claimed, also, that direct legislation will set the voters discussing some small details, while general principles will be neglected, and the result will be retrogressive rather than progressive. It is claimed by some that democracy (*q.v.*) is itself retrogressive. As to the claim that direct legislation will make it possible to get other reforms through unwilling legislatures, it is said that any legislature unwilling to pass real reforms would defeat direct legislation quite as much.

These objections, however, are not so much objections to direct legislation itself as reasons for not expecting too much. Especially in city governments every petty ordinance and bill cannot be referred to the people. If too many bills are so referred the people cannot give time to acting on each with intelligence. Representatives, therefore, must be trusted to pass some bills and draft all bills, and therefore must be carefully done and made responsible. The people, however, could and should vote on simple, large, well-defined measures, and to do so would in itself educate them for further power.

References: J. W. Sullivan's *Direct Legislation* (1893); Nathan Cree's *Direct Legislation* (1892); *The Direct Legislation Record* (published quarterly at Newark, N. J. for the Direct Legislation League of New Jersey). For an unfavorable view, see an article by A. B. Hart on the Referendum in Switzerland, in *The Nation* for September 13, 1894. See also REFERENDUM; INITIATIVE.

DIRECT TAXES. See TAXATION.

DISPENSARY LIQUOR SYSTEM. See SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.

DISTRIBUTION, in political economy, is that large and important part of the subject which studies the division of products among the independent individuals, or classes of individuals, who compose the society. As the elements that contribute to production are usually classed as labor, capital, and natural objects or agencies, the fundamental formula of distribution is usually expressed thus:

Produce = Rent + Interest + Wages, where,
Produce = the increase made in material wealth, the net produce that remains after any auxiliary capital that may have been consumed is replaced;
Rent = the total amount received annually for the use of natural objects and agencies;
Interest = the total amount received annually for the use of capital;
Wages = the total amount received annually in remuneration for labor of whatever kind.

In the above equation we include under "wages" the remuneration of employers for the work of organizing, and supervising the labor of others; we include under "interest" what is usually called rent, so far as it is paid for anything that has been produced by labor; and we limit the word "rent" altogether to payments made for the use of land and other gifts of nature.

It is greatly to be regretted that in this, and other instances, we are compelled to use words in other than their ordinary meaning; but where ordinary parlance confuses things fundamentally different, such as the "rent" of a house, and the "rent" of land, things which depend on altogether different laws, our only alternative would be to invent new terms, the signification of which it would be still more difficult to understand.

The difficulty is perhaps most serious in the case of the word "wages." If the word "profits" could be taken to express the earnings of employers for the labor which they undergo, our equation might be put into the form $\text{Produce} = \text{Rent} + \text{Interest} + \text{Profits} + \text{Wages}$. For some purposes this would be the most convenient form of the equation. But the word "profits" is almost invariably used to include interest on capital, as well as remuneration for employer's labor, and if so used, the second form of the equation would count twice over one portion of interest. The balance of advantage seems therefore in favor of the earlier form of the equation.

In reference to distribution in general two questions may be, and in economic science have been, more or less carefully asked: What is the share, and what in equity should be the share of these various elements? As each question, however, in regard to each element demands in itself a long discussion, each is entitled to a separate article, and will be considered under the respective subjects of Rent, Interest, Profit, Wages. Thus far in political economy the question mainly asked as to distribution has been: What share, as a matter of fact, can rent, interest, and wages get, where each element is competing to get all it can? This was to Adam Smith and his followers the main question, because, experiencing the evils of the unwise State interference of the day, they believed that the best state of affairs for the public was where there was no interference, but where every one was left free to secure whatever share in the distribution he could. Believing also that every one was best able to look out for his own interests, they held that it was for the general good for each one to do this. They asked what share under this condition each one could get, believing that in the long run this was also the right share for him to get. More recently and mainly beginning with Mill, men have asked more and more the ethical question, what share each should get. It has been seen that under the free play of private interests, persons monopolizing the ownership of natural agencies and opportunities, or abundant capital, were able to get a vastly larger share than those who had only their labor to dispose of. Men must live, and when they have only their labor to dispose of they must sell it day by day, as a rule, in order to earn a living. Those who have large capital or ownership of large natural opportunities to fall back upon, are, on the other hand, not compelled to sell until they can get good prices. Natural opportunities, again, cannot be indefinitely supplied, and can be and have become largely monopolized; whereas, under the process of life, the supply of labor is much more abundant, and therefore the limited supply of natural opportunities enables rent to rise, while the large supply of labor tends to make wages

fall; or, if other causes raise wages, to prevent wages from rising in proportion to rent. For these and other causes it is claimed by socialists and others that the free play of private interest between rich capitalists and landlords and poor laborers is not fair play, and not truly free play (since the capitalist and landlord are comparatively free, but the laborer is often the slave of his circumstances). Hence the question is rising more and more as to what should be the basis of division, and many proposals have been made. It is proposed that laborers combine to get a larger share. Hence we have Trade-Union, Knights of Labor, etc. It is proposed that capitalists and landlords give a larger proportion of the produce to the laborers than they are able to secure by mere private struggle. Hence we have proposals for profit-sharing and various charities. It is proposed that laborers combine to be their own capitalists and landlords; hence we have all sorts of cooperative and communistic experiments. It is asserted that the wealthy classes have so much power in their hands that private cooperation cannot succeed in competing against them, and hence it is proposed that all the people, through government (municipal, State, and national), secure all the means of production (capital and land, so far at least as land is used for production), and operate them collectively for the equitable good of all; the people thus being their own employers, capitalists, and landlords. Hence we have Municipalism, Nationalism, Socialism. It is claimed that capitalists and landlords have been able to secure, and are to-day able to maintain their large share in distribution, only through the favoritism of the government. Hence we have proposals for free trade, the single tax, or the freeing of competition after land has been removed from private appropriation, the extreme proposals of the very great minimizing of the State in individualism, or the abolition of government in anarchism. It will be thus seen how the large proportion of the social reforms proposed to-day are reforms either in distribution or proposed with the view of affecting distribution. Hence a large proportion of this volume may be said to be concerned with distribution, and for the various proposals the reader must look under the names given above.

It should be added that a few men, and some of them of great ability and even brilliancy, like Edward Atkinson, steadily refuse to recognize distribution as being a more important question to-day than formerly. They assert and undertake to prove that if labor to-day does not receive as large a share in distribution as it should, it is receiving at least a continually increasing share, and that the present so-called Labor Question is but the laborer striving for a still larger share because he has been lifted up to a plane of education and of conscious wants which he has never occupied till now. Hence they argue that all we have to do is to keep on in the operation of allowing the freest play to private interests, only aiming continually more and more at education in the broadest and deepest sense, and at increase and saving in production; so that there will be more to distribute. This position will be discussed under the articles WAGES and SOCIALISM. Whether this position

be right or not, however, the large majority of economists and workers for social reform believe that it is not the case, and that the problem of just distribution does press to-day as never before; their books, therefore, are filled with discussions of the various proposals to secure a juster distribution. It has been said that, comparatively speaking, economic thought has solved the problem of the production of wealth, and the question now is mainly how to distribute it. It should be added, however, that a growing number of socialists argue that our present distribution is unjust because growing out of methods of production radically unjust, and that, therefore, the need is for a thorough change in industrial methods, both as to production and distribution, and beginning with the former. (See *SOCIALISM*; *WEALTH*; *WAGES*, etc.)

References: J. R. Common's *Distribution of Wealth* (1893); J. A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Capitalism*.

DISTRIBUTIVE COOPERATION. See *COOPERATIVE DISTRIBUTION*.

DIVISION OF LABOR.—When a number of workmen are engaged in any work, we find that each man usually takes one part of the work and leaves other parts of the work to his mates. People by degrees arrange themselves into different trades, so that the whole work done in any place is divided into many employments or crafts. This is termed division of labor, and is found in all civilized countries, and more or less in all states of society, which are not merely barbarous.

Such a condition of affairs naturally has both great advantages and disadvantages. Adam Smith's classic statement of the advantages of division of labor has been added to, but hardly surpassed. He found them mainly three:

1. Increase of dexterity in every particular workman.
2. Saving of the time which is commonly lost in passing from one kind of work to another.
3. The invention of a great number of machines, which facilitate and abridge labor, and enable one man to do the work of many.

There can be no doubt as to the increase or dexterity which arises from practice. Any one who has tried to imitate a juggler, or to play the piano, without having learned to do it, knows how absurdly he **Advantages.** fails. Adam Smith states that if a blacksmith had to make nails without having been accustomed to the work, he would not make above 200 or 300 bad nails in a day. With practice he might learn to make 800 or 1000 nails in a day; but boys who are brought up to the nailer's trade can turn out 2300 nails of the same kind in the same time.

Secondly, division of labor saves time. Before one can make anything he must get the right tools and materials; when he has finished one box he is ready to make another with less trouble than the first; but if he must go off and do something quite different, such as to mend a pair of shoes or write a letter, a different set of implements has to be got ready. A man, as Adam Smith says, saunters a little in turning

his hand from one kind of employment to another.

In the third place, Smith asserted that the division of labor leads to the invention of machines which abridge labor, because men, he thought, were much more likely to discover easy methods of attaining an object when their whole attention is directed to that object. Workmen invent modes of lessening their labor, and important inventions have been made in this way. Division of labor also leads to invention, because it enables ingenious men to make invention their profession. The greatest inventors, such as James Watt, Fulton, Roberts, Nasmyth, Howe, Fairbairn, the Stephensons, Wheatstone, Bessemer, have cultivated an original genius by careful study and long practice in mechanical construction. The division of labor also greatly assists invention, because it enables each factory to adopt particular kinds of machinery. The division of labor is continually becoming more and more minute, and it is not uncommon to find that the whole supply of some commodity is furnished from a single manufactory, which can then afford to have a set of machines invented on purpose to produce this one commodity.

The economy of inventions is best attained when it is the business of a certain set of people to study every new invention which bears on their particular trade; for each new leading idea with regard both to processes and machinery has many practical applications. Knowledge is acquired in working out one invention that is likely to be of use in seeking for others. If, however, the work of thinking is confined to a few, division of labor is carried too far.

There are other advantages. A deal of labor is often saved by arranging work so that a laborer may serve many persons as easily as one. If a messenger is going to carry a letter to the post-office, he can as readily carry a score. Instead of twenty people each carrying their own letters, one messenger can do the whole work without more trouble. This explains why the post-office is able to forward a letter from any part of the country to the other for two cents. Multiplying of copies is another great gain made possible by division of labor.

When the proper tools and models for making a thing are once provided, it is sometimes possible to go on multiplying copies with little further trouble. To cut the dies for striking a medal or coin is a very slow and costly work; but when once good dies are finished, it is easy to strike a great many coins with them, and the cost of the striking is very small. The printing press, however, is the best case of multiplication of copies.

Almost all the common things we use now, such as ordinary chairs and tables, cups and saucers, teapots, spoons, and forks, etc., are made by machinery, and are copies of an original pattern.

A further advantage of the division of labor is that, when there are many different trades, every person can choose that trade for which he is best suited. Each man will generally work at the trade in which he can get the best wages, and it is an evident loss of skill if the artisan should break stones or sweep the streets. Now,

the greater the division of labor and the more extensive factories become, the better chance there is for finding an employment just suited to each person's powers; clever workmen do the work which no one else can do; they have unskilled laborers to help them in things which require no skill; foremen plan out the work and allot it to the artisans; clerks, who are quick at accounts, keep the books, and pay and receive money; the manager of the factory is an ingenious experienced man, who can give his whole attention to directing the work, to making good bargains, or to inventing improvements in the business. Every one is thus occupied in the way in which his labor will be most productive and useful to other people, and at the same time most profitable to himself.

Lastly, the division of labor allows of local adaptation—that is, it allows every kind of work to be done in the place most suitable for it. Each kind of labor should be carried on where it is most productive; but this cannot be done unless there be division of labor; so that while the French grow wine, weave silk, or make *articles de Paris*, they buy the cottons of Manchester or the coals of Newcastle. When trade is free and the division of labor is perfect, each town or district learns to make some commodity better than other places. In England watches are made in Clerkenwell; steel pens in Birmingham; needles at Redditch; cutlery at Sheffield; pottery at Stoke; ribbons at Coventry; glass at St. Helen's; straw bonnets at Luton, etc.

The localization of industry promotes the education of skill and taste and the diffusion of technical knowledge.

Where large masses of people are working at the same kind of trade, they educate one another. The skill and the taste required for their work are in the air, and children breathe them as they grow up. This is seen particularly in such manufactures as those of glass and pottery. Again, each man profits by the ideas of his neighbors; he is stimulated by contact with those who are interested in his own pursuit to make new experiments;

Division of Industries. and each successful invention, whether it be a new machine, a new process, or a new way of organizing the business, is likely when once started to spread and to be improved upon.

In a district in which an industry is localized a skilled workman is sure of finding work to suit him; a master can easily fill a vacancy among his foremen; and generally the economy of skill can be carried further than in an isolated factory, however large. Thus both large and small factories are benefited by the localization of industry and by the assistance of subsidiary trades. But these benefits are most important to the small factories, and free them from many of the disadvantages under which they would otherwise labor in competition with large factories.

Still a large factory has many special advantages.

Firstly, greater economies can be attained by a large than by a small factory in such matters as the arrangement of buildings, steam engines and other machinery; and again in such work

as that of clerks, doorkeepers, stokers, repairers of machines, etc. One high chimney can make a draft for a large furnace as well as for a small one; one doorkeeper can admit 500 men as easily as 50.

Again, a large factory can often afford to buy a machine to do work that is done by hand in a small factory. It is true that a small factory devoted to one short stage of the process of manufacture may have the best and most highly specialized machinery. But such a factory would not come into existence until the advantage of having special machinery for this stage had become well established.

Perhaps the greatest economic advantage of large factories is that they can buy in large quantities, and thus both get better prices and save in transportation.

Whatever may be the result of the contest between large and small factories, it appears certain that the division of labor will continually increase. This increase is one of vital importance. It adds to men's power over nature, and furthers social progress.

There are said to be about 36 distinct kinds of employment in making and putting together the parts of a piano; there are about 40 trades engaged in watch-making; in the cotton business there are more than 100 occupations. But new trades are frequently created, especially when any new discovery takes place; and thus, there are at least 16 different trades occupied in photography, or in making the things required by photographers; and railways have produced whole series of employments which did not exist fifty years ago. In the shoe trade, D. A. Wells states, in his *Recent Economic Changes*, that there are really 62 distinct mechanical employments.

But we must now notice the disadvantages of division of labor. These may not be so numerous, but they are of the utmost seriousness.

In the first place, division of labor tends to make a man's power narrow and restricted; he does one kind of work so constantly that he has no time to learn and practise other kinds of work. A man becomes, as it has been said, worth only the tenth part of a pin—that is, there are men who know only how to make, for instance, the head of a pin.

"Think," says Dr. Josiah Strong, "of making pin-heads 10 hours a day, every working day in the week for a year—20, 40, 50 years! A nailer . . . does his day's work by pressing into the jaws of an ever-ravenous machine a small bar of iron. . . . Think of making that movement for a lifetime. . . . It admits of little interest and no enthusiasm in one's work; and, worst of all, it cramps the mind and belittles the man. Once the man who made the nail could make the iron fence also; now he cannot even make the nail, but only feed a machine that makes it."

A second disadvantage of the division of labor is that trade becomes very complicated, and when deranged the results are ruinous to many. Each person learns to supply only a particular kind of goods, and if change of fashion or any other cause leads to a falling off in the demand for that kind of goods, the producer is left in poverty until he can learn another trade. At

one time the making of crinoline skirts for ladies was a large and profitable trade; now it has ceased almost entirely, and those who learned the business have had to seek other employments. But each trade is generally well supplied with hands perfectly trained to the work, and it is very difficult for fresh workmen, especially when old, to learn the new work, and com-

pete with those who have long practised it. Even if he be fortunate enough to get work, it is humiliating and exasperating to a workman who, at the cost of years of toil and application, has acquired skill, which has become a source of independence and honest pride, to find himself suddenly superseded by a machine and compelled at reduced wages to stand and guide its movements—a service which can as well be, and soon is, performed by a girl. But the laborer not only suffers pecuniarily; he is socially and morally degraded. Division of labor contracts the sphere of the laborer, renders him more and more dependent upon others, dwarfs him mentally, and thus degrades him.

Is it any wonder that labor protests? To adopt a system of compulsory education, which enlarges working men's ideas of liberty, equality, and manhood, and at the same time reduces them to industrial machines, will inevitably result in social disturbances. It is certain that the subdivision of labor cheapens production, and is therefore an economic principle which will prevail more and more in the development of industry.

It is equally and lamentably certain that little or nothing has been done to counteract its baleful effect upon the character of laborers. They cannot afford to become mere automatons at the expense of their manhood. Because machinery can go on forever, it is forgotten that flesh and blood cannot do the same.

There are disadvantages to the community generally apart from those that affect the laborer. When, under the division of labor, a whole town becomes dependent upon one industry, or one branch of one industry, the whole town becomes too dependent upon the condition of that industry. When it is flourishing the town is unhealthily "boomed;" when its industry declines it is "swamped." The discovery of a new method or the invention of a new machine may ruin a whole town or circle of towns. Men become not the masters, but the slaves of machines. They do not possess their tools, but are possessed by them.

Once, again, division of industry, by developing machine work and transforming the artisan into a tool, displaces handwork, and much of the freedom, and individuality, and beauty, and variety, and originality that makes medieval art work so attractive. It lowers esthetic as well as moral ideas. Machine work becomes the rule.

However, these disadvantages of the division of labor are not arguments for its disuse, but for its modification. Undoubtedly the lowering of a man into a tool is too high a price to pay for advantages in quantity and ease of production of material things; but the question is, whether we may not have the advantages with-

out the disadvantages. To this end various methods are proposed. The most important is perhaps the reduction of the hours of labor. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) This, by reducing the hours when men should do their routine work, would give them increased opportunity to develop and broaden in other ways. Again, nationalists and socialists would so order society that every man should have the opportunity to labor, so that if demand for one kind of labor ceased he could be sure of being given work in another kind of labor. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.) To these should be added a reform in which all agree—the development of technical and industrial schools, where, if men choose specialties, they can also be broadened by study and development, to some extent at least, in other lines. All progressive thought is agreed that stern protest by word and deed must be made against the tendency to reduce the man to a tool.

Reference: J. A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Capitalism*.

Difficulties Met.

DIVORCE AND MARRIAGE REFORM.

—The movement for divorce reform in the United States is, on the whole, the best point from which to treat the general subject in this work. The condition of the divorce laws of Connecticut drew grave criticism from Rev. Benjamin Trumbull in the last century, and from the elder President Dwight, of Yale, a generation later. Then, in 1867, President Woolsey first published his able treatise in the form of articles for the *New Englander*, and afterward in a separate volume. Little immediately came of any of these discussions. But in 1877 fresh interest in the subject in Connecticut and Vermont, and afterward in Massachusetts, led to the organization of the New England Divorce Reform League in 1881, which, in 1885, became the National Divorce Reform League. Its corresponding secretary and most active officer is the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL.D., Auburndale, Mass. (*q.v.*) It does not, as a rule, propose definite measures of reform, but aims "to promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation in the institution of the family, especially as affecting existing evils relating to marriage and divorce." It seeks to unite all, whatever their religious faith or their views on this particular subject may be, who are willing to cooperate in the general aim of the League. It holds the subjects of marriage and divorce to be so inseparably connected with each other, and through the family with the entire social order, that only in study and work broad as the wider relations of its special subjects can the best results be permanently secured. Scientific sociology, if one may so speak of it, is, therefore, a necessary part of its instrumentalities. Careful statistical inquiry is also largely used. Constructive work is held to be even more important than critical and restrictive. In nearly all if not all these methods the League has been foremost among social reforms, and owes much of its success to their adoption. The official investigation of marriage and divorce in the United States and Europe was proposed by its secretary, and was largely due to its efforts. The League has been

a leading agency in bringing the whole subject into its present prominence in the present hopeful movement for uniform legislation, and in the introduction of sociology as a study with the educational institutions of the United States. The entire range of these subjects has also been greatly increased. This treatment of divorce in the closest relation to the family was formerly rare.

The marriage laws of Europe have undergone a very great change within a century. The best account of this change, as it affects the celebration of marriage, which has been a movement rather than a reform, in the popular use of this latter word, is to be found in a series of papers by Frank Gaylord Cook in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1888 and 1889, which unfortunately have not yet been put into book form. The other features of the change can best be studied in the report mentioned above, and in the books named in its bibliography and in others found in the libraries.

Europe.

The obligatory civil marriage with the optional religious celebration has come to prevail in the greater part of Europe. With this go careful provisions for the protection of the parties from fraudulent marriages; for the consent of parents; for the celebration of the marriage by some single official in each locality, or at most by a few; for the public record and preservation of the facts regarding the marriage, and in some countries for the record of all dissolutions of marriage from whatever cause. The reader may consult the official report for the chief points in the present imperial marriage law of Germany for a good example of a scientifically constructed marriage law, intended to cover every important point, and especially for the protection it gives against bigamous marriages. Of course, these systems in countries which readily accept close official inquiry and supervision in domestic affairs could hardly be transferred unchanged to the United States. Some of their safeguards, however, should be adopted by us. But caution should be exercised in regard to such features in them as restrictions upon marriage relating to property and other qualifications for a sound domestic life, because of the immoral relations which they often induce.

In our own country, following the lead of Massachusetts, most States now have a system of marriage license; many require some sort of return of the licenses to a local authority, but only 21 provide for returns to the central State authorities and their official publication. Annual divorce statistics are still less available in this country than those of marriage, for only eight or nine States provide for them. In Europe many countries carefully collect and publish statistics of marriage and divorce each year. These annual returns and the remarkable collection of the United States Report for the years 1867-86 taken from the original sources for all our States, Canada, and most European countries, are the sources of present statistics.

The United States.

No attempt is made here to give the chief points of the marriage laws of this country and Europe, both for the reason that space will not permit and because the excellent and convenient digest of the report of the Department of Labor at Washington, which can be obtained without cost, renders this unnecessary. The same remark applies to divorce laws. Students should always first consult this report. The vital statistics of the United States census, especially those of the census of 1890, and of the registration reports, notably those of Massachusetts, Michigan, and Great Britain in English, and those of Germany, France, etc., are exceedingly instructive on the movement of marriage and birth-rates. A few other States than those named also have very good reports. A paper by the writer of this article appeared in the proceedings of the International Statistical Institute for 1893, and in the publications of the American Statistical Association for December, 1893, on the *Condition and Needs of Statistics of Marriage and Divorce*. A work on divorce by Dr. Henri Morselli, of Italy, the distinguished authority on suicide and its causes, is in course of preparation.

The significance of the increase of divorce must be sought in its relation to the family and the social order generally rather than for its bearing on individual morality, tho its evils here

are serious indeed. Divorce is the legal dissolution of the relation of husband and wife, or, practically, of the family, before its termination by the natural cause in the death of one of the parties. The cases of divorce represent only those unhappy domestic relations where for any reason the parties are willing to seek the courts for relief, and actually get it in a decree of divorce. Two things should, therefore, be noted with care. The number of divorces in a given period are by no means equal to the number of families in which serious trouble or imperfect or vicious domestic conditions exist, for they only show the number of this greater class who prefer divorce to further endurance of real or imaginary troubles, and are willing to go to the courts for it. There is an unknown number of families from which the actual divorces come, in which adultery, desertion, cruelty, neglect, alienations, and lack of support exist. Then, on the other hand, the lessened hold of former convictions of the sacredness of marriage, the increase of those ideas which make it easier to assert rights, and the greater familiarity of the people with the thought and practice of divorce may operate in a way to increase the ratio of divorces to population beyond the increase of domestic evils. Yet with the decreasing birth-rate, especially among the classes who are the best able to rear children and yet are not physically incapacitated for the duties of parents; the deliberate practice of criminal abortion and its kindred vice among many; the increase of celibate life and the social vices of many of this class as well as of the married, and the tendency in certain quarters of society, even among women, to look upon marital infidelity with less abhorrence than formerly, the danger of an exaggerated opinion of the significance of the vast and growing volume of divorces in the United States is not very great. It is probably more than counterbalanced by the insensibility to the evils which mark large numbers, even of the better class of our people.

A few statistics, summaries in all instances from the report of Mr. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, or for years since 1886, from my own collections from official sources, and those of Australia from J. A. Coglean, Esq., Government Statistician of New South Wales, which Professor Willcox, of Cornell University, secured, will now be given in illustration of the general movement, and to bring out various facts regarding it.

For the two extreme years covered by Mr. Wright's report we have the following figures:

COUNTRY.	NUMBER OF DIVORCES.	
	1867.	1886.
Belgium.....	130	354
France.....	2,181	6,211
England and Wales.....	130	372
Scotland.....	32	96
Baden.....	19	143
Bavaria.....	270	238
Saxony.....	396	917
Württemberg.....	94	161
Hesse.....	28	53
Netherlands.....	133	418
Poland.....	163	345
Sweden.....	128	226
Switzerland*.....	190	396
United States.....	9,937	25,535

* Six cantons.

It should be said of France, that the figures given above for 1886 include both separations and the divorcés under the new law of 1884. In 1883, the separations were 3010. In 1887 the absolute divorces numbered 4685, and the divorces after separation for three years were 1112 or 5797 in all.

Other countries give the following: Canada had 4 divorces in 1868 and 9 in 1888; Denmark, 470 in 1871 and 577 in 1881; Ireland, 4 in 1871 and 7 in 1886; the German Empire, 5263 in 1882 and 8710 in 1889; Prussia, 2329 in 1881 and 3808 in 1886; Switzerland entered had 1102 in 1876, the first year under the Federal law, and 899 in 1886; Elsass-Lothringen, 56 in 1874 and 117 in 1886; Hamburg, 145 in 1880 and 287 in 1886; Italy, 723 in 1869 and 591 in 1890; Norway, 33 in 1870 and 71 in 1890; Roumania, 276 in 1871 and 432 in 1880; Finland, 55 in 1875 and 62 in 1886; Japan, 109,995 in 1884 and 109,988 in 1890, or about one third the marriages. Divorces and separations, it should be said, are combined in one total in the above. France granted separations only between 1816 and 1884, while Italy has always granted separations only. Russia gives the number of divorces reported from three of the religious bodies as follows: Orthodox Greek Church, 810 in 1886 and 1196 in 1885; Evangelical Augsburg Confusion, 147 in 1867 and 188 in 1886; Evangelical Reformed Confusion, 7 in 1867 and 1 in 1886.

In New South Wales divorces and separations increased from 9 in 1875 to 51 in 1890; in Victoria, from 8 in 1867 to 40 in 1890; in Queensland, from 4 in 1877 to 8 in 1890, but separations are not yet reported; in South Australia, from 3 in 1867 to 11, 11 and 9, in 1877-79 and 9, 11, 11 in 1883-85, decreasing to 6 and 2 in 1889 and 1890. West Australia granted three divorces in 1890; Tasmania granted from none to 7 between 1867 and 1890; there being 2 in 1890. New Zealand granted 24 divorces in 1886 and the same in 1890, with 32 in 1888. In the eight States which now give annual statistics of divorce, the movement from 1886 onward has been as follows: Connecticut granted 120 in 1886 and 475 in 1891; Indiana, 1657 in 1886 and 2236 in 90 out of 92 counties in 1891; Massachusetts, 565 in 1886 and 1045 in 1891; Minnesota, 379 in 1886 and 576 in 1892; New Hampshire, 381 in 1886 and 412 in 1891; Ohio, 1889 in 1886 and 2544 in 1891; Rhode Island, 257 in 1886 and 296 in 1892; and Vermont, 129 in 1886 and 165 in 1891, in 12 of its 14 counties.

These figures show that divorces are everywhere increasing, with some few exceptions, and generally far more rapidly than the increase of population. The most marked exceptions are found in such countries as Italy and Austria. The increase is seen in countries of the Greek Church, the Lutheran and other Protestant Confusions, and in some countries under the Roman Catholic faith. In the United States, it is found in all parts of the country. Here, as a whole, the increase is about two and one half times the increase of the population. In some of the older States, however, divorces increase very slowly, as regards population, after they have reached the higher rates of 8 to 10 per cent. of the marriages. But Indiana, which for many years seemed to recover from her early conditions of extremely numerous divorces, had in 1891 a divorce to less than each 1000 of her population, or one third more than 10 years before.

Of the divorces in the United States, 65.8 per cent. were granted on the petition of the wife. Something of this is due to the fact that she is more frequently in the position to take the initiative, and some of it is due to the commonly assigned reason that she is oftener the greater sufferer in an unhappy marriage. That 38 per cent. of the total were granted for desertion, 20 per cent. for adultery, 16 per cent. for cruelty, and 4 per cent. for drunkenness, is no indication of the distribution of the real causes, for the conditions of law, ease or difficulty of proof and the condition of public sentiment are large elements in the problem. For example, one half of all the divorces for drunkenness in the United States occurred in the four States of Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, and Massachusetts, which indicates that conditions favor the use of this plea for divorce in those States, and not that the people of those particular States are more intemperate than those of others. The special examination of 29,665 divorce cases in 45 counties in 12 selected States showed that "in 20.1 per cent. of the whole number intemperance was a direct or indirect cause."

In the 29,670 cases just noted, "the average period of married life between marriage and separation was 6.81 years, while the average period between separation and divorce was 3.02 years." This makes 9.83 years from marriage to divorce. For the United

States the average married life before divorce for the 20 years is 9.17. As a rule, it is longer in the older States than elsewhere. Out of the total of 328,716 divorces granted in 20 years, 25,371 were granted to parties who had been married 21 years and over, or, on an average, 26.95 years. The largest number, however, 27,909, had lived together four years; the next largest—207—three years; while 21,525 had been married only two years, and 15,622 only one year. The European figures generally show nearly the same average length of married life, and in countries where divorces are more frequent, nearly the same proportion of divorces soon after marriage. But it is said to see that the number of divorces after many years of married life is increasing.

In 14.6 per cent. of the cases, the positive statement was made that there were no children. And in 43 per cent. more no mention was made of children as entering into the legal proceedings. Where children do appear, the average is 2.07 to each couple. The presence of children, especially in the larger families, is a deterrent from divorce, except among the poorer classes, where it often leads to desertion by the father, and then application for divorce by the deserted wife. Connecticut, and perhaps other States, now make desertion and refusal of support a criminal offense.

Important light is thrown on migrations from one State to another to obtain divorce by a comparison of the place of marriage with that of divorce. Of the 328,716 divorces in the United States in 1867-86, the place of marriage is given in the libels for divorce, which furnish the basis of the official statistics in 289,546 cases. Of the remaining 31,380, more than one fourth were in Connecticut, where this particular is not required in petitions for divorce. But of the 289,546 cases, 80.1 per cent. were married in the States where the divorce occurred, leaving 19.9 per cent. to be divided between those who migrated without thought of divorce at the time and those who left the State of their residence to seek divorce elsewhere. Allowing for the migratory character of our population and the length of time between marriage and divorce, it is evident that conflicting laws actually affect a small part either of the marriages or divorces. That people can avail themselves of the conflicting laws is one thing. How far they actually do this is quite another. Considerations of time, expense, convenience, and social restraints all operate as deterrents.

In 1886 nine States and Territories permitted marriage after divorce without the slightest limitation, and 15 more practically permit remarriage. Nineteen permit marriage, but under certain restrictions, such as exception in case of adul-

Legislation. tery, permission of the court, restriction for six months to both parties, and for 10 months to the wife, and for two or three years to the defendant. The number of persons who actually remarry after divorce unfortunately is unknown. In Connecticut for two recent years the number of divorced persons who married in each year was less than 40 per cent. of those divorced in the same years, and some European figures show about the same ratio. The census of the United States for 1890 gives 120,496 divorced persons living in the country at that time. This is but little more than double the number probably divorced in that year, and can hardly represent the number of persons *in transitu* between divorce and remarriage and the large number who do not remarry at all, as statistics of this class are difficult to collect.

The tendency of legislation in the United States for the last 10 years has been in the right direction with slight exceptions. Marriage and divorce laws are gradually being changed for the better. More or less important changes have been made in a dozen States, and with wholesome results. The old "omnibus clause" of Connecticut and several other States now remains on the statute book of Washington alone. The term of residence before a party can apply

for a divorce in a State, which ranges from 90 days in Oklahoma to five years in Massachusetts, has been raised in California, Georgia, and South Dakota. The remarriage of the defendant has been greatly restricted in Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, and Vermont. The last two now require delay between the application and trial, and some have recently required the attention of the attorney of the State in its interests. Delaware forbids the trial in its courts of a case when the cause occurred out of the State and the petitioner was a non-resident at the time, unless the cause alleged is also a ground for divorce in the State from which the party came. This movement would probably have gone on much farther but for another in behalf of uniform laws, which has been gathering momentum for several years.

Of the need of greater uniformity there has been no doubt. But the extent to which it should be sought and the way to secure it have been warmly discussed. The abuses under conflicting divorce laws and the quite as serious ones under the marriage laws are well known. The marriage laws are in conflict regarding the degrees of relationship, consent of parents, age at which parties may lawfully marry, license fees, registration, degree of publicity, and the effects of a remarriage after divorce. The divorce laws vary in regard to causes for which divorce may be granted, from no divorce or marriage laws in South Carolina to 14 causes for divorce in New Hampshire; in respect to the class of courts and their practice; to residence, restrictions upon remarriage and effects of a divorce.

Naturally public attention has turned to the need of a uniform national law of marriage and divorce, which can be obtained only through an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. This would give jurisdiction over these subjects to Congress or to the States on some prescribed basis. The difficulties in the way of this plan are serious.

Some of them are: The consent of the States to the transfer of a portion of their reserved powers to the Congress, with the possibility at least that in time the closely related parts of domestic law relating to wills, interstate succession to property, and the like would have to go to the same jurisdiction as marriage and divorce; the difficulty of adopting one law for a great variety of people in race and local customs; the risk of increasing the number of divorces under some law reflecting the average opinion of Congress; and the small part of the marriages and divorces that would really be affected by uniform legislation, as practically shown by the statistics already given.

Just as the Government report was to appear, the State of New York created a Commission on Uniform Legislation on a plan first suggested by ex-President Woolsey, of Yale, in 1881, and invited other States to do the same. At present (December, 1893), 19 States, including the most important, have created similar commissions. Two or three conferences have already been held and important suggestions made. This has been called the most important movement in juristic work since the adoption of the Federal Constitu-

tion. Enough States are already in it to do good work and insure success so far as it can be won on this plan. It disturbs no rights of the States; leaves a large freedom for local conditions to shape local law; can reach many serious abuses; and, if it is finally made evident that the constitutional change should be made, the work done will demonstrate the necessity and prepare the way for the necessary amendment.

But it is clear that the roots of reform touching marriage and divorce lie deep and spread far in the social soil. It cannot be too strongly urged that these are but organic parts of the larger problem of the family and its relation to the social order, and that constructive work of the broadest and most fundamental order must be done. A generation of clergymen, lawyers, teachers, writers, must be educated in the subjects that lie about the family before we can look for the best results in legislation and legal administration, where, by the way, half the work of legal reform in divorce is to be done. This work is now going on. The constant effort of the Divorce Reform League to introduce the study of the family and of sociology, especially that of the social structure, its institutions and forces from a sociological point of view rather than the general one of the several social sciences, its insistence on statistics, together with the general interest of many others in sociology, are telling. Where a dozen years ago almost no work was done in these subjects, today nearly all the higher educational institutions do something, and some of them have very full courses on the family and sociology. More recently colleges for women are doing more work of this kind, and will soon put into society a large number of exceptionally well-qualified students and leaders of reform.

The effect of this upon other reforms demands brief notice here. The fact that the family is germinal of the other great social institutions, and enters into the social order just as tissue makes up every part of the human body, will soon compel the attention of both students and reformers. The modern change from the exclusive attention to the individual being, the individual institution, or a single class of men and institutions, to the individual, the institution and the class in their intricate organic relations, is slowly working a great revolution in the methods of reform. The method popular just now in some quarters, of massing a great number of more or less related subjects under one leading reform, is a partial abandonment of the old individualistic method without direct recognition of the modern one of organic effort. Its weakness is that it is still essentially individualistic. More and more will criminal reform and that of intemperance, poverty, and vice, turn from the prison, the saloon, the almshouse, the factory, and the brothel as chief points of attack, to the home as the most important single center of successful reform, where preventive and constructive work can be done. We shall learn to do less "for the home," as the phrase goes, and do more through it. Both Church and State, school and reform, have much to learn in the application of self-restraint in their efforts "for the home," that the home may get on its

A Uniform National Law.

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own feet and learn the nobler lesson of Christian charity, which helps most and best when it teaches self-respect and encourages self-help as one of the richest gifts of God to man.

This article has made no reference to the religious doctrines regarding marriage and divorce. But its writer will simply add a thought

Religious Ground.

and because that must be left for experts in biblical scholarship. The hint, however, is thrown out that the time is soon coming for a re-examination of the various conclusions of past discussions under the methods of modern scientific study. This may revise our forms of statement and defense, while it may not change the substance of the form or conclusions of various parts of the Church. Nor should this surprise the reader who recalls the far better knowledge we have of the individual in the Bible in the last century since the social and political place of the individual man began to be more fully understood. The Church in the Christian centuries has studied marriage, divorce, chastity, etc., as isolated subjects, rarely taking them in their connection with the family, which it has seldom attempted to treat until of late. When it learns through sociology to discriminate institutions, to differentiate and coordinate without obliterating social functions, it will gain new strength in some if not in all of its old and fundamental positions. The remarkable thing about the most important utterance of Christ about divorce is that He pointed to nature in the constitution of the sexes for His doctrine, and in His statement gave the fundamentals of the monogamous family—that is, He threw the whole subject into the field of science, and thus made it the common problem of the religious teacher and the scientific student.

SAMUEL W. DIKE.

References: *The Annual Reports of the National Divorce Reform League*. See also FAMILY.

DOCK STRIKE OF LONDON, 1888, THE.—In its importance to the whole labor question of England, this strike has perhaps greater relative value than any other struggle within the last decade. To understand its import, it will be necessary to know somewhat of the conditions which preceded it. The East End of London has for years been the despair of philanthropists and reformers. It seemed to be full of hopeless, helpless misery that was beyond any one's power to cope with; and of the most hopeless description was the lot of the "casual" docker. The work of unloading and carrying to the warehouse the cargoes of ship requires as little skill as any labor that one can do; and being, for that reason, work that any man can do, it had become the refuge of all those who could not find work elsewhere. But it was only a last resort; for the force of competition among the men had made the rates of pay so low and the chances of work so uncertain that the dock gates were practically the lowest rung in the ladder. The hopeless apathy which the men displayed to all attempts to organize

them into unions made it seem that all efforts were wasted. When, however, the Gas Workers' Union was formed in 1888, and the gas men gained substantial improvements in their lot, the "dockers" began to pluck up courage, and the trade-union that Mr. Tillet (*q.v.*) was organizing grew rapidly. The strike itself broke out on August 12 over a small dispute at the South West India Dock, which was, however, only the spark which kindled the blaze. The real grievances had long rankled in the minds of the men. Two days later, all the men from the South West India Dock being out, they sent to Tom Mann (*q.v.*), asking his help in organizing, and in calling out the men working in the other docks, which are dotted here and there for miles along the Thames.

After two days' continual speech-making outside the various dock gates, nearly all the dockers responded to the call. John Burns (*q.v.*) now volunteered his assistance, and from this time became the leading figure in the struggle. In ten days the whole of the riverside workers, including

Extent.

all the stevedores, painters, scalers, corn porters, deal porters, coal-heavers, seamen and firemen, carmen, lightermen, bargemen, and all whose work in any way affected that of the "docker," came out on strike; most of them without making any demand for themselves, but simply to show their sympathy with the dockers, and strengthen the claims they were making. Some 150,000 men were involved. Day after day during the whole of the five weeks that the strike lasted mass meetings were held on Tower Hill, at which all the news and the orders of the day were given; the meetings then marching in procession with banners and emblems westward to the city and back. The leaders meantime worked night and day at the gigantic task of organizing and providing sustenance for the heterogeneous mass now depending on them. Stirred by the example of the riverside workmen, who had voluntarily made such sacrifices, all England was roused to sympathy with the men, and liberal subscriptions began to pour in. Clergymen and members of the nobility subscribed. At least \$200,000 passed through the hands of the committee. Nor was this feeling confined to England alone. In Australia their cause was taken up in an unprecedented manner, subscriptions being raised in all quarters; indeed, the generous support from Australia may be said to have ensured the victory, for thousands of pounds was sent from thence during the last two weeks of the strike. From first to last the men held firm to their

Demands.

demands, which were: "No man to be taken on for less than four hours at a time; contract work and piece-work to be abolished, and wages to be raised to six pence (12 cents) per hour, with eightpence (16 cents) per hour for overtime." All who knew the conditions of dock work felt that the demands were so moderate that the men could not afford to accept less; while, on the other hand, the dock companies remained obdurate. The whole trade of the port of London was at a standstill; the effects began to be felt in every home, until the general public began to take a

direct interest in the struggle, demanding that there should be an end to it. On September 6 a conciliation committee met at the Mansion House to act as intermediaries between the directors and the men. To this committee, which consisted of Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, most of the final negotiations were due. Finally, principally through the efforts of Cardinal Manning and Mr. Sydney Buxton, the strike was brought to a

close on September 14 by the directors granting all the men's demands, which were to come into operation on November 4. The gaining of better conditions by the dockers is the least important of the results ensuing from this strike. It opened a new page in the history of English labor movements. Before then, with very few exceptions, each trade had been obliged to fight its own battle single-handed; in this case not only did all the kindred workers unite with them, undertaking all the hardship and misery that a strike means, with no other purpose in view than the betterment of their brothers, but all the other trades helped, too, by money and sympathy. Never before was the feeling of solidarity so greatly evinced. The chord so strongly struck has awakened into life the public conscience on such matters, which even now is taking shape in the various labor movements and reforms that are agitating the public mind in England.

ALFRED HICKS.

DOLGEVILLE is the name of a little manufacturing town in the Mohawk Valley in New York State, 220 miles due north from New York City. It is famous for the cooperative or profit-sharing experiments carried on there by Mr. Alfred Dolge. Mr. Dolge, a German, came to the little place, then called Brockett's Bridge, in 1874. With the small capital at his command he bought an old tannery there, and prospered, and soon added a felt industry, to-day the main interest. At first he made felt almost solely for pianos. In 1883 he commenced making the Dolge "felt shoe." Prospering in this, he increased his works, and now employs many hundred men. In 1887 the name of the place was changed to Dolgeville. As early as 1880 Mr. Dolge started a mutual aid society among his employees, to help them to become independent and capable of managing their own affairs. In 1882 he added a pension plan, entitling each employee, after 10 years of employment, to a pension in case of accident, sickness, or old age, consisting of 50 per cent. of his last year's salary. If he had worked 13 years, it was to be 60 per cent., and so on till he who had worked 25 years was to be entitled to 100 per cent. In 1887 Mr. Dolge added still another element to his scheme—a plan of life insurance. This was simply to grant a life insurance of \$1000 to each employee who had worked 10 years, and another \$1000 for 10 years' more service. Mr. Dolge has also built a club-house with gymnasium, library, etc., for his employees; he has opened a park and opened a free evening school; a school society has been formed and an academy founded.

Mr. Dolge objects to "profit-sharing" (*q.v.*), but believes that one of the greatest factors in harmonizing labor and capital will be "the education of the working man."

With him there is no such thing as "profits." All gains are "earnings"—the earnings of labor or of capital, or of both together. The labor may be manual or intellectual, or both; the manual labor may be skilled or unskilled; the intellectual labor, that of the foreman, the superintendent, the general manager, the inventor, the salesman, the proprietor (who guides all and is responsible for all).

Mr. Dolge has, therefore, directed all his efforts toward securing "a just distribution of earnings." To do this he has necessarily had to determine what the exact earnings of each individual in his business were, irrespective of the question of salaries and wages. In this direction he has had some success in a most elaborate system of book-keeping.

Practically, what he does is to set aside each year a calculated amount of profits of his business for the benefit of his men. He is with them naturally popular, and his works a happy community. He is to-day the largest felt and felt-shoe manufacturer in the world, doing a business of about \$1,000,000 a year, with an import business of as much more. Up to 1890 the firm had paid out \$170,000.

DOLLAR. See CURRENCY.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.—The condition of domestic service in the United States has been affected by two historical facts. The first is the change made within a hundred years by the substitution of the factory system of manufactures for the previous domestic system. This change, involving a division of labor, has necessitated a readjustment of the work within the household. It has increased the demand for persons giving all of their time to household work, and it has limited the supply. The division of labor is not yet fully accomplished, and out of this fact grows a part of the friction found in domestic service. The second historical fact is the series of political revolutions of the century acting in connection with certain economic and social forces. Domestic service in America has had three distinct phases. During the early colonial period service of every kind was in general performed by "redemptioners." The colonization of the New World gave opportunity for the transportation and subsequent employment in the colonies of large numbers of persons who as a rule belonged to a low class in the social scale. These redemptioners, who paid their passage to this country by selling themselves into service, were found in all the colonies, tho more numerous in the Southern and Middle colonies than in New England. In Virginia and Maryland they apparently outnumbered negro servants until the latter part of the seventeenth century. Some of these redemptioners and many of their descendants became in time wealthy and prominent members of their communities, especially at the North, but for a long time they were generally considered

Development in the United States.

the offscourings of English cities, and formed a distinct class in the social order lower than their masters or employers. In view of this fact, a reproach was of necessity attached to all belonging to the class and to the designation applied to them.

A second phase came about the time of the Revolution, when at the North the indented servants as a class were gradually supplanted by free laborers and at the South by negro slaves, who inherited with large interest the reproach attached to redemptioners. The social chasm that had existed at the North between employer and employee under the system of bond servants disappeared. The free laborers, whether employed in domestic service or otherwise, were socially the equal of their employers, especially in New England and in the smaller towns. They belonged by birth to the same section of the country, probably to the same community; they had the same religious belief, attended the same church, sat at the same fire-side, ate at the same table, and had the same associates as their employers. They were in every sense of the word "help." A survival of this condition of affairs is seen to-day in farming communities, especially at the West. In the South, on the contrary, the social chasm became impassable, as negro slavery entirely displaced white labor.

This condition of democratic service at the North and slavery at the South continued in both sections from the time of the Revolution until about the middle of this century. Between 1850 and 1870 four important political changes revolutionized the character of domestic service, and have introduced the third period in the history of the subject.

The first of these was the Irish famine in 1845. Previous to this time the emigration to this country from Ireland had been small, averaging not more than 20,000 annually between 1820 and 1846. In the decade previous to the famine the average number of arrivals had been less than 35,000 annually. In 1846 the number was 51,752, and this was more than doubled the following year, the reports showing 105,536 arrivals in 1847. In 1851 the number of arrivals from Ireland had risen to 221,253. Since that time the number has fluctuated, but between 50,000 and 75,000 persons annually came to this country from Ireland. A large proportion of these emigrants, 49 per cent. during the last decade, have been women who were classed as "unskilled laborers." Two occupations were open to them. One was in factories, where, as manufacturing processes became more simple, unskilled labor could be utilized. The Irish emigrants soon displaced New England women, who found new opportunities for work of a higher grade. The second occupation open to the Irish was household service. Here physical strength formed a partial compensation for lack of skill and ignorance of American ways, and the Irish soon came to form a most numerous and important class engaged in domestic employments.

A second important European change influencing the condition of domestic service was the German Revolution of 1848 with the events pre-

ceding and resulting from it. Before this period the emigration from Germany had been insignificant, fewer than 15,000 coming to this country annually between 1830 and 1840. In 1840, owing to political reasons, the number had risen to 29,704; but in 1841, after the accession of Frederick William IV., it fell to 15,291. It soon became evident that the hopes raised by the accession of the new monarch were without foundation, and emigration rapidly increased, until the number of emigrants coming to America reached nearly 75,000 in 1847. During the year of the Revolution the number decreased; but the failure of the cause of the revolutionary party and the political apathy that followed again increased the movement toward America. This reached its climax in 1854, when the number of Germans arriving in this country was 215,009—a number equaled but once since that time, altho the number has averaged nearly 150,000 annually during the last decade.

A large number of these emigrants have been women, the proportion of women emigrating from Germany being greater than from any other foreign country except Ireland. The ranks of domestic service have been recruited from their number also, the Germans being second only to the Irish as regards the number and proportion engaged in this occupation.

A third political influence affecting the question was the establishment of treaty relations between the United States and China in 1844. This fact, and the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and the building of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867-69, opened the doors to the emigration of considerable numbers of Chinese. Many of these found their way into domestic service, and on the Pacific coast they have become formidable competitors of other nationalities in this occupation.

These political and economic conditions in Europe and the breaking down of long-established customs in Asia have thus, since 1850, brought to this country large numbers of men and women who have performed the household service previously given by native-born Americans. The presence of the Irish in the East, the Germans in the West, the Scandinavians in the Northwest, and the Chinese on the Pacific coast has thus introduced a new social as well as economic element at the North. It has led to a change in the relation of employer and employee; the class line that was only faintly drawn in the early part of the century between employer and "help" has been changed into a caste line, which many employers believe it to their interest to preserve. The native-born American fears to lose social position by coming into competition with foreign labor.

While this change has been taking place at the North in the character of the service owing to political conditions in the Old World, a similar change has taken place at the South growing out of the abolition of slavery in 1863. The negroes who had previously performed all domestic service for their personal expenses have since then received for the same service a small remuneration in money. This fact prevents now as effectually as during the slavery period any competition in domestic service on the part of native-born white employees.

An indication of these various changes in the condition of domestic service is seen in the history of the word "servant." As used in England and in law at the time of the settlement of the American colonies, it signified an employee, and no odium was in any way attached to the word. This is indicated by the various definitions given in the early dictionaries, *servant* being defined as "a man or woman that serves another." But five things led to gradual disuse of the word: First, the reproach connected with the word through the character and social rank of the redemptioners; second, the fact that when the redemptioners gave place at the South to negro slaves the word "servant" was transferred to this class, and this alone was sufficient to prevent its application to whites; third, the leveling tendencies that always prevail in a new country; fourth, the literal interpretation of the preamble of the Declaration of Independence; and fifth, the new social and political theories resulting from the introduction of French philosophical ideas. At the North the word "help," as applied especially to women, superseded the word "servant," while at the South servant was applied only to the negro. From the time of the Revolution, therefore, until about 1850, the word "servant" does not seem to have been generally applied to white persons of American birth

Use of Words.

in either section. Since the introduction of foreign labor, at the middle of the century, the word "servant" has again come into general use as applied to white employees; not, however, as a survival of the old colonial word, but as a reintroduction from Europe of a term signifying one who performs so-called menial labor, and restricted in its use, except in a legal sense, to women who perform domestic service. The present use of the word has come not only from the almost exclusive employment of foreigners in domestic service, but also because of the increase of wealth, and consequent luxury in this country, the growing class divisions, and the adoption of many European habits of living and thinking and speaking.

Domestic service has also been affected by the economic conditions of the century. Some of these may be indicated by the tabular returns received to a series of schedules sent to employers and employees. The tables represent the returns received from 1005 employers concerning 2545 employees, and the returns received from 719 employees. These returns indicate the general conformity of domestic service to the economic laws governing other industries and also the nature of the economic laws developed within itself. The extent to which domestic service has been affected by foreign emigration is indicated by the following tables:

TABLE I.
PLACE OF BIRTH OF EMPLOYEES.

PERSON REPORTING.	NUMBER.			PERCENTAGES.		
	Native Born.	Foreign Born.	Not Given.	Native Born.	Foreign Born.	Not Given.
Employer	922	1,212	411	36.23	47.62	16.15
Employee	324	395	....	45.06	54.94	... ..

TABLE II.
NUMBER OF FOREIGN BORN IN DOMESTIC SERVICE.

PLACE OF BIRTH.	PERSON REPORTING.			
	EMPLOYER.		EMPLOYEE.	
	Num-ber.	Per Cent.	Num-ber.	Per Cent.
Ireland.....	653	53.88	217	54.94
Sweden and Norway.	147	12.13	50	12.66
Germany	128	10.56	37	9.37
Great Britain	122	10.07	32	8.10
British America.....	104	8.58	42	10.63
Other countries.....	58	4.78	17	4.30
Total	1,212	100.00	395	100.00

TABLE III.
AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION.

GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION.	AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES.	
	Men.	Women.
Pacific coast	\$7.57	\$4.57
Eastern section.....	8.68	3.60
Middle section.....	7.62	3.21
Western section.....	6.69	3.00
Border section	4.86	2.55
Southern section.....	3.95	2.22
The United States	\$7.18	\$3.23

The conformity of domestic service to the general laws governing wages is shown by the following table. It shows that wages in domestic service, as in other occupations, are lowest at the South and highest on the Pacific coast.

Table IV. shows that in domestic service, as elsewhere, skilled labor commands the highest wages. The cook is the skilled workman. The general servant, who is expected to unite in herself all the functions of all the other employees in the list, becomes, by virtue of this fact, an unskilled workman, and therefore receives the lowest wages.

TABLE IV.

AVERAGE WEEKLY AND DAILY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

OCCUPATION.	WEEKLY WAGES.		
	GENERAL SCHEDULE OF		Boston Employment Bureau.
	Employer.	Employee.	
WOMEN:			
Cook.....	\$3.80	\$3.64	\$4.45
Parlor maid.....	....	....	3.94
Cook and laundress.....	3.50	3.27	....
Chambermaid.....	3.31	3.47	3.86
Waitress.....	3.23	3.15	3.76
Second girl.....	3.04	3.27	3.34
Chambermaid and waitress.....	2.99	3.21	....
General servant.....	2.94	2.88	3.16
MEN:			
Coachman.....	7.84	....	....
Coachman and gardener.....	6.54	....	....
Butler.....	6.11	....	....
Cook.....	6.08	....	....
	Daily Wages.		
WOMEN:			
Seamstress.....	\$1.01	....	....
Laundress.....	.82	....	....
MEN:			
Gardener.....	1.33	....	....
Choreman.....	.87	....	....

It also seems to be true in domestic service as elsewhere that the skilled laborer does his work better than the unskilled workman. The question was asked of employers, "What is the nature of the service rendered? Is it 'excellent,' 'good,' 'fair,' or 'poor'?" The replies show that, in proportion to the number of answers, the largest percentage of service characterized as "excellent" is rendered by cooks, while the largest percentage characterized as "poor" is given by general servants.

It was also found that the wages of men engaged in domestic service are higher than the wages of women. This will be seen by reference to Table III. and Table IV. Two things, however, must be borne in mind: First, that nearly all the men classified as cooks are employed on the Pacific coast, where wages are relatively high; second, that 40 per cent. of men in domestic service do not receive board and lodging in addition to cash wages, while only 2 per cent. of women so employed, principally colored women and laundresses, do not receive board and lodging. But altho these facts modify the discrepancy between the wages of men and women, they do not wholly remove it. Whether the difference is as great as in other occupations cannot be here stated.

For the facts on this point, see articles WAGES and WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES. For a consideration of the facts, see articles EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY and PRODUCTION. See also HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

The following table will show the results in regard to these two classes of employees:

TABLE V.
NATURE OF SERVICE RENDERED.

OCCUPATION.	Total Number of Replies.	Not Answered.	KIND OF SERVICE RENDERED.							
			EXCELLENT.		GOOD.		FAIR.		POOR.	
			Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Cooks.....	262	30	83	32	113	43	58	22	8	3
General servants.....	585	53	151	26	221	38	177	30	36	6

AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS, REPORTED BY A BOSTON EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.

OCCUPATION	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent. Receiving More than the Average.	Per Cent. Receiving the Same or Less than the Average.	Highest Wages Received.	Lowest Wages Received.	Total Number.
General servants.....	\$3.16	40.5	59.5	\$5.00	\$1.50	914
Second girls.....	3.34	62.2	37.8	4.50	1.50	475
Cooks.....	4.45	50.0	50.0	10.50	1.00	574
Chambermaids.....	3.86	57.4	42.6	5.00	3.00	82
Waitresses.....	3.76	48.4	51.6	5.00	2.50	50
Parlor maids.....	3.94	80.4	19.6	5.00	3.50	57
Nursery maids.....	3.26	51.3	48.7	7.00	1.00	233
Laundresses.....	4.44	44.4	55.6	6.00	2.00	53
Total.....	....	....	....	....	....	2,438

There was also found a slight tendency toward an increase in wages paid by employers, as

is seen by the table which follows on the next page.

TABLE VI.
COMPARISON OF WAGES PAID.

WAGES PAID.	NUMBER.			PERCENTAGE.		
	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
Same as last year	414	1,638	2,052	87.72	79.02	80.53
More than last year	54	368	422	11.44	17.75	16.58
Less than last year	4	67	71	.84	3.23	2.79

The average high rate of wages is indicated by Tables VII. and VIII.

TABLE VII.
CLASSIFIED DAILY AND WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

OCCUPATIONS. SCHEDULE OF EMPLOYERS.	EARNING WEEKLY.														Total.	
	Under \$1.	\$1. but under \$2.	\$2. but under \$3.	\$3. but under \$4.	\$4. but under \$5.	\$5. but under \$6.	\$6. but under \$7.	\$7. but under \$8.	\$8. but under \$9.	\$9. but under \$10.	\$10. but under \$11.	\$11. but under \$12.	\$12. but under \$13.	\$13. but under \$14.		Over \$14.
WOMEN :																
General servants	1	33	251	276	39	5	1									606
Second girls		17	50	76	18	4	1	4								170
Cooks and laundresses		4	21	70	41	5										141
Cooks	4	6	38	104	86	31	7		3	1						280
Chambermaids and waitresses	2	9	44	69	7	2										133
Chambermaids	1	6	18	45	18	4										92
Waitresses		3	43	32	23	2										103
Nurses	1	11	30	46	18	9		6			4					125
Housekeepers				1	2				1							4
Total	9	89	495	610	252	62	8	11	1	3	5					1,654
MEN :																
Butlers		3	2	5	3	8	6	4	3	6	2	1		1		44
Coachmen and gardeners		2	7	11	18	22	21	3	12	10	11	4	1			123
Coachmen		1	5	8	10	14	17	3	9	12	7	11	3	6	3	109
Cooks		1		1	3	2	3	3	1	3						17
Total .....	...	7	14	25	34	46	47	13	25	31	20	16	4	8	3	293
	EARNING DAILY.															
WOMEN :																
Laundresses	123	121														244
Seamstresses	48	51	6													105
Total	171	172	6													349
MEN :																
Gardeners	26	87	8	1												
Choremen	24	14	1													
Total	50	101	9	1												161
	EARNING WEEKLY.															
SCHEDULE OF EMPLOYEES.																
General servants	1	16	152	187	24	3										383
Second girls			11	18	10											39
Cooks and laundresses			6	22	13											45
Cooks	1	3	20	39	23	11	3	1								101
Chambermaids and waitresses			6	15	1											23
Chambermaids		1	7	9	6	1										25
Waitresses		2	14	16	1	2	1									36
Nurses		1	5	10	1											18
Housekeepers				2	1											4
Total	2	27	221	318	80	19	4	1	1	1						674

TABLE VIII.*
AVERAGE WEEKLY AND DAILY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

OCCUPATION.	PERSON REPLYING.					
	EMPLOYER.			EMPLOYEE.		
	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent. Receiving More than the Average.	Per Cent. Receiving the Same or Less than the Average.	Average Weekly Wages.	Per Cent. Receiving More than the Average.	Per Cent. Receiving the Same or Less than the Average.
WOMEN :						
General servants	\$2.94	52.97	47.03	\$2.88	55.87	43.13
Second girls ..	3.04	49.00	60.00	3.27	53.85	46.15
Cooks and laundresses.....	3.50	43.97	56.03	3.27	53.33	46.67
Cooks	3.80	45.71	54.29	3.64	43.56	56.44
Chambermaids and waitresses.....	2.99	58.65	41.35	3.21	52.17	47.83
Chambermaids.....	3.31	47.83	52.17	3.47	32.00	68.00
Waitresses.....	3.23	43.69	56.31	3.15	44.44	55.56
Nurses.....	3.53	36.00	64.00	3.03	33.33	66.67
Housekeepers.....	5.15	25.00	75.00	5.15	25.00	75.00
Total	\$3.23	47.88	52.12	\$3.11	50.95	49.05
MEN :						
Butlers.....	\$6.11	50.00	50.00	....	....	....
Coachmen and gardeners.....	6.54	44.72	55.28	....	....	....
Coachmen	7.84	46.79	53.21	....	....	....
Cooks	6.09	47.06	52.94	....	....	....
Total.....	\$6.93	46.42	53.58	....	....	....
Average Daily Wages.						
WOMEN :						
Laundresses.....	\$0.82	53.28	46.72	....	....	....
Seamstresses	1.01	39.05	60.95	....	....	....
Total.....	\$0.90	49.00	51.00	....	....	....
MEN :						
Gardeners.....	\$1.33	56.56	43.44	....	....	....
Choremen .....	.87	43.59	56.41	....	....	....
Total.....	\$1.29	53.42	46.58	....	....	....

The same fact is also seen in the wages reported by a Boston employment bureau.

TABLE IX.
CLASSIFIED WEEKLY WAGES BY OCCUPATIONS.

OCCUPATION.	EARNING WEEKLY.										
	\$1. but under \$2.	\$2. but under \$3.	\$3. but under \$4.	\$4. but under \$5.	\$5. but under \$6.	\$6. but under \$7.	\$7. but under \$8.	\$8. but under \$9.	\$9. but under \$10.	\$10. but under \$11.	Total.
General servants.....	8	183	577	143	3	....	....	....	....	....	914
Second girls.....	2	41	363	69	....	....	....	....	....	....	475
Cooks	1	3	39	347	145	28	4	3	....	4	574
Chambermaids.....	....	3	40	37	2	....	....	....	....	....	82
Waitresses .....	....	4	29	16	1	....	....	....	....	....	50
Parlor maids.....	....	....	11	45	1	....	....	....	....	....	57
Nursery maids.....	7	45	119	57	3	1	1	....	....	....	233
Laundresses.....	....	1	9	27	15	1	....	....	....	....	53
Total.....	18	280	1,187	741	170	30	5	3	....	4	2,438

* In the classification in these two tables the employees in several large boarding-houses were omitted. All of those included under the term "nurses" are nurse-girls, with the exception of the few receiving the highest wages.

These, with other facts and tables that could be given, may be considered as showing the general conformity of domestic service to economic law.

Some of the difficulties presented to the employer of domestic service have been indicated.

They may be summed up as follows: the difficulty of assimilating **Difficulties**, into the family those who are of a different nationality, and consequently hold different industrial, social, religious, and political beliefs; the spirit of restlessness that everywhere prevails among the working classes, tho not peculiar to them, and the resulting brief terms of service; the necessity of engaging for skilled labor the assistance of unskilled laborers; the lack of reliable means of communication with those desiring employment; the prevailing indifference among employers to the action of economic law and the failure to realize that in domestic service as elsewhere the course followed by one employer has an appreciable effect on the condition of the service as a whole.

On the side of the employee the advantages in domestic service as an occupation are high wages, the healthfulness of the work, that it gives the externals of a home, training in household affairs, and congenial employment to those whose tastes lie in this direction. These advantages are offset by the disadvantages that lie in the fact that there is little or no opportunity for promotion in the service, the utter lack of organization in the occupation, the irregularity of working hours, the lack of free time evenings and Sundays, the impossibility of having more than the externals of a home, and the absence of all opportunities for personal improvement and social advantages. The most serious disadvantage is the badge of social inferiority placed on the class of domestic employees. This badge consists in the use of the word "servant" and of the Christian name in address, the wearing of a livery, the enforced acknowledgment of social inferiority, and the giving of fees. The latter custom has perhaps done more than any other one thing to change what should be an honorable employment into a menial service.

The underlying difficulty in the present condition of domestic service is the universal failure to recognize it as a part of the great industrial question of the day. Domestic service is amenable to economic law in precisely the same manner as are other forms of labor, and until the study of the subject is made to begin at this point all plans to bring about a better condition of affairs must prove fruitless.

LUCY M. SALMON.

It is often asked why, if women's wages are so low and there are many unemployed, is it frequently so difficult to get servants? The answer is that women free from family ties and of character, age, and ability for service, are not often unemployed. The unemployed problem is mainly of men and of women with family ties or other disqualifications for service. As for low wages, there is a plain explanation. Domestic service, even in the best homes, usually implies constant submission to one person's will, and constant confinement, except, perhaps, for

one "evening out" a week. In the store or the factory, girls almost always have all their evenings and Sundays perfectly free, and when at work are with others under fixed regulations rather than under a personal master. Almost anybody would prefer such a measure of freedom, even with low pay, to higher pay and less freedom. The cure perhaps lies in making domestic work a trade, with fixed hours. Miss Jane Addams, in an article in *The American Journal of Sociology* for March, 1896, finds it perfectly natural that girls should prefer factory labor, with its social equality and industrial independence. She says:

"If the 'servant' attitude were once eliminated from household industry, and the well-established one of employer and employee substituted, the first step would be taken toward overcoming many difficulties. . . . Most of the cooking and serving and cleaning of a household could be done by women living outside and coming into a house as a skilled workman does, having no 'personal service' relation to the employer. There is no reason why the woman who cleans windows in a house should not live as full a domestic and social life as the man who cleans windows in an office."

Ed.

(See HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION; WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.)

DONI, FRANCESCO, was born in Florence about the year 1503. In 1552 appeared at Venice his *I Mondi*, and the year after his *I Inferni*, in which he describes his ideals of a communistic state, where there is community both of property and of wives. The books were translated into French, and seem to have arrested some attention, but to have developed few thoughts that were new. Doni died in the year 1574.

DONISTHORPE, WORDSWORTH, was born in Yorkshire, England, March 24, 1847; was educated at Leeds School and Trinity College, Cambridge, and graduated with first-class honors in 1869. He traveled in Europe, and was imprisoned in Strasburg in 1870 for taking part in a riotous republican demonstration, but was soon released. He was called to the bar in 1879. He was imprisoned in 1876 under the Vaccination Act, but was successful in preventing his own children from being vaccinated. In 1880 he founded the State Resistance Union, of which he was the first president. In 1881 the basis of its operations was widened under the title of Liberty and Property Defense League, and the Earl of Wemyss became its president. In 1888 Mr. Donisthorpe retired from the association, owing to differences of opinion as to the proper scope of the League. During the years 1887-88 he edited *Jus*, the organ of individualism. In 1887 the Free Libraries Act was applied to Kensington, and he fought the question till 1890, when the vestry surrendered, and paid his share of the rate, together with his costs. A full account of the singular correspondence may be found in *Liberty*, March 7, 1891. He is president of the Legitimation League at present (1894). He is occupied in lecturing, writing for some of the papers and magazines, and is preparing several books for publication. Among his writings are: *Principles of Plutology* (1876); *Serfdom*,

Wagedom and Freedom (1880); *Capitalization of Labor* (1887); *Individualism* (1889). He also wrote *Overlegislation* in 1883, and again in 1884 for the Liberty and Property Defense League, and contributed an essay to *A Plea for Liberty* in 1891; *The Future of Marriage*, in the *Fortnightly Review* (February, 1892); *Love and Law*, published by the Legitimation League; *Bastardy*, in the *Free Review*. In 1887 he drew an Adulteration Bill, which was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Wemyss, and passed the first reading, but owing to the lateness of the session was dropped. It has not since been revived. He claims to belong to the individualist school, which he considers "Anarchist in principle and final aim, but opportunist in action. So long as we are unprepared for private enterprise in any department of activity, such as the enforcement of the fulfillment of contracts, let the State do such work as well as it possibly can." In politics he calls himself Republican; in religion, atheist; in morals, egoistic hedonist.

DONNELLY, IGNATIUS, was born in Philadelphia November 3, 1831. His father, Dr. Philip Carroll Donnelly, was an eminent physician in that city. After his graduation from the high school he entered upon the study of law, and in 1853 was admitted to the bar. Two years later he was nominated by the Democrats for the House of Representatives, but declined the nomination. In 1856 he moved West, where he has spent the greater part of his life. In 1859 he started the *Dakota County Sentinel*. In 1857 he was nominated for State Senator by the Republicans, but was defeated. He was the first to organize the Dakota County Agricultural Society. In 1859 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Minnesota. He has since then taken an active part in the political life of the West. In 1874 he started the Anti-Monopoly Party of Minnesota, and he is now a leader in the People's Party. Mr. Donnelly has written *The Great Cryptogram*, *Atlantis*, *Ragnarok*, *Doctor Huguet*, *Cesar's Column*, and *The Golden Bottle*, all of which have been widely read. He is now editor of *The Representative*, a leading People's Party paper published in Minneapolis.

DOUAI, DR. ADOLF, a German-American socialist, was born in Altenburg in 1819. He studied philosophy and theology in Germany, and became a private tutor in Russia. Receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Dorpat, he returned to Altenburg and established a private school. Arrested and, after being once discharged, rearrested and imprisoned one year for his socialistic utterances and his part in the Revolution of 1848, he escaped to Texas in 1852, and as a journalist and teacher traveled through many of the States, carrying socialism with him. He took part in the early socialist organizations in New York City, and was editor of the *Arbeiter Union*, established in 1871, and from 1878 to his death, in 1888, associate editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

DOVE, PATRICK EDWARD, was born at Lasswade, near Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1815.

A land-owner devoted to philosophical and economic letters, he studied in France and Germany, as well as Scotland, and in 1850 published *The Theory of Human Progression and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice, the First Part of a Projected Treatise on the Science of Politics*. It arrested attention of scholars like Hamilton and Charles Sumner. In it he comes to conclusions as to land very nearly similar to those of Henry George (*q.v.*); and Mr. George, when lecturing in Edinburgh in 1884, praised his book very highly. Some have even claimed that it was from this book that Mr. George drew some of his ideas. Dove seems to have been a universal genius, writing alike on the sport of Scotland, theological discussions, and the science of government. He contributed the article on government for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and won recognition by his books in various quarters. He died in Scotland in 1873.

DOW, NEAL.—General Neal Dow, the "Father of the Maine Law," was born in Portland, Me., March 20, 1804. His parents and all his ancestors for many generations were Friends, and he was brought up in that faith. His education was primarily in the public schools, afterward in private schools, after that at the Portland Academy, and then at the Friends' Academy in the town of New Bedford, Mass.

In his youth he was a Whig, but a Republican as soon as that party was born. He became a member of the Prohibition Party as soon as he became satisfied that Prohibition through the Republican Party was impossible. He was twice Mayor of Portland, and twice a member of the Legislature. In his first mayoralty term, in 1851, he framed an anti-liquor bill and carried it to the Legislature two days before its adjournment; he had a hearing in the Representatives' Hall in the afternoon; the bill was reported the next day precisely as he had written it, was put through all its stages by a vote of 86 to 40 in the House and 18 to 10 in the Senate, enacted on the same day, and took effect on its approval by Governor Hubbard (a Democrat) the next day. It is known in all the English-speaking world as "the Maine law." On the breaking out of the Rebellion Mr. Dow entered the army, September, 1861, as colonel of the Maine Volunteers, of 1000 men, which he recruited. He also recruited the Second Maine Battery by special commission from the Secretary of War. In April, 1862, he was commissioned brigadier-general by Mr. Lincoln. He was twice wounded in battle, and while occupying a plantation house outside of the lines was captured at night and taken to Libby Prison at Richmond, Va., where he was retained eight months and then exchanged for Fitz-Hugh Lee.

He has visited England three times, delivering about 500 addresses under the auspices and as the guest of the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1880 he was the candidate of the Prohibition Party for President. In June, 1894, the completion of General Dow's ninetieth year was celebrated by memorial meetings all over the world. A vast international temperance congress was held in celebration at Prohibition Park, Staten Island, N. Y., at which eminent

speakers and thinkers from all parts of this country and even from Europe discussed the temperance question in all its phases.

DRAGE, GEOFFREY, born in 1860, was educated at Eton and Christ Church College, Oxford. He then traveled for some years, visiting foreign universities, studying at Berlin and Moscow. He visited America, Africa, and Australia, attending nearly all the parliaments of the world, and taking great interest in political and social questions. He was appointed Secretary to the English Royal Commission on Labor in 1891, and organized office staff; prepared the series of reports on foreign countries. He is author of *Criminal Code of Germany* (1885); *Cyril* (1889, a novel in 6th ed.); *Eton and the Empire* (1890, 5th ed.); *The Unemployed* (1894); *Eton and the Labor Question* (1894, 2d ed.); *Old Age Pensions* (1895).

DRED SCOTT DECISION.—In 1834 Dred Scott was a negro slave of one Dr. Emerson, in Missouri, and taken by his master to Rock Island, Ill., where slavery was prohibited by statute. In 1836 Dred married Harriet, another slave of Dr. Emerson's, and in 1838 returned to Missouri with his master. Here he discovered that by decisions of Missouri courts, his transfer by his master to Illinois had made him a free man, and on being whipped by his master, he, in 1848, brought suit against him for assault and battery, and obtained judgment in his favor. On appeal, the Supreme Court of Missouri, in 1852, by two justices, the Supreme Judge dissenting, reversed the decision and remanded the case to the Circuit Court. Soon after Dr. Emerson sold his slaves to J. F. A. Sanford, of New York City, and the case became still more involved. It was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States in the December term of 1855 and 1856, and judgment pronounced March 6, 1857. The court decided, 7 judges to 2, that the Missouri court had not jurisdiction, and directed the suit to be dismissed. But the judges went on to pronounce general judgments, denying the legal existence of the African race as persons in constitutional law; a denial of the supreme control of Congress over the Territories, and a denial of the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. The decision created general excitement. It was the last attempt to decide the slavery contest by form of law, and itself did not a little toward precipitating the war. Judge Curtis dissented from the extent of the decision, and said, "A great question of constitutional law, deeply affecting the peace and welfare of the country, is not, in my opinion, a fit subject to be thus reached." (See ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT.)

DRESS REFORM.—Near the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century dress reform in the United States took definite shape under the auspices of the National Council of Women. Before this there had been organized efforts to improve the dress of woman; but these movements had no distinct connection one with another, either in precise object or in method of procedure.

Dress reform in the fifties and sixties, the first

movement, began with the effort of individual women to emancipate themselves personally from the burdens of dress then prevailing. The costume adopted by those freedom-loving women, among whom were Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others of the most eminent women of the century, was called "Bloomer" by the newspapers and the general public, after the name of one of the earliest women (but not the first) to wear the costume. It was simply the dress of the period (which was usually a gathered waist, full sleeves, often "flowing," and a plain full skirt) loosened to be comfortable and shortened nearly to the knees, with trousers of the dress material either gathered down at the ankle or allowed to hang loose to the foot. This new style of dress was at first welcomed by American women, as made known to them through Mrs. Bloomer's *Lily* and Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*; but other newspapers quickly discovered and published the fact that the leaders of the new fashion were not only Americans, instead of Parisians, but they were also "strong-minded," which was then a term of reproach. Misrepresentation and ridicule were quickly brought to bear against it, and more or less social martyrdom became the lot of those who continued to wear the divided dress. Few had the fortitude to wear it steadily more than two or three years; but it was laid aside very unwillingly by some, who found it a hindrance to other public work in which they were engaged. Its hygienic merits were soon evident, and on this basis a National Dress Reform Association was organized in 1856, and held several annual conventions with considerable success. It was supposed that there were at one time several thousand women scattered through the United States wearing the dress first called the "Bloomer," and "Bloomers." afterward the "American costume." Most of them gradually abandoned the dress, not because—as is often asserted—the dress was ugly in itself (for tight waists and enormous hoops were then "in fashion," and many men as well as women declared that the fashionable dress was far less artistic than the "Bloomers"), but the tyranny of fashion constantly increased with the *growing power of trade*. The wide diffusion of cut-paper patterns of the Parisian styles and of illustrated and seemingly authoritative fashion articles in the leading newspapers had begun to have great influence upon public opinion and public taste. In many cases the gymnasium dress introduced by Dr. Dio Lewis took the place of the "American costume," and was much worn, especially by young ladies in girls' schools. The skirt was of "bloomer" length, but the Turkish trousers came only a little below the knees. A few of the early dress reformers have never abandoned their radical reform in dress, and in 1874 there was a small and brief revival of their annual conventions with the name True Dress League. The New England Woman's Club, one of the first of women's clubs, appointed a dress reform committee in 1873. Believing that no particular change in outer dress was possible at that time, the committee especially recommended

improvements in the undergarments usually worn. There was no especial advance in this respect upon the practice of some of the early dress reformers, few, if any, of whom wore corsets, and some of whom made and wore "combination undersuits." These were recommended

by the Boston committee, and have since been known as "dress reform" undergarments, the woven union undersuits having come quite generally into use. They were welcomed by the most intelligent women, and have been made more widely known by the business enterprise of Mrs. Jenness Miller and other women who have lectured on the subject, exhibiting the garments and doing much to substitute for underskirts the "divided skirt," which the Viscountess Harberton recommended to English women.

The National Council of Women of the United States, at its first triennial convention, in Washington, D. C., February, 1891, passed a resolution, in executive session, to appoint a committee of women to report suggestions for an every-day business dress for women.

This committee was appointed at an executive meeting in the following May. Those who accepted their appointments with instructions to prepare a symposium on woman's dress for a leading magazine and to report the committee's idea of a business dress for women were Frances E. Russell, Chairman; Frank Stuart Parker, and Annie Jenness Miller. Shortly afterward Octavia W. Bates was added to the committee.

The symposium, comprising papers by Grace Greenwood, Elizabeth Smith Miller, Annie Jenness Miller, Octavia W. Bates, E. M. King, Frances M. Steele, Viscountess Harberton, Frances E. Russell, and an introduction by Mrs. Mary Wright Sewall, President of the National Council of Women, was published in the *Arena* for September and October, 1892.

The committee's report of an every-day business dress for women, "suitable for business

hours, for shopping, marketing, housework, walking, and other forms of exercise," was presented in December, 1892, and afterward inculcated in pamphlet form. It recommended the same improved underwear which had already been advocated, and loose dressing of neck, arms, waist, hands, and feet. To relieve the legs from the customary hindrance of long skirts two forms were recommended, each capable of various modifications: one, the divided skirt, called the "Syrian" in England, and used in this country in the best gymnasia for women (the usual full skirt being divided just above the knees and gathered up around each leg dually); and the other, a gown, or jacket and skirt, with the drapery falling only a little way below the knee, equestrienne trousers, leggings, or extra high boots being added as desired or needed.

These costumes seem to be coming into use, but have not been very generally adopted except for the gymnasium, the bicycle, and mountain-climbing. One session of the National Council of Women, held during the Woman's Congress of Representative Women at the Colum-

bian Exposition, was devoted to the subject of woman's dress. It was a very large meeting, and there was much enthusiasm. The costumes recommended by the committee on dress were shown from the platform on those who took part, and were frequently seen on the fair grounds during the summer.

Within the two and a half years since the committee began its work there has been a great change in public opinion. About 1500 of the most eminent or influential women signed the following agreement:

"We, whose names are signed below, consent to give our influence in favor of an improvement in woman's dress, which will give her the free and healthful use of the organs of her body when working or taking exercise. In signing this paper, we do not become responsible for the suggestions of any one else, nor do we promise to wear or to endorse any particular style of dress. We simply give our influence to help start a strong and healthy movement in favor of freedom and common sense in dress."

The first signers of this paper were May Wright Sewall, Lady Henry Somerset, Frances E. Willard, Clara Barton, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Grace Greenwood, Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward.

As further aid in influencing public opinion (or keeping the rabble respectful) another paper has been circulated among eminent men, saying that they are "among the men of America who approve of this effort women are making." The first signers were Dr. E. A. Sheldon, Principal of Oswego Normal School; Dr. N. S. Davis, long the President of the National Medical Association; T. W. Higginson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The committee on dress of the National Council of Women was increased after the close of the Columbia Exposition by three members—Laura Lee, Bertha Morris Smith, and Annie L. Sloane.

There is great hope for dress reform in the Physical Culture and Correct Dress Societies, the first one of which was organized in Chicago in 1888. There are dress reform organizations of some kind in Sweden, Germany, France, and in England, where Lady Harberton presides over the Rational Dress Society, which publishes an annual *Gazette*. The United States took the lead in this work.

Practical opposition to prevailing fashion is extremely difficult for separate women, especially because whatever is odd or contrary to woman's usual custom seems "unwomanly," and is called ugly. There is a strong superstition in regard to Parisian authority, few realizing that the most unwomanly women, or the fashionable courtesan class, are the leaders of fashion in France, and thence throughout the civilized world.

There are the strongest hygienic reasons in favor of dress reform, as most of the peculiar "female diseases" are either produced or greatly aggravated by woman's usual dress. Foolish fashions waste woman's time, thought, and

Various Propositions.

Change of Opinion.

National Council of Women.

Physical Culture.

strength, as well as her finances. The exaggerations and deformities of woman's natural shape, the constant emphasizing of the fact of sex, and the unnecessary appeal her artificial helplessness makes upon masculine protection, or the excuse it seems to offer for his scorn and abuse, suggest strong reasons for this reform on moral grounds. The welfare of generations to come depends upon it.

FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

References: *Dress Reform*, by Abba Goold Woolson; *What to Wear*, by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; *What is the Matter?* by Celia B. Whitehead; *Beauty of Form and Grace of Vesture*, by Frances M. Steele; *The Well-Dressed Woman*, by Helen G. Ecob. Magazine articles on the subject are to be found in the *North American Review*, *Arena*, *Review of Reviews*, *Chautauquan*, and other periodicals.

DRINK PROBLEM AND DRINK TRAFFIC. See **INTEMPERANCE**; **TEMPERANCE**; **PROHIBITION**; **HIGH LICENSE**, etc.

DRUNKENNESS. See **INTEMPERANCE**.

DUMB. See **DEAF AND DUMB**.

DUNKARDS, DUNKERS, OR TUNKERS (from a dialectical form of German *Tunken*, one who dips), is the name of a sect of American German Baptists who call themselves Brethren. The sect is said to have been founded by Alexander Wack in 1708, at Schwarzenau, in Westphalia, an outcome of the Pietist movement. Persecuted at home, between 1719 and 1729 they came to America and settled in Pennsylvania, and subsequently in other States. In their early history the sexes dwelt apart, and marriage, tho not forbidden, was discouraged. A certain community of goods was also established. These features have now disappeared. The sect is marked by its simple life and dress. Dunkards refuse to take oaths or serve in war. They hold love feasts and celebrate the ceremonial of feet-washing and the anointing of the sick with oil. Their creed is evangelical Christianity. Their ministers usually receive no salary. Most of the sect are farmers. The first settlement was "Ephrata," near Philadelphia, but this branch has nearly died out. According to the census for 1890, there were four bodies of Dunkards with 73,795 members,

DUNOYER, CHARLES, was born at Carennac (Lot) in 1786. Studying law at Paris, he became interested in the political events of the day, and with Charles Comte established, in 1814, *Le Censeur*, but the *Terreur blanche* compelled them to discontinue the publication of this paper in 1816. They resumed it 18 months later, but modified its title to *Le Censeur Européen*. The increasing severity of the press laws, however, seriously hampered them, and, finally, the assassination of the Duke of Berry, in 1820, and consequent troubles led to the entire suspension of the paper. After this Dunoyer devoted himself exclusively to economics. He gave at Paris in the *Athenæum Institution* a course of lectures on political economy and moral science. Appointed prefect of the department of the Allier, he was transferred in 1832 to the prefecture of the Somme; this he quitted in 1838 to enter the Council of State. The Revolution of 1848 was a heavy blow to him, Royalist and Liberal as he was in his political convictions; he remained, however, on the Council of State, and only relinquished his seat there after the *coup d'état* of 1851. Bitterly hostile to the Second Empire, as he had been to the First, he wrote a work directed against the new order of affairs. He died in Paris in 1862. Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, from which our account is abridged, says of Dunoyer: "Dunoyer was one of the great economists of the nineteenth century. He wrote with much force in support of the theory of 'immaterial wealth,' even going so far as to say that, from the economic point of view, no 'wealth' could be other than 'immaterial.' He was a warm supporter of the theories of Malthus on population; but he was no believer in the theory of rent, considering that there was only one factor in production—*i.e.*, labor." He was elected, in 1832, a member of the Institute (*Académie des Sciences morales et politiques*), and in 1845 president of the Society of Political Economy. His miscellaneous works (*Notices d'économie sociale*), and the second edition of his chief work, *La Liberté du travail*, were published, both at the same time, in 1886.

DURHAM, BISHOP OF. See **WESTCOTT**.

DWELLINGS. See **TENEMENTS**.

E.

EARNINGS. See **WAGES**.

EAST INDIA COMPANY, THE.—There have been various East India Companies—Dutch, French, etc. The English East India Company was chartered in 1600 as a "Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." Its early voyages were like those of any company of the times, enjoying a monopoly of a certain trade. It had its rivals at home and abroad, especially with the Dutch. As early as 1602 it established a factory at Bantam; in 1690 it began the policy, commenced by the

Dutch, of defending its trade prerogatives by territorial possession. Its ensuing arbitrary measures caused it to be denounced at home, but it triumphed. A new company was formed, but it amalgamated with the old. The disruption of the Mogul Empire on the death of Aurangzeb, and the advance of the French, and the battle of Plassey (1757), under Clive, put the company in virtual possession of India. A creature of its own was put on the throne, but the real power was a council composed of the company's senior civil members. Later (1784), Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General gained the right

to overrule the council. Finally the great Indian Mutiny produced the feeling that so much power should not be left with a private company, and in 1858 India was transferred to the Crown. (See INDIA.)

References : Bruce's *Annals of British India* and James Mill's *History*.

ECONOMICS. See POLITICAL ECONOMY.

ECONOMY. See THRIFT.

ECONOMY, COMMUNITY AT. See HARMONY.

EDEN, SIR FREDERICK MORTON (1766-1809), a graduate of Oxford, and chairman and one of the founders of the Globe Insurance Company ; wrote various statistical and other monographs, but is mainly known for his great work on the poor, which is described by its title, which is almost a catalogue : *The State of the Poor, an history of the labouring classes in England from the Conquest to the present period, in which are particularly considered their domestic economy with respect to diet, dress, fuel, and habitation, and the various plans which from time to time have been proposed and adopted for the relief of the poor, together with Parochial Reports relative to the administration of Workhouses, and Houses of Industry ; the state of Friendly Societies, and other public institutions, in several agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing districts*, with a large appendix (1797). A storehouse of information, it ranks with the travels of Arthur Young as one of the first sources of economic information for its period.

EDGEWORTH, FRANCIS YSIDRO, was born at Edgeworthstown, Ireland, in 1845. After several terms at Trinity College, Dublin, he entered Oxford in 1867, graduating with a "first class" in 1869. Devoting himself to mathematics, he published *Mathematical Physics* in 1881, and wrote numerous papers on statistical data for the British Association and other bodies. He lectured on political economy at the Ladies' Department of King's College, London, and in 1888 was appointed to a professorship of political economy in that college, and in 1890, on the resignation of the late Professor Thorold Rogers, to the Tooke Professorship of Economic Science and Statistics in the same university. He is Secretary of the British Economic Association, and editor of its *Journal*.

EDGEWORTH, MARIA, was born at Black Bourton in 1767, the daughter of R. L. Edgeworth. An intimate friend of Malthus, Richard Jones, and Ricardo, her writings aim to popularize and inculcate, among children especially, the main points of the orthodox school of political economy with its worship of "self-help" and individualism. Her *Belinda, Parents' Assistant, The Orphans, Moral Tales, Popular Tales, Rosamond, Egerton Abbey, Castle Rackrent* (1800), *The Absentee, Ennui, Ormond, Helen* (1834) are not all concerned with

economics directly, but point varied forms of the same general moral. She died in Edgeworthstown, Ireland, in 1849.

EDUCATION.—(See also INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION ; KINDERGARTENS ; UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, etc.) All schools of social reform are agreed that the importance of education in a true social development cannot be overestimated. The most thoroughgoing individualist, who would have the State play no part in education whatsoever, and the extremest socialist, who would have the State do all, do not differ in the value they put upon education itself. There are, indeed, those—and they are not a few—tho rarely found among the ranks of social reformers, who do not believe in a high degree of education for all classes. They hold that while mobility between classes should be easy, and there should be always a *carrière ouverte aux talents*, the majority of what is called the working class must always do the routine, mechanical drudgery of the world, and that for these classes much education simply unfits them for the work they have to do and gives them aspirations that can only bring unhappiness when they are not realized. Still another class of people oppose what is called the higher education of women, as unfitting them for home life and duties. Yet even these disbelievers in high education for all—and their number, it is to be feared, is not small even in so-called democratic America—are by no means disbelievers in education itself. They simply, on the principle of division of labor, believe that all classes do not need the highest branches of study.

Sociological discussions as to education, then, turn not upon its value, but upon the questions who should be educated, how far they should be educated, what a true education consists in, and what persons or institutions should conduct the education. We shall therefore in this article consider the subject under five heads :

I. What Education Consists in ; II. The History of Education ; III. Statistics of Education ; IV. Need of Educational Reforms ; V. Proposed Reforms. To sketch the outlines of pedagogics or the science of teaching does not come within the province of this work.

I. WHAT EDUCATION, CONSISTS IN.

Education (from Lat. *e* and *ducere*, to draw out) is usually defined as the process of developing or drawing out the faculties of the individual, or the training of human beings for the various functions of life. The thought is dwelt upon that education is not to cram a child's head with facts, to fill it with unassimilated information, but to draw out and develop the character and individuality, the mind, will, and soul-power of the pupil, to make him think and act for himself. But this, while always to be remembered, must not be carried too far. Education, as a matter of fact, does to a large extent and must to a large extent consist in imparting information, at least in teaching the pupil to acquire information. The informed man is not always educated, but the educated man must always be somewhat informed. He

does not, indeed, need to know, and it is impossible that he should know, everything on every subject, but a scholar has been defined as one who knows something about everything and everything about something.

Definitions. In the introductory chapter to his book, *The Education of the Greek People*, Mr. Thomas

Davidson says that education, "in so far as it depends upon conscious exertion, is that process by which a human being is enabled to transcend his original nature and attain his ideal nature, or be the most desirable thing that he can be. The end attained is his good." Mr. Davidson distinguishes here between two senses of the word nature. He shows that it may mean "the character or type with which a thing starts on its separate career, and which, without any effort on the part of that thing, but solely with the aid of natural forces, determines that career." Thus we speak of the nature of an acorn, a whelp, a cub. Or it may mean "that highest possible reality which a living thing, through a series of voluntary acts, originating within or without it, may be made to attain." Thus, through voluntary acts originating outside of them, a rose, an apple, a horse may be raised to a degree of perfection impossible for it by itself. Man, by voluntary acts, partly without the individual, but mainly within, can so rise to an ideal nature, to which his so-called "natural" instincts would never raise him. Says Mr. Davidson: "Nothing could be more prejudicial to the best interests of education than any attempt to evoke indiscriminately the tendencies of the child's original nature. Hence, all the popular talk about developing the child's 'spontaneity' is little more than sentimental cant, likely enough to do incalculable mischief." Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that education is primarily the development of the individual, and that modern pedagogics more and more strive not to make the pupil informed, but to enable him to make good individual use of the information he acquires.

This means that education must proceed upon three main lines. Man's nature, original or ideal, is usually divided into three main facts—the constitution of his body, his mind, and his will. If education, then, be the development of man's original nature to the ideal, it must develop body, mind, affections, and will—that is, it must be physical, mental and moral, or religious. In the Greek and other early ideals of education this was remembered. Later in the Middle Ages, perhaps owing to the conception of Christianity which then obtained, the body was slighted and education made to consist mainly of mental and moral development. Beginning with the seventeenth century, owing again, perhaps, to the popular ideals of the divorce of Church and State, and to the taking of education from the hands of the Church, where it had been, and placing it in the hands of the State, the moral part of education was slighted and education left almost purely mental. Today, owing to the development of science, especially of biology, physiology, and sociology, men are seeing the reaction of body upon mind and mind upon body, and our schools, particularly our public schools, are paying much more

attention to the development of the body, sometimes, indeed, carrying this to an excess. The correlation of the mental and moral or ethical sciences is also to a greater or less extent seen and somewhat acted upon. Owing, however, to the conflicting and opposing ideas men have of religion and its connection with ethics and morals, the teaching of ethics may be called the unsolved problem of our public schools. "A sound mind in a sound body" was the Greek ideal. The development of the will was the Roman function. To develop mind and body and will and soul is the problem of modern pedagogics. Mr. Thomas Davidson, in the book above cited, *The Education of the Greek People*, published in the International Education Series (1894), gives us (chap. i.) one of the latest and most complete sketches of the educative process:

"When the human creature comes into the world, and for some time after, it is hardly more than an animal, with animal needs, and as such it has to be treated." The first step in education, then, should be to promote bodily health and ward off unfavorable influences. Warmth, sleep, and good digestion are then the three main needs. Soon the child begins to show intelligence. "It is now proceeding to build up its own world by means of selective attention, and this attention may be artificially divided and prolonged, so that a rational world shall result. At this stage the aims of the educator ought to be (1) to direct the child's attention to things on which it is well that attention should rest, and which yield impressions fitted to give a healthy fundamental tone and temper to the whole character; and (2) to sustain that attention as long as possible. . . . It ought, indeed, never to be forgotten that most of the difficulties with which education in its later stages has to contend are due to two causes: (1) the presence in the child's mind of undesirable and chaotic impressions, which have to be removed and corrected before an orderly world can be built up in it; (2) the absence of the power of continued attention, or, which is the same thing, the absence of power of will." Attention is best secured by action. Games should be selected with the greatest care. "In selecting objects upon which to direct the young child's wakening nature, the wise parent or teacher will bear in mind that the intellect has two closely allied functions: (1) to recognize distinctions and relations of fact; (2) to recognize distinctions and relations of worth. Bearing in mind, further, that the latter, being essentially the moral faculty, is the more important of the two, he will give preference to such objects and occupations as are calculated to fix the child's attention, not only upon relations of fact, but also and still more upon relations of worth." Physical culture, with a view to health, grace and ease of movement—nothing of the athletic habit—must at this time be developed. The kindergarten (*q.v.*) should aim at the above principles.

After the seventh year or thereabouts, instruction may largely take the place of training. The educator will now endeavor to acquaint the child with the rational grounds for those distinctions and corresponding actions with which his previous training has made him familiar, and to prepare the way for action of a wider scope, based upon rational knowledge. But these are the relations or laws of the universe. Into these the child must be initiated. To enable him to study these, the child must be taught the instruments of study:—(1) language, (2) number, and (3) manual facility. He must learn to read and write, to perform arithmetical operations, and practise one or more of the material arts. This last will give "(1) mechanical skill, (2) a habit of carefulness and thoughtfulness, closely akin to conscientiousness, and (3) a knowledge of the forms of things, and a sense of the adaptation of means to ends, such as could hardly be obtained in any other way." Then the child can acquire the elements of the natural sciences, beginning with the more mechanical, and also learn their spiritual meaning, studying grammar, logic, esthetics, ethics, and religion. Under grammar is included all linguistic study; under logic, ideology; under esthetics, the theory

Outline of Education.

and to some extent the practice of the spiritual arts ; under ethics, morals, politics, the history of civilization, pedagogics, the social sciences ; under religion, the laws of the spiritual sense, and of the world of which it supplies the material. Every branch of study ought to be both a science and an art, calling into play, not only the passive and receptive faculties, but also the active and creative ones. Mr. Davidson divides the time of education into five periods, to vary, of course, with individuals and with circumstances :

First period, seven years, family and kindergarten ; second period, three years, primary school ; third period, four years, grammar school ; fourth period, four years, high school or gymnasium ; fifth period, four years, university, with fixed curriculum.

The first period will aim at developing the physical and moral faculties, and the power of fixing attention. The second will be occupied chiefly with learning the

Periods in Education.

use of the instruments of study. The third will make the growing boy and girl familiar with their own mental processes, and with general notions of the world. Memorizing should be now much developed. Physical exercises should take a gymnastic form. The

fourth period—a difficult one—should develop a good deal of vigor, energetic emotion, and strength of will. Art, poetry, and romance should be studied. Games demanding endurance and courage should be chosen. The fifth period should aim to round off the development of the individual and teach the philosophies of life and of the world. Oratory and writing should be studied, developing modesty with power. Physically quiet endurance rather than violent exercise should now be sought. The college life should not consist largely of voluntary studies. The study of the specialist must come after this general education has been finished.

II. THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION.*

Tho its beginnings were prehistoric and its roots in the family, yet the real history of education dates from a comparatively recent period.

Owing to the spirit of caste and to pantheism, the Hindu ideal in education was contempt for life and self-repression rather than the cultivation of individuality. The great reform of Buddhism made little change in this, since Buddha also taught the extreme of self-abnegation. The Brahmins had full control of education among the Hindus, and woman was not admitted to share in its benefits.

Earliest Education.

Chinese education is peculiar for its formalism ; and such as it is to-day it has been for ages. It is thoroughly superficial. But in the matter of the wide diffusion of education it has been asserted that the Chinese lead the world.

In ancient Egypt education reached the highest level ; but learning was monopolized by the priestly class, and the common people learned little but the necessary arts of life.

Dittes says (*Histoire de l'Éducation et de l'Instruction*, translated by Redolfi, p. 49) : " If ever a people has demonstrated the power of education it is the people of Israel." During centuries of exile from their own country the preservation of their faith and manners has no doubt been greatly aided by their system of education. Hebrew education, however, was domestic. The ideal was the service of Jehovah. Moral and religious instruction was thus the chief part of education. Only boys were

taught to read and write. The events of the national history were repeated by the fathers to the children, and this in itself aroused patriotism and religious emotion. From the first century after Christ Jewish education became public as well as domestic. Boys then began to go to school at the age of six. They learned reading and writing, grammar, astronomy, and some natural history. All knowledge of Gentile origin was kept out of the Jewish schools by the rabbis. The education was thus wholly lacking in the Greek culture of the world about them.

Education in Greece seems to have been mainly a spontaneous growth in a favored soil, tho it was also consciously directed by legislators and philosophers. In dealing with Greek education, Sparta and Athens must be considered separately. At Athens, the training of the mind as well as that of the body was aimed at ; at Sparta, the training of the body alone.

Greek Education.

The elementary instruction of the young Athenians of good family consisted of grammar, gymnastics, and music. The poor learned only reading, swimming, and trade. The organization of the schools of grammar and music was left to private enterprise, but the State directed the gymnasia. Those of adult years attended the schools of rhetoric and philosophy. It is especially to the schools of philosophy that modern education owes a debt both of general ideas and of method. In Plato's dialogues we have given the teaching of Socrates and his method, which was that of interrogation. In the *Republic* we have Plato's own ideal commonwealth and education ; in which, however, the subjection of the individual to the State is carried to an extreme. He establishes three castes in his ideal State, for each of which there is a minutely detailed scheme of instruction. Plato places a high value on gymnastics, but gives precedence to music, since, according to him, the soul forms and develops the body. Moral education, in Plato's system, is, above all, an education in art. The soul rises to the good through the beautiful. In the *Laws*, written in Plato's old age, he to some extent qualifies the theories of the *Republic*. Of Aristotle's theories of education we have only an imperfect record.

Education at Rome may be said to have been, till the conquest of Greece, of the Spartan type. After that period it was formed more and more on the Athenian model. Schools were not opened in Rome till toward the end of the third century B.C. Oratory became more and more prominent in Rome after the age of Augustus ; and we have in parts of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* a real and valuable treatise on education. Roman literature is poor in material for educational study. The Romans seem never to have considered education as an affair of the State. Roman education, as compared with Greek, may be called *practical*. Each is a distinct type.

The education of the earliest generation of Christians was obtained in the pagan schools, in those great imperial academies which existed even down to the fifth century, which flourished

* Partly condensed from Canpayré's *History of Pedagogy*, translated by W. H. Payne.

in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and attained perhaps their highest development and efficiency in Gaul. The first attempt at a special education for Christians was made at Alexandria, developed by Clement and Origen. The later Latin fathers took a bolder stand, and rejected the suspicious aid of heathenism. Tertullian, Cyprian, and Jerome wished the antagonism between Christianity and paganism to be recognized from the earliest years, and even Augustine condemned with harshness the culture to which he owed so much of his power. Yet the Church favored education and instructed her parish priests to found and conduct schools. The stormy times of the early Middle Ages were little favorable to education. They were the Dark Ages. What intellectual light there was was in the monasteries. (See MONASTICISM.) Yet for the most part this was limited and fettered by ecclesiastical traditionalism, developing at best the philosophy of the schoolmen.

A most important part of the monastery was the writing-room, where missals, psalters, and breviaries were copied and illuminated, and too often a masterpiece of classic literature was effaced to make room

Middle Ages. for a treatise of one of the fathers or the sermon of an abbot. Yet the monasteries of Monte Cassino,

Fulda, or Tours did not a little to educate their times and to preserve much that otherwise would have been lost. The seven arts of monkish training were grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, which together formed the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, the seven years' course. One of the earliest treatises based on this method was that of Martianus Capella, who in 470 published his *Satyra*, in nine books. The first two were devoted to the marriage between Philology and Mercury, the last seven were each devoted to the consideration of one of these liberal arts. Cassiodorus, who wrote *De Septem Disciplinis* about 500, was also largely used as a text-book in the schools. The Saracens in Spain meanwhile, and the Greeks in the Byzantine Empire, had preserved ancient learning, if their schools developed little new thought.

The ninth century saw beginnings of intellectual life. In the twelfth century universities began to develop out of the schools attached to the cathedrals and monasteries. When a teacher of eminence like Abelard, or Peter the Lombard at Paris, or Irenæus at Bologna, appeared, students would flock around him. The members of the *studium generale* would form themselves for mutual support into a corporation called a university. The University of Paris existed as a separate body as early as 1169. Toward the end of the thirteenth century Pope Nicholas I. granted it the right of endowing its graduates with the power of teaching everywhere. It had at first only a faculty of arts, divided into four nations, known as French, Picard, Norman, and German or English. Faculties of theology, medicine, and canon law were added in the seventeenth century. The college of the Sorbonne, founded in 1250, became identified with the faculty of theology. The University of Bologna devoted itself mainly to law, and numbered 12,000 students at the end of

the twelfth century. It claims to be the oldest.

"According to the *Minerva Jahrbuch der Universitäten der Welt*, the following are the dates of origin of the older universities: 1119, Bologna, Italy; 1180, Montpellier, France; 1200, Paris, France; 1206 or 1249, Oxford, England; 1209, Valencia, Spain; 1222, Padua, Italy; 1224, Naples, Italy; 1229, Toulouse, France; 1230 or 1250, Salamanca, Spain; 1257, Cambridge, England; 1264, Ferrara, Italy; 1290, Coimbra, Portugal; before 1300, Lyons, France; 1303, Rome, Italy; 1307, Perugia, Italy; 1316, Pisa, Italy; 1339, Grenoble, France; 1346, Valladolid, Spain; 1347 or 1348, Prague, Bohemia, Austria; 1361, Pavia, Italy; 1364, Cracow, Poland, Austria; 1365, Vienna, Austria; 1386, Heidelberg, Baden, Germany; 1402, Würzburg, Bavaria, Germany; 1404, Turin, Italy; 1409, Aix, France; 1411, St. Andrews, Scotland; 1419, Rostock, Mecklenburg, Germany; 1426, Louvain, Belgium; 1431, Poitiers, France; 1433, Caen, France; 1438, Florence, Italy; 1445, Catania, Sicily, Italy; 1450, Barcelona, Spain; 1450 or 1451, Glasgow, Scotland.

There was, too, at least one development of popular education. Among the Brethren of the Common Life (*q.v.*), who were found in the Northern Netherlands, education was for all. The metropolis of their organization was Deventer, the best-known name among them that of Gerhard Groote. They devoted themselves with all humility and self-sacrifice to the education of children. Their schools were crowded. Boisdue numbered 1200 pupils, Zwolle 1500. For 100 years no part of Europe shone with a brighter lustre.

But already Europe was preparing for the revival of learning. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks drove Greek teachers and their books from that city to Italy. The invention of printing made books accessible for all. The Renaissance preceded the Reformation. Through all Western Europe the "new learning" made schools popular. Vittorino da Feltre may be taken as a type of the teachers among the nobles of this era. He seems to have reached the highest point of excellence as a schoolmaster of the Italian Renaissance.

Thus there came the dawning of that intellectual day which was to make the sixteenth century an epoch in the history of human thought and aspiration. The mind awoke to intuitions concerning development according to natural laws, and to a conception and hope of independence and progress. Erasmus, Montaigne, Rabelais, Calvin, and Melanchthon did much to open long-blinded eyes. They brought the schoolmaster into the cottage, and laid the foundations of the system which is the chief honor and strength of modern Germany—a system by which the child of the peasant, by slow but certain gradations, receives the best education which the country can afford. Melanchthon, from his editions of school books and his practical labors in education, earned the title of *Præceptor Germaniæ*. Aristotle had been dethroned from his preeminence in the schools, and Melanchthon attempted to supply his place. He wrote elementary books on each department of the *trivium*—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. He made some way with the studies of the *quadrivium*, and wrote *Initia doctrinæ Physicæ*, a primer of physical science. He lectured at the University of Wittenberg, and for 10 years, from 1519–29, kept a *schola privata*

in his own house. The so-called Latin school, the parent of the gymnasium and the lyceum, spread all over Europe, and was especially flourishing in Germany. The programs and time-tables in use in these establishments have come down to us, and we possess notices of the lives and labors of many of the earliest teachers. One school stands preeminent before the rest. Strasburg educated the gilded youth of the sixteenth century under Sturm, as it trained the statesmen and diplomatists of the eighteenth under Koch. John Sturm, of Strasburg, was the friend of Ascham, the author of the *Schoolmaster*, and the tutor of Queen Elizabeth. He drew his scholars from the whole of Europe; Portugal, Poland, England sent their contingent to his halls. In 1578 his school numbered several thousand students; he supplied at once the place of the cloister and the castle. His pupils would write elegant letters, deliver elegant Latin speeches, be familiar, if not with the thoughts, at least with the language of the ancients. The Public School Commission of 1862 found that the lines laid down by the great citizen of Strasburg and copied by his admirers had remained unchanged until within the memory of the present generation.

John Amos Comenius was the antithesis to Sturm. Born a Moravian, he passed a wandering life in poverty and obscurity. But his ideas were accepted by the most advanced thinkers of the age. His school books were spread throughout Europe. The *Janua Linguarum Reserata* was translated into twelve European and several Asiatic languages.

Progressive educators of our time echo the words of Comenius when he urges the instruction of the young, "not by beating into them a mass of words, sentences, and opinions gathered out of books, but by opening their understanding through things themselves."

The Protestant schools were now the best in Europe. Catholics would have remained behind in the race if it had not been for the Jesuits. Ignatius Loyola developed numerous schools through

The Jesuits. the order which he founded, and the program of studies, which dates from the end of the sixteenth century, is in use, with certain modifications, in English Jesuit schools at the present day. In 1550 the first Jesuit school was opened in Germany; in 1700 the order possessed 612 colleges, 157 normal schools, 59 novitiates, 340 residences, 200 missions, 29 professed homes, and 24 universities. The College of Clermont had 3000 students in 1695. Every Jesuit college was divided into two parts, the one for higher, the other for lower education—the *studia superiora* and the *studia inferiora*. The *studia inferiora*, answering to the modern gymnasium, was divided into five classes. The first three were classes of grammar (rudiments), grammar (accidence), and syntax, the last two humanity and rhetoric. The motto of the schools was *lege, scribe, loquere*—you must learn not only to read and write a dead language, but to talk. Purism was even more exaggerated than by Sturm. No word might be used which did not rest upon a special authority. The order disdained history, science, and philosophy, their

labors being wholly directed to the propagation of the Catholic faith, and the ability to write in Latin in the most approved way.

It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Jesuits upon the world's civilization. They controlled during 200 years over 600 colleges and many universities, a control lasting till almost the end of the eighteenth century. They cared not so much for education as for the power to be gained by having the schools in their hands. In 1831 Roothar, the general of their order, somewhat improved their curriculums, but modern governments have on the whole done well to oppose these schools. They taught the accomplishments the polite world wanted, but stifled thought and inquiry. Montaigne, Locke, and Milton all criticised this form of education, and gave us stimulating and suggestive thoughts. Milton's *Tractate of Education* is most important. Meanwhile at Port Royal, in France, the Jansenists, Arnauld, Lancelot, and Nicoll taught with such success that they excited the jealousy of the Jesuits, and they were suppressed.

Pascal, Racine, and the Mère Angélique show what was their success. The *Port Royal Logic*, *General Grammar*, *Greek, Latin, Italian*, and *Spanish Grammars*, the *Garden of Greek Roots*, which taught Greek to Gibbon, the *Port Royal Geometry*, and their translations of the classics held their place for over a century.

We come now to the great name of August Hermann Francke, the founder of the school of Pietists, and of a number of institutions which now form almost a suburb of the town of Halle, to which his labors were devoted. The first scenes of his activity were Leipzig and Dresden; but in 1692, at the age of 29, he was made pastor of Glaucha, near Halle, and professor in the newly established university. Three years later he commenced his poor school with a capital of seven guilders, which he found in the poor-box of his house. At his death in 1727 he left behind him the following institutions: a *pädagogium*, or training college, with 82 scholars and 70 teachers receiving education, and attendants; the Latin school of the orphan asylum, with 3 inspectors, 32 teachers, 400 scholars, and 10 servants; the German town schools, with 4 inspectors, 98 male teachers, 8 female, and 1725 boys and girls. The establishment for orphan children contained 100 boys, 34 girls, and 10 attendants. A cheap public dining-table was attended by 255 students and 360 poor scholars, and besides this there was an apothecary's and a bookseller's shop. Francke's principles of education were strictly religious. The Franckesche Stiftungen are still, next to the university, the center of the intellectual life of Halle, and the different schools which they contain give instruction to 3500 children.

The *Emile* of Rousseau was published in 1762. It produced a profound impression, and has affected teaching until very recent times. With him nature is supreme. He protests against the shams of government and civilization, and pities the sorrows of the poor. He lays great stress on the earliest education. The first year of life is in every respect the most important. Nature must be closely followed. The chief moral principle is, *do no one*

Rousseau.

harm. Émile is to be taught by the real things of life, by observation and experience. At twelve years old he is scarcely to know what a book is; to be able to read and write at fifteen is quite enough. Then a new stage opens, when he is to learn history, science, and the machinery of society. Basedow, a friend of Goethe and Lavater, founded a school somewhat on these principles at Dessau, and later Salzmann did the same at Schnepfenthal. It was the age of romanticism.

The end of the eighteenth century saw a great development given to classical studies. The names of Cellarius, Gesner, Ernesti, and Heyne are perhaps more celebrated as scholars than as schoolmasters. To them we owe the great importance attached to the study of the classics, both on the Continent and in England. They brought into the schools the philology which F. A. Wolf had organized for the universities. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi reverted to concrete education from objects. Born at Zurich in 1745, he converted his house into an orphan asylum: he saved from degradation over 100 children and issued volumes on education. He died in 1827 near Basle, overwhelmed with mortification; but to-day his ideas of training rather than instruction are accepted in elementary schools all over Europe. Froebel (*q.v.*) continued his work. He made many mistakes before fixing upon his final vocation, and even this proved a failure so far as he personally was concerned. He also, a victim to great griefs, died believing that his life had been lived wholly in vain.

It is with the kindergarten (*q.v.*) that we associate the name of this savior of little children. To him the child was a plant and the school its nursery. Tho much of the seed which he sowed fell in stony places, much also fell on good ground and has brought forth fruit abundantly.

Among modern contributors to the methods of education the names of Herbert Spencer (*q.v.*) and Alexander Bain hold a high place. Mr. Huxley did a great deal toward teaching exact science in a popular way. The name of Arnold will always be remembered in England as the ideal of a great head master. But already are we in modern times.

In the United States the school was planted side by side with the Church. The colony of Massachusetts gave a grant for a college which

The United States.

later was to become Harvard University, in 1636. An ordinance for common schools was passed in 1642. Connecticut that same year made an appropriation for schools already established.

The first institutions of secondary instruction founded in America were modeled on the "public or foundation schools of England." Boston, Cambridge, Dorchester, Salem, Ipswich, and Hadley, of Massachusetts, and Hartford and New Haven had so-called grammar schools established in the seventeenth century. Their primary design was to fit students for college. They were supported both from the public fund and from endowments, as well as from small tuition fees. Ezekiel Cheever, of New Haven, the most distinguished of New England's early teachers, was paid £20, and later £30 a year.

The clergymen, however, did most of the preparing of students for the colleges.

In 1746 Samuel Moody graduated at Harvard College, and at once began his career as a teacher in the York Grammar School of Maine. His school at York, tho the only public school in town, became the resort of scholars. In 1763 was founded the Dummer School at Byfield, Mass., the first of the New England academies, and to it Master Moody was transferred.

Phillips Academy at Andover and Phillips Exeter Academy were founded by members of the family whose name they bear in 1778 and 1782; and they have for a century been regarded as among the best schools in America preparatory for college.

Connecticut was the first of the States to establish a common-school fund. This was done in 1795. New York followed in 1805, and Massachusetts in 1834. A national land ordinance of 1785 dedicated one thirty-sixth part of the western territory then in possession of the Government to common schools. Down to 1883 the Government had granted for common schools 67,893,919 acres; for agricultural and mechanical colleges, 9,600,000; for seminaries or universities, 1,395,920; to be valued at some \$250,000,000.

Common Schools.

But by the side of the academy has arisen since 1840 in New England a public school, like the early grammar school, designed to prepare students for college. It is now almost universally known as the high school.

Throughout the West, at the time of its settlement, the high school became the chief institution of intermediate instruction. The number of schools of this grade changes from year to year, and also with important changes in the school laws, but nearly all towns of Western States of 15,000 or more inhabitants have schools in which the classical studies and the mathematics necessary for admission to college can be pursued.

In 1857 the National Teachers' Association was organized, and reorganized in 1870 as the National Educational Association. Its object is "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States." Any person in any way connected with the work of education, or any educational association, is eligible to membership. The National Council of Education consists of 60 members, selected out of the membership of the National Educational Association. The association has 200 life members and an average of about 4000 annual members.

In 1867 a national department of education was established, reduced the following year to a Bureau of Education. Education plays from the first a growing part in the State constitutions, but after 1837 it becomes very prominent. The first normal school dates from 1840, erected at Bridgewater, and was due to the efforts of Horace Mann (*q.v.*).

There being no system controlled by the National Government, diversity obtains in the different States, and yet there is a remarkable similarity. The funds are primarily raised by

local taxation, and when there is a State Educational Fund it is divided among the communities in proportion to their needs as a supplement, never as a substitute. The State law fixes the grades of study, the minimum length of term, and where compulsory attendance prevails makes additional regulations. Each town or city chooses its own school board, to which it entrusts the organization and management of the schools. In most States (in Philadelphia since 1820, New York since 1840, and Massachusetts since 1873) school books are provided free to the scholars. The Boston School Committee in 1887 declared that the free text-book has undoubtedly been a large factor in filling our high schools and the upper classes of the grammar schools.

In the development of colleges and universities Americans have not been backward, mainly established on voluntary lines by the gifts of successful business men, tho of late State universities are being more developed. John Harvard, dying in 1638, gave half his property for the establishment of Harvard College.

William and Mary College was established in Virginia by a grant from the English Government in 1693. Yale College was established in 1700, Princeton in 1746, Kings (now Columbia) College in 1754, Brown University in 1764. Some of these have now grown into universities, but most of America's colleges are not universities. Many of them are on denominational foundations. The salaries, compared with the wealth of the country, are small. Small opportunities for research have until recently existed. But Johns Hopkins University, established in 1876, has led in this, and fellowships established at Harvard, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Chicago, and elsewhere are developing much post-graduate study. Women's colleges, commencing with Vassar College, in 1861, are now multiplying.

Mr. Bryce, in his *The American Commonwealth*, says of American colleges :

"In America the universities are not a well-defined class of institutions. Not only is the distance between the best and the worst greater than that which in Germany separates Leipzig from Rostock, or in England Cambridge from Durham, but the gradations from the best down to the worst are so imperceptible that one can nowhere draw a line and say that here the true university stops and the pretentious school begins. As has been observed already, a large number present the external seeming and organization—the skeleton plan, so to speak—of a university with the actual performance of a rather raw school. . . .

"Not the least interesting of the phenomena of today is the struggle which goes in the Middle and Western States between the greater, and especially the State universities, and the small denominational colleges. The latter, which used to have the field to themselves, are now afraid of being driven off it by the growth of the former, and are redoubling their exertions not only to increase their own resources and students, but—at least in some States—to prevent the State university from obtaining larger grants from the State treasury. They allege that the unsectarian character of the State establishments, as well as the freedom allowed to their students, makes them less capable of giving a moral and religious training. But as the graduates of the State universities become numerous in the legislatures and influential generally, and as it is more and more clearly seen that the small colleges cannot, for want of funds, provide the various appliances—libraries, museums, laboratories, and so forth—which universities need, the balance seems likely to incline in favor of the State universities. It is probable that while these will rise toward the level

of their Eastern sisters, many of the denominational colleges will subside into the position of places of preparatory training.

"One praise which has often been given to the universities of Scotland may be given to those of America. While the German universities have been popular, but not free, while the English universities have been free, but not popular, the American universities have been both free and popular. . . . One who recalls the history of the West during the last 50 years, and bears in mind the tremendous rush of ability and energy toward a purely material development which has marked its people, will feel that this uncontrolled freedom of teaching, this multiplication of small institutions, have done for the country a work which a few State-regulated universities might have failed to do. The higher learning is in no danger. The great universities of the East, as well as one or two in the West, are already beginning to rival the ancient universities of Europe. They will soon have far greater funds at their command with which to move toward the same ideal as Germany sets before herself; and they have already what is better than funds—an ardor and industry among the teachers which equals that displayed 50 years ago in Germany by the foremost men of the generation which raised the German schools to their glorious pre-eminence."

III. STATISTICS OF EDUCATION.

(a) THE UNITED STATES.

The report on education in the eleventh census states elaborate reasons why statistics as to education for many of the States must be taken with reserve, and since determined on different bases in different States and at different periods must not be too blindly used in making comparisons and drawing conclusions. It says :

"Education appears for the first time in census tables of the United States in 1840, so that the census reports on that subject now cover a period of 50 years.

"The conditions in 1840 were such that the classification adopted roughly suggests the number who might respectively be classed as elementary, secondary, and superior in their lines of study. It is highly probable that the very small number of special institutions then existing under private or public beneficence were included in the general summaries. Such institutions in recent census years have been grouped by themselves. In the report of 1840 merely the number of pupils was given, without sex or color. The nation expected but one race to attend school. For Massachusetts alone the number in elementary schools and the number at public charge approached agreement. At that time Massachusetts was almost singly conspicuous in the general maintenance of free schools.

"It is claimed that in 1840 a union graded free public school was organized in central New York, and in 1842 a similar step was taken at Detroit, Michigan. Whatever may be the credit due for leading in this widening of the public free school, there was between 1840 and 1850 a very rapid development westward of schools depending on local taxation for support. For a time many of these schools derived some assistance from tuition fees, not only of non-residents, as is still the general practice, but of all pupils, a custom not yet wholly discontinued. The tables for 1850 indicate the growing prominence of public schools, but in the change of conditions the classification does not so fully indicate the range of work as in the returns of 1840.

"The table for 1860 illustrates the continued growth of the public free-school sentiment north of the general line suggested by the Ohio River, with a marked modification in Indiana, where the authority to levy adequate local taxation was delayed yet later by reason of a decision of the State Supreme Court.

"The table for 1870 indicates social changes as compared with the table for 1860. The great civil war had intervened, the public schools in the older Northern States had passed the stage of rapid growth belonging to new popular institutions, and their enlargement approximated the variations in population more than in the previous decades. In this decade, however, there were indications of the growth of the public school southward. This new growth must not be mistaken for the inauguration of public schools. The large cities of the South had efficient public schools

long before, and all States from Alabama westward formed from the public domain were organized like the oldest States of the Northwest, with a division into Congressional townships and the grant of a section or square mile of land in each township for school purposes. The public schools of the South, like the earlier public schools of the North, appear in 1870 largely dependent on tuition fees and other private resources.

"The table for 1880, unfortunately, contains only the record for public common schools, the Census Office having been closed before the material gathered for private schools and for superior public institutions was ready for publication. The growth of public schools in the South was very great in the decade, as well as in newly settled portions of the North. The colored element, almost unschooled in earlier decades, begins to appear in the returns of public school attendance.

"The summary table for 1890 shows a continued growth of public schools in the South and West, and among the old Northern States a relative decline as compared with population, resulting for the whole country in a growth slightly greater in proportion than the growth of population. Were we able to compare the enrolment in all schools in both decades, it is quite possible that the gain in private schools, including the parochial schools, would exceed the apparent local decline in public school enrolment, so that no indication of decline in general education would appear. The unfortunate failure to reach results for private schools in 1880 prevents any authoritative comparison with that year.

The following table presents the general changes that have apparently taken place in 50 years by decades:

PUPILS ENROLLED IN SCHOOLS, NOT INCLUDING ALASKA, EXCLUSIVE (FOR RECENT DECADES) OF SPECIAL CLASSES, REFORMATORY, CHARITABLE, AND INDIAN SCHOOLS.

ITEMS.	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.	1840.
Population	62,622,250	50,155,783	38,558,371	31,443,321	23,191,876	17,069,453
All schools	14,371,893	.....	7,210,420	5,477,037	3,642,694	2,025,656
Primary and common, 1840; public, 1850, etc.*	12,768,965†	9,951,608	6,228,060	4,955,894	3,354,173	1,845,264

The errors in all the years seem to have had a fairly uniform influence, apparently partly due to the constancy of local conditions. The variations of school age and methods of administration must modify the value of any comparisons between two States. Great local changes adjust themselves into a moderate general effect. In illustration, compare the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, and the twenty years from 1870 to 1890. Population apparently increased in the first interval 66.26 per cent. and in the second 62.41 per cent. The total school enrolment seems to have increased 97.94 per cent. between 1850 and 1870, and

99.32 per cent. between 1870 and 1890, rates nearly identical.

NOMINAL AVERAGE LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM IN DAYS FOR EACH STATE AND GROUP OF STATES AND FOR THE UNITED STATES.

United States	130
North Atlantic division.....	160
South Atlantic division.....	120
North Central division.....	142
South Central division.....	91
Western division.....	120

SUMMARY OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT, CENSUS OF 1890: PUBLIC, PRIVATE, AND PAROCHIAL, AS DERIVED FROM THE REPORTS OF SCHOOLS.

	TEACHERS.						
	Aggregate.	WHITE.‡			COLORED.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
The United States.....	422,929	397,715	137,656	260,059	25,214	14,354	10,860

PUPILS.							
The United States.....	14,373,670	12,957,468	6,612,648	6,344,820	1,416,202	683,407	732,795

APPARENT RELATION OF PUBLIC COMMON SCHOOL ENROLMENT TO POPULATION, 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Population.	Public Common School Enrolment.	Per Cent. of Enrolment to Population.
The United States§	62,622,250	12,704,487	20.29
North Atlantic division.....	17,401,545	3,103,266	17.83
South Atlantic division.....	8,857,920	1,751,225	19.77
North Central division.....	22,362,279	5,008,577	22.40
South Central division.....	10,972,893	2,326,258	21.20
Western division.....	3,027,613	515,161	17.02
Montana.....	132,159	16,980	12.85

* "Primary and common" in 1840; "public" in 1850, 1860, and 1870; "public common" in 1880 and 1890.

† Includes 64,478 additional to common schools.

‡ Includes unseparated colored.

§ Alaska is omitted from the comparison.

ENROLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS ADDITIONAL TO COMMON SCHOOLS, AS DERIVED FROM THE REPORTS OF SCHOOLS.

(THIS TABLE INCLUDES STATE UNIVERSITIES AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.)

	TEACHERS.						
	Aggre- gate.	WHITE.*			COLORED.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
The United States.....	2,960	2,841	2,084	757	119	66	53
PUPILS.							
The United States.....	64,478	60,101	31,988	28,113	4,377	2,042	2,335

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, CENSUS OF 1890: PUPILS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, EXCLUSIVE OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, AS DERIVED FROM THE REPORTS OF SCHOOLS.

The United States	804,204	South Atlantic division.....	165,253
		North Central division.....	187,827
		South Central division.....	200,202
North Atlantic division	195,173	Western division.....	54,749

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, CENSUS OF 1890: PUPILS IN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS, INCLUDING PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Aggre- gate.	Roman Catholic.	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Aggre- gate.	Roman Catholic.
The United States	1,085,744	701,966	Western division (<i>continued</i>):		
			Colorado	5,572	3,770
			New Mexico.....	5,531	2,039
North Atlantic division.....	370,871	313,599	Arizona.....	1,012	753
South Atlantic division.....	82,823	32,395	Utah.....	10,920	817
North Central division.....	476,759	278,825	Nevada.....	456	378
South Central division	90,335	47,312	Idaho.....	1,091	202
Western division	55,956	29,844	Washington.....	3,630	1,572
Montana	1,022	858	Oregon.....	4,147	2,056
Wyoming	331	325	California.....	21,366	17,064

ENROLMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AS SUPERIOR, SECONDARY, AND ELEMENTARY, CENSUS OF 1890, AS DERIVED FROM THE REPORTS OF SCHOOLS.

(THIS GROUPING HAS ONLY THE VALUE OF A CAREFUL ESTIMATE, OWING TO SCANT RECORD IN SOME STATES.)

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	SUPERIOR, SECONDARY, AND ELEMENTARY.						
	Grand Aggre- gate.	WHITE.*			COLORED.		
		Grand Total.	Male.	Female.	Grand Total.	Male.	Female.
The United States.....	12,769,864	11,418,616	5,820,616	5,589,000	1,351,248	653,328	607,920
North Atlantic division.....	3,124,417	3,095,050	1,556,620	1,538,430	29,367	14,153	15,214
South Atlantic division.....	1,758,285	1,744,301	610,720	563,581	583,984	278,465	305,519
North Central division.....	5,032,182	4,972,305	2,552,966	2,419,339	59,877	29,294	30,583
South Central division.....	2,334,694	1,658,642	841,920	816,722	676,052	330,418	345,634
Western division.....	520,286	518,318	267,390	250,928	1,968	998	970

* Includes unseparated colored.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	SUPERIOR.							SECONDARY.	ELEMEN-TARY.
	Aggre-gate.	WHITE.*			COLORED.			Aggre-gate.	Aggre-gate.
		Total.	Male.	Fe-male.	Total.	Male.	Fe-male.		
The United States.....	46,533	44,969	23,761	21,208	1,564	760	804	311,095	12,412,236
North Atlantic division.....	15,979	15,969	5,654	10,315	10	7	3	94,967	3,013,471
South Atlantic division.....	5,055	4,460	3,434	1,026	595	203	392	32,074	1,720,556
North Central division.....	18,301	18,201	10,580	7,621	100	58	42	130,587	4,883,294
South Central division.....	4,482	3,624	2,727	897	858	491	367	44,551	2,285,661
Western division.....	2,716	2,715	1,366	1,349	1	1	....	8,316	599,254

ENROLMENT IN PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS, CENSUS OF 1890, AS DERIVED FROM THE REPORTS OF SCHOOLS.

ALL PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.							
INSTRUCTORS.							
The United States.....	Aggre-gate.	WHITE.			COLORED.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
The United States.....	7,929	7,700	6,599	1,101	229	145	84

ALL PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.							
STUDENTS.							
The United States.....	Aggre-gate.	WHITE.			COLORED.		
		Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
The United States.....	81,564	77,214	53,626	23,588	4,350	2,591	1,759

ENROLMENT BY PROFESSIONS IN PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

	INSTRUCTORS.					STUDENTS.				
	Aggre-gate.	WHITE.		COLORED.		Aggre-gate.	WHITE.		COLORED.	
		Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.		Male.	Fe-male.	Male.	Fe-male.
Law	341	338	1	2	4,744	4,664	15	64	1	
Theology.....	891	863	3	25	8,473	7,599	66	812	1	
Medicine.....	3,597	3,409	67	31	22,452	21,003	1,175	260	8	
Technology.....	953	931	22	.....	7,128	6,933	100	3	.....
School of Muses.....	449	291	158	.....	1,870	133	1,708	.....	29
Pedagogy.....	1,788	767	850	84	36,897	13,297	20,434	1,446	1,720	

* Includes unseparated colored.

PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN CERTAIN CITIES, WITH CENSUS OF 1890.

CITIES.	TEACHERS.				PUPILS.			
	Aggregate.	WHITE.		Aggregate.	WHITE.		COLORED.	
		Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Atlanta	135	11	84	7,880	2,522	3,024	1,094	1,240
Baltimore	1,187	111	1,060	48,850	21,096	21,095	3,073	3,676
Boston	1,380	168	1,211	68,798	35,609	32,137	505	547
Brooklyn	1,958	80	1,860	110,722	54,647	54,439	830	797
Buffalo	715	47	668	34,583	16,900	17,508	78	97
Charleston	110	9	97	5,287	1,041	1,762	1,094	1,390
Chicago	2,842	175	2,667	135,551	66,461	67,866	612	612
Cincinnati	766	115	636	36,659	17,951	17,108	800	800
Cleveland	694	34	656	37,641	18,760	18,453	198	224
Denver	214	22	192	14,009	6,749	6,896	172	192
Des Moines	184	7	171	7,704	3,655	3,972	40	37
Fall River	235	14	221	11,124	5,835	5,277	5	7
Hartford	189	20	160	7,643	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kansas City	104	15	73	5,677	2,400	2,477	350	450
Milwaukee	496	63	433	27,337	13,450	13,887	.....	.....
Minneapolis	509	10	490	29,592	10,270	10,322	.....	.....
Newark	443	34	405	25,137	11,681	12,533	426	447
New Orleans	422	18	378	23,346	8,588	9,378	2,595	2,785
New York	3,706	329	3,361	197,945	98,029	98,304	806	806
Omaha	282	9	273	13,279	6,230	6,661	172	216
Philadelphia	2,694	99	2,567	162,108	77,762	80,811	1,658	1,877
Pittsburg	618	39	579	31,014	15,326	15,688	.....	.....
Portland, Ore.	90	6	84	4,892	2,270	2,608	4	10
Salt Lake City	68	23	45	4,684	2,306	2,378	.....	.....
San Francisco	859	65	794	42,926	22,673	20,033	108	112
St. Louis	1,154	54	1,004	58,316	25,960	27,334	2,449	2,573
St. Paul	454	46	406	16,442	8,116	8,206	58	62

REPORTED FINANCES OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS, CENSUS OF 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	ORDINARY RECEIPTS.			
	Total Ordinary Receipts.	Taxation.	Funds and Rents.	Miscellaneous.
The United States	\$139,619,440	\$102,164,796	\$25,694,449	\$11,760,195
North Atlantic division	\$49,201,216	\$37,619,786	\$8,273,147	\$3,308,283
South Atlantic division	8,685,223	5,678,474	2,307,051	699,698
North Central division	61,108,263	47,033,142	8,432,593	5,642,528
South Central division	10,294,621	5,698,562	3,720,158	875,901
Western division	10,330,117	6,134,832	2,961,500	1,233,785

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	ORDINARY EXPENDITURES.					Value of Buildings and other Property.	Debt Less Sinking Fund.
	Total Ordinary Expenditures.	Teachers' Wages.	Construction and Care of Buildings.	Libraries and Apparatus.	Miscellaneous.		
The United States	\$138,786,393	\$88,705,992	\$24,224,793	\$1,667,787	\$24,187,821	.....	\$37,593,854
North Atlantic division	\$47,625,548	\$28,067,821	\$10,687,114	\$455,077	\$8,415,536	.....	\$9,671,105
South Atlantic division	8,630,711	6,400,063	884,277	88,721	1,257,650	.....	18,209
North Central division	62,815,531	39,866,831	9,869,489	769,134	12,310,077	.....	26,143,609
South Central division	9,800,059	8,209,509	770,257	96,001	784,292	.....	220,343
Western division	9,854,544	6,161,768	2,013,656	258,854	1,420,266	.....	1,540,408

APPROXIMATE RELATIVE SECONDARY ENROLMENT AND POPULATION, 1840-90.

YEARS.	Population.	Approximate Secondary Enrolment.
1840.....	17,060,453	Academies and grammar schools..... 164,159
1850.....	23,191,876	Academies and other schools..... 261,362
1860.....	31,443,321	Academies and other schools..... 465,023
1870.....	38,558,371	Academies, day and boarding schools..... *726,688
1880.....	50,157,783	Not published.
1890.....	62,622,250	Private..... 296,245
		Public..... 311,095
		607,340

APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOL HOUSES IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE CENSUS YEAR.

The United States.....	219,992	South Atlantic division.....	32,142
		North Central division.....	97,166
North Atlantic division.....	42,949	South Central division.....	38,062
		Western division.....	8,773

The *World Almanac* for 1896 reports the following statistics as prepared by the United States Bureau of Education:

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF LIBERAL ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1893-94.	PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS.					STUDENTS.							
	Institutions.	Preparatory Departments.	Collegiate Departments.	Professional Departments.	Total Number.	Preparatory Departments.	Collegiate Departments.	GRADUATE DEPARTMENTS.		TOTAL NUMBER IN ALL DEPARTMENTS.			
								Resident.	Non-resident.	Professional Departments.	Male.	Female.	Total.
North Atlantic division.....	76	347	1,799	987	3,013	5,859	18,945	1,496	397	6,434	30,821	2,830	33,651
South Atlantic division.....	65	280	660	246	1,094	5,226	5,798	405	29	2,169	11,507	2,821	14,328
South Central division.....	85	355	679	259	1,204	7,775	8,041	92	45	2,446	15,036	5,741	20,777
North Central division.....	208	1,467	2,600	1,061	4,609	22,723	23,914	879	501	9,301	45,083	20,261	65,344
Western division.....	42	260	516	318	977	3,605	3,717	154	21	915	6,058	3,474	9,532
United States.....	476	2,709	6,263	2,871	10,897	45,188	60,415	3,026	993	21,265	108,595	31,527	143,632

INCOMES OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF LIBERAL ARTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1893-94.	INCOME IN 1893-94.				Benefac-tions.	Libra-ries, Bound Volumes.	Value of Scientific Apparatus and Libraries.	Value of Grounds and Buildings.	Productive Funds.
	From Tuition Fees.	From Productive Funds.	From United States Government, State, or Municipal Appropriations.	Total Income.					
N. Atlantic div....	\$2,575,005	\$2,861,588	\$319,546	\$6,447,531	\$2,302,843	2,463,650	\$6,284,131	\$38,905,076	\$54,894,531
S. Atlantic div....	475,646	386,956	247,856	1,308,318	196,505	620,389	1,008,884	10,834,200	7,647,215
S. Central div....	532,871	458,852	93,476	1,203,350	302,446	372,641	593,295	8,599,828	6,860,512
N. Central div....	2,009,011	1,389,945	1,457,926	5,429,270	3,379,249	1,806,240	3,669,577	34,237,829	25,628,695
Western division.	263,972	179,711	492,052	977,143	2,853,197	234,937	944,600	8,487,080	3,496,099
United States.....	\$5,856,505	\$5,277,052	\$2,610,856	\$15,365,612	\$9,025,240	5,496,957	\$12,590,487	\$101,064,013	\$98,527,052

* The 100,000 evidently in public high schools offset more or less fully the elementary pupils in this line.

SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS OF EDUCATION.

1893-94.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Instructors.	No. of Pupils.	Volumes in Library.	Value of Scientific Apparatus.	Value of Grounds and Buildings.
Commercial schools and business colleges	335	1,990	99,654	....	.....	.....
SCHOOLS FOR DEFECTIVE CLASSES.						
Public boarding schools for the deaf.....	49	626	8,275	71,963	\$13,899	\$10,160,160
Public day schools for the deaf.....	12	46	418	1,050	175	223,500
Private schools for the deaf.....	19	85	611	3,085	2,425	185,177
Public institutions for the blind.....	35	348	3,489	77,945	21,810	6,189,436.
Public institutions for the feeble-minded.....	17	161	626	....	..	4,062,520
Private institutions for the feeble-minded.....	10	46	387	....	.....	170,000
Theological schools.....	147	963	7,658	....	.....	.....
Law schools.....	54	621	7,311	....	.....	.....
Dental schools.....	35	794	4,152	....	..	.....
Pharmacy schools.....	35	283	3,658	....	.....	.....
Medical schools (Regular).....	109	3,977	14,538	..	.....	.....
Medical schools (Homœopathic).....	19	478	41,666	....	.....	.....

THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPORTED BY THE STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1895.	Estimated Population 5-18 years.	Pupils Enrolled.	Average Attendance.	Teachers.
North Atlantic division	4,739,972	3,293,714	2,233,288	95,464
South Atlantic division	3,209,400	1,981,336	1,231,432	45,338
South Central division.....	4,185,346	2,652,795	1,699,672	55,624
North Central division.....	7,988,250	5,382,263	3,601,503	172,401
Western division.....	886,321	650,180	443,001	19,704
United States.	20,999,383	13,960,288	9,208,896	388,531

The average length of school term in the United States was 139 days. The whole number of male teachers was 125,317; female teachers, 263,214; paid for salaries of superintendents and teachers, \$108,476,638; total expenditures, \$170,639,081.

(b) OTHER COUNTRIES.

In Great Britain the highest education is furnished by the universities and detached colleges. Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Owens College (Manchester), the Scotch universities, and Trinity and Queen's in Ireland, are of various dates; the rest are quite new. In 1894 Oxford had 23 colleges; Cambridge, 19; there were 16 other colleges in England and Wales; 6 in Scotland, and 4 in

Great Britain. Ireland There were in these 68 colleges 1361 teachers, of whom Oxford and Cambridge had 93 each; Kings College, London, 140; London University (which is only an examining body, with power to grant degrees), 105; Glasgow, 89; and Dublin University, 64. There were 21,167 students, of which Oxford had 3256 (undergraduates); Cambridge, 2839; Newcastle, 2164 (in 1892, including evening students); London University, 1093 (exclusive of its schools); Kings College, London, 480 (and evening schools of about 4000); Edinburgh, 2949; Glasgow, 1878; Dublin, 1124. There are four university colleges for women: Newnham (Cambridge) and Girton College and Lady Margaret and Somerville Halls (Oxford), and a college in London and one in Edinburgh, with about 600 students in all. There are also various technical, medical, agricultural, and other institutions,

but which, like the middle-class schools, are entirely unorganized and of which no reliable statistics are available. Middle-class education in England is almost entirely in private hands. Of elementary education the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1895, from which the above statistics are taken, says:

"Up to the beginning of this century elementary education in England was left almost entirely to the care of the clergy of the Established Church. In 1803 the British and Foreign School Society was founded, and in 1811 the National School Society, the latter being under the authority of the Church. In 1833 Parliament for the first time voted money to aid in the building of schools. In 1839 a Committee of Council on education was appointed to watch over the distribution of these subventions. In the same year normal schools began to be built and received aid from the Committee of Council. In 1846 subventions were first given to increase the salaries of teachers, and in 1847 Catholic schools were admitted to these benefits. In 1853 grants began to be given to schools according to the number of pupils in attendance, and in 1862 the grants were made to depend on examination results.

"The Elementary Education Act of 1870 and subsequent amending Acts now regulate elementary education in England and Wales. The central administrative authority resides in the Education Department or Committee of Council on Education, consisting of Lords of the Privy Council, with the President of the Privy Council as President, and a member of the Privy Council as Vice-President, who represents the department in the House of Commons. Sufficient school accommodation must be provided in every district for all the resident children between the ages of 5 and 14. The boroughs and parishes are, unless the educational requirements are otherwise supplied, formed or grouped into school districts, each with its elected school board, which may compel parents to send their children to school. In boroughs and parishes where school boards are not required school attendance committees are appointed to enforce the attendance of children. On April 1, 1893, there were in England and Wales 2331 school boards embracing a population of 18,764,565, and 781 school at-

tendance committees embracing a population of 10,277,961. The obligatory subjects are reading, writing, arithmetic, and (for boys) drawing, or (for girls) needlework. Optional subjects are singing, geography, science, algebra, modern languages, cookery, etc. In board schools unsectarian religious instruction is given; in voluntary schools sectarian doctrines may be inculcated. There are seven standards, and each pupil should pass one standard every year. When the fourth standard is passed, the child, if 12 years of age, may leave school. A 'code' providing in detail for the regulation of schools is annually prepared by the department and submitted to Parliament. In 1891, by a fee grant of 10s. for each child between 3 and 15 years of age in average attendance, to be paid on certain conditions to managers of public elementary schools, education was rendered practically free in England and Wales. On June 1, 1893, there were 19,534 schools receiving the fee grant, and only 142 schools had refused it."

As to compulsory education, says a Fabian tract :

"The provisions of the Act of 1870 were very lax as to compulsory attendance. Six years later a law stated distinctly that the parent should be bound under penalties to cause his child to receive elementary education, and empowered School Boards and School Attendance Committees to make by-laws and to enforce the compulsory clauses; but not until 1880 were these bodies left without choice, and compelled to make and to profess to administer local rules for getting the youngsters to school. As it stands the law is very complicated, and varies from district to district. A child may work half-time either inside or outside a factory at 11 years of age. In both cases he must pass the Standard for partial exemption (usually the third) fixed by the local by-laws. In 1200 districts a proficiency qualification is practically not enforced, 'the hole is so big that it will admit almost everybody except an idiot.' In a few places full-time employment outside a factory or workshop may also commence at 11."

On August 31, 1894, there were in England and Wales 5151 Board schools, 11,897 National Society schools, 503 Wesleyan, 985 Roman Catholic, 1229 others. There were 50,689 certified teachers, 26,067 assistant, and 28,379 pupil teachers.

The question of Board schools *vs.* Church schools in England is "a burning question." Tho there is an active minority among them that favor Board schools, the majority of the Anglican clergy are bitterly opposed to them. They strive to keep education just so far as possible in the hands of the Church. They advocate and largely obtain the giving of school funds to the support of Church schools, divided among the various religious bodies in proportion to their strength. They consider Board schools atheistic and immoral. The intensity of feeling on this point enters into and turns many local elections. Complaints against this system are incessant. Says a Fabian tract :

"Fourteen thousand six hundred and eighty-four day schools, attended by 2,300,000 children, are yet under private management. In many towns and districts not a single school under public control exists; and even in big towns, where school boards are energetically at work, their denominational rivals stubbornly survive. If these privately managed institutions were entirely supported by their pious patrons there would be little ground for agitation. But the British taxpayer is compelled to find nearly four fifths of their funds, tho, like the stupid, easy-going fellow he is, he permits the so-called 'voluntary' subscribers of the one fifth to control the schools.

In the majority of instances the clergyman of the parish is practically the manager of the State-supported voluntary school. He appoints the teachers and fixes their salaries, regulates the supply of school materials, superintends the religious instruction, and kindly supervises the teachers' manners. . . .

"The chief blot on English education is the chaos

which prevails above the primary schools. On each of the three occasions when Matthew Arnold examined and reported upon Continental systems of education, he implored the English Government to organize Secondary and Higher Education. That was always the burden of his educational song. His case could not be refuted. . . . Secondary education is the Arcadia of private unregulated enterprise. Men who have been driven out of other callings imagine that Heaven intended them to manage a private school. Their entrance to the trade (it is not recognized as a profession) is charmingly easy. No apprenticeship, experience, certificate, or proof of aptitude is required. They put mysterious letters after their names to which no educational body can attach a meaning; they issue delusive prospectuses; they lure shabby-genteel people into their parlors; and the thing is done."

The Board schools, however, are gaining because they are usually better, and the progress toward popular education is marked. Says the *Labor Annual* for 1895 :

"The National Union of Teachers, numbering 25,000, met in Annual Conference this year for the first time at Oxford, and resolved that the granting of teachers' certificates should be placed in the hands of an Educational Council on which primary teachers should be adequately represented. Further resolutions urging the registration of teachers, formation of a Ministry of Education, and the appointment of practical men as inspectors were also passed. The National Union of Teachers is destined to be the future Educational Department under Collectivism, superseding the present objectionable 'patchwork system.'

"The President advocated the formation of District Boards of Education throughout the country, to control all primary and secondary work. The grant from Imperial sources to such boards should be a fixed amount per head of the school population—*i.e.*, of the number that ought to be in the school—paid quarterly, and of sufficient amount, when added to the receipts from local rates, to secure efficiency in every school, whatever its difficulties or needs. Strict annual audits of pre-estimated costs, termination of the school year at the same date, a real inspector and adviser, and a qualifying instead of an annual pass from class to class would bring about the desired popular control. His 'local control' proposals were reaffirmed by the Conference.

"Popular anticipations with regard to the Assisted Elementary Education Act of 1891 have been fulfilled, and the years-long Socialist agitation for Free Education more than justified. The number of scholars on the registers rose from 4,824,623 in 1891 to 5,126,373 in 1893, an increase of nearly 25 per cent., the average attendance increased by nearly 6 per cent., the cost per head was reduced by 34*d.*, and the Government grant, which spells efficiency, proportionately increased. Only 132 schools refused the Government grant in 1893, while of the 19,445 assisted ones, 15,914 were free schools. Thus there were 4,236,867 free scholars and only 889,506 free-paying children."

"In Scotland from 1595 to 1872 elementary education was regulated by the Act of James VI., which ordained that every parish should have a school supported by revenues derived from the land, the teachers being appointed on the recommendation of the Presbyterian ministers. By the Elementary Education Act of 1872, the Scotch Education Department was instituted, and each burgh and parish or group of parishes was required to have a school board to administer both elementary and middle-class schools, and to enforce the attendance of children from 5 to 14 years of age. In 1889, by a capitation grant, education was made free for the compulsory standards; in 1891 an age limit, 5 to 14, was introduced" (*Statesman's Year Book*).

There were 3105 inspected schools in 1893, of which 2679 were public, free for the compulsory standards. The average attendance was 542,851. In Ireland there were, in 1893, 8459 schools, with an average attendance of 527,060. They were under the superintendence of a body

of "Commissioners of National Education in Ireland." Of 8418 schools inspected, 3833 were Roman Catholic and Protestant, 3485 non-Roman Catholic, and 1110 Protestant. (For the colonies, see AUSTRALIA; NEW ZEALAND.)

In France public education is entirely under the supervision of the government. The highest schools are called *facultés de l'État*. There are 15 *facultés des lettres*, 15 *facultés des sciences*, 15 *facultés de droit* (law), 7 *facultés de médecine*, 2 *facultés* of Protestant theology.

France.

In 1885 the Roman Catholic theological *facultés* were suppressed, but the Roman Catholic universities exist still on conditions. In 1896 there were 8782 students of law, 8685 of medicine, and 3076 of pharmacy. The budget of 1895 devoted \$2,546,463 to these *facultés*. There were also various special schools. Elementary schools were little developed till the middle of the century. In 1881 primary instruction was made free, and in 1882 obligatory for children from 6 to 13. In 1886 all schools were put under charge of laymen. In 1893-94 there were in France (and Algeria) 88,632 primary schools with 6,262,067 pupils; 70,037 of these schools were public. There were also 400 secondary public schools, with 95,877 pupils. The money spent obligatory and voluntary for elementary education in 1892 was \$37,260,000. The number of untaught children was 75,000.

The attendance law of France enacts that "primary instruction is obligatory for children of both sexes between the ages of 6 years complete and 13 years complete." The parent is summoned if the child is absent four half-days in a month. For repeated absences he may be fined 15 frs. or sent to jail for five days. However, the local authorities have power to grant individual children long holidays, and in practice the law is softened. No man may teach a primary school under the age of 18.

Education in Germany is practically homogeneous, under a national system beginning with the *Volksschulen*, or elementary schools.

Germany.

Then come the *Bürgerschulen* and the *Höhere Bürgerschulen*, which fit the pupils for business life. Children go to different grades of schools according to what the parents can pay. There are also *Fortbildungsschulen*, or continuation evening schools for children of the working classes. The *Gymnasias* are the fully developed classical schools preparing the pupil in nine years for the university. The *Progymnasias* do not have the highest classes. The *Real gymnasias* teach Latin, but not Greek, and devote more time to "modern subjects." In the *Realschulen* Latin is wholly displaced in favor of modern languages. There are also numerous *Gewerbeschulen*, or technical schools, polytechnic, normal schools, seminaries, etc. There were, in 1895, 434 *Gymnasias*, 86 *Progymnasias*, 130 *Real gymnasias*, 109 *Real progymnasias*, 33 *Oberrealschulen*, 171 *Realschulen*, and 93 other schools. The number of elementary schools was estimated at 56,560, with 7,925,000 pupils. The immediate expenditure on elementary schools was \$60,600,000, of which \$15,823,000 came from State funds. School at-

tendance is compulsory. Details vary in the empire, but usually the school age is from 6 to 14. There were, in 1894, 21 universities with 27,719 students. Of these 4979 were in Berlin (besides 3471 non-matriculated students), 3067 at Leipzig, 3408 at Munich, 1535 at Halle, 1383 at Bonn; 4573 studied theology, 7506 law, 8410 medicine, and 7230 philosophy.

Austria had, in 1892, 18,874 elementary schools, with 3,220,452 pupils, 176 *Gymnasias*, 76 *Realschulen*, and 8 universities with 13,383 students, 4919 being at Vienna. Hungary had 16,942 elementary schools, with 2,232,315 pupils, 153 *Gymnasias*, 33 *Realschulen*, and 3 universities, with 4661 students, 3604 at Budapest. There were also seven government technical high schools and 2121 special technical institutes in Austria with 449 in Hungary.

Austria.

In Switzerland there is no centralization of schools, but in all the cantons elementary education is compulsory and primary instruction free. Compulsory education is not, however, enforced in all the Roman Catholic cantons. There were 5 uni-
Switzerland.
versities, 174 professional and industrial schools, 38 normal schools, 485 secondary, 8391 primary and 679 infant schools in 1894. There were, in 1894, 2982 students in the 5 universities and the academies of Fribourg and Neuchâtel. Of these 1278 were foreigners.

In Neuchâtel attendance is compulsory up to 16 years of age; but after 13 only 10 hours a week are enforced. Berne demands five sixths of the possible attendances to be made between 6 and 15. At Zurich, the paradise of education, the law is equally stringent. Children must attend the primary school between 6 and 13, and the secondary school between 13 and 16, unless exempted for special reasons. But out of a population of 105,000 only 200 children who are less than 16 years old have left school. Attendance is required every day, and penalties are inflicted for 10 absences.

In Berne no one can teach under the age of 19, and in Zurich no one under 20. In all Switzerland the maximum number of pupils in a room is 50, and it is usually less. Definite instruction in the religion of the majority is given in the popular schools. An article in the Swiss Constitution commands that "the public schools shall be capable of being attended by adherents of all confessions without injury to their freedom of faith and conscience." No difficulty has arisen. Catholic instruction is given in Catholic cantons like Lucerne; Protestant in cantons like Zurich.

Sweden has 2 universities with 2084 students, and in 1893 had 75 public high schools, 25 people's high schools. In 1893 there were 10,889 elementary schools with 705,905 pupils. The expenditure for elementary schools was \$5,000,000, of which about one quarter came from the State. Norway in 1891 had 6144 public elementary schools with 232,356 pupils, and 1749 classes with 55,371 pupils. There were 82 public secondary schools with 11,044 pupils, and 86 private schools. There

Other Countries.

were 6 normal schools and 1 university. Education is compulsory.

Denmark has 2940 elementary schools with 231,940 pupils, 22 agricultural or horticultural schools, 67 high schools, 31 Latin schools, 99 commercial or technical schools, and several colleges. Elementary education has been compulsory since 1814. Russia had, in 1893, about 9 universities with 13,470 students, 22 higher schools, 618 middle class schools for boys, 373 for girls. In 1887 there were 46,880 elementary schools with 408,721 pupils. The total contribution for schools in 1894 was about \$30,000,000. These statistics, however, cannot be considered as complete.

In Holland education is not compulsory nor necessarily free. Education is, however, largely regulated and supported by the State. There are 4 universities, 152 intermediate schools, 2993 public elementary schools, 1331 private and 991 infant schools. Belgium has 4 universities, various special schools, 34 royal athenæums and colleges, 132 middle-class schools, 5777 private

schools, 1321 infant and 1796 adult schools. These are public, but there are many private schools and colleges, mainly under ecclesiastical care.

In Italy there were, in 1893-94, 21 universities with 19,441 students, 1693 special, superior, commercial, normal, and technical schools and colleges, 5946 evening schools, 46,569 public primary schools, 11,708 irregular or private primary schools, 2572 infant schools. Only the lower grade education is compulsory. Religious instruction is given when parents wish it. The instruction in all schools, public and private, is regulated by the State. The elementary schools are mainly supported by the communes. The universities are maintained by the State, other schools are aided.

The following table, from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1890-90, gives a comparative view of education in Europe and America between Kindergarten and university, arranged according to ratio of children in school :

COUNTRIES.	Date of Census or Estimate.	Population.	Date of Report.	Children Enrolled in School.	Ratio to Population.	Cost of Elementary Instruction per capita of Population.	Pay Tuition or not.
United States (entire).....	1890	62,622,250	1890	14,377,536	23.3	2.24	Free.
Bavaria.....	1890	5,589,382	1890	1,187,792	21.2	....	Pay and free schools.
Canada.....	1891	4,829,411	1889	998,823	20.8	1.85	Free.
Baden.....	1890	1,656,817	1889	342,764	20.6	....	Pay and free schools.
Saxony.....	1890	3,500,513	1889	706,946	20.2	2.28	Free.
Prussia.....	1890	29,959,388	*1890	5,874,390	19.6	1.86	Pay and free schools.
Switzerland.....	1888	2,917,740	1890	579,935	19.5	2.03	Free.
Western States (United States)...	1890	3,027,613	1890	574,315	19.0	3.34	Do.
Württemberg.....	1890	2,035,443	1889	388,262	19.0	1.67	Pay and free schools.
Germany (Empire).....	1890	49,421,064	1890	9,300,000	18.8	....	Do.
Lübeck.....	1890	76,485	*1890	14,403	18.7	2.17	Free.
Bremen.....	1890	180,443	1890	664,466	18.0	1.04	Do.
Finland.....	1889	2,395,916	1890	406,966	17.6	†.50	Pay and free schools.
England and Wales.....	1891	29,001,018	1890	4,825,560	16.6	1.30	Do.
Scotland.....	1891	4,033,103	1890	664,466	16.4	1.40	Free.
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1891	37,888,153	1890	6,184,858	16.3	....	Pay and free schools.
Hamburg.....	1890	622,530	1889	96,357	15.6	....	Free.
Norway.....	1891	1,199,176	1888	308,505	15.4	.80	Pay and free schools.
Sweden.....	1890	4,784,675	1890	736,790	15.4	.70	Do.
France.....	1891	38,343,192	1889	5,807,157	15.1	1.34	Free.
Ireland.....	1891	4,706,162	1890	694,832	14.7	1.05	Do.
Netherlands, The.....	1890	4,564,565	1890	657,611	14.2	1.42	Pay and free schools.
Belgium.....	1890	6,147,041	1890	827,958	13.5	1.60	Do.
Austria.....	1890	23,895,413	1889	3,132,988	13.1	†.22	Do.
Austria-Hungary.....	1890	41,231,342	1889	5,312,656	12.9	....	Do.
Hungary.....	1890	17,335,929	1889	2,180,568	12.6	.42	Do.
Denmark.....	1890	2,181,159	1885	239,940	11.0	1.54	Do.
Spain.....	1887	17,550,246	1885	1,859,183	10.6	†.21	Do.
Italy.....	1890	30,158,408	1889	2,733,859	9.6	†.79	Do.
Greece.....	1889	2,187,208	1884	140,155	6.4	....	Do.
Portugal.....	1881	4,708,178	1887	276,688	5.9	.25	Pay and free schools.
Bulgaria.....	1890	3,154,375	1890	171,983	5.5	†.12	Free.
Russia.....	1889	95,870,810	1890	*3,000,000	3.1	†.13	Pay and free schools.
Servia.....	1891	2,162,759	1889	58,575	2.7	†.23	Free.
Turkey.....	*1885	4,786,545	1882	126,471	2.6	....	Small fee.
Roumania.....	*1887	5,500,000	1890	138,800	2.5	†.20	Free.

* Estimated.

† From State only.

The following table of the world's larger universities is arranged according to number of

students. The attendance stated for the foreign universities is that of winter 1890-91 :

UNIVERSITIES.	No. of Students.	UNIVERSITIES.	No. of Students.
Paris.....	9,215	Northwestern (Evanston, Ill.).....	2,413
Vienna.....	6,220	Yale (New Haven).....	2,400
Berlin.....	5,527	Minnesota.....	2,400
Calcutta.....	5,527	Prague (Bohemian).....	2,361
London.....	5,013	St. Petersburg.....	2,200
Naples.....	4,328	Glasgow.....	2,180
Edinburgh.....	3,623	Lake Forest (Ill.).....	2,136
Munich.....	3,551	Turin.....	2,052
Budapest.....	3,533	California.....	2,000
Athens.....	3,500	Columbia (New York).....	1,943
Moscow.....	3,473	Löwen (Louvain).....	1,891
Leipzig.....	3,458	Chicago.....	1,850
Harvard (Cambridge, Mass.).....	3,290	Copenhagen.....	1,820
Pratt Institute (Brooklyn).....	3,195	Nottingham.....	1,805
Madrid.....	3,182	Brussels.....	1,795
Michigan.....	3,000	Dordat.....	1,784
Pennsylvania.....	2,500	Oxford.....	1,782

IV. NEED OF REFORM.

In the United States the most striking need of reform is in the largest cities. Says Professor Waetzoldt, of Berlin (quoted in the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1892-93) :

"It is almost ludicrous to say that compulsory education is generally adopted in the United States. To understand that neglected children are not disposed to go to school, we must visit the labor quarters of cities like New York, Chicago, etc., and see the children come out of the factories. . . .

"According to authentic reports from New York, not more than 72 per cent. of all children who should go to school can be induced to do so; 28 per cent.—the street Arabs—never attend school. The greater number of these 72 per cent. attend only during three to four months of the year, and only about 30 per cent. go for four consecutive years. Statistics referring to these conditions, however, are always very imperfect. We naturally ask, 'What reason have children for staying away from school?' I have at hand the last school report from Chicago. The school year extends from one summer vacation to the other, from September till June, and the committee of investigation found that during the year 1891-92, 12,900 children missed school from insufficient causes; 9275 were notorious loafers and idlers, who could not be forced into school. Among these youths crime finds its recruits. The other 3730 cases are thus accounted for: 504 children did not go to school because they worked away from home; 362 were obliged to work at home; 571 were kept at home by parents disapproving of education; 25 because of physical deformities; 390 victims of poverty stayed at home for want of clothing. In all Chicago 32 only had private lessons at home; 879 were always sick; 395 were absent for unknown reasons; 65 were beyond the required age, tho still deficient in knowledge.

"As many as 1236 children never attended school on account of the indifference of their parents, the depravity of the father, or the incorrigibility of the children themselves. The reasons given for the latter were intemperance of parents, the father being away from home, or entire abandonment by both father and mother. Seventy-four boys, children between 12 and 14 years of age, declared that their fathers drank, smoked, and never came home at night; 500 boys were said to be in the house of correction; 100 in prison. These figures certainly show a very bad state of affairs; but we must remember that a city like Chicago grows by the influx of people from all parts of the earth, who are not always the worthiest. The following statements are much worse. In spite of all labor legislation and supervision of factories in the United States, certificates for permission to work are given to children who should be going to school. In Chicago, during one year, such certificates were given to 1077 children, 484 of whom were girls; 08 of these children were 10 years old; 115, 11 years old; 342, 12 years; and

522, 13 years old. The reasons why certificates for permission to work were given in these cases were because the children were poor, or orphans, or had been abandoned by parents, and, most frequently, that the boy might not become addicted to intemperance."

Of New York the *Outlook* of August 17, 1895, says :

"The recent conference of Good Government Clubs in the metropolis regarding the public schools brought out some astonishing and disgraceful facts. The average salary of teachers and supervisors in the public schools in New York is only \$677, as against \$762 in Brooklyn, \$780 in Chicago, \$808 in Cincinnati, \$883 in San Francisco, and \$1000 in Boston. The expense per head of the school population, from five to 21 years of age, is in the metropolis only \$6.08, as against \$6.74 in Cleveland, \$7 in Chicago, \$7.07 in Cincinnati, \$8.81 in San Francisco, and \$11.70 in Boston. The value of the school property per head of school population, from five to 21 years of age, is in New York only \$42.60, as against \$54.80 in San Francisco and \$81.18 in Boston. In New York City the number of children not in any school amounts to 38 per cent. of the school population, as against 30 per cent. in Boston."

Of Brooklyn, Mr. Maxwell, Superintendent of the Schools in that city, says :

"In order to ascertain the efficiency of the city school system, a test was recently made of the proficiency of pupils in the first, second, and third grammar grades. The subject of the examination was geometry, attention being paid also to the use of language made in the written papers. It was supposed that no subjects could have been chosen that would more thoroughly and justly reveal the worth of the instruction the pupils were receiving. The result of the examination is not one upon which the schools can be congratulated.

"The examination papers came from 172 classes. Of these the papers of only four were found 'very good,' 26 'good,' and 46 'fair,' while 55 were 'poor,' 16 'very poor,' and 25 'failures.' A majority of the pupils apparently did not know what an obtuse angle or an isosceles triangle is; their methods of demonstration were clumsy and indirect; they evidently depended more upon parrot-like memory than upon their reasoning powers; and their use of the English language was inaccurate, slovenly, and incoherent to a deplorable degree. These facts indicate unmistakably that both in quantity and in quality the instruction given is seriously at fault. The children are not taught many things which they should be taught, and they are taught few if any things in the right manner.

"The people of Brooklyn pay about \$2,000,000 a year for the education of about 100,000 children in the public schools, or \$20 a year for each child."

The fact is that neither in Brooklyn, New

York, Boston, nor Chicago is there seating capacity for all the children if they did attend. It is

generally admitted that one teacher cannot instruct with the best results

more than 35 or 40 pupils. Yet in

Lack of
Sittings. Brooklyn, in 1893, of 377 classes,

231 had between 60 and 70 pupils ;

65 between 70 and 80 ; 22 between

80 and 90 ; 18 between 90 and 100 ; 2 between

100 and 110 ; 16 between 120 and 130 ; 4 between

130 and 140 ; 2 between 140 and 150 ; 1 had 158 pupils. In 1894 only 1800 additional

sittings were offered to meet an annual increase

of 5000. The Report of the Committee on

School Houses in Boston in December, 1894,

describes the situation there as of "great public

exigency." High schools built to accommo-

date 150 suffice for 272 pupils. In Minneapolis,

of 16,000 children enrolled in the first three

grades, one third can receive only half day ses-

sions. In Philadelphia 8000 are similarly un-

careed for. In Milwaukee 2478 children. In 1893,

it was estimated that there were 35,000 persons

of school age who did not attend school, some

of them refused admission, and over 3000 pu-

pils were in unfit rented rooms.

In the *Forum* for 1892-93 is a series of studies

of the schools in the larger cities of the United

States by Mr. J. M. Rice. Summing up his

findings, he says (*Forum*, vol. xv., p. 506):

"In quite a number of cities the schools have

advanced so little that they may be regarded as

representing a stage of civilization before the age of steam

and electricity. In other cities we find schools that are

just awakening to the fact that progress has been

made in the spiritual as well as in the physical world,

and in still others we find schools that have already

advanced considerably along the line of progress. . . . My classification, however, applies more fully to the

primary than it does to the grammar

grades, as in the different cities the for-

mer vary much more markedly than

the latter. . . . The general educational

spirit of the country is progressive, the

schools of large numbers of our cities now laboring in

the right direction. But we must never forget that in

the United States each community conducts its schools

independently, so that the favorable condition of the

schools in one locality reflects absolutely no credit on

those who manage the schools of another locality." In

New York he finds schools "so unsanitary as to be unfit

for the habitation of human beings." "There is absolutely

no incentive to teach well. . . . A teacher scarcely

impairs her position by doing exceedingly poor

work. . . . Teachers are very rarely discharged even

for the grossest negligence and incompetency. . . . Nearly

all appointments are made by 'pulls,' merit

being a side issue." In Boston, he finds not these evils,

but others. The system is not mechanical. Teachers

are carefully selected, usually for merit, and allowed

liberty, under competent superintendents. The *per*

capita cost of instruction is particularly high. Some

of the grammar schools are among the best in the

country, but in the primary grades they fall "far

short of what they ought to be." They are "purely

mechanical drudgery schools." Boston schools were

once, Mr. Rice believes, among the best in the country.

Now "it would appear as if the Boston schools had

during this time been resting, meanwhile allowing

the progressive schools to run ahead." The schools of

Philadelphia are "a striking example of the difficulties

involved in advancing schools, when those in authority

use their offices for selfish purposes, . . . and . . . the

evils consequent upon a school system conducted with-

out a responsible head." The public schools of

Chicago are "not in advance of those of New York or

Philadelphia," and even "the least progressive of the

three." The principal cause of this is "the marked lack

of professional strength on the part of the teachers."

The schools of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Indianapoli-

s are much better. In St. Louis, he says,

"we have an example of how sad the lot of the child

may become when the superintendents not only do

practically nothing toward raising the standard of

the teachers, by instructing them in the science of education, but when they do much to depress them by examining their classes, and judging them by results alone." Of Baltimore he says: "Until a national change is effected, those attending the schools of that city will be doomed to a miserable childhood."

But it is not only the cities where many children are growing up without schooling. Says Professor Waetzoldt (see above):

"Consider the number of school days in a year in the United States. The annual average is only 134.3. I believe in Berlin we have no less than 240. Saturdays are holidays throughout America. The 134 school days are an average of terms varying greatly in different States. In the North Atlantic States, for instance Massachusetts and New York, there are 166 days in a school year; in the South Atlantic States, for instance Maryland and Virginia, 97; in the South Central States, for instance Tennessee and Kentucky, 88; and in the Western States, 135 days; New Jersey averages the greatest number of school days, 192; and North Carolina the least, 59; Illinois has 148.

"The obligatory course ostensibly requires an attendance of eight years, from the sixth to the fourteenth year. The course of the so-called primary school covers the first four years; the primary school prepares for the grammar school, the course of which likewise requires four years. In round numbers, 12,697,000 pupils out of the 62,500,000 inhabitants of the Union attended these elementary schools during 1890. Of these 12,697,000 only 8,144,000 children attended every day of the average 88 to 135 school days; that is to say, only 64 per cent. attended regularly. Every day of the average 135 days, 36 out of every 100 pupils, or one of every three, a very large proportion, missed school. The best attendance is found in Massachusetts. In that State it is 73.7; in South Carolina, 73.4; and in New Mexico, 80 per cent. But this happy State has only 63 days in a school year. To form a just estimate of the general statistics referring to attendance at school, proper allowances must be made for the greater or fewer number of school days in the year. . . .

"According to available statistics, the schools of Minnesota are the ones in which attendance is poorest, the number of school days during the year are 120, and only 45 pupils out of every 100 attend. This is probably 100 small an average, for Minnesota, I believe, possesses excellent schools. Even in a State as old as Maryland, in which Baltimore is situated, only 15 out of every 100 pupils attended school regularly. In the United States the average number of days with a full attendance were 86 out of the 134—namely, a proportion of 40 days non-attendance to every pupil. In North Carolina the number of days of full attendance averaged 37 out of 59; in Massachusetts, 135 out of 177; in the District of Columbia (the city of Washington with its suburbs), 135 out of 178; in New York, 115 out of 186, and in Illinois, 107 out of 148.

"The average attendance at school throughout the United States covers four of the eight years; in large cities five to six years; in the South sometimes only one year, occasionally a few months only. This circumstance easily explains the policy of many cities in omitting all studies not absolutely necessary, eventually limiting the course to the three R's—reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic."

Another evil that Professor Waetzoldt points out is the low pay of teachers, and consequently the number of inferior teachers. He says (*idem*):

"The entire school expenditure of the city of Chicago, with a population in 1892 approximating 1,614,000, amounted to \$4,015,000, or 16,800,000 marks. Two and a half million dollars, considerably more than one half, was appropriated for salaries. Salaries of principals of grammar schools are divided into

groups proportionate to the number of classes and pupils in their schools and the amount of work to be done. The first group of principals of grammar schools receive \$1050 the first year, and the salary increases every year until it amounts to \$1200. The second group ranges from \$1200 to \$1400, the third group from \$1400 to \$1600, and the highest group from \$2300 to \$2500.

Principals of primary schools begin with \$1050, and never receive more than \$1600. In a city like Chicago,

Country Schools.

Politics.

where a working man receives on an average of \$2 a day, men and women teachers in primary schools begin with \$400, or 1620 marks, for the first year. The second year they receive \$475; the third, \$575; the fourth, \$650; the fifth, \$700; the sixth and the following years, \$775; *i. e.*, teachers can receive as high as 3250 marks—a proportionately small sum considering the necessity of the position, with no pension, no provision for widows, etc., attached. Teachers in grammar schools are somewhat better situated; they receive \$450 the first year, then \$525, increasing in eight years to \$800, or about 3350 marks. Substitutes receive \$1.50 a day, after they have been tried six months. The so-called school cadets—pupil teachers, in fact, whose employment was a necessity in years past in Prussia—also receive 75 cents a day for their work, which they perform under the supervision and guidance of a regular teacher. When we compare the purchasing power of a mark and a dollar, we understand that small salaries are the reason the teacher's profession receives so few accessions. . . . To merely touch the question of the normal training of teachers in a word, Americans themselves best know that on the average it is still inadequate. The minority of teachers are educated at normal schools. The ever-changing board, the superintendent, or occasionally a lower official, often influenced by politics, decides upon a teacher's capacity. A definite educational policy is not prescribed, and there is no uniform examination. . . .

"I very well know that America has excellent institutions and brilliant teachers, but we must not look only at the flower so willingly held out to us. We must not limit ourselves to cities renowned for their schools; we must ask how matters are in general. According to the judgment of a very competent American school-teacher, the work done in normal schools does not compare with that of a German seminary. Pedagogically and scientifically restricted, the teacher naturally becomes dependent. The principal and inspector instruct him weekly and even daily, prescribing the daily lessons in every detail. Thus the opinion gains credence that the achievements of a school are attributable to the board and inspectors, and not to the teachers. Teachers must first be prepared.

"There is no professional body of teachers with determinative power, no faculty meetings that have decisive disciplinary and other powers. In many cities the teacher is a poor day-laborer, who earns his bread in sorrow and fear of the Damocles sword of loss of position which hangs over his head. In the whole country there is no profession of teaching which rests on an average uniform education, the consciousness of professional work and its magnitude; the nation, as such, does not recognize it. Teachers have no representative corporation; what we hear of the national association of teachers and the great congresses are, with very few exceptions, all efforts emanating from secondary and higher schools, in which only principals, inspectors, etc., participate. This deficient professional preparative of the public-school teacher is, next to political influence, the most vulnerable point of the whole American school system. It is evident that the achievements of even a highly gifted people must fall below a high standard under such a régime."

Of politics in the public-school system Professor Waetzoldt says:

"In many cities the administration and superintendence of schools, the appointment of teachers, and promotions are purely political questions. Change of party rule often brings about a change of the whole personnel of schools, first of commissioners and superintendents down to the ranks of the teachers. This, together with other things, creates a want of stability in American schools; there are no traditions of pedagogic experiences, neither in a school nor in a city. How different in Germany! What an abundance of traditions and pedagogical experiences are collected in a normal school 100 years old! In America hasty experiments replace the slow growth in Germany. The new principal, the new member of the school board, and the new administration are too impatient to carry out their political and moral views and ideas during their term of service. No one has time to finish his work, for he does not know how long he may be engaged in it; but everybody experiments. On the other hand, this constant changing is an advantage to education; nowhere outside of America are new ideas more easily brought to light and put into practice."

But perhaps the deepest evil in our schools is

the lack of moral teaching. Until this century moral teaching has gone principally with religious teaching. The modern divorce of Church and State, the opposition of secularists to all religious teaching, **Immorality.** and, above all, the opposing views of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and other religious bodies, having led to the disuse of religious teaching in public schools, a lowering of the tone and the time given to moral teaching has almost inevitably the not necessarily followed. The coming of the children of ignorant emigrants into the public schools has increased the difficulty, while many of our native children have developed immorality equal to that of the foreign element. Many parents fear to send their children to public schools, and yet it is not proven that the moral tone of most private schools is better. "In the month of December, 1881, a California State Teachers' Institute was held in San Francisco. With scarcely a dissentient voice it was declared that the children of our public schools were addicted to lying and dishonesty. . . . A committee of Massachusetts ladies made a report declaring that the 'teachers almost universally complain of the prevalence of lying, stealing, profanity, and impurity among their scholars.' (*The School Question*, pp. 97, 115.) A writer in the *Atlantic* for May, 1894, argues that more attention is being given to the teaching of moral purity, but says that in a large class of young women graduates of public schools, in one of our older States, all but two confessed to hearing in their early life in the public schools what they could never forget, the no words could express the longing they felt to blot it from their memory.

This statement of the immorality of the public schools is not to be confused with the Roman Catholic assertion that they are "godless," the Roman Catholics and some others connect the two propositions. For a discussion of religion in the public schools see article under that heading. All believe, however, that in some better way than at present morals and ethics need to be taught in public and private educational institutions, and all agree that the lack of this is among the most serious evils of the present time.

In regard to universities, the main need is increased provision for research and ampler endowments, with a vastly increased system of scholarship for promising students. Mr. Charles F. Thwing (*Forum*, vol. xviii., p. 630) states **Universities.** that the average cost of a student per year at the better colleges is larger than the total income of the average American family. He says that every element in the cost of an education has increased in the last 60 years three or fourfold. To-day a higher education for most people is impossible. Says Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*: "Even from that large and growing class of positions for which high acquirement or superior education is the only qualification, and of which we consequently (with strange inaccuracy) speak as if they were open to all comers, it may be perceived that large proportions of the people are excluded—almost as rigorously and as abso-

lutely as in any past condition of society—the simple fact that the ability to acquire such education or qualification is at present the exclusive privilege of wealth.”

V. PROPOSED REFORMS.

The more radical proposals of the extreme individualists who would abolish all State schools, and of the socialists who would carry State compulsory education, we consider later. Special reforms as to the teaching of Temperance, and as to Industrial Education, Evening Schools, Normal Schools, University Extension, are considered under these special heads.

As to insufficient school accommodation, the only remedy is the granting of enough appropriation to provide adequate accommodations. Of New York City *The Outlook* of August 17, 1895, says :

“The city has already invested \$25,000,000 in school property, but it is not too much to say that during the next decade an equal sum will be needed to provide properly for its needs in both teachers and buildings. At present the latter are not large enough, are overcrowded, have too little ventilation, with insufficient air and light, and are often unhealthfully located and have few good playgrounds. The enormous population in the congested districts of the metropolis makes these deficiencies specially pitiable. Mr. Augustus Johnson makes a good suggestion in respect to these districts. He asks :

“Is it better to have five schools containing 1000 children each within gunshot of each other, surrounded by overtowering and contagion-breeding tenement-houses, saloons, and nuisances of every kind, or one large school-house for 5000 children, covering an entire central block, which shall not be suffocated by its surroundings and crowded by nuisances? Fronting on four streets, with an inner court for playgrounds, such a school building will be accessible to the children living on four or five blocks from each front, and, because covering so much ground, need not be so high as to endanger the health of children now obliged to climb many times daily to the fourth or fifth story. Such a school building might be made a model of school architecture for beauty and convenience, an object-lesson not for the East Side only, but for the continent and for the world. New York may well afford to offer prizes for the best architectural designs for such a building.”

As to taking the schools out of politics, some propose absolute State or national control, as in Germany. This is opposed by most. Mr. J. M. Rice (*Forum*, vol. xvi., p 500) favors a permanent State Board of Education composed of five or six educational experts, with an adequate number of superintendents. He favors also laws as to the appointment of teachers, so that their positions may not be used for purposes of patronage, laws limiting the amount of mere memorizing of text-books, laws compelling a certain amount of objective work, laws compelling the employment of phonics in teaching children to read. The three main laws for a good school system he believes to be (1) divorce from politics in every sense of the word, (2) thorough supervision, (3) development of professional and general intellectual strength in the teachers.

In regard to secondary schools, there has recently been concerted action.

“It has come to be distinctly recognized that any far-reaching educational reform in this country must begin with the secondary schools. The elementary school is helpless if the secondary school refuses to cooperate with it in raising the standard of scholarship and improving the methods of instruction.

“Except in those Western States where a State University stands at the head of the State school system—as in Michigan, Minnesota, and Nebraska—there is great uncertainty and diversity in the relations of the secondary schools to the colleges, and in the work of the secondary schools themselves. To remedy this condition of things there was begun by a few members of the National Educational Association, in the summer of 1892, a movement which culminated in the appointment by the Association of a committee of 10, of which President Eliot of Harvard was chairman. The report of the committee was printed by the Bureau of Education as a public document.

Secondary Schools.

“The investigation brought to light the fact that more than 40 separate subjects of instruction were to be found on the programs of prominent secondary schools. On all points, except the time allotment, the committee was unanimous in recommending what progressive teachers agree in considering wisest and best.

“The committee provides in tabular form the material of which a thousand programs may be made, and then gives four sample programs of their own. The four are called, respectively, the classical, the Latin-scientific, the modern language, and the English. The first makes provision for three foreign languages, one of which is modern. The second finds room for Latin and one modern language. The third embraces both French and German, but no ancient language; while the fourth provides for one foreign language, which may be either Latin, French, or German. No one of the programs excludes the study of the natural sciences, history, or geography. The time-allotment among the several subjects affords opportunity to get from each the kind of mental training it is specially fitted to supply. The different principal subjects are put on an approximately equal footing. All short information courses are omitted, and the instruction in each of the main lines—*viz.*, language, science, history, and mathematics—is substantially continuous.

“The committee are of the opinion that, under existing conditions in the United States as to the training of teachers and the provision of necessary means of instruction, the classical and Latin-scientific programs must in practice be distinctly superior to the other two. In other words, we have not yet reduced the teaching of natural science and the modern languages to the same precision that is found in the case of the classics and mathematics.”

Coming now to more radical views, we have two opposing extremes: the socialist view that would carry compulsory State education to the farthest degree, and the extreme individualist view that would do away with all State schools. Socialists of all types favor the fullest development of State education. Says Mr. Graham Wallas, in the *Fabian Essays* :

Socialist View.

“If this generation were wise it would spend on education not only more than any other generation has ever spent before, but more than any generation would ever need to spend again. It would fill the school buildings with the means not only of comfort, but even of the higher luxury; it would serve the associated meals on tables spread with flowers, in halls surrounded with beautiful pictures, or even, as John Milton proposed, filled with the sound of music; it would seriously propose to itself the ideal of Ibsen, that every child should be brought up as a nobleman.”

Says Sidney Olivier (*idem*) :

“The ideal of the school implies, in the first place, leisure to learn; that is to say, the release of children from all non-educational labor until mind and physique have had a fair start and training, and the abolition of compulsion on the adult to work any more than the socially necessary stint. The actual expenditure on public education must also be considerably increased, at any rate, until parents are more generally in a position to instruct their own children. But as soon as the mind has been trained to appreciate the inexhaustible interest and beauty of the world, and to distinguish good literature from bad, the remainder of education, granted leisure, is a comparatively inexpen-

sive matter. Literature is become dirt-cheap; and all the other educational arts can be communally enjoyed. The schools of the adult are the journal and the library, social intercourse, fresh air, clean and beautiful cities, the joy of the fields, the museum, the art gallery, the lecture hall, the drama, and the opera; and only when these schools are free and accessible to all will the reproach of proletarian coarseness be done away."

Mr. Sidney Webb, in giving in the Fabian Essays a statement of the current socialist demands for further legislation, gives under the head of educational reform the following statement:

"*Object.*—To enable all, even the poorest, children to obtain not merely some, but the best education they are capable of.

"*Means.*—1. The immediate abolition of all fees in public elementary schools, Board or voluntary, with a corresponding increase in the Government grant. 2. Creation of a minister for education, with control over the whole educational system, from the elementary school to the university, and over all educational endowments. 3. Provision of public technical and secondary schools wherever needed, and creation of abundant public secondary scholarships. 4. Continuation, in all cases, of elementary education at evening schools. 5. Registration and inspection of all private educational establishments."

In America, the Socialist Labor party includes among its social demands "the school education of all children under 14 years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous, and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary."

Mr. Lawrence Gronlund, in his *Cooperative Commonwealth*, advocates compulsory education, with support of the children and youth up to the twenty-first year, and this is the ideal of most socialists in Germany and elsewhere.

Opposed to the socialist program is the extreme individualist proposition to do away with all public schools. Even Mr. Spencer talks of the "tyranny" of compulsory education, and "the cases in which men let themselves be coerced into sending their children to receive lessons in grammar and gossip about kings, often at the cost of underfeeding and weak bodies." (*Justice*, p. 178, American edition.) He says:

"On the day when £30,000 a year in aid of education was voted as an experiment, the name of an idiot would have been given to an opponent who prophesied that

in 50 years the sum spent through imperial taxes and local rates would amount to £10,000,000, or who said that the aid to education would be followed by aids to feeding and clothing, or who said that parents and children alike, deprived of all opinion, would, even if starving, be compelled by fine or imprisonment to conform and receive that which, with papal assumption, the State calls education. No one, I say, would have dreamt that out of so innocent-looking a germ would have so quickly evolved a tyrannical system tamely submitted to by people who fancy themselves free" (*A Plea for Liberty*, p. 16). He considers that it leads to pauperization, and says:

"Legislators who in 1833 voted £20,000 a year to aid in building school-houses never supposed that the step they then took would lead to forced contributions, local and general, now amounting to £6,000,000; they did not intend to establish the principle that A should be made responsible for educating B's offspring; they did not dream of a compulsion which would deprive poor widows of the help of their elder children; and still less did they dream that their successors, by requiring impoverished parents to apply to Boards of Guardians to pay the fees which school boards would not remit, would initiate a habit of applying to Boards of Guardians, and so cause pauperization" (*The Coming Slavery in Man vs. The State*).

Mr. Mackay, in *A Plea for Liberty*, summing up the individualist argument, says:

"If men will grant for a moment, and for the sake of argument, that, as some insist, our compulsory, rate-supported system of education is wrong; that it is injurious to the life of the poor; that it reduces the teacher to the position of an automaton; that it provides a quality of teaching utterly unsuited to the wants of a laboring population, which certainly requires some form of technical training; that here it is brought face to face with its own incompetence, for some of the highest practical authorities declare that the technical education given in the schools is a farce; that therefore it bars the way to all free arrangements between parents and employees, and to the only system of technical education which deserves the name; if this or even a part of it is true, if at best our educational system is a makeshift, not altogether intolerable, how terrible are the difficulties to be overcome before we can retrace our steps and foster into vigorous life a new system!"

These individualists, doing away with all compulsory or State education, would have only voluntary schools for those who can pay for them, believing that men will get better education if they pay for it, and that those who can pay but little would value that little, and get what they did more suited to their needs, if it cost them effort. They believe that here, as everywhere, a free competition or education means the development of the best schools and the best school system.

Revised by THOMAS DAWIDSON.

References: *Reports of the Commissioners of Education*; Sonnenschein's *Cyclopaedia of Education* (edited by Fletcher, 1889; this gives a bibliography); Horace Mann's *Letters and Reports on Education* (1837); Herbert Spencer's *Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Philosophical* (1886); Rousseau's *Emile*, with notes by Jules Steeg (1885); Froebel's *Education of Man*; Pestalozzi's *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*; Richter's *Levana*; Alexander Bain's *Education as a Science* (1886); Rosenkranz's *Philosophy of Education* (translated by A. C. Brackett, 2d ed., 1886); W. J. Shoup's *History and Science of Education* (1891). See also the magazines—*Education* (Boston), *Educational Review* (New York), *Educational Times* (London), *Journal of Education* (London), ditto (Boston). (See also AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS; CHAUTAUQUA; COOKING SCHOOLS; ILLITERACY; INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION; KINDERGARTEN; UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, etc.; also article RELIGION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.)

EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT AND PHILOSOPHY. See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

ELBERFELD SYSTEM.—Attention has been widely attracted to the methods of poor relief adopted in Elberfeld, and copied in many German cities. In 1823 the Prussian Government authorized each commune in the Dißeldorf circle to take charge of its own poor relief, but until 1850 the old system, founded upon that of the French empire, remained in vogue. A system in the charge of wealthy individuals, especially Lutherans, was then tried. The cost of the relief in 1852 was £8932, while in the Lutheran community it was 30 per cent. higher than in the rest of the city. At the instigation of Daniel von der Heydt, a banker of Elberfeld, the existing scheme was authorized.

Here is the system in brief: Elberfeld is one of the largest manufacturing towns of the empire, and contains many poor. For poor-law purposes it is divided into 364 sections, each section therefore consisting of about 300 people more or less. Every 14 sections constitute a district. Over each section of 300 inhabitants is placed an almoner; and over each district, which has 14 almoners, is appointed an overseer. All these officers are under the control of a central committee of nine, of which the mayor is *ex-officio* president, four members are town council-

ors, and the other four are ordinary citizens. The 364 almoners and 26 overseers are unpaid, but all is under city control.

The duties of the almoners are extensive and precise. Every person needing relief makes application to the almoner of his own district. It is then the duty of the almoner to institute full and particular inquiries into all the circumstances of the case. He is also required to keep himself constantly informed so long as the applicant may continue to need relief. Every fortnight the 14 almoners of each district meet under the presidency of the district overseer; the reports of each are then considered, and the minute book prepared for the Central Committee. That committee also meets fortnightly on the day following the meetings of the almoners and overseers. The small size of the sections enables each almoner, without difficulty, to make himself thoroughly familiar with all the distress of his district, and with every exaggerating or favorably modifying circumstance connected with it. Being a citizen and not a paid official, he has no interest but to state the facts as plainly as may be, and to secure that the relief shall be such as is best suited to the necessities of each case. Relief is granted according to a fixed and uniform scale, which is so framed as to secure that only the minimum necessary for bare subsistence is supplied to the applicant and his family. Any small sums he may earn are considered and deducted so as to bring his rate of relief to the standard minimum. In addition to money help, tools may be lent—such as sewing-machines; and furniture also may be provided. One of the instructions of the almoner is that he is bound to use every possible effort to secure employment for those who may be in receipt of relief.

The result of this system has been that while from 1852-60 population increased from 50,000 to 71,000, the number of paupers declined from 8 to 1.5 per cent., or from 4000 to 1062, and the expenditures from £8932 to £3860. Yet the poor have been better provided for than formerly under individual management. (See CHARITY ORGANIZATION.)

ELECTION LAWS. See CORRUPTION IN POLITICS.

ELECTIONS.—We briefly consider in this article the working of elections in the United States, Great Britain, and France.

THE UNITED STATES.

Qualifications for voting in the United States vary somewhat with the States, but are largely the same. Except in four Western States, only males can vote on general elections, and in most States on school elections. (See WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.) In all States voters must be citizens, except that in many States declared intention to become a citizen qualifies for voting under certain restrictions of time and place. A residence in the State is required in all States, varying from three months in Maine to two years in Missouri—one year being the rule, tho it is six months in many States. Residence usually of from one month to two months is required in county, town, and precinct. Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Mississippi require that the voter can read or understand the Constitution. Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania require the payment of a tax. In all the States, with slight variations as to details, convicts, idiots, and the insane are not qualified for voting. In several States, paupers, United States soldiers, and marines are disqualified. In most Western States the Chinese are disqualified.

Elections in the United States are numerous and frequent, and here is one of the main sources of their evil. Federal elections come every four years; State elections come usually every year; municipal elections come also yearly. **Frequency.** sometimes on the same day and sometimes on different days from the other elections. In the case of each election (federal, State, and municipal), the voter has numerous candidates to vote for. In federal elections he votes for electors for President and Vice-President; in State elections he votes for governor, lieutenant-governor, congressmen, representatives to the State legislatures, secretary of State, attorney-general, sometimes judges, and several other officers. In city elections he usually votes for mayor, aldermen, common councilors, school board, commissioners of various departments. Besides this he is usually called upon to vote yea or nay on various questions of granting license or no. For each office three or four parties each nominate different candidates. The result is that frequently the voter has to have before him several hundred names. The ballot upon which the average city voter has to record his choice is often a blanket sheet covered with confusing names. Under the present system, then, the first characteristic of American elections is that even the voter who desires to be honest cannot go by his own personal knowledge of the candidates. It is impossible for him to know personally and to judge between the claims of the different men. He therefore is compelled to be guided in his choice by his party, by hearsay, or by the press. Here comes in the opportunity of the professional politician.

If a man will give all his time to the pulling of small political ropes, he has his busy neighbors at enormous advantage. He can go around and drum up votes for a particular candidate; he can work through the press; if he can run the party machine, he has the ward vote in his grasp, and the average busy citizen is helpless. He can do this even without recourse to corruption. But he has to live while he is doing this work. Hence the temptation to get his living by politics. They give abundant opportunity. To most political positions a salary is attached. If a man can get elected, it will pay him to give a portion **Professional Politicians.** candidates can afford to give sometimes large sums to professional politicians who can secure their election. Again, and perhaps quite as frequently, the professional politician is appointed himself to a small office by the party or clique he has helped to elect, and thus maintained to do the same work in another election. Often the duties of the office are small and the holder can give almost all his time "to running ward politics." Sometimes offices are created with only nominal duties, simply to create a living for these professional politicians. Sometimes they are appointed to large offices and depute their duties to some one else, while they attend to "politics." Against such professional politicians the ordinary citizen is well-nigh helpless. The ward politician knows every voter in his precinct. He checks all who

are sure Republicans and all who are sure Democrats. Then he studies the doubtful or independent whose vote will really decide the election. Some of these can be directly bought, some influenced, some fooled, some frightened. He treats each one in his own way. He promises some men appointments as policemen or as street cleaners, etc.; he induces some to vote for his party, because if they do they will enable some cousin to become a policeman and receive a sorely needed income. The ramifications of interested votes go very far, and the professional politician knows all the twists. He stands in with the saloon-keeper, and sometimes with the dive-keeper, and thus swings the liquor vote and the dive vote. He knows and flatters the leading Italian and Polish politicians of the ward, and so swings the large foreign vote. Against such machinations the non-professional voter can do little.

But thus far we have considered the professional politician alone, and with his power simply based upon the frequency and complexity of elections and the impossibility that the citizen who does not give all his time to politics can defeat such machinations.

When, however, the professional politicians band together, they become inconceivably more irresistible. And the system almost compels such banding. In the complexity of elections, each party has to appoint various committees to run the campaign. There are, first of all, the national committee, then State committees, city committees, county committees, ward committees, district committees. Some of these remain always active; others are appointed for campaigns. The committees that are best banded together and give

The Machine.

most time and thought and money to politics usually win. Thus, a machine is almost inevitably developed. Under the present system of election by State electoral votes, certain States become "pivotal." The vote of these States often turns upon the vote of great cities. A party that can carry New York City and Chicago and Philadelphia, and other large cities, has an enormous advantage. Hence city machines are developed, organized through professional politicians in all the wards. When a national election comes they can deliver the city vote, and to a less extent similar committees deliver the county vote.

It is not, however, in national politics so much as in municipal politics that the machines find their main power. City offices are often more lucrative than national offices. Hence holders of city offices can afford to pay more to the machine that elects them. Again, city offices often have far more appointing power. The machine that captures the city government can appoint to hundreds of petty clerkships and positions, as policemen, street-cleaners, etc. Hence the machine often prefers to rule the city than the State. Once more and mainly the members of the city government continually have enormously valuable franchises and jobs to bestow or to control. A change in the mere wording of a bill will make a difference often of hundreds of thousands of dollars. It is obvious that here corrupt legislators can gain large sums from in-

terested parties. To control such legislation is a prize, often in value beyond all others to the city machine. Hence the ring (*q. v.*), a large share of the city corruption, and the motives for dishonest elections.

Nor are these conditions which we have described the only elements in the situation. There is the great fact that a large proportion of the city vote comes from people in part ignorant and in part with little permanent interest in the community. In the city, too, few know more than a few of their neighbors. In this ignorance is the wire-puller's opportunity. Another element is in the rush of American life that makes it still more impossible for all except the professionals to follow the details and the dry work of political machinery. In the United States, there are as yet but few who, living on income, give their time unpaid to the public weal. Such a class is developing, but we shall see in a moment why they are particularly unfitted to cope with the situation.

Meanwhile we pass to notice the methods by which the machine controls elections. Its stronghold is in the primary. The primary is determined by its roll of ward voters entitled to vote in it. This roll is prepared by the ward committee. **Primaries.** It knows its own men. Others are admitted to the primaries on the votes of those already admitted. To gain admission, one often has to give a pledge to support the committee. Independent men are gotten rid of or refused admission. Subservient primaries are thus easily gotten. Honest men object to such measures, and either stay away or give up in disgust after fruitless efforts to capture the primary.

"At the last Republican primaries in New York City only 8 per cent. of the Republican electors took part. In only 8 out of 24 districts did the percentage exceed 10, in some it was as low as 2 per cent. In the Twenty-first Assembly District Tammany Primary, 116 delegates, to choose an Assembly candidate, were elected by less than 50 voters. In the Sixth Assembly District County Democracy Primary, less than 7 per cent. of the Democratic voters took part, and of those who did, 69 in number, nearly one fourth were election officers. The primary was held in a careless way in a saloon while card-playing was going on" (A. C. Bernheim in *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1888).

Bogus lists of voters are often made. Men are brought in from other districts to vote for the machine.

When the primary meets a "slate" is brought in, and usually the names on it receive the nomination from the subservient primary. If a few opponents are present, they are usually allowed to make opposing but fruitless nominations, the committee being sure of the result. The chairman appointed by the meeting is almost always the tool of the committee. If there should be a split or division, sometimes a disturbance is purposely created, and in the confusion the chairman can declare the nominations carried. Often shouters and roughs are brought in to shout down all opposition. Usually when there is a division, it is merely a fight within the party, between two ward or city cliques, for offices,

both of which are subservient to the machine. Honest battles in the primaries are almost unknown, and "reformers" have almost given up in despair attempting to capture the primaries of the old parties under the present system. Their only hope seems to be to make independent nominations of their own. They sometimes win, in cases of the uprisings of indignant citizens, but the indignation does not last, and pretty soon the regular work of the old party machine wins again. Nor is there usually much hope in playing corrupt Republican primary against corrupt Democratic primary, especially in city politics, because the machine which once gets hold of a city usually gets such complete hold of it that in that city there is little rivalry between the two parties. With the rarest of exceptions, New York City is always Democratic and Philadelphia always Republican. So even with many smaller cities. Even where the cities are uncertain, certain wards in each city can always be counted on for a certain party. Sometimes, too, the same municipal ring controls the primaries of both parties. Such are some of the difficulties of reaching the primaries.

Above the primary is the convention. The convention is usually safe for the machine, because the machine has already captured the primaries that send the delegates. The machine nominates a temporary chairman, and he is elected usually by subservient delegates; if not, roughs and shouters are brought in. He names the committee on contested seats, which committee, passing on the titles of delegates, can admit the friends and refuse admission to the opponents of the machine. In all doubtful cases the machine favors itself. It then gets the chairman of the convention, and has practically all power in its hands. Such are some of the methods of American electioneering.

When it comes to the voting, the ward and county committees are instructed to see that the full party vote is polled and that all the doubtful are canvassed. Money is sent to the different committees to buy

Campaigns, those who can be bought. Men are hired to go among the trade-unions and secure the labor vote. Papers are bought up or filled with paid editorials and paid "news." The papers of the foreign populations are subsidized. Campaign circulars are prepared suited for special classes and addressed to clergymen, to merchants, to "the American working men." "Orators" are put upon the stump and sent to every district. National orators are carried in special trains from city to city. Carefully prepared reports of extempore speeches by the rival candidates are put in the daily press. Mud, if necessary, is slyly thrown. Sometimes lies are circulated at the last minute when it is too late for the opposing party to refute them. "Claims" are made showing that all the country is going one way. Processions and monster parades are formed. Those away from home get their railway fare paid if they will go home and vote for a certain party. The railroads grant free passage to those who will vote in their interest. Taxes are paid for votes. Minor forms of corruption are resorted to. Such are some of the elements of American elections.

The Australian ballot system has in the main done away with direct intimidation at the polls, but indirect influences still remain. In the election of 1896 many manufacturers are reported to have said to their employees (and perhaps in perfect honesty), "This is a free country; you can vote exactly as you please. If so and so is elected we will raise your wages; if so and so is elected we will shut down the shop. This is a free country; you can vote exactly as you please."

The reforms proposed for election evils in the United States are very various. Many of these we discuss in particular articles. They vary with the various conceptions of the cause of the evil. Professor Commons finds a main cause of the evil in the fact that American representatives must be elected almost universally from the district in which they live. This limits the possible candidates and gives the machine the chance to pull its local wires and appeal exclusively to local interests. He would, therefore, in part reform elections by doing away with this proviso. In company with many others, he would also introduce proportional representation, for a discussion of which see that article. To others the Referendum and the Initiative are the one way of escape. (See REFERENDUM.) Under the present system, independence seems a sham.

Professor Giddings (*Political Science Quarterly*, vol. vii., p. 124) asserts that "the total possible gain or loss to a political party through strictly independent voting does not exceed, under the most favorable circumstances, 5 per cent. of the maximum total vote of a presidential year." This statement is sustained by even the unprecedented "landslides" of the past six years.

It is in the exaggerated weight of small factions holding the balance of power between the two parties that is to be found the secret of the corrupt influences already described. The great majority of the voters are conservative, and do not readily change their party. Especially in close districts, therefore, interested elements can dictate terms to both parties. This, too, gives the bribable vote an influence far in excess of its proportions.

Mr. Albert Stickney, in his *A True Republic*, finds the cause of the dominance of party in the term system. He says:

"When we said (as we did in effect in our constitution) all public servants shall depend for keeping their offices, not on whether they do their work well or ill, but on carrying the next election, then, instead of giving them each a separate interest to do his own work well, we gave them all one common interest to carry the next election. We made it certain that they would combine and form parties for the purpose of carrying elections.

"But there is another point. The knowledge which all men had that at the end of a fixed time there would be a large number of vacancies, made it certain that other men who were not in office would combine for the purpose of getting out the men who were in office, and getting in themselves. The term system was certain then to create two great parties for the purpose of carrying elections. The men who were in formed a party to keep office. The men who were out formed a party to get office."

Term System.

For other conceptions of the cause of the evil

other cures are proposed. It is proposed that elections be made more rare and men be elected for longer terms. It is advocated that fewer offices should be made elective, and that more should be by appointment, and, above all, by civil service (*q.v.*). It is proposed by not a few to limit the suffrage under one form or another. It is said that national and municipal elections should be put on different days. It is increasingly felt that the methods of controlling the primaries should be changed by law. Many ways of attempting to control primaries have been proposed. Most of the States have laws on the subject, but none are effective. The best are those of Kentucky and Missouri. In 1879-80 Kentucky passed a law calling for direct nominations at the primaries without a delegate convention. This simplifies machinery, but has not reformed it.

The Missouri law—applicable to St. Louis—provides for holding primaries under the supervision of the regular election machinery, with regular judges and clerks under the law of the State. But the law is not mandatory, and as the expenses are to be met by the parties holding the caucus, parties are not anxious to be at an expense to secure their own reform. A bill has been proposed in Illinois compelling caucuses to be held under State control. For a review of these and other proposals, see an article by Edward Insley in the *Arena* for June, 1897. Others believe that the primaries can only be reformed by requiring the use in them of the secret ballot.

Radicals, however, usually argue that none of these proposals really go to the bottom of the question. If elections were less frequent and terms of office longer, the machine would still rule, and having got its men into office, could better entrench themselves in their long stay. Making offices, too, subject to appointment instead of election can do little good if those who make the appointments can be dishonestly elected. Limiting the suffrage will do little good. It is the rich and educated who buy votes who are at least as dangerous as the poor who sell their votes. (See PLUTOCRACY; DEMOCRACY.) The separation of national and municipal politics can avail nothing if a machine rules both. The primaries undoubtedly should be controlled, but even were nominations as well as elections by secret ballot, interested professional politicians could always defeat uninterested desultory secret voting. The one way to secure electoral reform, says the radical, is to interest the average voter, and the one way to interest the voter is to give him a program that appeals at once to his loyalty and his interests.

The respectable and wealthy "reformers" who are trying to reform American politics do not succeed because they are investors themselves in the various gas companies, car companies, etc., that rule our cities and debauch our politics. Expand the function of the city, raise its ideal, and it shall lead to purer politics. Such is the radical view. (See CITY; CORRUPTION.)

GREAT BRITAIN.

The conduct and conditions of elections in Great Britain are quite different from those in

the United States. The qualifications for the franchise are more complicated in Great Britain, but the elections are less frequent and for a smaller number of offices, so that they do not give the same opportunity to professional politicians, while the very strict *Corrupt Practices Act (q.v.)* makes illegitimate campaigns too dangerous to be profitable. Again, the fact that parliamentary elections do not come at stated times, and that the methods of nominating candidates are very simple, give comparatively little opportunity for the development of a machine, tho there are some indications that the multiplying of officers to be elected is developing more of a machine.

Qualifications for the suffrage differ in England and Scotland, etc., and differ for parliamentary, municipal, and school board elections. In Scotland rates are levied on all householders, and for the parliamentary elections all men who have paid their rates or lodgers who occupy quarters worth £10 a year, or all occupiers of non-residence property worth £10 a year, or owners of town property worth £10 a year, provided the men live within seven miles of the town, can vote. This allows some to have more than one vote and disenfranchises very many of the poorer householders, who dodge their rate and lose their vote. It is really a rate-payer's enfranchisement. Says Albert Shaw (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, p. 42): "The whole body of men, who are ignorant, vicious, and irresponsible, is practically outside the pale of politics in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen." The municipal franchise is the same, except that women who are occupiers or rate-payers may vote, and that no man may vote in more than one ward. The school board franchise is practically the broadest of all, because it is not dependent on the payment of rates, and because the ownership or occupancy of property worth £4 a year is the limit, and not £10, as above. In 1891 the Glasgow parliamentary voting list numbered 78,738 names; the municipal list added the names of 15,448 women; the school board list numbered 141,152.

In England, the legal qualifications are practically the same, but they work differently, because while in Scotland the rates are collected directly and separately from owners and occupiers, in England the rates for the tenements of less value are collected from the landlords at a 30 per cent. discount, the landlord charging it to his tenant. There is, therefore, for the poorer tenants less chance of dodging the rates, and so they more frequently vote. In Birmingham, for 95,500 inhabited houses, Mr. Shaw finds 81,100 parliamentary voters. This system of rate-paying largely disenfranchises the unmarried men. In the parliamentary borough of Birmingham, out of a registration of 72,000, there were only 400 lodgers on the list. The list of voters being drawn from the rate-payers' list, very many lose their franchise because they have moved since the list was made, especially when the election comes late in the year. A late election is said to favor the Conservative Party.

Such limitations on the franchise as this make

The Suffrage.

elections in Great Britain very different from those in America. The fact, too, that elections do not all come at the same time attracts general attention to each separate election, and makes dishonesty more difficult, while extending the interest of all classes. The English system of "heckling," or of having the candidate appear before his constituents with any one free to question him, is often only a farce, but some consider that it interests and educates the separate voters. The main reason, however, for purer elections is the important Corrupt Practices Act (*q. v.*), which limits the amount of campaign expenses that may be incurred, and compels the candidate to have his expenditures all go through the hands of one man, who must make a rigid report, to be scrutinized by members of the other party. This and the ease of nominations, with the irregularity and comparative infrequency of elections, presents the development of the party machine system.

Mr. Albert Shaw (*idem*, p. 47) thus describes the nominating and polling machinery after the election writs have been made out :

"The names of candidates must be left at the clerk's office, inscribed upon official blanks, a week before the election. Accompanying each

name must be the signature of a 'proposer,' a 'seconder,' and eight

Nominations. other citizens. Only such persons as have been nominated in this way may be voted for. Nominations

being all in, the list is at once printed and conspicuously bulletined. The announcement contains the full names, residences (street and number), and occupations of the nominees, and the names of the proposer and seconder in each case. If only one nomination has been made in any ward, the nomination is itself the election, and the polls will not be opened in that ward.

This is a good and sensible system upon its face ; but experience alone can tell us how any piece of political machinery will actually work. Ought this system to be productive of many nominations, or of few? The most natural inference would seem to be that its adoption would increase the number of candidates, since any ten men may secure for an eleventh man, without expense, the official announcement of candidacy, and the placing of the candidate's name upon the ballot papers.

"But this inference is not justified by the facts. In recent municipal elections, altho party issues have been introduced to a quite unprecedented extent and the number of ward contests has been materially increased by the unwonted employment of the occasion for a testing of strength on the Home Rule question, it is nevertheless true that contests have been confined to a minority of the wards, taking all the towns together. This must seem to the American observer a remarkable state of things. It means that, in a majority of the wards, public opinion had in advance agreed so decisively upon a particular man that nobody was nominated against him, and the entire expense and distraction of a contest at the polls was thus obviated. Closer inquiry will reveal the fact that by far the greater number of these cases have to do with the reelection of men already in the council.

There is every year a considerable list of towns which, in spite of the exceptionally acute condition of party feeling throughout the country, renew one third of their councilors without a single ward contest, all the new members obtaining their seats by virtue of unopposed nominations. There were not less than 50 such fortunate towns in November, 1893. These are not often the large towns. . . .

"The preliminary selection of party candidates usually rests with ward committees, candidature being accepted and ratified by the voters in open ward meetings, where municipal questions are discussed. The American primary election or party caucus system is quite unknown, and in ordinary cases the distinctions of party are not strenuously emphasized. The councilor from a decidedly Liberal ward is likely to be a Liberal ; but he is in most cases as entirely acceptable, so far as municipal matters are concerned, to the Conservatives as to the Liberals, and he will never in any case be opposed by a nominee of the other party who is brought forward for the sole purpose of maintaining party organization in the ward. An Englishman is not often willing to be put up for a place merely to be sacrificed. The extension of the franchise is resulting in more elaborate and more democratic forms of party organization in England ; and it is not unlikely that the future may see party lines more closely drawn in municipal elections than they have been up to the present time—a prospect not by any means welcome.

"Meanwhile, however, the freedom of nomination is a great safeguard. So long as ten citizens of a ward can place a candidate on the official voting paper, there is no great danger from party machinery."

The method of balloting need not be described here. It is secret balloting. (See AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM.)

FRANCE.

The French electoral system is quite different from either that of the United States or Great Britain. Here, again, we do not have the appearance of the party machine, as in the United States, tho the Government often plays an unfortunate part through its use of *secret service* money in aiding candidates favorable to the administration. There is not much direct bribery, on account of the strictness of the law ; but the candidate who can spend for campaign posters, meetings, or sometimes for bodies of supporters, who will keep his meetings in order and disturb or break up the meetings of his rival, has an undue advantage. One reason, perhaps, that the party machine has not developed is that the French governments have been so unstable and parties broken into so many groups that there has been small chance for strong parties to develop. A more effectual reason, however, is the use of the *second ballot*. According to the law, there is no election unless some candidate has secured at least one quarter of the registered voters, or at least a half plus one of the votes cast. If no candidate has received this another polling must be held

**Second
Ballot.**

a fortnight later, when a simple majority of the ballots cast suffice for a choice. The result of this is that on the first election day votes may be scattered among different candidates without risk, for they all tell against the common enemy, and on the second election they can all be rallied for that candidate of a party who has received the highest vote. The first ballot thus serves as a democratic way of nominating candidates, with little need of conventions, campaign committees, etc. Elections were formerly by the *scrutin de liste*, or the voting for all the deputies allotted to a department by all in the department. Now, however, some elections are universal, or the election of one candidate by each district.

References: See the books quoted in this article.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE, THE.—The Constitution of the United States (see PRESIDENT) calls for the election of the President by electors chosen by the people of each State. This body of electors is called the Electoral College. Each State chooses a number of Presidential electors equal to the number of its representatives in both Houses of Congress. These electors meet in each State on a day fixed by law and give their votes in writing for President and Vice-President. The votes are transmitted, sealed, to the Capitol, and there opened by the President of the Senate in the presence of both Houses and counted. The electors cannot be members of Congress nor holders of any federal office.

The aim of this law was to secure the election of the President in a quiet, deliberate way by trusted representatives of the people. It was feared that the masses might not elect the best

men if left wholly to themselves, and that popular direct elections might lead to disturbances. It was thought, too, that as the electors' votes are counted promiscuously, and not by States, each elector's voice would have its weight. He might be in a minority in his own State, but his vote would, nevertheless, tell, because it would be added to those given by electors in other States for the same candidate.

No part of their scheme seems to have been regarded by the constitution-makers of 1787 with more complacency than this, altho no part had caused them so much perplexity. No part has so utterly belied their expectations. The Presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine. They have no discretion, but are chosen under a pledge to vote for certain men—a pledge of honor merely, but a pledge which has never (since 1796) been violated. The plan, too, has done positive harm. It has made the election virtually an election by States, for the present system of choosing electors by "general ticket" over the whole State causes the whole weight of a State to be thrown into the scale of one candidate and party. Hence in a Presidential election the struggle concentrates itself in the doubtful States, where the parties are nearly equally divided, and is languid in States where a distinct majority either way may be anticipated, because, since it makes no difference whether a minority be large or small, it is not worth while to struggle hard to increase a minority which cannot be turned into a majority. Hence also a man may be, and has been, elected President by a minority of popular votes. (See PRESIDENT.)

The following is the electoral vote of the States as based upon the Apportionment Act of February 7, 1891:

STATES.	Electoral Votes.	STATES.	Electoral Votes.	STATES.	Electoral Votes.
Alabama.....	11	Maryland.....	8	Pennsylvania.....	32
Arkansas.....	8	Massachusetts.....	15	Rhode Island.....	4
California.....	9	Michigan.....	14	South Carolina.....	9
Colorado.....	4	Minnesota.....	9	South Dakota.....	4
Connecticut.....	6	Mississippi.....	9	Tennessee.....	12
Delaware.....	3	Missouri.....	17	Texas.....	15
Florida.....	4	Montana.....	3	Utah (now admitted).....	3
Georgia.....	13	Nebraska.....	8	Vermont.....	4
Idaho.....	3	Nevada.....	3	Virginia.....	12
Illinois.....	24	New Hampshire.....	4	Washington.....	4
Indiana.....	15	New Jersey.....	10	West Virginia.....	6
Iowa.....	13	New York.....	36	Wisconsin.....	12
Kansas.....	10	North Carolina.....	11	Wyoming.....	3
Kentucky.....	13	North Dakota.....	3		
Louisiana.....	8	Ohio.....	23		
Maine.....	6	Oregon.....	4	Total.....	447

Electoral votes necessary to a choice.....224

ELECTRICITY.—It is a common thought that we are passing out of the age of steam into the age of electricity. Not a few believe that this will change the whole industrial situation. Some believe that it will make unnecessary the great factory with its attendant evils, etc. Says David A. Wells (*Recent Economic Changes*, p. 400):

"Dr. Werner Siemens, the celebrated German scientist and inventor, in a recent address at Berlin on

Science and the Labor Question, claimed that the necessity for extensive factories and workshops—involving large capital and an almost 'slavish' discipline for labor—to secure the maximum cheapness in production, 'was due, to a great extent, to the yet imperfect development of the art of practical mechanics,' and that mechanical skill will ultimately effect 'a return to the system (now almost extinct) of independent, self-sustaining domiciliary labor' by the introduction of cheap, compact, easily set up and operated labor-saving machinery into the smaller workshops and the homes of the working men. Should the difficulties now attendant upon the transmission of electricity from

points where it can be cheaply generated, and its safe and effective subdivision and distribution as a motive force, be overcome (as it not improbable they ultimately will be), thus doing away with the necessity of multiplying expensive and cumbersome machinery—steam-engines, boilers, dams, reservoirs, and water-wheels—for the local generation and application of mechanical power, there can be no doubt that most radical changes in the use of power for manufacturing purposes will speedily follow, and that the anticipations of Dr. Siemens, as to the change in the relations of machinery to its operatives, may at no distant day be realized."

This is not, however, so sure. It is more than the use of steam or water power that produces the large factory. (See DIVISION OF LABOR.) When one realizes the large plants that electricity has already of itself necessitated, and the reappearance in electric works of most of the old industrial problems, one cannot be so sanguine of electricity's solving the factory question. Electricity, however, may lead to healthier and more roomy factories, with its easily transmitted power.

Another way in which electricity may affect society is by rendering possible cooperative housekeeping. When the telephone can enter every home and electric motors can be in every house, many domestic operations, like sewing, etc., can be managed by electricity, and meals can be ordered at cooperative ovens by telephonic order. It is in such ways that many believe that our "domestic problem" is to be largely worked out. In any case, it cannot be doubted that electricity will immensely affect, as it has already very far affected, the social problem. When one realizes how far the weather signal service has affected and may affect agriculture and navigation, how commerce to-day is dependent upon the telegraph, one can see how wide already are its results. It has well-nigh displaced the horse-car. In lighting it is still more operative, rendering possible many industrial operations otherwise impossible. Yet the applications of electricity are still in their infancy. Says Charles D. Lanier in the *Review of Reviews* (July, 1893), in an article on Edison (p. 50):

"Those who are greatest in the march of mechanical progress confidently predict that future discoveries will be as incredible to us as the present science would be to our forbears of two centuries back. One single further secret won from nature will open a practically limitless field for electrical introduction, and will probably be more decided in its quantitative results, as the technicians say, than any invention the world has seen. It is the direct production of electricity from oxygen and coal (carbon). At present we burn coal to obtain steam, which is transmuted into mechanical energy and thence into electricity. Before the energy of the coal reaches the dynamo, six sevenths of its power are lost, even under the very best conditions, and afterward one tenth of the remainder. Find a way to dispense with the steam engine in this making of electricity, and we have multiplied several times the available mechanical energy of the world. Thousands of the brightest and most earnest engineers and chemists are now striving, generally in secret, to obtain this gigantic result—beside which the philosopher's stone was but a bauble. Edison has worked on it, and confidently predicts that the discovery will come.

"When we shall have made this eternal saving in our fuel supply, the Atlantic steamships will need only a snug little coal bin for 250 tons of coal instead of one for 2500 tons. There will be no more forced draughts, and grimy, consumptive stokers, and the five-day record will be an uninteresting reminiscence. The great English shipbuilders can already construct a

vessel to go 40 knots an hour, if only she could burn 2000 tons of coal a day; then she will only have to burn 200. Then it will take only one twentieth of an ounce of coal to carry a ton one mile!

"I asked Mr. Edison what, in his opinion, was the practical speed limit on the horizon of electrical locomotion, and he answered, 'Perhaps 150 miles an hour.' He made at Menlo Park one of the first important experiments in electrical railways, exhibiting one in 1882 that carried cars 40 miles per hour. But before we come to moving heavy trains by electricity, to which there are serious, though not insuperable obstacles, he believes that we shall shoot our mail through the country by some electrical device, of telpherage construction possibly.

"The terrible danger of collision with icebergs will be lessened through an application of that same small carbon button which registered a millionth of a degree of heat. An apparatus has already been arranged to effect this—the nearing bergs announcing their presence through the increasing cold, which the tasimeter records. Collisions and other dangers of navigation are rendered much less formidable, too, by the powerful electric search lights, equal to many thousand candle power, that disclose objects for miles about in their mighty glare.

"A hundred years hence we shall almost certainly be flying. The greatest difficulty at present in the way of that pleasing performance is the weight of the motor and fuel relative to the power necessary. The chemical production of electricity will sweep away that obstacle by making possible the construction of motors weighing but a small fraction of the lightest now constructed, and by effecting an even more decided saving in fuel.

"As one result of the flying machine among the many which it will affect even revolutionary in character, a writer has pointed out that we shall probably be delivered from the institution of war, since such terrible destruction will be possible with a corps of fighting aeroplanes that no nation will dare to risk it.

Farming by electricity has been successfully tried in the Southern States, and it is not improbable that we shall see the agriculturist of the future sawing his wood, cutting his ensilage, shelling his corn, threshing his wheat and running his creamery with power from a small electric plant owned in cooperation with a half dozen of his neighbors.

"We should be whisking our heavy baggage, too unwieldy for the aeroplanes, through the country by electricity applied to some telpherage or other system. We shall be cooking by electricity, and heating and lighting our houses, our cars and our ships. We shall not only cook our meals; we shall probably serve them, too, to judge from an experiment made not long ago in Baltimore with much éclat.

"If we hear by electricity—through the telephone—why, do these undismayed men ask, can we not see at a distance by the same agency? The vibrations of light are, to be sure, many times more rapid than those of sound; but it is merely a question of obtaining a diaphragm which will respond to those vibrations. May we not look forward to seeing, from our easy arm-chair in New York, the latest drama at the Théâtre Français?

"And since hearing is but a tickling of the brain by vibrations, may we not, if our apparatus for introducing these vibrations to the brain-centers gets out of order—if, in short we are deaf—lead the impulses to the brain through the bones of the head, by electrical means?"

To show how rapidly progress is being made in electrical science we quote one paragraph from an account in the *World Almanac* for 1896 of the progress in this science made in 1895:

"Power transmission by electricity experienced a veritable boom during 1895. The cheapest method of generating electric current to-day is by means of water-power, which is made to drive water-wheels, these in turn operating dynamos. Companies are being organized all over the country to develop the power of every available waterfall. The great advances made in the last few months in the perfection of what is known as the 'multiphase' or 'polyphase' system, has rendered it possible to transmit current to places many miles distant from the water-power. The longest distance over which current is transmitted is 30 miles, at Bodie, Cal. At Sacramento, Cal., 3000 horse-power is transmitted 20 miles. During the year about

30 plants were installed to transmit from 100 to 10,000 horse-power over distances varying from one quarter of a mile to 15 miles. All these employ the alternating current in one of its many forms. The completion of the great plant of the Niagara Falls Power Company, which utilizes the immense power of Niagara Falls for the generation of current, was fittingly celebrated early in the year. The ultimate capacity of this plant as now built is 100,000 horse-power. The Company is already supplying over 10,000 horse-power to manufacturing plants which have been established at the Falls, and it is expected that Buffalo, and perhaps even New York City, may receive electricity from the same source."

Thus realizing the immense part that electricity has to play in the future, it becomes of infinite moment to ask who shall own these important powers. Is electrical invention to add but another instance of the truth of John Stuart Mill's assertion (*Political Economy*, Book IV., chap. vi.) that "hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being"? Is the motor man on an electric car better off than the driver of a horse car? He has more responsibility and care. Is he at all proportionally better remunerated? It is worth noting that there have developed in the United States electric trusts and combinations with vast capitals and extended monopolies.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING, MUNICIPALIZATION OF.—(For the general principles involved, see NATURAL MONOPOLIES; MUNICIPALISM; SOCIALISM.) We present in this article a study of the facts from standpoints favorable and unfavorable to municipalization. From the favorable standpoint we quote some tables and portions of an article by Robert J. Finley in the *Review of Reviews* for February, 1893. Says Mr. Finley:

"Altho it has been less than six years since the field of electric lighting was first entered by the municipality, more than 125 cities in the United States now own and operate plants. The movement has not been a local one. It has extended across the country from Bangor, Me., to Galveston, Tex. So far this movement has been confined chiefly to the smaller cities, but the larger cities are beginning to discover that the element of size is not necessarily a bar to their entrance upon the same course. . . .

"The number of cities owning electric lighting works would be even greater than at present were it not that in many States municipal corporations are prohibited by constitutional provisions from incurring debt beyond a small per cent. of the taxable basis of the community. Inability to issue bonds prevented Milwaukee in 1880 from establishing a city plant. Almost invariably when cities thus restricted in their debt-creating power have applied to the legislature for privilege to borrow money with which to construct works, representatives of private corporations have been on hand to oppose and, if possible, to defeat the bills. . . .

The statistics and information relating to municipal ownership, given in this article, have been obtained by direct inquiry and are based upon official and authoritative statements coming from the various cities owning electric-lighting plants. They are taken as the result of many facts secured—as to cost and full capacity of city plant, value of property occupied, number and candle-power of arc lights, and number of lights burned, and cost of each to the city.

Cost of Municipal Electric Lighting. Of 75 cities from which data were gathered only 23 furnish facts from which the cost of operation and the value of the plants and buildings can be determined, and for these it has been found necessary, for purposes of completeness and accuracy, to tabulate the operations of the plants for the fiscal year 1889-90. The returns for the succeeding years show, so far as they are conclusive, that the cities have been able to reduce the cost much below the average given in Table I.

"From this table it is seen that the average cost of each arc light owned and directly operated by 25 cities is \$53.04 a year. In the case of only three or four of the cities does it appear that interest on the investment has been included. Obviously, account should be taken of both interest and depreciation of property, which items, computed at 12 per cent. of the total value of the 23 plants and buildings, would add \$33.60 to the first cost, making the average final cost to the 23 cities operating electric lighting plants \$86.64 per arc light per year.

"There is one important factor that has not been considered in this cost—namely, the profits which many of the cities receive from light supplied to private and commercial houses. Staunton, Va., for instance, in addition to lighting its streets, derives a revenue from this source almost equal to the cost of operating its plant. Hannibal, Mo., draws an income of \$4000 a year from rented lamps, and Chariton, Ia., it is said, earns \$15,000 a year in the same way. Eighty dollars per light per year will be found to be much nearer the real cost of municipal electric lighting in the United States, if the receipts from commercial lamps are deducted.

"Table II. gives the contract prices paid by 29 cities to private electric lighting companies during the same period covered by Table I. It is compiled from a Government report on gas and electric lighting, published as *Senate Miscellaneous Document, No. 56, Fifty-first Congress, Second Session*, and the aim in its preparation has been to select from the parts of the country in which the 23 municipal works are situated private plants having the same arc light capacity. For instance, Peoria, Ill., with a capacity of 233 arc lights, is set over against Bloomington, Ill., with 240 arcs. Twenty-nine cities rather than 23 have been taken, for the reason that in six of the cities most nearly fulfilling the conditions upon which the selections were based, the cost appears to be abnormally high. The average yearly price charged for each of the arc lights by the 29 private companies is shown to be \$106.01, or nearly \$20 a lamp more than it costs the 23 cities to supply themselves with this service. This price is only \$2.79 greater than the average charged by all the private companies, large and small, in the 22 States covered by the tables, and cannot be regarded as due to exceptional conditions.* Most of the contract prices given for the private lamps still obtain, and therefore the two tables fairly represent the present relative costs under municipal and private control. The number of hours each plant was operated is given in the tables for the benefit of those who care to make a more detailed comparison.

"This comparison of city and private plants of equal arc light capacity, and subject to the same territorial conditions, is the fairest that can be made, excepting, perhaps, that between the cost of the same light under the two systems. Fortunately even this test can be applied, as several of the cities now owning works were previously to assuming control furnished with light by private corporations. Until March, 1889, the city of Elgin, Ill., paid local companies at the rate of \$266.66 per arc light per year for service with which it now supplies itself for less than one quarter of this sum. Municipal electric lighting costs Lewiston, Me., only one third, and Galveston, Tex., one half the contract prices these cities formerly gave to private companies. Bangor, Me., saves \$100 per light by the change, and so on. If the reports of the mayors of various cities having had such an experience are to be believed, the change has, in every instance, brought more efficient service, with one or two exceptions, due to special and temporary causes.

"Many of the municipal electric lighting plants are operated in connection with municipal water works, and this is one of the chief reasons why cities furnish themselves with light more cheaply than private companies perform this service. By uniting these two services the running expenses of the plant are made comparatively light. One building often suffices for both water and lighting plants, and the same power is utilized. Several cities have found it necessary to add only two or three employees to the water works force.

"Then, too, the municipal plant is not operated for profit, while the prices of the private companies are regulated to yield a return on the investment. Often

* The list given in the Government report on Gas and Electric Lighting was taken as the basis of calculation.

Comparison of Prices Charged.

the item of profits represents the only difference between the cost of municipal and of private electric lighting.

"But even if companies could do the lighting as cheaply as municipalities, it is a doubtful question whether or not they would. Electric lighting is one of the services the rates of which are practically precluded from the regulating influence of competition. On account of the limited number of companies that can

operate in the same territory at one time, free and natural competition is made impossible. Rival companies occupying the same field may induce a temporary lowering of the price, but the causes which render competition inoperative make easily possible a combination of the one, two or three companies; and no one needs to be told that in the end, if not at the time, the consumer pays for the multiplication of engines, dynamos, lines and linemen.

TABLE I.

CITIES OPERATING ELECTRIC LIGHTING PLANTS.	Number of Arc Lights, 2,000 Candle-power.	Period of Illumination.	Total Cost of Plant, including Buildings.	Cost per Arc Light per Year.
Little Rock, Ark.....	111	8 hours.	\$35,000	\$54.00
Aurora, Ill.....	81	7 hours, 36 minutes.	43,000	66.69
Bloomington, Ill.....	240	All night.	80,000	50.00
Decatur, Ill.....	61	Dark nights.	21,000	49.18
Elgin, Ill.....	80	10 hours.	23,000	43.00
Moline, Ill.....	80	All night.	21,000	53.00
Paris, Ill.....	60	7 hours.	9,600	40.00
Madison, Ind.....	85	Moon, all night.	25,000	58.50
Popeka, Kan.....	184	All night.	50,000	97.50
Bowling Green, Ky.....	60	Moon, all night.	15,000	50.00
Bangor, Me.....	140	All night.	35,000	45.00
Lewiston, Me.....	100	Moon, all night.	15,000	54.75
Bay City, Mich.....	143	Moon, all night.	30,000	58.00
Ypsilanti, Mich.....	80	Moon, to 1 A.M.	24,000	23.60
St. Joseph, Mo.....	208	8 hours.	55,000	72.00
Gallon, O.....	73	Moon, all night.	23,000	35.00 (est.)
Marietta, O.....	65	Dark to midnight.	13,000	36.00
Chambersburg, Pa.....	62	6 hours.	34,500	45.00
Easton, Pa.....	82	All dark nights.	20,000	87.00
Meadville, Pa.....	74	7 hours.	20,000	47.43
Titusville, Pa.....	60	10 hours.	9,000	40.00 (est.)
Galveston, Tex.....	175	7 hours.	40,000	87.60
Staunton, Va.....	50 { 1200 candle power. }	10 hours.	17,000	24.00
Average cost per light per year of arcs operated by 23 cities.....				\$53.04
Interest and depreciation at 12 per cent. total cost of plant and buildings of 23 city-owned electric lighting works, per light.....				33.60
Total average cost per light.....				\$86.64

TABLE II.

CITIES SUPPLIED BY PRIVATE COMPANIES.	Number of Arc Lights, 2,000 Candle-power.	Period of Illumination.	Contract Price per Arc Light per Year.
Texarkana, Ark.....	31	All night.	\$160.00
Danville, Ill.....	80	As ordered.	80.00
Jacksonville, Ill.....	71	Moon, all night.	96.00
Joliet, Ill.....	121	All night.	124.00
Peoria, Ill.....	233	Moon, all night.	145.00
Springfield, Ill.....	130	Moon, all night.	137.00
Streator, Ill.....	60	All night.	96.00
Kokomo, Ind.....	56	All night.	100.00
Logansport, Ind.....	85	Moon, all night.	100.00
Arkansas City, Kan.....	35	To 12 P.M.	72.00
Fort Scott, Kan.....	75	Moon schedule to 1 A.M.	80.00
Owensborough, Ky.....	32	Moon schedule to 1 A.M.	110.00
Augusta, Me.....	68	9 hours.	76.33
Bath, Me.....	31	To 1 A.M.	125.00
Grand Rapids, Mich.....	120	All night.	109.50
Lansing, Mich.....	100	Moon, all night.	100.00
Kansas City, Mo.....	128	All night.	200.75
Sedalia, Mo.....	92	Moon, all night.	87.00
Springfield, Mo.....	54	Moon, all night.	136.00
Bellaire, O.....	52	Moon, all night.	90.00
Tremont, O.....	70	All night.	90.00
Hillsborough, O.....	63	Moon, all night.	70.00
Allentown, Pa.....	98	All dark nights.	100.00
Lebanon, Pa.....	60	To 12 P.M.	80.00
Newcastle, Pa.....	50	All night.	80.00
South Bethlehem, Pa.....	55	Moon to 12 P.M.	81.82
Dallas, Tex.....	165	All night.	95.85
Houston, Tex.....	92	All night.	150.00
Parkersburg, Va.....	58	All night.	102.00
Average cost per light per year of arcs operated by 29 private companies.....			\$106.01

NOTE.—All night, 10¼ hours. Moon, all night, 6 hours. Till 12 o'clock, 5¼ hours.

The argument against municipal lighting is usually based on the corruption of city governments and the undesirability of extending officialism and bureaucracy. (For this general argument, *pro* and *con*, see INDIVIDUALISM ; SOCIALISM.) We quote here an article on *Cost Statistics of Public Electric Lighting*, by Victor Rosewater (Publications of the American Statistical Association, vol. iii) showing what can be said against statistics which prove the desirability of municipal ownership. Mr. Rosewater says :

"Among the various papers published upon the subject of municipal control of public electric lighting the showing made by the statistics of cost is always an important factor. Whatever be the point of view of the writers, they seem to present their own figures and yet to arrive at essentially inconsistent results. What I propose to do here, then, is simply to touch upon a few of the limitations which must be borne in mind by any one who wishes to give these statistics their due scientific weight.

"What is the cost of an electric street lamp to a city? The answer naturally suggesting itself would be that it is the contract price paid to the lighting corporation. This is evidently the idea that controlled the officials of the Eleventh Census when they compiled the materials for Census Bulletin No. 100. No extended consideration is needed to lead to the conclusion that these figures are absolutely without significance. The fatal defect lies in the fact that they do not show the amount of lighting service. In one place the lamps may burn but 5 hours nightly for only 20 nights in the month ; in another they may be operated all of every night. Even overlooking minor omissions, which will be pointed out in a moment, any comparison of absolute contract prices is fallacious at the outset. . . .

"Leaving aside the census bulletin, we may, nevertheless, still find an authoritative presentation of contract prices of public electric lighting that does not have its chief merit in giving too little information. I refer to a report of the Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

"Here, notwithstanding the fact that only those cities have been selected in which the lamps burn a period popularly known as 'all of every night,' the actual period of illumination is given in each instance. We also have data upon several collateral points. But to compare the cost of an electric lamp supplied under a 10-year contract with that of one supplied under monthly agreements cannot be strictly accurate.

"Again, the location of the wires may be a factor influencing the cost of street illumination to a city, in which the municipal authorities compel the franchised corporations to place their wires under ground. What they in fact do is to compel an increased capitalization of the private company in order to meet the extraordinary expenditure. . . .

"Analogous to the distinction just noted are the differences founded in the location of the lamps. These differences take on three distinct forms with reference to the system of hanging, with reference to the number of lamps, and with reference to the relative profitableness of the district. . . .

"If we turn now to the cost statistics of electric lighting under municipal ownership of the plant, we strike a set of complications no less serious. At the very beginning of every such investigation we find ourselves in the chaos of American municipal book-keeping. When no two cities employ the same system of accounts, when in the same city the reports of different departments furnish irreconcilable data, the statistician must seek to extricate himself as best he can. It would scarcely be stating the case too strongly if we should say that out of the probable 150 municipalities owning their own electric lighting plants not 5 could present an intelligible showing of their operations for the period of one year. The blame for this does not attach entirely to the city officials, for conditions exist in many localities which render a clear financial account a thing next to impossibility.

"The special difficulties arising in this connection are of a twofold character—those relating to the cost of the installation, and those relating to the annual operating expenses. In most instances the bonded indebtedness incurred for the particular purpose does not cover the entire capital outlay. To add in the proper amount of interest charges requires, then, an assumed capitalization. Where the plant is conducted

in conjunction with other monopolies of service, with the water-works, for example, we have a system of joint production which defies a statistical separation of expenditures. The same obstacle presents itself in relation to the operating expenses. . . .

"It has sometimes been attempted to compare the cost of electric lighting in the same city under contract with private companies and under municipal ownership. Figures of this kind are valid so far as they go. But even where the city changes from one régime to another, by buying out the private corporation or by constructing its own plant, we can never be certain that the conditions remain unchanged, that we are comparing similar services. Mr. R. J. Finley has, in a recent magazine article, adopted still a different procedure. He has compiled two tables representing the two systems, each table showing the cost of lighting in a number of cities specially chosen with reference to geographical situation and industrial conditions, in order to counterbalance the one against the other. The plan is ingenious. Sufficient data are given to convey a comprehensive idea of the situation, but Mr. Finley also gives way to the irresistible impulse to generalize with an average. His average, like the others, is misleading and meaningless.

"If this review of the cost statistics of public electric lighting can serve any useful purpose, it must be to emphasize the fact that in such matters simplicity is deception. It is useless to seek to represent a complicated process by a single numerical figure. The statistics themselves are valuable, but must be employed as bases of comparison only with the utmost care, and with due allowance for the many limitations which affect their accuracy."

It will be seen that Mr. Rosewater does not question the correctness of Mr. Finley's facts which we have given above, only warning us against general averages and broad statements. Perhaps the best means of arriving at the truth, however, is comparing the experiences of the same cities under private and municipal operation. Care must be taken, as Mr. Rosewater says, in instituting this and all comparisons ; but with due care it is instructive. Professor Frank Parsons, in a series of articles in the *Arena* for 1895, gives the following table as to the cost per lamp before and after public ownership, the "after" service being the same as or better than the service it replaced :

	Before.	After.
Bangor, Me	\$150	\$48
Lewiston, Me	182	55
Peabody, Mass	185	62
Bay City, Mich	110	53
Huntington, Ind.	146	50
Goshen, Ind	156	77
Bloomington, Ill.	111	56
Chicago, Ill.	250	91
Elgin, Ill.	266	43
Aurora, Ill.	326	70
Fairfield, Ia.	378	70
Marshalltown, Ia.	125	27
Jacksonville, Fla.	24	5

Of this table he says :

"The statements rest upon official reports and returns of municipal officers. The figures of the "after" column represent the cost per lamp per year as ascertained in the first two or three years after public ownership began, except where subsequent years show a higher cost than the early years, in which case the said higher yearly cost has been taken. As a rule the cost in later years is less than the cost in the first years of public ownership ; for example, the present cost per lamp per year in Bangor is only \$24, in Lewiston, \$43, in Bay City, \$46, etc. The case of Chicago is peculiar. The public plant was started in 1887. Census bulletin 100 places the cost in Chicago at \$68 per lamp, but this is the average rate for all the electric lamps, rented as well as public, and of all candle powers. Professor Ely's *Problems of To-day*, third edition, in an appendix

written in 1890, puts the cost in Chicago at \$55. In 1893 and 1894, the department reports make the cost \$96.

"The public-owned Chicago electric-light plant works under a great disadvantage from not being able to secure from the legislature a permit to sell commercial light. Therefore it has only one lamp for each 500 feet of wire. A mile of wire dissipates as much energy as a 2000 candle-power light. The men are only worked eight hours, are paid \$2 a day, and two shifts are employed, while the private plant works one shift and pays less—\$35 to \$50 a month. The private company lights 56 lamps for \$137 each, in the district where wires have to be buried, and by a new contract 230 lamps at \$105 a year each in other parts of the city. The cost of the city-owned lights, nearly all of which are in the district where wires have to be buried, is about \$96, and would be much less if the plant could be fully utilized.

"All the plants of this table confine themselves to street lighting, except the Peabody and Jacksonville plants. In Peabody the superintendent is able to separate with satisfactory accuracy the cost of the street lamps from the cost of commercial lighting. In Jacksonville, the lamps are incandescent. The private company has been charging \$24 a year for all-night service. The public plant, which has just been built,

offers to supply the same service at \$9, and the cost of operation is estimated at less than \$5 a year. The commissioners have carefully studied the workings of municipal plants, and are confident of a good profit at the prices they advertise. The plant does not aim to be entirely cooperative—it is cooperative in respect to the street lamps, but expects a profit from commercial lighting. This expectation of the commissioners is fully confirmed by the tables in the next section of this report. All the plants of the table except that of Jacksonville have been a considerable time in operation, and the figures given are the results of actual experience on the spot. Most places that possess municipal plants did not have any electric light until the public plant was built. If it had not been for this circumstance, the table would be much longer than it is."

The lighting of streets in many cities costs the public nothing, for the municipally owned plants allows them to sell light and meet the expense of street lighting from the profits. Professor Parsons gives the following table of public plants in three groups, whose profits partly meet the cost, wholly meet the cost, and more than meet the cost :

GROUP A.

	Profit.	
St. Clairsville, O.....	\$28	2,000 candle-power average 9 hours a night.
Swanton, Vt.....	10	2,000 candle-power all night, moon.
Chehalis, Wash.....	8	2,000 candle-power all night, every night.
Indianola, Ia.....	7	1,200 candle-power average 6 hours.
Wellston, O.....	7	1,200 candle-power average 6 hours.
Grand Ledge, Mich.*.....	6½	
Madison, N. J.....	12	Incandescent 30 candle-power.
Newark, Del.....	4	Incandescent.

* Grand Ledge is taken from Professor Ely's figures, and Chehalis from Director Beitler's report to the Philadelphia Councils; the rest are from returns made directly to me.

GROUP B.

	Profit.	
Albany, Mo.....	"Commercial lights pay all expenses" (30 street lamps 1,200 candle-power burned all night).
Batavia, Ill.....	"Costs nothing—all expenses paid by commercial light" (120 street arcs all night).
Crete, Neb.....	"Commercial lamps more than pay expenses" (50 street arcs 1,200 candle-power till midnight).
Council Grove, Kan.....	"Commercial lamps pay all expenses—operation and interest."
Middleton, Pa.....	"500 incandescent pay all expenses."
Oxford, O.....	"1,300 incandescent pay for the street lamps."
St. Peter's, Minn.....	"Lights cost nothing—1,000 incandescent pay all expenses."

GROUP C.

	Profit.	
Farmville, Va.....	\$340	Above all expenses, fixed charges, and operating, and giving the city free 25 full arcs averaging 6 hours per night.
Luverne, Minn.....	520	Above all operating and fixed charges, and 12 street arcs, free, of 2,000 candle-power.
Falls City, Neb.....	650	Above all operating and fixed charges, and 150 street lamps free.
Rockport, Mo.....	900	Above all operating and fixed charges, and 65 street lamps free.
Alexandria, Minn.....	....	Blends the light and water accounts. The report for the year ending March 1, 1895, puts interest and operating expenses at \$5,896 for the combined departments. The income of the departments, aside from taxes, was \$6,052.

Professor Parsons says :

"We are only on the threshold yet. Our towns and cities are just beginning to see the virtues of combining commercial lighting with their street work. The business is developing rapidly, and in a few years a city that levies taxes to pay for its street lamps will be

regarded as a lingering relic of an embryonic age. In time we may even do as well as Berlin and Paris, which make the city franchises pay 18 and 22 per cent, respectively, of all municipal expenditures. I hope we shall do better; I hope to see the day when public business will pay the whole volume of public expenses.

"One more point the committee must make in this section. The transfer of business from private to public plants is a benefit to consumers as well as to those who pay taxes. To a large extent the two classes are one, and a man who buys light for his store or his house, and helps with the street-lighting tax, is doubly benefited by the public plant, once by the diminution of taxes, and once by the cheapening of commercial light.

"Braintree, Mass., sells incandescents at six mills per meter hour and $\frac{3}{4}$ to \$5 a year. St. Clairsville sells incandescents, 16 candle-power, at two-fifths of a cent a meter hour, or 40 cents a month. Farmville charges 50 cents a month. Swanton, Vt., sells incandescents, 16 candle-power, at one to three dollars a year, or one-third of a cent an hour by meter, and 2000 candle-power arcs at \$5 a year. In Boston the citizens have to pay 50 to 70 cents a night, or \$12 to \$328 a year for an arc, and one cent per hour by meter, or \$10 a year, for an incandescent 16 candle-power.

"Public lighting not only reduces the cost of street lamps one half, two halves, or even three halves, but it lowers the cost of commercial light also about one half on the average, and, in some cases, a great deal more than that.

"How is it that public plants are able to make such tremendous savings?' The reasons are many; here are some of them:

"1. A public plant does not have to pay dividends on watered stock.

"2. It does not have to pay dividends even on the actual investment.

"3. It does not have to retain lawyers or lobbyists, or provide for the entertainment of councilmen, or subscribe to campaign funds, or bear the expenses of pushing the nomination and election of men to protect its interests or give it new privileges, or pay blackmail to ward off the raids of cunning legislators and officials, or buy up its rivals, etc.

"4. It does not have to advertise nor solicit business.

"5. It is able to save a great deal by combination with other departments of public service. The mayor of Dunkirk says: 'Our city owns its water plant, and the great saving comes from the city's owning and operating both plants. No extra labor is required but a line-man. The same engineers, firemen, and superintendent operate both plants, and the same boiler power is used.' So in Bangor, Marshalltown, and a number of other places, the municipal lighting system is run in connection with the public water plant. In La Salle the fire, water, and light departments are consolidated. A great saving in the cost of labor and superintendence results. The larger the cooperation under a single skilful management, the greater the economy and efficiency, other things being equal. The plants in Allegheny, Easton, West Troy, South Norwalk, Peabody, Danvers, and Braintree do not have this advantage of combination.

"6. Public ownership has no interest to pay. Even if the people do not own the capital, but borrow it, they can get the money at much lower rates of interest than private companies have to pay. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia can borrow at 3 per cent—have borrowed many millions at that rate. Dunkirk borrows at the same rate; Allegheny pays $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. when she borrows; Easton, West Troy, South Norwalk, Peabody, Braintree, etc., 4 per cent. Few places have to pay over 5 per cent. There is no debt on the Dunkirk, Allegheny, or West Troy plants, but these are the rates those cities pay when they borrow. As a rule, private companies are obliged to pay from 2 to 4 per cent. more than the municipality in which they are located. The Boston Electric Light Company reports its interest payments at 6 per cent—3 per cent higher than the rate at which the city can borrow. The average interest paid on borrowed money by the private companies in Massachusetts is between 7 and 8 per cent., while the average at which the towns and cities of the State are able to borrow is between 4 and 5 per cent.

"It is not to be expected that private companies will sell as cheaply as public; with equal efficiency of management it costs them more to produce light, and they must have interest and profits. A private company is run, not for the benefit of the people, but for the profit of the owners. It is perfectly natural for an electric-light company to make all the money it can; that is no more than is done by the majority of business men and corporations in every line of trade."

(For references, see MUNICIPALISM.)

ELLIOT, EBENEZER, the *Corn Law* *Rhymer*, was born at Masborough, near Shef-

field, in 1781. The son of a manufacturer of the somewhat rough early type, he received little education, but read widely and early wrote verse. Entering business himself, he met with some success, but also with losses, which he laid to the Corn Laws. He developed a fierce indignation against the law that had kept him poor as an employer, and that pressed so hardly on the workers whom he wished to benefit. In *The Splendid Village*, *The Village Patriarch*, and, above all, in *The Ranter*, the reader feels the depth of his feeling for the poor and his hatred of the landlord class. In the *Corn-law Rhymes* (1831) the whole of his bitter anger breaks out, and made the famous rhymes play no small part in the agitation which finally abolished the Corn Laws. He died soon after seeing their abolition in 1849.

ELLIS, HAVELOCK, was born at Croydon in 1859. He spent some years of his early life in the Australian bush. Tho prepared for the medical profession, he has given his attention mainly to scientific and literary studies. He was one of the founders of the Fabian Society and the New Fellowship. He is general editor of the Contemporary Science Series. His main writings are *The New Spirit*, *The Criminal*, *Nationalization of Health*, and *Man and Woman*. Mrs. Ellis (née Edith Lees) is secretary of the New Fellowship, a lecturer on social subjects, and author of *A Novitiate for Marriage*, *Democracy in the Kitchen*, and *The Masses and the Classes*.

ELMIRA REFORMATORY, NEW YORK.—The sociological experiments and reports arrived at in Elmira Reformatory, New York, are of such importance as to entitle it to an article apart from the general consideration of penal reform. (See PENOLOGY.)

The initial official step taken toward the establishment of the Reformatory was the creation in 1869 by the Legislature of a Commission "to locate a State penitentiary or industrial reformatory in the Sixth Judicial District."

The first inmates were received on July 24, 1876, being transferred from Auburn prison. Thereafter most of the work of construction was carried on by prisoners. The institution did not take its distinctive position in the prison system of the State, however, until April 24, 1877, when the bill providing for the "indeterminate" sentence was incorporated in the statutes.

According to this bill, convicts sent to Elmira cannot be sentenced for any definite term, altho a maximum term can be given. The length of residence of the convict is left wholly to the decision of the management, and this gives the key to the whole institution. On his arrival the convict is carefully examined as to his history, mental and physical characteristics, and all circumstances of his case, and is then treated as a moral patient, built up into self-supporting character as rapidly as possible, and only allowed to go out (unless the maximum term intervenes) when in the opinion of the management he is capable of self-supporting citizenship. He is, however, even then only allowed to go out for the first six months on parole,

System.

being kept in close correspondence with the management until he has proved himself worthy of absolute freedom.

Such is, in brief, the thought of the Reformatory. But the way the convicts are built up into character is by teaching the convicts to work. In 1888 the New York Legislature passed the Yates Bill, practically prohibiting the industries then being carried on at Elmira by the convicts, and absolutely forbidding the application of power machinery to such prison labor in order to prevent its competition with outside labor. It forced the prisoners into immediate idleness, and the management scarcely knew what to do. But in a few hours the whole industrial life of the institution was revolutionized. Hitherto the idea had been to carry on industries partly for the good of the convicts, but largely to pay expenses. Now all thought of making profit was given up and industrial classes were commenced simply for the good of the men. The whole mass of convicts, too, for sake of exercise, were brought out and drilled in military exercise. The result of both measures has been good beyond all expectation. The military exercise gives the convicts a carriage and bearing, both mental and physical, that makes them wholly different. To-day they form a notable regiment of men, organized, officered, and commanded by those convicts proving themselves the most worthy, and with their own band, and all appointments of a regiment.

The following account of the Elmira method we abridge from the Reformatory *Year Book*, mainly written and printed by the convicts:

All individuals committed to the Reformatory, except those sentenced by federal courts within the State of New York, are brought to the institution by its transfer officer.

The neophyte usually has an opportunity for several hours' calm contemplation before he is called from his cell for his first conference with the General Superintendent. At this meeting he is subjected to a searching examination of his whole history, being called upon to furnish for the records all the facts within his ken relating to his parentage, early environment, personal habits, and present ambitions. The information adduced as to progenitors often has an influence in deciding the trade to be taught to the novice, who is usually unaccustomed to and unskilled at labor, and who seldom evinces any choice. The class of manufacturing mostly carried on in the vicinity to which the man is likely to go upon his release is also an important factor in the arrangement of trades instruction. The prisoners are divided into three classes or grades, determined by the character of the men, their conduct, industry, and studiousness being factors in securing promotion or retrogradation.

The grades are styled the Upper First, the Lower First and the Second. Tyros are inducted to the Lower First grade. They take their meals in their rooms. By maintaining a good record for six successive months they may advance to the Upper First grade, from which alone they may secure release prior to the expiration of the maximum term for which they can be imprisoned. Their cells are more commodious, they are provided with spring beds, and they eat at tables in a large dining-room. From their ranks are chosen the officers and most of the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, as well as the monitors in the shops and the turnkeys on the cell blocks. If their

records continue perfect another six months they become candidates for conditional release, the *ultimatum* being a vote of confidence by the Board of Managers and the securing of satisfactory employment.

The downward step from the Lower First grade leads to the Second, or convict, grade. Into this drop the Lower First grade men whose conduct, school, or labor records are imperfect for two or three months in succession, and men of both divisions who are guilty of insubordination or any serious infraction of rules, or who are detected in the commission of an act evidencing a spirit hostile to law and government. Those who are reduced to this class forfeit all credit marks and may only secure readmission to the next higher grade to take a fresh start for the parole goal by earning a perfect marking for three successive months. Those who fall to the Second grade a second time may not emerge from it for six months, and the third degradation is not followed by advancement for a year. Its wearers are quartered in the smallest cells, are deprived of all room furniture not essential to health and cleanliness, have no sheets on their beds, receive no tea and coffee with their rations, lose the privilege of drawing literature of any kind from the library, and lose their right to receive trades instruction as such.

The engagements of each inmate are intended to absorb his thoughts completely during most of his waking moments, and they are sufficiently varied, tho systematized. The program is varied for individuals. There are those who are employed at productive labor or in domestic service. A majority of

Classes.

the trades-school pupils spend a portion of two days a week in the drawing-class room. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons work is suspended in the shops and trades-class rooms and the four hours are devoted to drilling and military ceremonies. There are evening class meetings for every man as often as twice a week, and for those most nearly illiterate and those taking special courses as often as four times a week. On Sundays there are classes in ethics. There are kindergarten classes for the underwitted, classes for the others in all branches of study, from elementary subjects to the higher sciences and philosophy. The elementary classes are usually taught by advanced convicts. The main classes are, however, industrial. There are classes in bricklaying and plastering, blacksmithing, horseshoeing, bookbinding, barbering, baking, brass finishing and molding, boat-building, carpentry and cabinet-making, electricity, fireman's work, fresco-painting, wood-finishing, machinery, molding, plumbing, printing, pattern-making, photograph, stone-cutting, stenography, shoemaking, steam-fitting, stained-glass setting, tailoring, tinsmithing, typewriting, upholstering, wood-carving, etc.

Careful instruction is given in every department, mainly by the convicts themselves. In many workshops containing scores or even hundreds of workers, convicts are the only teachers and convicts the only watch on guard. Much attention is given to physical training. Every convict, on coming in, is physically examined, and then the endeavor is made to develop to the norm that which is abnormal.

The system of physical training, with its accompaniment of massage-bathing, is accomplishing what was expected of it.

Since its opening there has been confined within the Reformatory precinct a limited number of men of a type so abnormal as not to be susceptible of betterment through the application of methods resorted to in the cases of the majority. Morbid minds and undeveloped, poorly nourished and diseased bodies—results of bad environment and vicious habits or the legacy of unhealthy progenitors—had made them stupid, slow, disinclined, if able, to apply their minds to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and generally unprogressive. Many of them are illiterate, and some have so far lost control over themselves as to be ranked not much above idiots. They are utterly incapable

of receiving and retaining impressions with sufficient regularity to make headway in the simplest of trades taught in the technological department, and they are fitted only for inconsequential work in the shops. In conduct they rank with the incorrigibles, often because they have not appreciation of the distinction between right and wrong. They are not to be stimulated by the same motives and ambitions that affect most of those undergoing the rehabilitating course. Loss of privilege by way of penalty is regarded with stolid indifference. For men answering this description and for those suffering from physical defects which may be remedied by systematic muscular effort, the physical training department accomplishes an amount of good that cannot be satisfactorily expressed in words.

One of the more recent steps is the adoption of a wage-earning plan. Each man is credited with his earnings in labor for every full day's work of eight hours at the rate of 35 cents per day in the Second, 45 cents per day in the Lower First, and 55 cents per day in the Upper First grade. This rate is not fixed with reference to an estimate placed upon the value of the labor, but is governed by the legal provision restricting the amount that may be disbursed to inmates to 10 per cent. of the gross earnings of the Reformatory. Fines are imposed for bad conduct.

Wage Earning.

In study, a demerit of \$1 is incurred for failure in any subject where the marking is not below 50 per cent.; below 50 per cent. and not below 25 per cent., \$2; below 25 per cent., \$3.

From his earnings each man is required to pay for what he receives: in board and lodging at the rate of 25 cents per day in the Second, 32 cents per day in the Lower First, and 40 cents per day in the Upper First grade; in clothing, at an established schedule of prices; and in medical attendance, at the rate of 15 cents per visit. While for the present the prices of board are inflexible, a plan is under consideration by which his expenditure in this direction will be placed in the control of each inmate.

It is intended that any total credit balance obtained under this system shall be placed at the disposal of the inmate earning it as a fund to be paid him on his release. This can take place (unless the maximum term of imprisonment be reached first) only by perfect records for a certain period, and the confidence of the management that the candidate is "morally, intellectually, and physically capable of earning a livelihood." In the event of the conditional release being authorized there is still another step prior to its realization: satisfactory employment must be secured.

Parole.

The principal regulations governing paroled men, which are printed on the certificates issued to each, are these:

1. The graduate shall proceed directly to the place of employment provided for him and there remain, if practicable, for at least six months from date.
2. In case he finds it desirable to change his employment or residence, he shall first get the consent of the managers through the General Superintendent.
3. He shall on the first of every month, for the period of six months or more, and until absolutely re-

leased by the managers, forward to the General Superintendent a report of himself certified by his employer or an agent of the managers, which report shall state whether he has been constantly under pay during the month and if not, why not, and how much money he has expended and saved, together with a general and full statement of himself and surroundings.

4. He shall in all respects conduct himself honestly, avoid low and evil associations, and shall abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Each man is advised, prior to his departure, that he need not fear to communicate with the management in case he loses his situation or becomes unable to labor by reason of sickness. He is assured that he may at all times rely upon the aid and counsel of the managers and superintendent, and that, in case of disaster, he may find the Reformatory a desirable retreat. If the terms of the conditional release are faithfully complied with for a period of six months, the Board of Managers, by vote at one of their monthly meetings, grant absolute release, which operates the same as a pardon by the Governor.

The results of the plan are the most favorable. According to the report for 1895, there had been received on the indeterminate term up to September 30, 1894, 6641 convicts.

Results.

Of these 4366 were paroled, the remaining 2272 being either still in the Reformatory, or, having been released by expiration of the maximum term, pardoned out, transferred to other State prisons or having died. Of the 4369 who had been paroled, 3623, or 83 per cent., are reported to have probably reformed; 2616 of these served their complete time of parole and earned their absolute release; 322 were still on parole, while the remaining one half had been lost sight of, but who are counted as having "probably" reformed; 686, or 15.7 per cent., are reported as having probably returned to criminal practices; 303 have been returned to the Reformatory; 140 have been paroled twice; 26 have returned twice; 12 have been paroled three times; and 4 have returned three times.

Beyond this remarkable showing the following statistics are instructive. Of those indefinitely sentenced—

- 12.3 per cent. inherited insanity or epilepsy.
- 38.3 " " drunkenness clearly traced.
- 13.1 " " " doubtful.
- 49.6 " " temperate habits.
- 4.6 " were of pauperized ancestry.
- 76.9 " " " ancestry of no accumulations.
- 18.5 " " " forehanded.
- 54.1 " " " homes positively bad.
- 38.3 " " " " only fair.
- 7.6 " " " " good.
- 58.1 " " " at home up to time of crime.
- 41.9 " " " homeless at " " "
- 19.3 " " " illiterate.
- 48.8 " could read and write with difficulty.
- 28.6 " had common school education.
- 3.3 " " high school or more education.
- 42.8 " " Protestant training or faith.
- 45.6 " " R. Catholic " " "
- 6.3 " " Hebrew " " "
- 4.3 " " none.
- 88.3 " were in good health.
- 1.4 " " deficient in natural capacity.
- 18.1 " " of only fair " " "
- 80.5 " " " good or excellent natural capacity.
- 33.8 " seemed of absolutely no moral sense.
- 41.1 " " " possibly some " " "
- 20.9 " " " ordinary " " "
- 3.2 " " " specially susceptible moral sense.
- 93.6 " had committed offenses against property.

6.6	per cent.	had committed offenses against the person.	
4	"	had committed offenses against the peace.	
56.9	"	were between	16-20 when admitted.
33.0	"	"	20-25 "
10.1	"	"	25-30 "

The cost of maintenance for 1892 was \$198,454.34. Of this \$7208.63 was for prisoners' transportation; \$3801 for cost of schools; \$7596.63 for physical and other training. The incidental and other income was \$40,019.72. The operation of the farm during the year yielded \$5452.28. The per diem maintenance cost was 38.9 cents. The number of inmates September 30, 1892, was 1396. The *Year Book* of the Reformatory, bound, printed, and, in fact, written by the convicts, can be had ordinarily on application. The closing sentence of one *Year Book* says: "The time will come when every punitive institution in the civilized world will be destroyed, and all places for the treatment of crime be hospitals, schools, workshops, and reformatories." (See also PENOLOGY; CRIME.)

ELY, RICHARD THEODORE, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History of the University of Wisconsin, and one of the best-known and popular American writers on social and economic questions, was born in Ripley, N. Y., April 13, 1854. Until 18 he lived in the country, working on a farm of which, for a time, he had entire control. His father was a civil engineer, and for some time he was employed on his engineering corps in laying out a railroad. After completing the course of the State Normal School he entered Dartmouth College, going from there to Columbia College, where he was graduated in 1876. As holder of fellowship of that institution he continued his studies in German universities, receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Heidelberg in 1879.

A year after his return to America he was called to Johns Hopkins University, where he was Professor of Political Economy until 1892. In 1892 he resigned from the Johns Hopkins University to take the position he now holds at the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Ely has made a record of incessant activity as university professor and lecturer. But the pressure of academic duties has not prevented Dr. Ely from engaging in fields of practical activity. More than any other man he was identified with the formation of the American Economic Association.

In Baltimore he was for one year (1885-86) a member of the city tax commission and for two years (1886-88) a member of the State Tax Commission.

Professor Ely has taken an active part in the Chautauqua movement, and has lectured for several years at the annual summer assemblies.

Among other institutes and societies to which he belongs may be mentioned the International Statistical Institute, the Christian Social Union, of which he was the first and a most active and earnest secretary.

Dr. Ely has, moreover, found time to write numerous works and to contribute largely to the leading periodicals and papers, and has

grown into the recognized position of a leader of American public opinion in matters of economics and applied ethics.

He has devoted particular attention to the study of taxation, socialism, the labor question, and municipal government. *Taxation in American States and Cities* and the *Labor Movement in America* represent pioneer work in their respective fields. Others of his works have attained a wide circulation and gone through several editions. These are: *French and German Socialism in Modern Times* (1883); *The Past and Present of Political Economy* (1884); *Problems of To-day* (1888); *Social Aspects of Christianity* and *An Introduction to Political Economy* (1889), *Outlines of Economics* (College edition, 1894); *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894).

Professor Ely has been criticised as a sentimentalist, but has never flinched from his position that political economy ought to be made useful for promoting practical reform and the elevation of the masses. He has been branded as a socialist, which he has steadfastly denied, tho he has continued none the less earnestly to write and speak against monopolies and in favor of every reasonable forward step which could benefit working men.

EMBARGO.—A prohibition affecting commerce by national authority, which has been laid in various forms and at various times by various nations. Formerly ships belonging to a foreign power were placed under embargo in contemplation of war, but in modern times this practice has been discontinued, and the only occasion on which an embargo of ships is now resorted to is when it is sought to use reprisals in the case of any specific wrong committed by any foreign State.

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO, the greatest of American philosophers, was born in Boston, May 25, 1803. He entered Harvard University in 1817, graduating in 1821, and became pastor of a Unitarian Church in Boston in 1829. He resigned in 1832, owing to differences in thought and opinion. After that he lived a retired life, chiefly in Concord, writing many books, lectures, etc., and becoming eminent not only as an author, but also as a lecturer. In the midst of his literary labors he found time to manifest his interest in great public questions as they arose. He was deeply interested in Brook Farm (*q.v.*), tho he never resided there. He was earnest and outspoken in his views against slavery. At Waltham, in 1845, Emerson attacked slavery with no feeble weapon:

"It is certain that, if it should come to question, all just men, all intelligent agents, must take the part of the black against the white man. Then, I say, 'Never is the planter safe; his house is a den; a just man cannot go there except to tell him so.' Nature fights on the other side; and as power is always stealing from the idle to the busy hand, it seems inevitable that a revolution is preparing, at no distant day, to set these disjointed matters right."

In 1844 he had touched upon another crying evil, the seizure of colored sailors of Massachusetts when they went into the ports of Carolina:

"Gentlemen, I thought the deck of a Massachusetts ship was as much the territory of Massachusetts as the floor on which we stand. It should be as sacred as the temple of God. If such a damnable outrage can be committed on the person of a citizen with impunity, let the Governor break the broad seal of the State; he bears the sword in vain. The great-hearted Puritans have left no posterity. The rich men may walk in State Street, but they walk without honor; and the farmers may brag their democracy in the country, but they are disgraced men."

As early as 1838 he addressed a letter to President Van Buren protesting against the wrongs then endured by the Cherokee Indians at the hands of the Government. His anti-slavery speeches, his remarks on the attack made upon Charles Sumner in 1856, his speech in behalf of the Kansas farmers in the same year, his eulogies of John Brown in 1859, his speech of welcome to Kossuth at Concord Bridge in 1852, his speech at the centennial celebration of Concord Fight in 1875, and many other brief addresses, are the fearless utterances of the reformer. He was an active citizen in practical ways, and was punctual in his attendance at the town meetings, where he often took part in debates; yet he sympathized to some extent in the no-government theories of his friends Alcott and Thoreau, influenced by his partly socialistic, partly individualistic philosophy. He died at Concord in 1882.

ENGINEERS. See RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ORGANIZATION.

EMIGRATION (see also IMMIGRATION) may be defined as the moving of families or individuals from one country or one portion of a country to permanently reside in another land or portion of country. In the form of colonization especially it is as old as civilization. The ancient cities of Troy, Sidon, as well as the better known instances of the Greek cities, repeatedly adopted the expedient of assisted colonization to develop commerce and relieve the overcrowding of the parent city. Back of this and connected with this are the repeated instances of tribes and clans sending out branches and offshoots to settle in some new place. Much of this was connected with military conquest, but such was not always the case. The so-called migration of the nations was in a measure emigration and colonization. In modern times the discovery of the New World led to a renewed outbreak of emigration. The economic and industrial pressure of our own times has led, particularly in the United Kingdom, not only to emigration, but to its preaching by some as a cure for industrial ills.

In England various schemes of State-aided emigration to the colonies were much debated throughout the second quarter of the century, both in and out of Parliament. Such were those to facilitate emigration from the south of Ireland to Canada (1823) and to relieve distress in the Highlands of Scotland (1841). At this time, indeed, the idea of emigration became merged in the more complex idea of colonization.

"Of colonization," writes Wakefield, "the principal elements are emigration, and the permanent settlement of the emigrants on unoccupied land. . . . My fancy pictures a sort and amount of colonization that would amply repay its cost by providing happily for our redundant people; by improving the state of those who remained at home; by supplying us largely with food and the raw materials of manufacture; and by gratifying our best feelings of national pride,

through the extension over the unoccupied parts of the earth of a nationality truly British in language, religion, laws, institutions, and attachment to the empire."

Mill wrote :

"The exportation of laborers and capital from old to new countries, from a place where their productive power is less to a place where it is greater, increases by so much the aggregate produce of the labor and capital of the world. It adds to the joint wealth of the old and the new country what amounts in a short period to many times the mere cost of effecting the transport. There needs be no hesitation in affirming that colonization, in the present state of the world, is the best affair of business in which the capital of an old and wealthy country can engage."

As a result, there has been not only great emigration, but all sorts of plans and legislative acts to aid emigration. Says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* :

"In 1815 the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom was 2081, in 1820 it was 25,720, in 1830, 56,907; in that year the Colonization Society was formed; in the next year the first effort was made to regulate emigration; an agent general for emigration and certain 'South Australian' commissioners were the chief centers of authority for some years, and in 1840 the Colonial Land and Emigration Board was established in Downing Street. It had become clear that the matter was one of great interest both to the mother country and the colonies. On the one hand was the theory described as 'shoveling out the paupers,' on the other was the demand that no emigrant should be sent to the colonies except under proper safeguards, and with some guarantee of his fitness. And on the lines which were settled 50 years ago the attitude of the State toward emigration has remained ever since. The activity of societies and other quasi-public influences has, however, been growing, till we are confronted at the present day with the efforts of Mr. Arnold White, Baron Hirsch, and the projects of the Salvation Army. We can now examine in more detail, in the case of our own country, the answers to the questions propounded above."

As regards the stamp of the emigrants from England it is specially noted in 1845 that one half were unskilled laborers, and four fifths of the remainder agricultural laborers and farmers, the great bulk being exceedingly poor and depending on immediate employment for subsistence. And a study of the Board of Trade returns for the last few years confirms the same opinion. 'There seems no doubt,' says Mr. Giffen in a recent report, 'of the broad facts that the majority of the adult male emigrants are laborers, and of single adult female emigrants, domestic servants.' In 1801 (a good sample of the years), out of 189,756 adults of British origin, 112,256 were males and 77,500 females, and the adult males were classified as follows :

Agricultural laborers	14,797
Unskilled laborers and miners, etc.	36,521
Occupation not stated	26,663
Mechanics and skilled laborers	9,717
Farmers and graziers	3,704
Clerks, shopkeepers, etc.	4,773
Professional men	11,467
Miscellaneous	4,614

"It may reasonably be assumed that the majority of those whose occupations are not stated were also unskilled laborers; hence it is probable that some 70,000 out of 112,256, about 63 per cent., were of this description."

But it is not clear that emigration has accomplished what was hoped from it. The pauper cannot go, despite the theory that emigration was to relieve the weakest portion of the community; and the receiving country rejects him, and the regulations which agents of government here and abroad have sought to enforce constantly tend to encourage the better class of emigrant. Macintyre, writing 50 years ago, insisted on this: "Emigration, as it is carried on from this country, does not afford any relief to the masses of the people reduced to the verge

of starvation." "The conditions required of the persons selected for emigration show that they are picked individuals." Emigration has done little or nothing toward elevating the lowest classes of the people.

The most skilled artisans, on the other hand, do not generally go; and it is doubtful, then, if the productive power of England has been decreased, while the productive power of the English colonies and other countries has been increased. Whether this aids the country from which the emigration occurs is a debated point. (For the effect on the countries into which the emigration flows, and for statistics, see IMMIGRATION.) Of other countries than England Palgrave's *Dictionary* says:

"Scotland has sent out a steady stream of emigrants whose departure has only strengthened those who were left behind. Ireland, partly from poverty, partly from political causes, has been rapidly depleted of the stronger part of her population. In examining the emigration from other countries, we also find special phases to arrest us. Norway and Sweden have both been centers of a large emigration, which now appears to be losing strength. In Norway the causes and effects have been akin to the case of Scotland. In Sweden the parallel is rather with Ireland. In Italy the large annual emigration is becoming a serious drain, and the face of the country is already showing this. The loss of the more enterprising peasantry is making more helpless those who are left behind. Germany, on political grounds, is struggling with the tendency to emigrate; she does not wish to lose her soldiers at the best period of their lives."

(For references, see IMMIGRATION.)

EMINENT DOMAIN.—The right of eminent domain is the right to take private property for public uses. It is a common phrase in America, tho until recently little used in England, and seems to be derived from a phrase of Grotius (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, l. i. chap. iii. vi. sec. 2). The Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that it must always be used with just compensation to the owners of the property taken. (For a discussion of this, see COMPENSATION.)

EMPLOYMENT. See OCCUPATION and UNEMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS. See UNEMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYERS. See PROFITS; WAGES OF MANAGEMENT.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAWS.—These are laws holding employers liable for accidents to their employees when legitimately engaged in doing the employer's work. The agitation for such laws has played and still plays no small part in the labor movement. Of the situation in America, Mr. Carroll D. Wright says (*The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, pp. 278-281):

"Under the common law as it exists in England and America and in the greater part of the continent of Europe, where the Roman law is the precedent, it is the rule that the principal is responsible for the acts of the agent, the same as if he performed the acts himself. There are, of course, many modifications of this rule under special circumstances, but the general rule is as stated. It is curious, however, to note that this rule does not apply, generally and in broad terms, where the person injured by the agent or employee of an-

other is also an agent or employee of the same principal; that is, in simple terms, if A is the proprietor of a factory, a works, or a railroad, and B and C are employees of A, and B is injured through the carelessness or negligence of C, he cannot recover of the proprietor A, because B and C are what are known under the common law as coemployees, and the defense of coemployment would be set up in the courts of the common law, under which it would be claimed that A was not liable to B for any damages resulting from injuries received through the negligence of C. This doctrine, too, is subject to modifications and restrictions, but the broad principle is as stated. Of course, if it could be proved by B, who was injured through the carelessness or negligence of C, that the carelessness or negligence was really that of the proprietor A, then he could recover, but not otherwise.

"It is usually assumed, under the common-law rule, that the employee engages in the services of a company or of an individual employer with a full knowledge of all the risks, dangers, and responsibilities of the peculiar employment, and, therefore, assumes those risks, responsibilities, and liabilities under any dangers which exist; but such risks which the employee takes are considered only the ordinary risks. The rule does not apply where the risk is not of such a nature as to be reasonably known and assumed, nor does it apply under circumstances where the risk is known to the employer, but not to the employee, nor where the employer is under a positive duty, and the injury results from neglect of that positive duty, nor, as already remarked, when the injury is incurred through the negligence of the employer himself, except, in the latter case, where the employee may have contributed to the negligence."

Of the coemployment principle Mr. Wright says in part: "To apply this rule when a brakeman on a railroad line, it may be hundreds of miles in length, by the negligence of a switchman whom the brakeman never saw, whose character he did not know when he entered the service, and to whose negligence the brakeman could not possibly have contributed, receives serious personal injury, appears, to the ordinary mind, the very height of absurdity. Under the old rule the brakeman cannot, under the circumstances just described, recover any damages from the railroad corporation, because the brakeman and the switchman are considered as coemployees of the same principal. So in a factory, the attendant of a loom may be quietly and industriously attending to her business as a weaver, and through the negligence or carelessness or drunkenness of one who attends the engine in the engine-house 1000 feet away, loses an arm; under these circumstances the weaver cannot recover damages from the proprietor or owners of the factory under the common-law rule.

"These illustrations show how thoroughly absurd that rule appears to many men and to many most excellent lawyers and judges. In order to remedy the difficulty recourse has been had to statutory provisions, by which the rule is abrogated or its application limited.

Recent Legislation.

The first attempt at such limitation was by the Parliament of Great Britain. After long agitation, investigations by parliamentary committees, and discussions in Parliament, a law in great measure abrogating the common-law rule was enacted in 1880; and that act called the attention of employers and employees everywhere to the inconsistencies of the common law. Many corporations resisted the enactment of laws which would tend, as they claimed, to the great increase of expenses of running their works or roads, and much fear was expressed on the passage of the bill through Parliament that the results would be disastrous to industry and prevent dividends on the stock of railroads. The experience of the English law, however, has not substantiated such fears, while one of the very best effects of the law has been to induce greater care in the selection of agents. It may be that this is the very greatest benefit that can be derived from such a statute, for the careful administration of the railroad service is one of the most vital features of railroad management, so far as the public is concerned; and if the statutory limitation of the common law stimulates the selection of the very best skill in the employment of men, it certainly justifies its enactment. It is true that the financial disasters predicted have not occurred.

"All the agitation in England relative to the subject has reappeared in the United States. Labor organizations demand it in their platforms and declarations of principles, learned writers have insisted upon the justice of it, and judges have indorsed it. The

first law, however, following in any great degree the English legislation was quietly passed by the Alabama legislature February 12, 1885. The Massachusetts legislature, after several years of consideration and a very careful investigation of the law and facts by the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, passed an act to extend and regulate the liability of employers to make compensation for personal injuries suffered by employees in their service. This act was passed in 1887. These two States are the only States that have practically reenacted the English law of 1880. Many other States have, in some way and to some extent, weakened the force of the common-law rule. California, Colorado, Dakota, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Texas, and it may be others, have in some way limited the old common-law rule.¹⁵

The whole question of employers' liability is fully discussed in the report of the *Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1883*; in the *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey, 1888*; in the *Fifth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1889*.

The English law provides that :

"In five specified cases the workman who has sustained injury through the action of a fellow-workman may bring an action for redress as tho he were not in the same employment. Where the injury happens by reason of (1) any defect in the works, plant, or machinery; (2) the neglect of any person engaged in superintendence; (3) the neglect of any person to whose orders the workman was bound to conform when the injury took place; (4) the act of any fellow-servant done in obedience to the rules, by-laws, or instructions (if improper or defective) of the employer or his delegate; (5) the negligence of any signalman, pointsman, or person having charge of a locomotive on a railway, the workman is put on the same footing with the public. But for the purpose of the act 'workman' is so defined as to exclude seamen, domestic servants, and any servant not employed in manual labor. When an injury has been sustained notice must be given, and the action must be brought within a limited time, and the amount of the compensation must not exceed three years' earnings of a workman in that employment. If the injury prove fatal, the right of action passes to the dead man's representative."

The act was originally passed for seven years only, and since 1887 has been renewed from year to year. Parliament has not placed the law on a permanent footing, and changes and additions are constantly being agitated for, and will doubtless be made.

ENFANTIN, PROSPER, was born in Paris in 1796. Coming under the influence of St. Simon (*q.v.*), he acted with Bazard (*q.v.*) as leader of the movement after St. Simon's death in 1825. The two leaders delivered lectures and attracted considerable of a following. In 1831 the school attempted communism on some property of Enfantin's at Menilmontant. But commencing as a devotee of mysticism, Enfantin finally adopted the doctrine of "free love;" this brought him into trouble with most of his fellow-religionists. Bazard differed from Enfantin, who became, after Bazard retired, the sole chief of the St. Simonians, called "the supreme father" in their somewhat fantastic religious forms. But their practices produced troubles. Enfantin was condemned on August 28, 1832, in company with Charles Duveyrier and Michel Chevalier, to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for having assisted, without previously obtaining permission, in the formation of an association consisting of more than 20 members, and in the promulgation of articles injurious to public morality.

The penalty was before long commuted, and Enfantin made his way to Egypt, where he

studied the question of piercing the Isthmus of Suez.

Subsequently he returned to Paris, and was appointed, in 1845, a director of the first company for constructing a railway from Paris to Lyons.

After the Revolution of 1848 he founded, in conjunction with Charles Duveyrier, the journal *Le Cr dit*, which continued to appear till 1850. Finally Enfantin became the administrator of the second Paris, Lyons and Mediterranean Railway Company, a post which he continued to hold till his death, at Paris, in 1864.

Before the fall of the St. Simonian school, Enfantin published, in conjunction with others, *Doctrine of St. Simon, Exposition*, 2 vols., 1830-32; afterward, in his own name, *Economie politique et Politique; Morale*, etc.

ENGEL, ERNST, was born in Dresden in 1821, and after completing his studies and traveling extensively, he became, in 1848, manager of the recently founded Royal Saxon Statistical Bureau. In 1858, on account of attacks from the Saxon Chamber, which his official activity had called out, he resigned this position and founded a Mortgage Insurance Company at Dresden, but in 1860 was called to the head of the Prussian Statistical Bureau at Berlin, where he remained 22 years, earning the position of one of the leading statisticians of Europe, and issuing many private as well as official works. (See EXPENDITURES.) In 1882 he resigned his position, and has since resided near Dresden.

ENGELS, FRIEDRICH, was born at Barmer in 1820. A clerk from 1837-41, he discharged his military duties and then entered his father's cotton business at Manchester, England. Visiting Paris in 1844, he met Karl Marx (*q.v.*) there, and he became his lifelong friend. In 1847 he went with Marx to Brussels. Banished from Paris and Brussels, Marx and Engels published the famous communist manifesto. (See SOCIALISM.) From 1848 to May, 1849, he was with Marx on the *Neuen Rheinische Zeitung*, published at Cologne. He took part in the South German uprising of 1849. On the suppression of the revolution he returned to England and reentered his father's business, remaining in it till 1869; after this he resided in London. He wrote numerous German works, but is best known as the editor of the second and third volumes of Karl Marx's works, published after Marx's death. Engels spoke 10 languages, and wrote in English the *Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1848*. Among his German works are *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft und Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums, und des Staats*. He died in London in 1895.

ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.—In this article, to gain continuity of development, and for convenience of reference, we outline the general development of English social reform, referring the reader to separate articles for all details.

I. STATISTICS.

The supreme legislative power in the British Empire is by its constitution given to Parliament (*q.v.*). The present form of Parliament, with its two houses, dates from the fourteenth century. The union of the English and Scotch parliaments was effected in 1707, and of the British and Irish in 1801. By the Reform Bill of 1832, the constituencies were materially increased in number and much more equitably arranged.

The Reform Bills of 1867-68, 1884, and 1885 extended the suffrage, till to-day there is practically complete household suffrage, and to a less extent of lodgers, tho many still lose their vote by change of residence and the registration system. The electors are 4,862,758 in England, 619,091 in Scotland, and 747,271 in Ireland—about one sixth of the total population; 135,605 voted in 1892 as illiterates. All elections are secret votes by ballot. The executive government is vested nominally in the crown, really in the cabinet of ministers. The unit of civil government is the civil parish, of which there are 14,684. The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 created respectively county councils and parish councils elected by the voters, thus giving complete democratic local government. Until 1894 the vestries had been almost wholly in the power of wealthy parish churchmen. The population of Great Britain and Ireland in 1891 was 38,704,211, for an area of 120,979 sq. miles. (See POPULATION.) Nearly one seventh of the total population is concentrated in the metropolis. The population per square mile in 1891 was, for England and Wales, 498; Scotland, 135; Ireland, 144.

The established church of England is Protestant Episcopal, with two archbishops and 32 bishops in England. Private persons possess the right of presentation to about 8500 benefices; the other benefices belong to the Queen, the bishops, and universities. The church income from ancient endowments is estimated at £5,609,417, and from benefactions since 1703 at £284,386. The total annual income of the church is about £7,250,000. The number of clergy is about 27,000 (24,232 doing duty in the church). Other religious bodies in England have about 15,000 chapels and 800,000 members. The Church of Scotland, established in 1560, is Presbyterian, with 1553 parishes and 1800 clergy. The Free Church, established after the Disruption, has 1050 churches and 1260 ministers. The Episcopal Church has 266 clergy and 268 churches or missions. The "Church of Ireland" (Protestant Episcopal) was disestablished in 1869. It has 1500 clergy, 1450 churches, and 600,000 members. The Roman Catholic population of Ireland in 1891 was 3,547,397. The income of the Church of Ireland previous to the disestablishment was £600,000, and by the act of disestablishment, £7,500,000 were allotted to it.

Religion.

For EDUCATION; JUDICIARY; CRIME; PAUPERISM; FINANCE; DEBT; ARMY AND NAVY, see those articles. The proportion of the population engaged in 1891 in agriculture was 1,311,720; in textiles, 1,283,589; dress, 1,099,833; in transport, 935,866; in mining, 561,637. From 1851 to 1891 the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture decreased from 20.9 to 9.9 per cent.; those in manufacturing, from 32.7 to 30.7. Those engaged in transport and industrial service increased from 15.1 to 20.1.

The value of the mineral produce in 1893 was £79,767,651 (coal, £55,809,808; iron, £2,827,947). Those employed in or about mines were 718,747 (underground, 570,978). In the textile industries the capital employed is now about £200,000,000, and about 5,000,000 of people are dependent upon it. More than one half of the exports of England consist of textiles. The principal exports in 1894 were cotton (£66,586,108), woollens (£18,757,418), iron and steel (£18,731,140), coal (£17,375,140), machinery (£14,265,122), chemicals, apparel and haberdashery, linen, hardware and cutlery.

The principal imports were grain and flour (£48,000,000), raw cotton (£32,000,000); wool—sheep and lambs' (£24,000,000), meat (£22,000,000), sugar (£19,000,000), butter (£16,000,000), wood (£17,000,000), silk (£12,000,000). The exports of British produce in 1894 were £216,194,239; the total imports, £408,505,718. The sailing vessels in 1893 numbered 8211, with 34,659 men; steam vessels, 2446, with 27,809 men.

There were in 1894, 20,008 miles of railway open in Great Britain, with a capital of £800,000,000 in England, £131,000,000 in Scotland, and £39,000 in Ireland. The expenses were £47,000,000, or 56 per cent. of the total receipts. There were 3813 miles of canals and 214,804 miles of telegraph wire. There were in 1894, 20,016 post-offices. Post, telegraph and postal savings banks

are in Government hands. (See TELEGRAPH; also POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.) There was issued in 1893 from the Royal Mint £9,266,251 in gold, £1,008,971 in silver, and £46,664 in bronze.

II. HISTORY.

The story of social reform in England begins in the earliest times—begins with Alfred's efforts at establishing justice and promoting learning, if not with Augustine and with Aidan. The early English Church and some of her kings struggled to put down slavery. Anselm and Theobald withstood Norman oppression. In 1215 the knights at Runnymede, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, won from King John the Great Charter, with its fundamental rights of freedom, freedom from imprisonment without trial, and from taxation without the consent of the council of the nation. In 1265 did Earl Simon of Montfort, for Henry III., summon the burgesses to Parliament, and under Edward I. they came, reasserting the old rights of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot.

As early as 1360 did John Ball (*q.v.*), "the mad priest of Kent," preach a medieval Christian socialism, asking in the name of the common folk by what right men called lords were greater folk than they, and declaring that only by the toil of the villeins these lords held their estates. Hanged at St. Alban's for his bold words as well as for the large part he played in the Peasants' Revolt, his spirit has never wholly died away, and continually reappears in the most unexpected quarters. One finds it alike in the rough poetry of Langland's *Piers Plowman* (1377) and in the courtly words of More's *Utopia* (1516). It enters in milder form into Erasmus' *Christian Prince*, and again in Harrington's *Oceana* (1656). It is voiced in Beller's proposed *College of Industry* (1695), and in Spence's land nationalization of 1775. (See these names.) The Peasants' Revolt (*q.v.*) itself marks an epoch in the development of English free-Development,

dom. Remorselessly put down, it yet freed England from serfdom, and led to what some call the "Golden Age" of Merrie England. But after the Golden Age came the Iron. In the sixteenth century the nobles, impoverished by the long French wars and the wars of the Roses, drove out many of their humble folk, and turned their fields in'to sheep walks for the raising of wool for the Flemish market, and at the same time fenced in many of the commons, calling forth the noble protest of Latimer's sermons. This robbery of the land by those who were its rulers but not its owners, together with the confiscation of the monasteries and other causes, produced the landless class and made necessary the Poor Laws (*q.v.*). These laws, altho turned by remorseless magistrates into a means of the degradation of England's poor, contained, nevertheless, the socialistic claim of the right of every man to receive opportunity for life and work from the State.

The contest with Charles, the Puritan Commonwealth, the English Revolution, were not movements of the industrial classes, but they laid the foundation of England's political democracy, and contain many noble lessons of equality and democratic spirit.

When, in the eighteenth century, the discovery of steam-power and machine production developed modern industrial England, it caused an economic revolution. Under the *laissez faire* teachings of Adam Smith, trade threw off restraint; manufacturers robbed cottages of their women and cradles of their children to employ them in factories utterly without sanitation, coining their blood into profits. Employees were worked like slaves and housed more poorly than the beasts, the whispers of Malthusianism quieting any stirrings of the conscience. It was necessary that men be killed, it was said; there was not room for all. It was these conditions that led to modern industrial legislation.

In 1795, Dr. Aikin, a Manchester physician, published a statement concerning the evil condition of the children working in the mills. In

Early Factory Legislation.

1796 a committee was formed in Manchester to inquire into the health of the poor. In 1802 the elder Peel brought in and passed the first bill for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and of others employed in cotton and other factories. It immediately accomplished nothing, being fatally defective; but it established the principle. Other bills introduced did little more. In 1824 a bill was passed, mainly owing to the efforts of Francis Place, outside of Parliament, and Joseph Hume within, giving trade-unions, which had secretly existed since about 1700, the right to partially organize. In 1830 Richard Oastler, speaking for the anti-slavery movement, discovered that there was "white slavery" in England, and from that date gave his time and strength in poverty, and even when imprisoned for debt, to exposing the facts of factory evils, and agitating for legislation. He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley, afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, took up his cause. T. Sadler, in 1831, had moved a Ten Hours' Bill, but to no effect. A select committee was appointed in the matter in 1832, but only to gain time and prevent action. Lord Ashley, however, now taking hold, brought in a Ten Hours' Bill for Women and Children, which was read a second time in 1833. It was violently opposed, even by such individualists as Richard Cobden and John Bright. Finally Lord Althorp brought in for the Government and carried a Compromise Bill, which was better than nothing. Oastler, however, continued his agitation. Children's Employment Commissions of 1842 and 1843 published terrible revelations. A Factory Act was passed in 1844, and finally the Ten Hours' Bill in 1847.

Meanwhile Robert Owen, at his mills in New Lanark, had been putting in practice various reforms, and in the year 1817 laid a scheme of a socialistic community before the House of Commons. This act is sometimes considered the beginning of socialism in England; but it was not socialism as we understand the word to-day. Owen's utopianism and evolutionary social democracy in industry have little in common. In 1825 Owen purchased New Harmony in the United States and started his short-lived community. In 1835 he founded an association of all classes of all nations; and during the dis-

cussions which arose over this the words "socialism" and "socialist" seemed first to have been used and thence to have been borrowed by the French writer Reybaud in his *Réformateurs Modernes* (1839).

The passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 had abolished the "pocket boroughs" and given England a taste of democracy. Slavery (*q.v.*) was abolished in the British colonies in 1834. The Poor Laws were reformed. The middle classes were now but enfranchised, but these reforms did little for the workmen. These Owen reached. The Owenite press, the *Crisis*, the *Pioneer*, the *Herald of the Rights of Industry*, and other papers, created a widespread movement. Within a few weeks half a million members are said to have joined Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade-Union, including tens of thousands of farm laborers and women. The object was to put an end to all competition. The wealthier classes were alarmed. In 1834 six Dorchester laborers were convicted to seven years' transportation for the mere act of administering an oath. (See CONSPIRACY LAWS.) Monster labor congresses were held; 30,000 persons took part in a procession in London protesting against the judgment; over 250,000 signed a petition. Strikes were numerous. They generally failed, however. A levy of 18*d.* per member hurt the Grand National. It was too hurriedly organized, and did not endure. The trade-unions all suffered. Led by William Cobbett and William Lovett and others, working men began to turn to political methods.

Robert
Owen.

In 1838 a representative meeting of workmen drew up a program of political reforms which they held to be necessary. Speaking to the representatives, the Irish orator O'Connell called it their charter, for which they must strive. The name was a happy one; and in all the subsequent agitation this program was called the "People's Charter," and its supporters "Chartists." The charter called for the famous "six points"—manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members of the House of Commons, and payment of members of Parliament for their services. Everywhere the charter was received enthusiastically by the workers. Enormous meetings were held in sup-

Chartism.

port of it. Orators, writers, editors, and poets were developed—O'Connor, Lovett, Cleave, Hetherington, and O'Brien being among the leaders. Every center had its Chartist journals. But there soon developed a division as to the means to the end. Some were in favor of an appeal to force, while many—probably most—were advocates of constitutional methods. In June, 1839, a petition signed by nearly 1,300,000 persons was presented to the House of Commons, "bound in iron hoops, four men bearing it," asking that the charter might be considered. By a large majority the House of Commons refused to take it into consideration. As might be expected, the relations between the Government and the people became very much strained; public meetings were forbidden; riots were of frequent occurrence;

while in secret meetings men were organizing and drilling. At Newport, Wales, there was an attempt made to rescue from prison one of the leaders. For taking part in this outbreak three of the local leaders were condemned to death, one of whom was Frost, a magistrate, who had been deprived of his office for his advocacy of Chartism. The sentence was afterward commuted to transportation. The agitation continued more or less vigorously until 1848, the year of revolutions. Risings were expected in all the great industrial centers, while London was the center of uneasiness. A meeting was called on Kennington Common for April 10, at which it was expected that half a million workers would be present. A procession was to be formed from there to carry the petition in favor of the charter, with 6,000,000 signatures, to the House of Commons. Great alarm prevailed; the procession was prohibited; the military under the Duke of Wellington was called out; cannon were planted to cover the meeting-place and the exits, and nearly 200,000 civilians were enrolled as special constables. After all these threatenings the gathering on the Common was not as large as had been anticipated, a heavy storm interfering. Not 100,000 were present, and as any other course would have been suicidal, the procession was given up. This was the end of Chartism. Strange as it may seem, a movement which was truly national suddenly collapsed when apparently at its highest. During all the ten years of the agitation it had been largely an economic change that was desired. Political change was only sought in order to secure economic changes. Every constitutional means had been tried and had failed, and now the Government had shown that if an appeal were to be made to force, it would use all its strength to crush the appeal, and would yield no quarter. Just while men were pondering the alternatives, a new door of escape was opened—gold was discovered in America, and New Zealand and Australia were calling for colonists.

The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, after the long free-trade agitation of Cobden and Bright, and the passage of the 'Ten Hours' Bill in 1847, gave hope of relief.

The close of the Chartist agitation witnessed the birth of organized Christian socialism (*q.v.*). Stirred by the events of the Chartist uprising and moved by the sufferings particularly of the sweated tailors in London, and of the agricultural laborers in the country, Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice, clergymen of the Church of England, with E. Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, J. M. Ludlow (see these names), organized a society under the avowed name of Christian

Christian Socialism.

Socialism. They published pamphlets and two papers, and started some cooperative stores. Their papers were soon discontinued; their stores either failed or were swallowed up in the larger Rochdale cooperative movement; but their thought lived. Kingsley's bold denunciation of the soulless Manchester school of political economy, his brilliant pictures of the sufferings and efforts of the poor, sketched in *Yeast* (1848) and in *Alton Locke* (1850), and

the deeper philosophy of Maurice, are still potent to-day.

From 1850-80 English trade-unionism was taking form and growing, with many ups and downs, into its present strength. The Rochdale cooperative movement, beginning in 1844, during this period made its phenomenal advance. The writings of Carlyle and of Ruskin struck strong blows against the orthodox political economy. In 1848 Mill published his *Political Economy*. Henceforth political economy was no longer to be a dismal science of theories, but a discussion of how to meet practical industrial problems. Mill himself, in his *Autobiography*, came to announce himself a socialist. There were other radical forces at work. From 1849 to his death in 1883 Marx resided in London. In London, also, was Mazzini. Opposed to socialism, as it was presented to him, he really preached the deepest and most ethical socialism. As early as 1847 Marx and Engels, corresponding with a London society, turned this society into a communist league; and the following year published from Brussels the manifesto of the communist party. In 1862 a party of French working men visited the International Exhibition in London and got into communication with English trade-unionists; and on September 28, 1864, the famous *International* was founded at St. Martin's Hall, London. Professor Beesly presided, and Karl Marx made an address. It was not at first a socialistic organization. Its simple aim was to unite the working men of all countries. Naturally it took a different coloring with different nations. In England it meant little more than an attempt at international trade-unionism, and took no deep root. The day of socialism was not yet.

Little as he intended it, the lectures in England of Henry George (*q.v.*), individualist as he proclaims himself, seem to have been the occasion for the first crystallization in England of modern socialist thought. His sharp words on the **Socialism.** land question, and the enormous circulation of *Progress and Poverty*, aroused general interest; yet, when organization came, the forces we have seen already at work produced socialism. According to Sidney Webb (*Socialism in England*), the coercive measures introduced by Mr. Gladstone's ministry against the Irish Land League had alienated many of the earnest Radicals from the Liberal Party. It became evident that Liberalism was not inconsistent with shameless international aggression in the interests of the officers and the bondholders. The neglect of English social questions became more and more pressingly felt. The "Democratic Federation" was founded in March, 1881, by the efforts of Mr. H. M. Hyndman, Mr. Herbert Burrows, Miss Helen Taylor (stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill), and some others. The only distinctively socialist proposal explicitly set forth in the first program of this organization was "nationalization of the land," placed ninth in the list; but it was from the first essentially a socialist body, and it changed its name in August, 1884, to the "Social Democratic Federation" (*q.v.*). Men joined like William Morris, Tom Mann, John Burns, and others.

This federation has been the largest, and in many ways the most active, of all English socialist societies. At the end of 1884, however, William Morris (*q.v.*) withdrew from the federation, and with others formed the Socialist League. The grounds of secession were mainly personal, but the new society soon developed a policy of its own, standing for a more communistic and less governmental conception of socialism. Publishing the *Commonweal* (1885), to which Mr. Morris gave many of his brilliant contributions, it exerted no small influence. About 1892, however, the organization and the *Commonweal* came under anarchist control; Mr. Morris withdrew, and the organization has virtually died.

A far more potent and unique organization of English socialists is the Fabian Society (*q.v.*), founded in 1883, and to-day still adding to its strength. Commenced mainly as an educational and propagandist center, it includes members of other societies, and has met with great success. In one year its members have given thousands of lectures and distributed still more thousands of socialist essays and tracts. It has influenced political parties, economic literature, and trade-union thought. It may be said to have created the London County Council (*q.v.*), and to have changed the thought of the working men's clubs of London.

These various societies, taking advantage of industrial depressions and discontent, have largely captured the English trade-unions for socialism. This "New Trade-Unionism" (*q.v.*) has grown steadily till 1895. The agitation in behalf of the unemployed in 1886, resulting in the prosecution at the Old Bailey of Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, Champion, and Williams, led, altho they were acquitted, to making socialism known and somewhat popular among the London masses. The great dock strike of 1889 saw the turning of the tide. Messrs. Ben Tillet, Tom Mann, and John Burns, all socialists, organized the dock laborers and won. It led to the organization of other trades thus far un-

organized. These new unions followed the new leaders, and the movement began to grow in the rank and file of even the old unions. By 1890 the new unionism was in the majority in the trade congresses, and in 1894 voted to support only collectivist candidates. The defeat of the Liberal Party in 1894, however, to which many of the old trade-unionists were allied, led to the older trade-unions securing a change in representation, giving the newer trade-unions less power, and thus defeating the new trade-unionism at the Congress of 1895. Some of the new trade-unions, too, have not endured. Some claim that there is a reaction against socialism and a return to agitation on older lines.

Labor representatives have indeed been in Parliament for some time. In the general election of 1873-74 no fewer than 13 "labor candidates" went to the polls; and Alexander Macdonald and Thomas Burt (*q.v.*), the two leading officials of the miners' national unions, were elected the first "labor members" of the House. But this does not mean any general political movement.

Altho largely enfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1867, English workmen in their trades congresses even rejected amendments in favor of manhood suffrage as late as 1882 and 1883. In order to win legal recognition at all for their trade-unions, the leaders had had to plant themselves wholly on the middle-class ground of the individual freedom of each man to sell his labor as he pleased, collectively or not. Even after trade-unions were themselves in 1871 fully legalized, even when "in restraint of trade," their members were still so liable to prosecution under vague combination laws, that the unions were engaged in a battle for mere existence down to 1875. At this date, however, the Liberal Party having been defeated largely by the division of the labor vote, a Conservative government wiped away the last vestige of the combination laws. But this long struggle for life had so indoctrinated their members with the individualist economy, that save for a few leaders like Allan of the Engineers and Applegarth of the Carpenters, the average trade-unionist cared nothing for parliamentary action. Even when free to act, their very successes made the trade-unions conservative. Men of ability, like Mr. Broadhurst, actually opposed eight-hour legislation; a motion in support of it was defeated by a large majority at a trade-union congress as late as 1889. The old trade-union policy favors gaining shorter hours and higher wages on pure trade-union lines, developing, too, the unions in benefit societies, with high dues and strong trade organizations.

Trade-unions in England in 1891 had a membership of 925,232, with an income of £1,175,346. The collectivist policy has, however, become among many so popular that, weary of the vast promises and slight fulfilment of both the Liberal and Conservative parties, they have organized (January, 1893), mainly under the lead of Mr. Keir Hardie, elected M.P., an independent labor party, its object being, as stated in the constitution as amended in February, 1894, "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange." This Independent Labor Party is growing rapidly in almost all parts of England, but especially in the north. Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England*, emphasizing the principles of the party, is estimated to have reached 2,000,000 readers.

Municipalism, however, is perhaps the main practical form that English socialism is at present taking. The formation of the county councils, and particularly of the London County Council, to bring together under one control the numberless boards and vestries that had power in various ways in London, was itself a step toward socialism. Says Professor Ely (*Socialism and Social Reform*, p. 60);

"The drift is unmistakable. Two illustrations will suffice. The London County Council has recently acquired some 21 miles of street railways (tramways), and proposes to operate these lines. While the ownership and operation of municipal monopolies does not, of necessity, mean socialism—while, indeed, an anti-socialist may favor such ownership and operation—the significant point is that in Lon-

Municipalism.

don the change was brought about by socialist intent, and as part of a socialist program. The second illustration is found in the abolition of the contract system in the construction of artisans' dwellings by the municipality. More and more is the policy being forced of making the county council do its own work and be the model employer."

The municipalism of cities like Birmingham and Glasgow is well known. (See MUNICIPALISM; also these cities.) Based on such facts as these, the friends and the foes of socialism alike declare that socialism is coming in England. Bitterly does Mr. Herbert Spencer, for example, complain that the "numerous socialistic changes made by act of Parliament, joined with numerous others presently to be made, will by and by be all merged in State socialism—swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised." Of this the passage of the Parish Councils Act, in 1894, is a noteworthy instance.

Some, however, claim that there is a reaction. (See INDIVIDUALISM; ANARCHISM; SPENCER; TRADE-UNIONS.) The Liberty and Property Defense League (*q.v.*) and writers like Spencer, Donisthorpe, Herbert (see these names), conduct a continuous campaign against socialistic ideas. Yet the general drift is toward socialism.

Says Mr. Sidney Webb, in his *Socialism in England*: "The scientific difference between the 'orthodox' economists and the economic socialists has now become mainly one of terminology and relative stress, with the result that one competent economist, not himself a socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now socialists, with many of the professors."

In the Church, the Guild of St. Matthew and the Christian Social Union exert no little influence for a general socialism. The Rev. Stewart Headlam and Mr. Bruce Wallace, with his Brotherhood Church and Trust, are among the most active socialist workers in London. In Manchester and elsewhere, the Labor Church, led by Mr. John Trevor, is a religious movement wholly outside of the organized churches, but voicing the deep religious side of a part of the English socialist movement.

There are many other movements. The Land Nationalization Society (*q.v.*) has for its principal exponent the eminent naturalist, Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace. The English Land Restoration League (*q.v.*), a very vigorous organization of widespread influence, adheres more closely to the principles of Mr. Henry George. The cooperative movement is very strong. It has in Great Britain and Ireland 1589 societies, with 1,207,511 members and a capital of £ 17,000,000.

(For movements for WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE; THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT; SOCIAL PURITY, see those subjects. See also COOPERATION; FACTORY LAWS; SALVATION ARMY; TRADE-UNIONISM; UNEMPLOYMENT; UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.)

Among the best books on social reform in England are: Freeman's *Growth of the English Constitution*; Green's *Short History of the English People*; Thorold Rogers's *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*; Ashley's *Eng-*

lish Economic History and Theory (2 vols.); Hyndman's *Historical Basis of Socialism in England*; Gibbin's *Social Reformers*; Jones's *Life of Owen*; Wood's *English Social Movements*; Mr. and Mrs. Webb's *History of Trade-Unionism*; Webb's *Socialism in England*; Toynbee's *Industrial Revolution*; Holyoke's *History of Cooperation*; Schulze Garvernitz's *Social Peace*; Bliss's *Handbook of Socialism*.

ENTAIL in law means "the limitation of land to certain members of a particular family or line of descent" (*Century Dictionary*) or "an estate settled with regard to the rule of its descent" (*Wharton's Law Lexicon*). The origin of entail is to be looked for in feudalism (*q.v.*), under which system each man's rights, duties, and social consideration depended on his relation to the land, and therefore it seemed well to try and fix the tenure of land and permit its disposition. Entails were thus a political and social institution, and were found in all countries where feudalism existed. They have disappeared, however, in most countries in the political changes of the last of the eighteenth century. In England they have survived, tho greatly changed by many and complicated laws.

ENTREPRENEUR.—This is a French word, to-day frequently used in English to designate the person who organizes and directs the productive factors. The English words formerly used for this, *undertaker* and *adventurer*, are now used in other senses. (See WAGES OF MANAGEMENT.)

ESSENES.—A Jewish sect of mystic ascetics, who combined Jewish, Greek, and Oriental doctrines with communistic and ritualistic modes of life. They are not spoken of in the Bible, very probably because they dwelt in retired communities. They represented the mystic and ascetic forms of Judaism, as opposed to the orthodox Pharisees and rationalistic Sadducees. Neither their name nor origin have been satisfactorily explained. They left us no writings of themselves, and Philo and Josephus are our only authorities as to their habits and beliefs. They appear to have separated themselves from the commercial and political life of the cities and towns, and to have dwelt in small and isolated villages. Most of them were not far from the Dead Sea. Their most distinctive characteristic was *ascetic communism*. They literally had all things in common. Philo says:

"There is no one who has a house so absolutely his own private property that it does not in some sense also belong to every one; for besides that they all dwell together in companies, the house is open to all those of the same notions who come to them from other quarters. There is one storehouse among them all; their expenses are all in common, as are their garments and food. They do not retain their wages as their own, but bring it into the common stock. They take care of their sick and honor their elders."

Every Essene rose before sunrise, and with his face turned toward the east, repeated his morning prayer. As soon as the light permitted they commenced their daily labors, farming, bee-keeping, cattle-raising, and such-like humble occupations. Each little colony had in

its midst a room or hall where the members met together at regular hours daily. They kept apart from commerce, war, and trade. Their dress was as plain and simple as possible—a light, sleeveless garment in summer, and in winter a warm hairy mantle. They cared only for decency and a moderate degree of comfort; all luxury and show were unknown among them. Both during winter and summer they wore leathern aprons. At 11 A.M. they ceased work, bathed, dressed themselves in spotless white linen, and assembled for their simple meal. A blessing was asked before the meal, and thanks returned after by a priest. They were both vegetarians and total abstainers. At the close of the meal they sung a hymn, and then worked again until sunset. The seventh day was one of perfect rest. On it they read and expounded the Law and their own peculiar writings. As their asceticism prohibited them from partaking of the feasts held at Jerusalem, and their mode of worship interfered with their entering the Temple, they broke the Law in one important point—they did not attend the regular feasts at Jerusalem. They forwarded their gifts instead. The majority of them were celibates, and they kept up their numbers by adopting children, whom they taught with great care and patience. If a man wished to join them, he was obliged to submit to a three years' novitiate, being rigidly excluded from their gatherings. At the end of each year he was advanced by ceremonies and privileges, and after three years became a full member. The only time oaths or vows were allowed was during the initiation into full membership. The candidate was bound by tremendous oaths to be worthy of the order and obedient to its rules. The Essenes were never very numerous. Philo gives their number as 4000. After the destruction of Jerusalem they disappear from history.

They believed in the immortality of the soul, in a fixed Providence, in the future rewards of the righteous, and punishment of the wicked. They did not believe in the resurrection of the body. They were said to practise magic, and were believed by all Jews to have prophets among their members. It is probable that they derived from the Zoroastrian religion their celibacy, sun homage, abstinence from sacrifice, magical rites, and intense striving after purity. They were everywhere known for their kindness to the sick and poor. Their knowledge of roots and herbs enabled them to perform many acts of healing that to the spectators seemed miraculous. They were greatly averse to slavery, and always opposed it. With few exceptions they abstained from all public affairs, being invariably modest and retiring. Philo gives the three chief rules of their conduct as follows: "The love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of man." It has been the theory of some rationalists that Jesus spent some time among the Essenes, and sought to widen and propagate their theology and communism. (See De Quincey's *Essays on the Essenes*.)

ESTATES (from Lat. *status*, stand or status) is used in political history for classes or orders in society. Since the earliest civilizations the tendency to make distinctions in the

relative position of one set of people toward others has appeared. Plato, in his *Republic*, divides men into three classes: philosophers or magistrates, warriors or gymnasts, and laborers or artisans. The first are the wise thinkers, who are fit to rule; the second the fighters—men of force and action; the third are the bulk of the common people, whose first care is the supplying of every-day necessities; and as the one or other element predominated in the nature of the individual, so he became either philosopher, warrior, or artisan. What was first, however, the natural selection of ability soon becomes a matter of inheritance; and after a time the distinction was looked upon as a direct act of Deity. The castes of India, the part and parcel of the Brahman religion, are unmistakably of such origin. According to Brahman theology, Brahma created three different men: one, the *Brahman*, emanated from his head, and was endowed with all knowledge of science and art; he has all wisdom and is king and head of all the earth. The second, the *Kohatriya*, came from Brahma's arms, and it was his right and duty, under the control of the Brahman, to make war and peace, to make laws and execute them, and to maintain social order and the division of the castes. The *Vaisyas* sprang from Brahma's feet, and were the tillers of the soil, the artisans, upon whom devolved the supplying of all the physical needs of humanity.

The development of the modern "estates of the realm" was brought about originally by the same natural selection of the fittest leaders of thought and the strongest protectors. In France, before the Revolution of 1789, the three estates were king, nobles, and clergy; while the three estates in England were king, lords, and commons. The substitution of commons for clergy in England was the direct result of the Reformation, and of the more independent thought of the English people. The conditions which M. Taine speaks of as being the reason of the power of the clergy undoubtedly still held good to some extent in England till Henry VIII. confiscated all their property. The English clergy, like their brethren in other new civilizations, were not only the most learned men, but also by their tact became powerful in the affairs of the nation. When, however, the Reformation swept away their monopoly of power over men's consciences, and when they lost their enormous estates, a new element began to arise. From early times the system of guilds had developed a certain amount of local self-government among the commoners, who had thereby gained confidence in their own judgment; and now a wish to act for themselves in matters concerning the whole nation grew up, which finally led to the execution of Charles I. and founding the Commonwealth. From that time the clergy ceased to have an independent standing of their own; and to-day the bishops have seats in the House of Lords by right of their office, they are practically no more than a section of the privileged class. Their place as rulers was taken by the wealthy commoners.

In France the "three estates" continued to hold sway long after their beneficial effects had ceased; until, indeed, the load of oppression

had become more than could be borne. As there was not even a nominal representation of the people, the evils continued until the volcanic wrath of the people swept away all three estates, and put the management entirely into the hands of the bourgeois commoners. They, however, were not yet equal to the task, and the warrior had again to be looked up to. The bourgeois were called the fourth estate; but the great mass of the people—the working people—are not of any estate as yet, tho the lesson of history goes to show that in due season there will be no distinctions of estates or classes. Modern socialism is sometimes considered the rising of the fourth estate, which shall abolish all estate and introduce equality. (See DEMOCRACY; SOCIALISM.)

ETHICS AND SOCIAL REFORM. See MORAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, THE, organized in London in 1846, through the efforts of the Rev. William Patton, D.D., and to-day with branches in all portions of the world, has in its meetings, conventions, etc., given increasing attention to social reforms. Many of the most important recent utterances on the relation of Christianity to social reform (*q.v.*) have been made at its meetings. The Evangelical Alliance in the United States is now organizing local branches "to bring conscience to bear on the life of the nation; to close the chasm between the churches and working men; to gain the strength which comes from organization." It suggests committees on the following lines of work:

1. *Comity*.—Through this committee the various church extension societies of the city should be brought into touch, so as to prevent overlapping in some neighborhoods and neglect in others.

2. *Social Conditions*.—This committee should investigate the religious and social conditions of the community and of the surrounding country. They may appropriately form neighborhood or Church Reading Circles, Home-culture Clubs, and Maternal Associations. By enlisting the cooperation of a large number of judicious women, and assigning to each a small district, the churches can come into friendly and helpful personal relations with all of the needy homes of the community, and bring to them blessings, sanitary, economic, domestic, and spiritual.

3. *Evangelization*.—Through this committee the Alliance should care for the religious needs of prisons, workhouses, and neglected neighborhoods.

4. *Relief*.—To this committee will be referred cases of sickness and want not otherwise provided for.

5. *Temperance*.—This committee may profitably undertake, through subcommittees, work along various lines—*e.g.*, public meetings, the organization of church temperance societies, the systematic distribution of wisely selected temperance literature, the study of the local problem, with a view to finding the best solution, etc.

6. *Sunday Observance*.—Much can be done to improve Sabbath observance by showing the people the basis on which our Sabbath laws rest, which is very commonly unknown, especially by foreigners. Members of Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, and the like might render great service by systematically distributing Sunday and temperance literature.

7. *Law and Order*.—Under this general head special attention will be paid to *saloons, disorderly houses, gambling, and Sabbath desecration*. The town should be districted and each member of the committee assigned a district, in which he will keep vigilant watch of all law-breakers.

8. *Legal Advice*.—Good legal advisers will be necessary.

9. *Publication*.—An important service is rendered by preparing a digest of the liquor, tobacco, gaming, and Sunday laws of the State; also of the laws speci-

fying the duties of public officials, such as Mayor, Prosecuting Attorney, the Board of Excise, Excise Inspector, the Police, etc. Knowledge of the fact that the public is well acquainted with the law will often bring officials up to duty, and also prevent the violation of law. Furthermore, knowledge of the law serves to strengthen public opinion in regard to its enforcement. This digest should be widely scattered.

Further service is rendered by first carefully verifying facts concerning the characters and records of unworthy candidates and of unfaithful officials, and then giving them publicity in a non-partisan way. An association of citizens in Boston so exposed an unworthy candidate for the mayoralty as to force him to leave the city.

10. *Municipal Reform*.—Instead of "going into politics," the Alliance will aim through this committee to separate municipal elections from State and National politics. It will insist on the official fitness of candidates, oppose incompetent and corrupt men, and sustain the constituted authorities in a faithful administration of the public service.

11. *Civic Improvements*.—Most cities in the United States are in need of public baths and lavatories. Many young and growing cities neglect to make adequate provision for parks until it is too late.

To this committee many suggestions for the public good will come, also complaints of abuses and nuisances. These latter, after first being investigated, should be referred to the proper authorities. Care should be taken not to antagonize officials unnecessarily.

12. *Labor*.—Through this committee the Alliance will seek to aid labor reforms, to encourage the arbitration of labor difficulties, to establish labor bureaus, form working girls' clubs, encourage cooperative housekeeping for self-supporting girls, oppose the sweating evil and child-labor, and demonstrate to working men the desire of the churches to serve them in every legitimate way.

13. *Education and Recreation*.—This committee will seek to create an intelligent interest in the public schools, to take the schools out of politics, to see that buildings are sanitary and that they provide adequate accommodations, that school laws, like that requiring instruction as to the effects of alcohol and narcotics on the human body, are enforced, and that the schools enjoy the best facilities for attaining the highest efficiency. This committee might appropriately consider the introduction of university extension, the kindergarten, manual training, cooking, and sewing classes, the English continuation and recreation schools, playgrounds, summer excursions for poor children and sickly mothers, outing clubs, fresh air funds, holiday houses, and the like.

14. *Legislation*.—This committee, by means of petitions and protests, will bring to bear the Christian conscience of the community on the legislature of the State with a view to encouraging good and defeating bad legislation touching social, moral and religious interests. Before the legislature convenes, this committee should district the community and assign to each district a competent person, who, on short notice, will circulate such petitions or protests as the Alliance may decide to send to the legislature.

Further information can be had from the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, United Charities Building, Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street, New York.

EVANS, FREDERICK WILLIAM, was born in Bromyard, England, in 1808. Spending his boyhood on a farm, he came to America with his father and brother, George Henry Evans (*q.v.*), in 1820. Apprenticed to a hatter, he managed to educate himself, and later traveled as far as New Orleans, also paying a visit to England. In 1830 he joined the Shakers at Mount Lebanon, N. Y., and in 1838 became assistant elder in the "North Family," and in 1858 elder of three families. From 1873-75 he edited a little paper, *The Shaker and Shakeress*. He has written *Compendium of Principles, Rules, Doctrines, and Government of Shakers*, with biographies of Ann Lee and

City Reforms.

others (1859); *Autobiography of a Shaker* (1869); *Tests of a Divine Revelation* (1869); *Shaker Communism* (1871); *Religious Communism*, a lecture delivered in St. George's Hall, London (1872); *The Second Appearing of Christ* (1873).

EVANS, GEORGE HENRY (brother of the above), was born in Bromyard, England, in 1805. He came with his father and brother to America in 1820. He edited and published the first labor papers in America: *The Man*, at Ithaca, N. Y., about 1822; *The Working Man's Advocate*, New York, a part of the time 1825-30; *The Daily Sentinel* in 1837 in New York, and *Young America* in New York and Rahway, N. J., 1853. The demands advocated by Evans and printed at the head of *Young America* were: 1. The right of man to the soil. "Vote yourself a farm." 2. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank. 3. Freedom of public lands. 4. Homesteads made inalienable. 5. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts. 6. A general bankrupt law. 7. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages. 8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt. 9. Equal rights for women with men in all respects. 10. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery. 11. Land limitation to 160 acres. 12. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath. Later G. H. Evans became a friend of Horace Greeley, and followed the political movements of the time with interest. He died in Granville, N. J., in 1855.

EVENING SCHOOLS.—The first evening school for boys and girls who had to work all day was founded in Bristol, England, in 1806, by the Benevolent Evening Schools Society. In 1811 the Rev. T. Charles established an evening school for adults at Bala, Merionethshire. In the course of a few years 30 towns possessed such schools. Bishop Hinds first *publicly* suggested the state establishment of evening schools in a letter to Mr. Senior, printed in 1839. In 1875 there were 73 such schools. At present Kings College, the University of London, the colleges at Nottingham, Cardiff, Newcastle, Bristol, report evening classes, with students varying from 700 to 2000 or more, while in London various technical and popular institutes do their main work in evening classes. These of course are mainly for working men and women. Some of the trade-unions have taken a leading part in establishing "recreative evening schools" in England.

In France, Italy, and Germany evening schools exist for children employed in factories. In Germany, Sunday-schools long alone met this need; but the evening schools are replacing these for adults.

In the United States the last census says:

"The available reports for public night schools justify the following statement, as approximately indicating the enrolment in the States named:

	Enrolment.
The United States.....	163,509
North Atlantic division.....	127,399

	Enrolment.
Maine.....	1,000
New Hampshire.....	1,200
Vermont.....	200
Massachusetts.....	24,820
Rhode Island.....	7,623
Connecticut.....	2,883
New York.....	55,000
New Jersey.....	6,673
Pennsylvania.....	28,000
South Atlantic division.....	3,510
Delaware.....	250
District of Columbia.....	2,510
Virginia.....	550
South Carolina.....	200
North Central division.....	26,800
Ohio.....	2,700
Illinois.....	10,000
Michigan.....	1,100
Wisconsin.....	3,000
Minnesota.....	5,500
Iowa.....	1,000
Missouri.....	2,200
Nebraska.....	1,300
South Central division.....	1,400
Kentucky.....	1,400
Western division.....	4,400
Colorado.....	200
Oregon.....	200
California.....	4,000

Says the census:

"Many cities maintain schools from 7 to 9 o'clock P.M. for from 30 to 90 or more sessions between November and May, presumably for those deprived of the benefit of ordinary schools by age or occupation.

"The tone of reports on these evening or night schools is more of faith in their future possibilities than of confidence in their present usefulness. Meagre numbers, irregular attendance, difficulty of discipline, exhaustion of both pupils and teachers by the employments of the day, damage to day schools by a loss of power in those who teach in night schools as well as day schools, are general comments relieved by some statements of excellent results.

"A somewhat common experience is a zealous fall opening, a good degree of interest to the Christmas holidays, then a break in the attendance and interest, followed by a more or less protracted struggle against decline till it is decided that the schools had better be closed."

Reference: See EDUCATION.

EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM.

—That biological principles and the teachings of the evolutionary philosophy have an important bearing on social reform is to-day all but universally admitted; yet, strange to say, even the best writers and authorities are utterly disagreed as to the reform position to which these principles lead. Mr. Herbert Spencer and some other writers use the theory of evolution as an argument against state interference with private property and the necessity of industrial competition to human progress. Mr. Benjamin Kidd is equally clear that evolution teaches the necessity of a great expansion of state interference, tho it must be an interference which shall preserve and not destroy competition. Professor Huxley uses biology to ridicule Spencer's position, while Professor Ritchie and most socialists make biology prove the necessity and practicability of an organic social life, where industrial competition shall disappear. Finally Pro-

fessor S. N. Patton, in his *Theory of Social Forces*, a work published in January, 1896, says (p. 5): "Even the theory of evolution has had as yet but little influence on the social concepts and ideals of the race;" and he argues that economics are psychological quite as truly as biological. To understand this confusion it is necessary to ask what evolution is.

"Evolution," says Professor Huxley (*Evolution in Biology*), "is at present employed in biology as a general name for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological characters which distinguish it." He says again (*American Addresses*, p. 10): "The hypothesis of evolution supposes that in all this vast progression there is no breach of continuity, . . . but that the whole might be compared to that wonderful process of development which may be seen going on every day under our eyes, in virtue of which there arises out of the semifluid, comparatively homogeneous substance, which we call an egg, the complicated organization of one of the higher animals."

Definitions of Evolution.

But we can be more definite than this. Says Spencer (*First Principles*, § 145):

"Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." But the word is often used in a still narrower sense than this, a sense which identifies it with some form of what is often also called Darwinism, and which makes it the theory of "the derivation or descent, with modification, of all existing species, genera, orders, classes, etc., of animals and plants from a few simple forms of life, if not from one" (*Century Dictionary*).

Thus far all authorities are practically agreed. But when we come to ask how this evolution has taken place we find more disagreement. We do not here refer to the fundamental questions of how evolution started; whether it is teleological; what it teaches concerning the existing of a divine power in or above nature. With these questions we are not here concerned. But the authorities differ even as to the ways in which evolution works wholly apart from the question of its origination or any divine element in it. There may be more agreement than first appears, but it is necessary to refer to the different views of evolution in order to understand their bearing on social reform.

The evolutionary hypothesis did not originate with Charles Darwin. The general thought of evolution is as old indeed as the Indian mystics and the Greek physicists. It finds a comparatively clear expression in Leibnitz's principle of continuity, and plays no small part in all German philosophy. Even in its Darwinian form it appears quite explicitly in the writings of Lamarck (Paris, 1809-22), of Dr. W. C. Wells, of Charleston, S. C. (1813), and of Sir Charles Lyell (1850). Lamarck taught, among other things, that the production of a new organ in an animal body results from the superintention of a new want (*besoin*) continuing to make itself felt, and a new movement which this want gives birth to and encourages.

It is this law which has been principally associated with Lamarck's name, and is often referred to as his hypothesis of the evolution of organs in animals by appetite or longing, although he did not teach that the animal's desires affect its conformation directly, but that altered wants lead to altered habits, which result in the formation of new organs, as well as in modification, growth, or dwindling of those previously existing.

Mr. Alfred Wallace, as early as 1855 (*Ann. and Mag. Nat. Hist.*, 1855), formally announced his belief in the

theory of descent of species, and intimated that the manifest adaptation of certain varieties to their surroundings secured them the best chances of perpetuation. Later records show that Mr. Wallace did not stop at this stage of development.

But it was Charles Darwin who, in his great book *The Origin of Species*, first placed the idea of evolution clearly before the world and gained the gradual assent of almost the whole thinking world to his argument in general, if not in detail. Darwin's theory has as its special points the inherent susceptibility and tendency to variation according to conditions of environment; the preservation and perfection of organs best suited to the individual in its struggle for existence; the perpetuation of the more favorably organized beings, and the destruction of those less fitted to service; the operation of natural selection, in which sexual selection is an important factor; and the general proposition that at any given time any given organism represents the result of the foregoing factors, acting in opposition to the hereditary tendency to adhere to the type or 'breed true.' Since Darwin's day two main schools have arisen. One school, sometimes called the Lamarckian, holds to the distinguishing principle of Lamarck, that acquired variations can be transmitted, and that since these variations are and must be adapted to external agencies and surroundings, and hence of greater value to the individual and the race, such variations are most important in the differentiation of new forms of life. The other school, following Weismann in Germany, has in the name of pure Darwinism or neo-Darwinism claimed that there is no satisfactory evidence that those variations which are the result of mechanical causes (acquired variations) can be inherited, that every instance in which the effects of use and disuse, of mutilations and prenatal influences and the like are supposed to be shown are capable of another explanation.

Most embryologists to-day probably incline to the school of Weismann; but the other side is ably supported, nor must it be forgotten that both sides admit that some variations at least can be transmitted.

Nor must the agreement of the two schools and the general acceptance by all biologists of the principle of evolution by the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest be forgotten. Says Mr. Benjamin Kidd (*Social Evolution*, p. 34):

"Progress everywhere from the beginning of life has been effected in the same way, and it is possible in no other way. It is the result of selection and rejection. In the human species, as in every other species which has ever existed, no two individuals of a generation are alike in all respects. There is infinite variation within certain limits. Some are slightly above the average in a particular direction as others are below it, and it is only when conditions prevail which are favorable to a preponderating reproduction of the former that advance in any direction becomes possible. To formulate this as the immutable law of progress since the beginning of life has been one of the principal results of the biological science of the century, and recent work, including the remarkable contributions of Professor Weismann in Germany, has all tended to establish it on foundations which are not now likely to be shaken."

With such a succinct statement as to the views of various schools of biologists as to evolution, we are now able to better understand the bearings of their views on social reform. That such a view must have deep bearing on social reform is obvious. That man's development is subject, in part at least, to the same laws which govern the development of plants and brute animal life no thinking man to-day denies, though, as we shall see, good authority questions whether these are the only laws which control human progress. We pass, therefore, to consider the different applications of evolutionary thought to social reform.

The leadership in the application of the doc-

trine of evolution to social science belongs undoubtedly to Herbert Spencer (*g.v.*), tho by no means all scientists follow his conclusions. Comte had already prepared the way by treating of human history as a natural process of continuous development, and much German philosophy tends the same way. But Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* (1862) first developed this thought into a connected system (*Synthetic Philosophy*), while his other works apply the thought to psychologic religion, ethics, sociology, education, etc. Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* applies the thought to politics. John Fiske's *Cosmic Philosophy* applies it still more to man's origin and development.

Herbert Spencer makes biology teach the folly of state intervention and the necessity of industrial competition. He argues that it is absolutely necessary to human progress that each individual should stand on his own legs, and that the "fittest" should survive. The struggle, he says, should go on "without violence" (*The Sins of Legislators in The Man versus The State*), but government should not interfere. He believes this process to be really benevolent, and says, "the poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many in shallows and in miseries, are decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence" (quoted by Mr. William M. Salter in *Anarchy or Government from Social Statics*, and said by Mr. Salter to be reaffirmed with approval [save as regards its teleological implication] in *The Sins of Legislators, The Man versus The State*).

Mr. Spencer also believes this competition to be just. Each one should gain "neither more nor less of benefit than his activities normally bring" (*Sociology*, vol. ii., § 575). "The superior," he says, should "have the good of his superiority, and the evil of his inferiority," and he would put a "veto on all public action which abstracts from some men part of the advantages they have earned, and awards to other men advantages they have not earned" (*ibid.*, vol. ii., § 567).

Mr. Spencer gives particular instances of what he means—he condemns public libraries, public museums, and public schools, since these mean the taxation of the more well-to-do for the benefit of the less well-to-do, and every one, he maintains, should have all the benefits of his exertions to himself, and none should have more benefits than his own exertions entitle him to (*The Sins of Legislators and the Great Political Superstition, in The Man versus The State*. Cf. *Sociology*, vol. ii., § 569).

This gives Mr. Spencer's general position, which he has developed at length in his *Social Statics, Man versus The State*, etc. (For a fuller statement of his view, see SPENCER.)

On questions of the method in evolution, Mr. Spencer follows the Lamarckian view. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, however (in his *Social Evolution*) takes Weismann's theory. Of the bearing of this difference on social reform, Mr. Kidd says (p. 191):

"If the old view is correct and the effects of use and education are transmitted by inheritance, then the Utopian dreams of philosophy in the past are undoubtedly possible of realization. If we tend to inherit in our own persons the result of the education and mental and moral culture of past generations, then we may venture to anticipate a future society which will not deteriorate, but which may continue to make progress, even tho the struggle for existence be suspended, the population regulated exactly to the means of subsistence, and the antagonism between the individual and the social organism extinguished, even as Mr. Herbert Spencer has anticipated" (*Data of Ethics*, chap. xiv.). "But if, as the writer believes, the views of the Weismann party are in the main correct; if there can be no progress except by the accumulation of congenital variations above the average to the exclusion of others below; if without the constant stress of selection which this involves, the tendency of every higher form of life is actually retrograde; then is the whole human race caught in the toils of that struggle and rivalry of life which has been in progress from the beginning. Then must the rivalry of existence continue, humanized as to conditions, it may be, but immutable and inevitable to the end.

Benjamin
Kidd.

Mr. Kidd argues that this is the law of all progress. He says (pp. 35-37):

"Looking back through the history of life anterior to man, we find it to be a record of ceaseless progress, on the one hand, and ceaseless stress and competition, on the other. This orderly and beautiful world which we see around us is now and always has been the scene of incessant rivalry between all the forms of life inhabiting it—rivalry, too, not chiefly conducted between different species, but between members of the same species. The plants in the greensward beneath our feet are engaged in silent rivalry with each other, a rivalry which if allowed to proceed without outside interference would know no pause until the weaker were exterminated. . . . The trees of the forest which clothe and beautify the landscape are in a state of nature engaged in the same rivalry with each other. Left to themselves, they fight out, as unmistakable records have shown, a stubborn struggle extending over centuries, in which at last only those forms most suitable to the conditions of the locality retain their places.

"But so far we view the rivalry under simple conditions; it is among the forms of animal life as we begin to watch the gradual progress upward to higher types that it becomes many-sided and complex. It is at this point that we encounter a feature of the struggle which recent developments of biological science tend to bring into ever-increasing prominence. The first necessity for every successful form engaged in this struggle is the capacity for reproduction beyond the limits which the conditions of life for the time being comfortably provide for. . . . Recent biological researches, and more particularly the investigations and conclusions of Professor Weismann, have tended to greatly develop Darwin's original hypothesis as to the conditions under which progress has been made in the various forms of life. It is now coming to be recognized as a necessarily inherent part of the doctrine of evolution, that if the continual selection which is always going on among the higher forms of life were to be suspended, these forms would not only possess no tendency to make progress forward, but must actually go backward. That is to say, if all the individuals of every generation in any species were allowed to actually propagate their kind, the average of each generation would continually tend to fall below the average of each generation which preceded it, and a process of slow but steady degeneration would ensue."

Natural
Selection.

Mr. Kidd applies this principle to man, and says (pp. 31-34):

"These laws, the observer soon convinces himself, have not been suspended in human society. On the contrary, he sees that they must have their most important seat of action there. To recognize this truth, one has only to remember that the discovery which in our time has raised biology from a mere record of isolated facts to a majestic story of orderly progress was not

suggested by the study of life among the lower animals. The law, by the enunciation of which Darwin most advanced the science of the nineteenth century,

Applied to Man.

took shape in the mind of the great biologist, after observation of human society—that society in particular which we see around us at the present day. Speaking of the workings of his mind before the *Origin of Species* was begun, Darwin says: 'In October, 1838—that is 15 months after I had begun my systematic inquiry, I happened to read for amusement Malthus on population; and being well prepared to appreciate the struggle for existence which everywhere goes on, from long-continued observation of the habits of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavorable ones to be destroyed. The result of this would be the foundation of a new species. Here, then, I had at last got a theory by which to work' (*The Life and Letters of Darwin*, by his son, autobiographical chapter, vol. 1). . . . Looking around at the lowest existing types of humanity, and comparing them with the highest, one feels immediately constrained to ask, 'Do we ever fully realize how this advance of which we are so proud, and which is represented by the intellectual social distance between these two extremes, has been brought about? We talk vaguely about it, and take for granted many things in connection with it; but the number of those who have grasped certain elementary biological laws of which it is the result, and which have controlled and directed it as rigidly as the law of gravity controls and directs a body falling to the earth, is surprisingly small. . . .

"At the outset we find man to be in one respect exactly like all the creatures which have come before him. He reproduces his kind from generation to generation. In doing so, he is subject to a law which must never be lost sight of. Left to himself, this high-born creature, whose progress we seem to take for granted, has not the slightest innate tendency to make any onward progress whatever. It may appear strange, but it is strictly true, that if each of us were allowed by the conditions of life to follow his own inclinations, the average of one generation would have no tendency whatever to rise beyond the average of the preceding one, but distinctly the reverse. This is not a peculiarity of man; it has been a law of life from the beginning, and it continues to be a universal law, which we have no power to alter."

As a result of this view, Mr. Kidd believes that to insure progress society must insure the perpetuation of competition. This, he says, is against the immediate interests of the industrially weaker classes, and therefore they are advocating socialism, the essence of which Mr. Kidd finds to consist in the elimination of competition. But Mr. Kidd says this cannot prevail, because it would mean biological deterioration and death. Through all our Western civilization Mr. Kidd finds a process going on born of the superrational sanctions of Christianity, tending to altruism, lifting up the lower classes, by an ever-widening democracy not toward socialism, but toward a condition where all classes can compete on planes of more perfect equality. He says (pp. 154-65):

"The Reformation liberated, as it were, into the practical life of the peoples affected by it that immense body of altruistic feeling which had been from the beginning the distinctive social product of the Christian religion" (p. 154). The clue to modern history, he says, lies "in the fact that it has consisted essentially in the gradual breaking down of the military organization of society which had previously prevailed and in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the great body of the people hitherto universally excluded under that constitution of society from all participation on equal terms in the rivalry of existence. . . . And it tends to culminate in a condition of society in which there shall be no privileged classes, and in which all the excluded people shall be last brought into the rivalry of life on a footing of equality, of opportunity, the significance of the whole process consisting in its tendency to raise the rivalry of existence to the highest degree of efficiency as a cause of progress, to which it has ever attained in the history of life."

Mr. Kidd thus formulates his conclusions as to social reform (pp. 237, 238):

"In the era upon which we are entering, the long, uphill effort to secure equality of opportunity, as well as equality of political rights, will of necessity involve not the restriction of the interference of the State, but the progressive extension of its sphere of action to almost every department of our social life. The movement in the direction of the regulation, control, and restriction of the rights of wealth and capital must be expected to continue, even to the extent of the State itself assuming these rights in cases where it is clearly proved that their retention in private hands must unduly interfere with the rights and opportunities of the body of the people. But the continuity of principle may be expected to remain evident under the new appearances. Even in such cases, the State will, in reality, assume such functions in order to preserve or secure free competition rather than to suspend it. Hence, the general tendency must be expected to be toward State interference and State control, on a greatly extended scale, rather than toward State management. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this that the development of society in the direction indicated will itself be a movement toward socialism. This is not so. The gulf between the state of society—toward which it is the tendency of the process of evolution now in progress to carry us—and socialism is wide and deep. The avowed aim of socialism is to suspend that personal rivalry and competition of life, which not only is now, but has been from the beginning of life, the fundamental impetus behind all progress. The inherent tendency of the process of social development now taking place among us is (as it has been from the beginning of our civilization) to raise this rivalry to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by bringing all the people into it on a footing of equality, and by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community, and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality. This is the meaning of that evolutionary process which has been slowly proceeding through the history of the Western peoples."

Not Socialism.

Contrary both to Mr. Spencer and to Mr. Kidd are the views of Professor Huxley. Of Mr. Spencer's view, Professor Huxley says (*Administrative Nihilism*, an address delivered to the Midland Institute, October 9, 1871):

"One of the profoundest of living English philosophers, who is at the same time the most thoroughgoing and consistent of the champions of astynocracy, has devoted a very able and ingenious essay to the drawing out of a comparison between the process by which men have advanced from the savage state to the highest civilization, and that by which an animal passes from the condition of an almost shapeless and structureless germ to that in which it exhibits a highly complicated structure and a corresponding diversity of powers. . . . All this appears to be very just. But if the resemblance between the body physiological and the body politic is any indication not only of what the latter is, and how it has become what it is, but of what it ought to be, and what it is tending to become, I cannot but think that the real force of the analogy is totally opposed to the negative view of State function."

"Suppose that, in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction, except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland, that it had a right to secrete, so long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own 'interests,' and *laissez faire* lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?"

"The fact is, that the sovereign power of the body thinks for the physiological organism, acts for it, and rules the individual components with a rod of iron. . . . Hence, if the analogy of the body politic with the body physiological counts for anything, it seems to me to be in favor of a much larger amount of governmental interference than exists at present, or than I, for one, at all desire to see. But, tempting as the opportunity is, I am not disposed to build up any argument in favor of my own case upon this analogy curious, interesting, and in many respects close as it

Huxley Opposed to Spencer's View.

is, for it takes no cognizance of certain profound and essential differences between the physiological and the political bodies."

Professor Huxley then goes on to state his own views, and says:

"When men living in society have once become aware that their welfare depends upon two opposing tendencies of equal importance—the one restraining, the other encouraging, individual freedom—the question, 'What are the functions of government?' is translated into another—namely, What ought we men, in our corporate capacity, to do, not only in the way of restraining that free individuality which is inconsistent with the existence of society, but in encouraging that free individuality which is essential to the evolution of the social organization? The formula which truly defines the function of government must contain the solution of both the problems involved, and not merely of one of them.

"Locke has furnished us with such a formula, in the noblest, and at the same time briefest, statement of the purpose of government known to me:

'THE END OF GOVERNMENT IS THE GOOD OF MANKIND'
(Of Civil Government, § 229).

"But the good of mankind is not a something which is absolute and fixed for all men, whatever their capacities or state of civilization. Doubtless it is possible to imagine a true 'Civitas Dei,' in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong, and his culture sufficiently extensive, to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after. And in that blessed state police will be as much a superfluity as every other kind of government.

"But the eye of man has not beheld that state, and is not likely to behold it for some time to come. What we do see, in fact, is that states are made up of a considerable number of the ignorant and foolish, a small proportion of genuine knaves, and a sprinkling of capable and honest men, by whose efforts the former are kept in a reasonable state of guidance, and the latter of repression. And such being the case, I do not see how any limit whatever can be laid down as to the extent to which, under some circumstances, the action of government may be rightfully carried. . . . The question when to draw the line between those things with which the state ought, and those with which it ought not, to interfere, then, is one which must be left to be decided separately for each individual case. The difficulty which meets the statesman is the same as that which meets us all in individual life, in which our abstract rights are generally clear enough, tho it is frequently extremely hard to say at what point it is wise to cease our attempts to enforce them."

Professor Huxley wrote before Mr. Kidd's *Social Evolution* appeared; but among his latest utterances he showed that there was a deep division to be drawn between the biological laws which govern the development of the lower forms of creation and those which govern man. He says (*The Struggle for Existence* in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888, pp. 165, 166):

"Society, like art, is a part of nature. But it is convenient to distinguish those parts of nature in which man plays the part of immediate cause as something apart; and, therefore, society, like art, is usefully to be considered as distinct from nature. It is the more desirable, and even necessary, to make this distinction, since society differs from nature in having a definite moral object; whence it comes about that the course shaped by the ethical man—the member of society or citizen—necessarily runs counter to that which the non-ethical man—the primitive savage, or man as a mere member of the animal kingdom—tends to adopt. The latter fights out the struggle for existence to the bitter end, like any other animal; the former devotes his best energies to the object of setting limits to the struggle.

"The history of civilization—that is, of society, is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape from this position (*i.e.*, the struggle for existence in which those who were best fitted to cope with their circumstances, but not the best in any other

sense, survived). The first men who substituted the state of mutual peace for that of mutual war, whatever the motive which impelled them to take that step, created society. But in establishing peace, they obviously put a limit upon the struggle for existence. Between the members of that society, at any rate, it was not to be pursued *à outrance*. And of all the successive shapes which society has taken, that most nearly approaches perfection in which war of individual against individual is most strictly limited."

Professor D. G. Ritchie, in his *Darwinism and Politics*, carries the argument still further, and shows, in the first place, that "the survival of the fittest" does not necessarily mean the survival of the best. He says:

"The phrase 'survival of the fittest' is very apt to mislead, for it suggests the fittest or best in every sense or in the highest sense, whereas it only means, as Professor Huxley has pointed out, 'those best fitted to cope with their circumstances' (article in *The Struggle for Existence*, in *Nineteenth Century*, for February, 1888, p. 165), in order to survive and transmit offspring. Now when we come to consider society, we have to deal with a very complex set of phenomena, and what is fittest in one aspect may not be fittest in another. But natural selection implies no further morality than 'nothing succeeds like success.' If the struggle for food and mates be carried on its lowest terms, the strongest and the strongest only would be selected. But cunning can do a great deal against strength. Now we cannot be sure that a good combination of strength and cunning will be selected: strength in some cases, cunning in others, is what we find by comparing different species of animals and different races of men. Again, the strongest and largest and in many ways finest animals are not necessarily those most capable of adapting themselves to changed circumstances. The insignificant may more easily find food and escape enemies. We cannot be sure that evolution will always lead to what we should regard as the greatest perfection of any species. Degeneration enters in as well as progress. The latest theory about the Aryan race makes the Aryans come from the north of Europe, conquer the feeblar races of the south, and, having proved its fitness in this way, prove its unfitness in another by being less capable of surviving in a warm climate than they; so that an Aryan language may be spoken where there remains little or no Aryan blood. Are we entitled to maintain, with regard to human races and human individuals, that the fittest always survive, except in the sense in which the proposition is a truism, that those survive who are most capable of surviving?"

**"Survival
of the Fit-
test" Not
the Best.**

"Further, we must emphasize the fact that the struggle goes on not merely between individual and individual, but between race and race. The struggle among plants and the lower animals is mainly between members of the same species; and the individual competition between human beings, which is so much admired by Mr. Herbert Spencer, is of this primitive kind. When we come to the struggle between kinds, it is to be noticed that it is fiercest between allied kinds; and so, as has been pointed out, the economic struggle between Great Britain and the United States is fiercer than elsewhere between nations. But so soon as we pass to the struggle between race and race, we find new elements coming in. The race which is fittest to survive, *i.e.*, most capable of surviving, will survive; but it does not therefore follow that the individuals thereby preserved will be the fittest, either in the sense of being those who in a struggle between individual and individual would have survived, or in the sense of being those whom we should regard as the finest specimens of their kind. . . . Admirable, doubtless—this scheme of salvation for the elect by the damnation of the vast majority; but, pray, do not let us hear anything more about its beneficence."

"I am not speaking at random about these ethical applications of the conception of struggle for existence. Darwin himself, as always, is most cautious and guarded in his reference to anything that lies outside his own special sphere of observation. He looks forward to the elimination of the lower races by the higher civilized races throughout the world (*Life and Letters*, I, p. 316). He points out how 'a struggle for existence, consequent on his rapid multiplication,' has advanced man to his present high condition; 'and if he is to advance still higher, it is to be feared that

he must remain subject to a severe struggle. Otherwise he would sink into indolence, and the more gifted men would not be more successful in the battle of life than the less gifted' (*Descent of Man*, p. 319). This, doubtless, includes the old objection which Aristotle brought against Plato's communism, that man needs a stimulus to exertion and industry. But there is no jubilation, no exaltation of a natural law into an ethical ideal. And let us know how Darwin modifies this very statement in the words that follow:

"Important as the struggle for existence has been and even still is, yet as far as the highest part of man's nature is concerned there are other agencies more important. For the moral qualities are advanced, either directly or indirectly, much more through the effects of habit, the reasoning powers, instruction, religion, etc., than through natural selection; tho to this latter agency may be safely attributed the social instincts which afforded the basis for the development of the moral sense."

Socialists, however, usually go farther than any of the above writers, and argue from evolution not only that the struggle for existence is not the only law of human progress, but that it teaches the development and survival of combination over competition. Says a recent writer (anonymously):

"This law of organic evolution does not stop with the development of the physical. It is the same throughout the entire realm of phenomena. It passes over into the immaterial and builds up political, social, and moral institutions in almost precisely the same manner as physical organisms are formed. In the political aspect of the world the start is also had with the individual or unit.

Then follows a community of units, the town, for instance. The same law of development or community of vital interests results in the organization of counties, States and nations, each a political organism, with functions peculiar to its specific plane of being or place in the body politic; but all, when perfected, working harmoniously together for the common good and equal rights of the units, the individual men and women that form the organism or political body. This same law of progressive development also foreshadows the time when there will be a confederacy of nations, a political world organism, a race unity, the highest functions of which will be to secure to the race—unit—man the freedom of a fair chance in the exercise of his inalienable right to preserve and enhance his inherent individuality."

Socialists believe in the evolution of competition. Says W. D. P. Bliss (*Handbook of Socialism*, p. 21):

"Competition was once mainly physical; this produced the survival of the fittest to survive in *physical strife*. 'There were giants in those days,' the Nimrods, the Goliaths, the Agamemnonns, 'kings of men.' Organized society gradually restrained that physical strife, and competition became chiefly military between States. This was the distinguishing feature of the Greek State and of the Roman civilization. It produced an Alexander, a Hannibal, a Caesar, and continued to the time of Napoleon, and is not yet dead. But gradually advancing fraternalism has replaced military by industrial competition. To-day men strive neither with guns nor with poisoned arrows, so much as with cornerings of the market and with poisoned groceries. It has produced the survival of the fittest to survive in such a strife—the Rothschilds, the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Pullmans, the Napoleons of finance. Therefore, socialists do not urge the abolition of competition. They simply say that it is time to lift competition to a higher level, and make it intellectual, not industrial. As organized fraternalism has to a large measure put down physical strife, and is putting down militarism, so socialists would have it gradually supplant industrial competition by industrial cooperation."

A recent work, however, on social evolution is Professor S. N. Patton's *Theory of the Social Forces* (January, 1896). He says (p. 7): "Evolution has thus far been studied as a problem of biology. This has been due more to what I

would call a happy accident than to any necessity of the situation. Darwin admits that he obtained the clue to his theory through reading Malthus's *Essay on Population*, and in many respects the attitude of the author of the *Origin of Species* is that of an economist. It is only by later writers that the economic elements in the problem are neglected, and that the theory is based solely upon biologic evidence. The happy accident to which I have referred is the fact that the history of past organic life is so plainly recorded in the various organisms of the present and in the fossil remains of earlier forms."

Professor Patton then goes on to argue that evolution is the result of the action of environment upon organism; that biology has studied organism (because of the "happy accident" that this is what could be best historically studied), but has neglected environment. He quotes Spencer as saying (*Psychology*, vol. i., p. 134): "Throughout biology proper the environment and its correlated phenomena are either but tacitly recognized, or overtly and definitely recognized, are so but occasionally, while the organism and its correlated phenomena practically monopolize the attention." Here Professor Patton finds the weak point in current economic discussions. They have overlooked environment, and, says Professor Patton (p. 5), "the present environment of the race is so different from its predecessors that a new social philosophy is demanded to explain its effects." Hence Professor Patton's essay is "an attempt to recast current social philosophy and to introduce into it elements which thus far have been overlooked." These elements are largely psychologic, and, according to Professor Patton, deserve to rank equally with the biologic factors. By such an analysis of man's present environment Professor Patton forecasts "a social commonwealth," based upon a pure pleasure economy, even as state socialism, according to him, is the ideal of those suffering from the evils of a fair economy. This social commonwealth, however, he says, must not be assumed to be the highest or final state. "If a progressive evolution continues," he tells us (p. 6), "other societies will be possible, each of which will differ from its predecessor as radically as the society I describe differs from our present society."

References: See the books quoted in this article. See also BIOLOGY.

EXCHANGE, in economic science, may be defined as the giving of one commodity or service for another commodity or service. It lies at the basis of almost all modern production and distribution. Little is produced to-day by one's self for one's self. Without exchange of services and of commodities there could scarcely be production or distribution on any large scale. This is so much so that some have identified all political economy as the science of exchange or catalactics. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY, also CATALACTICS.) Others have proposed to do away with exchange as a separate title or subject, considering it under production and distribution. Most economists make it, however, a distinct and important part of political economy. Adam Smith attributes exchange to the division of labor, and treats it before he considers wages,

profits, or rents (*Wealth of Nations*, book i., chap. iv.). Both James and John Stuart Mill treat it after treating of production and distribution and slight exchange. The latter says: "Exchange and money make no difference in the law of wages, in the law of rent, nor in the law of profit" (*Principles*, book iii., chap. xxvi.). On the other hand, most economists believe wages, rent, and profit are not possible without exchange, and cannot be studied till we understand exchange. Professor Walker puts exchange at least before distribution; and Professors Sedgwick and Marshall treat distribution and exchange as too intimate to be separated.

Under the section "Exchange" (*Political Economy*, Part III., revised edition), Professor Walker says:

"Under the title 'Exchange' in a systematic treatise on political economy, I would consider the ratios of exchange, the terms on which goods, commodities, articles possessing value, items in the sum of wealth exchange for one another. Why does so much of this commodity exchange for so much of that?" It is obvious that this raises the whole question to-day so much mooted of value. It will, therefore, in this encyclopedia best be treated under the head VALUE (*q. v.*).

EXCHANGE, FOREIGN. See FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

EXCHANGE, STOCK. See STOCK EXCHANGE.

EXCHANGE VALUE. See VALUE.

EXCISE (from Lat. *ex-cide*, cut off) is a duty laid upon any commodity produced within a country in distinction from those custom duties (see **TARIFF**) which are levied upon imports. The derivation implies that the excise is something cut off from the price for the benefit of the state. It is an indirect tax, because, tho levied on the product, it falls on the consumer. Excise duties are an old form of duty, begun in England under this name as early as 1643, being laid on ale and all forms of intoxicating drinks, and later on a long list of articles of food and clothing. The necessities of life were later excepted. Excise duties were at first duties on commodities produced in or out of a country. Robert Walpole, in 1733, introduced a famous excise scheme, whereby tobacco and, later,

wine paid no duty, but was warehoused under the control of excise officers, and paid excise duties only as sold within the country. It produced a great excitement, and was abandoned. To-day excise duties are paid in England on beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, dogs, gun and game licenses, carriages, male servants, armorial bearings, railway tickets, by auctioneers, peddlers, farm brokers, tavern-keepers, etc.

In the United States, excise duties were disliked as inheritances from the English Government, and an effort was early made to enact a constitutional amendment forbidding excise duties; but in 1790 Hamilton proposed and got passed an excise duty on spirits. In 1792 it was lowered, and under Jefferson abolished. The War of 1812 led to an excise duty on distilled spirits, domestic refined sugar, salt, carriages, etc. But in 1817 these were abolished, and no excise duty was levied till the internal tax of 1862. (See **INTERNAL REVENUE**.) The excise duties in Great Britain for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1895, were \$129,378,130. The internal revenue of the United States in 1895 was \$143,421,672. (For a discussion of excise duties, see **TAXATION**.)

EXECUTIVE. See **PRESIDENT**; **SOVEREIGN**, etc.

EXPENDITURES (FAMILY).—According to the well-known laws formulated by Dr. Engels, head of the Prussian Royal Bureau of the Statistics of Labor, expenditures in different families conform to the following principles:

1. That the greater the income, the smaller the relative percentage of outlay for subsistence.
2. That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income.
3. That the percentage of the outlay for lodging or rent, and for fuel and light, is invariably the same, whatever the income.
4. That as the income increases in amount the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater.

These principles seem in the main substantiated by the most careful investigation.* The most extensive investigation thus far made is probably that reported by the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1891, the result of which we condense here. It is based on investigations in the iron, coal, glass, cotton and woolen industries. The following tables are abridged from the report (vol. ii., pp. 864, 865):

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURES IN NORMAL FAMILIES.

OBJECTS OF EXPENDITURE.	INCOME UNDER \$200.		INCOME, \$200-\$300.		INCOME, \$500-\$600.		INCOME, \$900-\$1,000.		INCOME ALL SIZES.	
	Europe.	United States.	Europe.	United States.	Europe.	United States.	Europe.	United States.	Europe.	United States.
Rent	9.38	15.48	12.05	14.65	10.26	15.15	10.49	14.06	11.29	15.05
Fuel	5.38	7.07	5.62	6.59	3.32	5.63	5.19	4.00	4.88	5.01
Lighting	1.66	1.01	1.68	1.06	1.37	.97	1.53	.74	1.54	.90
Clothing	19.08	12.82	14.16	14.33	15.21	15.27	14.15	16.84	15.00	15.31
Food	48.32	49.64	49.62	44.26	50.06	43.84	46.24	34.34	48.78	41.05
Other Purposes	16.18	13.98	16.87	19.21	19.78	19.14	22.40	29.12	18.51	22.68

* Dr. Engels is now publishing a series of studies on the family budgets of all countries.

Expenditures (Family).

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Expenditures (Family).

The following gives comparisons for different countries for the above industries :

COUNTRIES.	Income.	AVERAGE EXPENDITURES.			
		Rent.	Fuel.	Food.	Other.
United States.....	\$657.39	\$76.03	\$26.67	\$250.62	\$305
Great Britain.....	502.76	47.21	20.47	232.61	202
France.....	413.80	32.99	13.44	182.21	185
Belgium.....	433.27	29.93	15.99	200.64	187
Germany.....	320.02	27.07	10.59	168.82	123
Switzerland.....	358.56	25.44	23.48	179.28	130

COUNTRIES.	CLOTHING.			Taxes.	Insurance.	SOCIETIES.	
	Husband.	Wife.	Children.			Labor.	Other.
United States.....	\$33.68	\$23.72	\$54.83	\$7.37	\$24.84	\$7.33	\$8.64
Great Britain.....	22.15	20.50	37.94	8.44	15.60	7.34	7.93
France.....	29.49	14.76	38.35	2.47	4.34	3.79	3.78
Belgium.....	23.98	12.38	48.25	4.69	2.75	3.23	5.68
Germany.....	20.04	11.20	25.88	3.54	10.34	1.30	3.15
Switzerland.....	22.68	11.78	30.92	2.07	8.89	.39	3.35

COUNTRIES.	Amusements and Vacations.	Intoxicating Liquors.	Tobacco.	Books and Newspapers.	Religion.	Charity.
United States.....	\$13.38	\$22.82	\$10.66	\$6.41	\$7.99	\$3.93
Great Britain.....	23.55	23.22	11.43	4.95	6.74	3.08
France.....	13.38	31.84	6.60	3.35	3.00	3.47
Belgium.....	17.43	25.77	6.20	2.33	0.96	1.83
Germany.....	7.97	12.50	3.87	2.11	1.17	0.78
Switzerland.....	20.57	15.97	3.25	1.77	1.76	.....

These statistics for the United States are based on the expenditures of 487 families in the pig iron industry, 203 in the bar iron, 70 in the steel, 309 in the bituminous coal, 104 in the coke, 66 in the iron ore, 639 in the cotton, 323 in the woolen, 773 in the glass. Each industry was averaged separately, and the above averages are the average of the industry averages.

For Great Britain, the statistics are based on the expenditures of 39 families in the pig iron industry, 73 in the bar iron, 72 in the steel, 137 in the bituminous coal, 11 in the coke, 164 in the cotton, 59 in the wool, and 22

in the glass. For France: 40 in the bar iron, 61 in the cotton, 128 in the wool. For Belgium: 71 in the pig iron, 45 in the bar iron, 9 in the bituminous coal, 4 in the coke, 24 in the glass. For Germany: 22 in the bar iron, 35 in the steel, 16 in the bituminous coal, 10 in the coke, 37 in the iron ore, 70 in the cotton, 23 in the woolen. For Switzerland: 46 in the cotton industry.

The following tables, taken from various earlier investigations in Massachusetts, Illinois, and Great Britain, and quoted in the above-mentioned United States report, confirm the same general results.

MASSACHUSETTS.—PERCENTAGES OF EXPENDITURES.—AMOUNT, \$754.42.

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE.	Massachusetts Budgets, 1883.	Engel's Prussian Law.	Massachusetts Bureau Table, 1875.	Average.
Subsistence.....	\$49.28	\$50.00	\$56.00	\$51.76
Clothing.....	15.95	18.00	15.00	16.32
Rent.....	19.74	12.00	17.25	16.25
Fuel.....	4.30	5.00	6.00	5.10
Sundry expenses.....	10.73	15.00	6.00	10.57
Totals.....	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGES OF EXPENDITURES BY THE FAMILIES OF WORKING MEN IN ILLINOIS, MASSACHUSETTS, GREAT BRITAIN, AND PRUSSIA.

ITEMS.	Illinois.	Massachusetts.	Great Britain.	Prussia.*	Average.
Subsistence.....	\$41.38	\$49.28	\$51.36	\$55.00	\$49.25
Clothing.....	21.00	15.05	18.12	18.00	18.27
Rent.....	17.42	19.74	13.48	12.00	15.66
Fuel.....	5.63	4.30	3.50	5.00	4.61
Sundries.....	14.57	10.73	13.54	10.00	12.21
Totals.....	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00

* It is to be noted that for Prussia a family of the intermediate class is taken.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.—We devote this article exclusively to statistics of the exports and imports of the United States and Great Britain. (For a discussion of the principles involved, see COMMERCE; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION; VALUE, etc.)

THE UNITED STATES.

According to the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1895, p. 83, the merchandise imported and exported, and the annual excess of imports or of exports from 1845 to 1895 in specie values were as follows:

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	EXPORTS.		Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.		
1845.....	\$9,455,330	\$7,584,781	\$13,184,322	\$7,144,211
1846.....	101,718,042	7,865,206	117,914,065	8,330,817
1847.....	150,574,844	6,166,754	124,424,349	— 34,317,249
1848.....	130,203,709	7,866,806	148,638,644	10,448,129
1849.....	131,710,081	9,041,091	141,206,199	855,027
1850.....	134,900,233	9,275,493	173,509,526	29,133,800
1851.....	178,620,138	10,945,121	210,771,429	21,856,170
1852.....	154,931,147	12,053,084	207,440,398	40,456,167
1853.....	189,860,162	13,620,120	263,777,265	60,287,983
1854.....	215,328,300	21,715,464	297,803,794	60,700,030
1855.....	12,751,135	26,158,368	257,808,708	38,899,205
1856.....	266,438,051	14,971,372	310,432,310	29,212,887
1857.....	278,906,713	14,977,047	348,428,342	54,604,582
1858.....	251,351,033	20,660,241	263,338,654	— 8,672,620
1859.....	278,392,080	24,500,971	231,933,341	38,431,290
1860.....	316,242,823	17,333,634	353,616,119	20,040,662
1861.....	204,869,616	14,654,217	280,310,542	69,756,709
1862.....	179,644,024	11,026,477	189,356,677	— 1,313,824
1863.....	186,003,912	17,906,535	243,335,815	30,371,368
1864.....	143,504,027	15,333,961	316,447,283	157,609,295
1865.....	136,940,248	29,089,055	238,745,580	72,716,277

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	EXPORTS.		Imports.	Excess of Imports over Exports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.		
1866.....	\$337,518,102	\$11,341,420	\$434,812,066	\$85,952,544
1867.....	279,786,800	24,719,332	395,761,096	101,254,955
1868.....	269,389,909	12,502,999	357,430,440	75,483,541
1869.....	275,166,097	10,195,100	417,506,379	131,388,682
1870.....	376,616,473	15,155,295	435,958,408	43,186,640
1871.....	428,398,908	14,421,270	520,223,684	77,403,506
1872.....	428,487,131	15,099,455	626,595,977	182,417,491
1873.....	505,033,439	17,440,483	642,136,210	119,656,288
1874.....	569,433,421	16,849,619	507,406,342	— 18,876,698
1875.....	499,284,100	14,158,611	533,005,436	19,562,725
1876.....	555,824,247	14,802,424	460,741,190	— 79,634,811
1877.....	580,709,224	14,804,966	451,323,126	— 151,150,094
1878.....	680,709,268	14,156,498	437,051,532	— 257,814,234
1879.....	698,349,790	12,008,661	445,777,777	— 264,661,666
1880.....	823,946,353	11,692,305	667,954,746	— 167,683,912
1881.....	883,925,947	18,451,399	642,654,628	— 259,719,718
1882.....	733,239,732	17,302,525	724,639,574	— 25,902,683
1883.....	804,223,632	10,615,770	723,180,314	— 100,658,488
1884.....	724,064,852	15,538,757	667,607,693	— 72,815,916
1885.....	726,682,946	15,506,809	577,527,329	— 164,662,426
1886.....	665,064,529	13,560,301	635,436,136	— 44,888,694
1887.....	703,224,923	12,100,288	602,319,768	— 23,863,443
1888.....	783,862,104	12,092,423	723,957,114	28,002,607
1889.....	639,282,600	11,182,766	745,131,652	— 2,730,277
1890.....	845,293,828	12,534,856	789,310,409	— 68,158,275
1891.....	872,297,283	12,100,527	844,166,196	— 39,564,614
1892.....	1,015,733,011	15,546,137	827,402,462	— 202,875,686
1893.....	831,030,785	16,430,490	866,400,922	— 18,737,728
1894.....	869,204,937	22,935,635	654,994,622	— 237,145,959
1895.....	793,392,599	14,145,566	731,969,605	— 75,568,200

The minus sign (—) before the amount indicates excess of exports over imports.

According to the same authority, the values of domestic merchandise, grouped according to sources of production, exported during 1860, 1870, and from 1875 to 1895, were as follows:

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MERCHANDISE OTHER THAN MANUFACTURES.*						EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.	
	AGRICULTURE.		MINING.	FOREST.	FISHERIES.	MISCELLANEOUS.	Values.	Per Cent.
	Values.	Per Cent.	Values.	Values.	Values.	Values.	Values.	Per Cent.
1860.....	\$256,560,072	81.13	\$999,465	\$10,299,059	\$4,156,480	\$3,879,655	\$40,345,892	12.76
1870.....	361,188,483	79.35	5,026,111	14,897,993	2,835,508	2,986,512	68,279,764	15.00
1875.....	430,306,570	76.95	6,469,181	19,165,997	4,874,660	5,742,506	92,678,814	16.57
1877.....	456,133,515	76.67	7,122,980	18,076,668	5,874,445	6,742,550	101,637,543	17.08
1879.....	459,734,143	72.63	8,779,760	19,943,200	5,737,791	4,861,219	133,933,549	21.40
1878.....	536,102,873	77.07	6,732,210	17,755,396	6,434,182	4,833,164	123,807,196	16.79
1879.....	546,476,793	78.12	6,405,813	16,336,943	6,281,368	7,021,186	117,015,729	17.72
1880.....	685,061,091	83.25	5,863,232	17,321,268	5,255,402	6,689,340	102,856,015	12.48
1881.....	739,394,943	82.63	7,401,282	19,486,051	5,550,439	6,854,013	114,233,219	12.02
1882.....	552,210,819	75.31	8,175,692	25,580,264	6,107,752	6,271,859	134,794,346	18.38
1883.....	610,269,449	77.00	10,446,710	28,636,190	6,276,375	5,366,870	134,228,083	16.69
1884.....	536,315,318	73.08	15,022,255	26,222,959	5,614,111	5,641,322	136,372,887	18.81
1885.....	530,172,668	72.06	15,797,885	22,014,830	5,955,122	5,554,600	147,187,527	20.25
1886.....	484,954,595	72.82	13,654,286	20,961,708	5,138,806	4,713,156	136,541,978	20.50
1887.....	523,073,798	74.41	11,758,662	21,126,273	5,155,775	5,173,310	136,735,105	19.45
1888.....	500,840,086	73.23	17,993,895	23,991,092	5,518,552	5,218,392	130,300,087	19.05
1889.....	532,141,490	72.87	19,047,518	26,997,127	7,106,388	5,414,579	138,675,507	18.90
1890.....	629,820,308	74.51	22,297,755	29,473,084	7,428,385	5,141,420	151,102,376	17.87
1891.....	642,751,344	73.69	22,054,970	28,715,713	7,208,577	3,612,364	168,927,315	19.37
1892.....	799,328,232	78.60	20,692,885	27,957,423	5,493,587	3,838,047	158,510,937	15.61
1893.....	615,382,936	74.05	20,020,026	28,127,113	5,451,378	3,993,164	158,203,118	19.02
1894.....	628,303,038	72.28	20,440,598	28,010,953	4,261,920	4,409,944	138,718,484	21.14
1895.....	553,210,026	69.73	18,509,818	28,576,235	5,328,807	4,171,974	133,595,743	23.14

* The group "Other than manufactures" embraces substantially all articles crude or slightly enhanced in value by manufacture.

Note 1. For the kinds of articles embraced in the respective groups, see Appendix to the Annual Report on Commerce and Navigation, 1893, p. cxxx.

Note 2. The values of exports of products of domestic agriculture from the United States for decennial fiscal years prior to 1860 were as follows: 1820, \$1,657,673, or 81 per cent.; 1830, \$48,905,184, or 82 per cent.; 1840, \$92,548,067, or 83 per cent.; 1850, \$108,605,713, or 81 per cent. of all exports of merchandise.

The value of some main exports for the different years ending June 30 are :

	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Raw cotton.....	4,872,060	5,020,913	5,820,779	5,891,411	4,431,220	5,397,509	6,965,358
Wheat	46,414,129	54,387,767	55,131,948	57,280,351	117,121,109	88,415,230	76,102,704
Wheat flour.....	41,652,701	45,275,906	51,420,272	161,399,132	93,534,970	59,407,041	43,805,663
	9,374,803	12,231,711	11,344,304	15,196,769	16,620,339	16,859,533	15,268,892
	45,296,485	57,036,138	54,795,616	75,362,283	75,494,347	69,271,770	51,651,928

The values of imports of merchandise, grouped according to degree of manufacture and uses, from 1886 to 1894, were as follows :

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	ARTICLES—									
	OF FOOD AND LIVE ANIMALS.		IN A CRUDE CON- DITION, WHICH ENTER INTO THE VARIOUS PROCESSES OF DOMESTIC INDUS- TRY.		WHOLLY OR PAR- TIALLY MANU- FACTURED FOR USE AS MATE- RIALS IN THE MANUFACTURES AND MECHANIC ARTS.		MANUFACTURED, READY FOR CON- SUMPTION.		OF VOLUNTARY USE, LUXURIES, ETC.	
	Values.	Per Cent.	Values.	Per Cent.	Values.	Per Cent.	Values.	Per Cent.	Values.	Per Cent.
1886.....	\$199,176,495	31.35	\$148,146,022	23.31	\$78,843,160	12.41	\$127,975,118	20.14	\$81,295,431	12.79
1887.....	213,973,334	30.92	168,199,431	24.30	80,328,760	11.60	139,969,453	20.21	89,848,790	12.97
1888.....	220,786,451	30.50	174,270,070	24.07	84,932,085	11.73	147,988,782	20.44	95,979,726	13.26
1889.....	239,140,245	32.10	178,646,235	23.96	83,979,997	11.27	149,080,553	19.61	97,284,622	13.06
1890.....	251,944,708	31.92	180,846,654	22.91	84,746,767	10.74	157,943,573	20.01	113,828,707	14.42
1891.....	284,715,737	33.72	196,393,669	23.27	107,024,423	12.91	138,469,966	16.21	118,312,401	13.89
1892.....	303,158,928	36.64	204,093,996	24.67	83,206,471	10.06	132,178,815	15.97	104,764,252	12.66
1893.....	271,585,993	31.34	226,711,989	26.17	93,753,902	11.40	143,493,447	16.56	125,855,591	14.53
1894.....	278,338,429	42.49	137,027,024	20.92	67,510,926	10.31	92,719,494	14.15	79,398,749	12.13

According to tables prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, the Foreign Trade of the United States during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895, was as follows :

EXPORTS.

ARTICLES.	Quantities.	Values.	ARTICLES.]	Quantities.	Values.
MERCHANDISE.			MERCHANDISE.		
Agricultural implements.....		\$5,413,075	Oil cake, oil cake meal.....lbs.	733,652,495	\$7,165,587
Animals.....		35,754,045	Oils: Animal.....galls.	1,467,156	578,445
Books, maps, engravings, and other printed matter.....		2,316,217	“ Mineral, crude.....galls.	111,285,264	5,161,710
Breadstuffs: Corn.....bush.	27,691,137	14,659,767	“ Mineral, refined or manufactured.....		41,498,372
“ Wheat.....bush.	76,102,704	43,805,663	“ Vegetable.....		7,342,112
“ Wheat Flour, bbls.....	15,268,892	51,651,928	Paper, and manufactures of..		2,185,257
“ All other.....		4,496,412	Paraffine, Paraffine wax.....lbs.	95,076,165	3,569,614
Carriages, horse, and railroad cars.....		2,382,714	Provisions: Beef products.lbs.	344,600,048	27,478,651
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines.....		8,189,142	“ Hog products.lbs.	1,092,024,847	89,757,428
Clocks and watches.....		1,204,005	“ Oleomargarine, lbs.....	88,199,775	8,099,482
Coal: Anthracite.....tons	1,397,204	5,918,220	“ Other meat prod- ucts.....		1,665,961
“ Bituminous.....tons	2,374,988	5,180,398	“ Dairy products... ..		6,632,857
Copper Ore.....tons	10,281	1,104,515	Seeds: Clover.....lbs.	22,900,672	2,124,997
“ Manufactures of.....		14,668,793	“ All other.....		724,148
Cotton, Unmanufactured, lbs.	3,517,433,109	204,900,900	Spirits, Distilled..proof galls.	3,271,764	2,991,686
“ Manufactures of.....		13,789,810	Sugar, molasses, syrup.galls.	9,148,711	850,400
Fish.....		4,501,830	“ Refined.....lbs.	8,833,522	406,924
Flax, hemp, and jute, manu- factures of.....		1,722,559	Tobacco, Unmanufactured, lbs.....	300,991,930	25,798,968
Fruits, apples, green or ripe, bbls.....	818,711	1,954,318	“ Manufactures of.....		3,953,165
Fruits and nuts, all other.....		3,017,473	Vegetables.....		1,543,458
Furs and fur skins.....		3,923,130	Wood, and manufactures of..		27,115,997
Hops.....lbs.	17,523,388	1,872,597	All other articles.....		36,465,283
Instruments for scientific pur- poses.....		1,912,771	Total exports, domestic merchandise.....		\$793,392,599
Iron and steel, manufactures of.....		32,000,989	Specie: Gold.....		\$66,131,183
Leather, and manufactures of		15,614,407	“ Silver.....		47,227,317
Musical instruments.....		1,115,727	Total domestic exports.....		\$906,751,999
Naval stores.....		7,419,773			

IMPORTS.

MERCHANDISE AND SPECIE IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1895.

ARTICLES.	Quantities.	Values.	ARTICLES.	Quantities.	Values.
MERCHANDISE.			MERCHANDISE.		
Animals.....		\$2,737,078	Molasses.....galls.	15,075,879	\$1,295,146
Art works.....		3,843,097	Musical instruments.....		918,253
Books, maps, etc.....		3,331,637	Paints and colors.....		1,246,024
Bristles.....lbs.	1,301,494	1,244,151	Paper, and manufactures of.....		2,863,533
Breadstuffs.....		2,859,813	Paper stock.....		3,786,026
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines.....		43,567,601	Precious stones, and imitations of, not set, including diamonds, rough or uncut.....		7,426,178
Clocks and watches.....		1,319,521	Salt.....lbs.	496,810,510	680,802
Coal, Bituminous.....tons	1,260,109	3,848,365	Seeds.....		6,535,580
Coffee.....lbs.	652,208,975	96,130,717	Silk, manufactures of.....		31,206,002
Cotton, and manufactures of.....		38,011,008	" Unmanufactured.....		22,626,056
Earthenware and china.....		8,956,166	Spices.....		2,640,235
Fish.....		4,756,164	Sugar.....lbs.	3,574,510,454	76,462,836
Flax, hemp, jute, etc., and manufactures of.....		39,573,975	Tea.....lbs.	97,253,458	13,171,379
Fruits and nuts.....		17,239,923	Tin, in bars, blocks, pigs, or grain, etc.....lbs.	47,631,783	6,787,424
Furs, and manufactures of.....		10,322,157	Tobacco, and manufactures of.....		16,888,612
Glass and glassware.....		6,627,473	Toys.....		1,889,628
Hats and bonnets, materials for.....		2,766,563	Wines.....		7,183,537
Hides and skins.....		26,122,942	Wood, and manufactures of.....		17,814,119
Hops.....lbs.	3,133,664	599,744	Wool, and manufactures of.....		64,096,311
India-rubber and gutta-percha, and manufactures of.....		18,925,595	All other articles.....		68,418,208
Iron and steel, and manufactures of.....		23,048,515	Total merchandise.....		\$731,969,965
Jewelry, and manufactures of gold and silver.....		648,610	Specie: Gold.....		\$35,146,734
Lead, and manufactures of.....		2,488,584	Silver.....		9,552,520
Leather, and manufactures of.....		13,819,038	Total imports.....		\$776,669,219
Liquors, spirituous and malt.....		4,245,586			

The value of United States exports of merchandise to and imports of merchandise from different foreign countries for the year ended June 30, 1895, was as follows:

COUNTRIES.	EXPORTS.		Imports.	COUNTRIES.	EXPORTS.		Imports.
	Domestic.	Foreign.			Domestic.	Foreign.	
Austria-Hungary....	\$2,059,742	\$66,030	\$6,510,319	West Indies.....	\$30,724,823	\$830,007	\$67,860,152
Azores and Madeira Islands.....	256,195	2,589	25,963	Argentina Republic..	4,399,216	56,947	7,675,270
Belgium.....	24,880,835	361,745	10,141,485	Bolivia.....	10,388		
Denmark.....	34,302,202	45,124	324,827	Brazil.....	15,135,125	29,954	78,831,476
France.....	44,009,786	1,139,351	61,580,500	Chile.....	2,789,286	4,813	4,465,561
Germany.....	90,615,551	1,438,202	81,014,065	Colombia.....	2,498,856	97,446	3,713,682
Gibraltar.....	379,917	1,958	7,807	Ecuador.....	734,426	915	821,666
Greece.....	152,544		327,201	Guianas.....	2,106,534	28,679	3,402,277
Greenland, Iceland, etc.....			127,329	Paraguay.....			10,274
Italy.....	16,241,595	121,530	20,851,761	Peru.....	626,897	3,488	473,315
Netherlands.....	30,256,108	755,677	15,182,581	Uruguay.....	1,240,025	21,976	2,609,648
Portugal.....	2,960,526	10,870	1,690,668	Venezuela.....	3,706,978	33,486	10,073,951
Romania.....	19,330		1,058	China.....	3,602,741	1,009	20,545,289
Russia, Baltic, etc.....	5,104,847	11,448	1,890,976	East Indies.....	3,967,990	2,402	28,993,295
Russia, Black Sea.....	781,420	141	1,684,412	Hong Kong.....	4,244,805	8,145	776,470
Servia.....			10,558	Japan.....	4,559,242	75,475	23,695,957
Spain.....	10,916,632	10,437	3,574,126	Korea.....			100
Sweden and Norway.....	4,648,086	4,515	2,531,327	Russia, Asiatic.....	202,852	2,085	441,013
Switzerland.....	7,578		14,988,954	Turkey in Asia.....	130,236		3,089,951
Turkey in Europe.....	41,390	343	2,097,702	All other Asia.....	427,895		83,743
Great Britain and Ireland.....	384,132,970	2,992,488	159,083,243	British Australasia.....	8,938,760	75,508	4,620,828
Bermuda.....	797,278	23,776	405,707	French Oceania.....	233,161	19,490	200,771
British Honduras.....	394,238	8,695	181,809	Hawaiian Islands.....	3,648,472	74,583	7,888,961
Dominion of Canada:				Philippine Islands.....	119,255		4,731,366
Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc.....	3,706,132	335,643	5,351,615	British Africa, etc.....	5,106,877	6,501	776,114
Quebec, Ontario, etc.....	42,070,389	4,642,317	26,919,413	Canary Islands.....	221,827	11,170	48,394
British Columbia.....	2,010,980	89,308	3,803,299	French Africa.....	328,250		282,790
Newfoundland and Labrador.....	1,121,133	5,866	431,836	Liberia.....	18,159		9,775
Central American States.....	6,372,827	26,542	11,580,761	Madagascar.....	167,920		68,675
Mexico.....	14,582,484	453,422	15,035,788	Portuguese Africa.....	105,898	357	6,629
Miquelon, Langley, etc.....	167,496	2,728	183,302	Turkey in Africa:			
				Egypt.....	137,630	64	3,628,466
				Tripoli.....			90,776
				All other Africa.....	183,180		797,554
				All other British.....	636,887	910	1,382,073
				All other Islands and Ports.....	58,578		72,218
				Total.....	\$793,392,699	\$14,145,566	\$731,969,965

GREAT BRITAIN.

According to the *Statesman's Year Book* for various years, the declared value of the imports and exports of merchandise of the United Kingdom was as follows, together with the imports and exports to and from the most important countries, and the values of the most important articles. One half the value of the British and Irish products exported consists of textiles. The imports consist mainly of articles of food and raw cotton, and are almost twice the exports of British produce.

It is interesting to note the large amount of imports from the United States, altho the value seems to have decreased during the past few years.

YEAR.	Total Imports.	Exports of British Produce.	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Produce.
1884.....	£390,018,569	£233,025,242	£62,942,341
1885.....	379,967,955	213,115,114	58,359,194
1886.....	349,863,472	212,725,200	56,234,263
1887.....	362,227,504	221,913,910	59,348,975
1888.....	387,535,743	234,534,912	64,042,629
1889.....	427,637,595	248,935,195	66,657,484
1890.....	420,691,997	263,530,585	64,721,533
1891.....	435,441,204	247,235,150	61,878,568
1892.....	423,892,178	227,077,053	64,563,113
1893.....	405,067,636	218,496,246	58,935,595
1894.....	408,344,810	215,824,333	57,961,534
1895.....	416,687,630	226,169,174	59,970,763

	IMPORTS.				EXPORTS.			
	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.
India.....	£32,000,000	£30,000,000	£26,000,000	£27,000,000	£31,000,000	£27,000,000	£28,000,000	£29,000,000
Australasia.....	31,000,000	30,000,000	29,000,000	31,000,000	25,000,000	19,000,000	15,000,000	16,000,000
British N. America.....	12,000,000	14,000,000	13,000,000	12,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000
Total British Possessions.....	99,000,000	97,000,000	91,000,000	93,000,000	85,000,000	74,000,000	72,000,000	72,000,000
United States.....	104,000,000	108,000,000	91,000,000	89,000,000	27,000,000	26,000,000	23,000,000	18,000,000
France.....	44,000,000	43,000,000	43,000,000	43,000,000	16,000,000	14,000,000	13,000,000	13,000,000
Germany.....	27,000,000	25,000,000	26,000,000	26,000,000	18,000,000	17,000,000	17,000,000	17,000,000
Holland.....	27,000,000	28,000,000	28,000,000	27,000,000	9,000,000	8,000,000	9,000,000	8,000,000
Belgium.....	17,000,000	17,000,000	16,000,000	17,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Russia.....	24,000,000	15,000,000	18,000,000	23,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Spain.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Egypt.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	8,000,000	9,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Sweden.....	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Denmark.....	7,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	9,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Argentine Republic.....	3,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	6,000,000	4,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	4,000,000
Turkey.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	5,000,000	6,000,000	5,000,000	6,000,000
China.....	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	6,000,000	5,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
Brazil.....	4,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	8,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000
Italy.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	2,000,000	3,000,000	6,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Total Foreign Countries.....	335,000,000	326,000,000	312,000,000	314,000,000	161,000,000	152,000,000	146,000,000	143,000,000

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF IMPORT.

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IMPORTED.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Grain and flour.....	£61,000,000	£58,000,000	£51,000,000	£48,000,000	£49,000,000
Cotton, raw.....	46,000,000	37,000,000	30,000,000	32,000,000	30,000,000
Wool, sheep, and lambs.....	27,000,000	25,000,000	24,000,000	24,000,000	26,000,000
Dead meat.....	20,000,000	22,000,000	22,000,000	22,000,000	23,000,000
Sugar, raw and refined.....	19,000,000	19,000,000	22,000,000	19,000,000	17,000,000
Butter and margarine.....	15,000,000	15,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000
Wood and timber.....	14,000,000	17,000,000	15,000,000	17,000,000	15,000,000
Silk manufactures.....	11,000,000	11,000,000	11,000,000	12,000,000	15,000,000
Flax, hemp, and jute.....	9,000,000	9,000,000	8,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000
Tea.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	9,000,000	10,000,000
Woolen manufactures.....	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000	10,000,000
Animals.....	9,000,000	9,000,000	6,000,000	9,000,000	8,000,000
Oils.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	8,000,000
Chemicals, dye-stuffs, etc.....	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000
Seeds.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000
Fruits.....	6,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000	7,000,000	6,000,000
Leather.....	6,000,000	6,000,000	6,000,000	7,000,000	8,000,000
Wine.....	5,000,000	6,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Cheese.....	4,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Metals:					
Copper ore, etc.....	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	5,000,000	4,000,000
" part wrought, etc.....	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Iron ore.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
" in bars.....	700,000	600,000	500,000	500,000	500,000
" manufactures.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Lead.....	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Tin.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Zinc and its manufactures.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Eggs.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000
Coffee.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Tobacco.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF EXPORT (HOME PRODUCE).*

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES EXPORTED.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Cotton manufactures.....	£60,000,000	£56,000,000	£54,000,000	£57,000,000	£54,000,000
" yarn.....	11,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000	9,000,000
Total of cotton.....	71,000,000	65,000,000	63,000,000	66,000,000	63,000,000
Woolen manufactures.....	18,000,000	17,000,000	16,000,000	14,000,000	19,000,000
" and worsted yarn.....	3,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	5,000,000
Total of woolen and worsted.....	22,000,000	21,000,000	20,000,000	18,000,000	25,000,000
Linen manufactures.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	5,000,000
" yarn.....	800,000	800,000	1,000,000	900,000	900,000
Jute manufactures.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Apparel and haberdashery.....	7,000,000	6,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
Metals:					
Iron, pig.....	2,000,000	1,900,000	1,900,000	1,900,000	2,000,000
" bar, angle, bolt and rod.....	1,000,000	1,000,000	900,000	800,000	800,000
" railroad, of all sorts.....	3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,800,000	1,900,000
" wire.....	1,000,000	700,000	600,000	600,000	700,000
" tin plates.....	7,000,000	5,000,000	4,900,000	4,000,000	4,000,000
" hoops, sheets, and plates.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	2,000,000	3,000,000
" cast and wrought, of all sorts.....	4,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
" old, for remanufacture.....	300,000	300,000	300,000	200,000	200,000
Steel, wrought and unwrought.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Total of iron and steel.....	26,000,000	21,000,000	20,000,000	18,000,000	19,000,000
Hardwares and cutlery.....	2,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Copper.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Machinery.....	15,000,000	13,000,000	13,000,000	14,000,000	15,000,000
Coals, cinders, fuel, etc.....	18,000,000	16,000,000	14,000,000	17,000,000	15,000,000
Chemicals.....	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000	8,000,000

* The disagreement in the totals is because of omission of the smaller figures.

For the exports and imports of other countries, see those countries.

F.

FABIAN SOCIETY, THE (AMERICAN).—A movement to establish in America a Fabian Society and carry on a work like that of the Fabian Society in England (see the next article) was commenced in Boston in February, 1895, under the lead of the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss. Similar beginnings were made almost simultaneously in California and Washington under the influence of Mr. Lawrence Gronlund. A monthly has been established in Boston, *The American Fabian* (now published in New York); a few tracts have been published, and branches started in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Madison, Wis., San Francisco, Seattle, Wash., and a few other places. As yet, however, little definite organization has been reached.

FABIAN SOCIETY, THE (ENGLISH).—The Fabian Society is an organization of English socialists, formed in London in 1883, and to-day one of the most influential economic and political societies in England. Its basis of organization is as follows:

"The Fabian Society consists of socialists.

"It therefore aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In

this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

"The society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

"The society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

"If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

"For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

"The work of the Fabian Society takes, at present, the following forms:

"1. Meetings for the discussion of questions connected with socialism.

"2. The further investigation of economic problems, and the collection of facts contributing to their elucidation.

"3. The issue of publications containing information on social questions, and arguments relating to socialism.

"4. The promotion of socialist lectures and debates in other societies and clubs.

"5. The representation of the society in public conferences and discussions on social questions.

"The members are divided into local groups, are pledged to take part according to their abilities and opportunities in the general work of the society, especially as regards their own localities, and altho there is no compulsory subscription, are expected to contribute annually to the society's funds. The amount of each member's subscription is known only to the Executive Committee.

"The society seeks recruits from all ranks, believing that not only those who suffer from the present system, but also many who are themselves enriched by it, recognise its evils and would welcome a remedy.

"The society meets for lectures and discussions on two Fridays in the month, at 8 P.M."

The society attaches small importance to mere numerical growth. Its rules of membership are quite strict.

Candidates resident within the area of the London groups must sign a declaration that they accept the basis of the society, must attend two meetings as visitors, and must be proposed and seconded by members from personal knowledge. The names of all candidates must be printed in the *Fabian News* every month, and they shall not be elected before the second meeting of the Executive Committee after such publication. The proposer and seconder must sign the nomination paper, and must each forward a letter to the Secretary stating that the candidate is a socialist, and likely to be a useful member of the society. Candidates shall be elected by an unanimous vote of the Executive Committee. If a candidate be rejected his proposer shall have a right of appeal to the society, in which case a ballot shall be taken at a private meeting, with due notice given, when one black ball in five shall exclude.

Candidates who cannot qualify by attending the public meetings of the society may attend meetings of the group in whose area they reside, and on the recommendation of the Secretary of the group, two such attendances shall be deemed to qualify.

Every candidate for election shall make a contribution to the funds of the society prior to his election, the amount being returned to him if he is not elected.

The Executive Committee may by an unanimous vote, for special reasons, suspend such parts of this rule as specify qualifications for membership, except that part which requires acceptance of the basis.

Nevertheless, the growth in membership has been steady. Its present membership is as follows :

Number of members in London groups.....	374
Number of members elsewhere.....	365
Total number.....	739

Fabian societies exist outside of England in South Australia, Victoria, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and the United States. (See previous article.) The secret

Fabian Societies. of success has been its steady work, led by a half dozen of its original members, men of unusual ability, who are now becoming known throughout England, and who have steadily worked together from the first. Says its efficient secretary, Mr. Edward R. Pease :

"The society has never attempted to form itself into a political party. It has never sought a large membership, or contemplated running candidates of its own. It has adopted the general rule that it is cheaper and more effective to write for the public press than to publish an organ of its own; to lecture to Radical clubs rather than to Fabian branch meetings; to write programs for Liberal associations rather than to create a new organization for itself. In one recent year 119 members reported over 3300 lectures delivered almost entirely to outside bodies."

Its educational work, however, has by no means been confined to writings. It has published over 60 tracts, many of them having a very large sale. The society sold in 1894-95 80,376 tracts at a penny or over, and literature amounting in all to \$1400. The great literary success of the society, however, has been its *Fabian Essays*. In 1889 a course of seven lectures, which had been previously delivered before the society by members of the society (George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, William Clarke, S. Olivier, Graham Wallas, Annie Besant, and Hubert Bland) was published under the name of *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, and met with most marked success. Over 30,000 copies have been sold in England, and two American editions have appeared.

Method of Propaganda. The tracts are accurate and concise statements of industrial facts or explanations of the application of the principles of socialism to actual and existing political and social problems. They have treated such subjects as *Facts for Socialists* ; *Why are the Many Poor ? Facts for Londoners* ; *The Worker's Political Program* ; *What Socialism Is* ; *An Eight-Hour Bill* ; *English Progress toward Social Democracy* ; *Land Nationalization* ; *A Labor Policy for Public Authorities* ; *Christian Socialism*. One of the most valuable is *What to Read : a List of Books for Social Reformers*. It includes all the best books on economics, socialism, labor movements, poverty, etc., with suggested courses of reading.

The society publishes a little monthly record entitled *The Fabian News*, confined mainly to news of the society itself.

Its political work has been as important as its educational.

In 1888 the *Star* evening newspaper was started, and, adopting Fabian ideas, became at once an enormous success. In 1889 the people of London elected their first County Council, and, to the surprise of everybody, the Progressive majority proved to be socialist in all its leading ideas.

In 1890 an active lecturing campaign was started in the country districts by Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, William Clarke, Hubert Bland, and others, and in a short time nearly every large town in the country had formed a local Fabian Society affiliated with the London body.

In 1892 the second London County Council election was fought on the *London Programme*, written by Sidney Webb, and again the Progressives secured an overwhelming victory, in which every Fabian who ran as a Progressive was elected. In national politics the society has not yet accomplished much. The efforts of Fabians and others to "permeate" the Liberal leaders with collectivism have been more successful in name than in reality. A recent move of the Fabians was a manifesto published in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1893, pointing out the failure of the Liberal ministry to redeem its pledges, especially in matters of administration, and calling on the great trade-unions to run their own candidates at the next election. In the recent election of the County Council in 1894, in spite of the Conservative reaction,

all the Fabian Progressive candidates were still successful. Speaking generally, it is probably not too much to say that the phenomenal spread of socialism in England is largely due, as far as propaganda goes, to the work of the Fabian Society. Its lectures have been given wherever an opportunity appeared before all classes, but very largely before London's working men's clubs. Ten years ago these clubs stood mainly for radical, unthinking individualism. Boasting of their individual freedom, even when they were really slaves, the members were more busy with denouncing Christianity than in working for reform. To-day both radicalism and orthodoxy in religion are little talked of, and the clubs are largely political clubs, working on socialist lines. This change has been brought about mainly by the Fabian Society. It may be of interest to Americans to know that the society took its impetus from an interest in social problems occasioned by the lectures of Henry George in England, and the reading of *Progress and Poverty*, and that its founders were first brought together by Professor Thomas Davidson, of New York. The company gathered by Professor Davidson divided into two groups, one founding the ethical movement of the New Fellowship, the other the political and economic Fabian Society.

The name of the society originated in the motto, "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did, most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless."

"Fabian Socialism" does not differ from any other socialism in its aims, but in its economic analysis follows the theory of value (*q.v.*) held by Jevons rather than that inherited by Karl Marx and the German socialists from Adam Smith and Ricardo. In propaganda, Fabians usually follow a progressive policy of advancing their principles through any party where an opening may be found. The address of the Secretary is Edward R. Pease, 276 Strand, London, W. C.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.—The body of laws which has come into existence since the opening of the present century relating to the regulation of factories, workshops, and all places where industry is carried on, comes under the general title of "factory legislation," and it has stamped itself most emphatically upon the written law of all countries where the factory system has taken root, and also upon the social and moral laws which lie at the bottom of the forces which make written law what it is. The establishment of the factory system of labor, resulting in the congregation of large bodies of people working in the same branches of labor, called attention to industrial conditions, and while prior to the establishment of the factory system industrial conditions were apparently much worse than after its establishment, the workers under the old system were so distributed that their surroundings did not attract public attention, or, at least, the attention of legislators; but when great bodies were brought under one roof or into one community,

whatever evils existed became noticeable, and the attention of the legislator was called to them. The factory system was first instituted in England. At the time there were few laws relating to master and man upon the statute-books of England, and those which did exist bore mostly **In England**, upon criminal matters. There was one law, however, in force which had been considered by many as an obstruction to advancement in the mechanic arts, but which, with the establishment of the factory system, was to become the only point upon which labor legislation could turn. This old law was known as "The Apprenticeship Act," and was passed in 1562, during the reign of Elizabeth. It is to be found in 5 Elizabeth, c. 4. It provided that no one should work in certain trades as journeyman until after an apprenticeship of seven years. It was under this act that the custom of apprenticing pauper children by parish officers grew up, and under it there grew also the very worst practices, for the act allowed apprentices to be worked from 5 A.M. until between 7 and 8 P.M., from March to September, and, as the law expresses it, from September to March, from the "spring of the day until the night closed in." When the first cotton factories were erected in England, necessarily where water-courses were found sufficient to supply power, they became so numerous in such localities that the supply of children from the immediate neighborhoods was found to fall far short of the demand. The reverse of this condition prevailed in the agricultural counties, where general misery existed on every hand. The unprincipled poor-law guardians in the latter counties, being anxious to rid their parishes as speedily as possible of pauper children, were very eager to meet the requirements of the industrial communities where the factory system had been established for cheap labor. Children were, therefore, transferred in large numbers to the North, where they were housed in pent-up buildings adjoining the factories, and were kept to long hours of labor. These primary facts soon drew attention to the evils of the factory system as they appeared at its inception, and for the first time the consequences of congregated labor were made clearly apparent. A generation of operatives was growing up under conditions of comparative physical degeneracy, of mental ignorance, and of moral corruption; and it was then that the great questions began to be asked, Has the nation any right to interfere? Shall society suffer that individuals may profit? Shall the next and succeeding generations be weakened morally and intellectually that estates may be enlarged? These great questions forced themselves upon the public mind, and the fact that pauper apprenticeship might be better off under such apprenticeship than in the workhouse had no great weight under the influence of the religious and moral waves which affected England in the last quarter of the last century. **The Nineteenth Century.** The first man to ask such powerful questions of Parliament was Sir Robert Peel, in the year 1802. Sir Robert was a master manufacturer, to whom

the new system of labor had brought wealth and power and station, but he sought to remedy the evils which he knew, from his own personal experience, had grown with the factory system ; so in 1802 he introduced a bill, the object of which was to interfere by law with the natural tendencies of unrestricted competition in the labor of human beings ; but he could not, under the sentiment of the English legislature that precedent must be sacred, go very far beyond the regulation of the labor of parish apprentices. His bill was therefore entitled "An act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in the cotton and other mills and in cotton and other factories." The whole notion of Peel's measure was that as apprentices were already under statutory provisions, and were subjects of a legal contract, it was permissible that their hours of labor should be regulated by positive enactment ; but Parliament, which was familiar with restrictions on the products of labor, and with restrictions of monopoly on labor itself, would not listen to any proposal to regulate what was called "free" labor for the purpose of avoiding even the most frightful moral evils. In the case of apprentices, however, it was conceded that restriction might be tolerated. Such a concession came under the power of precedent, and the act of 1562, which had theretofore been an obstacle, became the very legal precedent the law-makers of England must have before they could consent to protect human rights, and as that law had regulated the hours of labor of apprentices, Parliament crept through this narrow door, and allowed Sir Robert Peel's bill to restrict the hours of labor of parish apprentices at work in the factories ; and so the first factory act known in legislation was passed. This act is known as 42 and 43, George III., cap. 73, and while it was of no great value to the operatives themselves, it has been of the greatest value to the world, for it made the assertion, which has never yet been retracted, that the nation did have the right to check not only open evils, but those which grow individually through the nature of employment. It dealt simply with the unregulated employment of apprentices. By the provisions of the law the employer was compelled to clothe his apprentices, whose work was limited then to twelve hours a day, night work being prohibited. Every apprentice was to receive daily instruction during the first four years of his time, school attendance to be reckoned as working time. There were many other regulations embodied in the act, stimulated by Sir Robert Peel. The law was substantially repealed in 1814, but in 1815 Sir Robert Peel came back to Parliament, told it that the act of 1802 "had become useless, that apprentices had been given up, but that the same exhausting conditions, from which Parliament had intended to relieve apprentices, was the lot of thousands and thousands of the children of the free poor," and in the following year (1816) Parliament instituted a great inquiry into the condition of the factory population, tho it did not enact a new law until 1819. Under this act the right of the nation to limit the age at which children might be admitted to the

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factories was established. From 1816 to the present time there has been no cessation in the attempts to regulate by law some of the conditions of labor ; and in all countries where the factory system has taken any hold, as already stated, factory acts are to be found. Such legislation has had for its chief object the regulation of the labor of women and children, but its scope has been constantly enlarged by successive and progressive amendments until law has attempted to secure the physical and moral well-being of the working man in all trades and to give him every condition of salubrity and of personal safety in the workshops.

The most elaborate code of factory laws is that of Great Britain, the present act being a consolidation of all the acts since Sir Robert Peel's law of 1802. In that country the law makes provision for sanitary conditions, for safety from accidents occurring from machinery, regulating employment and meal hours and the employment of young persons and women and children, providing for holidays, for the education of children, for certificates of fitness for employment, regulating overtime and night work, and embodying a great many minor provisions, all looking to the well-being of the operative.

Present English Law.

In France, the factory laws relate to the hours of labor and regulate some of the conditions. Female labor under ground is forbidden, and boys below the age of 16 are not allowed in such work.

Germany has a fair factory code, and is now in the experimental years of a great system of legal and compulsory insurance of work people, the results of which the empire and the governments of other continental countries are watching with great interest.

In this country nearly every State in which textile factories are found has factory laws of some kind, and many of them provide, as does Great Britain, a body of factory inspectors for the enforcement of legislation. Several of our States have regulated the age at which children can be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment, for the attendance upon schools, and such matters ; and they are following rapidly in the footsteps of Great Britain in providing that proprietors of factories shall make specific provision against accidents from dangerous machinery, providing penalties for the cleaning of machinery while running, etc. ; and also providing that factories shall be well ventilated and kept clean ; that hoistways, hatchways, elevators, and well-holes shall be protected by good and sufficient trap-doors or other appliances ; that establishments of certain height shall be provided with sufficient fire-escapes, practically constructed, and that they shall be kept in good repair and free from obstruction. Factory acts, varying in their provisions, have been placed upon the statute-books of nearly every State of the Union. To summarize these into a digest would require a volume by itself, but the principles involved in the factory legislation are those indicated, and they relate to the personal well-being and the safety

The United States.

of the operatives employed. The effect of the laws everywhere has been to elevate the standard of employment, to improve the health and increase the longevity of operatives, to reduce their hours of labor from 13 or 14 per day to 9 or 10, and to surround them with good sanitary, healthful conditions. Very many factory and workshop people in different countries find themselves in better surroundings, as to air and general sanitary conditions, while at work than in their homes. The improvement in the moral tone has been sufficient to warrant the existence of factory legislation, but the constant elimination of children from factory labor is one of its most beneficial results.

The student of factory legislation should examine, *History of the Factory System*, by R. Whateley Cooke Taylor; a Report on the Factory System, in Vol. II. of the Reports of the Tenth Census, and *Labor Laws of the United States and Territories*, United States Department of Labor, 1892. *The Reign of Law*, by the Duke of Argyle, is also a work dealing with the subject from a philosophical point of view, and should be carefully studied.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

For further consideration of factories, see MACHINERY; FACTORY SYSTEM; LABOR LEGISLATION. The *Political Science Quarterly* publishes annual summaries of the industrial legislation of each year. The laws are, however, so continually modified and added to, and in the United States are so various in various

States that it is impossible to give any accurate detailed statements concerning either the whole country or any general period. The questions of the short-hour movement (*q.v.*) and of arbitration are, perhaps, the factory questions most mooted to day in the United States. In England, the question of a living wage is added. Some believe that the industrial question of the day is rather one of a market than of factory legislation—at least the capability of the factories to produce seems to exceed the capability of the people to “consume,” *i.e.*, to buy. As the people unquestionably want more goods, their inability to consume means a lack of money or faulty distribution. The factories may not be the main places of faulty distribution, but, so far as they are concerned, higher wages are the main need in order to produce better distribution. It is questionable, however, if this can be effected or even materially influenced by legislation, at least by factory legislation. Whatever will improve the general market will undoubtedly be the best aid to-day to factory employers and employees. In many factories to-day the tendency is not to short hours, but to short time. Factories run at rapid speed and during long hours per day, are often shut half the week or for weeks together. But this is rather a general industrial problem than a factory question. See OVERPRODUCTION.

Mr. Hobson, in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 322, 323, gives the following convenient summary of the leading points in the development of factory legislation in England:

DATE.	Industries Affected.	Class of Workers Chiefly Protected.	Nature of Regulations.	Mode of Administration.	Effectiveness.
1802	Cotton and "other mills" (applied exclusively to cotton).	Apprenticed pauper children.	12 hours day. Night-work regulated. Education, sanitation.	Local justices to appoint visitors.	Virtually inoperative.
1819 } 1820 }	Do. Do.	Children (not paupers).	Prohibition of work under 9 years. Young persons (under 16) a 12-hour day. Regulation for meal-time. Amendment of 1802 Act.	Do.	Do.
1825	Do.	Do	Shortened Saturday labor. Penalties provided for breach of factory regulations.	Do. (Millowners and relatives prevented from acting on the Bench in reference to factory acts.)	Generally evaded.
1833 } 1834 }	All textile industries.	Children and young persons.	48 hours week for children (9-13), 69 hours for young persons (13-18). Prohibits night-work for young persons. Children in silk mills, 10 hours day.	Government inspectors (4).	1 out of every 11 millowners convicted in 1834, in spite of defiant attitude of magistrates.
1842	Mines.	Children and women.	No underground work.	Mine inspectors.	
1844 } to } 1846 }	Printworks.	Children, young persons, women.	Factory acts applied. "False relay" system for children checked. 6½ hours day for children. Female young persons age raised to 21. 12 hours day for women. No night-work for women.	Government inspectors.	Improved administration, but "false relay" system reestablished. Fines inadequate.
1847 } to } 1850 }	Textile factories, printworks, etc.	Do.	10 hours day, afterward 10½ hours day for young persons and women, practically for men.	Increased staff of Government inspectors.	Largely defied or evaded for some time.
1860	Bleaching and dyeing.	Do.	Do., with special regulations for overtime.		
1860	Coal and iron mines.	All workers.	Restriction on male labor under 12. Safety, ventilation, etc.	Mine inspectors.	

DATE.	Industries Affected.	Class of Workers Chiefly Protected.	Nature of Regulations.	Mode of Administration.	Effectiveness.
1863	Finishing processes in bleaching and dyeing, bakehouses, alkali works.	Children, young persons, women.			
1864	Non-textile factories (earthenware, fustian cutting, cartridges, lucifer matches, paper-staining).	Do.	Factory acts generally applied.		
1867	All factories and workshops.	Do.	Factory Acts Extension Act. Workshops Regulation Act, applying to workshops. Factory rules affecting hours, education, etc., in modified form.	Workshops Act left at first to local authorities, brought under factory inspectors, 1871.	Workshops Act dead letter in 1868-69. Later, fines inadequate. Inspectors inadequate.
1867	Agriculture.	Children, women.	Act for Suppression of Agricultural Gangs fixing minimum age at 3, regulating employment of women.		
1870	Print works, bleaching, dyeing.	Children, young persons, women.	Application of chief provisions of 1867 Factory Act.		
1871	Brickworks and fields.	Children and young female persons.	Forbids employment. Improved conditions for women.		
1873	Agriculture.	Children.	Minimum age raised to 10.		
1878	Factories, workshops, agriculture.	Children, young persons, women, (incidentally men).	Consolidation of Factories and Workshops Act (extending some provisions to agriculture).	Increased staff of inspectors.	
1891	Do.	Do.	Amendment of Factories and Workshops Act. Age for children raised to 11. Protection in dangerous trades.	Board of Trade power to schedule dangerous trades.	
1892	Shops.	Children, young persons.	Limits working-day.		
1893	Various trades.	All workers.	Restrictions on dangerous trades.	Appointment of working men and women inspectors. Increased number of inspectors.	
1893	Railways.	Adult males.	Restrictions on hours of labor.		

(For the details of American factory laws, see LABOR LEGISLATION.)

FACTORY SYSTEM, THE.—Altho what is called "the factory system" is a product mainly of the close of the eighteenth century, and of the application of machinery and steam power to industry, factories existed in Greece and Rome and in the older civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, India, and China. In the later Middle Ages they developed in all the industrial cities in connection with the guilds (*q.v.*). In the Elizabethan age they are said to have multiplied in England. But these establishments were not factories in the modern sense. In ancient civilizations they were slave shops, where the slaves worked under a taskmaster; in medieval days they were shops where the master workman labored with his apprentices and his journeymen.

The first factory in the modern sense seems to have been a silk factory, built by Sir Thomas Lombe, in Derbyshire, in 1719. Through all the eighteenth century factories multiplied in England as industries became localized in certain localities or sections. The main cause, however, of the development of the present factory system was, of course, the invention of

machines and the application of steam power in production, necessitating the carrying on of industry in buildings especially adapted to the purpose and in connection with an ever-increasing plant. A realization of what a change this meant in production can be seen by the following picture of the woolen trade before the development of the factory system.

"The work was entirely domestic, and its different branches widely scattered over the country. First, the manufacturer had to travel on horseback to purchase his raw material among the farmers, or at the great fairs held in those old towns that had formerly been the exclusive markets, or, as they were called, 'staples' of wool. The wool, safely received, was handed over to the sorters, who rigorously applied their gauge of required length of staple and mercilessly chopped off by shears or hatchet what did not reach the standard as wool fit for the clothing trade. The long wool thus passed into the hands of the combers, and, having been brought back to them into the combed state, was again carefully packed and strapped on the back of the sturdy horse, to be taken into the country to be spun. . . . Here, in each village, he had his agents, who received the wool, distributed it among the peasantry and received it back as yarn. The machine employed was still the old one-thread wheel, and in summer weather on many a village green might be seen the housewives plying their busy trade, and furnishing to the poet the vision of contentment spinning at the cottage-door. Returning in safety with his yarn, the manufacturer had now to seek out his weavers, who ultimately delivered to him

his camblets or russels, or serges, or tammies or calimancoes (such were the leading names of the fibers) ready for sale to the merchant or delivery to the dyer" (James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture*, p. 323 [quoted by R. Whately Cooke Taylor], *The Modern Factory System*, pp. 61, 62).

With the use of machinery this was all changed. All the processes were gradually brought together in factories, and men, women, and very soon children were gathered together to tend the machines. The first factories were of the rudest description, and the employees were worked the longest hours and without the least regard to health or morality. It was the day of absolute *laissez faire*. There were no factory laws (*q.v.*), and experience had not taught that it pays the employer to consider the needs and health of his employees. Men and women were worked like cattle and housed worse than the cattle. Women, since they would work cheaper, displaced men, and children soon displaced women. The horrors of the early factory system to-day can scarcely be credited. Yet the facts are proven by the unquestioned evidence of parliamentary commissions and English Blue Books.

The demand for children commenced and kept pace with the growth of the whirling spindles. When the adjacent supply was found insufficient, pens were established on the banks of the canals, into which hundreds of boys and girls were collected, from scattered cottages and villages, the poorhouse and street, and shipped by barge to feed the merciless mills.

Infants five years old were allowed to work in the cotton factories from five in the morning until eight at night, and in the bleaching works uncomplaining little ones of 11 and under were kept continuously at labor during the same hours in a temperature of 120°. In the unhealthy occupation of pin-making similar conditions prevailed. Children often walked 20 miles a day in the performance of their tasks. Mothers who lived near the cotton factories might be seen taking their crying innocents to work at dead of night. Half the infants of Manchester died before three years of age, and in some districts the death-rate under 20 was larger than in other parts of England under 40. In portions of factory counties, the youthful population was physically worn out before manhood; a notable decrease took place in the height of adults, and the effect began to be nationally apparent in the physique of the recruits who offered themselves for the army and navy. The following description shows the atrocity of these early factory days:

"Trafficers contracted with the overseers for removing their juvenile victims to Manchester or other towns. On their arrival, if not previously assigned, they were deposited in dark cellars, where the merchant dealing in them brought his customers and where the mill-owners, by the light of lanterns, being enabled to examine the children, their limbs and stature having undergone the necessary scrutiny, the bargain was struck and these poor innocents were conveyed to the mills. . . . In very many instances their labor was limited only by exhaustion, after many modes of torture had been unavailingly applied to force continued action. . . . Discrimination of sexes was not regarded; vice, disease and death luxuriated in these receptacles of human woe" (*History of the Factory Movement*, by Alfred (pseud.), vol. 1, chap. II, p. 17).

It was such conditions as these that led to the factory laws (*q.v.*) of England.

In the United States the factory system was not developed till the present century. It was the policy of England to prevent her American colonies from having machinery, in order to keep them dependent upon the trade of the mother country. The first spinning-jenny seen in America was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1775. Efforts at a factory were made at Worcester, Mass., in 1780. Parliament, however, enacted strict laws, forbidding, under severe penalties, the export of machinery from England. After the War of Independence machinery was rapidly developed. The first textile factory was erected at Beverly, Mass., in 1787. Samuel Slater, whom President Jackson called "the father of American manufactures," erected the first factory with power machinery at all adequate in Pawtucket, R. I., in 1790. In 1794 Eli Whitney, of Massachusetts, invented in Georgia the cotton-gin. Only gradually, however, did the factory system replace home industries. Women preferred to work in their homes, and reluctantly entered the factories. The early factory employees were drawn from the American families and homes in the neighborhood, and from the most intelligent homes.

The spirit and intelligence of the factory girls of Lowell and other New England towns are well known. But gradually conditions changed. Factories grew larger and larger. The duties of the employees grew more and more merely technical. Immigration set in. Factory populations developed. The moral tone of the factory was lowered. Uneducated girls and families, being able to do the merely manual work of tending the machines, were employed. Gradually the factory system, as we know it to-day, was developed.

In his report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts for 1881, Mr. Carroll D. Wright said (p. 466):

"In our cotton mills especially, the women and children largely exceed the men, being often from two-thirds to five-sixths of the whole, and the proportion is steadily increasing. And what are these women and children but the very weakest and most dependent of all the people?"

Elsewhere an operative testifies:

"Mill life has a most demoralizing effect upon women and children, especially on girls who have no parents in the mills to watch over them. I will not permit my girls to work in any other mill than the one I am in, and where I can keep my eye on them. Not that I am afraid they will do anything wrong, but the influences of a mill are very bad. If a child of a tender age goes to work in the mill, constantly breathing a temperature of 90 degrees both winter and summer, it is sure to grow up puny and die early. I get so exhausted that I can scarcely drag myself home when night comes."

Another operative testifies:

"Young girls from 14 and upward learn more wickedness in one year than they would in five years out of a mill."

Mr. Connolly, Factory Inspector of New York, says (Report for 1887, pp. 31, 45, 46):

"Many children overestimate their strength and endurance, and take hold of work for which they are unfitted by nature, and thus work themselves into consumption or sustain ruptures or other bodily damage. . . . The water-closets for males and females adjoin each other in 95 per cent. of the workshops and

factories throughout the State of New York, where females are employed, and in hundreds of cases the sexes both use the same retiring-rooms. . . . The ventilation of the average water-closet in manufactories is very poor, the science of hygiene not being well understood or considered when the structures were erected. The odors very often have no other escape but into the work-rooms, and the smell is very perceptible to the nostrils of the visitor. Disease must of necessity burden the air of these institutions, and the health of the operatives be gradually but surely undermined."

The reader, however, must not consider these descriptions as true of existing conditions.

There has been in most States considerable improvement. Yet many condemn even the most carefully built and regulated factory, and believe the factory system itself hurtful and unnecessary. Says the socialistic author of *Merry England* :

"What are the invariable accompaniments of the factory system?

"Foul air, foul water, adulterated foods, dirt, long hours of sedentary labor, and continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible uncertainty as to existence in the future.

"Look through any great industrial town in the colliery, the iron, the silk, the cotton, or the woollen industries, and you will find hard work, unhealthy work, vile air, overcrowding, disease, ugliness, drunkenness, and a high death rate."

This is all but invariably the view of the factory system held by labor reformers. Even Mr. Hobson (*Evolution of Modern Capitalism*) argues that the factory system breaks up family life. He says (pp. 319, 320) :

"Before the industrial revolution women were quite as busily and numerous engaged in industry as now, and the children employed in textile and other work were often worked in their own homes with more cruel disregard to health and happiness than is now the case. Even now the longest hours, the worst sanitary conditions, the lowest pay, are in the domestic industries of towns which still survive under modern industry. But tho the regular factory women and the half-timers are generally better off in all the terms of their industry than the uninspected women and children who still slave in such domestic industries as the trimmings and match-box trades, the growing tendency of modern industry to engage women and children away from their homes is fraught with certain indirect important consequences. When industry was chiefly confined to domestic handicrafts, the claims of home life constantly pressed in and tempered the industrial life. The growth of factory work among women has brought with it inevitably a weakening of home interests and a neglect of home duties. The home has suffered what the factory has gained. Even the shortening of the factory day, accompanied as it has been by an intensification of labor during the shorter hours, does not leave the women competent and free for the proper ordering of home life. Home work is consciously slighted as secondary in importance and inferior because it brings no wages, and if not neglected, is performed in a perfunctory manner, which robs it of its grace and value. This narrowing of the home into a place of hurried meals and sleep is, on the whole, the worst injury modern industry has inflicted on our lives, and it is difficult to see how it can be compensated by any increase of material products. Factory life for women, save in extremely rare cases, saps the physical and moral health of the family. The exigencies of factory life are inconsistent with the position of a good mother, a good wife, or the maker of a home. Save in extreme circumstances, no increase of the family wage can balance these losses, whose values stand upon a higher qualitative level.

"The direct economic tendency of machine-industry to take women and children away from the home to work must be looked upon as a tendency antagonistic to civilization."

There is, however, another view, the contrary of this. Mr. Carroll D. Wright argues in the

American supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (article "Factory") that the system, tho by no means perfect, is far in advance of previous methods of production. He says :

"As to the assumption that the factory tends to destroy domestic ties and habits, it may be said that this charge against the factory grows out of another assumption : that the cottage of the domestic worker was the ideal home. It is poetry which calls such home a cottage ; history rather calls it a hut. The home of the worker of old was the workshop also, and the wheels or looms disputed with the inmates for the room. Small, close, crowded, with bad air and bad surroundings, the hut was occupied day and night by a class which cannot find its kin under the factory system, for the operative of to-day, as a rule, occupies a home, even in the factory, tenement or boarding-house, superior in every sense to the home of the domestic worker. The morals in all respects under the individual system were greatly below those of the factory operatives of to-day. The evils which became apparent during the early days of the factory system were simply the results of bringing together the labor which had become pauperized under the domestic system, and in agricultural districts. The employment of young children is now forbidden by law wherever the factory has gained a strong foothold. The factory has not so much destroyed the home as it has enabled members of broken families to earn a livelihood. If it has at times taken the mother from the care of her young children—the worst feature of the employment of married women—it has enabled more who had no home to become self-supporting. . . .

"We are deceived because the factory, by and through the perfection of machinery and the development of the division of labor, is constantly employing a less and less cultivated class of operatives ; . . . are too apt to conclude that the factory degrades, when the fact is it has enabled the lower order to step up in the scale of employment, in living, and consequently in civilization. This process is constantly narrowing the limits of the class which occupies the lowest step in the progress of society. This mission alone stamps the factory system as an active element in the moral elevation of the race. Of course we speak of the factory under men who realize that they have some responsibility beyond declaring dividends. A narrow-minded, close-fisted employer, who regards his people as his machines, taking no pains relative to their moral well-being, never recognizing that by congregating labor for his own profit he owes it something besides wages, such an employer will have a factory which will convince any community that it is not an element in civilization. The man should be condemned, not the system.

"If it could be shown that the factory leads to intemperate habits, it would follow conclusively that it is productive of unthrift and poverty—the sure conditions resulting from intemperance. It is true that a great deal of drunkenness exists in factory towns and among factory operatives ; it is not true that the factory is the creator of this.

"The charge that the factory feeds prostitution and swells the criminal lists is absolutely unfounded. This impression first grew from the condition of Manchester, England, where a large cellarage population, which has entirely disappeared, was attributed to the factory. It has been shown by the returns from the penitentiary of Manchester that the ranks of prostitution were not fed from the factory, eight only out of 50 coming from the factory, and 29 out of 50 from domestic service. An extensive examination of the criminal records of a large number of British factory towns discloses the fact that neither the ranks of prostitution nor the criminal lists are increased to such extent from the factory population of these towns as from other classes. This is equally true in this country. It should be borne in mind that regular employment is conducive to regular living, and that regular employment does not harmonize with a life of prostitution, intemperance, and crime. The virtue of the factory women of this country and of Europe will compare favorably with that of any other class, and much better than with many departments of social life. Certainly there is nothing in factory employment conducive to vicious lives. (See PROSTITUTION.)

"The impression that the factory tends to intellectual degeneracy is a greater fallacy than the preceding. Through the simplification of mechanical processes ignorant labor is congregated in factory centres, but, as we have said, it is not created nor induced by the

The Favorable View.

factory. The fact that ignorant masses are enabled by the factory to engage in what it once took skilled labor to perform has given the widespread impression that the factory has degraded the skilled, when the truth is, it has lifted the unskilled; and this is the inevitable result of the factory everywhere. Certainly it is better for the persons engaged than the filthy little shop, occupied by a few foul-talking people, which characterized the domestic system. Instead of dwarfing the minds and the skill of the skilful, as is often alleged, the factory enlarges the minds and increases the power of the unskilful.

"That some factory employments are injurious to health is true, but it is not true that factory employment as such, in comparison with any other mechanical employment, is unhealthy. The first requisites of a watch-factory are neatness and abundance of light. It is now recognized that no man can do his best work unless he is physically comfortable. Before the system can be condemned in its entirety, it must be shown that it is worse than that which is displaced. We need not apologize for the weaknesses of the present, for they come mostly from ignorance, not from the system. (See also WAGES; LABOR; CHILD LABOR; WOMAN'S WORK AND WAGES; UNEMPLOYMENT; PRODUCTIVITY; MANUFACTURING; MACHINERY).

References: *The Modern Factory System*, by R. Whately Cooke Taylor (1891); *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by J. A. Hobson (1894); *Report on the Factory System of the United States*, by Carroll D. Wright, in vol. ii. of the Tenth Census (1882); *The Industrial Revolution*, by Arnold Toynbee (1887).

FAIR TRADE.—During the period of industrial and commercial depression that prevailed in England as well as the United States from 1873-79, the idea became somewhat popular in England that the cause in the case of that country was the *unfair* condition which characterized British international exchanges; Great Britain admitting into her own ports without duty nearly all the products of foreign nations, while these same nations at the same time not only imposed heavy and often prohibitory duties on the importation into their territory of British products, but also in some instances, as in the case of the beet-root sugar of France, subsidized competition to make it possible to undersell British products in England's own market by the granting of bounties on exports.

It was therefore proposed to institute a system of *fair* trade by having England affix to each country a tariff as nearly as possible corresponding to the tariff which such country enforced against English products. The proposition gained some passing favor, but has made no serious impression on England's settled policy and conviction that free trade is best. (See FREE TRADE.) The same idea has to some extent been agitated in this country under the name of reciprocity (*q. v.*).

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and Social Science. He has been from the beginning an associate editor, and is now editor of the *Annals* of the Academy. He is a member of various learned societies, among them the American Economic Association and the American Statistical Association. Since 1890 he has been Assistant Secretary of the National Prison Association. His writings are, among numerous monographs: *Prison Statistics of the United States* (1889); *Statistics of Prisoners* (1890, 1892); a translation of Meitzen's *Geschichte, Theorie und Technique der Statistik* (1891); *The Theory and Practice of Price Statistics* (1892), etc.

FAMILY.—By the word *family*, in sociology, is usually meant the small community formed by the permanent union of one man and one woman, or of one or more men with one or more women, together with the children born to such unions, either living in one house or forming one domestic group. This word is sometimes, however, used to include the servants or slaves belonging to the family proper and living immediately with the family proper. Again, going to the opposite extreme, and putting the emphasis, not upon the living together, but upon the legal or the blood relation, the word is used to denote the unity of those related by legal blood relation, primarily parents and their children alone, no matter where they reside, but sometimes made to include parents, children, uncles, aunts, cousins, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and even still more remote connections.

Etymologically, the word, by most authorities, is derived through the Latin *familia*, from the Oscan *famel* (servus), originally signifying the servile property, the thrall of a master, and later used for all domestic property, things as well as persons, bearing only too plain impress of what we shall find to be the Roman conception of the family relation.

We shall consider the subject under the following heads:

I. The Origin of the Family. II. The Prehistoric Family. III. The Classic Family. IV. The Early Christian Family. V. The Medieval Family. VI. The Modern Family. VII. The Sociologic Function of the Family. VIII. Various Theories of the Family: (a) Theory of Permanent Monogamy; (b) Theory of Ready Divorce; (c) Theory of Free Love. IX. The Family Threatened and How to Defend it.

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY.

All sociologists find the origin of the family in general in the sexual relation, but as to the more exact form of its origination there is still diversity of opinion, and we must trace a development of view. Before the discussion of the question in the scientific spirit in the study of comparative biology, ethnology, etc., it was generally held by orthodox tradition that the family arose by the ordering of God in the union of the first man and the first woman. When science began to study the question, and the hypothesis of evolution became prevalent, the earlier writers—McLennan, L. H. Morgan, Bachofen, Lubbock—generally taught that the sexual

relation of men and women was at first one of promiscuous union, from whence the family was a comparatively late evolution in the process of civilization, through the survival of the fittest—that is, in this case the institution or custom best fitted to preserve life. Later and more careful study by such men as Sir Henry Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Peschel, Starcke, Letourneau, Westermarck, finds that the theory of promiscuous union is, to say the least, not proven, tho these writers disagree as to what to put in its place. Sir Henry Maine holds that the original communities of men may have taken "all sorts of forms" (*Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 281). Darwin says:

"If we look far enough back on the stream of time, it is exceedingly improbable that primeval men and women lived promiscuously together. Judging from the social habits of man as he now exists, and from most savages being polygamists, the most probable view is that primeval man aboriginally lived in communities, each with as many wives as he could support and obtain, whom he would have jealously guarded against all other men" (*Descent of Man*, ii., p. 346).

Spencer holds that the family relation evolved itself thro being the relation best fitted to produce and rear children (*Principles of Sociology*, vol. i., part 3, chap. 9). Starcke

Various Views.

finds the evolution of the family the best means of enjoying property. De Coulanges finds the family, at least in Aryan races, forming around the religious worship of ancestors. The theories of Westermarck and Letourneau we shall consider later. Yet however the authorities differ, in much they are agreed. They all hold that out of very various beginnings, more or less loose, the monogamic family has been evolved as, for one reason or another, the best (altho that this is a finality they are not agreed).

General Conclusion.

They all hold that monogamy was not, as a rule, the first form. Among animals different forms of the family exist, yet the family has certainly been evolved on the plane of evolution that they have reached; why not, then, among even the earliest and lowest men? Among only a few wild animals does promiscuity prevail. A strict pairing is the rule among some monkeys, ruminants, ungulates, and predatory animals; other monkeys are polygamous, but still in families. Moreover, the male animals are jealous of the possession of females. It is also well known that promiscuity tends to infecundity. Yet a study of all the facts will warn one from dogmatism as to the origin of the family, and show the variety of forms which the family relation has taken among men. We therefore condense some of the arguments for an origin in promiscuity as well as the arguments against it.

Of the arguments for the origin of the family in promiscuous union, Mr. Andrew Lang has made, perhaps, the best summary in his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. He says:

"The following facts are to be noticed: "1. At whatever epoch civilized travelers have visited peoples of less cultivation, they have noted, with unconcealed surprise, not the family, but promiscuity and polyandry. They have found men and women living together in what seemed unregulated

community, or they have found that the woman had several husbands, and often that these husbands were brothers. . . . Thus Herodotus says of the Agathyrsi, a Scythian people (iv. 104): 'They have their women in common, that they may all be brothers of each other.' The Nasamones (iv. 172) have similar customs; of the Massagetæ (i. 216) it is said that each marries a wife, *καί ἕνα ἄνδρα ἀπέθραυε*. Aristotle alludes to similar promiscuity among the Libyans (*Pol.* ii., 3, 9); they have their women in common, and distribute the children by their likeness to the men. Diodorus Siculus reports the same manners among the Troglodytes and the Ichthyophagi on the coast of the Red Sea. . . . Turning to modern savages, we find the custom of lending wives, as an act of friendliness and hospitality, very common. This may be no more than mere profligacy in a society where male kin is recognized; but the marriage custom of Thibet, which assigns to a woman several brothers as joint husbands, cannot be thus explained. This amazing practice is the rule of life 'among 30,000,000 of respectable people' (Wilson, *Abode of Snow*). As to the area over which some form of polyandry extends, the reader may consult Mr. M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* (Edinburgh, 1865, pp. 178, 183), where it is traced 'to points half round the globe.'

"2. If we can trust the traditions of Indo-European and other polite peoples, they too once lived in a stage which can hardly be discerned from promiscuity, and they too allotted many husbands to one wife. Beginning with Greece, we find the legend in Suidas (p. 3102), that the women of Attica abandoned themselves to unchecked vice, and that the male parentage of children could not be ascertained. According to the story of Varro (Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. xviii., c. 9), it was Cecrops, the serpent king, who first instituted marriage, just as the Australian natives credit the lizard with the discovery. The Hindus give it to Svetaketu, before whose date, 'women were unconfined, and roamed at their pleasure. . . . This ancient custom is even now the rule for creatures born as brutes. . . . and it is still practised among the northern Kurus' (Muir, *Sanscrit Texts*, part ii., p. 336). The Egyptians attributed the origin of marriage to the rule of Menes; the Chinese to Fohi. As to polyandry among Aryans of India, a famous passage in the *Mahabharata* tells how the five brothers Pandava 'married the fair Draupadi with eyes of lotus blue.' The whole legend of these princes is so marked with the stamp of polyandrous institutions, that the very terminology of polyandry, the system of nomenclature called 'classificatory,' is retained. Granduncles, in this episode of the *Mahabharata*, as among the Red Indians, are called grandfathers, and uncles, fathers.

"3. If the practices which make kindred through males difficult or impossible to recognize were ever universally prevalent, they will have left vestiges of their existence in the custom of tracing descent through females. Again, where that custom is met with, the marriage has become fixed, and where women are mistresses of the household and heads of the family, it is not easy to give any other explanation of these facts than this, that they are survivals from a time when the union of the sexes was vague and temporary. Where, then, do we meet with examples of kindred traced through the female line? Kindred through women is recognized in Australia (with exceptions among certain tribes), in the Marianne Islands, in Fiji, Tonga, and some other isles of the Pacific, and in the Caroline Islands. Among the Kars of the Golden Chersonese, the tribes are divided into Sgans, who recognize male descent, and Pwos, who reckon by the mother's side. The natives of the province of Keang-se

'are celebrated among the natives of the other Chinese provinces for the mode or form used by them in address, which is Laon peon,' paraphrastically translated (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, p. 452), 'Oh, you old fellow, brother mine by some of the ramifications of female relationship!' To select some more modern instances from M. Giraud Teulon's collections (*Origine de la Famille*, Geneva, 1874, p. 15), the Singhalese, the Nairs of Malabar, the Kocchs, an Indian tribe, and the Zaporogue Cossacks, with the red men of North America as a rule, and the Indians of British Guinea, to whom we may add many African tribes (Bowditch, *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 185, London, 1873; Munzinger, *Ost-Afrikanische Studien*, 1864), count kindred by the mother's side. Another collection of examples will be found in Mr. M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage*. . . .

Evidences of Promiscuity.

Descent Traced through Females.

"4. It has been shown that the actual practices of many barbarous races make the existence of the patriarchal, and still more of the monogamous family impossible, and that the traditions of the races called Aryan, with many fragments of their customs, testify to a similar state of things in the past experiences of nations now organized on the basis of the family. We must now ask—(1) Of what nature are the wider tribal associations of savages? (2) How did they come into existence? (3) Are there any vestiges of similar and similarly formed associations among peoples which now possess strict marriage and kinship through males? We find that the Australian black fellows and the red men of North America are grouped in *local tribes* which generally are named from the lands they occupy. Thus, the Onondaga are people of the hills, the Mohawks people of the flint, the Senecas people of the great hills, the Oneidas people of the granite, and so forth (Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 1851). In Australia the tribes take the names of districts, as Ballarat, Wandyalloch, and Moreton Bay. Within these local tribes there are smaller associations, variously called 'clans,' 'families,' 'septs,' 'tribes,' 'by travelers. They are, as a rule, governed on this principle in Australia—'All the children take after the clan of their mother, and no man can marry a woman of the same clan, altho the parties be born of parents in no way related, according to our ideas' (G. S. Lang, *Aboriginals of Australia*, Melbourne, 1865, p. 10; Gray's *Journals*, etc., ii. 227). These smaller associations which may not intermarry are named after some animal, vegetable, or other natural object. A member of the Kangaroo associations may not slay or eat the kangaroo, which he holds in honor, and a Paddymelon must abstain from paddymelon. The obvious result of this scheme of prohibited marriage is to make every local tribe

Tribes.

contain much the same assortment of smaller communities. Looking at North America, we find the local tribe of Senecas to be composed of sets of persons called by the name of Wolf, Bear, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, and many of the same names prevail among Cayugas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and the rest. Just as in Australia no man may marry a woman of the same name, tho she may have been born hundreds of miles away, and may be no sort of relation in our sense of the word. As in Australia, the animal or plant from which each association takes its name is sacred; in America it is called the totem. . . .

"The essential features of these associations and groups of kindred are, for our present purpose—(1) Their indubitable growth out of *female* kinship, and the rule which prohibits marriage between persons who are of the same name, and own descent from the same plant, animal, or thing; (2) their existence as stocks of different blood in the same local tribe; and (3) their acknowledgment of kinship with, and of the duty to support in war, or to revenge, other members of the same name.

"5. The question now rises, Do we meet similar associations among civilized peoples who now possess the family? First we find Mr. Hart, of Canton, saying (*Ancient Society*, pp. 364, 365): 'In some parts of the country large villages are to be met with, in each of which there exists but one family name; thus in one district will be found, say, three villages, each containing two or three thousand people, the one of the Horse, the second of the Sheep, and the third of the Ox family name. . . . Just as among the North American Indians husband and wife are always of different families—that is, of different surnames. Custom and law alike prohibit marriage on the part of people having the same family surname. The children are of the father's family—that is, they take his surname.' (Compare *Narrative of Two Mahometan Travelers*, Pinkerton, vol. vii.) The Arabian travelers had the same law at home, prohibiting marriage between people of the same family name.

"Looking at India, we find in the *Institutes of Menu* (iii. 5) that a man of the twice-born classes may not marry 'a woman descended from his paternal or maternal ancestors within the sixth degree, nor [in words believed to be a comment on the original] one who is known by her family name to be of the same primitive stock with his father.' No one, that is to say, may marry within the

ghotra, just as no Red Indian may marry within the limits fixed by the totem. If the *ghotra* was counted, or if the Chinese family name ran, on the female side, Chinese and Brahmans would be exactly in the position of Australian blacks, as far as prohibited degrees are concerned. Mr. Cunningham (*Digest of Hindu Law*, Madras, 1877) says that the old rule about the

ghotra is falling into disuse, and that local custom in many places permits it to be disobeyed. Now, just as observers in India note this change of practice, so observers among the Red Indians and Australians note another change of practice. Kindred among these peoples is very gradually beginning to be reckoned by the male line; children are being counted among some tribes in the clan of the father (Morgan, p. 86).

"Leaving India, and turning to Greece and Rome, we find the local tribe, and subordinate to the tribe, two forms of associations called the *yévos* and gens, which are prominent in early history and gradually die out. Thus, tho in the Twelve Tables, as we have seen, the members of the gens succeed to the property of an *instans*, yet in the second century Gaius declares (*Inst.*, iii. 17) that all Gentile law had fallen into desuetude. The gens, then, was, as its very name implies, a form of kindred, but old and hastening to decay. . . .

"In the example of the Greek *yévos* we again find the common name a patronymic, generally thought to be derived from a hero. We find that all who bore the name shared certain religious rights, and before Solon's date were co-heirs to property, and took up the blood feud if one of the *yévos* were slain. Yet the *yeuvétra* are often defined as *not* akin in blood, so entirely did the old sense of relationship dwindle, in Greece as in Rome. . . .

Classic Customs.

"It has been usual, almost universal, to explain the Greek *yévos* and Roman gens by simply saying, like Mr. Freeman (*Comparative Politics*, Macmillan, 1873, p. 111), 'The family grew into the clan, the clan grew into the tribe.' Mr. Freeman says we can trace this process best 'among men of our own blood.' But when we examine the early associations of the English (Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 458), we find, just as in America, just as in Australia, groups of kindred of the same name—take Billing, by way of example—scattered from north to south through all the local tribes. We have seen how this happens in America and Australia, we have seen that there the family, in Mr. Freeman's sense, does not grow into the clan. Did it do so in Attica and Italy, and, if so, how did a tribe, which was *ex hypothesi* but a swollen clan, contain so many stocks which claimed distinct origin and distinct mythical ancestors? How did these stocks come to be scattered through local tribes, not grouped in one? The growth of savage tribes is not a development of the family; tribes singularly like those of savages are found in early civilizations. Had the two kinds of kindred different origins?

"There remains a point to notice. The thoroughly savage totem-kindreds reverence the animal, plant, or other object from which they take their name and claim descent, and they use it as a badge. For Greek and Rome survivals of this usage see Plutarch, *Theseus*; M'Lennan, 'The worship of plants and animals,' in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869-70; and the *Antiquities of Heraldry*, by W. S. Ellis, 1869. If the ordinary theory, that the tribe and clan are overgrown families, be rejected, the converse theory may be stated thus: The totem-kindreds of savages grow up through exogamy and female kin. The change to male kinship (a change which is demonstrably taking place in America and Australia) produced something like the Chinese circle of relationship. The substitution of the name of a fictitious ancestor for that of the sacred plant, animal, or natural object produced a circle of affinity like the Hindu *ghotra* of customary religion. The decay of the prohibition to marry within the kin united by the family name, like the growing laxity of rule in the *ghotra*, produced something like the Greek *yévos* and the Roman gens. Nothing remained but joint religious rites, a common place of burial, a common name, a vague feeling of connection, traditions of the prohibition to marry within the gens, the duty of taking up the blood-feud, and vestiges of the joint-heirship. In process of time the intenser affections of the family caused the old gentile ties to disappear, and gentile law became an empty memory. . . .

"There are next certain customs to be examined, which tend, as far as they go, to show that civilized society passed through savage stages. The chief of these customs are the ceremony of capture and bridal etiquette. As to the ceremony of capture it is superfluous to say much, as the subject has been handled, with complete originality and copious illustrations, in M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage*. The classic example of the ceremony of capture is thus stated by C. O. Müller (*History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, English translation, Oxford, 1830, vol. ii. p. 208): 'Two things were requisite as an introduction and preparation to marriage at Sparta: first, betrothing on the

part of the father; secondly, *the seizure of the bride*. The latter was clearly an ancient national custom.' Müller then describes the clandestine intercourse, which lasted for some time, before the man 'brought his bride, and frequently her mother, into his house.' The intercourse of bride and groom among the Iroquois of Lafitau's time was likewise clandestine.

Capture.

For the practice in Crete, Müller quotes Strabo, x. 482, D. A similar custom prevailed in Rome (Apuleius, *De As. Aur.* iv.; Festus, s. v. "Raptus"), and was supposed to be derived from the time of the Sabines. Mr. McLennan finds the practice necessary to the constitution of the relations of husband and wife among the Calmucks, the Tunguzians, the Khonds, the Fugians, the Welsh, the Arabs, the Irish, and various other races. He explains its existence by the institutions of exogamy (*i.e.*, the rule prohibiting marriage between people of the same blood), and by the prevalence of hostility between the tribes of rude times. . . .

"A strange piece of barbarous etiquette may hint that the kindred of the bride and groom were once hostile groups. The daughter-in-law, among many races, is forbidden to speak to her father-in-law; the mother-in-law must hide when she sees her son-in-law. The wives treat their husbands with what may be a survival of hostility, and never name them by their names. Examples are collected in Sir John Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization* (pp. 11, 12). The practices are found among races on the border of the Polar Sea, in the Rocky Mountains, in Southern Africa, among the Caribs, Mongols, and Calmucks, in China, in Siberia, and in Australia. To these instances adduced by Sir John Lubbock we may add Bulgaria (Dozon, *Chants Populaires Bulgares*).

"Herodotus says (i. 146) that the wives of the early Ionians would not call their husbands by their names nor sit at meat with them, and instructed their daughters to practise the same reserve. The reason assigned is that the women were originally Carians, whose parents the Ionians had slain. It may be allowed that this world-wide practice, too, testifies to a time when men married out of their own group, and all groups were hostile each to the other. Perhaps the English local custom, which forbids the parents of bride and bridegroom to be present at the marriage ceremony, holds the same antiquity.

"We have now to note the widespread existence of a system of nomenclature, which can hardly have arisen in times when the monogamous family was the unit of society. Mr. Lewis Morgan, of New York, was the discoverer of a custom very important in its bearing on the history of society. In about two thirds of the globe persons in addressing a kinsman do not discriminate between grades of relationship. All these grades are merged in large categories. Thus, in what Mr. Morgan calls the 'Malayan system,' all consanguineal, near or far, fall within one of these relationships—grandparent, parent, brother, sister, child, and grandchild." No other blood-relationships are recognized (*Ancient Society*, p. 385). This at once reminds us of the Platonic Republic. "We devised means that no one should ever be able to know his own child, but that all should imagine themselves to be of one family, and should regard as brothers and sisters those who were within a certain limit of age; and those who were of an elder generation they were to regard as parents and grandparents, and those who were of a younger generation as children and grandchildren (*Timæus*, 18, Jowett's translation, first edition, vol. ii., 1871). This system prevails in the Polynesian groups, and in New Zealand. Next comes what Mr. Morgan chooses to call the Turanian system. 'It was universal among the North American aborigines,' whom Mr. Morgan styles Ganowanians. 'Traces of it have been found in parts of Africa' (*Ancient Society*, p. 386), and 'it still prevails in South India among the Hindus, who speak the Dravidian language,' and also in North India, among other Hindus. The system, as Mr. Morgan says, 'is simply stupendous.' It is not exactly the same among all his miscellaneous 'Turanians,' but, on the whole, assumes the following shapes. Suppose the speaker to be a male, he will style his nephew and niece in the male line, his brother's children, 'son' and 'daughter,' and his grandnephews and grandnieces in the male line, 'grandson' and 'granddaughter.' Here the Turanian and the Malayan systems agree. But change the sex; let the male speaker address his nephews and nieces in the female line—the children of his sister—he salutes them as 'nephew' and 'niece,' and they hail him as 'uncle.' The reader is referred for particulars to Mr. Morgan's great work,

Kinship.

Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race (Washington, 1871)."

For the argument for the origin of the family in other than promiscuous union we may turn to many authors, but best to Westermarck, who, in his *History of Human Marriage*, has treated this portion of the subject the most fully.

He argues that the family has probably existed from the beginning of the human race, because (1), accepting the evolutionary hypothesis of the ascent of man from the lower animals, the family is found among many of the higher animals. It is here evidently an evolution; among the lower animals it has not been found. Among the *invertebrata* the young owe their preservation mainly to chance. Even the mothers are exempted from nearly all care for their progeny. To the male's share falls nothing but the function of propagation. The mother usually does nothing but find a place to lay her eggs, perhaps an object to which she may fasten them; or sometimes something with which they may be covered. The eggs of insects, the highest order, are hatched by the heat of the sun. Among *mammals* the mother has great anxiety for her young, tho the father still has little, and is sometimes even the foe of his young. There are some mammals, however, where the father does care for the young, such as whales, seals, hippopotami, gazelles, antelopes, reindeer, squirrels, moles; and some carnivorous animals, as a few cats and martins, and possibly the wolf. Among the *quadrumanæ* what was before the exception is now the rule. The male and female live in pairs during the rearing of the young, and sometimes beyond, the father being the protector. This is especially true of the gorillas and man-like apes. The father usually sleeps at the foot of the tree on guard, while the mother and young are above. Among the Siamangs the father carries about the male young and the mother the female young. Among the gorillas the father sometimes builds a rude nest for the mother until after delivery. Among all animals there seems to be a rut season, yet among the higher animals the male and female keep together through the year. The evidence seems to be that such family life is evolved through natural selection. When the father protects the young they are more likely to live. Among the lower animals other means insure the existence of the species. Among most, enough eggs are laid to allow an enormous number to perish. Fish spawn enough roe to more than fill the sea, if it were all fecundated and hatched. The eggs of reptiles need no help from the father. Birds and mammals need paternal care, and thus get it. Among walrus, elephants, and bats, the females seem to herd together with their young, and thus seek protection rather than from the males. Among the Primates, marriage (defined as "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation, till after the birth of the offspring," p. 10) Westermarck thinks due to the small number of the young, the long period of infancy, and the danger involved, incurred by the young. Marriage, he says, is thus rooted in family, and not the family in marriage (p. 22).

Animals.

Coming now to man, he finds the family existing from the start, as among the higher animals, tho more developed. He says that the asserted promiscuity of certain tribes is a mistake, and does not exist, while among the lowest tribes we find abundant proof of rude family life. If the father does nothing else, he builds the hut. Among the North American Indians it is considered disgraceful for a man to have more wives than he can support. Among the Fuegians, a youth can marry as soon as by fish or bird catching he can support a wife. Among the Australian Kurnai, a man, as a Kurnai once said, "hunts, fishes, fights, and sits about." Among the cannibals of New Britain, the chiefs see that their warriors maintain their wives, or the warriors are punished like school-boys. The South American Guaruanies will not risk their lives in hunting while their wives are pregnant; some tribes will not fight. Among the Bechuana and Kafirs, the youth is not allowed to marry till he has killed a rhinoceros. Family life is thus always connected with the support of the family. Among many tribes marriage is not thought to be completed, and sometimes is not recognized, unless a child is born; among the Shawanese and Abipones and other tribes the wife remains at her father's house till she has a child. Among the African

Early Family Life.

Baelle, the childless woman is not considered married. Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, a wife does not enter her husband's tent till far advanced in pregnancy. In Siam a wife does not receive her dowry, nor among the Aleuts does the husband pay for his wife, till a child is born. The Igorrotes of Luzon consider no engagement binding till the woman has become pregnant. Among many of the wild tribes of Borneo there is almost unrestrained intercourse between the youth of both sexes; but if pregnancy occur, marriage is held necessary. Westermarck thinks that among men there was once a rutting season. Beaumarchais says: "That which distinguishes man from the beast is drinking without being thirsty, and making love at all seasons." Westermarck says this was not always so. Every animal has its especial rutting season, often in spring, but not always. The same is said to be true of the wild Indians of California, the Watch-and-dies of Australia, the Tasmanians, the Hos, an Indian hill tribe, and many others. They have great religious feasts for procreation, sometimes regular saturnalia, as among the last named, when men become like animals, and women lose all modesty. In Rome a feast of Venus took place in April, and curious customs looking in this direction can be traced in Germany, England, and other countries. Westermarck finds the origin of the rutting season in the fact that at certain seasons the young are more likely to live, and that this season disappears among men, because they are more and more able to preserve their young at all periods. The development of separate families among man and the higher animals is said to be due in part to the difficulty in getting food. They must separate to range and get

Separate Families.

food, just as later they come together in tribes for defense. Westermarck believes that the theory of promiscuity has arisen from mistakes of travelers not understanding family customs, and says that sometimes unchastity has been increased by contact with civilization, as the aborigines of Australia brought into contact with the lower class of the whites, and the women of the South Sea Islands, the Sandwich Islands, and Patagonia corrupted by licentious sailors and adventurers. He says: "The immorality of many savages is certainly very great, but we must not believe that it is characteristic of uncivilized races in general. There are numerous savage and barbarous people—peoples among whom sexual intercourse out of wedlock is of rare occurrence, unchastity, at least on the part of the woman, being looked upon as a disgrace and even a crime" (p. 61). He mentions the Kafirs, the equatorial Africans, Dahomey, the Kabyles, the Central Asian Turks (among whom he says a fallen girl is reported as unknown). Among the Nias of the Indian Archipelago a pregnant unmarried girl and her seducer are both killed; among the Hill Dyaks licentiousness is prohibited; and thus in many tribes we have chastity side by side with tribes of great licentiousness. He mentions among the chaste, besides the above, tribes of the Philippine Islands, New Guinea, Tasmania, Loyalty Islands, Western Victoria, the Aleuts, Greenland, the Northern Indians, the Nez Percés, Apaches, the South Slavonians, the Finns, the primitive Turk-Tartars. He quotes Drury as saying that in Madagascar there are more modest women in proportion to the population than in England (*Adventures during Fifteen Years' Captivity on the Island of Madagascar*, p. 323). Westermarck says: "We may perhaps say that irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization" (p. 69). Among many savage tribes intercourse is very free among the young, but after pregnancy there is great strictness. Even in Scotland, before the Reformation, the practice of "hand-fastening" was common, whereby at the public fairs men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year, at the end of which period they could either leave or marry. The very extended if not almost universal custom of lending wives and sometimes children and servants among savages, Westermarck refers not to primitive promiscuous customs, but to conceptions of hospitality, the father looking upon his wife and children as property at his disposal. So too with the *jus prima noctes*, which has so generally existed in fact if not in law; it was held as a property right belonging to the strong. The weaker families felt honored if their kings, priests, or rulers made use of their wives. This custom is very common, and has existed very recently in Russia.

As for the fact that relationship is usually traced through the females, Westermarck gives a long list of tribes where it is traced through the males, and says that even where it is traced through the fe-

males, there are a good many other reasons that may be given for it other than that of uncertainty of the paternity. He says, for one reason, that in polygamous families, the paternity be certain, the relation is naturally traced through the mother, to distinguish the one wife's offspring from another's. The tie of the child to the mother is also naturally much closer than that to the father, so that in the "classificatory system" of blood ties, traced through the mother, Westermarck finds no evidence of a time when paternity was uncertain, because promiscuous union was the rule. He shows, too, that promiscuous union as among prostitutes tends to infecundity, and therefore is not probable as the origin of the race; also that the natural jealousy of men and animals is contrary to it. Polyandry he shows to be not rare, as in Thibet,

Descent Traced through Males.

but that is usually in pastoral peoples, where only one husband is at home at a time. He gives many instances of the jealousy of men over their wives. The Fuegians will let no one, especially young men, enter their huts. The Moquis allow their wives only to work indoors. Licentiousness and jealousy often go together. The jealous guard of Mohammedans over their harems is well known. A Tartar may repudiate a wife who shakes hands with a man. Among the nomadic Koriaks and other tribes, the women refrain from dressing their hair and from washing, and dress in rags to prevent their husbands growing jealous of them and killing them. Some Indians are said to cut off the hair and even noses of their wives, to render them safe against solicitation. Among many tribes husbands demand virgins for wives, or at least, as with the negroes of Togoland, pay a higher price for one. The Jewish "tokens of the damsel's virginity" are well known. Among many tribes the woman belongs to her husband even after his death. Among the Comanches, in Darien, Panama, and India, and many other countries, a man's wives are killed at his death, usually burned. Among many other tribes the wife must long worship his dead body. Second marriages are frequently condemned. All these are indications of the theory among such tribes of the woman as the property of the man. Such is also the fact that often the daughter is not consulted when given or sold in marriage. The fact that in many tribes she seems to have had greater liberty in earlier times than in later may be explained by the fact that at first marriage and the family were mainly matters of safety for the young, into which relation the mother entered more freely, and only gradually did the man come to consider himself the owner of his wife and children, and so buy his wife and sell his children. Among the Eskimos, and the same often occurs even now among the Turks, parents will arrange marriages for their children as soon as they are born. Early betrothals exist among many tribes. In Australasia girls are sometimes promised even before they are born, and the same is true in New Guinea, New Zealand, and Tahiti. Among the North American Indians the woman has more liberty. Among the Kurnai the girl often elopes with her husband and then returns and elopes two or three times till she is forgiven. In Radack marriages depended on a free convention, as seemed to be the rule in Micronesia. Among still more tribes the bride is stolen, and in most marriage ceremonies the capture of the bride by force is symbolized. Over the children, almost all tribes give full power to the parents. Even sons may be married against their will. "In Japan," says Mr. Griffis, "the Japanese maiden, as pure as the purest Christian virgin, will at the command of her father enter the brothel to-morrow, and prostitute herself for life. Not a murmur escapes her lips as she thus filially obeys" (*The Mikado's Empire*, p. 555). The power over children, even adult, is almost universal even in semi-civilized races, and in Judea, Greece, and Rome. According to Wallace, the father, in early Russia, was rather the administrator of a labor association than anything else. Even now French law gives great power over children until of age.

Woman the Property of Man.

Among all tribes and nations of men incest has always awakened horror, but there have been various degrees of prohibited marriages. Many tribes have very involved and far-reaching systems of kinship, within which marriage is forbidden. In a few tribes men will marry their sisters, and among the Veddahs of Ceylon these are considered the proper marriages. But among most tribes it occasions great horror.

Many tribes practise exogamy (*i.e.*, marriage outside the tribe); and some much prefer endogamy, but *almost* all seem to have some rule or practice.

The reason for the horror of incest and the practice of exogamy has been very variously stated. By some it has been thought due to an observation of the better results of cross-breeding than of inbreeding; by others, to the fact that tribes killed their own female children, as being expensive to rear; by others, to the fact that all women were private property, and it was cheaper and more glorious to capture a wife from a hostile tribe. These explanations, however, while with some truth, do not explain all the facts. There seems to be an innate aversion to marriage with those with whom one has long lived. Even horses and dogs are said to prefer those of other stalls. Marriage, however, by capture has usually passed into marriage by purchase. The price is often one of service, as with Jacob. Some times a kinswoman is given in exchange. The most common compensation is property. Among the Californian Karoks a wife was bought, unless unusually pretty and aristocratic, for half a string of dentalium shell. In British Columbia and Vancouver Island the prices range from £20 to £40; among the Kafirs, from 5 to 30 cows. The Damaras will give a girl for one cow. In Uganda, a wife can be bought for three bullocks, or six sewing needles, or a pair of shoes. Among the Fijians the usual price is a whale's tooth or a musket. In Japan and China the bridegroom gives presents to the bride, and this is sometimes stipulated for. Among early Aryan races the bride was usually bought. In the Homeric age a maid was called ἀλφεῖβονα, one "who yields her parents many oxen." Aristotle says that the ancient Greeks bought their wives. In Germany, the expression "to buy a wife" was in use till the end of the Middle Ages. The giving of the ring in the English wedding service is said to be a relic of the same custom. In Servia, in the beginning of the present century, Black George limited the price of a girl to one ducat. Presents to the bride during courtship are said to come from the same custom. In many tribes the adulterer simply pays the husband a fine for stolen property. Women are bought for what they can do. The Fægiens buy as many wives as possible to row their canoes. The purchase by marriage, however, among all peoples has more or less disappeared. In many the price paid for the bride came to be given by the father, after he had received it, to the bride, and hence rose the custom of the dower, or settling of a "portion" by the father upon the bride.

Wives by Purchase.

With this conception of marriage as a purchase of the wife, it is easy to see how those who could afford it should buy many wives, and polygamy become common tho not universal among savage tribes. Many North American tribes are strictly monogamic. Many Asiatic and African tribes are the same, including some of the lowest, as the Veddahs of Ceylon. But in almost all tribes it seems to be mainly a matter of money and power, since most princes have many wives. In China and most Mohammedan countries, while there may be only one wife, the law allows concubines. Polyandry is much rarer, but exists among the Aleuts, sometimes among the Esquimos. Polyandry is not unknown to the *Rig Vedas*. It seems to have existed among the Picts, and to have developed mainly in mountainous or rude climates, where women were few, and men would combine to own a wife, the one staying with her, while others would be away on excursions of chase or war. In almost all cases woman is owned for service. An Arab shiek said of his four wives: "This one carries water; this grinds the corn; this makes the bread; the last does not do much, as she is the youngest and my favorite." Polygamy thus means a division of labor, and is sometimes therefore favored among savage women. Monogamy seems usually to have gone before polygamy, and then to have returned. Divorce seems almost tho not quite universal. A wife that is bought can be sold, exchanged, or discarded. Such, then, according to one of the best modern authorities, is the origin of the family: *first*, the union of male and female, animal or man, to care for and defend the young—a union easily broken, where the woman, however, has considerable freedom; *second*, a union where the man rules the wife, and she is considered his property, with her children, he having obtained her, at first by capture, and later by service, exchange, or purchase, and where she is his servant, he going on to buy as many wives as he can afford to maintain; and, *thirdly*, a union rising from this into monogamy, and with more liberty for

woman. M. Letourneau, in his *Evolution of Marriage*, takes substantially the same ground as Westermarck in his view of the origin of the family. In the system of *Totems* found in Australia, and essentially, tho under other forms, in most uncivilized communities, he sees no remnant of a time of promiscuous intercourse, or trace of descent through the mother, but rather a property institution, which in general he believes marriage to be, marrying together in general, a large number of men and women connected by one *totem*. M. Letourneau believes that evolution has proven the enduring monogamic marriage to have been thus far the most fitted to survive, but holds all evidence to-day to indicate that the marital relation is now evolving still further into one of monogamic marriage, but not of enduring monogamy, but rather of easy divorce and "free-love."

Totems.

II. THE PREHISTORIC FAMILY.

Passing, then, from the question of the origin of the family, we come next upon the question of its form in civilized society as it exists when fully developed, tho not yet in the clear light of certain history. Here we are met with two clear types, the Semitic and the Aryan. The Semitic family is patriarchal and polygamous. Semitic races know little of individual liberty. They have found no medium between the anarchy of nomadic tribes and the hard tyranny of the despot. They have given the world its religion; above all, its conception of a one supreme and all-powerful Ruler. The family has partaken of this conception. It is founded upon obedience to one head. The wives and children are slaves; their duty is to serve and obey. Love has not been wanting, yet obedience is the fundamental relation. The Bible picture of Jacob with his wives and slaves and concubines and flocks and herds is a typical instance. Women were objects of sale, purchase, and ownership. The fathers of the bride and groom really contract the marriage. Marriage within the tribe and sometimes within the kin is the rule. Female captives are taken as wives (see the Bible stories), marriage is universal, and childlessness is a disgrace. Divorce is at the pleasure of the husband, and barrenness is a sufficient cause. Divorce is, however, less common than the introduction of a second wife. The son is the heir instead of the wife or daughter. The son may sometimes inherit even the father's wife. (See Absalom, in the Bible, when he seizes his father's throne.) Yet the family is strongly developed. It is the social unit. Family relationship and descent is carefully maintained. When a man dies childless it is his brother's duty to raise children for him. (See the Levirate in Bible customs.) Land is held by families.

The Semitic Family.

The Aryan family is monogamic. It is also the social unit. The family lives separately. It possesses rights and never dies. The principle and purpose for which the family is founded is the performance of the *sacra* or worship of ancestry. Personal immortality is the common faith. The dead, save a few great souls who, some believed, might inhabit heaven, are thought to descend into the earth. Hades is there, the place not only of the wicked, but of all, or, at least, well-nigh all.

The Aryan Family.

"For Hades underneath the ground,
A strict examiner is found."

—*Eumenides*, 273-275.

Æschylus in another place makes a son address his dead father: "Oh, thou who art a god under the ground." Isaiah says: "The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth" (Isa. xxxviii. 18). They connected the dead with the tomb, perhaps as living there or hovering there. Hence they brought cakes, fruit, wine, milk, fire, etc., and laid them by or in the tomb. Ancestor worship they put first. In India Agni, in Italy Vesta meant the sacred fire burned to ancestors. Prayers to Agni and to Vesta came always first. There was in every home the sacred fire, never allowed to go out, always kept pure, and burning only certain woods. If in Rome there was one day in the year when all ancestral fires were allowed to go out, they were relit with special forms. Near the home of the living was the home of the ancestral dead. It was one home; in one part lived the living, and in one part lived the dead. On certain days the living ate solemn feasts by the dead. The first thing in the morning and the last at night they said prayers and chanted ancestral hymns before the sacred fire. Around this center grew the family. Only relatives could be buried in the ancestral home. When a woman married, she left her home and her gods and joined the home and gods of her husband. The fire was their protectress. Hecuba says to Priam: "Thy arms will not defend thee; this altar will protect us." Generation was not the center of the

family, but the fire. The daughter was not equal to the son. The object of marriage was to bear a son who could keep up the family fire. If sterile, a man could divorce his wife and marry again; or in Sparta and other places, intro-

duce some one else to give conception to the wife. The bridegroom, according to some, "must marry a daughter of his own people; he must not marry a woman of his own kin. The race on the one side and his own name on the other side marked the limits of his selection" (Hearn's *The Aryan Household*, p. 156). Not every son could receive and transmit the ancestral obligations. He must be born of legitimate union. In neither Greek, Roman, nor German law did the bastard receive recognition. The legitimate son was at birth received into the household with ceremonies and joy. No woman could perform the *sacra*. She was a part of the household, but not of the State. Thwing (*The Family*, p. 22) suggests that perhaps she was not allowed to celebrate the *sacra* because not belonging to the family permanently, as she might marry and belong to some other family. Chosen for a religious purpose, the wife, however, could not be put away except for sterility or sufficient cause. Such is the Aryan conception of the family, perhaps best given in Fustel de Coulanges' *Ancient City*. This ancestral worship seems to have existed with more or less distinctness among the Hindus, Iranians, Slavonians, Greeks, and Romans. Even Menu, at the time he wrote his laws, calls it the earliest

religion known to man. "The Semitic family," says Thwing, "is the germ of monarchy, the Aryan of the commonwealth."

III. THE FAMILY IN CLASSIC TIMES.

It is still a religious institution, but this is not so prominent. In the Homeric type there is great delicacy, dignity, tenderness, simplicity, love. No trace of polygamy appears. Concubinage is practised only by a few. Of domestic concubinage there is no trace. The essence of marriage lies in cohabitation, with a solemn public acknowledgment. Death alone dissolves the conjugal relation. The love of Penelope for Ulysses has rarely been surpassed. The tenderness of Hector and Andromache, the heroic love of Alcester, voluntarily dying that her husband may live, the filial piety of Antigone, the majestic grandeur of Polyxena, the saintly resignation of Iphigenia, the joyous, modest and loving Nausicaa—these, says Lecky, are "pictures of perennial beauty, which Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization have neither eclipsed nor surpassed" (*History of European Morals*, Am. ed., II., p. 296). Women, however, are servants. They perform indoor work, fetch water, and grind flour. Telemachus bids his mother mind her spindle and loom and not interfere in the debates of men.

Homer.

The family of the classical period proper of Greece is more religious in form and less pure in fact. Concubinage and intercourse with *hetairai* are not only allowed by the State, but publicly favored. The wife is kept well at home. She is married by her parents. Sophocles makes a woman describe the lot of her sex by saying: "When we are grown up we are driven away from our parents and paternal gods" (*Frag. Terms*). Athenians marry Athenians. The wife cares for the house and does not share the intellectual life of her husband. For this the husband goes to *hetairai*. Demosthenes says frankly: "We have *hetairai* for our pleasure, wives to bear us children and to care for our households" (*kata Neaupag*). Socrates asks: "Is there a human being with whom you talk less than with your wife?" (Xenophon, *Economics*, III., 12). The higher *hetairai*, like Aspatia, were queens; the lower lived a wretched life. The wife superintends the servants, cares for the sick, educates the children. Fidelity is required of the wife.

Greece.

Laxity is allowed the husband. Adultery on the part of the wife results in divorce; the adulteress, taken in the act, the husband can kill. The wife has some rights. She can bring action against her husband. The Spartan wife is more like the Homeric. She receives a large dower. In the time of Aristotle two fifths of the territory of Sparta had come into the possession of women. Their morals were purer. The Spartan husband was accused of being ruled by his wife. The ideal of Plato was far from the actual. He would instruct boys and girls alike in music, gymnastics, and even in war. He would make the woman and man equal, and minimize their differences. But he

advocates practically sexual communism, yet the reverse of licentiousness. No indulgence is allowed the passions. "In a city of the blessed, licentiousness is an unholy thing which the rulers will forbid" (*Republic*, Book V.). He would have as great care in breeding men as cattle. The State should put an end to the existence of the offspring of inferior parents. Men between 25 and 55 should alone marry women of 20 to 40. Precautions should be taken that neither father nor mother recognize their offspring; the State should assume the care of the children (*Republic*, Book V.).

The Roman family was at first like the Homeric. Phryne nor Aspasia could hold sway there. Marriage was of three kinds: *Confarreatio*, the religious; *coemptio*, the civil; *usus*, effected by a man and

Rome.

woman living together for one year. The husband is the priest of the domestic altar. He is responsible for the perpetuity of the family. If his wife is sterile he can divorce her. He has the right to reject or accept the child at birth. He has the right to join his daughter in wedlock and to compel the wedlock of his son. He has the right to exclude the son from the family hearth and to introduce a stranger. He is the judicial authority in the household, the judge of his wife. If she commit adultery he can put her to death. Over his children his power is the same. In the laws of Menu we read:

"Woman during her infancy depends upon her father; during her youth upon her husband; when her husband is dead, upon her sons; if she has no son, on the nearest relative of her husband, for a woman ought never to govern herself according to her own will" (*Laws of Menu*, v. 147, 148).

This was true in Rome as well as India. A mother need not be asked to consent to the marriage of her only daughter. This position was true only of marriage by *confarreatio*. In *usus* and *coemptio* she had more rights; it was more of a bargain. The Roman matron, however, had dignity if not power. She was addressed as *materfamilias*, as her husband *paterfamilias*. She pronounced to her husband on entering his household "*Ubi tu Catus, ego Caia*," implying equality in dignity. She was the object of veneration. She had her place near the sacred fire. On her death her husband lost his place as priest. Her position was often happy. Cato thought it better "to be a good husband than a great senator" (Mommsen's History, III., chap. 13). It was said to be 500 years after the foundation of the city before the first divorce occurred. This was the divorce of his wife by Carvilius Ruga, B.C. 234, on account of sterility, and for his oath's sake, tho "he loved her tenderly" (*Aulus Gellius*, IV., 3). After the Punic wars a change set in. Sylla, Cæsar, Antony, and Augustus repudiated their wives. Divorce was a religious form, not a civil one. The disintegration and immorality that set in under the empire are well known. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Men and women outdid each other in wanton indulgences. Seneca says that marriage was contracted to give piquancy to adultery (*De Benef.*, III., 16, 2,3). Friends exchanged wives. Yet there were brilliant exceptions—Cornelia, the

devoted wife of Pompey; Marcia, the friend, and Helvia, the mother of Seneca. Augustus tried to encourage marriage by offering rewards for the married, and decrees against the unmarried, but it availed not. Rome was rotten to the core.

IV. THE FAMILY IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

The conception of marriage as a lifelong union of one man with one woman, and that outside of this any sexual relation is sinful, came in with Christianity. The Hebrew family was Semitic and had tolerated polygamy, tho after the captivity it was little practised, and woman had much influence. (Cf. Miriam, Deborah, Jael, Jezebel, Athaliah.) The Greeks honored the *hetairai*. The Romans allowed many forms of marriage. The Germans allowed their princes many wives. Christianity knows but one wife for one husband, and that while life lasts, save for the one cause of fornication. So Christ taught (Matt. xix. 9). For man and woman there is but one standard. Purity is to be of the heart. He "who looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart" (Matt. v. 28). Christianity does not give detailed enactment. It elevates the whole conception of woman and of marriage to a spiritual plane. Christ gives the same authority and power to the mother as the father. The two are equal and the two are one. St. Paul seems to have had a lower idea of woman. He says more than once, "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church" (Eph. v. 23). He com-

The New Testament.

mands wives to be subject "to their own husbands in everything" (Eph. v. 24). Celibacy is held to be better than marriage, tho marriage may be allowed to prevent fornication (1 Cor. vii. 2). Yet he and all the writers of the Epistles and Revelation elevate marriage by making it the symbol of the relation of Christ to the Church. The Church is continually spoken of as the bride of the Lamb. Chastity is held very high through all the early Christian centuries. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) "The chaste woman," says the Clementine homilies (Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, pp. 220,221), "is adorned with the Son of God as with a bridegroom. She is clothed with holy light. Her beauty lies in a well-regulated soul, and she is fragrant with ointment, even with a good reputation. She is arrayed in beautiful vesture, even in modesty. She wears about her precious pearls, even chaste words. And she is radiant, for her mind has been brilliantly lighted up. Into a beautiful mirror does she look, for she looks into God." The husband is not forgotten: "He who wishes to have a chaste wife is also himself chaste—gives her what is due to a wife, takes his meals with her, keeps company with her, goes with her to the word that makes chaste, does not grieve her, does not rashly quarrel with her, does not make himself hateful to her, furnishes her with all the good things he can, and when he has them not he makes up the deficiency by caresses" (*ibid.* 221, 222). In the apostolical constitutions the tendency to celibacy

is beginning. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are forbidden marriage. They need not repudiate wives, but they must not marry. Deaconesses are to be virgins or widows. The reason for this is plain—licentiousness was the prevailing sin of the times. Christianity in this corrupt age produced the home. Says Origen: "There is not a Christian community which has not been exempted from a thousand vices and a thousand passions. . . . Compared with contemporary pagans, the disciples of Christ shine like stars in the firmament" (*Contra Celsum*, L. 7, iii. 29). "Concubina" or "concubinalis" is never found on the grave of the Christian wife. In one respect only was woman's liberty narrowed by early Christianity. Under Rome woman had gained some freedom by relinquishing religious marriage and bargaining for freedom in the civil marriage. Christianity, by making marriage again religious and not civil, brought her legal position back to being under her husband again. The old law proclaimed liberty of divorce; the Christian declared marriage indissoluble. The Christian idea of the family pervaded later legislation. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) It restrained the power of the parent, putting love in place of law. The freedom of the Roman matron was bought by her disgrace. If Christianity took away some of this freedom, it was by taking away her disgrace. It is for Christianity to-day to give her freedom without weakening family love. The early and medieval Church made a fearful mistake in the overpraise of celibacy,

yet almost all the Fathers do commit this error. Tertullian says **Asceticism**, celibacy must be chosen even if mankind perish. Origen thought marriage profane and impure. St. Jerome says, the marriage may fill the earth, it is virginity that replenishes heaven (Wester-marck's *History of Marriage*, pp. 154, 155). The same feeling is found in other religious writings. The Buddhist *Dhammika Sutta* say that "a wise man should avoid married life as if it were a burning pit of live coals" (Monier Williams' *Buddhism*, p. 99). Almost all savage religions, too, require celibacy of their priests and holy men and women. A Munda Kol, when asked, "May a dog sin?" answered: "If the dog did not sin how could he breed?" In all religions a veil of modesty, however transparent, is drawn over all the relation of the sexes. The need is for a true spirituality that shall not draw away from life, but shall spiritualize all of life's relations.

V. THE MEDIEVAL FAMILY.

The barbarians who invaded the empire honored woman. The family was pure. Domestic virtues prevailed. Salvian wrote in the fifth century (*De Gubernatione Dei*) of the Romans and the Christians, at this time largely infected by Roman impurity:

"You, Romans and Christians and Catholics, are defrauding your brethren, are grinding the faces of the poor, are frittering away your lives over the impure and heathenish spectacles of the amphitheater; you are wallowing in licentiousness and inebriety. The barbarians, meanwhile, heathens and heretics who they may be, and however fierce toward us, are

just and fair in their dealings with one another. The men of the same clan and following the same king love one another with true affection. The impurities of the theater are unknown among them. Many of their tribes are free from the taint of drunkenness, and among all, except the Slavs and the Huns, chastity is the rule."

Monogamy was universal save among the princes. Divorce was uncommon. Adultery was punished with great severity. Women accompanied their husbands on campaigns. The great invasions were migrations of families. The German family was a republic. Legally the position of woman, in the Germanic States, as they began to crystallize, was a mass of contradictions. One code grants her the right of inheritance; another denies it. One causes the wife practically to be sold to the husband; another causes her to come to him bringing a dowry. But however it was legally, morally woman was ever regarded as man's equal or superior. She was not confined to household cares. In battle she stood in the rear to inspire the warriors. In worship she stood near the priest, examined the entrails, and pronounced the verdict. In Iceland, which was never touched by Roman influence, a kiss forced upon woman was, in the twelfth century, punished with exile. Yet in other Germanic races woman was virtually a slave. In some she was immolated on the pyre of her husband.

As royal power arose and civilization became a war between robber barons, more and more honor was almost of necessity given to the physical power of man. Woman needed a protector. She was more and more placed under tutelage. Yet as feudalism became settled it tended to **Feudalism**, develop the family. The lord, marked off from his dependents, was more forced to seek equal comradeship with the few who were his feudal equals—his family. It tended to develop the individual family. It tended, too, to put the family on terms of equality. The children, and especially the eldest son, were more honored. This developed the aristocratic pride of family. But this lowered the condition of the dependent family. The lord often lorded it over the family of his serf. The legal recognition of the *jus primæ noctis* has been denied; but in practice the lord undoubtedly, by might if not by right, claimed the body of the female serf. His serfs could not marry without his will.

When feudalism gradually disappeared the tutelage of woman was continued by habit and legal custom. Chivalry, however, honored the woman as a jewel to be guarded, and a queen to be served and almost worshiped. Knights swore "to fear, revere, and serve God religiously; to forward the faith with all their strength, and to die a thousand deaths rather than renounce Christianity; to maintain the just cause of the weak, such as of widows, orphans, and maidens, in a good quarrel; to expose themselves for them according as necessity required, **Chivalry**, provided it was not against their own honor, or against their king or natural prince; that avarice, recompense, gain, or profit should never oblige them to do any action, but only glory and virtue; that they

would hold themselves bound to conduct a lady or maiden ; that they would serve her, protect her, and save her from all danger and all insult, or die in the attempt ; that they would never do violence to ladies or maidens, altho they had gained them by arms, without their will or consent ; that, above all things, they would be faithful, humble, and would never fail in their word, for any ill or loss that might thence happen to them" (Guizot's *History of Civilization*, IV., 22-24). In Southern Europe the vices of the Roman Empire had more endurance. The home was degraded ; woman an inferior. This was encouraged and woman corrupted by the growing corruption of the priests with their enforced celibacy. Beginning first as a protest against the licentiousness of the Roman Empire, the Church praised first purity, then virginity, then celibacy. Marriage was allowed to prevent fornication and as a concession to the flesh. This degraded it. The Manichean doctrine spread, that the body was evil and must be crucified with its desires. Eustathius, Bishop of Sebastia, before the close of the fourth century, asserted that the married cannot be saved, and prayers must not be offered in their houses (Lea's *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 61). About the year 385 the first definite rule was issued commanding perpetual celibacy for the clergy. The rise of monachism hurt the family. Down to the Protestant Reformation the monk and the nun were held up as "the religious." Every kind of concubinage was practised, tho the councils thundered against it. Occasionally the Church in despair seemed to surrender and allow concubinage. Convents became brothels. The love of Abelard and Heloise is indicative :

"In a worldly point of view, it was better for him, as a churchman, to have the reputation of shameless immorality than that of a loving and pious husband ; and this was so evidently a matter of course, that she willingly sacrificed everything, and practised every deceit, that he might be considered a reckless libertine, who had refused her the only reparation in his power" (Lea's *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 283).

The Church, with exceptions, yet too few, became grossly corrupt. Cardinal Hugo said to the people of Lyons, on the occasion of the departure of Innocent IV. (1251), after a residence of eight years :

"Friends, since our arrival here we have done much for your city. When we came, we found here three or four brothels. We leave behind us but one. We must own, however, that it extends without interruption from the eastern to the western gate" (Lea, p. 356).

Asceticism was as a rule only apparent. Says Cæsar of Heisterbach (*Dial. Mirac. Dist. XII.*, chap. xix.) :

"Since the priesthood mostly lead evil and incontinent lives, they soothe rather than excite the consciences of the worldly."

A bull of Alexander IV. (1259) declares that the people, instead of being reformed, are actually corrupted by their ministers. Marriage, it is true, was regarded as a sacrament, but the degradation of marriage as a carnal indulgence was more potent. The Church degradation of marriage led to its degraded sense of woman.

This was voiced in the canon law. Woman was regarded as the means of man's fall. Man is above her, between her and God. In all respects relative to the condition of woman, the canon law copied Roman law.

VI. THE FAMILY IN MODERN TIMES.

It has been a favorite charge of Roman Catholics that the Protestant Church was founded upon lust : in England, upon the unholy passion of the king ; on the Continent, upon the broken vows of a monk and nun. The truth simply is that one of the first blows struck by the Reformers was against the enforced celibacy of the clergy ; a rule which Luther characterized as angelic in appearance, but devilish in reality. The importance of this step was enormous. The enthusiasm with which the common people greeted this step was a proof of the evil of an unmarried clergy. The Romish Church, while not allowing divorce, reserved for itself the right of pronouncing marriages between relatives, within a marvelously ingenious and complicated system of prohibited decrees, as null and void from the beginning. Dispensations, too, were allowed princes and nobles. The mass of the people were left to endure the burden of evils growing out of the sacramental theory of marriage. In demanding impossible virtues, the Church opened wide the doors for all possible vices. Luther allowed divorce on the ground of adultery only ; Zwingli and the Zurich ordinances for other grave reasons. Calvin took substantially the same position as Luther. Luther even allowed Philip the Magnanimous, of Hesse, for political reason, to marry two women. The English Church, as she had never been wholly under the control of Rome, was less changed, there being less to change. Enforced celibacy, however, was voted down in convocation by a vote of 53 to 22 in 1547, and marriage as a sacrament was rejected. The Puritans, revolting against the Established Church, denounced the right of the priest to marry, and declared marriage a civil contract. This was confirmed by the New England Puritans. John Robinson says : "We cannot assent to the received opinion and practice answerable in the reformed churches by which the pastors thereof do celebrate marriage publicly and by virtue of their office" (*Apology*, 45). A law of Plymouth Colony (1633) required magistrates to legalize marriages. It was doubtful, however, how far the people approved of this. In 1692 the Massachusetts Province laws provided that marriage ceremonies might be performed by ministers, and this has become the rule in New England ; but the minister performs the marriage, as far as the State is concerned, not in his capacity as a minister, but as a civil officer, duly authorized by the State. The Church of England, as well as of Rome, is averse to this theory—that marriage is a civil contract—and has thus far successfully resisted the tendency to the complete secularization of marriage in England ; but on the Continent it has grown rapidly with the waning power of Rome. All Protestant sects tend to look upon adultery as the only cause for

**Prot-
estantism.**

divorce, while Rome, still holding marriage to be a sacrament, allows separation, but holds that the bond, once formed, is dissoluble only by death.

Other influences have been at work in modern times upon the family. The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis upon individualism, has steadily tended to exalt the individual above the family. Says Sir

Indi-
vidualism.

Henry Maine (*Ancient Law*, pp. 163, 165):

"The movement of the progressive societies has been uniform in one respect. Through all its course it has been distinguished by the gradual dissolution of family dependency and the growth of individual obligation in its place. The individual is steadily substituted for the family, as the unit of which civil laws take account. . . . We may say that the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from status to contract."

Such has been the legal effect of the Reformation upon the family. The family is less the social unit, and less and less so as liberalism prevails. In England the Conservative Party is said to be made up of those who have strong "family" affiliations. In regard to property, the old common law gave all property to the husband, and tho this has been steadily modified, great injustices are yet done to woman in the name of law. (See WOMAN'S RIGHTS.) Protestantism, however, while it has tended to exalt the individual over the family, and to give the woman a standing at least more equal with the man, cannot as yet be accused of having hurt the family life. Nowhere in the world has there been purer family life than in Protestant Germany, England, Scotland, and America. The Protestant home has been its proudest gem. Many Protestant countries can say of its homes what Burns says of Scotland's:

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs.
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad."

Yet equally undoubtedly a change has come. (For the full discussion of the facts of the modern weakening of the marriage tie, see DIVORCE.) But the increase of divorce is one of the best recognized, because most apparent, of modern facts. It is shown by the National

Department of Labor (*Report on Divorce. Marriage and Divorce*, p. 140) that divorces have increased in the United States within the twenty

years before the report more than twice as fast as the population. And this is perhaps quite as much a symptom as the cause of the decay of the family. A publication of the National Divorce Reform League for 1893 says:

"We might spend much of our time on the evils that beset the family, for they are many and serious. But brief mention of a few is enough. Some destroy the very constitution of the family; others impair its environment. We name the enormous number and increase of divorces; the apparent decrease of marriages and the haste and ignorance that mark many unions; the prevalence of sexual vice, with the low ideals of sex that lead to it; and insensibility to the sacred obligations of paternity. Then there are the open or more subtle influences that make our civilization almost the direct foe of the home. We point to the methods of business involving absence from home, the system of commercial travelers and the operation of the industrial system as a whole, which tends to separate the household in both business and labor into its constituent individuals. These have greatly disturbed the relation of the centripetal and centrifugal

forces of the home and society. Then, again, the solidarity of domestic interest is weakened by other competitors. There are the fascinations of shopping, the waste of time over mere social 'fads,' and the increasing resort on the part of women to clubs and social frivolities among themselves, for which the neglect and absence of men are in great degree responsible; and even the noble desire for honest intellectual improvement and for charitable work have made inroads upon the home."

More open evidences of social corruption exist. (For details as to the extent of prostitution in this and other countries, see PROSTITUTION.) Evidence is not wanting of the increase of impurity in the sexual relation among factory populations. The development of the tenement population is itself an indication of the decay of the family. In New York City 80 per cent. of the population are said to live in tenements.

According to the *Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1892*, 67 per cent. of the population of Boston live in rented houses. Only 33 per cent. live in their own homes, and even this is too hopeful a showing, because of these 33 per cent., certainly some live in mortgaged homes that they can scarcely be said to own.

There is a more threatening fact than this. 67 per cent. occupy rented houses, but only 15 per cent. live in single tenements; 52 per cent. crowd together in tenements occupied by two or more families (*Report of 1892*). This is for the whole city. In certain wards the statistics are still more appalling. They may be said to be "wards without a home." Of the distinctively so-called "working class" we have no recent separate statistics, but in 1876, of 55,515 male wage employees in Massachusetts, being the number which made reliable returns, during the extraordinary census of the preceding year, concerning their owning or hiring the houses in which they lived, only 23 per cent. owned their residence, and 44½ per cent. of these were encumbered with mortgages, leaving only about 12 per cent. of the whole number who made returns in the full possession of a home.

What this means there is no need of describing. (For its significance to the family, see TENEMENT LIFE.) The evidences exist on every hand that the preservation of the family is a most pressing, if not the most pressing, problem in modern practical sociology. We therefore pass to consider

VII. THE SOCIOLOGIC FUNCTION OF THE FAMILY.

Save for a few extreme radicals, who would abolish the family, and whose position we shall consider later, all sociologists find in the family the social unit, the keystone of society. Says Professor H. B. Adams, as quoted by Dr. Dike in his address before the Evangelical Alliance, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1887:

"The family, oldest of institutions, perpetually reproduces the ethical history of man, and continually reconstructs the constitution of society. All students of sociology should grasp this radical truth, and should also remember that the school and college, town and city, State and nation are, after all, but modified types of family institutions, and that a study of the individual elements of social and political life is a true method of advancing sociology and politics in general."

Says Dr. S. W. Dike himself in the same address:

"I do not fear contradiction from any competent scholar in political science when I say that the study of the single family on its homestead would yield richer scientific knowledge and more practical results in the great social sciences than almost any other single object in the social world. Pursued historically, the student would find himself at the roots of property, separate ownership of land, inheritance, rent, taxation, free trade, and tariff, and discover the germs of international law and the State. The great questions of the day, as we call them, are little more than incidents to the working of the great social institutions; and these, we have already seen, are the expansions and modified forms of the family, amid its unceasing support and activity. 'Sociology,' the late Dr. Mulford used to say, 'is the coming science, and the family holds the key to it.' 'The family,' he also wrote, 'is the most important question that has come before the American people since the war.'"

Mr. Gladstone wrote in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1890:

"The greatest and deepest of all human controversies is the marriage controversy. It appears to be surging up on all sides around us. . . . It is in America that, from whatever cause, this controversy has reached a stage of development more advanced than elsewhere."

What, then, is definitely the sociologic function of the family which gives it such extreme importance?

I. It furnishes the two elements which undoubtedly contribute more than any other to the development of all human life in the world—*viz.*, heredity and environment during the formative period of life. Biologists may discuss which of these most affects character—heredity or early environment; but all are agreed, whichever of these is the more powerful, that together these form the two most potent influences, and that the family controls or may control both. "The best way to become good," it has been well said, "is to be born good." Out of 5511 convicts at Elmira Reformatory (*q.v.*) 38 per cent. had parents known to be intemperate, and 13 per cent. more of doubtful habits; 81 per cent. had parents not possessing property; 44 per cent. had parents of little or no education. The power of home in childhood is equally evident. Of these same 5511 convicts, 54 per cent. came from bad homes, 38 per cent. more from homes "only fair;" not more than 6 per cent. came from homes that were good; 42 per cent. were homeless when committed; 97 per cent. came from bad associations. "As the twig is bent the tree grows."

The Home. "A child's first teacher is the one who first loves it;" and usually this is the mother. It is, then, the first duty of the family to see that the child is well born, and, secondly, well nurtured. These conditions are largely personal and individual, moral and physiological, rather than sociological, and so do not fall within our province in this article. Who does not know that pure parents, pure generation, pure conception, pure pregnancy are of infinite importance to pure birth? So with mental, moral, and physical health in every form. To see that the child that is born has this is, then, the first sociological function of the family. This implies, however, and necessitates pure marriage; so that the marriage of those mentally, morally, or physically incapacitated to beget healthy children is a sociologic sin. Says Professor Jowett, in his introduction to Plato's *Republic* (1st ed., vol. ii., 130-132):

"The late Dr. Combe is said by his biographer to

have resisted the temptation to marriage, because he knew that he was subject to hereditary consumption. This little fact suggests the reflection that one person in a thousand did from a sense of duty what the other nine hundred and ninety-nine ought to have done."

II. But purely and healthfully born, it is, second, the function of the family to see that the child is rightly reared. Its first duty in this line is undoubtedly to see that it is reared in an atmosphere of love. The first duty of parents is to love each other and their offspring. Theology would teach that this love must be love of God and man; but sociology at least says that they must love each other. Here most literally love is **Training.**

Who can deny or doubt the infinite and irreparable loss of a childhood reared in an atmosphere without love? It is this loss which as we shall say is sociologically the unanswerable argument for all social schemes, that would take away the child from the mother or father. Of the nurture of the child in health and in education, ethical and moral, as well as intellectual and physical, we cannot here speak, but it suggests itself. The truest education a child receives is in its home, whether that home be a palace or a city alley. Therefore, as for other reasons, the frightful significance of the disappearance of the real home in large sections of our cities and growing portions of our population. (See *DIVORCE*; *TENEMENT LIFE*; *SLUMS*, etc.)

III. But this is by no means the only function of the family. It is, thirdly, the function of the family to furnish all through life the necessary atmosphere of love and peace to the individual. It is not necessary that every one should be married. It is necessary to the highest life that every one should have at some portion at least of adult life, as well as in childhood, the joy and peace of life in the family. "It is not good that **Law of Sex.** the man should be alone" is the voice of sociology as well as of God.

Man is born sexed. Man is created male and female. This is the fact, whoever and whatever is the Creator. And the law of sex runs through all the universe, mental and moral, as well as physical. For the development of this, see **MARRIAGE**; we simply state it here. It is the function of the family to furnish men and women with the opportunity for the carrying out of this sex life, mental and moral, even more than physical. Man without woman, or woman without man, is a biological and sociological abnormality. It indicates an abnormal condition in society when it is found that 20 per cent. of the women of England and 44 per cent. of the population of Belgium, with about 33 per cent. in Europe, in 1875, are unwedded; and when we read the startling statistics of the decrease of marriages in modern civilization. (See **DIVORCE**.) It is to the shame of modern science that thus far this subject has been left almost completely untreated from the standpoint of science, and that the careful literature of the subject is so meager. Only latterly are we making a beginning of the proper development of sociology in studying the family by the collection of statistics. Says Dr. Dike, who is among the foremost students of this question in this country, in a pamphlet issued in 1890:

"It is becoming more clear that the divorce question is inseparable from the general problem of the family, and that the latter, including the former, is the real subject demanding our attention as a nation, and in ever larger ways. Until within 10 years, and it is still too true, there has been scanty recognition of the family in any of the ethical or political discussions of divorce, and comparatively little, except in the law books, of the intimate relations between the problems of marriage and divorce; while writers of neither class studied their topics as parts of the inclusive subject of the family. Indeed, the reader can go through the State constitutions, law books and ethical discussions of the past with small risk of stumbling upon any direct reference to the family. Tho the gain of recent years is marked, there is still too little apprehension of the way in which problems of divorce, marriage, polygamy, charity, children, and those of education, economics, politics and religion merge in those of the family."

It may be said, as an illustration, that the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, from which we have quoted above, while it gives 47 pages to the subject of fortifications and 101 pages to hydro-mechanics, devotes less than 10 pages to the family, and discusses absolutely nothing in those pages but the origin of the family, as if that were the sole important matter. Having, then, discovered somewhat the function of the family, we pass to ask what science teaches to be the best form of the family; and we shall consider this portion of our subject under three heads: (a) Permanent Monogamy; (b) Easy Divorce; (c) Free Love (including under this last division all forms of the family other than that based on the marriage of one woman to one man).

VIII. VARIOUS THEORIES OF THE FAMILY.

(a) THEORY OF PERMANENT MONOGAMY.

The form of the family where marriage is between one man and one woman, and indissoluble until death, save for cause of adultery or similar aggravated causes, is by many considered the only form of the family really worthy of the name. It is declared to be the best form, for the following, among other reasons:

1. That history proves it to be that form of the family best productive of the highest character, individual and national. The supporters of this argument point to the Aryan civilization; to Greece in her pure days; to Rome when she had the monogamic family and rare divorce; to the early Christian centuries, before

Advantages of Monogamy. false theories of celibacy and virginity broke up the married life; to Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, and to the individuals produced by such civilizations as compared with the polygamic civilizations of Asia and

Africa, as compared with Greece and Rome when divorce became easy, as compared even with France, Germany, England, and especially America, where divorce has been becoming more and more easy. They argue that, theory aside, facts give the palm to monogamic marriage with rare recourse to divorce.

2. It is argued that monogamic marriage without easy divorce is far better for child nurture. Easy divorce, they say, leads to broken homes and changing, shifting relations that

break up the peace and quiet and love necessary to child nurture.

3. It is argued that the possibility of easy divorce suggests its adoption; that the men or women who know they can easily obtain divorce and marry again are led to think of it, and then to lightly want it and seek it on any occasion when passing fancy for some other person prompts it, or when passing displeasure with their married partner causes a desire to change. In nine cases out of ten it is claimed that the trouble lies at least in part with both parties, and that to make a change in the marital relation would not afford relief, since one cannot obtain divorce from one's self, and that often at least one would thus seek change without finding relief; thus, to say the least, needlessly causing the breaking up of homes and perhaps the breaking of many hearts.

4. It is claimed that easy divorce makes marriage a light affair, hence lowering the sense of both its solemn responsibilities and its possibilities of unchanging and unequalled mutual confidence and joy and love. This, it is said, would make men and women enter the state of matrimony more carelessly than they do now, instead of "reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God."

5. It is claimed that, since sensual desire is more liable to change its object than is love, a system allowing of easy divorce and change would tend to elevate the lower elements in marriage and the family, making them matters of the bodily sexual relations rather than of the moral and spiritual relations.

6. It is claimed that easy divorce and change are repugnant and contrary to the highest ethical and moral sentiment, which demands love that does not end nor change, and that recognizes one supreme object of its love, a love which can brook no rival.

7. Lastly, but for Christians first, it is argued that any relation other than that of the union of one man with one woman, indissoluble until death save for cause of fornication, is directly contrary to the revealed will and law of God in Christ, who declared positively of the sexual relation that "for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh;" and again, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery, and whoso marieth her which is put away doth commit adultery."

Orthodox View.

Such are some, tho by no means all, of the main arguments for enduring, monogamic marriage. It is summed up for Christians in the appeal to the Christian ideal and the stern testimony of fact; and to non-Christians in the testimony of fact alone, that easy divorce has always resulted in a corrupt, sensualized society; while enduring monogamy has given the world the highest civilization, the happiest home, the purest family the world has known. Buttressed on this strong ground, the believer in enduring monogamy considers his position impregnable, and every step in the direction of easy divorce an assault upon the very foundation of true society.

(b) THEORY OF EASY DIVORCE.

The argument for easy divorce claims that it meets the above contention at every point. It says, admitting that thus far enduring monogamy has been best for the race, and has thus far produced the highest civilization on account of the lower elements in man's nature, which marriage laws and difficult divorce have done something to restrain, does it follow that it must always be so? Is love never to be trusted except under lock and key? Have we such reason to be satisfied with our present system? Defenders of easy divorce are never weary of calling attention to the heart-burnings, and quarrels, and dissensions of those who find themselves tied together for life, altho love may have turned to hate. They say that what they argue against is not enduring monogamic love, but against an enduring monogamic *law* compelling men and women to live together after love has fled. They argue

Unhappy Love.

that in the very name of love this is an outrage upon love. They say that all marriage, except marriage for love, is an acted farce, and that when love ends, the pretense of love should end. Enforced pretense of love, they say, when love is really gone, is the fruitful parent of innumerable ills, quarrels, hatred, cruelty, refinements of mental and moral torture, desertion, unfaithfulness, adultery, prostitution, murder. They say that, instead of being good for childhood, *enforced* monogamy, compelling children to live where only the pretense of love exists, with a reality of hatred—a condition of affairs discovered by children only too easily—is really the worst atmosphere in which childhood can be reared. They argue that, in fact, if love be left free it would be much more likely to endure than when attempted to be enforced by law, so that easy divorce would really give us more enduring true love, and only break up those sham relations, which do more harm than good. They argue that it is absurd that the most solemn relations of life should be irretrievably fixed, too often and perhaps usually, by the uneducated, and too often at least the partially impure fancy of a young man for a young woman, sometimes of an irresponsible boy for an inexperienced girl. As for reference to facts, they argue that if corruption in Greece and Rome did accompany the development of divorce, it is not proven that divorce was the cause. They say that it is far more likely that the breaking up faith in false gods, with no higher faith taking its place, at least till Christianity came, did, in a society resting on a material and slave basis, cause the outbreak of corruption, which to an extent made use of divorce, but which marriage was equally powerless to restrain. The evidence they claim is that corrupt marriage is worse than corrupt divorce. They say that in our own times the cause of growing profligacy is not growing divorce, but growing materialism and omnipresent commercialism. They point to such women as George Eliot and such men as Goethe to show that to break away from legalized relations to freer love does not weaken or debase character. Such is the main argument for easy divorce. We shall

see in a moment how it is met, but pass now to the arguments of those who carry easy divorce to the extreme of

(c) FREE LOVE.

This, it must be stated at the outset, is by no means of necessity material and animal in its motives or its character. Free love has been defended by some of the most spiritual and noble of mankind. Plato and Campanella, St. Simon and Fourier, Shelley and William Morris cannot be set aside as in their ideals "material," "animal," or "low." Professor Jowett, of Oxford, says of Plato, in his introduction to Plato's *Republic* (1st ed., vol. ii., pp. 145-147):

"First, we may observe that the relations of the sexes supposed by him are the reverse of licentious; they seem rather to aim at an impossible strictness. . . . We may allow that his conception of the relation of the sexes takes rank among the great original thoughts of mankind."

The ethical standing of free love depends on what you mean by free love. When the anarchist Spies, lecturing on anarchism before the Chicago ministers, was asked if he believed in free love, he answered, "As opposed to bought love, I do." We must therefore understand what is meant by free love before we can really discuss it, and, as a matter of fact, very different and even opposing theories of the family relation have been classed indiscriminately under this phrase. Some of these are indeed ignoble and base; others may be mistaken, but are not intentionally ignoble. We class them together in this article, altho distinguishing between them; *first*, because they are confounded in the public mind, and therefore will be looked for under this head, and the article will therefore be misleading if free love is called either unqualifiedly pure or unqualifiedly impure; *secondly*, for matter of convenience, since it would confuse to have too many heads; *thirdly and mainly*, because all these theories, good and bad alike, do have the distinguishing characteristic which passes by the name of free love; they all are opposed to the limiting *by law* of individuals to the sexual relation of one man and one woman. All that is opposed to such limitation is rightly characterized under the name of free love; altho it is equally necessary to protest against the indiscriminate condemnation of what aims to be pure with what aims at what is impure. The first duty, then, is to distinguish between theories. Let us do this. Plato, Campanella, and some extreme state socialists (tho by no means the majority of socialists) have argued that the whole matter of the begetting and rearing of children should be left in the hands of the State. Socialism, it must be remembered, is by no means committed to this, as Dr. Schäffle, who is not a socialist, and who is also of the highest authority, has testified in his *Quintessence of Socialism*. The large majority of socialists do not, as we say, accept this form of free love, but it is proposed by a few extreme worshipers of the State; and, as we have said, by Plato first and foremost. In a sense it is not free love, but, as Dr. Jowett has pointed

Various Forms of this Theory.

out, is its opposite. Still it may be characterized under this head because it would not limit the individual to the sexual relation of one man and one woman.

Plato's View. Its advocates, following Plato, would have the State or community allow or control the sexual inter-

course of men and women, only within certain limits of age and certain mental, physical, and moral qualifications. They would have children thus generated, and reared by the State, no father or mother being allowed to know their own children, that thus children may be educated equally and wisely to live for the State and not for the disrupting ties of family. Horrible as this may seem to many, it is well at least to notice that grave thinkers have found some good in it; we should at least see the weak point of modern methods and ask if we may not improve upon these without taking the dire alternative proposed by Plato and his followers. We therefore quote once more from Professor Jowett (see above), where he says :

"No one can have observed the first rising flood of the passions of youth, the difficulty of regulating them, and the effects of the whole mind and nature which follow them, the stimulus which the mere imagination gives to them, without feeling that there is something unsatisfactory in our method of treating them. That the most important influences on human life should be wholly left to chance or shrouded in mystery, and instead of being disciplined or understood, should be required to conform only to an external standard of propriety, cannot be regarded by the philosopher as a safe or satisfactory condition of human things. Nor is Plato wrong in asserting that family attachments may interfere with higher aims. If there have been those who 'to party gave up what was meant for mankind,' there have been those who to family gave up what was meant for mankind, or for their country. The cares of children, the necessity of procuring money for their support, the flatteries of the rich by the poor, the exclusiveness of caste, the pride of birth or wealth, the tendency of family life to divert men from the pursuit of the ideal or the heroic, are as lowering in our own age as in that of Plato. And if we prefer to look at the gentle influences of home, the devotion of one member of a family for the good of others, which form one side of the picture, we must not quarrel with him, or perhaps ought rather to be grateful to him, for having presented to us the reverse."

Professor Jowett also shows Plato's aim :

"The arrangements of marriage in the Republic of Plato aimed at one object only—the improvement of the race. In successive generations a great development, both of bodily and mental qualities, might be possible. The experience of animals showed that mankind could, within certain limits, receive a change of nature. And, as in animals, we should commonly select the best for breeding and destroy the others, so there must be a selection made of the human beings whose lives are worthy to be preserved."

Such was Plato's argument. If the ox in England has been bred from 400 lbs. or less to 1200 lbs. and over, and men are of more value than oxen, why not give a little attention to the breeding of men? The question is indeed pertinent, but to answer it in the affirmative it is not necessary to say that the State or law should do this. May not, nay, should not, free individuals be educated to give more thought to the responsibilities of generation? Continues Professor Jowett :

"We start back horrified from this Platonic ideal in the belief, first, that the instincts of human nature are far too strong to be crushed out in this way; secondly, that if the plan could be carried out, we should be poorly recompensed by improvements in the breed

for the loss of the best things in life. . . . That which existed on the lower level of customs Plato imagined he was raising to the higher level of nature and reason; while, from the modern and Christian point of view, we regard him as sanctioning murder and destroying the first principles of morality. . . . There is no sentiment or imagination in the connections which they [Plato's men and women] are supposed to form; human nature is reduced as nearly as possible to the level of the animals, neither exalting to heaven nor yet abusing and over-indulging the natural instincts. All that world of poetry and fancy which the passion of love has called forth in modern literature and romance would have been banished by Plato."

It is thus not hard to see the obvious defects and the outrageous ethics of Plato's proposition. The only question is whether we cannot get some of the ends he aimed at—the begetting and rearing of better men without adopting his revolting methods. As Dr. Jowett says :

"We cannot deny that Christianity or any other form of religion and society has not been able to cope with this greatest and most difficult of social problems." We need not, therefore, say that the present method cannot be improved, because we decline to call an improvement the proposition of Plato and his modern successors in Campanella, and such rigid State socialists as Babeuf and his fellow-worshippers of mechanical and material equality.

Another form of free love, adopted not by socialists, but by some sects of so-called Christian communism, in place of the monogamic family, would have a family more or less polygamic, and with the sexual relations not left to promiscuous and thoughtless desire, but restrained, guided, and sanctified by religious precepts, instincts, and "Perfectionists." Such have been the proposals and attempts of some of the older Anabaptists in Germany, the Perfectionists of Noyes' Oneida Community, and the Mormons, with other kindred religious and semi-communistic sects. (For the details of these, see ANABAPTISTS; ONEIDA COMMUNITY; MORMONISM.) However opposed these may be in the moral sense, and however we may dissent from them, it is to be said that they are not at least outwardly moved by licentious notions. The Anabaptists of Germany certainly commenced with most religious feelings. The Oneida Community claimed to be one of spiritual Perfectionists. They declared again and again that neither their notions nor their practices were licentious. Noyes, their leader, said :

"Free love with us does *not* mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. Our communities are families as distinctly founded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. . . . Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are not free-lovers in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage" (*History of American Socialisms*, pp. 639, 640).

Their practice was to religiously marry all the men in their "families" or communities to all the women, and then to allow sexual intercourse between any, *but not without due consideration and consultation as to the wisdom and ethical character of the relation*. Ordinary marriage and the family led, they argued, to

family selfishness, family quarrels, and hypocrisy. "It provokes," Noyes wrote, "to secret adultery, actual or of the heart. It ties together unmatched natures. It sunders matched natures" (*idem*, p. 628). The Mormons use similar arguments and base their faith on the religious "revelations" to Joseph Smith and the polygamy allowed and recorded in the pages of the Old Testament. The heart can love, they claim, more than one person at one time. The more one loves, they say, the more one can love. Love for one wife no more interferes, according to their argument, with love of another wife than love for one sister interferes with love of another.

To these religious forms of free love, perhaps, should be added the forms proposed by St. Simon and Fourier and other doctrinaires, which, altho especially with Fourier, opposed to religion in the ordinary sense, and designed to be simply humanitarian, were advocated with a spirit virtually religious. Their theories will be found under the respective articles ST. SIMON and FOURIER; but they must be at least mentioned

here. They would have society in some form regulate marriage, and within these restrictions have wives in common, and children reared together in the most approved way.

Elective Affinities.

The modern religious sense, when once it begins to wander into new ways, seems to be easily led, as among many spiritualists, to conceiving new marital relations of "elective affinities," "spiritual wives," "heavenly marriages," etc. How far their theories are put into practice cannot be said, but undoubtedly they are penetrating society very fast. Mormonism is not the only *ism* in America that has given up belief in strict monogamic marriage. Yet many claim that the result is good. A daughter of Brigham Young has recently, in a leading magazine, described the happy homes and happy childhood of polygamous Mormons. But this is exactly where the strongest argument arises against all forms of polygamous marriage. In spite of the above article by the daughter of Brigham Young, and admitting possible exceptions, the notorious fact remains that no polygamous country or polygamous sect has begun to develop the character produced in monogamic homes. It is to England and not to Turkey, to America and not to Asia, to Kansas and not to Utah, to Brook Farm and not to Oneida, to Christianity and not to Mormonism, that one looks for the leaders of the world. The fruit of the tree of polygamy is not a justifier of the tree. Early and true Christian communism had all things in common "except our wives" (Tertullian). Of all such forms of free love President Thwing says (*The Family*, pp. 144, 145):

"The prominence that either system (sexual communism or polygamy) tends to give to the sexual nature, which should confessedly be held in subordination; the degradation in shame which it imposes on woman; the physical, intellectual, as well as moral corruption which it works in man; the misery and woe which it is obliged to place on the head of childhood; the destruction of love which is the strongest simply because its scope is the narrowest; the outrage of instincts which by natural inheritance have become the most sacred, suggest arguments against both sexual communism and polygamy. Furthermore, the equality of the number of the two sexes shows that one man was designed in marriage for one woman."

We then come to the *third* form of free love, the free love theory par excellence, which is held to-day by many socialists (not Christian), by more individualists, and by all anarchists, and an increasing number of radical men and women of various schools of thought. According to these, neither the State nor organized religion should have

Modern Free Love.

ought to do with control of the family or of the sexual relation. They would make love supreme. They would have it unfettered by any tie whatsoever. They argue that compulsory love is not love; that all marriage save from love is sin; that when love ends marriage ends. They would have (socialists by collectivism, and anarchists by free competition or cooperation) each man and each woman free to support himself or herself without any dependence upon any other individual. Then, they say, when a woman gave herself in love, it would not be for reason of family, or position, or custom, or support, or help in any way, but simply because she loved. They hold that this would produce the purest, and highest, and perhaps the most enduring love. Some of these free lovers would have the

Children.

State guarantee to every woman during pregnancy an income to keep her independent, so that she should never have to sell herself in any form or be unable to care in the most hygienic way for her child. Others would have the State care for any children that might be intrusted to it, without compelling any mother to intrust her child to its care, and without depriving either father or mother of the pleasure of knowing and often seeing the child. In this way they claim that every child would have at least the opportunity of careful nurture without the loss of parental love. Most parents, it is thought, when economic difficulties were out of the way, would *prefer* to rear their own children; only they would not be compelled to. Thus, without losing pure parental love, we should be rid of that monstrosity, compulsory love. Marriage, they claim, thus freed from control of either priest or town clerk, would be pure, and noble, and abiding. Prostitution would disappear.

That this system would work for the majority of the population under the present industrial system, the more thoughtful supporters of this view do not claim. They would have it only in connection with economic reforms that would give financial independence to every man and woman. They would also urge along with it such physical, mental, moral, and ethical education as would prevent humanity from sinking into material and animal misuse of its liberties. But they believe that humanity, once free from dependence upon priest and policeman, would rapidly prove itself capable of pure free love. At least this is the ideal toward which they believe that law and practice should tend; and for themselves and those sufficiently "advanced" they think it perfectly safe to try free love now. Whatever be their theory, the practice is certainly on the increase. The last law that they would take from love would be the law forbidding marriage below a proper age. Only when society can be trusted to prevent

this without law would they remove this law. Such is the theory of free love that is to-day most rapidly spreading. Before we answer it

let us simply add that a *fourth* form of free love should be possibly also given which has nothing ethical or pure about it, which is simple libertinism and worse than animalism, since no brutes would fall so low. But this, tho too much in practice, has no defenders to whom any honest mind need listen, and therefore needs no discussion here. The only thing is the question whether other forms of free love, however differently they may mean and may aim, would not lead to this form of free love, a fear which is answered on the part of defenders of pure free love by the question whether our present monogamic system has not already led to it, by requiring an impossible and mistaken system, the parent of vice and secret corruption. (See PROSTITUTION.)

We are now ready to see the answer that believers in enduring monogamic marriage give to all arguments for easy divorce and free love.

This is that while humanity, if it were perfect and not swayed by evil lusts, might need no laws against impure love; unfortunately humanity does need them only too much, and that in this matter we

do still need and shall for long centuries, as far as we can now see, still need, the law to prevent marriage becoming a farce, and prostitution disappearing only because society itself has become prostitution. The argument that marriage without easy divorce tends to preserve marriage after love has become hate, producing homes of dissension and hate instead of love, is an argument against the abuse of marriage, not against marriage itself. When married people find themselves or think themselves alienated, they should try to improve their married life, not try to end it. In nine cases out of ten, it is urged, people who cannot get along together in married love could not get along with any one in marriage, and therefore would make no gain by seeking divorce and new marriage. The true resource is not to change their condition, but to change themselves. The remedy against family jars is not the divorce court, but family love. It should, however, teach us to be more cautious about forming marriage alliances. In this direction there is vast room for improvement. It has been suggested that the law should go back to the old custom of requiring the publication of banns and the lapse of a certain period between the publication of the banns and the permission to marry. If, as in some countries, the difficulty of contracting marriage or obtaining divorce produces a higher rate of illegitimacy, the cure is to be sought not by lowering the laws to suit the desires, but by a spiritual and moral raising of the desires to fulfil the law. Even if the latter method should give us more technical illegitimacy for awhile, the question is whether it would not quickest give us the greatest purity. There is said to be less illegitimacy in Turkey than in England; but is it not because the Mohammedan law allows impurity? Our

aim is to be purity, not technical legitimacy. As a matter of fact, moreover, it is shown that strict marriage laws and difficult divorce do not increase illegitimacy. Alone among the States, South Carolina allows no divorce whatsoever, and yet a South Carolina judge says: "The working of this stern policy has been to the good of the people and the State in every respect" (O'Neill in *McCarty vs. McCarty*, 2 Strob. 6, 11; see Bishop, *Marriage and Divorce*, vol. i., p. 33). The Roman Catholic Church allows no divorce, and the chastity of Roman Catholic Ireland is unexampled among civilized people. In 1878 the percentage of illegitimacy was only 2.31. Germany has divorce laws much looser than England, yet has much more immorality. So, too, with the Continent generally, compared with England, Scotland, and Ireland. All the evidence seems to be that enduring monogamic marriage and strict laws, so that those who know that they enter the marital relation know, also, that they cannot readily escape, operates to produce the purest society and the happiest homes. If it does, not unfrequently, bind together ill-mated pairs, the cure lies in a higher ethical and moral life, to endure till death do part, and to learn to suffer, which often means to bring love out of, or, rather, in place of, an evil often temporary and often fancied.

IX. THE FAMILY THREATENED AND HOW TO DEFEND IT.

Having arrived at this conclusion, it is necessary to realize how severely family life is threatened, and how, therefore, it may best be defended.

First: It must be admitted that well-nigh the whole tendency at present is toward easy divorce, if not free love. This is mainly due to the individualistic tendency, from which on this point even modern socialism has not learned to differ. It came in with the Protestant Reformation, and the Puritan tendency to make marriage a civil rather than a religious matter. Says President Thwing, himself a Protestant, speaking of the destruction of the family, in the book above quoted:

"The cause underlying and in a sense including all other causes is that growth of individualism which is the direct product of the Reformation."

And again:

"The conception of marriage as a relation purely secular has been at the basis of our modern divorce legislation. This legislation recognizes the right of the individual and the right of the State to an interest in the dissolution of the marriage tie. It does not in the least recognize any peculiarly sacred character in the institution. . . . The Puritan protest against the Church of England, no less than the protest against the Church of Rome, has had its effect upon the popular conception of marriage. . . . Among the members of the Anglican or Protestant Episcopal communions the sacred altar is preferred as the place for solemnizing a marriage; and in these churches the religious idea of marriage is, no doubt, better preserved than in any other Protestant denomination" (*The Family*, pp. 158-162).

It must also be admitted that the tendency to raise the legal position of woman has been at the expense of the indissolubility of the family. Under the old law a married woman had no legal existence. As she has been granted her

Careful Marriage Laws.

just right (and there are still many rights to be granted), the law of the family has been weakened. This makes the case very intricate. To recognize the desirable absolute unity of the family, and still to recognize the equally desirable independence of both husband and wife, is not easy, but it must be done. Under socialistic forms of society, some claim it will be easier, since the holding of property will be simpler, and it is property, more than all else, that causes the legal troubles of husband and wife.

Secondly: A greater danger to the family than the tendency to individualism is the economic difficulty of maintaining the family.

Statistics given under MARRIAGE will show that a fewer and steadily

Prostitution. fewer number of young men are willing to undertake the economic burden and responsibility of maintaining a wife and children. The statistics of PROSTITUTION will show that this is taking the place of the family. The article WAGES will show that a working man's wages, even in such States as Massachusetts and Illinois, are not such as will maintain the average working man's family, and therefore his wife and children are more and more being compelled to labor, with the result of the breaking up of family life, as the article WOMAN will show. Once more, high rents and developing city life are breaking up homes and substituting tenements, as shown in Sec. 6 of this article. Such is simply a reference to economic perils to the perils that might fill volumes. Yet there are others.

Thirdly: Fashion and economic pressure are tending to divert family life from giving true care to child nurture. Births are rapidly decreasing in proportion to marriage. (See BIRTH-RATES.) Says Dr. Dike, in the address above quoted:

"The declining fruitfulness of the family—to take up the second test—especially among people of the so-called native stock, has become a matter of serious concern. In Massachusetts, the mother of foreign birth has on the average 50 per cent. more children than the mother born in this country. It is true that the death-rate among children of foreign parentage is much greater than among the others, but after all allowance for this, the parent of foreign birth rears a much larger percentage of children than the other. And notwithstanding the presence of the foreign element, the birth-rate in some of the older States is lower than in most European countries, and is steadily declining. France is the only country in Europe whose birth-rate is as low as that of Massachusetts, and France is alarmed at her condition. Massachusetts is indifferent, for she can still recruit her population from Ireland and Canada. But other States are doubtless just as badly off. No well-informed physician believes that this low birth-rate is to any great degree due to loss in reproductive powers, tho there is something in this—more, however, as effect than as cause of a declining birth-rate. In three or four sections, and these are large enough to be seriously indicative, the physicians are of the opinion that legitimate children would be 50 per cent. more numerous but for criminal deeds. This refers to all classes of people as a whole. In some of our cities, and among intelligent and even Christian people, and very widely too in rural communities, it looks as if there is a prevalent and growing intention, even at the cost, if need be, both of good morals and law, to let the inferior classes rear most of the children. Many of the families which are best fitted, so far as pecuniary means and social opportunity are concerned, are deliberately choosing to be unfruitful. And it is the testimony of gynecologists that more of their patients come from this class than from those women to whom maternity has brought its natural ills."

Even the children that are born are too often neglected by their mothers; with the rich because they can hire nurses, and with the poor because the mothers have to go out to work. In some factory towns it seems as if a crèche was needed beside every factory. It is becoming true that motherhood, and therefore family life, are disappearing. The rich will not and the poor cannot afford to rear children. The "two children" system is on the increase in America as in France.

Fourthly: The preaching of "woman's rights" is not sufficiently accompanied by a preaching of woman's duties. Women more and more board instead of keeping homes, with no duties save to misadventure themselves in selfish, idle culture or charitable "fads." Women, too, in private counting-rooms are making "the typewriter girl" disreputable. Free love is being brought down to "freer" practice.

Such are some of the perils to the family. They go so far that many radicals believe that the family, whether we like it or not, cannot be saved. They say that under the present economic system the family cannot be supported and is disappearing, and that if governments become socialistic, or if radical individualism prevail, free love will become the custom; so that in any case the family is doomed. What, then, is proposed to save it?

First: Economic changes that will make the family possible. Every working man should receive wages high enough to make it possible for him, first, to support his wife without her having to work for wages; second, to be able to own his own home in comfort and respectability. This will make the family at least possible.

Economic Reforms.

Secondly: Parenthood and wifehood and husbandhood should be preached by platform, pulpit, and press as truly as woman's rights. Especially should an equal standard for male and female purity be required.

Thirdly: Whether, with the Roman Catholics, we make marriage a sacrament or not, marriage should be considered in its deepest ethical and religious importance and not merely as a civil and much less as simply a physical contract. The radical and Protestant pulpits must learn to speak as plainly on this matter, if not in the same way, as do the Anglican and Roman churches.

Fourthly: The marriage and divorce laws of the United States must be made uniform by amending the Constitution to give Congress power to enact such laws, and then to prevail upon our Congressmen to enact such wisely. To-day our marriage laws differ most widely in different States and lead to grossest evils. A man can be married in one State, divorced in another, marry again and again, and be divorced every time. If he have issue, some of his children will be illegitimate when they live in one State, and not when they pass into another. In some States they can inherit property, and in others not. Says Dr. Dike:

"The present state of the law that regulates and protects the family is a very great source of danger. Our marriage laws are simply inadequate. Compare the legal protection of the family with that given to real estate. Every woman who owns real property finds

ample legal protection. She may have a bond for a deed. The written deed duly made out, with the as-

urance of a perfect title, signed, sealed, witnessed and fully recorded, with every transfer properly noted, so that not only those who immediately concerned, but the entire public, may know at any time the exact legal condition of every piece of real estate in the land, with laws aimed

Marriage Laws.

at protection against fraud, abuse of trust, theft, incendiarism, and other injuries—and reasonably well enforced too—these are the protections which every woman has for her property. But her hold on the family in marriage is a very different thing. In more than one third of the States and Territories a marriage is legal without a scrap of writing or a witness, or even the intervention of an official of any sort. No decent system of public record exists in many States, while very few both keep and publish these records. Where licenses are required, the mere word or the oath of an interested party is the basis of the permit, and no evidence is demanded to prove freedom from a former marriage. We have to take the people who move into our communities, and the immigrants from Europe, simply on trust in respect to their domestic ties; and this is frequently shamefully abused. And our laws protecting chastity are probably less frequently enforced than those of any other class, unless we except those in defense of the Sabbath. The legal protection of property is infinitely superior to that of the family.

"Our divorce laws are almost as various as the number of legislatures that make them. Divorces can be obtained for a dozen legal causes in some States, and they are often made elastic enough to cover every conceivable reason for divorce. They can be obtained in 2700 courts in the United States, and in some legislatures besides. These courts sit frequently, and sometimes constantly, in open court or private chambers. The procedure is often so easy that fraud is frequent; and disregard of the rights of others, haste and the eager hurry to marry another, can be readily gratified, and in some States divorce can be had by either husband or wife, almost for the asking. The conflicting marriage and divorce laws of the country have less to do with the increase of divorces than most people think, but they are a great evil in their opportunities for fraud, and in the uncertainty they give to the legal status of the married or divorced, as they pass from State to State, and of their children. And not the least of the evils is their effect on the popular ideas of what marriage and the family are."

Fifthly and lastly: If the position of those who favor enduring monogamic marriage be correct, that easy divorce results in the weakening of the family, marriage laws should be made much more strict, and divorce be granted only on ground of adultery or the most serious reason. A strong movement in this direction has been made. (See DIVORCE.) A National Divorce Reform League has been formed, with Dr. S. W. Dike as its most efficient secretary. The broadest foundation is now laid for study and action in the report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, on *Marriage and Divorce in the United States from 1867 to 1886*. This report contains a digest of the laws on these subjects, with full tables and careful analyses of fundamental facts, together with an appendix showing the similar facts for the greater part of Europe. Congress is now asked to provide for the completion of the work thus begun and for its advance in certain other very important directions.

According to Dr. Dike, legislation has been improved. This improvement began in the repeal of the notorious "omnibus clause" in Connecticut and, with some restrictive legislation, in Vermont. Since 1878 many States have made changes for the better in their marriage and divorce laws, retaining nearly if not quite everything secured. Meanwhile, nothing has

been done in the other direction. This mere turn in the tide of legislation is of much value. The positive gain in several States is still more hopeful.

The problem of uniformity has come up within these years. Much has been said about it. The amendment of the Constitution of the United States in the interests of uniformity has been earnestly advocated and sometimes hotly opposed. The special subjects of divorce, marriage, and polygamy have been brought forward in succession, each apparently calling for national uniformity. At the present moment, Dr. Dike tells us, several important steps are being taken. Special committees of the American Bar Association have prepared reports on the subject to the annual meeting of the Association. The State Bar Association of New York, and perhaps others, are also at work upon this problem. The most important step toward uniformity, however, is the establishment by law of a commission of the State of New York charged with the duty of engaging other States in its plan of uniformity, if found practicable, through concurrent State legislation. Legislation on these subjects has had much attention in some European countries and in Canada and Australia.

The idea of the direct use of the home itself as the true starting place and a powerful agent in relief of the poor, in the removal of vice, in the prevention of vice and crime, in conversion from sin, and for the advance of knowledge, virtue, and religion, is beginning to take root in the popular mind. It finds some expression in the homes for the poor, for young men and working girls, in building associations, in the increasing attention of prison and other charitable reforms to bad home life as the source of supply for prisons and saloons. Political economy has got on so far as to treat the home seriously. The home department of the Sunday-school is another expression of the growing idea. Some pulpits have of late years taken the home into a larger place among their themes. Such is the view taken by the National Divorce Reform League.

Such signs are hopeful, but many reformers are asking if all this activity is not mainly reactionary; if the true causes of the peril to the family are not mainly economic, and that therefore if the attention of true friends of the family should not be concentrated on gaining economic changes. For such changes at present socialists, nationalists, and others are mainly working, and too frequently these are tinged with theories of free love. The evil is too deep-seated for cure by a mere purification of marriage and divorce laws. In spiritual and ethical, national and individual character most men place hope, and not in mere legislation. (See also SOCIAL PURITY, etc.)

References: Among the best books on the family are E. Westermarck's *The History of Human Marriage*; C. N. Starcke's *The Primitive Family*; Letourneau's *The Evolution of Marriage*; Fustel de Coulanges's *The Ancient City*; C. F. Thwing's *The Family*. On the ethical questions involved, see Bowne's, Lotze's, Martensen's *Ethics*; Mackenzie's *Social Philosophy*; Milford's *Nation*; Maurice's *Social Morality*. On present conditions as to marriage and divorce, see the report of Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, on *Marriage and Divorce* (obtainable free by writing

to the Labor Department at Washington); also the reports and publications of the National Divorce Reform League (*q. v.*).

FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND KINDRED FARMERS' ORDERS, THE.—Various national orders of somewhat similar names and almost absolutely similar character have sprung up within the last ten years among the farmers of the United States. A few of these commenced as local organizations 16 or 17 years ago. The largest, best known, and politically the most active of these, tho often called *The Farmers' Alliance*, has as its exact title, not that name, but another, *The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union*. The organization that correctly bears the name the Farmers' Alliance is perhaps more general, but smaller and of less political activity.

The origin of all these orders lies in the depressed condition of the agricultural classes, which has compelled them to agitate and organize for their own protection, if not for their salvation. (For an account of this, see FARMERS' MOVEMENT.) In a sense, the parent of all these orders is the Grange, or Order of Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867; but as this is a much older organization, and has pursued a wholly different policy, we consider it separately. (See GRANGE.)

The first organization bearing the name Farmers' Alliance seems to have been organized by W. T. Baggett in Lampasas County, Tex., in 1876, for the purpose of opposing the spoliation of the public lands and the bringing to justice of land and cattle thieves. It did not endure, but the idea spread, and in 1879 Mr. Baggett organized an alliance in Parker County, and the same year a State Farmers' Alliance was effected. By 1886, 84 counties were represented, and the following platform adopted:

"1. To labor for the education of the agricultural classes, in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit.

"2. To endorse the motto, 'In things essential, unity; and in all things, charity.'

"3. To develop a better state, mentally, morally, socially, and financially.

"4. To create a better understanding for sustaining civil officers in maintaining law and order.

"5. To constantly strive to secure entire harmony and good-will among all mankind, and brotherly love among ourselves.

"6. To suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices; all unhealthy rivalry and all selfish ambition."

In January, 1887, a meeting was held at Waco for the purpose of effecting a union with the Farmers' Union, an association of Louisiana farmers which had been formed March 10, 1886, at Antioch Church. The union was accomplished, and the new organization bore the name of the Farmers' Alliance and Cooperative Union of America, with C. W. McCune at its head. This new order spread rapidly in the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

At that time another famous organization was operating in the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, known as the Agricultural Wheel, which began under the leadership of W. W. Tedford, at Des Arc, Prairie County, Ark., February 15, 1882. At a meeting held at Sikeston, Mo., October 12, 1887, a union of the Wheel and Alliance was effected which was completed at Meridian, Miss., December 5, 1888, the organization being called the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America.

Up to this time the Farmers' Alliance was almost exclusively a Southern institution, a secret order with grips and passwords, but it had taken no action whatever in politics except to impress its tenets in the minds of public men. In the spring of 1877 there had been organized by Milton George, at Chicago, an organization called the National Farmers' Alliance, which in a little while had extended into the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota. This was not at first a secret order,

but held open meetings and transacted its business in public. Later, however, this was changed, and the order has now its ritual and secret work. The objects of the National Farmers' Alliance are stated to be to unite the farmers for the promotion of their interests socially, politically, and financially; to secure a just representation of the agricultural interests of the country in the national congress and State legislatures; to demand the prohibition of alien cattle and land syndicates; to oppose all forms of monopoly as being detrimental to the best interests of the public; to demand of our representatives in Congress their votes and active influence in favor of the prompt passage of such laws as will protect live-stock interests from contagious diseases; and to demand that agricultural interests shall be represented by a cabinet officer."

**National
Farmers'
Alliance.**

This organization is sometimes called the Northern Alliance. Meanwhile, still another organization, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, had been organized in southern Illinois in 1887, and had extended over Illinois, Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas. Its chief object was to resist the encroachments of monopoly.

The problem now was to unite all these movements. The first meeting of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America was appointed for December, 1889, at St. Louis. Meanwhile the National Farmers' Alliance appointed the same time and place for its general session, and negotiations were undertaken for the still further strengthening of the movement by the blending of the two great orders now remaining. The Alliance made three demands upon the Union, as conditions on which they would join it: (1) The name should be changed to National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union; (2) the word "white" should be stricken out of the qualifications for membership; (3) the question of secrecy in organization should be optional with each State. The first of these demands was granted, and the name proposed is now the official name of the "Southern" Alliance; the second was practically complied with by the new constitution; but the third was refused. The net outcome of the conference was a failure of the attempt to unite, and for this failure the question of secrecy was the sole cause. Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota, however, deserted the "Northern" Alliance and went over to the secret order.

A union platform was, however, adopted, and in this the order of the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) also united. The platform was as follows:

"1. That we demand the abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal-tender treasury notes in lieu of national bank notes, issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system; regulating the amount needed on a per capita basis as the business interests of the country expand; and that all money issued by the Government shall be legal tender in payment of all debts, both public and private.

"2. That we demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; preserving a stringent system of procedure in trials as shall secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

"3. That we demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

"4. That we demand the passage of laws prohibiting the alien ownership of land, and that Congress take early steps to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroad and other corporation in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them, be reclaimed by the Government and held to actual settlers only.

"5. Believing in the doctrine of 'equal rights to all and special privileges to none,' we demand that taxa-

tion, national or State, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all revenues, national, State or county, shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government economically and honestly administered.

"6. That Congress Issue a sufficient amount of fractional paper currency to facilitate exchange through the medium of the United States mail.

"7. We demand that the means of communication and transportation shall be owned by and operated in the interest of the people, as is the United States postal system.

PLEDGE.

"We, the undersigned, do hereby pledge ourselves on our sacred honor as men to work for the promotion of the above principles, with the view that they may be incorporated into the law of the land; and further agree to support no man for office that will not pledge himself, if elected, to carry out these principles. We further agree to cooperate with any movement that may be inaugurated in conference by the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, and other industrial organizations looking toward these ends.

"We further agree to not divulge any of the secrets or business of the organization to any one who is not a member of the same."

The convention also endorsed the so-called sub-treasury scheme (*g.v.*).

Organization, however, still went on. The Southern Farmers' Alliance was mainly made up of the middle class, composed of small farmers and mechanics. It claimed, in 1890, 3,000,000 members, men and women. The colored farmers were now to organize under the name of *The Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union*. The first Colored Alliance was founded in Houston County, Texas, in December, 1886. In January, 1891, the estimated membership was 1,250,000, of which number 700,000 were adult males, and 150,000 more were males between 18 and 21 years of age. A national organization was effected in 1888, and as the organization owes its existence largely to one man—R. M. Humphrey, a white man, formerly a Baptist preacher—he was put at the head of the Alliance.

All these various alliances met together at Ocala, Fla., December, 1890, and adopted the so-called Ocala Platform, not materially different from the St. Louis platform. At this convention a strong effort was made to get the Alliance to form a new political party. The Alliance voted not to do so as an alliance, but to allow its members who wished to do so as individuals. As the result a convention was called at Cincinnati, May 20, 1891, the People's Party formed, and a platform drawn and nominations made at St. Louis, July 4, 1892.

Since the Ocala convention, the Farmers' Alliances have been virtually identified with the People's Party, but have kept up their separate organizations, have held their various meetings, and different organizations among them have voted to favor various cooperative educational and industrial schemes, such as cooperative railroads, etc. Little, however, has been accomplished in this line; but an enormous amount of political agitation has been carried on.

A national reform press has been organized, including about 1000 newspapers pledged to support the demands of the farmers' movement. There are a few dailies, but the most are week-

lies. The circulation of many of these newspapers is 10,000; some reach 50,000—one perhaps 100,000. These are scattered over the whole country, and their influence cannot but be great. Besides these reform papers, there is the agricultural press, an instrument of educational force not only in matters relating to agriculture, but also in subjects of political and economic science.

The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union still exists, but its main strength has passed into the political movement. (See *PEOPLE'S PARTY*; *SILVER*.)

The National Farmers' Alliance (separate from the above) represents State alliances in Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York.

The following resolutions were adopted by the National Alliance at the fifteenth annual meeting, held at Chicago, Ill., January 15, 1895:

"Whereas, the farmers of the United States outnumber any other class of citizens, furnish three-fourths of the commerce of the country, and the largest proportion of our export trade, and are compelled to pay the lion's share of the taxes of the country, and have always been loyal and faithful to the Government in time of war as well as in peace; and,

"Whereas, we recognize the supremacy of law, the necessity of being subject to the same, and of having persons duly authorized to frame and enact them; and,

"Whereas, we believe the people to be sovereign and the public officials are the servants of the people; and,

"Whereas, that the evils that now confront the farmer are the result of unfriendly legislation to the interest of agriculture; therefore, be it

Resolved, (1) We demand in our monetary system a regular and equitable distribution independent of selfish and greedy combinations, free from private manipulations, with stability as well as flexibility, and value as well as volume. (2) We demand that taxation, State, National, or municipal, shall not be used to build up one interest at the expense of another. (3) We demand the nationalization of the means of transportation and communication to the extent that the State and Interstate commerce laws shall be made mutually cooperative and harmonious for the strict and absolute control of the same in the interest of the people; that the pooling clause of the Interstate commerce law should be retained, as it promotes that healthy competition which tends to reduce freight charges to a minimum, while pooling sustains them at the maximum. (4) That the National Farmers' Alliance will adhere to the principles set forth in our declaration of purposes, and maintain the order as the opponent of unjust trusts and combines, and favor the education of our membership in political sentiment, in harmony with our principles, controlling no political party and being controlled by none, but each individual may use his own judgment in the exercise of his right of franchise and in his choice of methods by which our demands may be secured. (5) That we recommend to the Alliance the progressive reading course for farmers, and the same be under full control of an advisory committee of the various organizations of the farmers, agricultural colleges, and experimental stations. (6) That a restricted franchise has ever been an instrument of oppression; that the right of elective franchise should be exercised without regard to sex, and there should be equal pay for equal work. (7) That the anti-option bill now pending in the United States Senate should be enacted into law. (8) That we favor such strict legislation, both State and National, as will prohibit the adulteration of all food products.

References: See *FARMERS' MOVEMENT*.

FARMERS' MOVEMENT, THE.—The farmers' movement that has taken place in the United States in recent years is due to the depressed condition prevailing among the farming population in all sections of the United States,

but particularly in the West and South, the portions of the country most purely dependent upon agriculture. This depression has taken the form of an increase of

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farm mortgages coupled with a very marked fall in agricultural prices, making it increasingly difficult for the farmer to meet the payments on his mortgage. (For a full study of these, see MORTGAGES; PRICES.) It is sufficient to state here that, according to Extra Bulletin 98, of the 4,767,179 farm families of the United States in 1890, 34 per cent. were tenant farmers, 19 per cent. owned mortgaged farms, and 47 per cent. owned farms unincumbered. On the owned farms, the mortgage indebtedness is \$1,085,995,960, which is 35.55 per cent. of their value, and bears interest at an average of 7.07 per cent. The percentage of incumbered farms was, for the United States, 47; Kansas, 30; Iowa, 32;

New Jersey and Mississippi, 34; Nebraska, Delaware, and South Carolina, 35; South Dakota, 39; and at the other extreme, Oklahoma, 95; Utah and New Mexico, 85; Arizona and Idaho, 74; Montana, 73; Maine, 71. According to the abstract of the eleventh census (p. 97), farms cultivated by their owners increased 9.56 per cent.; rented farms, 41.04 per cent., and farms rented for a share in the product, 19.65 per cent. In the North Central division farms cultivated by their owners increased less than 1 per cent., while rented farms increased nearly 66 per cent. In the North Atlantic division, rented farms increased only about 6 per cent., while farms cultivated by their owners actually diminished. The farmers thus complain that they are losing possession of their farms and becoming tenant farmers. The farms, too, are depreciating in value in proportion to the wealth of the country very rapidly.

VALUATION OF FARMS IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS.*

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Land and Buildings.....	\$3,271,000	\$6,645,000	\$9,262,000	\$10,197,000	\$13,279,000
Implements.....	151,000	246,000	336,000	406,000	494,000
Live Stock.....	544,000	1,089,000	1,525,000	1,500,000	2,208,000
Total.....	\$3,966,000	\$7,980,000	\$11,123,000	\$12,103,000	\$15,981,000
Wealth of United States.....	\$7,135,000	\$16,159,000	\$30,068,000	\$43,642,000	\$65,037,000

* From abstract of the eleventh census, p. 99.

† From statistical abstract (1894), p. 373.

That is, in 1850 the farmers owned considerably over half the wealth of the United States; in 1860, nearly one half; in 1870, little over one third; in 1880, over one quarter; in 1890, considerably less than one quarter.

The heaviest burden upon the farmers, how-

ever, has been in the fall of agricultural prices. According to a table based upon quotations from government reports and prepared by Mr. G. B. Waldron for *The Voice* for April 11, 1895, the following has been the fall in agricultural prices by decades. (For full tables of prices, see PRICES.)

CALENDAR YEAR.	AVERAGE ANNUAL WHOLESALE PRICES IN NEW YORK CITY MARKETS.								RELATIVE COMBINED AVERAGE OF THE NINE PRODUCTS IN—			
	Wheat, per Bush.	Rye, per Bushel.	Oats, per Bushel.	Corn, per Bushel.	Upland Cotton, per lb.	Refining Sugar, per lb.	Kentucky Leaf Tobacco, per lb.	Fresh Beef, per 100 lbs.	Fresh Pork, per 100 lbs.	Currency.	Gold.	Silver.
1850-59.....	1.568	.912	.479	.764	.109	.082	.092	5.365	5.552	101.8	101.8	99.0
1860-69.....	1.901	1.098	.652	.991	.439	.112	.145	7.634	7.675	184.4	130.6	126.2
1870-79.....	1.428	.882	.511	.694	.156	.083	.103	6.583	6.096	109.0	98.9	102.3
1880-89.....	1.050	.736	.407	.575	.108	.063	.092	5.840	5.628	89.1	89.1	109.3
1890-94.....	.867	.697	.369	.547	.086	.039	.095	5.368	5.286	80.9	80.9	124.7

Says Mr. Waldron :

"The combined average price of all the products quoted cannot be obtained by making a simple average of the nine percentages for each year, since this would give to rye, sugar, and tobacco, each representing less than 2 per cent. of the total value of the crops,

the same importance as wheat, cotton, corn, and meats, which represent from 11.5 to 37.5 per cent. of the total value of the crops.

"In the small table which follows, the total farm values of these crops are given for each of the four census years 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, and the percentage of each crop to the total value of the crop for that year :

FARM PRODUCTS.	TOTAL FARM VALUES FOR CENSUS YEARS.				PERCENTAGE OF EACH CROP TO THE TOTAL VALUE.			
	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Wheat.....	\$124,635,545	\$270,768,634	\$436,968,463	\$342,497,707	11.5	14.6	18.0	14.7
Rye	10,972,718	16,428,150	14,992,686	\$16,721,869	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.7
Oats.....	43,160,796	134,283,007	146,829,240	171,781,008	3.9	7.2	6.1	7.2
Corn.....	360,680,878	572,991,245	694,818,304	597,918,249	33.2	30.9	28.7	24.9
Cotton.....	*211,516,625	*303,600,000	*271,636,121	*308,424,271	19.5	16.4	11.3	12.9
Sugar.....	†14,000,000	†10,500,000	†13,800,000	†16,000,000	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.7
Tobacco.....	‡21,719,473	‡30,749,935	‡38,758,215	‡43,666,665	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.4
Meat	‡200,000,000	‡151,000,000	‡300,000,000	‡900,000,000	27.6	27.7	33.1	37.5
Total.....	\$1,086,677,035	\$1,854,311,071	\$2,417,803,029	\$2,397,004,349	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Estimated by the Department of Agriculture from the movements of cotton for those years.
 † Estimated by *The Voice* from statistics of the Department of Agriculture and data furnished by Messrs. Willitt and Gray, of New York City.
 ‡ Estimated by the Department of Agriculture from the reports of farm animals.
 § Crop of the preceding year.

"This indicates the weight that should be given to each farm product to obtain a combined average price.

"The prices in gold and in currency coincide except for the years from 1862-78, when gold was at a premium as measured in currency. Following the average annual premiums of gold for these years as given in the *American Almanac* for 1878, the average gold prices of the table were obtained.

"The prices in silver are based upon the average London price of silver for each year of the series as given in the report of the director of the mint."

The cause of this fall in prices we cannot here discuss. (See SILVER; MONOMETALLISM.) A large part of the Western and Southern farmers, however, believe it is due to a contraction of the currency (*q.v.*), and particularly to the demonetization of silver in 1873, and a "conspiracy" of the gold kings of the world. Be this as it may, of the fact of the fall of agricultural prices and its effect upon the farming population there can be no question. The above figures speak for themselves; but we append a few significant quotations. Says the Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D. (*Forum*, vol. x., p. 315):

"The American farmer is steadily losing ground. His burdens are heavier every year and his gains are more meager; he is beginning to fear that he may be sinking into a servile condition. He has waited long for the redress of his grievances; he purposes to wait no longer. Whatever he can do by social combinations, or by united political action, to remove the disabilities under which he is suffering, he intends to do at once and with all his might. There is no doubt at all that the farmers of this country are tremendously in earnest just now, and they have reason to be. Beyond question they are suffering sorely. The business of farming has become, for some reasons, extremely unprofitable. With the hardest work and with the sharpest economy, the average farmer is unable to make both ends meet; every year closes with debt, and the mortgage grows till it devours the land. The labor bureau of Connecticut has shown, by an investigation of 603 representative farms, that the average annual reward of the farm proprietor of that State, for his expenditure of muscle and brain, is \$181.31, while the average annual wages of the ordinary hired man is \$386.36. Even if the price of board must come out of the hired man's stipend, it still leaves him a long way ahead of his employer. In Massachusetts the case is a little better; the average farmer makes \$326.49, while his hired man gets \$345."

Says Professor C. S. Walker, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College (*Andover Review*, August, 1890, pp. 129-33):

"The farmer trades provisions and raw material for manufactures and for money. The manufactures

and the money, which are the stock in trade of the city, are commodities which are easily controlled by their owners, who, readily combining among themselves, can sell or hoard very much as they please; they sell when they choose to sell, and succeed to a greater or less extent in fixing their prices. The provisions and raw material on the other hand, which are the stock in trade of the country, are commodities which the farmers are compelled to throw upon the market all at once in the fall of the year, and sell at any price the city chooses to pay. The farmer must sell; he cannot help himself. The cotton and tobacco of the Southern farmer are already mortgaged, and the money-lender takes the crop as a matter of course. If there should be a few who have not mortgaged the crop, they are nevertheless in debt, and these debts must be paid. The Western farmer cannot keep his wheat, corn, and oats, his poultry, beef, and pork. He has no facilities for storage. As a consequence, every fall thousands of millions of dollars' worth of agricultural produce is thrown upon the market, enough to supply all home demand and leave a surplus of the value of \$500,000,000 for export. The American farmer, then, North, South, East, and West, is forced year after year to sell to the city his products when the market is glutted and prices are lowest. He sells at the greatest disadvantage. This, of course, leads us to infer that, when he buys, he buys at a great disadvantage. The farmer must have money to pay his taxes and his interest in the fall, but that is the very time when money, being a commodity in great demand, is very scarce and very high. With his produce forced down to the lowest price he is forced to buy money that is up to the very highest price. Again, in the spring the farmer is forced to buy seed and fertilizers, and agricultural implements and labor; he has no money with which to pay for them, although then money is cheap. He pays for them with his note, or gets trusted for them. Under such circumstances the seller has the advantage, and the farmer is forced to pay the highest price for all that he gets. So it has come to pass that year after year, spring time and autumn, the farmer sells cheap and buys dear, and buys dear and sells cheap. . . .

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"On the other hand, the inhabitant of the city sells money and manufactured goods to the farmer in his need, when manufactured goods and money are comparatively scarce and at the highest price, in exchange for provisions and raw material when these farm products have glutted the market. With such conditions, continued year after year, it is not strange that the city should grow richer and richer and more populous and crowded, while the country grows poorer and poorer and one farm-house after another is abandoned, that city tenements may be raised story after story and sunk deeper and deeper in the earth. Especially are we not surprised at this movement when we find that the city is the place where the burdens of taxation diminish in proportion to the benefits enjoyed, while in the country the benefits enjoyed diminish as the burdens of taxation become more and more crushing. It is an acknowledged fact that the great wealth of city fortunes easily evades taxation and contributes only so much as the owners choose to appro-

priate, with the expectation of collecting in the end from some one else.

"As the American farmer has seen wealth and population concentrated in the city, he has at the same time discovered that political power has been slipping from his grasp. Before and during the war the nation turned from the perusal of the election returns of New York City to wait for the majorities that should roll up from the counties west of the Hudson; but now the vote of the metropolis settles the election. Once the public opinion of the farmer was a power in legislature and in Congress, but now the city supports a lobby at every State capitol and at Washington, which says to the constituents from the rural districts, Thus far and no farther! When every professional lobbyist is the hired man of the city, and many lawyers of influence within or without the legislative body have a retaining fee of hundreds or of thousands in their pockets, the farmer has little chance of getting his bill safely past the cordon of the opposition. The landed aristocracy of Great Britain for a long time kept their preeminence by seeing to it that the common people should have no great leader. As soon as one of their number became a power in the House of Commons, he was at once ennobled and buried in the House of Lords, where he was henceforth harmless. So during the past generation, as soon as a farmer has risen to power and influence among his fellows, he has been courted and enriched, made a stockholder in the great corporation, given a city residence, and so led at length to forget the old homestead and his brothers and sisters struggling with fate in the back districts. . . . The manufacturing, the professional, the trading classes have, as a rule, concentrated in the cities; their interests have for the most part been in common; they have easily combined; they have acquired the wealth of the nation; they have the press in their hands; they control the school, the college, and the church; they are dominant in the caucus, the political convention, the State and National legislature. When their interests come in conflict with that of the farmers, it requires little thought to discern which has of late years prevailed. One might speak of the rapid increase of tenant farming, of the numbers of alien landlords already counting their thousands of acres, of the vast tracts of land voted to railroad and other corporations, of the multiplication of mortgages, of the growth of the debtor class among agriculturists, of the condition of the black farmers of the South, of the importation of European peasants to take the abandoned farms of England, but it is hardly necessary. The fact is already too manifest that the American farmer at the close of the nineteenth century, after a hundred years of republican government, is directly confronted with the question whether or no he shall, like the tillers of the soil in the Old World, degenerate from his honorable station to the condition of the serf."

Nor does this tell the whole story. The prices at which the staple agricultural products are sold are fixed by the competition of the world. Protection does not raise the farmer's price. Says Mr. G. T. Powell, an experienced farmer of Columbia County, New York, in a report on the promotion of agriculture in New York State to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, published by this Society, April, 1896.

"With the very great extension of railroad lines has come a steadily decreased cost in freight rates, especially to the producers farthest removed from markets. In 1870 freight on a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York by rail was 30 cents, and on a bushel of corn 28 cents. In 1890 the cost had been reduced on wheat to 14½ cents, a decrease of 52 per cent., and on corn to 11½ cents, a decrease of 59 per cent.

"This has brought entirely new and changed conditions to the farmers of New York and of the East generally. Gradually the cattle and sheep fattened upon the hillsides of well-fenced farms and fed in the stables of comfortable buildings have been displaced in our home markets by those herded on these great, cheap Western plains with no money invested in land or improvements, and the farmers of the East, as one of the direct results of this rapid development in transportation, find their land, with the improvements of years brought to it in money and toil, reduced to the level

of the unimproved land of the new West, while at the same time the market value of their land has been equally seriously affected.

"Emerson once said: 'A man thinks he owns his farm, when the fact is the farm often owns him,' and this is particularly true at the present time of our Eastern farmers, who, in many instances, and I may safely say quite generally, cannot sell their property for the cost of the buildings and fences that stand upon the land. This is where the deep sea of trouble comes in for those who have heretofore loaned money so safely upon farm property, and especially to those who are carrying indebtedness.

"Every civilized country true to the natural law of desiring to provide food for its people has turned its energies upon the building of railroads and canals, and improvement of rivers and harbors, thus reaching out and into all available land for production.

"England has put her strong hand to the plow in the rich soil of Africa, and is bringing out wheat; by the construction of the Suez Canal she reaches over to India and does the same thing. Her ships are ever busy bringing out the food and other products of Australia, while her capital is working the rich soil and cheap labor of South America to her greatest possible benefit.

"Russia has also kept fully apace in railroad building, and she will soon reach the completion of over 2000 miles of railway, with tributaries that will be in readiness to handle wheat from the rich soil of Siberia, where labor is so cheap as hardly to enter into the expense account.

"The extent to which wheat is being produced in other countries, with exceedingly cheap labor, and its effect upon the American wheat-grower, will be seen in the following figures, in a single week's shipment from these points. In the second week of July, 1894, there were shipped to the English market from India, 1,300,000 bushels of wheat; Russia, 1,520,000 bushels; Australia, 3,800,000 bushels; North America, 5,700,000 bushels; South America, 9,900,000 bushels.

"The statement accompanies the South American shipment that the wheat was grown and placed on shipboard for 37 cents a bushel, with a profit of 30 per cent. on the money invested."

Says another witness:

"I have calculated that the produce of five acres of wheat can be brought from Chicago to Liverpool at less than the cost for manuring one acre for wheat in England" (*Testimony of W. J. Harris, a leading farmer in Devonshire, England, before the British Commission, 1886*).

Of New York State the report says:

"While increased population and wealth must have greatly increased the demand for agricultural products, the estimated value of farm products of the State of New York, which, according to the United States census, was figured for the year 1869 at \$253,526,153, in 1889 fell to \$161,593,009. Of course this was largely attributable to the general fall in prices, but this fact will hardly account for so great a loss. It may be noted here that the 'deserted' farm is a misnomer. It is quite true that a large number of farmers have failed agriculturally and left their property to the mortgage, and there are far too many deserted farmhouses, barns, and other outbuildings, but the land itself has been absorbed by some more prosperous farmer or business man of the neighborhood. The land, therefore, and its empty buildings are not to be had for the mere asking. A large portion of this absorbed land is lying idle, and its houses and barns are untenanted, while others are occupied by renters on the tenant system."

In England, the depression of agriculture is the same. A royal commission on the subject has been appointed, but with little hope of more than registering the disease. Says the *Saturday Review* for September 28, 1895:

"It is not too much to say that not Ireland, not the unemployed, not Local Veto, but the condition of agriculture is the great and instant problem of the day. During the last 20 years prices have fallen so enormously as to leave scarcely a sufficient margin for bare livelihood. As a result, the tendency has been continuously to throw the land out of cultivation and to convert it into grass land. In the 20 years be-

tween 1873 and 1893 no less than 1,735,631 acres were thrown out of cultivation in England alone. . . . The rents of land have been reduced within these 20 years by amounts varying in different districts from 10 to 40 per cent. . . . In fine, it is manifest that tenants are too poor to pay even the largely reduced rents, and that land-owners similarly cannot afford to make any further concessions without practically giving the land away."

Various propositions are made in England to meet the difficulty: (1) A reduction of rent; (2) fair trade, if not protection; (3) cheaper railway rates; (4) the institution of light railways; (5) amendment of the Agricultural Holdings Act; (6) security of tenure and arbitration; (7) division of rates; (8) revision of the incidence of taxation; (9) cooperation; (10) bimetallism; (11) a bounty; (12) an alteration of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836; (13) agricultural education; (14) land restoration; (15) socialism. (For a further discussion of English agricultural conditions, see COOPERATIVE FARMING; LAND; NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY; LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.)

As for the causes of the depression in the United States, we present, first, what may be called the conservative view, and, second, the radical view. The report of the above-quoted New York society, in answer to the questions sent out in

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New York State, gives the following percentage of the principal causes assigned: Low-price farm products, 25 per cent.; opening of Western new land, 15 per cent.; price of labor higher in proportion than prices, 10 per cent.; loss of fertility in the soil, 8 per cent.; scarcity of good farm laborers, 4 per cent.; unjust and unequal taxation, 4 per cent.; want of tariff protection in farm products, 3 per cent.; overproduction, 3 per cent.

Mr. G. T. Powell mentions the following causes:

- (a) Ignorance of unlocking farther fertility.
- (b) Rapid development of wheat production on cheap lands.
- (c) Poor roads.
- (d) Lack of social advantages.
- (e) Too many acres under inferior cultivation.
- (f) International causes.

Too many farmers, he claimed, did not intelligently cultivate their land, paid little attention to fertilizing, were not wise in selecting and managing their crops, live stock, etc. He instanced cases where the presence of agricultural schools, experiment stations, etc., or even lectures on agriculture had changed the outlook of whole communities, turning failure into success. Too many farmers and farmers' families, according to this report, leave the farm for the city because they think they can have more pleasure, more advantages, more fun for less work. Sons refuse to receive a farm as a gift, if they must work it. Mr. Powell states that some of the causes of the depression are avoidable, others not. He proposes as palliatives:

"Greater knowledge on the part of the farmers to unlock further fertility in the soil and supply most economically the loss of fertility occasioned by production.

"More knowledge of the developments of agriculture that are going on in our own and other countries, that we may avoid certain lines of competition where-in no profit can be derived.

"Less acres better cultivated, that maximum yields can be obtained, thereby reducing the cost of production.

"Encouragement of forestry, that many naked, widespread acres now unprofitable for cultivation may again be covered, growing trees adding permanent value to the land, modifying temperature and subserving moisture.

"Planting again the standard of the advantages and desirabilities of country living and building up of country homes.

"More of high schools in rural communities, through consolidation of school districts where better educational facilities may be had and some principles of agriculture taught.

"Encouragement of small land-holdings, that more people may have homes in rural communities, thus making possible good schools, churches, and society.

"More of organization and of the extension of the Grange and farmers' clubs, to study business interests closer and to develop greater social advantages for all, especially for the young. Better highways, that products may be moved at least cost, and schools, churches, and social gatherings reached with greater ease. Free rural mail delivery, that farmers and their families may be in closer touch with the world, and have daily knowledge of markets and values. Encouragement in every way of the largest possible consumption of all products by producing the best, and getting them before the consumers in the most attractive manner. Removal of the liquor saloon, as its existence is a menace to moral and business welfare, and is without excuse in a rural community. The establishment of labor exchanges in country and city, that the wants of employers and employees may be better known over a wide territory.

"As exhaustion of soil is occasioned by production to supply the cities' needs, the cities' waste in sewerage, garbage, etc., should be collected, manufactured, and returned to the country for restoring in this way the productivity of the soil.

"The establishment in every county in the State in time of agricultural schools on farms where instruction and intelligent practice may be combined, and where not only the sons and daughters of farmers may receive training and more skilful work, but those also who are inclined to go from the city to the country might be taught intelligent management, which would result in many seeking land investment, and the establishment of homes in the country by city dwellers."

Such is the conservative view. The radical view does not deny that farmers need more education and wiser methods, but does not admit that this goes at all to the root of the evil. It points out that as long as a few farmers improve their methods more than the average this may give those few success by giving them an advantage above their competitors; but that if all farmers, or even the majority of farmers, adopted these methods, they would simply be able to produce larger quantities at cheaper cost, and so prices **Low Prices**.

Simply go down, and the farmer be left financially no better off than before. There can be no general improvement for the farmer, this radical view believes, until he gets better prices—*i. e.*, a better return for his labor. Then, when he is prosperous, he will be able to have happy homes, good schools, social advantages, which will keep the boys on the farm. Even Mr. Powell says, "Much has been said and written about 'How to keep the boys and girls on the farm.' Let them see some money in it, and that will solve the question." Now, the main thing that has lowered prices, according to most of the farmers of the West and South, as above stated, is the contraction of currency, voted, the farmers assert, by the political dictation of the gold kings of the East. Hence the People's Party, the political uprising of the Farmers' Alliance, etc. (See CONTRACTION OF CURRENCY; PEOPLE'S PARTY; FARMERS' ALLIANCE, etc.)

Nor is this the only evil. The farmers believe

that dishonest legislation and dishonest office-holders, by iniquitous laws or iniquitous violations of just laws, have allowed great railroad corporations, foreign syndicates, favored capitalists, to buy up at a song, or to get free under abuse of the Homestead Law, Desert Land Laws (see PUBLIC DOMAIN), large tracts of the best land, for which they have often paid nothing, and on them to create bonanza farms worked with machinery. Here producing on a large scale, and with no mortgages to meet, they are able to raise and sell grain at prices with which ordinary farmers cannot compete. Railroads, too, and grain speculators in New York and Chicago, the farmers claim, create corners in the market, and compel the farmers to sell to them almost at a loss. These evils the farmers believe are allowed because the farmer has little voice in Congress. Congress is made up, they declare, of corporation lawyers and representatives of the capitalists of the East. Hence in every way, while all farmers admit the necessity of education and improved methods, and are organizing for education in their Granges and Farmers' Alliances, the distinctive aim of the recent Farmers' Movement is to increase the circulation and rescue legislation from the domination of the railroads and mortgage-holders who to-day are forcing prices down, and by mortgage foreclosures driving the farmers to ruin. (See PEOPLE'S PARTY; FREE SILVER; FARMERS' ALLIANCE; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.)

References: Articles—*The Farmers' Movement*, by C. S. Walker, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (vol. iv., p. 796); *The Embattled Farmers*, by Rev. Washington Gladden, D.D. (*The Forum*, vol. x., p. 315). See also S. S. King's *Bondholders and Bread-Winners* and Hamlin Garland's *Jason Edwards*. See also SILVER.

FARM MORTGAGES. See MORTGAGES.

FARM OWNERSHIP. See MORTGAGES, also LAND.

FARM WAGES. See WAGES.

FAUCHET, CLAUDE, was born at Dornes, France, in 1744. For a while court preacher for the Louis, he lost his position owing to his radical views. At the storming of the Bastille he took an active part, and was requested to prepare a eulogy over those who fell in the attack, and as a result produced his *Discourse upon French Liberty*, in which the central idea was the union of the gospel of love with the program of the Revolution. In 1790 he was instrumental in establishing a society or circle of the Friends of Truth, and as an organ of the club, the *Bouche de Fer* (The Iron Mouth), a paper in which he developed his religious ideas in union with the theories of Rousseau's social contract. "Unite the Gospel of Christ with the spirit of freedom," was Fauchet's pregnant utterance, "and our joy shall be full." In 1791 Fauchet was elected constitutional Bishop of Calvados, and sent as a representative to the Legislative Assembly of 1792. He voted against the guillotining of the king, and on account of taking this position, and because of his landed property, he

was brought before the revolutionary tribunal and guillotined with the Girondists, October 31, 1793. An account of his life and views can be found in Stegmann and Hugo's *Handbuch des Socialismus*, article "Fauchet."

FAWCETT, HENRY, son of William Fawcett, a magistrate of Salisbury, was born in 1833. Educated at a local school near Salisbury, at Queenwood College, at King's College School, London, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he was graduated there in 1856, and subsequently chosen a fellow. He first practised law in London, but soon left this for political activity. In 1858 an accident, while shooting, left him totally blind for life. He nevertheless lectured on finance at Oxford and Glasgow, and elicited general attention. In 1863 he published his chief work, *A Manual of Political Economy*, which has been much used as a text-book of economics of the orthodox school. He was immediately elected to the chair of Political Economy at Cambridge. In 1865 he was elected M.P. for Brighton, which he continued to represent till 1874. He was a Radical of the old school; but made his mark standing for woman suffrage, refusing on principle to pay any but the merest official expenses of his election, advocating the abolition of university tests, investigating the miseries of the agricultural laborer, etc. In 1867 he married Millicent Garrett (see below). In 1874 he was defeated for Brighton, but returned for Hackney, and again in 1880. The same year he became Postmaster-General in Mr. Gladstone's second administration, and would have been a member of the Cabinet but for a conscientious scruple. He introduced many reforms into the postal system. In 1883 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and received the titles of D.C.L. and LL.D. He died at Cambridge, November 6, 1884. A strong individualist, with little originality or genius, he influenced men by the force of his personality. His best works, besides his *Manual*, are *The Economic Position of the London Laborer* (1865); *Free Trade and Protection* (1878); *Essays and Lectures* (1872). His Life was written by Leslie Stephen (1885).

FAWCETT, MILICENT (*née GARRETT*), was born in 1847, and married to Henry Fawcett in 1867. She assisted her husband in all his studies, and in 1869 published a *Political Economy for Beginners*. A leader in the woman's suffrage movement, she has also written many economic essays and a series of tales illustrative of political economy.

FEDERAL COURTS. See JUDICIARY.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.—"Stated broadly, so as to acquire somewhat the force of a universal proposition," says Dr. John Fiske (*American Political Ideas*, p. 133), "the principle of federalism is just this: That the people of a State shall have full and entire control of their own domestic affairs, which directly concern them only, and which they will naturally manage with more intelligence and with more zeal than any distinct governing body could possibly exercise; but that, as regards

matters of common concern between a group of States, a decision shall in every case be reached, not by brutal warfare or by weary diplomacy, but by the systematic legislation of a central government which represents both States and people, and whose decisions can always be enforced, if necessary, by the combined physical forces of all the States."

Federalism has been practised from the earliest times among certain savage races, as among some of the North American Indians, in more developed form among the ancient German tribes, and for certain purposes among the Greek States, the English heptarchy, and other peoples. It reached a still fuller development in the old German Empire, but has been principally developed in modern republics.

Says Mr. E. V. Robinson (*Annals of the American Academy*, vol. iii., p. 786):

"There can be no security against despotism but limitations upon the Government; and no effective limitations upon the Government but such as are imposed by a higher power, the State, and enforced by separate and coordinate organs of government created by the State and participating in the action of the general government. But this is the Federal State, a form long considered a transition stage between the league of States and the simple State, but now recognized—in other countries at least—as the most interesting and significant product of institutional development.

"Its importance is proved by its success. In a century the new form has overspread the earth. 1787 in the United States; 1848 and 1874 in Switzerland; 1866 to 1870 in Germany; 1867 in Canada and Mexico; 1889 in Brazil; 1891 in Australasia—these dates record a progress unchecked by reverse, unparalleled in rapidity and extent. Federalism has succeeded in conditions the most diverse; here knitting scattered colonies of a

History of Federalism.

kindred race into a nation equally strong and free; there forming hostile races, tongues, and creeds into compact and vigorous States. It is strong and flexible. No shock has severed its well-knit meshes, and nations the most unlike move with equal freedom in its enveloping folds. The whole drift of the political world is toward federalism to-day, as it was toward feudalism in the tenth century, and centralism in the fifteenth. The time may not be far distant when a centralized simple State will be as great an anachronism as a mail-clad knight in a modern army."

Of the nature and development of the chief modern federal governments, Mr. Robinson says (*idem*, pp. 787-790):

"The Canadian Union was the work of one external sovereignty. A congress of delegates appointed by the provincial legislatures framed the desired constitution, which was then (1867) enacted *en bloc*, as an ordinary statute, by the British Parliament.

"In Switzerland and the United States the ordaining sovereignty was one and internal. Previous to 1848 the cantons are said to have been separately sovereign. The only central authority was the Diet, consisting of one instructed vote from each canton. But unanimity was not required for decision, consequently a canton could be bound against its will, and coerced by arms if it resisted—as occurred in the Sonderbund war in 1847. Thus Laband's conception of the German Empire exactly fits the Switzerland of that date; sovereignty rested in the cantons not individually, but collectively. There were not as many sovereignties as cantons, but one sovereignty, of which the cantons were cobearers (*Mitträger*). To the cantons collectively the cantons individually were subject; just as each Roman senator was subject as an individual to the Senate as a whole. Following the Sonderbund war a committee of the Diet drafted the new constitution; the Diet itself then revised and passed it. When submitted to the cantons for approval, 15½ cantons accepted, 6½ rejected it. The constitution thereupon went into effect for all alike. The sovereignty in the old confederation, therefore, decreed the new Federal organization. No absolute-

ly new State was created, but a rudimentary exchanged for a well-developed form.

"The same was true in America, but is not so easily seen. The traditional view regards the individual States as separately sovereign under the Confederation. Article 2 declares: 'Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.' But words cannot obliterate facts. The States could not 'retain' what they had never possessed. They had always been subject to a political superior. First to England; secondly to the Continental Congress, a revolutionary body; hence *de facto* sovereign; and thirdly, under the Confederation each State individually was subject to the States collectively. In the American, as in the Swiss Confederation, sovereignty was one and the States were its cobearers; each as an individual was subject to the States collectively." This, however, is a disputed point. See STATE RIGHTS; CENTRALIZATION; CONSTITUTION, etc.

Modern Federalism.

He continues: "In Germany, the situation was different in that the contracting States had been and still were separately sovereign. August 18, 1866, the North German States provided by treaty for the founding of a Federal State within one year, the constitution to be drafted by a Conference of Envoys at Berlin, and passed upon by a Reichstag elected on the basis of the Frankfort election law. These provisions of the treaty were then enacted by the State legislatures as State law. State law they would have been without special enactment, since the August treaties rested upon State authority; State law they had to be, if law at all, since law requires a law-giver, and only the States then legally existed. Both Reichstag and Conference therefore rested equally on State authority. The Conference sat December 15, 1866, to February 7, 1867. Its draft was submitted to the Reichstag February 24 by the King of Prussia, in the name of the associated governments. The Reichstag proposed amendments; these were accepted by the Conference. Both then dissolved and disappeared. The bodies created by State authorities had done their work, but the States were not legally bound by it, any more than the British Parliament was legally bound by the recommendations of the Canadian Constitutional Congress. The States did ratify the report of their agents, and fixed July 1, 1867, as the day for it to go into operation. But legally they could as well have rejected it. The lapse of the specified year would then have restored the *status quo ante* August 18, 1866. If, therefore, the criterion of the existence of a new State be the existence of a new political authority, setting a limit to older authorities, then no new State existed prior to the ratification of the constitution by all the States.

"It is indeed unquestionable that the German nation already existed, *i.e.*, that the German people were conscious of common interests, feelings and aspirations. It is equally unquestionable that such feelings could not but result in new political relations, and that in an historical and dynamical sense, the nation did, as a matter of fact, employ the States as instruments in the creation of a new State. But it is generally agreed that a nation is not a State politically organized, and a State cannot be said to give its political organization, because such organization is prerequisite to its being a State."

Mr. James Bryce (*The American Commonwealth*, chaps. xxix., xxx.) sums up the faults generally charged against federal forms of government as:

- "1. Weakness in the conduct of foreign affairs.
- "2. Weakness in home government—that is to say, deficient authority over the component States and the individual citizens.
- "3. Liability to dissolution by the secession or rebellion of States.
- "4. Liability to division into groups and factions by the formation of separate combinations of the component States.
- "5. Want of uniformity among the States in legislation and administration.
- "6. Trouble, expense, and delay due to the complexity of a double system of legislation and administration."

Few of these dangers, he thinks, however, have developed in the United States. He says:

"All that can fairly be concluded from the history of the American Union is that Federalism is obliged by the law of its nature to leave in the hands of States powers whose exercise may give to political controversy a peculiarly dangerous form, may impede the assertion of national authority, may even, when long-continued exasperation has suspended or destroyed the feeling of a common patriotism, threaten national unity itself. Against this danger is to be set the fact that the looser structure of a Federal government and the scope it gives for diversities of legislation in different parts of a country may avert sources of discord, or prevent local discord from growing into a contest of national magnitude."

The merits of the federal form of government he considers to be: (1) That federalism can unite States into one government without extinguishing local governments, legislatures, and patriotism; (2) that it supplies the best means of developing a vast country; (3) it prevents the development of overcentralization; (4) it interests people in local self-government; (5) it secures the good administration of local affairs; (6) it allows of experiments in legislation; (7) it diminishes the risk which comes from size and diversity in the structure of a nation; (8) it relieves the national legislature of burdens which might prove too heavy. All these advantages Mr. Bryce holds true of the United States. (But see DEMOCRACY. For the details of the Federal Constitution of the United States, see CONSTITUTION. For other countries, see those countries.)

References: Besides the books quoted, see Woodrow Wilson's *The State*. See also POLITICAL SCIENCE.

FEDERALIST, THE.—A series of 85 papers written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay immediately after the adoption of the United States Constitution, and published in the *Independent Journal* of New York from October, 1787, to March, 1788; they were then collected in book form and called *The Federalist*. Hamilton (*q.v.*) wrote some two thirds of them, and they did much to advance the cause of the Federalist Party (*q.v.*).

FEDERAL PARTY, THE, was the name given, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, to those who favored the Constitution as framed by the convention at Philadelphia of 1787. The name was later adopted by the party developed under the lead of Alexander Hamilton (*q.v.*), which favored a strong central national government, friendly relations with Great Britain rather than with France, the fostering of commercial interests, the assumption of the State debts, and the chartering of a national bank, etc. It controlled the general government till 1801. Says Schouler (*History of the United States*, vol. 1, p. 54): "To speak logically, it was the anti-federal party that sustained a federal plan, while the Federalist contended for one more nearly national." (For a discussion of the views of the party, see CENTRALIZATION; STATE RIGHTS; CONSTITUTION; DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY; HAMILTON.)

FERRARA, FRANCESCO, was born in Palermo, Sicily, in 1810, and was Professor of Political Economy in the University of Turin from 1849-64. In 1867 he was Italian Minister of Finance, and at another time elected Senator. He was editor of the *Giornale di Statistica*, 1836-48. He introduced the ideas of Carey

(*q.v.*) into Italy, and was an influential leader in Italian economics. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY, "Italy.")

FERRARIS, CARLO FRANCESCO, was born in 1850 at Montcalvo. He took the degree of LL.D. at Turin, and subsequently studied in Germany and England. He has held several professorial and political offices, and since 1885 has been full professor of statistics in Padua. In 1886 and 1887 he was also a member of the Italian House of Deputies.

The recent spread of German thought and methods in economics and statistics, and their influence upon the social policy of Italy, may be referred in no small measure to Ferraris, as professor, statesman, and author. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY, "Italy.")

FEUDALISM (from early middle English *fe, fee, feh, feoh*, medieval Latin *feodum*, cattle, property, tribute), a social system prevalent in one form or another in Northern and Western Europe, through all the Middle Ages, according to which land was held by its owners as *feuds* or *feifs* on condition of paying service to a superior lord.

The origin of the system is uncertain. It seems, however, to have been first developed in Germany. Some find its origin in the Roman custom of making grants of land to tribes on condition of paying certain tribute or military service. It is certainly not very different from certain Roman forms of land ownership. (See LAND.) Most authorities, however, trace it to older and more fully Germanic and perhaps Asiatic origin—a development, it may be, of the early forms of land tenure. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) German chiefs had their *comitatus* or retinue of "freemen" surrounding and serving them in peace, and especially in war. Beneath these were the serfs or tillers of the soil, dependent on the freeman. It was a system of society partly separate from and eventually largely replacing the relation of the individual to the State. Under feudalism the individual placed himself or was placed as a vassal (a word probably of Celtic origin, at first meaning servant) under a superior. He was said to be under *commendation* to him, and for the protection given by the lord he owed him *obsequium*, or willingness to serve. Feudalism was connected with the older Roman system of *beneficia*, or the giving of property for use, but with responsibility to the donor or heirs. From this system grew up the ecclesiastical benefices. Feudalism changed the *beneficia* into *feuda*—property held under personal allegiance, *allodia* being property held in fee simple. The service paid by the vassal was service in war (*service d'hoste*), the obligation to appear at his lord's courts (*justitia*), money payments (*auxilia*), and homage. "Homage," says the *Treatise of Tenures*, "is the most honorable service and most humble service of reverence that a frank tenant may do to his lord, for when the tenant shall make homage to his lord, he shall be ungirt and his head uncovered, and his lord shall sit and the tenant shall kneel before him on both his knees and hold his hands jointly together between the hands of his lord, and shall

say this: 'I become your man, from this day forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and unto you shall be true and faithful, and bear you faith for the tenements that I claim to hold of you, saving the faith that I owe to our sovereign lord the king;' and then the lord, so sitting, shall kiss him." The tie of feudalism was thus essentially a personal tie for the use of land.

In one way or another came feudalism. It grew up from the fifth to the ninth century, when it is found somewhat fully developed in Germany, and developing in the adjacent countries. In Germany,

Origins. however, the different chiefs were so independent that a centralized feudalism never appeared. It is

among the Normans, in Gaul, in Aragon, through large portions of Italy, and, after the Conquest, in England, that we find its fully developed and centralized form.

Here all land is held as belonging to the king, representing the whole people. He divides the realm among his barons, to rule over and defend.

The Feudal Principle. For this they pay tribute to the king and receive tribute from their retainers or vassals—the tribute in time of war being military service.

They in turn divide their baronies among the lesser nobility, and they among the freemen, each paying tribute to his superior. The serfs, finally, live on the domain of the lord of the manor (the freeman), cultivate it, and have certain rights of domicile and pasture, for receipt of which they pay service to the lord. The serf pays no tribute to the king, only to his liege lord; the liege lord pays to his superior, and so on up to the king. This is the feudal *idea* modified in history in a thousand ways and by a thousand special grants and privileges. The basis of the whole system is the land tenure, which is "the sacramental tie of all public relations."

The system, however, once developed, immediately began to change. When the English kings began to fight in France it became more convenient for the Northern barons to give payments of money instead of military service; and the king preferred this, since it enabled him to hire troops who would serve him more unquestioningly. Gradually the system of paying money instead of service developed into the rule. Out of this came parliaments (*q. v.*), first called together to vote supplies for the king. But out of this came also other institutions. Under feudalism proper the serf paid nothing to the king directly, but only to his superior lord. When the king wanted money, it occurred to his councilors that he might get money by taxing the serf as well as the lords. The early poll taxes were resisted (see PEASANTS' REVOLT), but they were collected. It was forgotten or ignored that the serf already paid the king *through the lord*; that the serf only paid the lord because the lord paid the king. The lords were quite willing to have the serfs pay the king, because then they could claim that the king was paid, and keep what they received *as their own*. This developed the landlord system of England. Hitherto the lords had ruled their lands, not as owners, but as rep-

resentatives of the king, and what they received from their vassals they paid over to the king, at least in part. They now claimed to own the land, and kept the tribute as *rent*. The king, they said, was paid through *taxes*. Out of this has developed modern England.

It is not claimed that the development took this simple and conscious form; but it explains a large portion of what actually occurred. Under feudalism the vassal did not pay both tax and rent. His rent or service was his tax. Says Rogers (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 56): "There was in the thirteenth century no rent paid in the ordinary sense of that word." Such conditions have led to two extreme views of feudalism: the one too favorable, the other too severe. According to one view, to which conservatives and some socialists are inclined, the laborer under feudalism was better off than to-day. Every man was entitled to the use of a little land, with perhaps a cottage and the right of pasturage and of getting fuel in the manorial woods, all on the one condition of paying a little service or work to his lord. Each man had a place, a lowly place indeed—a cottage, rough and dark, with few comforts. But then the lord did not have modern comforts, and at least the serf was sure of his living and related by ties often of personal regard to the lord on whose estate he lived, and whom he could occasionally see and know. There was no landless class, and there was not the modern impersonal "cash nexus" and freedom, which is often a freedom to starve.

The other view, to which liberals and individualists are inclined, goes to the other extreme. It dwells upon the rough home and food of the mediæval serf, above all upon his oppression by his lord. He had a place, it is true, but a dog's place and a dog's life. How vastly better off, it is said, is the working man of to-day. (For a fuller discussion of this, see MIDDLE AGES.) Feudalism has gone. Serfdom disappears in England after the Peasants' Revolt (*q. v.*). Feudal tenures were abolished by act of Parliament in England in 1660; in Scotland in 1747. In France they disappeared in the Revolution of 1789; in Germany and Austria, in the Revolution of 1848-50. In each country, however, the system had long been modified by political and social changes. A feudal system is said to have early developed in China and Japan, but to have disappeared in the former country as early as 220 B. C., on the conquest of the country by Siang Wang, of Tsin, or Tsin-shi-Hwang-ti. In Japan, it endured till 1871, when the *daimios* or barons surrendered their lands to the Mikado. (See JAPAN.)

References: see MIDDLE AGES.

FIAT MONEY. See PAPER MONEY; MONEY; GREENBACK PARTY.

FICHTE, JOHANN GOTTLIEB.—This great German philosopher we consider here simply from the standpoint of social reform, he being, according to some, the real father, and at least the first manifestation, of the great German movement toward socialism.

He was born at Rammenau, in Lusatia, in 1762. Even as a child he was noted for his con-

**Devel-
opments.**

landlord system of England. Hitherto the lords had ruled their lands, not as owners, but as rep-

templative spirit. At 18 years of age he entered the University of Jena, studying theology at first, but soon relinquishing it for philosophy. On leaving college he earned a precarious support by becoming a tutor, wandering from place to place. In 1791 he met Kant and became a zealous follower. In the following year he wrote his *Critique of all Revelation*, which Kant highly commended. For a time he found it very difficult to obtain even the means of subsistence; but in 1794 he was appointed to the chair of philosophy at Jena. At once he commenced to expound, or, rather, to preach his system of transcendental idealism, with the utmost zeal and enthusiasm. He soon broke loose from Kant, whose philosophy was not sufficiently idealistic for him. As he said to a friend, "Kant has only indicated the truth, but neither unfolded nor proved it." In 1799 a groundless charge of atheism removed him from the college; and he took up his residence in Berlin, still lecturing on philosophy. Six years later he was called to the chair of philosophy at Erlangen. It was here that his famous lectures on *The Nature of the Scholar* were delivered. The victories of Napoleon stirred all his patriotism, and brought forth his fervid *Addresses to the Germans*. On the restoration of peace he was elected rector of the University of Berlin, where he labored with his accustomed zeal and energy to check and abolish all customs that appeared to him inconsistent with the true life of scholarship. In 1813, on the outbreak of the war of independence, his wife offered herself as hospital nurse, and for five months waited upon the sick soldiers with unremitting devotion and tenderness. She was then taken with fever, and after a long struggle recovered only to pass on the infection to her husband. He rapidly sank under it, and died January 27, 1814.

In Fichte were united the profundity of a philosopher, the fire of a prophet, the self-sacrifice of a patriot, and the purity and devotion of a saint. The fundamental notion of his philosophy is the reality of the ego, which posits both itself and the non-ego. As to his socialism, the following quotations speak for themselves.

In his *Materials for the Justification of the French Revolution*, he writes: "Property can have no other origin than labor. Whosoever does not work has no right to obtain the means of existence from society." In 1796 he proclaimed "the right to property." He says in his *Principles of Natural Right*, "Whoso has not the means of living is not bound to recognize or respect the property of others, seeing that, as regards him, the principles of the social contract have been violated. Every one should have some property; society owes to all the means of work, and all should work in order to live." In his book on *The State in Accordance with Right (Rechtstaat)*, he foreshadows a collective organization which would realize what he understands by right: "Labor and distribution should be collectively organized; every one should receive for a fixed amount of labor a fixed amount of capital which would constitute his property, according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities as long as anybody lacks necessities; for the right of property in objects

of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life. Farmers and laborers should form partnerships, so as to produce the most with the least possible exertion." The essential ideas of the socialism of to-day, as regards both the notion of right and its realization, are contained in embryo in the foregoing lines, which were manifestly occasioned by Rousseau and the eighteenth-century philosophers, tho modified by his deep and pietistic Christianity.

His collective works have been published by his son (1845-6). His popular works have been translated into English by W. Smith (1848-9). Their titles are: *The Destination of Man*; *The Vocation of the Scholar*; *The Nature of the Scholar*; *The Way to the Blessed Life*; and *The Characteristics of the Present Age*. His *Rechtstaat* was translated by A. E. Kroeger (1868-70).

FIELDEN. See CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, last portion of the article.

FINANCE, THE SCIENCE OF (from medieval Latin, *finis*, an end, or payment in settlement), is correctly used in economics for the science of the raising, administration, and expenditure of the revenues of a nation, state, or city. The word finance is popularly but incorrectly used for the discussion of the subject of money; perhaps because, in the United States especially, questions of revenue have been so intimately connected with those of money.

In classic times, while there was often wise management of the public finances, there was little development of theory or principles of finance. The work of Xenophon on the revenues of Athens was simply a discussion as to how the city might derive sufficient revenue from its own territory. He recommends a state monopoly of silver mining. The Romans developed **Development**, still less theory. The first modern development of the science was by the German cameralists (*q.v.*). These often gave good, practical advice, but still with little system or theory. From the seventeenth century the school of the mercantilists (*q.v.*) began to have weight, and in the eighteenth century the school of the physiocrats (*q.v.*). The German cameralists discussed finance largely as a matter of the management of domains and monopolies. The mercantilists were more for duties, customs, and bounties. Under the influence of the physiocrats we have the development of the idea of the *impôt unique*, the single tax on land. Under Adam Smith and his followers we have the development of the ideas of free trade and the substitution of other taxes for custom duties. In the development of the modern science of finance the Germans lead. They divide the science into three parts: 1. The organization of the financial economy; 2. Public expenditure and the purposes for which it may be made; 3. Public revenue and the sources from which it may be derived. The ordinary sources of revenues are divided into three kinds: (1) from agricul-

Content.

tural, industrial, or commercial enterprises (see NATIONALISM; MUNICIPALISM; RAILROADS; POSTAL SYSTEM; TELEGRAPH); (2) from fees; (3) from taxation (*q.v.*).

In the conduct of a State's financial system, Professor E. J. James (article "Finance," *Lalor's Cyclopaedia of Political Science*) finds four main systems: 1. The German, where all public offices are filled from the ranks of persons who have shown their fitness by prescribed tests, and after a period of probation are appointed with a right to the office and a salary as long as its duties are properly performed; 2. The French system, where the salaried officer, tho professionally educated, may be removed at pleasure; 3. The American system, in which the salaried officer may be removed for political reasons without any question of fitness; 4. The voluntary system, where officers are filled by those able and willing to act without salary. Professor James considers the German system, tho nominally the most expensive, in reality the cheapest and the best. (See REVENUE; TAXATION.)

References: Adolph Wagner's *Finanzwissenschaft* (1877-82); C. F. Bastable's *Public Finance* (1892). See also TAXATION.

FIRE DEPARTMENTS.—The earliest fire companies were composed of volunteers, tho sometimes inducements to join were held out by exempting them from jury duty. They were something like social and sometimes political clubs. In New York, the firemen became a power in ward politics. The paid fire department of New York City was organized May 4, 1865. Since then the system has spread to all the large cities and attained remarkable efficiency, organized usually under fire commissioners. Fires are much more frequent in America than in Europe, because of poorly constructed houses and lack of construction laws in America. This, however, is being changed. Partly as a result, the American fire departments are generally thought to be much more efficiently developed. In London, the Fire Brigade numbers about 900. The wages have been recently raised by the County Council, and the efficiency greatly increased, with improved quarters and enormously multiplied fire hydrants. The cost of the department is only one half that of New York, but fires are less frequent than in many small American cities. The Berlin force is about 900, under State control. In Paris the force is quasi-military.

The following figures are from Census Bulletin No. 100:

CITIES	Force.	Annual Cost of Department.	Cost of Force to Each Head of Population.
New York, N. Y.....	1,027	\$1,613,296	\$1.06
Chicago, Ill.....	916	706,437	0.64
Philadelphia, Pa.....	521	625,000	0.60
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	527	562,044	0.70
St. Louis, Mo.....	359	277,869	0.62
Boston, Mass.....	677	800,000	1.78

ANNUAL PROPERTY LOSSES IN THE UNITED STATES BY FIRES—1886-95.

YEARS.	Aggregate Property Loss.	Aggregate Insurance Loss.
1886.....	\$104,924,750	\$60,506,567
1887.....	120,283,055	60,659,508
1888.....	110,885,605	63,965,724
1889.....	123,046,833	73,679,465
1890.....	108,993,792	65,015,465
1891.....	143,764,067	90,576,918
1892.....	151,516,098	93,511,936
1893.....	167,544,370	105,994,577
1894.....	149,006,464	89,574,699
1895*.....	115,000,000	79,000,000

* Estimated.

The figures in the above table, from 1875 to 1894 inclusive, are taken from the *Chronicle Fire Tables*.

The average annual property loss by fire in foreign countries, compiled from Mulhall, is as follows:

COUNTRIES.	Average Annual Loss.	Cost per Inhabitant.	Ratio of Insured Property per Cent.
Austria.....	\$17,500,000	\$0.50	..
Belgium.....	2,600,000	0.47	43
Canada.....	10,500,000	2.30	44
France.....	15,500,000	0.42	75
Germany.....	31,000,000	0.67	74
Gt. Britain and Ireland.	45,000,000	1.37	46
Italy.....	5,000,000	0.17	..
Netherlands.....	2,000,000	0.50	..
Russia.....	70,000,000	0.85	9
Scandinavia.....	6,500,000	0.80	..
Spain.....	2,500,000	0.15	..

FISHERIES.—The value of the fisheries of the United States, according to the census of 1890, was: Product of the year 1889, \$44,277,518; capital invested, \$43,602,123; the persons employed, 136,665 fishermen and 26,683 shoremen. A system of profit-sharing was introduced into the cod and mackerel fisheries of the United States about 1730.

When a ship was built the builders would take shares in it—the painter, sail-maker, rigger, captain, and all who were to man it. In trading, the whole ship was divided into 64 shares. The builder would take a large part, the captain and mate each one share or one half share, and so on down through the entire crew. The chief owner was known as "the ship's husband." He determined the plans of the voyage. In fisheries, a ship would be held in five shares. The owner held two fifths and the crew (captain, mates, and men) held three fifths. Profits were divided among these conjoint owners according to the shares held. The owner kept the ship in repairs and the whole company paid the expenses. This custom has only in small part been kept up—longest in the Maine fishing smacks. To-day the fishers are poorly paid.

In Great Britain and Ireland the value of the fisheries reported for 1895 was £7,147,665. The number employed, including the Channel Islands, was 124,187. In France, the number

enrolled in cod-fishing, January 1, 1894, was 10,503, and for coast-fishing, 74,129. The value of the fish of both kinds taken in 1893 was \$25,537,400.

FLÜRSCHHEIM, MICHAEL, was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Germany, January 27, 1844, and educated there from 1850-60. From 1860-67 he worked in banks in Frankfort, Berlin and Paris. In 1867 he went to the United States, where he worked as an importer, manufacturer and inventor—first in New York, and from 1870-72 in Virginia. In 1872 he returned to Germany, first engaged in a journalistic enterprise (*The American News*), and in 1873 purchased the Gaggenau Iron Works, which he conducted for 15 years with great success. In 1888 the works were turned into a limited company. He introduced new industries into Germany, and at one time he had taken out over one hundred patents. In 1883 he began to devote a part of his time to social reform. The writings of Dr. Theodor Stamm and Henry George opened a new vista. In 1884 his first book, *Auf Friedlichem Wege (By Peaceful Means)*, appeared. In 1887, with the aid of a friend, he founded the monthly, *Deutsch Land*, and edited it until 1889, when it was continued by the German Land Nationalization League (Deutscher Bund für Bodenbesitz Reform), which he had founded in 1888. Besides this society, he was the originator of two similar societies, in Switzerland and Holland, and in 1890 or 1891 he became one of the vice-presidents of the English Land Nationalization Society. In 1886 he published *Deutschland in 100 Jahren (Germany in a Hundred Years)*, a precursor of Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and the flood of similar writings following in its wake. In 1889 he completed and soon published *Der Einzige Rettungsweg (The Only Way of Salvation)*, and in 1890 he wrote in English, *Rent, Interest and Wages*, which appeared in 1891 (Reeves, London). In 1894 he published *Bausteine für Social Reform (Building Stones for Social Reform)*. In 1893 he went to the United States and to Mexico, to assist in the foundation of a cooperative colony on land nationalization principles, because he thought a model commonwealth to be one of the most efficient means of propaganda. Tho a follower of Henry George in the general idea that common land ownership is the foundation-stone of social reform, Mr. Flürschheim entirely differs from him in most other theories, and also in regard to George's proposal of the single tax, which he calls confiscation. He prefers full land nationalization, with compensation of land-owners. He considers his most important discovery is his crisis theory, which in fact is a solution of the social problem. It was in 1888 that he completed this theory. To state it in a few words, he holds that the cause of commercial depression, of scarcity of work—in fact, of the modern social problem, is that the very rich neither consume the total of their incomes nor do they invest a great part of their savings in products of work (machines, houses, steamers, etc.). They mostly invest in spurious capital, consisting of nothing but tribute claims that give no opportunity for work, but, on the contrary, by in-

creasing the debts of the people, keep back their purchasing power, and thus prevent this power from keeping pace with the increasing productive power of the world, without which it must be impossible to keep at work all producers, for we cannot produce if we do not consume.

This spurious capital, these tribute claims, have their foundation mainly in private land ownership; for rent is the mother of interest and compound interest. As long as capital can invest in land and thus obtain rent, it will claim interest, wherever otherwise invested. When capital can no more purchase rent, it will be offered free of interest (of interest proper—*i.e.*, of interest less risk premium) to labor, as the production of capital, when unhampered by the effects of private land ownership, will exceed the demand, and all who save for a rainy day and for old age will be glad to obtain the advantage of having their savings preserved intact for the day when they need them.

One other reform he proposed lately, which, tho he does not think it a fundamental one, he judges of great importance. This is the nationalization of commerce, the doing away with all middlemen, and effecting direct exchange of products through a State department, that monopolizes it just as letter-delivery is monopolized by another department. He desires to restrict individualism to production where competition is a stimulating element, whereas it only produces waste in distribution. This system would allow the introduction of another reform which is possible in this way—a money reform. Exchange could take place through warrants issued by the commercial department, or checks drawn on the same, which warrants are redeemable only in goods or services. Metal money would become unnecessary or could be restricted to small coins.

He has introduced the above three reform principles into the by-laws of the Mexican colony, Freeland—*i.e.*, common land ownership, monopolization of commerce (distribution) by the community, and warrant money.

FOOD SUPPLY.—The science of nutrition is yet in its infancy. The chemical standards of nutrition have been mainly investigated by Professor Voit and others in Germany, by Sir Lyon Playfair in England, by Professor W. O. Atwater, Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, and Mr. Edward Atkinson in the United States. (See references at the end of this article.) The statistics of the nutritive values of food have been clearly presented by Professor Atwater, while Mr. Atkinson's invention of the Aladdin lamp has almost revolutionized the science of cookery, and is slowly coming into general practice. The following tables and account are abridged from the tables of Professor Atwater and the writings of Mr. Atkinson:

The animal body is a living machine, and, like any machine, needs fuel—*i.e.*, food—to enable it to work, and also, as a machine does not, it needs fuel to keep it alive even without work. About one third of the food eaten goes to maintain life. The main nutriments of the body are protein,* fats, and carbohydrates. What is

* Some chemists deny that there is a substance *protein*, but merely various *proteid* substances.

called protein forms tissue (muscles, tendon, fat, etc.), and serves as fuel. Fats form fatty tissue, and serve as fuel. Carbohydrates are transformed into fat, and serve as fuel. Alcohol serves as fuel, but does not form tissue. Tea and coffee do neither. The standard of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work is 700 grams of actual nutritive and digestible material free of water, 450 of carbohydrates or starch, 150 of fats, 150 of protein, with such

mineral ingredients as will be found in any miscellaneous dietary in sufficient measure. These elements will yield 3,520 calories, the calorie being the amount of heat necessary to raise one kilo or 1000 grams of water 1° C. In order to make allowances for inevitable waste, we may safely adopt 4000 calories as the average units of nutrition for a man at active but not excessive work for one day.

STANDARDS FOR DAILY DIETARIES.

	Protein.	Fats.	Carbo- hydrates.	Total.	Potential Energy.
	Grams.	Grams.	Grams.	Grams.	Calories.*
Children to 1½ years.....	28	37	75	180	765
“ 2-6 “.....	55	40	200	295	1,420
“ 6-15 “.....	75	43	325	443	2,040
Aged woman.....	80	50	250	390	1,860
“ man.....	100	68	350	518	2,475
German woman at moderate work.....	92	44	400	536	2,425
“ man at moderate work.....	118	156	500	674	3,055
“ “ hard work.....	145	100	450	695	3,370
English “ moderate exercise.....	119	51	531	701	3,140
“ active laborer.....	156	71	568	795	3,630
“ hard-worked laborer.....	185	71	568	824	3,750
American woman at light exercise.....	80	80	300	460	2,300
“ man at light exercise.....	100	100	360	560	2,815
“ “ moderate work.....	125	125	450	700	3,520
“ “ hard work.....	150	140	500	800	4,060

* A calorie is nearly the amount of heat required to raise two quarts of water 1° F.

PERCENTAGES OF NUTRITIVE INGREDIENTS, WATER, ETC., AND ESTIMATED POTENTIAL ENERGY IN FOOD MATERIALS.

EDIBLE PORTIONS OF FOOD.	Water.	Protein.	Fats.	Carbo- hydrates.	Mineral Matters.	Calories of Potential Power in 1 lb.
Beef, side.....	54.7	45.3	27.1	.....	1.0	1,465
“ round.....	66.7	33.3	9.0	.....	1.3	805
“ sirloin.....	60.0	40.0	19.0	.....	1.0	1,175
Mutton, side.....	45.9	54.1	38.7	.....	0.7	1,905
“ leg.....	51.8	38.2	19.0	.....	0.9	1,140
Codfish.....	82.6	15.8	0.4	.....	1.2	310
Mackerel, average.....	71.6	18.8	8.2	.....	1.4	695
Oysters, average.....	87.1	4.2	1.2	3.7	2.0	230
Eggs.....	73.1	6.0	11.7	0.4	1.0	760
Corn meal.....	87.4	3.4	3.7	4.8	0.7	310
Butter.....	10.0	1.0	85.0	0.5	3.5	3,615
Oleomargarine.....	10.0	0.6	84.5	0.4	4.5	3,585
Wheat, bread.....	32.7	8.9	1.9	55.5	1.0	1,280
“ flour.....	11.6	11.1	1.1	75.6	0.6	1,650
Graham “.....	13.0	11.7	1.7	71.8	1.8	1,625
Rye “.....	13.1	6.7	6.7	78.7	0.7	1,620
Buckwheat flour.....	13.5	6.5	1.3	77.6	1.1	1,620
Beans.....	13.7	23.2	2.1	57.1	3.6	1,885
Oatmeal.....	7.7	15.1	7.1	68.1	2.0	1,845
Corn (maize) meal.....	14.5	9.1	3.8	71.0	1.6	1,650
Rice.....	12.4	7.4	0.4	79.4	0.4	1,630
Sugar.....	2.2	0.3	.....	96.7	0.8	1,800
Potatoes.....	75.5	2.0	0.2	21.3	1.0	440
Turnips.....	91.2	1.0	0.2	6.9	0.7	155
Carrots.....	87.9	1.0	0.2	10.1	0.8	215
Cabbage.....	90	1.9	0.2	6.2	1.2	170
Melons.....	95.2	1.1	0.6	2.5	0.6	90
Apples.....	84.8	0.4	.....	14.3	0.5	275
Pears.....	83	0.4	.....	16.3	0.3	310
Bananas.....	73.1	1.9	0.6	23.3	1.1	495
Lager beer.....	93	0.4	2.0	5.8	0.2	.....
Porter and ale.....	88.1	0.6	5.1	6.8	0.4	.....
Rhine wine (red).....	86.9	.....	9.3	0.3	0.3	.....
French wine.....	88.3	.....	8.1	0.2	0.2	.....
Sherry “.....	79.5	.....	17.0	3.2	0.3	.....

COST OF 3000 CALORIES OBTAINED FROM DIFFERENT FOOD MATERIALS.

Suet at 6 cts. a lb.	\$4.40
Potatoes at 30 cts. a bush.	5.00
Corn meal at 3 cts. a lb.	5.43
Flour at 4 cts. a lb.	7.20
Sugar at 6 cts. a lb.	10.41
Beef from shin and flank at 4 cts. a lb.	12.00
Sausage, bacon, and ham at 12-12½ cts. a lb.	12.73
Beans and peas at 10 cts. a quart.	13.86
Rice at 8 cts. a lb.	15.69
Skimmed milk at 2 cts. a quart.	17.31
Apples at 4 cts. a quart.	27.39
Butter at 35 cts. a lb.	30.74
Milk at 7 cts. a quart.	34.74
Cheese at 14 cts. a lb.	36.33
Vegetables at 5 cts. a lb.	61.50
Beef, medium fat, with 15 per cent. bone, at 15¾ cts. per lb.	100.00
Eggs at 18 cts.	106.50

From the above table, it is clearly evident that suet, corn meal, and flour are, at present prices, the cheapest kinds of food; but it must not be supposed that the above table teaches that we could live on single articles of food—suet alone, for example—notwithstanding it would furnish the necessary energy, and is cheap. With the exception of wheat, milk, eggs, and possibly one or two other articles, no single food contains all the elements in the right proportion. We need what are called nitrogenous foods, among which may be mentioned wheat, lean meats, peas and beans. We also need energy-producing foods, among which may be mentioned suet, butter, flour, corn meal, potatoes, sugar, etc. Besides these, we still need mineral matter, usually obtained in proper amount from the meats and vegetables, water and air, as well as flavors which make things taste good.

With this knowledge of the elements of nutrition necessary, and of their relative economic value, it is possible in a somewhat scientific way to provide for the food supply of the population. In every city and town much food material goes to waste for lack of time, and still more for lack of knowledge in preparing wholesome dishes. The need is, therefore, being felt of a central station or kitchen to prepare food on scientific principles, and distribute it daily by sale, as bread and milk are distributed. In several foreign countries, notably Germany, people's kitchens have been established. In 1890 there were 14 *Volksküche* in Berlin, which served 2,187,807 meals at noon, or 6000 per day, 423 to each kitchen. Eighty per cent of the meals cost 6¼ cents each; 14 per cent. cost 1½ cents, and 6 per cent. cost 3¼ cents. The cost of running each kitchen was \$6500 per year, but the oversight was voluntary. The 6¼-cent meals contained the right proportions, and consisted of a pint and a half of soup, and three pieces of meat or fish weighing 6¼ oz. The dishes prepared are mainly beans, peas, and cabbage, with meats of different kinds. In January, 1890, an attempt at the wholesale preparation of food was begun in Boston under the direction of Mrs. Hinman Abel. "The Story of the New England Kitchen" has been interestingly told, and branches have been opened in Providence, New York, and elsewhere. (See also **COOKING SCHOOLS.**)

This point of view leads to the question of

the available food supply of nations. Mr. Atkinson, in an address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Ann Arbor, August, 1885, argued that the available supply is all but unlimited. He said: "The so-called law of population, that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence has no foundation historically, practically, nor theoretically. The Ricardian theory of rent will have no basis whatever." To support this statement, he argued for the United States as follows:

Available Supply of Food.

"The area of the United States, omitting Alaska, is a trifle less than 3,000,000 square miles. In a broad and general way we may assume that one half this area is good arable land, or quarter good pasture land, and one quarter forest, mountain and mining territory. If 112,500 square miles be used for Indian corn, at 25 bushels to an acre, it would produce 1,800,000,000 bushels. This is largely converted into pork at the rate of five pounds of corn to one pound of pork. Assuming 100,000,000 bushels thus converted and the rest used for human or cattle food, the product of pork would be nearly equal to 18,500,000 casks or its equivalent in bacon; 60,000,000 square miles used for wheat, at 13 bushels per acre, yields a little over 500,000,000 bushels. Setting aside an ample portion for seed, this gives over 80,000,000 persons one barrel of flour per year; 20,000,000 acres of cotton, at the wretched average of half a bale to an acre, would yield 6,400,000 bales in a year; 40,000 square miles for sheep pasturage, when the cur dog is muzzled, could easily sustain 102,400,000 sheep, or four sheep to the acre, which at only four pounds each would yield as much wool as we now consume of all kinds, both domestic and foreign; with 60,000 square miles for pasturage, at one cow to two acres (and if to the fodder be added a meal from the cotton, until recently almost wasted, a cow could be supported on one acre), we could increase our rations of milk, eggs, butter and cheese, and still sustain 10,200,000 cows. A large proportion of our beef is now produced by almost semi-barbarous methods on far distant plains; with fitted forage enough could be raised on 60,000 square miles at 500 pounds to an acre to give nearly one pound of beef to a population of 60,000,000. It follows that our present crops of corn, wheat and cotton (1885) and a very much increased product of the dairy and poultry yard, as well as of meat and wool, could be raised on 352,500 square miles, or upon 12 per cent. of the total area. If *intensive* farming were adopted by men of intelligence and with capital to conduct all parts of the work in a reasonably good way, twice as much could be raised."

In Western Europe, naturally, the food supply is not so good. Europe, outside of Russia and Turkey, has only about one half the area of the United States, and about eight times its population. Great areas of good land, too, in England especially, are thrown out of production by the land system, while the people are fed from fields from 5000 to 15,000 miles distant. The poorer food of the European worker is one chief cause of their lower productivity (*q. v.*). (For statistics as to the amounts and proportion of income spent upon food by the working men of various countries, see **EXPENDITURES.**)

The cost of food in the United States can be seen by table on the next page prepared by Mr. Atkinson.

We close this article by a statement of the revolution created in the science of food by Mr. Atkinson's invention of the Aladdin oven. He says:

"If the present consumption of the country be estimated by the consumption of adult factory operatives, composing a large proportion of females and a lesser proportion of men customarily occupied in or about a cotton factory in the Eastern or Middle States combined, the consumption will be

	Cents per Day	U. S. Population, per Year.
Meat, poultry, and fish per day, $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 lb.....	9.7	\$1,765,000,000
Milk, $\frac{3}{4}$; fresh butter, $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.; cheese, a scrap.....	5	912,300,000
Eggs, 1 every 2 days at 12 cts. per doz.....	5	91,250,000
Cereals.....	2.5	456,000,000
Vegetables.....	1.98	360,500,000
Sugar or syrup.....	1.94	353,000,000
Tea or coffee.....	1.20	185,000,000
Fruit, green or dry.....	.62	113,000,000
Salt, spice, ice.....	.49	89,000,000
Total.....	23.93	\$4,325,250,000

"It occurred to me one day that heat could be put into a box, kept there, and converted into work—the work of cooking. What sort of a box? An iron box? No; iron will not hold the heat; it wastes it, and seems to cook the cook and not the victuals. The ovens of stoves and ranges are iron boxes, and are, therefore, not fit to be used. Why should the iron boxes which make the ovens of iron stoves and ranges be ventilated? Because, in order to cook food in them at all, such an excess of heat must be supplied that they become fat boilers, or fat-rendering machines; the foul smells generated in this process are not wanted in any house. . . . In the Aladdin oven, the heat is put into an outer oven made of non-metallic and non-heat-conducting material, which is, in fact, a form of stiff paper made from wood pulp combined with other substances. Inside is a food receptacle nearly as large as the outer oven, made of sheet metal. The heat passes around the thin iron wall of the inner oven, through which it penetrates in even measure. This inner oven is closed, so that the products of combustion and the direct drying heat of the lamp cannot enter it. It cooks any and all kinds of food material by processes corresponding to roasting, baking, simmering, stewing, braising, sautéing, broiling, and grilling. It can make omelets or griddle cakes, and with a lamp or gas burner of high power can fry. Breakfast for a family of eight or ten can be prepared more quickly in usual forms in this oven by the use of a single lamp than it can be when it is necessary to have a fire in the common stove or range. The cooking of oatmeal, cracked wheat, hominy, soups, meats, stews, and many kinds of fruit can all be done safely and thoroughly at night. Dieteries for foods cooked in this way are prepared, providing for the necessary elements of customary nutrition, at prices from 95 cents to \$2 per week. At present the price of life to about nine-tenths of the people of this land of abundance comes to one half or more of their income. At \$52 per year, the food necessary to sustain 50,000,000 adults, the equivalent of a population of 65,000,000, could be had for \$3,250,000,000."

The Aladdin Oven.

Revised by EDWARD ATKINSON.

References: *The Science of Nutrition* (1892), including *A Treatise upon the Science*, by Edward Atkinson; *Dieteries Carefully Computed*, by Mrs. Ellen H. Richards; *The Nutritive Values of Food Materials* (enlarged in subsequent editions), collated from the writings of Professor W. O. Atwater. See also a series of articles by Professor Atwater in the *Century*, May, 1887, to May, 1888.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE may be defined as the rate at which bills of exchange or drafts in one country upon another are exchanged between the two countries. If the bills of exchange drawn in one country on another country equal those drawn in that other country upon it, the exchange between the two countries is said to be at par; but when greater in one country than in the other, the exchange is said to be against that place which has the larger remittances to make.

Professor J. E. Symonds (*Political Economy*, p. 152) gives the following popular explanation:

"As a rule, it is in goods and not in money that nations pay for whatever they import. Suppose that of three countries (A, B, and C), A imported goods to the value of £1,000,000 from B, and B imported goods to the same value from C, and C from A. If the imports were paid for in gold, it would be necessary to send £3,000,000 in gold to discharge the liabilities, and, in the end, it would be found that each country had neither more nor less of gold than at the beginning; for each would have sent and received £1,000,000. The cost and risk of sending all this bullion could evidently be avoided if all the debtors had paid in their debts to some merchant in their own country, and that merchant had then paid the creditors in that country. This is what is practically done, only that instead of a single merchant in each country acting as intermediary, the work is done by various bill-brokers, who buy and sell bills of exchange, which are practically orders to pay, drawn on the several debtors by their creditors. People get what is due to them by selling such bills to a broker; they pay what they owe by buying similar bills. The broker gets a small commission, and the debts are discharged without any bullion passing from country to country. Hitherto we have been speaking of countries which owe the same amount, that they are entitled to receive, tho their debtors and creditors may be very unequally distributed among foreign countries. In practice, of course, this equality of debts and claims seldom exists, and we have next to ask what modifications of the system are introduced in consequence of the inequality. Let us suppose the total debts due from English to Australian merchants amount to £7,000,000, and the total due from Australians to Englishmen amount to £5,000,000. If we exclude from consideration all other countries, we see that it is possible to cancel £5,000,000 of English indebtedness against the Australian indebtedness in the manner we have described above. This would save the cost and risk of sending £12,000,000 half round the world; but there are still £2,000,000 to be sent. . . . In practice the amount would be sent by English brokers; but they would charge a premium, in addition to their commission, in return for the service they were rendering to the English debtors; on the other hand, the brokers would be willing to pay some premium to each Australian debtor who buys from them, for such a bill diminishes the amount of the balance that has to be sent to Australia. In the case we have mentioned, the rate of exchange is said to be *against* England. The phrase simply means that people must pay a premium for the convenience of bills payable in Australia, in addition to the broker's commission and the nominal value of the bill, and the explanation of this necessity lies in the fact that they are increasing the amount of bullion that has to be sent half round the world. . . .

"The rate of exchange, as explained above, is due to the balance of indebtedness. If, however, the currency of either country is debased (say, by the use of unconvertible paper), there will of course be a modification of the rate of exchange, since the nominal debt, reckoned in the debased currency, will be greater than if it were reckoned in gold. It is therefore usual to employ the expression *real exchange* for that which grows out of the balance of indebtedness; and to speak of the *nominal exchange* when referring to variations due to the condition of the currency.

"If the relation between two countries were simply that of buying and selling, and if all payments were made in bullion, each country's imports and exports would be of the same value. This is implied in the very nature of a sale. If the only relation between England and America was that we bought cotton and meat to the value of £5,000,000, and sold steel rails to the value of £3,000,000; and if the excess were paid for in gold, it is evident that exactly £2,000,000 would have to be sent in gold. In other words, a country's imports, including bullion, are exactly equal to its exports, so far as these grow simply out of direct sales. But as a matter of fact we do not find this equality. The imports of the United Kingdom greatly exceed its exports. Taking, for instance, the year 1886, we find that the excess was over £80,000,000. In 1883 it was over £120,000,000; and altho the excess varies from year to year, it always amounts to a gigantic sum. Many people regard this fact with alarm. They say, in effect: 'We are in the position of a man living beyond his income, of a manufacturer who habitually buys more than he can sell. We must be either running into debt, or steadily trenching upon our capital.' In reality, however, we are doing neither of these things. A manufacturer may buy more than he sells, and yet not be advancing toward ruin. His income

Excess of Imports over Exports.

may be partly derived from gifts (say from a son in the colonies), and partly from the interest on some capital he has invested, and partly from the remuneration for services he is rendering (say in carrying the goods of some other tradesman). Now England is in the position of such a manufacturer. . . . In order to make this clearer, let us take in turns the three sources of income we have referred to :

"(1) *Gifts*.—A youth has crossed the Atlantic and prospered as a colonist. He sends £200 a year to the old folks at home. He sends it in the form of a bit of paper, which is in effect an order on some English banker. But, as we have already seen, it is by no means certain that any gold will be sent from America to pay the remittance. It may be more profitable to send cotton. This ranks, of course, as an import into the United Kingdom, and accounts for a portion of that excess which some people regard with horror. In reality it is a free gift, a pure increase to the wealth of England.

"(2) *Interest on foreign investments*.—The same considerations apply to this source of national income. Englishmen have invested money in foreign railways. They receive their interest nominally in money. But what actually comes to England may be any of the products of the indebted country. It swells the excess of imports, and is an enriching, not an impoverishing of the country.

"(3) *Payment for services not embodied in commodities*.—This item is more analogous to ordinary trade. When a country sends exports to pay for imports, it is really exchanging services for services. There is a similar exchange when the services rendered by either country are not embodied in commodities. Suppose America sent us not only cotton, and received from us only cotton goods, but that the trade was all carried on by Englishmen, in English vessels, it is plain that the cotton would have to remunerate not only our manufacturers, but also our shipbuilders and sailors. There would be an excess of imports over exports."

The main causes for fluctuations in exchange value are the balance of trade between different countries. If dealers in one country, A, sell in another, B, goods of more value than dealers in B sell in A, the balance of trade is said to be against B. Consequently quotations in A for the notes of B declines. But B may owe another country, C, money in trade, and C may owe A. Hence bills of C drawn on B may be sent to A, and so the former depression of the money of B in A is balanced by the depression of the money of A in B. Foreign exchanges thus play a large part in settling the debts of one country to another.

Again, money goes where it is of greatest value. If the discount in one country rises, money tends to go there. If in any country there is lack of confidence, money is sent away for safe keeping. If in any country merchandise and securities are depressed, money tends to go there to purchase them unless there is too great a lack of confidence.

Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy* gives the following axioms as controlling the rate of exchange :

"(1) The current rate of exchange is the price of a bill of exchange. (2) This is governed by the ordinary laws of supply and demand. (3) The rate of exchange at A for checks on B tend to correspond with the rate at B for checks on A. (4) Most bills are drawn at usance, varying from 30 days to six months, and the usual exchange quotation applies to bills at usance. (5) As the bills on London vastly outnumber those drawn on abroad from London, the demand and supply of the former exercises a proportionately greater influence over the course of the exchange—i.e., the actual rise or fall takes place on the foreign market, and London usually merely adjusts its rates by the telegraphed quotations. (6) In those countries where the value of the currency oscillates in relation to gold, the exchange is subject to two sets of fluctuations, the fluctuations of exchange proper and the fluctuations in the value of the currency. See VALUE; GOLD; SILVER.

FORESTRY is the art of planting, cultivating, and maintaining forests. The important part played by wood in modern life, coupled with the fact that the supply of wood is dependent upon the slow growth of trees, so that the supply for one generation depends upon the action taken by a preceding generation, makes it unsafe to leave forestry to the play of individual interests. Consequently all civilized governments appoint forestry commissions or departments to see that existing forests are not wasted, and the supply carefully maintained. In the United States, with our once seemingly inexhaustible supply, little in this direction has been done until recently, and even now those who are informed declare that we have as yet by no means taken adequate measures.

According to the chief of the Forestry Division of the Department of Agriculture, the total forest area of the United States (exclusive of Alaska and Indian reservations) is 495,000,000 acres. He states that at the present rate of cutting, the remainder of forest land in the United States cannot long meet the enormous demands on its resources. Of the two most important timbers for building purposes, the merchantable white pine of the Northwest and of New England is practically gone, very little remaining, and there remains of the merchantable long-leaf pine of the South only about 1,500,000,000 cu. ft. The valuable ash will probably be the first to be exhausted. Walnut and tulip trees are also on the wane.

The present annual requirements for consumption of forest products in the United States are, approximately, over 24,000,000,000 cu. ft., made up of the following items : Lumber market and manufactures, 5,000,000,000 cu. ft. ; railroad construction, 600,000,000 cu. ft. ; charcoal, 250,000,000 cu. ft. ; fences, 500,000,000 cu. ft. ; fuel, 18,000,000,000 cu. ft. ; mining timber, 150,000,000 cu. ft.

According to Mr. J. E. Jones, writing in the *Cosmopolitan*, not less than 45,000,000 acres are cut over annually. Fires, however, are the worst foes of American forests. They have been estimated to destroy \$12,000,000 of woods annually. In 1894 this is said to have been lost in Minnesota and Wisconsin alone. Railroads have done much harm cutting timber right and left. Settlers have taken much in spite of various congressional laws. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.) An American Forestry Association (formerly Congress), composed of delegates from all the States, was founded in 1881 and meets annually.

By act of March 3, 1891, the President is authorized to make public forest reservations. Seventeen such, comprising 17,500,000 acres, have been established in Colorado, New Mexico, California, Arizona, Wyoming, Oregon, Washington, and others are under consideration. A bill to provide a systematic forest administration for these was passed in both houses of the last Congress, but failed to become law.

Some of the States have passed forestry laws, and arbor days (*q.v.*) have been generally established ; yet by no means is enough being done. Germany, France, and Switzerland are largely increasing their government forest lands, and they bring in considerable revenue.

References: *A Monograph of the American Economic Association* in May, 1891; also Reports of the Department of Agriculture.

FOUNDLING HOSPITALS.—In ancient times infanticide, at least by exposure, was frequent. Aristotle and Pliny the elder defended it. Institutions for the rescuing of exposed children do not seem to have been wholly unknown, but the first foundling hospital, or hospital for the receipt of infants abandoned by their parents, appears to have been established by the bishop at Treves in the sixth century. The first authenticated one is that at Milan, probably established in obedience to Article LXX. of the Council of Nice. This was copied elsewhere, the usual way being to receive the infants in a marble basin in front of the cathedral. In the Middle Ages, foundling hospitals existed in all the large continental cities, tho the system was early abolished in Germany. In France it was early condemned as leading to vice, but defended as preventing infanticide, and continued. The revolutionary government of France in 1790 called such children *enfants de la patrie*, and decreed that every pregnant girl should receive a premium of \$24. This was abolished in 1811, but foundling hospitals maintained. They exist in large numbers in France and Spain, and to a less extent in other countries. Those in Russia are the largest. The medieval device long used in France, and perhaps still used there in some parts of the country, consisted of a double cradle. When the child had been placed in the cradle on the outside of the building, the contrivance was revolved, ringing a bell as it turned. By this process the child was placed in the institution and another cradle was waiting at once for the next comer. The purpose of these "*tours*" was to make it so easy to get rid of babies that there might be no temptation to infanticide. The agitation for the abolition of this system of admission was bitterly resisted, Lamartine speaking of it as a case of "*figures vs. humanity.*" When the *tours* had been suppressed in some of the departments, attention was called to the fact that infanticide increased thereafter. But further examination of the statistics showed that infanticide had also increased in those departments where the *tours* were still in operation; in fact, it had increased faster in the latter than in the former. From 1869-73 there were received 5076 infants, of whom 2037 died.

A cradle was formerly placed in the vestibule, in which infants could be placed without observation from those inside. At last, however, they began to come two or three in a single night; so now the cradle is put inside the door, and an applicant must ring the bell. If a mother brings her child, she is asked to stay and nurse her child and another. If she refuses, she is allowed to depart without further question, leaving the infant. Perhaps a majority of foundling hospitals in the United States make no adequate investigation as to the parenthood. The general opinion of those most scientifically studying the care of dependent children is growing strongly against foundling hospitals and in favor of receiving abandoned or needy children and placing them in families.

The Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy

and Charity, following the example of the Massachusetts Infant Asylum, boards out infants in the country villages about Boston, placing them with women who bring them up by artificial feeding. About \$10 per month is paid for the board of each child, and clothing is furnished by the officials. (See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.)

FOURIER AND FOURIERISM.—François Charles Marie Fourier was born at Besançon in 1772. Well educated and much traveled, but losing his property in the Revolution, he served two years in the army, and later entered business in Lyons. In 1803 he published an article on European politics. Becoming interested in social questions, he published anonymously his *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements* (2 vols., 1808). He believed that the full indulgence of human nature, with all its passions, would produce happiness and virtue. Society he would harmoniously organize in groups (phalanxes) of 1600 persons, to inhabit a phalanstery, a certain proportion to do one kind of work, others other kinds, and to regulate their time so as to harmoniously develop all sides of life. In 1812 the death of his mother put him in possession of a small sum of money, with which he retired to Bellay in order to perfect his second work. The *Traité de l'Association Agricole Domestique* was published in two volumes at Paris in 1822, and a summary appeared in the following year. After its publication, the author proceeded to Paris in the hope that some wealthy capitalist might be induced to attempt the realization of the projected scheme. Later, he became in Paris clerk in an American firm. In 1829 he published *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel*. In 1831 he attacked the school of St. Simon (*q.v.*). He now began to gain followers, particularly Victor Considérant (*q.v.*), who published in 1834 his *Destinée Sociale*, the most important work of this school. In 1832 a newspaper was attempted, and, with many interruptions, published, till it was suppressed in 1850. In 1832 Baudet Dulary became a convert, and proceeded to establish a phalanstery at Condé sur Vesgre, but it soon failed.

Not discouraged, Fourier lived in the expectation that some rich man would appear and carry out his ideas. He announced that he would be at home every day at a certain hour to receive the rich man, and is said to have done so each day till his death in 1837.

Fourierism has been frequently described, sometimes in ridicule, sometimes in admiration. Henry James, Sr., says of Fourier's writings:

"Every one who trusts in a living and therefore active God, in that God who is quite as active and original in our day as He was 6000 years ago—in short, every one whose hope for humanity is alert, behooves to acquaint himself forthwith with the marvelous literature of socialism. You will doubtless find things of an apostolic hardness to the understanding; you will find many things to startle, many things perhaps to disgust you; but you will find vastly more, both in the way of criticism and of constructive science, to satisfy and invigorate your understanding, while such glimpses will open on every hand of God's ravishing harmonies yet to ensue on earth, that your imagination will fairly ache with contentment and plead to be let off."

John Stuart Mill says (*Political Economy*, Book II., chap. i., sec. 4):

"The most skilfully combined, and with the greatest foresight of objections, of all the forms of socialism, is that commonly known as Fourierism. This system does not contemplate the abolition of private property, nor even of inheritance; on the contrary, it avowedly takes into consideration; as an element in the distribution of the produce, capital as well as labor. It proposes that the operations of industry should be carried on by associations of about 2000 members, combining their labor on a district of about a square league in extent, under the guidance of chiefs selected by themselves. In the distribution, a certain minimum is first assigned for the subsistence of every member of the community, whether capable or not of labor. The remainder of the produce is shared in certain proportions, to be determined beforehand, among the three elements, labor, capital, and talent. The capital of the community may be owned in unequal shares by different members, who would in that case receive, as in any other joint-stock company, the proportional dividends. The claim of each person on the share of the produce apportioned to talent is estimated by the grade or rank which the individual occupies in the several groups of laborers to which he or she belongs, these grades being in all cases conferred by the choice of his or her companions. The remuneration, when received, would not of necessity be expended or enjoyed in common; there would be separate *ménages* for all who preferred them, and no other community of living is contemplated than that all the members of the association should reside in the same pile of buildings, for saving of labor and expense, not only in building, but in every branch of domestic economy; and in order that, the whole of the buying and selling operations of the community being performed by a single agent, the enormous portion of the produce of industry now carried off by the profits of mere distributors might be reduced to the smallest amount possible.

Fourierism. According to the Fourierists, scarcely any kind of useful labor is naturally and necessarily disagreeable, unless it is either regarded as dishonorable, or is immoderate in degree, or destitute of the stimulus of sympathy and emulation. Excessive toil need not, they contend, be undergone by any one, in a society in which there would be no idle class and no labor wasted, as so enormous an amount of labor is now wasted, in useless things, and where full advantage would be taken of the power of association, both in increasing the efficiency of production and in economizing consumption. The other requisites for rendering labor attractive would, they think, be found in the execution of all labor by social groups, to any number of which the same individual might simultaneously belong, at his or her own choice; their grade in each being determined by the degree of service which they were found capable of rendering, as appreciated by the suffrages of their comrades. It is inferred, from the diversity of tastes and talents, that every member of the community would be attached to several groups, employing themselves in various kinds of occupation, some bodily, others mental, and would be capable of occupying a high place in some one or more; so that a real equality, or something more nearly approaching to it than might at first be supposed, would practically result: not from the compression, but, on the contrary, from the largest possible development, of the various natural superiorities residing in each individual.

"Even from so brief an outline, it must be evident that this system does no violence to any of the general laws by which human action, even in the present imperfect state of moral and intellectual cultivation, is influenced, and that it would be extremely rash to pronounce it incapable of success, or unfitted to realize a great part of the hopes founded on it by its partisans."

Says Professor R. T. Ely (*French and German Socialism*, p. 91-94):

"The central idea of Fourier's social scheme is association. The all-pervading attraction which he discovered draws man to man and reveals the will of God. It is passionate attraction—*attraction passionnelle*. It urges men to union. This law of attraction is universal and eternal, but men have thrown obstacles in its way so that it has not had free course. Consequently, we have been driven into wrong and abnormal paths. When we return to right ways—

His System. when we follow the directions given us by attraction, as indicated in our twelve passions or desires—universal harmony will again reign. Economic

goods—an indispensable condition of human development—will be obtained in abundance. Products will be increased manifold, owing, first, to the operation of the passion to labor and to benefit society; secondly, to the economy of associated effort.

"A social organization must be formed which will allow free play to our passions, so that they may combine harmoniously. Our present society, called civilization, does not, and cannot, do this. It is a system of oppression and repression, and is necessarily a frightful discord. Harmony can only be found in combinations of suitable numbers in communities known as phalanxes, and occupying buildings called phalansteries. Each phalanx is a unit, a great family, and dwells in a single building, a phalanstery. What is it that determines the proper number for a single phalanx? It is again the twelve passions of man. These can be combined in 820 different ways in as many individuals, and no possible combination ought to be unrepresented in the workers of any phalanx, or there will be a lack of perfect harmony. But in every community there will be found old men, infants, and those disabled on account of illness or accident. Provision must also be made for absences. There ought not, then, to be less than 1500 or 1600 members in a phalanx, tho 400 is mentioned as a possible but undesirable minimum; 1800 to 2000 members are recommended. A larger number would produce discord, and is, therefore, inadmissible. But a further arrangement is necessary. These different characters thrown together helter-skelter would no more produce harmony than it would for one blindfolded to draw from a bag 2000 combinations of notes for the piano and play them in the order in which they were drawn. On the contrary, they must be ordered intelligently in series, the series combined into groups, and the groups into the phalanx."

But when Fourier fell to arranging his phalanx he let his ideas run away with him into amusing absurdities. He maintained that if England would introduce his phalanxes her labor would become so productive that she could pay off her national debt in six months by the sale of hens' eggs. He would divide the time in his phalanxes into fixed mathematical divisions, allotting certain periods for study, for work, for amusements, for love-making, etc. He thought that his mathematical harmonies enabled him to understand the world and the universe. The chief of a phalanx is a unarch. The next highest officer is at the head of three or four phalanxes, and is called a duarch. Triarchs, tetrarchs, pentarchs, etc., follow; while the highest officer of the world is the omniarch, who dwells at Constantinople, the capital of the world.

The duration of the human race on earth, he held, would be 80,000 years, divided into two periods of ascending and two of descending vibrations. Lions would be taught to draw wagons, as a symbol of the victory of man over nature. His conception of the relation of the sexes, altho giving vent to some noble thoughts about the freedom of woman, was, to say the least, contrary to conventional views, and, according to some, utterly gross and immoral. Such are some of the fantasies that mingled with Fourier's profound thoughts. On his tombstone were inscribed words which were considered to give the key to his whole system:

"Les attractions sont proportionelle aux destinies, La serie distribue les harmonies."

Fourierism from 1840-50 swept over the United States like a wave. Brisbane presented its ideas in his *Social Destiny of Man*. Horace Greeley opened the columns of the *New York Tribune* to its teachings. Phalanxes were organized by the dozen. The North American phalanx had a capital of \$8000, and endured twelve

years. Brook Farm (*q.v.*) became a Fourierite phalanx. By 1855, however, all had disappeared. The Familistère at Guise, erected by Godin (*q.v.*) in France, is the only existing monument of Fourierism save the ideas in his works. (See SOCIALISM.)

FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.—

Referring the reader to various articles for details, we give here a summary of statistical information, and of the development of social reform in France.

I. STATISTICS.

France, a republic since the overthrow of Napoleon III., September 4, 1870, vests its executive power in a President and Ministry, and its legislative power in a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The President is elected for seven years by the Senate and Deputies united. He selects his Ministry from the Chamber, and appoints to all civil and military posts. With the consent of the Senate he can dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. The deputies are elected for four years by the votes of all males over 21 who have resided six months in one commune. (See ELECTIONS.)

Constitution. The Chamber has 584 deputies, representing, in 1893, 10,446,178 inscribed electors. The Senate has 300 members elected for nine years from citizens 40 years old, one third retiring every third year. They are chosen by an electoral body of delegates of the municipal council of each commune and the deputy councilors, general and district councilors. The Senate and Chamber assemble every January, and must remain in session at least 5 months out of 12. Senators and deputies are paid \$800 per year, with free travel on State railways. France is divided into 87 departments (3 in Algeria), with 36,144 communes. The commune is under a municipal council and each department under a prefect, who represents the executive and must approve all acts of the council. Each municipal council elects a mayor, who is, however, under the prefect. Paris (*q.v.*) has no mayor, tho each *arrondissement* (division) has a *maire*. The *arrondissement* is a district (562 in France) with an elected *conseil d'arrondissement*.

The population, April 21, 1891, was 38,243,192 on an area of 204,092 sq.m. According to the *Annuaire de l'Economie Politique et de la Statistique* for 1895 (p. 15), the marriages, divorces, and relation of births to deaths was as follows:

YEAR.	Marriages.	Divorces.	Births.	Excess of Births over Deaths.
1887.....	277,060	3,636	899,333	56,536
1888.....	276,848	4,708	882,639	44,772
1889.....	272,934	4,786	880,579	85,646
1890.....	269,332	5,457	838,059	—38,446*
1891.....	285,458	5,752	866,377	—10,505*
1892.....	290,319	5,772	855,847	—20,041*
1893.....	287,294	6,184	874,672	7,146

* — indicates excess of deaths over births.

According to the same authority (p. 20), the following was the population in 1891, according to occupations:

OCCUPATION.	Employers and Employed.	Population.
Agriculture.....	6,535,599	17,435,888
Industry.....	4,548,098	9,532,560
Commerce.....	1,738,631	3,961,496
Public service.....	561,875	715,624
Public administration.....	240,269	699,611
Professions.....	527,976	1,114,873
Living on income.....	1,075,811	2,169,750
Unclassified.....		1,304,250

OCCUPATION.	Em-ployers.	Clerks, etc.	Work-men.
Agriculture.....	3,570,016	75,400	2,800,183
Industry.....	1,021,659	207,222	3,319,217
Commerce.....	879,969	378,318	480,344
Transport.....	62,501	138,707	245,979

In 1881 there were in France 29,201,703 Roman Catholics, 692,800 Protestants, and 7,684,906 who declined to make declaration of belief. In the budget for 1896 the State allows \$52,000 to the Administration for religion; \$8,431,395 to Roman Catholics; \$308,380 to Protestants, and \$13,506 to Jews. There are 17 archbishops and 67 bishops; 42,347 ecclesiastical officials were paid by the State in 1894. At the end of 1892 there were 55,600 secular clergy (including teachers). In 1894 there were 638 pastors of the Reformed Church and 62 Lutheran. (For EDUCATION, PAUPERISM, ARMY, see those articles.) The courts are justices of the peace, police courts, police correctional courts, courts of assizes (with 12 jurors), 26 courts of appeal, and 1 court of cassation. All judges are nominated by the President. For further details on this phase of the subject see general article on CRIME.

Religion.

The budget for 1896 is as follows:

REVENUE.	Francs.
Land tax:	
Land.....	118,607,919
Buildings.....	80,042,227
Personal property.....	90,470,476
Doors and windows.....	58,425,474
Trade licenses.....	125,580,402
Tax "d'avertissement".....	1,954,100
Carriages, horses, and other special taxes.....	47,920,585
Registration.....	555,689,500
Stamps.....	188,402,500
Customs.....	469,270,230
Other indirect taxes.....	588,343,000
Tax of 4 per cent. on movables.....	66,220,000
Sugar.....	196,473,000
Tobacco monopoly.....	376,301,800
Posts and telegraphs.....	215,014,359
Domains and forests.....	45,019,420
Various revenues.....	10,318,862
Matches and gunpowder.....	39,059,300
Exceptional resources.....	57,372,575
Receipts <i>d'ordre</i>	64,816,354
Total, Algeria.....	53,015,019
General total.....	3,448,317,993
EXPENDITURES.	
Public debt.....	1,219,792,036
President, Chamber, and Senate.....	13,171,720
Finance.....	19,471,260
Ministries:	
Justice.....	35,320,233
Foreign affairs.....	15,984,800
Interior, France.....	75,786,209
War.....	651,174,820
Marine.....	272,514,898
Colonies.....	79,018,500
Public instruction.....	195,018,342
Fine arts.....	8,148,985
Worship.....	44,125,953
Commerce, industry, posts, telegraphs.....	198,213,197
Agriculture.....	30,115,000
Public works.....	270,639,764
Expenses of Régie, collecting taxes, etc.....	204,669,771
Repayments, etc.....	40,842,000
Total Algeria.....	74,010,620
General total.....	3,447,918,198

For 1804 the estimated ordinary revenue of the communes of France was \$143,818,000, with an expenditure of \$136,330,145, and debt, March 31, 1803, of \$659,383,225. This includes \$609,401,767 revenue, \$60,381,688 expenditure, and \$778,566,603 debt for Paris. The exports from France were, in 1804, \$825,000,000 for special commerce and \$313,000,000 for general commerce and special commerce goods of French origin or (if imported) for French consumption.

Commerce.

The imports for 1804 were \$959,000,000 general and \$770,000,000 special. The chief imports, millions of dollars, in 1804, were: Cereals, \$73,000,000; raw wool, \$673,000,000; oil seeds, \$39,000,000; raw cotton, \$36,000,000; coal, \$34,000,000; timber and wood, \$30,000,000; wine, \$29,000,000. The chief exports were: Woolen textiles, \$48,000,000; wine, \$46,000,000; silks, \$45,000,000; small ware, \$31,000,000. In 1804, \$93,000,000 of the imports were from Great Britain and Ireland, \$74,000,000 from Belgium, \$65,000,000 from the United States, \$62,000,000 from Germany. Of the exports, \$183,000,000 were to Great Britain and Ireland, \$95,000,000 to Belgium, \$65,000,000 to Germany, and \$36,000,000 to the United States.

The mercantile navy had, December 31, 1804, 14,332 sailing vessels and 1196 steamers. See RAILWAYS; TELEGRAPHS; POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS, etc. For French agriculture, see AGRICULTURE. The product of her mines in 1803 was 337,896,000 francs. See also FISHERIES; RAILWAYS, etc.

The number of savings banks (*caisses d'épargne*) in 1803 was 544. Of these, 450 were under the control of the municipal councils; 56 wholly independent. They had 1079 branch offices (*succursales*), and deposits to the value of 3,244,494,413 francs. The postal savings banks had 674,318,599 francs.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Modern social reform in France, as elsewhere, rests upon the past.

Ancient Gaul, more thoroughly Latinized than any other Roman province outside of Italy, fell a rich prize to the Gothic invaders, and they here developed some of their richest cities and strongest States. Only gradually did Paris raise herself above other cities and develop in France a strongly centralized government, a process largely necessary to rescue France from the weakness in which she was left by the long English wars. Yet all through the country lay the traditions of much independence for the communes or townships and local divisions. These communes, especially those of the larger cities, stood repeatedly for their rights, and treated with the king sometimes as all but equals. But the process of centralization went on apace. When, in 1358, the Jacquerie rose, under Étienne Marcel, to battle for constitutional liberty, they were mercilessly put down. The Reformation was suppressed in France for political reasons, and the suppression aided the central government. The court of the Louis became more brilliant, more despotic, more corrupt than any other court in Europe. The result could be but a revolution. The French Revolution (*q.v.*) did only what has been done in all other Western countries—it freed the bourgeoisie. The French Revolution was largely produced by English ideas. The philosophy of Rousseau and still more of the Encyclopedists came from the school of Locke. But it took in

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France, perhaps because of the Gallic character, a more revolutionary and more radical form. The genius of Rousseau, the writings of Mably, of Morelly, of Boissel, of Brissot de Warville, even the land views of the Physiocrats, filled France with new ideals of the rights of man, and with the conception of government as only just when

resting upon the consent of the governed. It is doubtful if the French masses at the time of the Revolution were suffering more than the dwellers in England's manufacturing centers and in her agricultural hamlets during the same period. But the despotism of the Louis gave to the Revolution a violent form. Nowhere else could a Louis say, "I am the State;" nowhere else did absolute monarchy go down in such a whirlpool of passion. The suppression, too, of the French Reformation, the infidelity of the Encyclopedists, the wit of Voltaire, had deprived France of faith. The Revolution came "a truth clad in hell fire," yet a truth, and a necessary one. Napoleon's cannon put down the Revolution, but could not put down ideas. It could only make France the scene of constant revolution and insurrection.

With Louis XVI., in 1792 (guillotined in 1793), the house of Bourbon, which had ruled since 1589, commencing with Henry IV., met its fall, and we have the First Republic. From 1793-95 the Convention ruled; from 1795-99 the Directory; from 1799-1804 Napoleon as Consul. Then came the First Empire, from 1804-14, under Napoleon I. (died 1821). In 1814 the house of Bourbon was restored, with Louis XVIII., 1814-24; Charles X., 1824-30. After the Revolution of 1830 we have the rule of the house of Bourbon-Orleans under Louis Philippe (1830-48). Then comes the Revolution of 1848, and the second Republic, from February to December, 1848, under the Provisional Government; from 1848-52 under Louis Napoleon. In 1852 the empire was restored under Napoleon III., who died in 1873. In 1870 we have the declaration of the third Republic and the government of National Defense, in 1871 the uprising of the Commune, and the presidents Louis A. Thiers (1871-73), Marshal MacMahon (1873-79), F. J. P. Jules Grévy (1879-87), M. F. Sadi Carnot (assassinated June 24, 1893), Casimir Périer (1893-95, resigned), and Felix F. Faure (1895).

Such is the bare chronicle of the constitutional changes that have swept over France during the century. There have been continual smaller changes and uprisings and ministerial crises which we cannot chronicle here. Through them all has gone the struggle for a republicanism more or less modified by the communistic ideas connected with the old communes.

Sixty years before Proudhon, Brissot de Warville, in 1776, the year of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the year of American independence, had declared that property (as ordinarily understood) was theft. Babœuf was the first to battle for communism, in his attempted insurrection of 1797, but held as his ideal an utterly artificial dead equality to be rigidly enforced by the State. Insurrection crushed, thought was the only outlet. We come, therefore, to a long period of utopian socialism. Details of each author and school will be found under their separate names; we do little more than chronicle them here, to bring out the continuity. Fourier in 1808 published his *Théorie des Quatre Mouvements*, with its strange blending of mathematical formulas, of far-reaching thought, and of impractical sug-

Constitutional
Changes.

gestions for artificial association and forced harmonies. It produced in 1834 Considérant's *Destinée Sociale*, and his attempted phalansteries in France and far away in Texas; besides this it led to Godin's famous Familistère at Guise (1859), to the great wave of Fourierist communism that swept over the United States from 1840-50. Meanwhile Saint-Simon, an aristocrat, became revolutionary, dreamed in 1817 of an industrial scientific collectivist State, and in 1825 of a *Neo-Christianity*, a church which should introduce social reform. Calling upon the Pope to lead in this, on his refusal Saint-Simon attempted a "religion" of his own, which Bazard and Enfantin developed into brief popularity and still briefer experiment from 1830-33. In 1840 Cabet published his *Voyage en Icarie*, and the colony to Icaria in America was started in 1843. Meanwhile, Colins, Huet, and others were writing, while from England came the theories of Owen and the reports of Chartism. This long period of utopian socialism was broken by the July Revolution of 1830, and the almost constant attempts of radicals and revolutionists like Blanqui (*q.v.*) to rouse the Paris Commune.

In 1848 the Revolution of that year and the declaration of the republic gave great hopes to the radicals, and the socialists, mainly under the lead of Louis Blanc, demanded government shops for the unemployed. The provisional government nominally yielded, but appointed a committee constructed to procure the mismanagement of the plan—a trick openly denounced by Louis Blanc. (See ATELIERS NATIONAUX.) The election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency and the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, whereby the empire was declared, put an end to the hopes of the socialists till the overthrow of the emperor in 1870, the declaration of the third and present republic. Conceiving it but a sham bourgeois republic, the Commune of Paris rose March 18, 1871, but were eventually defeated by the armies of the National Government. (See PARIS COMMUNE.) Meanwhile, the International had been planted in France, and under the influence of Bakounin, and influenced by the traditions of the old communes, had developed an anarchistic communism. The communards of Paris, scattered after the Commune, declared mainly for anarchism. But after a season some of the leaders became convinced of the impracticability of anarchism, and advocated socialism of the Marxist types. In 1879 amnesty was granted to communards, and Guesde, Brousse, Malon, and others returned Marxist socialists. A strong party was developed for collectivism. The *Égalité*, the *Proletaire*, the *Droits de l'Homme*, more or less formally committed to collectivism, at least spread the thought. The *Cri du Peuple*, founded and edited by Jules Vallès, had, since 1876, favored Socialism. Collectivist ideas began to dominate the trade-unions. General congresses of working men were held at Paris in 1876 and Lyons in 1878, and were largely socialistic. The Congress of 1879 at Marseilles was socialist in everything except name.

But collectivism was not easily to triumph.

French communist anarchism was still strong, and represented by men of ability and standing, like Kropotkin and Reclus, still more by a spirit of intense and fanatic devotion, such as has furnished the modern dynamiters, a Vaillant and a Henri. It had an organ of marked literary ability, *La Révolte*, founded by Kropotkin in Geneva and transferred to Paris; it had a paper, *Le Père Pénard*, written in Parisian argot, and appealing to the workmen of the streets with impassioned violence. Not at once did French socialism clear itself from such anarchism. The socialist movement became divided. The right wing was for bargaining with the political radicals and for practising cooperation, and was hence called Opportunist or Cooperatist; the left wing worked with the anarchists; only the center was for Marxian collectivism. In 1880, at the Congress at Havre, division became open. The majority favoring independent political collectivist agitation, the right wing, which desired to work through existing political groups, defected, and formed the Alliance Socialiste Républicaine, and held congresses of its own at Paris in 1881 and Bordeaux in 1882. The anarchist wing renounced socialism altogether. The great majority, the center, thus free to act, declared for Marxian socialism, and formed themselves into the Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire de France. This organization held a congress at Rheims, November 21, 1881, and declared *Le Proletaire* its organ.

But even this organization itself divided. The question was whether to agitate for a complete socialist program at once, or for portions of it step by step, as might seem at the time possible. Those accepting the latter policy were called Possibilists, the former Guesdists, from their leader, Jules Guesde. Still another division took place. M. Brousse split the Congress of 1882, at St. Étienne, on a vote endorsing, instead of a centralized collectivism, a decentralized one based on the communes. He carried his point, 36 to 27, and formed the Broussist group, which soon became one of the largest, and in 1889 succeeded in electing M. Joffrin to the Chamber of Deputies, while it has frequently had nine members in the Municipal Council of Paris. Brousse himself, however, as we have seen, always changeable, now calls himself a Republican radical. Besides these groups there exists, mainly in the Chamber of Deputies, still another group, founded by followers of the old communist Blanqui, and hence called Blanquists.

Such are still to-day the main French socialist groups, save that the Alliance Socialiste Républicaine has practically ceased to exist, and that the Possibilists who do not follow M. Brousse are now often called Allemanists, from their leader, Jean Allemane, editor of their organ, *Le Parti Ouvrier*. Too much emphasis, however, must not be put upon these divisions. The groups are continually changing, and the French system of the second ballot (see ELECTIONS) allows the socialist groups to vote for their respective candidates in the first ballot, and to unite in the second ballot on the socialist candidate of any group who has received the

Socialism.

most votes on the first ballots. This has enabled the socialists to carry an increasing number of elections. In municipal elections they have the majority in very many cities, and so large a representation even in the Paris municipal council, that they are sometimes in the majority. Even in national elections they have made steady progress. In 1889, the socialists cast only 91,000 votes out of 6,847,000, or 1.30 per cent. In 1891, however, they cast 549,000, or nearly 9 per cent. ; and in 1893 at least 900,000 votes, increasing the number of their deputies from 15 to 53, without counting such socialist radicals as MM. Goblet and Pelletan, who are now, however, declared socialists. A French writer, in the appendix to Professor Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894), gives the following statements as to the various groups :

"The socialistic party has no representatives in the Senate. In the Chamber of Deputies there are about 60 socialistic deputies (53 socialists and 7 socialist radicals), among whom the following are the most important in each group : "Collectivists : MM. Guesde, Chauvin, Pierre Vaux.

"Blanquists : MM. Vaillant, Chauvières, Walter (recently Mayor of St. Denis), Ernest Roche.

"Possibilists (Broussists) : MM. Prudent-Dervilliers, Lavy.

"Possibilists (Allemanists) : MM. Fabérot, Groussier, Coutant, Dejeante, Avez, Toussaint."

Socialism, however, altho the largest movement, is by no means the only social reform movement. The anarchist communists have not yet disappeared, as witnessed by the bombs thrown by Vaillant in the Chamber ; Henri, in the Café Terminus ; and the assassination of President Carnot.

These terrible deeds have caused the suppression of the anarchist papers referred to above, and the deportation of most of the leaders, but thought is not thus suppressed.

The trade-union movement of France is largely identified with the political movement, tho not wholly. The old guild system was overthrown in 1791, and working men's organizations placed under a ban.

Trade- Unions.

Napoleon I. undertook to establish compulsory organizations of employers and employees, with the employers in control, but with little success. Gradually, however, working men's unions developed. They won partially legal recognition in 1864, and complete freedom of organization in 1884. The following tables of French industrial organizations are all taken from the *Annuaire*, quoted above. It should be stated that the word *syndicats* is used for organizations of any kind of employers or employed.

SYNDICATS, OR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN 1894.

NATURE.	Number.	Federation.	Members.
Employers	1,518	29	122,251
Workmen	2,178	73	408,025
Mixed	177	9	29,124
Agricultural	1,093	15	384,332

BY TRADES.

TRADE.	Employers.	Employed.
Food	491	97
Building	133	406
Clothing	95	249
Metal	46	212
Paper and Printing	70	171
Textile	28	149
Transport	59	84
Wood Workers	33	112
Miners	9	62

The attempt to unite employers and employees in the same organization has not succeeded ; and the temper of the French trade-unionist has grown steadily more radical. Strikes have not played the part in France which they have in some countries, but in the textile trades and mining they have been numerous. The general strike of the miners in 1890 and that of the miners at Carmaux in 1892 were distinguished by increasing bitterness and socialistic utterances. According to the report on France of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, from 1888-91 there were 1034 strikes, of which 269 were successful and 217 compromised. France has played a leading part in industrial arbitration (see ARBITRATION), with its famous conseils des Prudhommes, and recently the French Government has interfered to try and settle labor disputes, but thus far with small success. The main activity of the Government in relation to labor organizations has been the granting of aid to the labor bureaus, of which there were some 30 in France in 1892. The Paris Bourse de Travail was founded in 1887 with an annual subsidy of eventually 50,000 frs. and a building in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. In 1892 a fine building was provided in the Rue Château d'Eau at a cost of 3,000,000 frs. Lit by electricity, heated and commodious, it became the headquarters of over 200 unions, but was finally closed by the Government in 1894, owing to its having become a headquarters for socialism. The Government is, however, doing a good deal, and proposing more in the way of old-age pensions (*q.v.*), insurance, etc. In 1891 a Higher Council of Labor was organized, of 50 delegates, elected by the *syndicats*, but under the Minister of Commerce.

The French agricultural *syndicats* are a characteristic development, and have served to spread the cooperative idea.

Cooperation in France was early advocated by Fourier and Buchez, sometimes called the father of French cooperation. The revolutionary Government of 1848 took up the idea and voted a loan of 3,000,000 frs. to cooperative societies ; but there was a demand for 27,000,000 frs., and the *coup d'état* checked the growth of the movement. Later cooperative societies have been favored by the Government in freedom from taxation, etc., and have slowly grown. In 1894 there were 110 productive, 39 agricultural, and 980 consumptive cooperative societies, with 24 popular and 125 agricultural cooperative banks. The cooperative society of La Ruche Stéphanoise was organized in Paris as early as 1855.

Profit sharing in France has had not a larger but a stronger development. (See PROFIT-SHARING; GODIN; BEAUMARCHAIS; LECLAIRE, etc.) There were, in 1891, according to the *Rapport sur les Sociétés Coopératives* (p. 60), 92 profit-sharing societies in France. Municipalism in France has a large development (see PARIS), and the national porcelain works at Sèvres, the tapestries of Gobelins and Beauvais, with the 15 national tobacco factories, are thought by some to be the seeds of a future nationalism. (See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; LE PLAY, etc.)

References: Report of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor; Albert Shaw's *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* (1895). See also SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM; COOPERATION, etc.

FRANCHISE (ELECTORAL).—(For the principles involved, see DEMOCRACY; STATE.) We give here the qualifications for voting in the leading countries. In the United States, all citizens qualified by their respective States can vote for representatives and Presidential electors. (See ELECTORAL BOARD.) In general,

all male citizens over 21, and in many States all males over 21 who have declared their intention to become citizens, can vote. In most States, registration is necessary. Residence, varying from three months in Maine and Michigan,

to two years in Rhode Island, is necessary in all States. In Massachusetts, voters must be able to read, and in Mississippi to read or understand the Constitution in English. Taxes must have been paid in Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee. Women, convicts, idiots, paupers, are disqualified in most States. Women can vote in Wyoming and Utah. Colorado has voted for it. The municipal franchise is usually the same. In Kansas, women vote largely on municipal elections; for school boards they vote in many States. The total Presidential vote in 1892 was 12,110,636, in a population of 64,000,000.

In Great Britain, for parliamentary elections, in brief, all householders who have paid their rates, or all lodgers occupying quarters worth £10 a year, or all occupiers of non-residence property worth £10 a year, or owners of town property of that value, provided they live within 10 miles of the town, can vote. One

person can thus have more than one vote. For municipal and school board elections, the qualifications are broader. (See ELECTIONS.) In Scotland, the poorer classes are largely disfranchised by dodging the rates. In England, their rates are usually collected through the landlords, and so more vote; but as the lists are made up from the rate-payers' list, many, especially of the poor and of lodgers, are disqualified, because they have moved. In 1892 the total vote was 4,587,036 in a population of 38,000,000.

In France, all males over 21 who can prove a six months' residence in any one town or commune can vote in municipal or national elections. In 1889 there were 7,953,382 who voted out of a population of 38,000,000 (1891).

In Germany, the members of the Reichstag

are elected by universal suffrage, but by the present division of electoral districts many cities, like Berlin, have less than their proportional representation. In 1890 the voters were 7,261,659 out of a Continental Europe population of 49,428,470. The suffrage of the different States of the empire and of the municipalities are much more limited. Berlin in municipal elections has 13 per cent. less voters than in the national elections. (See BERLIN.)

In Austria (*q.v.*) there has been recently very general agitation for universal suffrage, but there are still numerous property qualifications.

In Switzerland, all males over 21 can vote. On a referendum, November, 1895, 437,000 voted in a population of 2,986,848.

In Belgium, all males over 25 who have lived in one commune one year have one vote, but those over 35, married, with children, and paying 5 frs. a year in house tax, or, tho only 25, having real property of 2000 frs., or its equivalent in Belgian funds, have two votes, while professional men and those with a higher education have three votes. There are about 1,200,000 electors in a population of about 6,000,000. The municipal suffrage is much more limited.

In Holland, voters are those over 23 who pay a small tax. There are 295,000 electors in a population of 4,500,000.

In Italy, men vote who are 21, can read and write, and who pay a small tax. In May, 1895, 1,256,244 voted in a population of about 30,000,000.

FRANCHISES, in social science, means a privilege or grant of a public or semi-public nature conferred on individuals or corporations by governments (municipal, State, or national).

According to the common law, the franchise implies a mutual obligation between the Government and the party holding the franchise. The Government guarantees to strictly carry out the grant of the franchise (the franchise, however, always being strictly construed against the grantee), and the grantee agreeing to furnish the public all the facilities for which the nature of the franchise calls. The owner of a ferry franchise thus can be compelled to continue to run his boats, the failure to do this by common law forfeiting his grants. It is asserted that the Government cannot repudiate or withdraw its franchise, once granted. (But see EMINENT DOMAIN.) Where the charter conferring the franchise, however, contains a clause reserving to the Legislature the right to annul or vary the franchise granted, or where the charter is granted subject to a constitutional provision or general act reserving to the Legislature such a power, it may constitutionally be exercised.

Franchises are not alienable by the owner or owners thereof without express legislative authority. They cannot, therefore, be conveyed or mortgaged of common right. They cannot be taken in execution and sold so as to convey any title to the purchaser.

The conditions upon which franchises are granted are among the subjects which need the most reform in the United States, and have produced the greatest scandals and corruptions,

especially in our municipal governments. Important and valuable franchises are again and again given away for a song to private corporations by corrupt aldermen, bought up by these corporations. European cities, on the other hand, rarely grant a franchise unless the corporation receiving the franchise gives the city high and adequate returns of various kinds. In Berlin, for example, a private company has the franchise to operate street railways, but it only received the franchise on agreeing to pave the streets on which its tracks lie, from curb to curb; to pay a portion of its receipts to the city, amounting to some \$250,000 annually; and in the year 1911 to turn its whole plant over to the city. Compare this with what American cities repeatedly do (to say nothing of notorious "Broadway steals") in giving away valuable franchises for a song, usually because the franchise has been sold by the corrupt Council or Board of Aldermen. (See CORRUPTION; JOBS; MUNICIPALISM.)

Professor Bemis, in a paper on *Some Essentials in the Way of Granting Municipal Franchises*, read at the Minneapolis Conference for Good City Government, 1894 (see Proceedings, p. 123), makes the following points as requisites of a good franchise:

1. The mayor should have the right of absolute veto upon any proposed franchise.
2. Constitutional, or, if that is not possible, a legislative, limitation to the length of time for which future franchises can be given, such term not to exceed 30 years with elevated roads, 20 years with gas works or surface street-car lines, and a much less period for electric-light and telephone companies.
3. The prohibition of renewing franchises until within a year of its expiration, otherwise companies may secure a renewal from a corrupt council before the people are aware of it.
4. The expiration of all franchises for extensions to new streets with the expiration of the franchise on the main system; otherwise the city is prevented from entering on any broad policy.
5. Extensions on new streets made subject to order of the city, with appeal possibly to some court of arbitration.
6. Complete publicity of accounts, with the power and duty vested in the city auditor to prescribe methods of book-keeping.
7. In case of transportation lines, the right of the city to require increase of cars to the capacity of the road when traffic demands it.
8. The express condition that the company receiving the franchise must, at its expiration, if not securing a renewal, sell out to the city or another company that may receive the franchise, at the cost of duplicating the physical plant, independent of any value based on earning power.
9. The sale of the franchise to the bidder offering the cheapest and best service or largest revenue to the city, emphasis being laid on cheap and good service.
10. Two years before the expiration of every franchise, the citizens should have the opportunity to vote on city ownership, and if the latter is carried, the city to own and operate after the expiration of the franchise, with the provision

for the merit system in the civil service, and with the further provision that every five years thereafter for 10 or 15 years, on petition of a certain number of citizens, another popular vote should be had on the question of continuing city management. (See MUNICIPALISM.)

FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN, was born in Boston, Mass., in 1706, of poor parents, the fifteenth of 17 children. Taken from school in his tenth year, he became two years later an apprentice in the printing shop of his brother, who published the *New England Courant*, and for which Franklin early wrote. Owing to difficulties with his brother, he escaped to Philadelphia in his seventeenth year, and almost absolutely destitute. After a series of difficulties and adventures, including a trip to England, he gradually, by hard work and ability, met success. In 1730 he married Miss Reed. He became the editor and proprietor of a paper, *The Gazette*, and in 1732 of *Poor Richard's Almanac*. He became Clerk of the General Assembly in 1736, postmaster in 1737, and representative in 1747. In 1753 he was made deputy postmaster-general for the colonies. In 1757 he went to England, representing Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia with great success. He addressed Parliament, opposing the Stamp Act, and was consequently deposed from the postmastership. Returning to America, he was a delegate to the Congress of 1775, and signed the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he was sent as Minister to France, with which country he succeeded in securing an alliance. He raised loans, and in 1782 signed the treaty of peace with England. Returning to Philadelphia, he became president of the Supreme Council of the city and member of the Convention for Revising the Articles of Union. He died April 17, 1790, and Congress appointed a mourning of two months through the States.

He founded the first public library in Philadelphia in 1732, "the mother of American libraries," and led in innumerable municipal improvements. In 1752 he discovered the idea of lighting with electricity, and by his electrical and other scientific discoveries became recognized by and intimate with the scientists of all Europe, and received degrees and honors from numerous English and European universities. In 1752 he organized a scientific society which became the American Academy of Science. Turgot said of him: "*Eripuit celo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*"

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS.—In England these are usually called friendly societies (*g. v.*). In the United States they are very numerous and play an important part in economic and social development. They are opposed by a small and demonstrative but earnest minority who oppose all secret societies. Many believe they are only needed to-day because the Church and the State do not perform their full duties.

According to the *World Almanac* (1896), the membership of the principal fraternal organizations in the United States and Canada is as follows:

Odd Fellows.....	939,397
Freemasons.....	929,459
Knights of Pythias.....	456,994
Ancient Order of United Workmen.....	341,371
Knights of the Maccabees.....	209,851
Royal Arcanum.....	169,541
Improved Order of Red Men.....	161,498
Junior Order of United American Mechanics..	153,268
Modern Woodmen of America.....	144,493
Knights of Honor.....	121,183
Ancient Order of Foresters of America.....	126,508
Ancient Order of Hibernians of America.....	115,000
Knights and Ladies of Honor.....	84,000
Sons of Temperance.....	59,680
Knights of the Golden Eagle.....	58,535
Order of United American Mechanics.....	55,689
American Legion of Honor.....	55,055
Woodmen of the World.....	52,558
National Union.....	47,625
Catholic Benevolent Legion.....	49,106
Order of Chosen Friends.....	38,095
Catholic Mutual Benefit Association.....	38,000
Ancient Order of Foresters.....	56,825
Equitable Aid Union.....	35,118
Independent Order of B'nai B'rith.....	39,500
Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks.....	27,000
Catholic Knights of America.....	24,000
Improved Order of Heptasophs.....	23,995
Order of the Golden Cross.....	20,257
Royal Templars of Temperance.....	19,210
New England Order of Protection.....	18,429
United Order of Pilgrim Fathers.....	18,100
Order of United Friends.....	17,000
Irish Catholic Benevolent Union.....	15,000
United Ancient Order of Druids.....	14,600
Royal Society of Good Fellows.....	12,270
Smaller organizations not reported.....	73,209
Total.....	4,764,998

According to the report made at the annual meeting of mutual benefit life insurance associations in 1895, their number of members was 3,638,815.

The membership of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which includes the grand lodges of Australasia, Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland, is 815,947, female members not included. The American organization is not in affiliation with an English order entitled the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, who number 856,980. The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of America (colored) numbers 150,339.

The Grand Lodges of Masons are in full affiliation with the English Grand Lodge, of which the Prince of Wales is Grand Master, and the Grand Lodges of Ireland, Scotland, Cuba, Peru, South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, and Mexico, and also with the Masons of Germany and Austria. They are not in affiliation and do not correspond with the Masons of France. Freemasonry is under the ban of the Church in Spain, Italy, and other Catholic countries, and the membership is small and scattered. (See INSURANCE; TRADE UNIONISM, etc.)

FREELAND is the English name of a German book, *Freiland ein sociales Zukunftsbild*, written by the eminent Austrian economist and statesman, Dr. Th. Hertzka, advocating socialistic principles, and outlining an imaginary free socialistic state founded in Central Africa. It aroused very general attention, and committees were formed in various countries to raise money and establish such a State. Pioneers started to found the State, which eventually wholly failed.

FREE SOIL PARTY, THE.—This was the name of a political party that appeared in the United States about 1846 in the course of the abolitionist movement. (See ABOLITIONIST.) Its

standpoint was "the Wilmot proviso," offered by David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to amend a bill making an appropriation to negotiate peace with Mexico. It read: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall be hereafter acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation or in any manner whatsoever, except for crime."

It created great excitement. Calhoun had declared that the annexation of Mexico was necessary to protect slavery, which was an institution placed under the guaranty of the Constitution and necessary to the peace and prosperity of the slave States. The proviso was defeated in the Senate, but taken up in the North. A convention met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848, and formed the Free Soil Party. It was composed of the old Liberty Party (*g.v.*), seceders from the Democrats and Whigs, and a faction of the Democrats called Barn-burners. Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, were nominated for President and Vice-President. The platform disavowed attacking slavery in the South, but simply stood for the above principle. The party polled over 300,000 votes and elected several congressmen, among them Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. The conflict then came over the admission of California, and when it was admitted with a constitution prohibiting slavery, the Free Soil Party lost its main need of existence. Agitation, however, sprung up over the Fugitive Slave Law (*g.v.*), and the Free Soilers met in 1852, and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, and polled 151,000 votes. But the aggressive policy of the South roused the North to a more general policy, and the Free Soil Party was merged, in 1856, in the Republican Party (*g.v.*). Its cry had been "Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men."

FREE SILVER. See SILVER.

FREE TRADE.—Free trade is free exchange; and free exchange is exchange that is free. This looks like a mere truism; but if it is, it is one generally disregarded, and the words are used in an entirely different sense. Free trade is continually spoken of as a doctrine, a theory, or a principle. These uses of the term are permissible for the sake of brevity; but when it is never used in other ways the most important facts of the controversy are forgotten.

I. WHAT IS FREE TRADE?

No exchange is perfectly free; nothing is perfect in this world. But that exchange is most nearly free which encounters the fewest obstacles. It makes not the slightest difference whether these obstacles are natural or artificial; the only question is, how effective they are as an obstruction to exchange. No statute obstructs the freedom of exchange between Buffalo and Tennessee, while severe statutes obstruct exchange between Buffalo and Canada. Yet exchange between Buffalo and Toronto is, in every instance, much more free than it is between Buffalo and most of the mountain settle-

ments of Tennessee. A tariff of 100 per cent. does not obstruct trade half as effectually as a distance of 100 miles from any railroad or highway. Often it happens that prejudice and hatred make trade impossible where no law interposes any hindrance. Often, on the other

hand, strong and bitter prejudices are unable to hinder the growth of free trade between antagonistic sections. In determining the extent to which freedom of trade exists between any two districts, we must always take into account all the obstacles and inquire how far they are effectual. Tariffs are not the only obstruction or even the chief obstruction to free trade. They nullify, to some extent, natural facilities for exchange; but the gradual removal of natural obstacles also nullifies, to some extent, the operation of tariffs. The obstacles interposed by nature, in the first instance, are always far greater than any which can be interposed by human laws, because the latter are always more or less evaded, while the former never can be. The laws of nature originally prevented all exchange; then they prevented exchange between different tribes; they still make exchange difficult between different nations; and the greatest efforts of human skill and energy are directed simply to breaking down the barriers which nature has thus put up.

Free trade, however, by a figure of speech, stands for a political idea. That idea is that it is good for every man and every nation to exchange good things with each other; that every necessary obstruction upon such exchange is a misfortune; and that every unnecessary obstruction is a wrong. This idea implies that human governments ought not to hinder such exchange, or to regulate it in any other manner than as may be necessary for the prevention of dishonesty, oppression, and crime. This theory was adopted, so far as internal commerce is concerned, by the United States in 1789, since which time no State has been permitted to put the smallest obstruction in the way of commerce between its own citizens and the citizens of any other State, or to levy any taxes whatever upon imports or exports. The theory of absolute free trade demands that the same principle shall be applied to commerce between all parts of the world.

Free trade, as a political theory, in the more limited sense usually attached to it, means only that no taxes shall be imposed upon imports or exports

except such as are levied for purposes of public revenue only, and so arranged, in connection with other taxes, that no private profit shall be made out of their incidental results so far as it is in the power of legislation to prevent it. This

is what is often called British free trade, because it is the system adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, by gradual steps, beginning in 1846 and completed in 1860. It would, however, seem more accurate to call this the non-protective system. For a tariff may easily be devised of which the entire revenue would go into the public treasury, which would, nevertheless, be nearly as destructive of trade and commerce as a protective tariff. Thus, the Brit-

ish tax on tobacco, which is absolutely non-protective (because, in order to secure all the profit to the public treasury, no tobacco is allowed to be grown on British soil), is so exorbitant as to cut down trade in tobacco to half its natural dimensions; and it might easily be made so high as to destroy the legitimate trade entirely. Such extreme taxation would, of course, be inconsistent with the idea of revenue; but it may often happen that the largest amount of revenue could be obtained from a tariff which destroyed at least half the natural trade. It seems a contradiction in terms to call such a system one of free trade. Still, that is all which is meant by a vast majority of those who speak of free trade.

The system of "British free trade" is open to serious objection, as failing to prevent that private profit which it assumes to exclude. It is most skillfully planned to prevent domestic producers from collecting the equivalent of the tax upon foreign competing articles—for it taxes British productions of the same kind just as heavily as any foreign article is taxed. But the tariff, being necessarily confined to a very few articles, has to levy very heavy taxes upon these; and thus the wholesale trade in them is confined to persons who have capital sufficient to pay these taxes in cash. Every tax upon production or exchange, whether for revenue or not, thus fosters monopolies and seriously restricts the freedom of trade.

Complete free trade, therefore, is absolutely inconsistent with any form of indirect taxation. But the consideration of the relative merits of the systems of direct and indirect taxation must be deferred.

The right of property is of little utility and no value without the right of exchange. The very word "value" implies the idea of exchange; because, while there may be utility in the possession and use of an article, nothing can have **Essential to value**, in the proper meaning of **Civilization**, that term, except as measured by the possibility of exchange. Even the utility of property is very small without the right of exchange. Without exchange of products, each man must raise for himself every article which he desires; and the enormous labor and inconvenience of doing this would always keep man in the savage state. Indeed, there are few savages so degraded as all men would be if trade were entirely abolished. Every obstruction to the freedom of exchange of good things, therefore, is a step backward, not merely toward barbarism, but toward absolute savagery.

Every civilized man recognizes the enormous advantages of civilization. To be entirely deprived of them he would consider as a punishment only one degree less severe than death itself; and great numbers of men have at all times preferred death to such a fate. Yet free trade and civilization are so inextricably wrapped up in each other as to be almost identical. Upon the whole, freedom of exchange in goods and ideas is the cause and civilization the effect; yet every step forward in civilization instantly leads to a step forward in free exchange just as truly as every advance in free exchange causes an ad-

vance in civilization. There is no difference between civilization and barbarism except that which springs directly from the greater freedom of interchange in ideas and in goods, which civilized men enjoy. The height of civilization, in any community, large or small, is precisely measured by the extent to which it is able and willing to exchange its thoughts and its things with those of other communities. The passion for obstructing either form of such exchange is merely the reaction of partially civilized natures against civilization itself. Absolute independence, which is the avowed aim of obstructionists, would be the suicide of humanity. We are all—whether individuals, towns, States, or nations—intended to be dependent upon each other; and we all become more and more so with every succeeding year. The most highly developed man does as little as possible for himself and as much as possible for others. The most highly developed nation does very much the same. These tendencies are simply irresistible in all civilized communities; and against these gigantic natural forces all the puny efforts of bigots, whether in or out of legislatures, are in vain.

We now approach the line of division between the two schools of thought and the two great parties in political economy. And here we

The Protective System.

meet the second and limited definition of free trade. In the minds of most men free trade means substantially the opposite of the so-called "protective" system; and, therefore, a tariff for revenue only, without any element of protection in it, is generally supposed to be the equivalent of free trade, altho it is not. "Protection" is a system under which trade is intentionally obstructed for the purpose of preventing competition between different producers of similar goods. Its method of reaching this result is usually either by heavy taxes upon foreign products, or by absolute prohibition of certain classes of such products. Other methods, such as bounties, may, however, be used. In general, the protective system is supposed to be drawn exclusively upon national lines; and it is constantly assumed that the only question between protectionists and free traders is as to whether foreign goods should be admitted in free competition with domestic goods. But this was not originally so, and is not altogether so even now. It is true that, while all American protectionists are agreed in obstructing the importation of foreign goods into the United States, so far as they compete with similar goods produced within the United States, most of them do not desire to apply a similar rule between the several States of the American Union, much more between different sections of the same State. Yet a vast number of them hold a different opinion, and would put up barriers between the different States, and sometimes even between different counties if they could. Constant efforts are, indeed, made in this direction. The Legislature of New York has passed laws requiring all stone used for public buildings to be dressed and finished within the State; and serious efforts have been made to compel such stone to be taken from New York quarries.

The common councils of some cities have repeatedly made efforts to prevent the admission into those cities (for public use, at all events) of certain classes of goods made in other cities. Heavy license fees have been repeatedly demanded by the authorities of one State from citizens of other States undertaking to sell goods within its borders. Many statutes and ordinances of this kind have been enacted, most of which, however, have been held void by the Supreme Court of the United States as violative of the Federal Constitution. If it had not been for the existence of that Constitution and the firmness of the Supreme Court there can be little doubt that long before this time such laws and ordinances would have been universal, because they would have been enacted in retaliation, even in States where the people disapproved of them as an original proposition. The principle underlying such statutes and ordinances is precisely the same as that which underlies any protective tariff whatever. No intelligible distinction can be made between the two cases. No sound reason can be given for maintaining a protective tariff between New York and Canada, which does not apply with a hundredfold force to New York and New Jersey. This will become plain as we consider the arguments usually made in favor of protection.

II. OBJECTIONS TO FREE TRADE.

The principal American arguments against free trade seem to be: That we ought to be independent of foreign countries; that imports of merchandise ought to be forcibly kept below exports, so as to secure a "favorable balance of trade," which will "keep our money in our own country" and prevent the export of gold—which is assumed to be a great injury; that everything which we import which we could make ourselves necessarily displaces just "so much American labor," and deprives Americans of that amount of employment and wages, without compensation; that the admission of goods made by "the pauper labor of Europe" inevitably tends to reduce American wages to the European level; that a tax ought to be imposed upon foreign goods "sufficient to equalize the difference between foreign and American rates of wages;" that "our" home market belongs to "us," and foreigners ought not to be allowed to "invade" it without paying toll; that "diversified industries" are essential to national prosperity, and can only be acquired by "encouraging" new industries through protection against foreign competition; that every new industry is a distinct addition to the national wealth, which can only be secured by protection; that free trade would *reduce* prices, and, therefore, reduce wages; that free trade would *increase* prices by giving to foreigners the monopoly of our market, while protection reduces prices by increasing domestic competition; that under free trade, foreigners would "flood our markets" with their goods, furnishing everything so cheaply that we could make nothing for ourselves; that under free trade foreigners could not supply us with one tenth of the articles which we need, while we could not make any ourselves, and should therefore have to go with-

out the necessaries of life outside of agricultural products (Governor Hoyt); that the tariff is not a tax; that the tariff is a tax upon foreigners; that a revenue tariff is a tax upon Americans, while a protective tariff is a tax only upon foreigners (Major McKinley); that "cheaper coats involve a cheaper man and woman under the coats" (General Harrison); that "cheap and nasty go together" (Major McKinley); that "the vulture loves not his carrion more than the free trader loves cheapness" (H. C. Baird); that "cheap merchandise means cheap men, and cheap men make a cheap country, and that is not the kind which our fathers builded," nor one "which their sons mean to maintain" (Major McKinley); that coats and all other things have been made cheaper by high protective tariffs than they ever were before (Harrison, McKinley, Aldrich, etc.); that goods cannot be made cheap unless wages are made low; and that protection makes goods cheap and wages high. Many other arguments are or have been in common use; but those here cited are the most familiar at present. We are not responsible for their contradictions of each other. No argument is given here which has not been repeatedly used by distinguished champions of the protective policy, and printed in publications issued by one or more of the three most active protectionist organizations. The most contradictory utterances sometimes proceed from the same mouth; and the more distinguished and sincere the orator is the more certain is he thus to contradict himself.

The protective idea is by no means peculiar to America. It was dominant over the whole world until within the last 50 years, with the exception of a few cities, like the Hanseatic League; and it has never been entirely shaken off by any nations except the British, Dutch, and Belgians, while it seems to be regaining its hold upon Belgium. Holland introduced comparative freedom of trade in advance of Great Britain, but only in a partial and inconsistent manner, jealously excluding foreigners from her colonial trade. China and Japan, as is well known, maintained an ideal system of protection for many centuries—not by any tariff, but by the absolute exclusion of imports.* Naturally, it will be found that the arguments in favor of the system are irreconcilably conflicting in different countries. In the United States, the one argument, which overshadows all others, is the danger of competition with countries having lower rates of wages. But in all continental Europe producers are frantic with anxiety to exclude the competition of countries having higher rates of wages; and in Russia, where wages are lowest, the tariff is highest. Even in the United States the highest rates of protection are always placed upon the productions of those countries where wages approach most nearly to the American standard.

III. REVIEW OF OBJECTIONS.

1. *We should be independent of foreign countries.* This is a favorite argument with many protectionists. But the only persons who

are independent of others are savages of the lowest type. The only nations which are independent of others are barbarous or half civilized. China presents the highest type of an independent nation; and China, many centuries ago, shutting itself in from the rest of the world, and assuming a position of commercial and industrial independence, stopped all growth except in mere numbers, and all improvement, moral, intellectual, and material.* Such independence is utterly inconsistent with civilization. Every step toward the one is a step away from the other. Fortunately, such independence is impossible for us. The instinct of intelligent humanity toward mutual dependence and the exchange of ideas and products is so strong that no laws and no absurd prejudices can stand in the way. Commerce goes on and will go on in spite of tariffs or even prohibitions. The instinct is a perfectly sound one. The richest and strongest men are the most dependent upon others. All the value of wealth consists in the power which it gives to its possessor to command the services of other men. All the glory of a great military chieftain consists in the vast number of brave men, upon whom he is absolutely dependent, and whom he has inspired with a just confidence in their mutual dependence upon him. And nations are rich and strong in exact proportion to the degree in which they have established relations of mutual dependence between themselves and other nations.

Foreign Countries.

2. *The balance of trade.* The idea that the balance of trade is favorable to our country, when we export continually goods to a greater value than we import, is almost universal, yet clearly erroneous. Imports are what we *get*; exports are what we *give*. It is impossible that we should gain a profit by forever giving more value than we receive in exchange. Prosperity comes from steadily importing things which are of greater value to us than those which we export. All figures as to the balance of trade, moreover, are delusive. No two countries make up their trade statements upon precisely the same principle. Great Britain computes the value of her imports upon British prices. America computes hers upon foreign prices. The difference is fully 10 to 15 per cent.; because the one includes freight, insurance, landing charges and profits, while the other does not. Again, our exports are worth much more to foreign recipients than they are to us, while our imports are worth much more to us than they are to foreign shippers. Happily for us, commerce regulates these matters for itself, and we actually import every year much more in value to us than we export. Every country not plundered by foreigners or non-resident landlords does the same.

3. *The drain of gold.* The "balance of trade" delusion rests, however, upon another delusion, as to the existence and effect of a "drain of gold." It is supposed that the con-

* The example of China is frequently referred to by leading American protectionists as one to be followed in this respect.

* The example of China in this respect also has been often referred to by American protectionists as one to be followed by us. H. C. Carey uniformly declared himself in favor of "a wall of fire across the Atlantic," and protectionist candidates for Congress have placarded their desire for "a Chinese wall."

stant flow of gold from America is a great evil, and that this evil could be stopped by importing fewer foreign goods, exporting more of our own, and collecting the balance in gold, or, at all events, keeping all our own gold at home. On the contrary, nothing whatever can keep our gold at home; and if it could be done it would be a national disaster. Our country produces more gold than any other, and more gold and silver than all the rest of the world.* We have no use for seven eighths of the gold which we produce. If we could keep it all at home we should simply pile it up in vaults, as we have done with silver for fifteen years. But the owners of gold mines could always get more goods for their gold than we would give, and therefore they would send the gold abroad, no matter what tariff we had. Indeed, the higher the tariff the less does gold bring at home; and, therefore, every advance in the tariff tends to increase the export of gold. The official statistics show that such has been the result † More gold has been exported, on the average, annually under high tariffs than under low tariffs. At all times we export all the gold which other countries are willing to pay for; and if we increased our imports of merchandise to any conceivable amount, we should not increase our exports of gold. We do not produce enough gold to pay for one twentieth of our present imports; and, therefore, if we doubled our imports there could be no further "drain of gold."

4. *Displacement of American labor.* No amount of foreign productions can displace American labor. Every ounce of foreign goods must be paid for in American goods, produced from American materials, on American soil, by American labor. For every dollar's worth of imported goods a dollar's

Labor.

worth of American-made goods must be exported. Therefore precisely as much employment is given to American labor by the purchase of imported goods as by the purchase of home-made goods. But, it is said, "the foreigner will demand payment in gold or silver." Let him "demand" what he pleases, he cannot get either to the value of more than one tenth of what he sends to us, for the conclusive reason that we produce no more. And to that extent gold and silver are our natural productions, which we are fully as anxious to sell as we are our surplus wheat or pork. Indeed, after abusing "the foreigner" for 50 years, because he would buy our silver at higher prices than we were willing to give for it, we now abuse him because he will not buy it fast enough; and it is solemnly proposed in Massachusetts to cut off trade with England unless she will agree to buy silver instead of wheat.

5. *The pauper labor of Europe.* If there is any such thing as the imported product of "pauper labor" (which is a contradiction in terms, since paupers necessarily do not produce enough by their labor to support themselves, much less to send abroad), the only effect of its

exclusion must be to put a premium upon the importation of the paupers themselves, bringing their labor into direct competition with American labor and reducing American wages. For paupers are, as a matter of course, at the lowest point at which life can be sustained. If they are dependent for even this subsistence upon the American market for their productions, and they are shut out of that market by an increase of the tariff, they must and will carry their hands to that market. For many years it was the avowed purpose of protectionists to produce this result; and Henry C. Carey pointed to the increase of immigration as a proof of the beneficent effects of protection; while in 1864 a strongly protectionist Congress enacted a law giving to the importers of pauper laborers a lien upon their earnings and land, for the cost of such importation, and enforcing contracts for service made abroad at less than American prices. This law was not repealed until 1884, after immense numbers of laborers had been imported under such contracts.

6. *Duties to equalize wages.* This is the most plausible protectionist argument. But in fact, nine tenths at least of American workmen receive less wages, in proportion to the value of their production, than do workmen in any other part of the world. They receive a larger sum *per day*, but a much smaller sum *per piece*. All over the world high wages mean, as a rule, cheap labor. American wages are the highest, and, therefore, American labor is the most productive and the cheapest. In a very few lines of production it may be true that American labor costs more per piece than does foreign labor. A "duty to equalize the difference in wages," in such cases, means that the whole mass of American laborers are taxed to repay, to the employers of a very few, this difference in cost. The workmen thus employed are not benefited, because they could earn just as good wages at some different work; and if the goods which they now make were imported, they would be employed in making some other article to be exported in payment for those goods at the same or better wages. The whole benefit of such a tax goes into the pockets of the protected employers. Moreover, such "compensating duties" are never confined to the limits of compensation; they are always made so high as to exceed the whole wages paid. Thus, the protective duties levied upon coal and iron ore have been for many years 75 cents per ton, while the whole amount of wages paid for the production of either has been always less than 50 cents, and often less than 25 cents per ton. The protective duty on steel rails, down to 1894, was never less than \$13.44 per ton, and was for many years \$28; while the excess of labor cost in America over that of Europe has not, for many years, amounted to \$3 per ton, and for the last five years has not exceeded 50 cents. The labor cost in steel rails is now less in America than in any part of Europe. Heavy duties are imposed upon cotton goods of all kinds, altho it has been conclusively proved that the labor cost in most of such goods is much less in America than in any part of Europe, or, indeed, the world, and has been so for more than 15 years. A "protective duty" of 60 per cent. is maintained

* In 1890 the production of gold was: United States, \$32,845,000; Australasia, \$30,416,500; Russia, \$21,161,700.

† Average annual export of gold and silver, from 1847 to 1861, under low tariffs, \$25,986,002. Annual average for next 30 years, under high tariffs, \$29,853,698.

“solely to enable American employers to pay to their workmen” less wages than are paid in Europe for the same work.*

7. *Diversifying industries.* Professor R. E. Thompson declares that the fundamental idea

* The evidence of this in detail would occupy too much space. It is given, with regard to the cotton manufacture, in official reports of the State Department—one made by Secretary Evarts in 1879, and the other by Secretary Blaine in 1881. Both state explicitly, as a result of all the investigations made by the United States consuls abroad, that the higher wages of American workmen are more than compensated for by the still greater excess in their production. The same fact was shown in a report made by Mr. James Thornly in 1879, in which he gave in detail the precise cost of labor in a yard of cloth, in New England and in Lancashire, in various mills. In every instance the labor cost in New England was 20 or 30 per cent. less than in Old England. His tables are given in Mr. Blaine's report of 1881. This result is confirmed by the census of 1880, which showed that while each English cotton worker only used 2660 lbs. of cotton, each American worker used 4290 lbs., or 61 per cent. more. In weaving, the very same operators who in England attend to not more than three looms each attend in America to at least five and often more. So in other manufactures. In 1880, the average production of each metal-worker in the United States was valued by his employers at \$1684, while that of each British metal-worker was valued at only \$780. In 1886, the coal-mine owners of Maryland, etc., testified before Congress that the wages paid for each ton of coal did not exceed 40 cents (*Testimony Ways and Means Committee*, pp. 187, 191, 193); while in England 96 cents were paid, and in Scotland \$1.00 (*British Statistical Abstract*). An American machine, widely used in shoemaking, which registers the amount of work done, shows that the production of each English shoemaker is upon the average only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of an American's production; that is less than one half. But evidences need not be multiplied. The fact is fully admitted by the best protectionist authorities—e.g., Professor Thompson (*Political Economy*, § 126), the Protective Tariff League (*Tariff Committee Report*, 1882), and Robert P. Porter (*New York Press*, October 3 and 14, 1888).

It is the result of a universal law. The United States census of 1880 showed that high wages everywhere resulted in such increased production as to make them more profitable to employers than low wages. Thus, to give only a few examples out of thousands, the aggregate average rate of wages and net production of each wage-earner were as follows:

IN ALL INDUSTRIES.

	Wages.	Production.
New York City.....	\$427	\$811
Philadelphia.....	346	675
Baltimore.....	268	576

IN COTTON GOODS.

	Wages.	Production.
Massachusetts.....	\$258	\$593
New York.....	216	392
Georgia.....	182	396

IN WOOLEN GOODS.

	Wages.	Production.
Massachusetts.....	\$316	\$737
New York.....	289	597
Ohio.....	194	449

of the protective system is to divert industry, by artificial means, into channels through which it would not otherwise flow. This is undoubtedly a correct statement of the philosophy of protection, as held by all its intelligent and disinterested advocates. It is usually expressed as the “diversification of industries;” and it is earnestly insisted that a multitude of different new industries are so necessary to the prosperity of every nation that they must be forced into existence by taxing all the old industries for their support. But diversity of industries is neither a **Diversified** cause nor a condition of prosperity. **Industries.**

The mass of the people in California and Australia were never so prosperous as when they had practically only one industry—the digging of gold. Their industries diversified fast enough when no more gold could be scraped up by hand, because they no longer had the means of paying other people to supply them with other articles. Nothing ever induces men to diversify their industries except the pressure of comparative poverty, caused usually by the decreasing returns from those industries in which they were previously engaged. So far as a protective tariff really does diversify industries, it must do so by impoverishing the people, because it can be done in no other way. This would be true even of a bounty paid to those entering upon a new industry, because, while it might make them rich, it must be taken out of the pockets of the people at large, making them poorer by the amount of the bounty and the expense of its collection and distribution. A protective tariff does not have even the questionable merit of a direct bounty. It gives nothing, confers no benefits, creates no industry. All that it does or ever can do is to *kill* some existing industry, to ruin some persons who are earning an honest living by providing useful things for their fellow-men—to destroy, never to build up. Its work is purely destructive. It develops nothing. After a new tariff tax has destroyed one or more domestic industries by preventing the importation of the materials which are essential to them, those who are thus deprived of their usual employment and income look round for some work which the tariff has *not* destroyed; and thus production in that particular line is increased. For example, before 1883 the duty upon both ruffings and the materials out of which they were made was 30 per cent. Somebody thought he could make the materials in America, altho they were then all imported, so he persuaded Congress to put a duty of about 125 per cent. on them, leaving the duty on the finished manufacture unchanged. The result was that the manufacture of ruffling here was totally destroyed, and thousands of work-people discharged. They could not get employment in making the materials, for they did not know how to do it. Nobody in America succeeded in making them. So ruffings were imported instead of the materials for ruffings. In other cases Americans do succeed in making the materials after being “protected” out of the manufacture of the finished article; and then it is proclaimed that the tariff has “created a new industry,” when all that it has done has been

to kill an old one. A new industry is not necessarily any addition to national wealth; and certainly a new industry "created" only by the destruction of an old one, which was more profitable to the community (as must needs be the case where a heavy tax is required to induce men to abandon it for the new), is a positive national loss.

8. *The "flood of foreign goods."* On this point, two entirely contradictory arguments are used by protectionist authorities of equal standing. The most common assertion is that if the protective barrier were removed, foreigners would "flood our markets" with manufactures, if not with other things, so that our own manufactures would be entirely destroyed; all our wants in that line being supplied by foreign producers. But as statistics prove that if all European countries sent to America the whole of their surplus products they could not supply us with one tenth of the manufactures which we annually consume, it is manifest that there could be no such "flood." No one has pointed this out more clearly than Alexander Hamilton did a century ago; and it is even more true now than it was then. Accordingly, Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania (in his book, which is one of the standard works circulated by the Tariff League), insists upon this fact, drawing from it the extraordinary inference that we could not manufacture anything ourselves, on account of the low prices of European goods, and yet that the supply of such goods would be so small that nine tenths of our people "would have to go without" clothing, tools, machinery, and all other manufactures. The gigantic absurdity of such an idea ought to be so plain as to need no argument. Obviously, before any such result could occur, the prices of European and American manufactures would be equalized; and if Americans refused to produce on those terms, European prices would advance, by reason of American demand, to a point which would induce American production upon as large a scale as ever. With cheaper prices American consumption would increase so enormously as to absorb all that Europe could possibly send, in addition to a larger American production than there is now. The largest output of American manufactures has always occurred in the years of the largest importation of foreign manufactures; and so it always will be. Senator Mills has demonstrated this to be the fact by official statistics.

9. *The tariff not a tax.* So many absurd and contradictory statements are made under this head, that it is almost impossible to hold a protectionist down to any of them. As soon as one of them is refuted he will say that he does not hold to that, but does hold something else. Not having an acre of space, we must deal with only one of these assertions, which Mr. McKinley delights in. This is, that a revenue tariff is a tax upon our own people, while a protective tariff is a tax upon foreigners. Thus, the duty upon *raw*

sugar, being a revenue duty, is declared by Messrs. McKinley, Aldrich, and Reed to have been a tax on Americans of \$70,000,000 a year. But the duty of half a cent a pound upon *re-*

finéd sugar, under which the Sugar Refining Company has secured a profit of over \$15,000,000 a year, is purely protective, and therefore must be paid by foreigners. How did they pay it? Not as much as \$10,000 is paid by anybody, foreigners or Americans, as duty upon refined sugar in any year. American sugar eaters paid the \$15,000,000 we know, for over \$10,000,000 were paid out in dividends, and the company avowedly retained \$5,000,000 more on hand. Did foreigners kindly remit this vast sum in order to fulfil Mr. McKinley's doctrine? If so, who got the money? Did the sugar refiners or the sugar eaters?

It must be quite clear that foreigners do not pay the tariff tax when no tax is collected. But the case of Sumatra tobacco has been mentioned, even by some free traders, as one in which the foreigner paid at least part of the tax. Yet there is no case in which the facts more clearly demonstrate the contrary. The duty on this tobacco was suddenly raised in 1890 from 75 cents a pound to \$2, an increase of \$1.25. Millions of pounds were imported under the new duty. The foreign price, in 1889, under the old duty, was 84 cents. How *could* the foreigner pay the increased duty of \$1.25 out of 84 cents? Nor was the foreign price reduced. It advanced to 95 cents in 1893 and 1894, in spite of the new tariff. Every cent of this tariff tax was paid by American consumers.

Tin plates are often cited on this point. Quotations are given, showing that the price in Wales was reduced, after the increase of the tariff, by about the amount of such increase. The fact is, that nine months' notice of the advance having been given, the American demand was so intense that the Welsh mills were kept at work during that period night and day, and of course Welsh prices were advanced. After the new tariff took effect (July 1, 1891) the American demand fell off at once, having been supplied for a long time in advance. Welsh prices then fell back to their original point. Importations being eventually resumed in 1892, Americans paid the old and regular prices, with the duty added. Foreigners did not pay the tax at all.

The whole foundation for the pretence that foreigners ever pay any part of our tariff taxes rests upon the undoubted fact that by preventing ourselves from buying the things which we want we can inflict some injury upon those who would be glad to sell them to us. We can do precisely the same thing by all getting drunk three times a week, or by setting fire to our houses once a year. Any injury which we inflict upon ourselves produces some loss to our neighbors by preventing us from doing the good to them which we should otherwise do. All civilized people are compelled, by the fundamental conditions of civilization, to divide their profits with each other; and therefore they divide their losses with each other also. A protective tariff inflicts vast loss upon the people who adopt it; and they have, therefore, just so much less to share with the rest of the world. To that extent alone they can injure other people by it. It is the same in its effects as a hundred great city fires, a partial failure of crops or a general pestilence. Any country enjoying these bless-

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ings can safely assure itself that their effects are deeply felt in other lands.

IV. REAL CAUSE OF THE SURVIVAL OF THE PROTECTIONIST IDEA.

The arguments for protection are so inconsistent, so mutually destructive, and so utterly without real foundation that no one who undertakes to defend it ever conducts discussion to a logical conclusion, and every argument on that side speedily lands in a mass of absurdities. Accordingly, the advocates of protection almost invariably concede, when they enter into discussion at all, that free trade is correct in theory, but will not work in practice. They insist that experience proves that protection is productive of the best results in fact, altho they admit that logic and abstract reason are opposed to it. Of course, nothing can really be sound in theory which will not work in practice. But the mass of men are unable to justify any large part of their practice by theories; and therefore the faith of protectionists is not shaken by their inability to find reasons for it. Yet the widespread popularity of the protective idea indicates that there are motives lying behind the common arguments which are stronger than any of the arguments put forward; and it is necessary to search below all the pretended reasons assigned to find the real foundations of protectionism.

As the motives which give force to the protective idea are conflicting, it is expedient to consider them with reference to the several classes which have different interests, but which agree in supporting a policy of obstruction and exclusion. These classes are, substantially, the landowners, the employers of productive labor, and their employees. Each of these classes has an interest distinct from and in some respects hostile to the others; yet in the Northern States of the American Union a majority of each have generally favored restrictions upon the influx of wealth from abroad.

1. Landowners as a class are not predisposed to a protective policy in any country which has nothing to expect in the way of foreign competition with agricultural products, because a large majority of them are always owners of agricultural lands. Accordingly, Adam Smith noticed, in 1775, that English landlords were comparatively liberal in their views; and altho they had entire control of the British Parliament, which maintained a most stringent prohibitory system, this was entirely due to the clamorous demands of merchants and manufacturers. At that time England exported grain almost as often as she imported it. But within 40 years afterward the food supply of Great Britain fell permanently below the needs of its population; and from that moment British landlords in general became the most fanatical of protectionists, while, as British manufactures extended so rapidly that the foreign market became indispensable to them, manufacturers gradually became free traders. So in the Southern States of our Union, after cotton became their staple product the landowners had nothing to gain by excluding foreign goods; and so they became generally free traders. A majority of the owners of

farms all over the United States, outside of a few special districts, were anti-protectionists before the Civil War, and so continued until a very recent period. But owners of mines, quarries, and similar lands are naturally inclined to exclude not only similar foreign products, but also all articles manufactured from those products; their instinct telling them that the rent of their mines will be reduced as much by the admission of the finished products as by the admission of the raw materials. And when any country begins to import food upon a large scale, the same instinct tells landowners generally, outside of cities, that their rents are brought into competition with rents elsewhere, and they speedily become protectionists. In the long run, landlords are the only class which profits by protection. Such profits as tenant-farmers make out of it are almost instantly swallowed up by increased rents; while the profits of manufacturers are, considered as an entire class, gradually absorbed by rents and royalties, which are the same thing.

2. Employers of labor in lines of production which are open to foreign competition have a direct interest in the exclusion of such competition, which naturally makes them the earliest and most ardent protectionists. The whole profit of the system accrues to them, in the first instance; they know that they do not share it with their employees; and they do not readily see how much of it is extracted from them by landlords. Indeed, the first profits which accrue by a sudden increase of protective duties do remain entirely with employers; since their rents and royalties are usually fixed for a term of years, and their workmen are content with the old rate of wages, because so many are thrown out of work by the change in the tariff that the others are thankful to continue as they are. This accounts, in part, for the endless demands of American manufacturers for higher and still higher duties. No matter what bonus may be given to them in the form of taxes upon their competitors, the landowner takes it from them in the course of three or four years, either by a direct increase of rent or by a higher price of raw materials. Meanwhile, foreign rents are depressed, foreign ingenuity is stimulated by necessity, competition creeps in in some new form, profits fall to the average standard, and new clamors arise for further protection.

3. There remains that vast majority in every country who are employed by others, and who depend for their living upon "obtaining work." These are possessed of neither land nor capital sufficient to produce a living therefrom by their own labor. It is correctly pointed out by Henry George that such men naturally come to look upon work itself as a blessing, and upon the man who "gives employment" of any kind as a benefactor. And as a protective tariff undoubtedly increases the amount of work to be done, by diverting industry from channels in which large results are obtained by small effort into those in which small results are obtained by great effort, the mass of mankind overlook the fact that wealth is diminished because they see that labor has been increased. It is in vain that a protective tariff is proved to produce the same effects as a Chicago fire or a civil war. So

long as their own houses are not burned down nor their own families destroyed by war, the mass of men instinctively think of fire and war as new openings for employment and consequent wages. This habit of thought extends through all classes, in sympathy with the majority. The late Mr. Blaine constantly referred to the Mexican War of 1846, the European civil wars of 1848, and the Crimean War of 1854 as direct and potent causes of American prosperity, under and in spite of the low tariff of 1846; and his sentiments were unanimously echoed by all protectionists in perfect sincerity. The belief that the great Civil War of 1861-65 was the cause of great prosperity to the Northern States is very general, both at the North and at the South.* Men of the highest intelligence and business capacity in Europe are to-day terrified by the fear of low wages and calamity to the laboring classes as the result of any general disarmament. For, as one of the ablest of them said to the writer, "when 3,000,000 men are suddenly disbanded, to compete for employment with the millions already struggling for a bare living, God alone knows what will become of them all!" It never occurs to such reasoners that the 3,000,000 idle soldiers are now supported out of the earnings of the other millions. All which they can see, and all which the laborers themselves are apt to see, is that there are now 3,000,000 fewer "competitors for employment" than there would be if the soldiers began to earn their own living. Thus the great evil of land monopoly adds to all its other baneful influences the training of the masses into false

* All these ideas are mere delusions. War may, indeed, be necessary for the purpose of avoiding greater evils, but it never of itself brings any benefit either to the nations engaged in it or to neutral nations. The only apparent exception to this rule is when war takes place between two countries, one or both of which has refused to trade freely with other nations, and the war drives large numbers of the most ingenious and industrious people out of one of these countries into some neutral country, to which they transplant their wealth and industry. But the whole of that benefit would have been obtained through peace and free trade, while the people thus driven out are much poorer than they would have been had they remained at home, and are therefore less able to confer benefits upon the country of their adoption. In every other case, war, no matter how much it may increase the trade of neutral countries in particular lines, always reduces their trade and profits, considered as an entirety. Thus the Crimean War of 1854 and 1855, while it increased the European demand for American grain and provisions, reduced the demand for American cotton to at least as great an extent and injured American trade in many other ways. Accordingly, it is an indisputable fact, proven by all the statistics and by the testimony of protectionists themselves, that the two years of the Crimean War, from March, 1854, to March, 1856, were years of comparatively hard times in America, and certainly the worst years known under the tariff of 1846.

The European insurrections of 1848 and 1849 also marked a period of depression in American trade and manufactures. These are not mere coincidences; foreign wars always have produced and always will produce depression in this as well as every other civilized country.

As to the supposed prosperity derived from the Civil War of 1861, it is well known by every one who was in business during that period that the first two years of that war were years of hard times, low wages, and forced economy in business generally; while the apparent prosperity of the last two years was nothing but the intoxication arising out of a forced expansion of the currency, which drove everybody into speculation, the reaction from which soon brought about the hard times of 1867 and the following year.

views of their own situation, and it incites them to seek for relief in methods which enormously aggravate the evils under which they suffer.

4. We have already begun to tread upon ground which is common to all classes, but much remains to be said. As already indicated, the exclusion of foreign goods secures, for at least a short time, large profits to a small class of employers who are necessarily capitalists or close associates of capitalists from the first, who easily combine and who exercise almost irresistible control over the organs of public opinion and over legislation. They own newspapers, congressmen, political parties, and even churches. The benefits conferred upon this small class are obvious to everybody; the increase in their wealth appears to be an increase in the wealth of the nation and a proof of general prosperity; while the injuries caused by the system are widely diffused and are felt mainly by those who are not able to make themselves heard. The superstitious reverence for money, as by far the most important form of wealth, has a tremendous hold upon all classes, and makes them fearful that their country will be ruined by the outflow of gold in exchange for goods. The old idea, that whatever one man gains some other man must lose, has also still a strong hold upon the popular mind. But, more than all besides, except, perhaps, the idea about "giving work," already mentioned, the protective system derives its vitality from that instinctive hatred of strangers which, inherited from prehistoric times, still maintains its hold upon human nature, notwithstanding all the veneration of religion and civilization. The ancients used only one word to express the ideas of both "foreigner" and "enemy." Altho we use separate words, we have only partially separated the ideas. International enmities are never quite extinct, and they are easily kindled into a flame. The desire to injure those whom we intensely hate is far stronger among us all than any desire of profit for ourselves. Hatred of the Dutch was the supreme motive of the original English navigation laws. Hatred of the French was the sole motive of the enormous differential duties laid upon French products by England down to the time of Adam Smith, and of much subsequent British tariff legislation. Hatred of England was the sole motive of Napoleon's prohibitory system. Hatred of England inspires and accounts for two thirds of American tariff legislation. And hatred of Canada, aroused by the malignant feelings against us showed by Canadians during our Civil War, especially at the time of the raid on St. Alban's, was practically the only cause of our abrogation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866.

V. PRACTICAL RESULTS OF FREE TRADE IN AMERICA.

Protectionists often concede that free trade is correct in theory, while insisting that "it will not work in practice." They "take their stand upon the facts," which, they honestly believe, contradict the theory. Of course, it is absurd to say that any theory can be correct which does not fit the facts; but no matter. The truth is that the facts all confirm the theory. Free

trade means simply the removal of obstacles to trade ; and freedom of trade is increased whenever more obstacles are removed than are raised up. Now, while it is true that, since 1861, obstacles to trade in the form of tariffs have been increased in the United States, and true, also, that such obstacles have been increased all over Europe (except in Great Britain and Ireland, Belgium and Holland), since 1879, it is not at all true that there are, upon the whole, more obstacles of all kinds or more in aggregate effect in either America or Europe. It cannot be denied that the vastly larger share of the increased prosperity which has come to the United States in the increase

of population, of manufactures and of generally diffused wealth (leaving out of consideration the enormous wealth of multi-millionaires) has gone to the section *west* of the Alleghany Mountains. That section has almost monopolized the manufacture of iron and steel, as well as of most heavy and cumbersome goods. In 1860 more than three fourths of all these things were produced *east* of the Alleghanies. In 1894 more than three fourths of the same goods are produced *west* of the Alleghanies. Even as early as 1880 two thirds of the iron and steel were produced there. It is probable that seven eighths are produced there now. The production of iron and steel in New England has been killed ; in New York it has been stunted ; in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania it has been almost paralyzed. Why is it that the West has thus outstripped the East in the manufacture of articles in which the East had, prior to 1860, such great superiority ? It is not due to lower wages, for wages were very much higher in the West. It is not due to cheap capital, for rates of interest were much higher in the West. It is not due to superior experience, for the East had the experience and the West had not. Finally, it is not due to "protection," for the West was utterly unprotected against the competition of the experience, the cheaper capital, and the cheaper labor of the East ; and the reduction in railway freight charges has been so immense as to much more than nullify all the "protection" against Europe granted by the new tariffs. For example, the increased protection on pig iron has been little, if any, more than \$4 per ton ; while the reduction in freight rates between Liverpool and Chicago has been fully \$12 per ton. For the last 20 years the actual obstacles to the importation of foreign pig iron into all the region west of the Alleghanies have been less, not more, than they were under "the free trade tariff of 1857," and just as fast as these obstacles were removed, so fast did the production of pig iron in that region increase. On the other hand, the obstacles to the admission of foreign iron into New England and New York have been increased, the decline in ocean freights not materially counteracting the increase in the tariff ; and the iron manufacture in those States is practically dead. This is a conclusive demonstration, from actual experience, that increased freedom of trade promotes manufactures in new countries, and that those countries in which wages are highest and money dearest can compete successfully with older

countries in which wages are low and money cheap. Indeed, the entire history of the United States is one continuous illustration of the immense benefits of free trade. Our country is larger than the whole of Europe—Russia, perhaps, excepted ; it is as varied in the character of its population and more varied in its climate and soil ; in short, there are no reasons for protective tariffs between the nations of Europe which do not apply with even greater force to the different sections of the United States, except that the United States are confederated and the European States are not ; which is really no reason at all. The absolute freedom of trade which exists throughout our own country is the principal cause (so far as any governmental influences are concerned) of our wonderful national prosperity. Its beneficial effects have been so great as to more than counterbalance the injuries inflicted upon us by stupid legislation and by the prejudices, follies, and extravagance of our people. It was the instinctive sense of this fact which aroused the tremendous energy and determination of the Northwestern States during our Civil War. Their great object was, avowedly, to maintain the freedom of the Mississippi ; which was, obviously, only another form of expressing the absolute freedom of trade between all sections of the Union.

VI. PRACTICAL RESULTS OF FREE TRADE IN EUROPE.

It is continually assumed by American protectionists, in discussing the question of relative wages, that the low wages of Europe are due to free trade. Yet, when they discuss any other branch of the subject, they eagerly assert that Great Britain is the only country in the world in which free trade exists. The fact is, that nearly every nation on the continent of Europe maintains a tariff for protection as well as for revenue. As nearly as it is practicable to classify them, their tariffs stand in the following order of stringent protectiveness : Russia, Spain and Portugal, Italy, France, Austria, Germany, with the smaller countries following under lower tariffs, with little intentional protection, but a good deal incidentally, except in Holland and Belgium, where incidental protection is very slight. Wages are at the lowest point in Russia, a little higher in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, considerably higher in France, Austria, and Germany, and far higher in Great Britain. It is clear that protection does not help wages anywhere in Europe. Still, much as the wages of France and Germany are below those of free trade England, it is certain that they are higher than they were 40 years ago. The manufactures, trade, and commerce of all Central Europe are much greater than they were at that time. The wealth of all Central Europe has greatly increased and is constantly increasing. Have these results come from increased restrictions on trade or from the removal of such restrictions ? American protectionists point to the existing tariffs of Europe as an evidence that European prosperity is at least not hindered by protection, if not caused by it. Now, it is not disputed that substantially all of the improvement in the condition of the people

Europe.

of Europe, such as it is, has come about within the last 40 years, and most of it since 1860. But highly restrictive as most European tariffs undoubtedly are to-day, not one of them (Russia, perhaps, excepted) is as restrictive as it was 40 years ago. Between 1850 and 1860 there was a general reduction of tariffs. Germany, in particular, repealed most merely protective duties in 1867. France had comparatively moderate duties, under the Cobden treaty, from 1860-77. The advance of both Germany and France under this *régime* of greatly reduced protection was vastly more rapid than it had ever been before. Other European countries also prospered more than ever where they reduced or abandoned the protective policy. Never, in all their history, had there been any such advance in wages or in general wealth; and this, too, in spite of the enormous losses caused by the terrific wars of 1866 and 1870. But when the world-wide depression of 1875 set in, many of the people, forgetting all that they had suffered under the high protective *régime*, imputed their new troubles to the abandonment of that policy; and their rulers, eagerly desirous of more revenue, easily persuaded them to consent to higher duties. The improvement—also world-wide—of 1879-81 confirmed the popular impression that protection was a benefit; and all Central Europe entered into a war of tariffs and of trade obstruction. The results have been disastrous to all parties. Italy has been ruined; France has been stunted; and in Germany, the growth of discontent, turning to revolutionary socialism for relief, has been most portentous. Nearly all the improvement in wages and in general prosperity which had been gained since 1865 has been lost.* But no country has gone back to the old *régime* of prohibitions and obstructions which existed 50 years ago. Belgium, which is a very small country, dependent upon trade with its neighbors for almost everything, has afforded a marvelous example of the advantages of a liberal system. Until 1855 it maintained a protective tariff, under which its progress was extremely slow. Throwing off protective duties in 1855, it entered upon a career of wonderful prosperity; its manufactures and commerce increased at a rate unparalleled; and its career has been so remarkable that American protectionists have coolly referred to it as an example of the benefits of protection 30 years after protection had been abolished! Thus the fact is that the prosperity of Europe, such as it is, has come under a relaxation of commercial restrictions; and the cloud which has come over it has come under a partial renewal of those restrictions. There is another important factor, which shall be considered in connection with the progress of Great Britain as well as of Europe and the United States.

While, as already stated, Great Britain has never had the courage to adopt full freedom of trade, she has still come nearer to it than has any other nation. Down to 1825 she maintained a more rigid system of "protection" than the

United States ever knew, and much more rigid than any nation in Europe (except, perhaps, Russia) maintains to-day. Not merely were enormous duties levied upon all articles which were supposed to compete with British producers, but many such articles were absolutely prohibited. In 1825, under the leadership of Huskisson, considerable reductions were made in tariff taxes, and most prohibitions were repealed. But the rate of protective duties was still left very high, ranging from 25 to 75 per cent. No reduction was made in the taxes on foreign grain; and many articles of food were practically and some literally prohibited. This slight measure of relief to commerce was followed by a slight improvement. Whereas, in the preceding 20 years, the value of British exports had increased only from \$184,000,000 to \$188,000,000, or at the rate of \$200,000 per annum, they increased, during the next 12 years, to \$230,000,000, or at the rate of \$3,500,000 per annum. Here, however, progress stopped. From 1837-42 there was no increase whatever in the value of British exports. The Whig Government, altho favorable to greater freedom of trade, had not the courage or the power to relax commercial restrictions, and even deemed itself forced, by the necessities of revenue, to increase duties—a measure which failed to bring revenue, because the duties were too high already, but which did injure commerce and manufactures seriously. In 1841 the Whigs were turned out of office by Sir Robert Peel, who, altho a Tory, had the courage to reduce duties and to impose an income tax—measures which he could compel his party to accept and the House of Lords to pass, but which the Whigs could not possibly have carried. These measures gave some immediate relief, altho he left foreign food substantially prohibited except in times of famine. In the next four years, from 1842-46, British exports increased from \$230,000,000 to \$280,000,000, or at the rate of \$12,500,000 per annum. This progress was ten times as rapid as that which had taken place, upon the average, during the preceding 37 years of stringent protection. This practical test, combined with the unanswerable logic of Richard Cobden, entirely converted Sir Robert Peel. In 1846 he declared himself in favor of entire free trade, repealed the very corn laws which he had come into power for the purpose of sustaining, and reduced all protective duties to very low rates. His work was carried on after his death, in 1850, by his disciple, William E. Gladstone, who, in 1853, abolished most of the protective duties remaining, and in 1860 abolished all the rest. In 1849 one half of the navigation laws were repealed by the Whigs, with the help of Peel; and all the rest were repealed by the ministry of which Gladstone formed a part in 1854. Under this policy, British exports increased at a rate never dreamed of before. Whereas, under the fully protective and semi-protective systems, they had increased less than \$100,000,000 in 40 years, they increased over \$640,000,000 in the next 20 years—that is, from \$280,000,000 in 1846 to \$920,000,000 in 1866. In order to appreciate the value of these figures, it must be remem-

Great
Britain.

* Undoubtedly a large part of this depression has been caused by the increase of standing armies. But these armies were very large, and were greatly increased during the period of lower tariffs and rising prosperity.

bered that the greater part of British manufactures are and long have been exported ; so that the export figures have for very many years afforded the best attainable statistics of the progress of production and wealth.

The same results followed the adoption of free trade in navigation. The navigation laws, originally enacted by Cromwell, out of hatred toward the Dutch, were the pattern of those maintained in America to-day. They rigidly forbade the purchase of foreign ships, the manning of British ships by foreigners, the importation of goods in foreign ships from any ports except those of the country in which such goods were produced, and so on. Even Adam Smith, while clear-headed enough to see that such laws made commerce expensive, was deluded into the belief that they really promoted the growth of British shipping, and were, therefore, justified as a measure of national defense. But his error in this respect was demonstrated by the immediate effects of the repeal of these laws, which was begun in 1849 and completed in 1854. The increase in British shipping was slower, under those laws, than it had been before. This was soon pointed out by one or two exceptionally intelligent writers ; but their criticisms were unheeded. But by 1840 the failure of the restrictive system had become so marked that it attracted general attention. During the 24 years preceding British shipping had increased by only 80,000 tons. In 1849 all restrictions upon foreign ships in foreign trade were abolished. The increase in British shipping then became much greater in every year than it had been in the whole 24 years from 1816-40. In 1854 the coasting trade was thrown open to all ships, and the last vestige of "protection to British shipping" was done away with. The result was an enormous and utterly unprecedented increase in British ships and commerce. Whereas in 1849 British registered shipping amounted to only 3,486,000 tons, in 1859 it amounted to 4,663,000 tons ; in 1879 to 6,580,000 tons, and in 1892 to 8,645,000 tons.

All these measures of reform were opposed by precisely the same arguments and in almost precisely the words which are in daily use in America now. The protected interests declared that not only they, but also the whole country, would be ruined by free trade. They were so clamorous and so sincere that they carried with them vast numbers of men whose own personal interests were on the side of free trade ; and thus the reign of protection was prolonged for 70 years after Adam Smith had so clearly proved its folly as to convert to his views the great William Pitt and all the real statesmen of his time. When the repeal of the navigation laws was seriously proposed immense processions of sailors were organized by the ship-owners to remonstrate against a scheme which, it was asserted, would destroy their means of living. So long as the manufacturers generally continued to believe in protection, it was a common expedient with them to secretly organize mobs to overawe Parliament, and to assail with actual violence statesmen who dared to resist their extortionate demands. It was shortly after a distinguished friend of his had been thus attacked that Adam Smith wrote that famous passage in which he says : "The member of Parliament who supports every proposal for strengthening monopoly is sure to acquire not only the reputation of understanding trade, but great popularity and influence with an order of men whose numbers and wealth render them of great importance. If he opposes them, and still more, if he have authority enough to be able to thwart them, neither the most acknowledged probity, nor the highest rank, nor the greatest public services can protect him from the

most infamous abuse and detraction, from personal insults, nor sometimes from real danger, arising from the insolent outrage of furious and disappointed monopolists." No one who knows anything of the history of the free trade agitation in America can fail to recognize the correctness of this description as being quite as applicable here as in England. This was precisely the experience of Albert Gallatin, who, after rendering to his country the greatest services at home and abroad, was made the subject of the grossest insults by Henry Clay and by the whole manufacturers' party, simply because in his later years he took a leading part in overthrowing the oppressive tariff of 1828. In our own time it has been the experience of many advocates of freedom of trade, but especially of David A. Wells, who after reducing to an intelligible system the monstrous and ruinous methods of internal taxation, fastened upon the country by the ignorant and utterly incompetent Ways and Means Committee of 1864, and thus rescuing the manufacturers of the United States from an amount of oppression for which no tariff could compensate, was made the subject of the coarsest attacks by Henry C. Carey, Horace Greeley, and William D. Kelley the moment he dared to expose the failure of protection to protect. And altho James A. Garfield came gallantly to his defence, and declared, with perfect truth, that no other man had rendered equal service to the nation since the close of the war, and especially to the manufacturers, the same falsehoods and the same abuse have followed Mr. Wells from the hired scribes of "infuriated monopolists" down to this day.

The triumph of Adam Smith's ideas in his own country has been complete, altho he thought it impossible. And every word of his predictions as to the results which would follow the adoption of free trade has been fulfilled. So far from being ruined, or even injured, the prosperity and wealth of Great Britain have increased at a rate previously inconceivable. This prosperity has been shared by the great mass of the community, altho not as equally as should have been the case, for the simple reason that full free trade has not been adopted ; indirect taxation continues to be the chief source of revenue, and the poor therefore still bear the double burdens of rent and taxation. Wages have advanced largely ; the masses have, man for man, at least twice as much food, three times as much meat and sugar, twice as good clothing, and three or four times as much of the other comforts of life as they had under the protective system, and it is a very modest estimate to say that the poorest mechanics and artisans in England are 100 per cent. better off under partial free trade than they ever were before. But the improvement among the great middle class is far greater, and cannot be reckoned at less than 200 per cent. Unequal as is the distribution of wealth in Great Britain, it has become much less unequal than it was under protection, and there is a slow tendency toward greater equality, while in America there is a rapid tendency toward greater concentration of wealth.

The success of free trade in England is not seriously disputed by any honest and intelligent students of her history. But protectionists meet this argument in several ways. They assert that free trade is only successful because England is such a small country, that the increase of English trade has been paralleled by protective countries, and, above all, that "England built up her industries by protection until they were strong enough to compete under free trade." We will consider these arguments briefly. The first needs little comment. The idea that free trade is more endurable in a small country than in a large one is simply a perversion of the truth that a large country is generally better able to endure the burdens of so-called protection than a small one. It usually has more wealth, and therefore it can lose more without being ruined than a poorer country can. The fact that other countries have shared in the prosperity of Great Britain, altho adhering to protection, is easily explained. It is impossible for any country to increase its exports without also increasing its imports ; indeed, it was the intention in adopting free trade to increase imports. It was impossible to increase British imports without increasing to precisely the same extent the collective exports of other countries, or to increase British exports without increasing to the same extent imports of other countries. That is self-evident. Accordingly, even if other countries had no other source of increased prosperity, a certain amount would be

Opposition.

Adam
Smith.

forced upon them by British trade. And it will be readily seen upon examination of the trade returns of European countries adhering to the protective system, that they have simply followed in the wake of Great Britain, and that such prosperity as they have is fully accounted for by the degree to which free trade has been forced upon them, in spite of their tariffs, partly by the open ports of England and partly by their own railways, constructed under the influence of English example. It is, indeed, one of the chief glories of free trade that it necessarily distributes its blessings over all the world, and that while conferring much the greater part of its benefits upon the nation which has the good sense to adopt it, it has still a vast amount left for less enlightened countries. There remains the assertion that England built up her industries by protection and that it was by centuries of protection that she prepared herself for free trade. The facts which could be adduced in refutation of this statement are so innumerable that no attempt can be made here to mention more than a few. It is quite true that England maintained the policy of commercial restriction for centuries. It is also true that during all those centuries, except the last, England had no decent roads, no canals, and none of the modern facilities for internal communication. Nevertheless, she prospered, after a fashion. There is quite as much reason for attributing her prosperity to these defects or to the universal lack of education among her people, to their coarseness, ignorance, and brutality, to the savage criminal laws, to the cruel laws which tied laborers to their birthplace, or to any of the other barbarisms of merry old England, as to the protective statutes which formed part of a consistent system, by which the landowners deliberately sought to keep the masses in abject ignorance and slavish dependence. All these laws and customs obviously hindered the growth of English industries, and that the laws restricting foreign commerce were the greatest hindrance of all was proved by the fact that after almost all other wicked statutes were repealed, after the manners of the people had been greatly improved and their morals elevated, and after England had been provided with the best roads and canals of any country in the world, its progress continued to be very slow. Such progress as was made in manufactures and commerce was made in spite of the pretended "protection" of ignorant legislators. Manufactures obstinately refused to develop on the lines prescribed for them by British Solons. So anxious were they to promote the manufacture of wool that they at first absolutely prohibited the sale of cotton goods, and when forced to allow the manufacture of cotton, they imposed a heavy internal tax upon it, in order to make it cost nearly as much as woolsens. So stupid, too, were most of the cotton manufacturers, that having grown up under this tax, they opposed its repeal, which was secured, in spite of them, by the single-handed energy of Arkwright. Yet its repeal, of course, led to an immediate and enormous development of the manufacture, which, as everybody knows, soon far outstripped the woolen manufacture and became the most important industry of England. When it had thus become firmly established, the cotton manufacture, like all other big infant industries, demanded and received "the fostering hand of protection," in the form of prohibitory taxes upon foreign competitors, who were then practically non-existent. This is the most prominent example of an endless series of blunders, by which the legislation demanded by selfish manufacturers really "protected" English manufactures from attaining their natural growth. By 1840 nearly all the paternal legislation of England, with regard to domestic industry, had been repealed, with the exception of protection against foreign competition. Great results were expected, but they did not come. The masses of the people were not half fed or a quarter clothed compared with what they needed to make life endurable. Their desperate poverty reacted upon the whole producing class, which could not find customers either at home or abroad. The entire manufacturing community found themselves upon the verge of ruin. They were being protected to death. At last their eyes were opened, and with substantial unanimity they implored Parliament to repeal all the laws which their own class had so fiercely insisted upon in the days of Adam Smith, to open British ports, and to allow unlimited foreign competition. Unfortunately the arguments of their predecessors had persuaded the landlords, who ruled the country, that protection was a good thing all around. So foreign

Opposing Arguments.

food had been prohibited, in order to raise farm rents, and now the landlords insisted upon maintaining their share of protection, whatever the manufacturers might choose to do as to theirs. As to the starvation and misery of the people at large, that was no concern of the landlords. The people always had been miserable, and it was clear that God intended them to be so. Pious country gentlemen and sleek bishops regarded with horror the impiety of those who sought to extinguish poverty, exactly as the corresponding classes in America do now. "The poor ye have always with you," was a prediction which it would be blasphemy to make of none effect. Poverty and the people were united by divine decree: "What God hath joined, let not man put asunder." The masses had no votes, and it cost not only a tremendous political struggle, but also the sacrifice of thousands of lives in the terrible famine of 1846 to secure the repeal of the corn laws, with which fell the whole fabric of British protectionism.

VII. THE TRIUMPH OF FREE TRADE.

It has already been intimated that tariffs are not the only obstruction to trade, and that it is possible for trade to grow more free, through the removal of other obstructions, even while tariff barriers are raised higher than ever. It has always seemed to protectionists, both in Europe and America, a triumphant answer to all the claims of free traders, on account of the prosperity of England under free trade, to say that it was due much more to the spread of railways, steamships, and telegraphs than to free trade. But railways, steamships, canals, roads, telegraphs, and improvements of every kind in communication are all steps toward free trade. They create more free trade than all tariffs can destroy; and their *entire* value and benefit consists in the degree to which they introduce freedom of trade. The only "protection" which any tariff can give is by way of obstruction to trade. But what obstruction does a tax of \$10 a ton create compared with a mountain range or a distance of 500 miles, with no road except a mule path? While the pretentious statesmen of both Europe and America have been piling up obstructions to commerce in the form of hostile tariffs, they have generally been equally anxious to pull down much more effectual obstructions which had been raised by nature. We have already pointed out that the whole value of the American scheme of protection upon heavy and bulky goods has been destroyed, so far as the great West was concerned, by the rapid reduction in cost of transportation caused by railway extensions. But the same thing has been true of Europe. The great statesmen of Germany and Italy erected barriers against each other in the higher tariffs of 1879 and later years; and yet at the very same time they contributed millions of dollars to cut the St. Gothard tunnel through the Alps, destroying a natural barrier far more protective to native industry than any tariff. As soon as the tunnel was fairly open, German producers discovered that such was the result, and forthwith clamored for more tariff as a remedy for the injury done to them by the freedom of trade given by the tunnel. Railways and tunnels now run in every direction between all countries in Central Europe; and the freedom of trade thus given has nullified all the protection given by their absurd tariffs. Thiers was indeed the only consistent protectionist of note. He believed in the policy of restriction so sincerely that, so long as he remained prime-minister under Louis Phi-

lippe, he would not permit a single railway to be constructed in France. And while Belgium, as soon as she adopted the policy of comparative freedom of trade, promoted the greatest possible

extension of railways at the cheapest rates, France put all railways into the hands of a few monopolists, with the result of retarding her progress far behind that of

Europe.

her little neighbor. Great Britain was the first country to introduce railways; and by 1845 she began to do so upon an enormous scale. The extension of cheap transportation and the abolition of protective tariffs went hand in hand. The one, quite as much as the other, was a step toward freedom of trade. Unfortunately, the British Parliament, being composed exclusively of landlords, allowed landlords in general to extort enormous amounts of blackmail from the railway companies, thus imposing a burden upon them, which has made transportation unjustly expensive down to the present time, and so lessened the freedom of trade which railways ought to bring.

In the United States, the lesson is even more clear. The opening of the Erie Canal is universally recognized as the great cause of the prosperity of the State of New York, and as the decisive cause of the triumph of New York City over all its rivals—a triumph which has been perpetuated by the subsequent opening of the best lines of railway communication with the West. The immense extension of our railways has nullified all the devices of our protectionists, altho they have been able in part to nullify the benefits of our railways. Like the British landlords, they have made our railways too costly, and have loaded them with a burden which many of them can ill sustain. Our legislators did their best to deprive us of the vast advantage of cheap steel, and succeeded in adding about one half to the entire cost of construction for a quarter of a century; but they were utterly unable to deprive us of the blessing of that large share of free trade which resulted from the growth of the railway system. All the additional cost of our railways, which the protective tariff imposed upon us, is now plainly seen to be dead loss. It is represented in the shrunken market prices of stocks and bonds, in the ruin of the great Pacific lines, in the obliteration of values upon all lines constructed under the tariff tax of \$28 per ton on rails. It is some consolation to know that nearly nine tenths of this loss has fallen upon men who were the most eager advocates of that tax, which they have now paid out of their own pockets. This, however, is a digression, tho not an unprofitable one. The great fact to be observed is that freedom of trade has progressed here in the United States, in spite of all Morrill or McKinley tariffs, by the removal of natural barriers, which were vastly more efficient than any tariffs could be.

This accounts for our national prosperity; while it proves that, if no tariffs had interfered, our prosperity would now be immensely greater than it is. But it will be said:

"This, after all, only proves that greater freedom of interior trade is beneficial—which we do not deny. It does not prove that

greater freedom has been given to *foreign* trade." Yes, it does. Alike in Europe and in America, this increased facility of domestic trade necessarily carried with it an equal addition to facilities of foreign trade minus only such new obstructions as were created by new tariffs. On some articles, especially those of small bulk, in proportion to value the advance in duties exceeds the reduction in cost of transportation. Such articles have been kept out. But this only directed foreign trade to other articles of a different character; and those articles have come in, often in increasing quantities. We admit that the new tariffs have largely neutralized the benefit of our internal improvements; but this is all that they have been able to do. To a considerable extent the same nullification of tariffs has been going on in ocean navigation. When the Morrill tariffs of 1861 and 1864 were adopted, freight from Europe was brought almost exclusively in slow-sailing vessels. The time of passage averaged 40 days at least. Goods were slowly loaded by expensive hand labor, and were placed on board several days, sometimes weeks, before the ship sailed. Unloading was also a slow process. On the average, interest had to be allowed on goods for 60 days from the date of purchase. Insurance rates were high; and insurance was refused altogether upon the most frequent cases of damage just because they were so frequent. All these items had to be allowed for in the estimate of cost. Now, the same goods arrive, without fail, in 10 days after they are purchased, and are turned out upon the dock so quickly that the importer has hardly time to send for them. Insurance is cheap, and the old risks of damage are almost eliminated. In addition to all this, the great West keeps on growing; the rates of transportation westward are decreasing on foreign goods just as much as on any others; the Eastern States are doubtless given an opportunity to fleece the West to some extent, but they cannot supply the entire demand; and, upon the whole, no tariff can do more than somewhat to retard the progress of an ever-advancing freedom of trade. It is, indeed, the consciousness of this fact—not always distinct, but always felt—that makes the protected classes so greedy for more and more "protection." They find that the competition which they believed they had shut out comes creeping in again; and hence their eternal demand for more, and more, and still more restriction upon foreign trade, as exemplified in the old days of 1816, 1820, 1824, and 1828, and in the later days of 1861, 1863, 1864, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1875, 1882, 1883, 1890, and 1894, in every one of which years they demanded and obtained some increase of their impositions, while in every other year they demanded some other increase which they did not obtain. In the nature of things they can never stop, because nature and art are working continually against them; and the progress of free trade, altho slow, is irresistible.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

References: Bastiat's *Sophisms of the Protectionists* (translation, 1870); W. G. Sumner's *Protectionism* (1885); D. A. Wells's *Recent Economic Changes* (1886); Henry George's *Protection or Free Trade* (1886). See also the publications of the Reform Club of New York on *United States Tariff History*, etc.

FREMANTLE, The Hon. and Rev. WILLIAM HENRY, was born in 1831, the second son of the first Baron Cottosloe. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he held a fellowship of All Souls, 1855-63; ordained in 1858, he became curate at Middle Claydon, vicar of Lewknor, rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, London, 1865, and canon residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral in 1882. In 1895 he was appointed Dean of Ripon. He has been a frequent writer, and in 1882 he gave the Bampton Lectures at Oxford on *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, in which he advocates the broadest application of Christianity to social and political life. (See **CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.**)

FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE, played an important tho a frequently misunderstood part in social reform.

France was groaning under despotism, royal extravagance and financial ruin. In 1774 Louis XV. ended his profligate reign, brilliant only because of its literary men. Louis XVI., married in 1770 to Marie Antoinette of Austria, was pure,

The Causes. stubborn and weak. Turgot (*q.v.*), entrusted with the finances, tried to levy taxes equally. The nobility resisted, and in 1776 he was deposed. Necker followed, vainly trying to stave off national bankruptcy. France, aiding America against England, for five years fought England, and grew still poorer. The nobility and the higher clergy dodged the taxation; gaiety ruled in the court; the people hated the foreign queen. Finally in 1789, after various efforts with Parliament, the king was compelled to summon the states-general (see **ESTATES**) to vote taxes. Meanwhile, the writings of Rousseau and others were filling the people with ideals of equality. The First Estate, the clergy, returned to the assembly 291 members, 48 bishops and 208 parish priests, the poorer priests largely on the side of the people. The Second Estate, the nobility, returned 208 members. The Third Estate had 577 members, nearly half of them barristers. They met at Versailles. The king was stubborn, but they would not vote as he wished. June 17, 1789, they formed themselves into a national assembly, and June 20, on the neighboring tennis court, took an oath not to separate till "the constitution of the kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations." The king attempted to compromise, but finally threw himself into the hands of his courtiers, and called out the army. Paris rose, and blood was shed July 12. July 14, the Bastille was taken. Uprisings occurred in the provinces. August 4 the old feudal rights were abrogated, and the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man declared. June 19, 1790, nobility was abolished. The nobles fled. The royal family finally attempted to do so, but were captured (June, 1791). The assembly was in control, and completed a constitution.

Republican-ism. Robespierre and other Republican leaders were, however, agitating in Paris for the deposition of the king. Violence broke out, and Lafayette put down the Republicans with bloodshed. September 14, the assembly completed its constitution and the king swore to obey it, and chose a Girondist cabinet. A Legislative Assembly elected under the constitution met October 1, 1791. Meanwhile, the nobility in foreign lands were gaining friends, and the king was declared to be conspiring with them. War was declared with Austria. The Girondist ministry was ejected, and they sided with the Jacobins against Lafayette as leader of the conservatives. June, 1792, the populace of Paris rose against the assembly, and marched to Versailles and forced the king to don the red cap. Meanwhile, Prussia declared war on France. The Jacobins organized a new insurrection August 10, sang the *Marseillaise*, and set up in Paris an insurrectionary commune. The people, under Robespierre and Danton, were victorious. Guillotining increased. The march of the Germans increased the terror, and September 21, 1792, the republic was declared. In the new national convention the Girondists on the right were in the majority; the Jacobins were high on the left, and called the "Mountain;" below sat the moderates. In November the king was accused, January 17, 1793, condemned, and

January 21 guillotined. Roland and the Girondists had tried to prevent it. It roused the hostility of all Europe. Demouriez, however, in command of the French armies, was successful, and entered Belgium. England now declared war (February 1, 1793), but the war spirit in France grew. Demouriez, however, was accused in Paris, and after a defeat he conspired with the Austrians and marched against France to overthrow the Jacobins. They created the terrible Committee of Public Safety. Disturbances broke out in the provinces, and La Vendée arose in a bloody insurrection. The Girondists in the south threatened Paris. The allies were slowly uniting.

It was a crisis. Some think that Danton, who, altho rough, was a sincere patriot, felt that a little bloodshed now would save bloodshed in the end. He led in a sanguinary policy. Marat, at the head of the Sans Culottes, overthrew the Girondists June 2, but was himself assassinated by Charlotte Corday. Danton made the convention proclaim martial law and a new constitution. A new calendar was proclaimed and statues erected and fêtes celebrated to Nature and Reason. The republic was successful on the field, insurrection put down, and the invaders repulsed. The queen, the leading Girondists and aristocrats, the cidivants were guillotined. Hébert now led the terrorists and Danton the moderates. Robespierre, who seems to have been an ambitious fop, sided with neither. Robespierre became dictator. The French armies were victorious, Napoleon being in charge of the artillery in Italy. Robespierre undertook to bring in "the fête of the Supreme Being." He trusted in his ideas, but was laughed at; he allowed the reign of terror to go on, and created personal hostilities. His arrest was voted, and he was guillotined. Paris was weary of revolution; the armies on the frontier were victorious, but, tho republicans, they by no means sympathized with affairs at home. January, 1795, the convention closed the Jacobin clubs, which had worked such evil. Famine broke out in Paris and insurrections broke out. They were easily put down and the power left with the bourgeois. A Girondist constitution was now declared. The death penalty was abolished, five dictators were to have power. The royalists made one last effort. Barras now called Napoleon to Paris, and his artillery cleared the streets and left Paris in the hands of the Directory. Baboué plotted his communistic conspiracy, but was put down. Napoleon was put at the head of the army in Italy, and commenced his brilliant succession of victories. **The End.** The Directory, however, at Paris was threatened, and was only sustained by recalling part of the army. In 1797 Napoleon entered Paris in triumph. He was, however, sent to Egypt, but victorious there, returned once more to Paris to find political weakness and division. A new constitution was proclaimed with consuls: one supreme, Napoleon. He established himself in the Tuileries, conducted brilliant war and a despotic policy, and May 18, 1804, had himself proclaimed Emperor. So ended the Revolution. (See **FRANCE.**)

It was in the beginning a parliamentary contest with the king over taxes. Revolutionists with ideas of the rights of man took the opportunity to rouse the suffering *canaille* of Paris to insurrection. Successful in the field against foreigners, they could not agree at home, and having unchained the spirit of terror, could not chain it till a strong hand came, and the people, weary of bloodshed, submitted to an empire. It established nothing; it simply ended the old *régime*. When the people grew strong again they overthrew the empire. It was thus led by bourgeois men, yet participated in by all classes. Its cries of "Liberty, equality, fraternity" were individualistic, not in the modern sense socialistic. Economically and politically it did with terror and confusion what was done legally in England and Germany by overthrowing despotism. It succeeded negatively; positively it failed because it lacked unity.

References: Carlyle's *French Revolution*; Grundlund's *Danton*; the histories of Lanfrey, Thiers, etc.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES is the name used in Great Britain for voluntary benefit societies of any kind. They probably originated in the old burial clubs, which existed even in Greece and Rome. (See **GUILDS**.) During the Middle Ages they were mixed with the guilds. A revival of them seems to have occurred among the Protestant refugees of Spitalfields. An act of 1793 recognized and encouraged them. They were organized in great numbers, but with little stability. Trade-unions had long to hide beneath their name. (See **COMBINATION LAWS**.) After various laws a Royal Commission investi-

gated them (1870-74), and the act of 1875 regulated them (modified in 1887 and 1895). They are composed of orders like the Odd Fellows, Foresters, Rechabites, etc., general societies, county and town societies, trade societies, dividing societies, deposit societies, collecting societies, annuity societies, female societies, insurance societies, etc., registered and unregistered. In England 1 out of every 3 inhabitants is a member of a friendly society.

The latest returns made to the Registrars of Friendly Societies in the United Kingdom are :

	Number.	Members.	Funds.
Friendly Societies not collecting.....	28,384	4,203,601	£22,695,039
Collecting Societies.....	47	3,875,215	2,713,214
Other Societies.....	1,111	241,446	594,808
Industrial and Provident.....	1,810	1,136,907	18,915,793
Building Societies.....	2,694	587,856	42,683,271
Trade Unions.....	599	986,817	1,515,319
Loan Societies.....	712	34,576	258,714
Railway Savings Banks.....	11	22,899	1,788,012
Total.....	35,559	11,089,317	£71,162,470

In Germany, the friendly societies are usually either trade-union, socialistic or otherwise, religious societies, Roman Catholic or Protestant, agricultural or industrial cooperative societies, or insurance societies working under the compulsory insurance laws. (See **GERMAN**.)

In France, friendly societies (*sociétés des secours mutuels*), without including trade-unions and cooperative societies, numbered, in 1892, 9662, with 1,503,397 members. According to the reports of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, there are in Italy some 5000 benefit societies; in Holland, some 433, with branches all over the kingdom; in Switzerland, 1254. (For the United States, see **FRATERNAL SOCIETIES**; **INSURANCE**; **TRADE-UNIONS**.)

FROEBEL, FRIEDRICH WILHELM AUGUST, philosopher, educational reformer, and philanthropist, was born at Oberweissbach, in the Thuringian forest, Germany, in 1782. His father was pastor of the village church. His mother died when he was in his infancy, and he was neglected in consequence. At the village school he was considered stupid, and he was apprenticed to a forester. The forest then became his college. Every natural object—stone, insect, plant, or tree—suggested to him some general truth; and he perceived some underlying connection between all objects, however apparently remote from each other. His inborn tendency to mysticism was strengthened by his lonely meditations in the forest, but after overcoming many obstacles he at last obtained permission to attend the university at Jena. He went from professor to professor seeking for a connection between the sciences. His career at Jena ended ignominiously by his imprisonment for nine weeks through incurring a debt of \$7 or \$8. He returned home, was sent on a farm, and then, on the death of his father, was set free to shift for himself. He wandered about

as land surveyor, accountant, secretary, and at last became a very successful teacher in a model school at Frankfort. After a short time at a university, he was patriotic enough to enlist as a soldier for the campaign of 1813. It was while in the army that he gained his two most devoted followers, Langenthal and Middendorff. On the termination of the war, he returned to Berlin, and obtained a position under Professor Weiss. But his own ideal soon forced him to give up his position and to unfold his system of education. He set out on foot for Griesheim, a small village where a sister-in-law lived. Here he founded a school, composed at first only of his little nieces and nephews. Removing his school to Keilhau, he sent for his two friends Langenthal and Middendorff, and soon their pupils began to rapidly increase. Financially it was not profitable, and for many years the teachers suffered the hardships of poverty. Froebel opened another school in Switzerland, and the Swiss Government was wise enough to send young teachers to him for instruction. He discovered that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of a perfect education, or "self-completion," was the general neglect of children in their earlier years. His great work on *The Education of Man* (1826) deals chiefly with the child up to the age of seven. Returning from Switzerland, he founded at Keilhau the first kindergarten in 1837. He sought to base a course of educational exercises on the games in which children were most interested. His first kindergarten failed for lack of funds; but by pen and lecture he spread the principles of his system; and until his death he continued to train male and female teachers in the impartation of his ideas.

In 1851 his nephew published a book which the Government accused of teaching socialism and irreligion, and unfortunately confounding his views with Froebel's, an edict was issued for-

bidding the establishment of schools based on Froebel's principles. He took this greatly to heart, and in May, 1852, died, and was buried at Schweina.

The starting point of his researches was his belief in the unity of creation. Education meant with him unity of development, perfect evolution in accordance with the laws of his being. From this belief naturally followed his doctrine: "All education not founded on religion is unproductive."

He agreed with Pestalozzi in this belief: That the true educator *creates* nothing in the children, but guides the growth of inborn faculties. Children grow as plants grow. But he went beyond Pestalozzi in holding that the function of education was to develop the faculties by arousing *voluntary activity*. (See KINDERGARTEN.)

FRY, ELIZABETH (*née* GURNEY), was born at Earlham, Norfolk, England, in 1780. She was brought up a Friend, and in 1800 married to Joseph Fry. She visited and worked in behalf of the poor and sick, seamen, prisoners, and outcasts in all parts of Great Britain and on the Continent. In 1809 she became an occasional preacher, tho never neglecting the care of her large family. She is best known for her work in prison reform. (See PENOLOGY.)

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—A United States fugitive act, passed in 1793, declared that

whenever a person held to service, etc., shall escape into another State or Territory, the person to whom such service may be due, his agent or attorney, may seize or arrest such fugitive and take him before any judge of a court of the United States, or any magistrate of a county, city, or town, and upon proof to the satisfaction of the judge or magistrate, whether by oral testimony or sworn affidavit, that service is owed as claimed, the judge or magistrate shall give a certificate thereof to the claimant, which shall be sufficient warrant to remove the fugitive.

This act, long obsolete, was later more and more made use of by the slaveholders of the South. That Northern States should be compelled to help Southern slaveholders catch their slaves created great indignation at the North. The constitutionality of the law was tested, but it was decided constitutional, two judges dissenting. This led to the passage of a still more rigorous bill in 1850. United States commissioners were to perform the judicial acts, and United States marshals execute warrants and processes. Owners could themselves pursue and demand the help of the commissioners and marshals. The sworn statement of the claimant was to be sufficient proof. Any aid rendered to fugitive slaves was made a penal offense, and all citizens were required to aid in the capture of the runaway, if required. This law almost more than any other roused the North. It was openly violated and resisted, tho often obeyed. After the war the fugitive slave laws were repealed.

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GALL, HEINRICH LUDWIG LAMPERT, whom Stegmann and Hugo's *Handbuch des Socialismus* calls "the first German socialist," was born in Aldenhoven bei Jülich, December 28, 1790. He held various clerkships in Government offices in Cleve, Düsseldorf, Luxemburg, and especially at Treves. The sufferings of the people after the War of 1815 moved him deeply; and even at this time he clearly analyzed the industrial situation and the social evolution which put all power into the hands of capitalists, and left the workers poor. Doing what he could to spread his ideas, he met with no encouragement, and in 1819 left his government situation to devote all his time and his considerable means to the service of social reform. He conducted to America an ill fated, ill planned company of the offscourings of German cities (thieves, convicts, and harlots), and organized a colony near Harrisburg, Pa. He believed he could make of them successful colonists; naturally he failed, exhausting his means, and receiving only criticism and opposition. Returning he entered the Government service once again, and made numerous inventions in distilling apparatus, etc., all to get the means to carry on his propaganda. He traveled in England and France, meeting Owen,

Fourier, and the Saint Simonians, and tried to form an international movement. He traveled all through Germany, even to East Prussia, oppressed with the condition of the masses. In 1828 he published a paper, *Menschenfreundliche Blätter* (Humanitarian Leaflets), but was compelled to discontinue it for lack of support. He wrote many books, especially *Mein Wollen und Mein Wirken* (1835), in which he outlines the principles of modern socialism, the helplessness of the individual worker, the need of industrial organization by the workers. Condemned to imprisonment in one of his travels, he fled to Treves, where he died January 31, 1863. See Stegmann and Hugo's *Handbuch des Socialismus* for a full account of him.

GAMBLING AND SPECULATION.—A fundamental principle of all good government is violated by gambling in any form, to wit:

"The presumption of law is that every man has acquired his property honestly; and it is the policy of every well-regulated government that he shall not be deprived of it without a fair equivalent. This is particularly the case in republics, where all should be independent in the means of subsistence" (State *vs.* Smith & Lane, 2 Yet [Tenn.], Reports).

Says Judge Catron, formerly of the Supreme Court of the United States :

"Gaming is a general evil, leads to vicious inclinations, destruction of morals, abandonment of industry and honest employments, a loss of self control and respect."

The English courts for centuries have held that :

"A common gambling-house, kept for lucre or gain, is a common nuisance, as it tends to draw together idle and evil-disposed persons, to corrupt their morals and ruin their fortunes."

In New York State common law prevailed until 1815, when the Legislature enacted a statute forbidding the act of betting or wagers upon future events. The New York Court of Appeals, in 1848, said :

"The evident intention of the Legislature was to discourage and repress gambling in all its forms, including bets and wagers and every species of wager contracts of hazard, as a great public mischief calling for effective measures of prevention and remedy" (Ruchman vs. Pitcher, 1 N. Y., 450).

Since then bills against gambling, pool-selling, etc., have been frequent in this and other States, the pool-selling on inclosed grounds has been frequently legalized and then again forbidden. The following account of various forms of gambling is abridged from an article by Mr. H. C. Vrooman, in the *Arena* for February, 1895 :

"The forms of gambling and speculation are almost endless. The older forms are with lotteries, faro, thimbles, dice, cards, and the like. Not to mention billiards and pool-playing for drinks, the raffles and chances at fairs—where under sometimes sacred auspices is fed the passion for gaining something for nothing—there is every grade of respectability and unrespectability. There is a very popular device coming much into use of late called 'a nickel in the slot.' It consists of a contrivance into which a nickel is dropped, and in case the nickel touches a certain spring it throws out a little shelf containing a handful of nickels. The shelves containing the prize handfuls are in sight under a glass cover, to encourage the player. Some of the machines are large and gorgeous, with the money shelves arranged in a circle which revolves like a wheel of fortune. This contrivance is within reach of the boys, and initiates them into a taste for 'trying their luck.' It requires but five cents, and there is a chance of winning over a dollar. These machines are most common in saloons, but are not infrequently found in candy-stores near schools, where the boys crowd at noontime to take their initial lesson in gambling.

"Another interesting device that requires but a small sum to invest in is called 'shooting craps.' It is played on a semicircular table with dice. The point of the game is in certain relations of the dice points to numbers on the board. It seems very trite to describe it, but when money is staked on it it develops into an exciting game. It is a favorite with those with very short purses, especially the negroes. It is a most striking spectacle to see hundreds of negroes gathered in a city den awaiting their turn to lose their money.

"Horse-racing furnishes a very popular method of gambling on a larger scale. For those who cannot go to the tracks and do their betting there, there are popular resorts, known as 'pool-rooms,' where 'the odds' are posted and bets taken just as at the track. The popular name 'pool' is a survival from the old French mutual pool system, still in vogue in some places in the South. It is very similar to a 'blind pool.' That is, each player put in a certain sum against some other player, and the book-maker or manager acted merely as a commission agent.

Pool-Rooms. The old process was too slow for the ambitious American, and the method now in vogue gives the book-maker one side in every play, and is usually so arranged as to give 60 per cent. odds in his favor. The 'book-

maker' is the manager of the pool-room. He makes a schedule of the horses running and an estimate of the proportion of chances in favor of each, based on the horse's record, the weather, the jockey, etc. This schedule, 'the book'—most commonly called 'the odds'—is posted in the 'pool-room' 20 minutes before the race occurs, and betting continues until the telegraph announces, 'They're off.' The race may occur in New Orleans and the playing in Chicago. The telegraph enables the playing to proceed the same as at the race-track.

"The betting by the individuals is called playing the races.' The book-maker plays against the public. Of course he must be a shrewd, experienced horse man. He arranges the odds on the basis of the patrons playing on a variety of the horses and balances his risks by their variety. The following is an illustration of 'the odds': Gallop, 7-5; Theodore, 3-2; Baby Bill, 8. This means that the book-maker will stake \$7 against \$5 on Gallop, \$3 against \$2 on Theodore, and \$8 against \$1 on Baby Bill. The option is open for the player to take any horse he wishes. The book-maker must either know public sentiment in regard to what bets will probably be taken, or he must start rumors afloat to create a sentiment that will turn bets to his advantage. If races were run honestly, a good judge of horses could often win; but often, at least, they are not. A book-maker 'stands in' with some jockey to prevent a fast horse winning, perhaps by tying a small silken thread around the hind ankle, which pulls the cords and cramps the leg. An electric battery has been carried by jockeys with wires connected with the spurs to partly paralyze a horse. A horse may be filled with water just before a race, having been previously liberally fed with salt. Sometimes a fast horse is entered under another name, etc.

"Next to the horse-racing ranks the 'clock' or 'tape game,' the 'bucket shop,' the 'open board,' and the regular 'board of trade'—thence on to the subtleties and refinements of general speculative business, such as booming cities to sell real estate, watering stock, manipulating **Bucket Shop.** ing railroads to buy cheap and sell dear, etc. The 'clock game' and the 'bucket shop' are based on the board of trade methods, only they are gambling pure and simple, never dealing in real commodities at all. The 'clock game' is especially barren of any semblance to real business in that the prices quoted do not follow the market, but are arbitrarily arranged by the management. There is a central office, where a scale of prices is made up every day on fictitious mining stocks and sent out, with the legitimate prices of wheat and corn and the regular board of trade articles, to the various gambling-rooms, where the little tickers record on the tape the rise and fall in price. These figures are placed as fast as they come in on a vast blackboard on one side of the room, and the crowd buy and sell the artificial margins in regular 'Change' style. Some of them do not even go through the form of pretending to receive by telegraph the regular market prices. The manager makes up a schedule of prices purely from his imagination, adapted to trap the gambling public. This is made on a roll of tape, is unwound right before the crowd, and the prices of stocks are recorded on the blackboard. The buying or selling of margins goes on, based on the last recorded figure on the board, looking for gain to the chance of a higher or lower figure on the tape.

"The 'bucket shop' is similar to the above, except that the schedule of prices on which the gambling is based is supposed to follow the actual market as quoted in the board of trade. The 'open board,' as seen in Chicago, is a duplicate of the regular board of trade in form, but is an immense bucket shop in character. The marked difference between the board of trade and the bucket shop is that the speculations on the board of trade have to do with the actual market, and heavy buying or selling there is supposed to influence the price of the commodities, while speculation in the bucket shop is gambling pure and simple on how the market is going to turn."

From the "bucket shop" to speculation in the regular stock exchanges is but a single step. Says Mr. John Bigelow (*Harper's Monthly*, February, 1895) :

"Between the years 1879 and 1882 the cash sales of wheat at the New York Produce Exchange amounted to \$244,737,000, while the option sales, embracing what are known on 'Change as 'puts' and 'calls,' 'long' and

'short,' 'futures' and 'straddles,' amounted to \$1,154,207,000. This last enormous sum represents exclusively the stakes of gamblers at the Produce Exchange alone, in a single city, and on a single agricultural product, during a period of only three years. It was also in proof that this form of gambling was carried on in oats, in barley, and in other cereals, and to a very large extent in pork and lard, and in pretty much all staple products.

Stock Gambling.

It was also shown that the amount thus staked upon the course of the market in Milwaukee was fully as much as, and in Chicago was probably double, the amount staked in New York. When to this we add the sums staked upon the fluctuations of the market at the Stock, Cotton, Mining, and other exchanges, we find that the amount bought and sold on an average every three years will fall but a little, if at all, short of the assessed value of the entire property of the nation. . . . Fifty-two million bales of cotton were dealt in on the New York Exchange during the cotton season of 1892, and 16,000,000 bales on the New Orleans Exchange—68,000,000 in all; while only 7,750,000 bales were grown in the entire country, and of these only 419,000 bales were shipped to New York."

It is not difficult to see that this is gambling. One may, however, go farther. It is not easy to draw the line between such stock gambling and speculation in real estate, or even in ordinary business. Says a tract on *Success in Speculation*, published by a Chicago "stock exchange":

"A speculator has been defined as 'one who buys securities or commodities for other than investment purposes.' That is to say, a person who has reason to believe that a particular stock is worth more money than its current price in the open market, and who buys the same not to hold for the income it may bring, in the shape of dividends, etc., but to sell out at the first opportunity which presents a satisfactory profit. The authority quoted adds that the definition applies the same, whether the stock is bought outright or on a margin. It is not easy to see why a dealer in real estate, who is not an investor, is not a speculator, under the same rule; or the shipper of potatoes, who gets his draft, made against his consignment on the Chicago market commission house, discounted at the local bank in Iowa; or the jobber in Fall River prints, who buys by the car load to anticipate an advance of one sixteenth of a cent in the market. But the country has said that the dealer in stocks and grain and provisions, no matter how sharp and conservative a trader he may be, is a speculator."

In the article quoted above, Mr. Bigelow concludes that gambling is a moral rather than a political disorder, tho government can do something. He says:

"It should lay its heavy hand upon all who make it their business or calling to provide houses, tables, dens, or any facilities for gaming from which they are to derive a revenue. In the exercise of such a power the legislature would be little likely to interfere with the proper liberty of the individual, and pretty certain to discourage to a very considerable extent the vice that now goes by the name of gambling, by rendering its instruments criminal and infamous. Such a law might in some degree, substantially perhaps, reinforce those reformers who are endeavoring to avail themselves of loftier agencies to extinguish the inclination to gamble. The proper and only radical cure is to educate people to be ashamed to prey upon each other in this way; but a law-making criminal all who live by facilitating and encouraging others in the vice may prove an important ally of the pulpit and the press in resisting the spread of the most demoralizing of all demoralizing propensities." (See LOTTERIES.)

References: Article by John Bigelow, *Harper's Monthly*, February, 1895, a symposium on gambling and speculation in *The Arena* for February, 1895, with a bibliography.

GARNIER, JOSEPH, was born at Beuil, France, in 1813. Studying at the *École supérieure du commerce*, he became professor and

then director of the school, and in 1846 Professor of Political Economy in the *École des ponts et chaussées*. Of the school of *laissez faire*, he was one of the founders, in 1842, of the *Société d'économie politique*; and in 1846 of the *Association pour la liberté des échanges*. He helped establish and long edited the *Journal des Économistes*, and also the *Annuaire de l'économie politique*. His *Traité de l'économie politique* passed through many editions, as also his work on finance. He died in 1881.

GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD, was born in Newburyport, Mass., December 10, 1805. His father was a sea captain of some ability, but falling into irregular habits, he deserted his wife, and Garrison, when only nine years old, was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and afterward to a cabinet-maker. At 13 years of age he was apprenticed to the printer of the *Newburyport Herald*. At the age of 16 he began to write unsigned articles for the papers, and soon became editor of the *Herald*. Removing to Boston, he worked for a time as a journeyman printer, and became editor, in 1828, of the *National Philanthropist*, the first American journal established to promote total abstinence. This he conducted for six months, and then, in the fall of 1828, went to Bennington, Vt., to establish the *Journal of the Times*.

While in Boston he met with Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker philanthropist, who was editor of a small magazine named the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published in Baltimore. He resolved to ask Garrison to aid him, and for that purpose walked from Baltimore to Bennington. He succeeded; and Garrison determined to devote his life to this work. From 1829 the paper was published weekly by Lundy and Garrison—Lundy favoring gradual and Garrison immediate emancipation. Baltimore was one of the chief markets of the domestic slave trade, and Garrison thundered prophetic denunciations at the traffic. The owner of a Newburyport vessel had allowed his vessel to carry a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans; and for denouncing this act Garrison was arrested and fined \$50 and costs. In default of payment he was committed to jail. His imprisonment created much indignant comment. Arthur Tappan, a New York merchant, paid his fine, and he was set free. In order to speak more freely, he dissolved partnership with Lundy, and started a paper of his own in Boston. Before commencing its publication he privately interviewed some of the leading citizens, merchants, politicians, and ministers; but they all excused themselves. He and his brave partner, Isaac Knapp, issued the first number of *The Liberator* on January 1, 1831. It began without capital and without subscribers, its editors publishing their resolve to print it "as long as they could subsist on bread and water." Its motto was, "Our country is the world; our countrymen are mankind;" and Garrison, in his address to the public, uttered the historic words which embody the whole spirit and purpose of his life: "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard." Such a spirit could not but bring triumph in the end,

and the paper lived long enough to publish the proclamation of emancipation and the extinction of slavery. But Garrison and his partner met every opposition. Their office was a garret, their bed its floor, and their only helper was a negro boy. The mail frequently brought letters to Garrison threatening his assassination if he did not discontinue his journal; while the Legislature of Georgia offered \$5000 to any one who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute him. The first society organized to support his principles was the New England Anti-Slavery Society, formed January, 1832. In the spring of the same year Garrison published *Thoughts on African Colonization*, proving by official documents that the American Colonization Society was organized in the interests of slavery. Garrison was soon after deputed to visit England and expose the true character of this colonization society, as its agents had been successful in deceiving some of the English abolitionists. He spent the summer of 1833 in England, and was warmly received, becoming acquainted with Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, O'Connell, Thompson, and others.

The success of his mission brought fresh outbursts of rage and hate from the American slavery defenders. Thompson came over to America to address meetings. Wherever he appeared it was the signal for riots and violence. In Boston "a mob of gentlemen of property and standing," when they heard that Thompson was about to address the Women's Anti-Slavery Society of that city, turned the streets into a bedlam. Garrison fell into their hands; and, throwing a rope around his body, they dragged him through the streets. In all probability he would have been hung by the mob had he not been rescued and consigned to the jail for safety. These attempts to suppress the abolitionists by violence continued several years, but Garrison was never daunted. There was no schism in the body of abolitionists until 1839, when some of the adherents began to accuse Garrison of religious heterodoxy and to blame him for his severity on the churches for their moral stagnancy and complicity with slavery. Garrison was a non-resistant, and believed in the use of moral rather than political means. Those who differed from him formed a new National Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, and gave rise to the Liberty Party in politics. Garrison's mind was never narrowed by its intensity, however; and he always esteemed and honored every earnest opponent of slavery, even tho their special modes of working differed. He was intolerant only of treachery. After long and painful consideration he realized that the pro-slavery clauses of the United States Constitution were immoral, and that it was wrong to take an oath for its support. "No union with slave-holders" was his motto; and he prophetically denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Arguments and exposures buttressed his denunciations. The blind and idolatrous reverence of the Constitution, which had been the political mainstay of the slave-holders, began to abate. The Fugitive Slave Law revealed to all the practical workings of the pro-slavery clauses. On the outbreak of the war,

Garrison at once ceased advocating disunion, as he foresaw that in the struggle slavery would be abolished. During the war Lincoln recognized and honored his services; and the whole nation knew that if emancipation were secured, it would be due to his uncompromising spirit and heroic perseverance. In 1865, when liberty had been proclaimed, he declared that his career as an abolitionist was necessarily ended, discontinued the *Liberator*, and counseled the dissolution of the Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison had revisited England in 1840 and 1846. In 1867 he again crossed the Atlantic, and was received with great honor in London, Edinburgh, and other cities. He made a fifth and final visit in 1877. On May 24, 1879, he died in New York, and was buried in Boston after a most impressive funeral service. In 1852 selections from his writings and speeches were published, and since his death his life has been published by his sons in four large octavo volumes. Garrison never sought emancipation by means of war. He believed that under sufficient moral pressure the South would voluntarily release her bondmen. If his counsel had been heeded, no retributive war would have followed; but the people of his time were not wise unto salvation. The mercantile spirit was too strong to bear the thought of financial sacrifice, and the war brought what Garrison saw come as "the child of force and blood."

GAS, MUNICIPAL, IN THE UNITED STATES.—The following American cities own their gas-works :

CITIES.	Date of Beginning Ownership.	Population in 1890.
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1841	1,046,944
Richmond, Va.....	1852	81,388
Alexandria, Va.....	1853	14,330
Henderson, Ky.....	1867	8,835
Wheeling, W. Va.....	1870	35,013
Bellefontaine, O.....	1873	4,238
Danville, Va.....	1876	10,305
Charlottesville, Va.....	1876	5,562
Hamilton, O.....	1890	17,565
Fredericksburg, Va.....	1891	4,528
Middleborough, Mass.....	1894	6,065
Wakefield, Mass.....	1894	6,982

No data are at hand regarding the last two towns. Altho flattering offers have been made by private companies that desired to buy out these public-owned works, only one city has ever yielded—Frankfort, Ky.—many years ago. Even in that city the sale was not very popular, and a considerable party is now rising there favorable to a resumption of city ownership.

There are many indications that a popular vote would endorse city management of gas works in scores of cities, but legislative bodies, city charters, and even in some cases, perhaps, State constitutions, prevent any expression of the will of the people. In Massachusetts many prominent citizens have expressed themselves as ready to vote for city ownership as soon as the law is so changed as to enable cities to buy

out existing plants at their actual cost less depreciation. A step was taken in that direction in 1893, when the law was so changed that the adjudicators that are appointed by the Supreme

Court of the State in every such case were freed from the previous

Legality. necessity of allowing for "the earning capacity of such plant based

upon the actual earnings being derived from such use at the time of the final vote of such city or town to establish a plant." Neither is the court, even according to the act of 1891, to consider the "enhancement of future earning capacity or good will or of exclusive privileges derived from rights in the public streets;" but until it is expressly forbidden, the court or its agent may value the plant higher than its cost less all forms of depreciation.

The law-makers of Massachusetts have tied up matters in a way to make the beginning of city ownership unusually difficult. The people are not allowed to vote on the question at all until each branch of the city council—and two branches are common in Massachusetts—has approved of city ownership by a two-thirds vote in each of two consecutive years. The mayor must then ratify. If he refuses, another two-thirds majority in the same city council must be secured. Then a majority of the people voting thereon at an annual election must approve. If they vote "no," then no similar vote can be taken by the people for three years.

Another reason for the slow growth of municipal gas, as contrasted with the rapid growth of municipal electric light, tho the former is more profitable, is that the latter has largely driven out gas for street lighting, and the American people have not yet seen, as have the Germans, that as long as the gas business is a monopoly and of vital importance to the private consumer, the city as a corporate body has as much interest in the business as in the lighting of its streets and parks. Then, again, the competition between electric light construction companies is keener than between the makers of gas apparatus. The former, therefore, in order to get business, have sometimes encouraged city ownership, while the latter companies have found it to their interest to discourage the same.

In 1894, the last year for which full returns are at hand, the only Virginia cities selling gas as low as \$1 were Charlottesville, Danville, and Richmond, which own their works. Henderson was the only city in Kentucky with \$1 gas; and the lowest price in West Virginia was 75 cents, at Wheeling. Two of the nine Ohio cities furnishing gas at \$1 or less were Hamilton and Bellefontaine, the two having city ownership. Most of the other seven were very much larger places, such as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, and Toledo.

The Philadelphia gas-works, erected by a private company in 1835, and purchased by the city in 1841, had been entirely paid for from net profits by 1890, barring a net debt of \$1,300,000. The net earnings since then, to say nothing of the value of the gas used in the street lamps and public buildings, have far more than equaled this balance of debt. For many years

prior to 1887 the gas-works were corruptly and wastefully managed by a body of trustees that, through an unfortunate provision of law, could not be investigated and controlled by the city council Philadelphia that appointed them. Yet, despite Gas-Works.

all this, there was but one year (1886) of this 56 years when the price of gas was not materially lower in Philadelphia than in New York City, where, at the end of the time, the city could not boast, as could Philadelphia, of free public gas and of a property almost free of debt, for which \$20,000,000 was offered in 1896. The scandals of private-owned gas-works in New York City and of private-owned street railways in both Philadelphia and New York have equalled or exceeded any connected with the Philadelphia Gas Trust prior to 1887. Since April, 1887, the people of Philadelphia have enjoyed a new city charter, placing power in gas matters in a single and responsible head. Civil service reform has made considerable progress, and the worst abuses have disappeared.

The great trouble now is the unwillingness of the city council to appropriate sufficient money to enable the gas department to improve its distributing system, and thus reduce by one half its leakage, amounting in 1895 to 22 per cent. The council also refuses to appropriate money for improving the manufacturing department. The city is thereby forced to buy about 40 per cent. of its gas at 37 cents per 1000 ft. in the holder from a private water gas company, and to make the rest, which is coal gas, at somewhat higher cost than would be necessary with a better plant. A leading gas journal, devoted to private ownership, editorially intimates that this hesitation of the council to improve the city plant is due to its conviction that more is to be made by its members through wrecking the city plant and then selling it to the private company that supplies the water gas, than by improving the city gas. The Philadelphia experience gives a warning against a mixed public and private ownership. Because of the admission of this private manufacturing plant in 1887, with all the temptations incident thereto, at a time when the city was prevented by constitutional limitations from incurring a debt to enlarge its plant, Philadelphia is hardly a fair sample of city ownership.

Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the city, during the six years 1888-93 inclusive, not only added \$2,497,059.04 of extensions to a plant whose cost, less all depreciation, was under \$6,200,000 in 1888, but it secured a net cash return of \$872,005.52 a year. It would have been about \$272,000 a year if the gas had been sold during those years at the New York price of \$1.25 instead of at \$1.50. In addition to this, the city secured free an average yearly amount for public use of 573,895,400 ft. This, at \$1 per 1000 ft., which was as low as the price charged New York City, amounted to \$573,895.40 a year. Thus, the city, even on the basis of \$1.25 to private consumers and \$1 to itself, earned during 1888-93 \$845,895.40 a year, besides \$416,176.50 a year for extensions. In 1894, when the price of gas to private consumers was reduced from \$1.50 to \$1, Philadelphia, after allowing for ex-

tensions and the value at \$1 of the public used gas, had a surplus of somewhat over \$400,000. In 1895 it was \$808,936.62, or fully 10 per cent. on the cost of the plant, less depreciation. If the city council would make the moderate improvements necessary to reduce the leakage from 19.78 per cent. of the 4,422,752,000 ft. made in the holder to 10 per cent., the saving in gas would soon pay for the cost.

Richmond, Va., like Philadelphia and many of the best private plants, has a combined coal and water gas plant, but, unlike Philadelphia, Richmond owns the

Other Cities. entire system. With a leakage in 1895 of 12.5 per cent., it distributed at the burner 182,817,003 cub. ft. of gas at a net cost, as in 1894, of about 70 cents, or, including extensions, about 78 cents. The plant being paid for, the city sells at \$1, and secures a net return of about 22 cents. Coal is \$3 a ton, and the oil used is 4 cents a gallon. In 1895 an investigation disclosed some shortage in the accounts and a few suspicious contracts, but more rigid accounting is now in vogue. The labor force seems a little too large; and it is not clear that the works have secured the best apparatus as in Philadelphia; but on the whole the people of Richmond believe that they have fared much better than they would have done from a private company.

Alexandria, Va., is selling gas for \$1.33, and has devoted most of the net revenue the last three years to improving the plant. No scandals seem to have been connected with this or the other public Virginia gas-works considered below. Altho progressiveness is not characteristic of Alexandria, with its grass-grown streets, or of some of the other gas-owning cities, more progressiveness attaches to their gas-works than to many other departments of their administration.

Henderson, Ky., has had success with her gas-works, and has sold gas since early in 1894 for \$1. As she remodeled her works in 1895-96, late returns are unavailable.

Wheeling, W. Va., during 1895-96 has somewhat improved her plant. With about 100,000,000 ft. yearly used in the burner, and with coal about \$1.50 a ton, but coke only 3 cents a bushel, Wheeling for several years has expended from 50 to 70 cents per 1000 ft. yearly, according to the amount spent on extensions. The original cost of this, as of all the other old plants, has been paid for out of net earnings.

The next city to undertake the municipal ownership, Bellefontaine, O., has had a successful history, free from any grave abuses. The oil gas-plant, tho only three or four years old, is not proving economical, but permits of delivery to the consumer at a cost of 60 to 80 cents, according to the amount spent on extensions. The price is now a little under \$1. In all statements of cost in this article interest is not included, because most of the plants have no debt, and so need not earn interest. Neither is allowance made for depreciation, since in most cases the extensions, which are here included in general expenses, usually equal or exceed the depreciation. The average taxes of the private gas companies in Massachusetts in 1895 were 6 cents per 1000 ft. sold.

Danville, Va., has one of the best-managed coal-gas plants of its size one can easily find. Since March, 1894, the price of gas has been \$1. In 1895, the cost of gas delivered in the burner, with coal over \$4.25 a ton, was 68.6 cents, or, including extensions and improvements, 85.7 cents.

Charlottesville, Va., has another equally well-managed plant, where the cost in 1895, when there were no extensions, was 59.4 cents. Coal costs \$3.75 a ton.

Hamilton, O., has an excellent coal-gas plant, to which it added in 1893 an oil-gas plant. In view of the rise in the price of oil and the character of this particular oil-gas plant, its introduction has proven somewhat of a mistake. A water-gas plant would have been better as a supplement to the coal-gas plant. The works appear to be well managed, and in 1895, with coal at \$2.85, oil at 2.4 cents a gallon, and coke at 6 cents a bushel, put gas in the burner for 61.5 cents, aside from 10.3 cents for extensions. Altho the price will apparently have to be \$1, if it is proposed to cover interest on the large part of the plant still unpaid for, the price was reduced to 80 cents in November, 1895. The people were paying \$2 to a private company prior to the construction of the city's plant in 1890. As the old company refused to sell, the city erected its own plant, after a fierce opposition in the courts, and now enjoys the larger portion of the people's patronage.

In Fredericksburg, Va., the people were paying \$3 per 1000 ft. in 1891 to a private company. In 1895 the price of the public-made coal gas was \$1.50, and the cost 70 cents, besides 60 cents for extensions and improvements.

Repeated visits to these 10 gas-owning cities lead to several conclusions—*viz.* :

1. The satisfaction of the people with city ownership, despite certain weaknesses which are being gradually removed.

2. The low price of public-made as compared with private-made gas of similar quality in cities of the State or vicinity similarly situated as respects cost of materials, population, etc.

3. The cost of constructing first-class gas-works to-day varies from \$3 to \$6 per 1000 ft. of yearly output, according to the magnitude and density of the population, the difficulty of laying mains, etc. The capitalization of private gas companies, however, on which good dividends and interest are paid, is frequently from \$6 to \$12 per 1000 ft., and is often largest in the largest cities, where it should be lowest.

4. When cities own their gas-works a larger proportion of the population use gas than when the works are owned by private companies. In 1890, when we have exact figures of population, the average percentage of gas consumers of the total population in the nine cities then owning their gas-works was 7.1, while in the 10 Massachusetts cities where the net price was under \$1.60, the percentage was only 5.64. Yet the average price in these Massachusetts cities, because of their larger size and other conditions, was about the same as in the public-owned cities. This same greater popularity of public ownership among consumers has been conclusively proven in the case of water.

5. Another conclusion is, that while Philadel-

phia, Wheeling, Alexandria, and possibly one or two others of the 12 gas-owning cities, are not as progressive or free from political abuses as they should be, **Development.** yet the gas-works even here are as well managed as the streets or other public works, and more advantageous to the people in the matter of price or net revenue, and usually both, than the private-owned street railways in those cities or the gas works in neighboring cities. A still greater superiority of public ownership is likely when tried in such States as Massachusetts, where efficient city government in all directions is more common.

In the history of even the cities now owning their gas works, few changes of superintendents are recorded. These cities have realized far more than generally supposed that it would not do to change skilled engineers every time politics change. Superintendent William Cannings held his office at Henderson, Ky., from the beginning of direct city operation in 1882 until his death in 1894. In 1891, the Superintendent of the Alexandria, Va., gas-works died after 30 years of service. Superintendent W. C. Adams, of Richmond, Va., held his office from 1886 until his death in 1895, and for 16 years before that had been assistant superintendent. At Wheeling, Mr. S. M. Darrah had charge from 1884 to 1896, except from 1886 to 1888, when the former superintendent was temporarily restored. Captain C. A. Ballou has been city engineer and chief of the Danville, Va., gas-works for 21 years; and in Charlottesville, Va., Superintendent J. T. Williams has had charge since the city bought the works in 1876. The chief engineer and real head of the Philadelphia gas department has held his place about 30 years, altho formerly much more handicapped in the choice of efficient non-partisan subordinates than at present.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

For European conditions, see BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS. See also MUNICIPALISM.

References: *Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States*, by Edward W. Bemis, in publications of American Economic Association, vol. vi., Nos. 4 and 5 (Macmillan & Co.); *Review of Reviews*, February, 1893, article by Bemis, *Recent Results of Municipal Gas Making in the United States*; Annual printed Reports of the Philadelphia, Richmond, and Danville plants; *Light, Heat, and Power*, July, 1894 (Philadelphia); article by W. W. Goodwin, *Some Reasons Why Philadelphia Should Retain Its Gas-Works*.

GEORGE, HENRY, was born in Philadelphia in 1839. He began business life as an office boy, but later went to sea and visited every part of the globe. Returning to Philadelphia as a printer, he soon went to sea again, but finally went to California and became compositor, reporter, then a successful journalist. In 1871 he joined with two others in founding the *San Francisco Post*; but his mind was now occupied with the social problem of the distribution of wealth. His first economic publication was *Our Land and Land Policy* (1871). Four years later he retired from editorial work, but he continued to write for the newspapers. His principal work, *Progress and Poverty*

(commenced in 1877 and finished in 1879), attracted attention immediately upon its publication, and still more when republished in Europe. It has been translated into several languages, and has been discussed by political economists and social philosophers of all schools. Its main doctrine is that "nothing short of making land common property can permanently relieve poverty and check the tendency of wages to the starvation point," and that the best, easiest, and quickest way to make land common is not to do it technically, but leaving all land titles in individual ownership, to tax the land ultimately to its full annual rental value; thus without revolutionary methods gradually appropriating to society for the good of all the full rental value of the soil. This, Mr. George believes, could be and should be a single tax (*q.v.*).

In 1880 the agitation of the land question in Ireland led him to publish a book on *The Irish Land Question*, embodying his views, and in 1881 Mr. George went to Ireland as a newspaper correspondent to examine the actual condition of the peasantry, and was imprisoned for a time as a suspect, but afterward released with ample apologies. The Irish Nationalists, however, as a class did not embrace his ideas, and in 1883 Mr. George visited England and lectured in the principal cities, advocating the theory advanced in his book and eliciting universal attention.

Returning to this country, Mr. George found his influence very much increased and his ideas widely spreading, particularly in New York City. In 1886 he was nominated Mayor of New York City by the United Labor Party, and after a campaign of intense popular excitement he received the phenomenal vote of 68,110 ballots, being only defeated by the Democratic candidate. In this municipal campaign Mr. George had been enthusiastically supported by the New York socialists; but when, in the State Convention at Albany of the United Labor Party, which nominated him for governor in 1887, Mr. George saw fit to declare distinctly against socialism and for a single tax, based largely on individualistic ideas, the socialists opposed him, and have ever since denounced him. Meanwhile, the educational movement had been going on; but in the State election Mr. George polled but a small vote. At the beginning of the year he had started a weekly organ, the *Standard*, which attained a large circulation; and the coming out for his ideas of Father McGlynn (*q.v.*), a popular Roman Catholic priest of a large New York City parish, in spite of the opposition of the archbishop, created great excitement, and a religious society was organized to develop the religious side of the question, called the Anti-Poverty Society (*q.v.*). Meanwhile, Mr. George lectured to immense audiences all over this country and in Canada, England, Scotland, and Australia, while his ideas penetrated Germany and France. Mr. George, however, came to feel more and more that to put his ideas into practical execution, the first thing necessary was to clear the ground by repealing other taxes, and, first of all, what he regarded as the great imposition of the tariff. He wrote, therefore, his book on *Free Trade*, one of his

ablest efforts, and worked henceforth with the Democratic Party, in the hope of inducing them eventually, if not at first, to stand for absolute free trade. Many have felt that his ideas should be realized in connection with socialistic and nationalistic ideas rather than individualistic, and while not renouncing his ideas, he should have gone over to the growing People's Party and nationalistic movement in this country. The *Standard* was given up by Mr. George in 1890. Since then he has lived in comparative retirement, writing articles, notably *The Condition of Labor*, a letter to the Pope on the occasion of the papal encyclical, and making occasional addresses.

GERMANY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICS.

The German Empire, according to its Constitution of April 16, 1871, is a confederation of German States (see FEDERATION) under an Emperor who has the direction of political and military affairs, and can declare defensive war. The legislative power is vested in the Bundesrath of 58 delegates, appointed by the States, Prussia having 17; Bavaria, 6; Württemberg and Saxony, 4 each, and the Reichstag. This latter body has 397 members elected for five years by universal suffrage (see FRANCHISE, ELECTORAL); 236 represent Prussia, 48 Bavaria, 23 Saxony. The Emperor has no vote. The population and area of Germany in 1895 was 51,758,364 in 208,670 square miles.

STATES.	Sq. Miles.	Population.	Population per Sq. Mile.
The Empire	208,670	51,758,364	236.7
Prussia	134,463	31,491,209	222.8
Bavaria	29,282	5,773,836	191.1
Württemberg	7,528	2,071,407	270.5
Baden	5,821	1,713,844	289.8
Saxony	5,787	3,753,372	605.2

In 1882 the division by occupations was as follows:

Agriculture	13,840,818
Industry	16,058,080
Commerce	4,531,080
Professions	2,222,982
Domestic and other service	928,294
Forestry, fishing, etc.	384,637
With no occupation	2,246,222

The births steadily exceed the deaths, and the population grows in spite of a large emigration. The cities have grown with great rapidity. (See CITIES.)

Military service drives many young men from the empire, while the support of the army is a crushing load. (See ARMY.) The peace footing of the army is 22,618 officers and 562,116 men; the war footing, including the *landsturm* and one-year volunteers, is about 3,500,000. The budget for 1896 is:

REVENUE.	
Customs and excise	\$156,750,850
Stamps	13,657,250
Post and telegraph	7,444,720
Printing-office	368,550
Railways	5,793,250
Imperial bank	1,795,525
Department receipts	2,987,625
Interest of invalid fund	6,598,425
" imperial fund	2,500
Various	200,000
Extraordinary	11,594,650
Federal contributions	99,000,025

\$306,193,375

EXPENDITURES.

Imperial army	\$118,053,100
" navy	13,815,375
" treasury	94,727,500
Pension fund	18,491,825
Reichstag	13,758,700
Chancery	162,750
Foreign office	38,450
Home office	2,039,125
Justice	7,434,400
Railways	521,350
Auditing	86,725
Invalid fund	183,875
Reform of Civil Service	6,598,425
Extraordinary	12,475
	33,291,550
	\$309,812,625

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Social reform in Germany, as elsewhere, is affected by the past. Germany was too full of the spirit of local freedom to develop a centralized government, as in France or England. It developed separate kingdoms and States, only loosely federated into an empire, coming down from Charlemagne. Its great free cities developed art and education. Germany led in the battles of the emperors against the Pope and in the Protestant Reformation. She became the home of theology, philosophy, science, and letters. Her peasantry developed the Peasants' War (*q.v.*), and also the mystic communism (*q.v.*) which has given America her many German communities. The old Germanic empire extended from 800-1806, when it was destroyed by Napoleon. Its place was taken by the Confederation of the Rhine, and in 1866 by the North German Federation.

Modern German social reform began with Hegel's socialistic philosophy and Fichte's socialistic turning of an individualistic philosophy. (See FICHTE and HEGEL.)

This, too, was in accord with the German medieval conception of the Christian paternal state. (See BISMARCK.)

Nevertheless, in the early part of the nineteenth century, German statesmen and economists drew their ideas mainly from England and the orthodox economy of Adam Smith. Particularly was this true of the Stein-Hardenberg legislation of Prussia. Germany more than most countries of Europe, perhaps because of the lack of a strong centralized power to break the power of the old guilds and free cities, was in the control of innumerable special privileges, rights, and monopolies, granted to the old guilds and cities. This mass of special privileges and imposts had to be done away with. There were, however, some early voices for socialism. (See GALL; ROBERTUS, etc.)

Individualism.

Such was the condition of things when the revolutions of 1848 awoke Europe. In Prussia, the demand in 1848 was for constitutional government, freedom of religion and of the press, the right of coalition, etc., with demands here and there by the prolétariat for the organization of labor, State employment of the unemployed, etc. In Berlin, blood was shed. The king, Frederick William IV., promised reforms and the reorganization of Germany. The National Assembly was called at Frankfurt, where Bismarck won his first laurels in gaining the leadership for Prussia.

The only industrial organizations effected immediately after the revolution were various clubs, mainly under the patronage of the Liberal Party, and the cooperative land banks and societies, organized by Schulze-Dechwitzsch. In Berlin, however, Lassalle's utterances were growing more radical; and on April 12, 1862—sometimes called the birthday of German socialism—being invited to lecture before a working man's club, he argued that the Revolution of 1848 had politically freed the fourth estate, even as the French Revolution freed the third estate, and that henceforth working men must organize for industrial freedom. He was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment, which was later commuted to a fine. A central committee of working men's clubs in Leipzig now wrote Lassalle calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an open letter, which has been called the charter of German socialism.

Encouraged by these successes, Lassalle now organized at Leipzig, on May 23, 1863, the Universal German Working Man's Association, which was destined to grow into the Social Democratic Party. Lassalle's program was one of industrial organization for production with State help. Into this movement Lassalle now put all his energy. The apathy of the working men was his chief obstacle. He made speech after speech, wrote tract after tract, held meeting after meeting. All the time he was fighting the courts in trial after trial, defending himself, and usually winning. Berlin, Leipsic, Frankfort, and the industrial centers on the Rhine were the chief scenes of his activity. His greatest success was on the Rhine, where, in the summers of 1863 and 1864, his travels as missionary of the new gospel resembled a triumphal procession. He claimed that he had converted the king, Bismarck, and the Bishop of Mayence.

But Lassalle had now reached the height of his career. He went to Switzerland for rest, and there made the love acquaintance which, through a duel, resulted in his death, August 31, 1864. But his death worked for socialism. The people called him the "father of social democracy."

Meanwhile, in London, at the end of September, 1864, the famous International Working Men's Association was established and Marx was made its president. With the principles of this organization Liebknecht, who had already joined Lassalle's association, and who in time won August Bebel over to his side, was in complete sympathy; and though he continued to profess allegiance to the more moderate proposals of the German association, he was known to be promoting the influence of the International.

Bebel, originally a follower of Schulze-Dechwitzsch, and president of a working men's association at Leipsic, became, in the autumn of 1867, president of the Union of Working Men's Associations; and the following year, at the annual congress, was instrumental with Liebknecht in inducing a large majority of the associations to accept the program of the International.

In 1869 the Social Democratic Working Men's

Party was formed at Eisenach, out of the "internationalized" Union of Working Men's Associations and the seceded members of the Universal. In 1870 Liebknecht and Bebel and Hepner were arrested for the publication of treasonable writings.

In 1874, however, 10 members of the Social Democratic Party were returned to the Reichstag by 450,000 votes. Bebel and Liebknecht were still in prison, but they were nevertheless elected. Socialism was now becoming such a power in the State that the Government determined to be more stringent. House searches were made in great number, and the Working Men's Association was declared by the police to be dissolved in Prussia. The Social Democratic Working Men's Party shared the same fate. Misfortune brought the two rival parties together, and a congress held at Gotha in May, 1875, completed the union. The program then adopted became the basis of the great agitation which followed in all parts of Germany.

On May 11, 1878, the emperor was shot at in Berlin by a young man called Hödel, an ignorant man of low character. He was declared to be a socialist because photographs of socialists were found in his pocket. Immediately an anti-socialist bill was introduced into the Reichstag, which that body, however, refused to pass. Another attempt was made upon the life of the aged sovereign. This time the would-be assassin was a Dr. Karl Nobiling, who, on June 2, 1878, fired at the emperor from an upper window in the Linden and severely wounded him. The cry for repressive measures against the socialists now became general.

Another law was now proposed—the "Law against the publicly dangerous endeavors of social democracy." The bill as approved gave to the executive and the police very extensive powers. It became law October 19—after Liebknecht had declared that it could "neither be made better nor worse," and the Progressist leader, Richter, had said, "I fear social democracy more under this law than without it." The division showed 221 members to be in favor of the measure and 149 against it.

The law prohibited the formation or existence of organizations which seek by social democratic, socialistic, or communistic movements to subvert the present State and society.

Henceforth the socialistic propaganda was carried on in secret, but more successfully than ever; and in the Reichstag the socialists were free. Here, at any rate, the pursued socialist knew that he could claim the right of sanctuary. The publication of parliamentary reports being privileged, journals with socialistic tendencies were able to reproduce in full the speeches in which Bebel, Liebknecht, and their fellows preached the principles of a movement which the Government had just been given a commission to suppress.

There was only one way of meeting this new danger, and it was by voting to suppress the publicity of proceedings. This Bismarck attempted twice, but each time was defeated.

On the other hand, an event occurred in 1881 which roused the authorities to increased vigi-

lance. This was the Niederwald plot against the imperial family, the existence of which was discovered in September. Various arrests were made, and the trial took place at Leipsic, two men, avowedly anarchists, being in December, 1884, sentenced to death. In the early part of this latter year the socialist law was prolonged for two years.

In 1884 another general election took place, and it afforded the Socialist Party an opportunity of demonstrating its strength. In Berlin two out of the six places fell to socialists, and in Hamburg and Breslau two out of three. The number of votes polled was 549,990.

Repression was made more vigorous than ever. The year 1889 was marked by the largest strike Germany had ever known, which took place in the coal mines of Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces, and threatened to spread, and did spread, more or less through the empire, the emperor himself taking an interest in hearing the complaints of the miners and ordering an investigation. The strike ended in the substantial victory of the men, altho to some extent they compromised.

On March 20, 1890, the emperor accepted the resignation of Bismarck as chancellor, largely upon Bismarck's insistence that the Anti-Socialist Law must be renewed, a step which the young emperor did not

Socialistic Gains. favor; and on its expiration (September 30, 1890) it was not renewed.

The socialists came back in great numbers amid general rejoicing. Herr Liebknecht assumed the editorship of the *Volksblatt*, and activity went on more rapidly than ever, especially in Berlin, Hamburg, and the great industrial centers, and not least in the army, where young men, restless under conscription, are gathered from all Germany, and ready, therefore, under the galling yoke of the army service, which is so hated by the working class, to listen to socialism. The conflict of the year 1893 over the Standing Army Bill is well known, with its result of the stupendous socialistic gains. The following table shows the growth of the Social Democratic Party since the founding of the German Empire, as shown in the imperial election returns, taken from Braun's *Die Parteien des Deutschen Reichstages*, Stuttgart, 1893:

ELECTION IN	Total Number of Social Democratic Votes.	Percentage of Votes of Social Democratic Party.	Members Elected.	Votes Cast for Each Member.
1871.....	124,655	3	2	62,327
1874.....	357,952	6.8	9	39,106
1877.....	493,288	9.1	12	41,107
1878.....	437,158	7.6	9	48,573
1881.....	311,961	6.1	12	25,997
1884.....	549,990	9.7	24	22,916
1887.....	763,128	10.1	11	69,375
1890.....	1,427,298	19.7	35*	40,780
1893.....	1,876,738	23.3	44	40,608

* In the bye-election in a district of Saxony, held in 1892, the thirty-sixth member was elected.

The party is strongly organized, and carries on a most active propaganda, publishing 31 daily newspapers, 41 weeklies and semi-weeklies, one scientific review, one family magazine, two humorous publications, 55 trade journals.

At present it is making strong efforts to extend itself in the agricultural districts. It has organized night schools for the education and training of socialist speakers. It has many adherents among the university students.

Such is the account of German democratic socialism; but there have been in Germany four other separate movements, all using the name socialism. The earliest of these is the Roman Catholic German Christian Socialist movement, mainly led by Bishop von Ketteler in Mayence about 1850, and still a political and social force in the empire.

Christian Socialism.

It often allies itself politically with the Social Democrats, but proceeds on wholly different lines. German social democracy is avowedly atheistic and materialistic, and will have naught to do with the Church. The Roman Catholic movement favors a paternal State socialism under churchly guidance. This is even more true of the German Protestant Christian socialism which sprang up under Stöcker, the court preacher in Berlin about 1877. It organized two societies, one to reach the wealthy and one the working men, and was almost explicitly the Church wing of the Government's paternal State socialism. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

The third movement in Germany using the name socialism is that of the so-called Socialists of the Chair (*Kathedersozialisten*), a movement commencing with a gathering at Eisenach in 1872 under the lead of such men as Schnoller, Wagner, and others. A *Verein für Sozialpolitik* was formed to represent its ideas, which may be said to be the modification but not abolition of individualism by a paternal State socialism.

The fourth movement which uses the name of socialism in Germany is the State socialism of the Government itself.

As early as 1847 Bismarck had spoken in favor of State railroads; but he did not definitely, or at least publicly, adopt the principles of State socialism till 1878, after the policy of repression of the democratic socialists had begun. He then endeavored with the one hand to repress and with the other to take the ground from under them. His first step, however, was simply to reverse the economic policy of the State on the subject of taxation and establish protection. His next step was to try and introduce various State monopolies, such as a tobacco monopoly. He did not succeed in getting these efforts supported by the Reichstag; but most German railroads are today State roads. (See RAILROADS.)

State Socialism.

But thus far the high-water tide of imperial State socialism has been reached in the various State insurance laws. In 1881 came the first decided word from the emperor and his government upon the subject. The Sickness Insurance Law was passed in 1883, the Accident Insurance Law in 1884, and the Old Age Law in 1889. (See INSURANCE.)

Such are the main present developments of the imperial State socialism ; but a word should be said of German municipalism, which belongs to the same paternal and therefore unsocialistic school.

Says Dr. Albert Shaw (*Century*, July, 1894) : " The German city holds itself responsible for the education of all ; for the provision of amusement, and the means of recreation ; for the adaptation of the training of the young to the necessities of gaining a livelihood ; for the health of families ; for the moral interests of all ; for the civilizing of the people ; for the promotion of individual thrift ; for protection from various misfortunes ; for the development of advantages and opportunities in order to promote the industrial and commercial well-being ; and incidentally for the supply of common services and the introduction of conveniences. The methods it employs to gain its ends are sometimes those advocated by the socialists, and sometimes they are diametrically opposite."

According to Dr. Shaw, about two thirds of the larger German cities own and operate their own gas-works, and are going in to provide municipal electric light and power. All German cities care for their own cleaning and sanitation to an extent far beyond that of most other countries. Their systems for providing good housing are growing rapidly more perfect. The cities provide pawnbrokerage and savings banks. Especially admirable is the extent to which they plan far ahead for, and steadily carry out, municipal improvements.

The German police strictly control all life. In some German cities there are police regulations as to how one shall carry his umbrella so as not to hit passers in the street. Germany seems at times under military control.

It should be stated that the Social Democrats repudiate this State socialism, and vote, for instance, against compulsory insurance.

Bebel (*Die Frau und Sozialismus*, pp. 312-14) argues that under socialism, ministers, parliaments, armies, police, courts, attorneys, taxation, will all disappear, their place being taken by administrative colleges or boards.

Side by side with this socialist development has gone an individualist agitation for voluntary guilds of employers and employees together, and for cooperative and religious societies. The old medieval guilds were divested of their exclusive character under Frederick William I., and since then the tendency, as far as the Government is concerned, has been toward industrial freedom. Various laws, however, have been passed to aid these voluntary guilds. About 1845 various congresses of employees voted for the establishment of compulsory guilds limiting employers, and especially employees. A commission to investigate the subject was appointed, and district councils of industry were established but did not succeed. Still, 10,223 guilds have been formed in the empire under Government supervision, and are occasionally given power to enforce arbitration. Trade-unions, apart from the socialist movement, have also been somewhat developed. The German tobacco workers organized in 1865, and the printers in 1866. In 1893 there were 1341 unions with 61,034 members, the engineers

and metal-workers having 403 unions ; factory workers and manual laborers, 229 ; cabinet-makers, 113 ; shoemakers, 108. These unions are largely the result of the activity of Dr. Hirsch, editor of the *Trade-Union*, who stands midway between the Government's State socialism and the Social Democrats. The printers' union of Germany is not connected with this movement. It can be traced back to the seventh-century guilds, and has followed much more closely than any other union in Germany the English trade-unions. In 1891-92 there was a prolonged strike for a nine-hour day, attended with some success. In 1890 it had a capital of \$426,769.

Most of the trade-unions, however, are connected with socialism. They numbered, in 1892, 244,934. Of these, 44,000 were miners, 26,000 metal-workers, 18,000 cabinet-makers, 16,000 printers, 11,000 tobacco-workers. Besides these **Trade-Unions.** different classes of unions, the Roman Catholic unions have about 75,000 members and the Protestant unions 76,000, mainly educational. Cooperation in Germany commences with the efforts of Huber and his paper, *Janus*, in 1836, and, above all, the work of Schulze Delitzsch, dating from 1844, has had considerable success in Germany, especially on the line of credit banks. (See COOPERATION ; COOPERATIVE BANKS.) Strikes have not been large in Germany, the largest being among the miners. Arbitration, perhaps, as a result, has not had much development. (See ARBITRATION.) On the other hand, Government has done a good deal by its insurance schemes, and less by its factory legislation.

On March 15, 1890, a labor conference of representatives of the various powers met in Berlin by the invitation of the young emperor, and sat two weeks. The invitation was liberally responded to ; but the scope of the deliberations was practically narrowed down to the question of **Other Movements.** Sunday, female, and juvenile work.

In 1891 a bill was passed in the Reichstag to go into force April 1, 1892, embodying the main results of the conference : 24 hours' rest on Sunday, except in specified industries, like hotels, etc. ; 48 hours' rest on church festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday ; women not to work over 11 hours, nor to do any night work, nor for so many weeks after childbirth ; children under 13 not to be employed, and not after that unless they have had the legal time in school.

Poor law administration in Germany has been developed on large lines and in characteristic ways. (See ELBERFELD SYSTEM ; LABOR COLONIES.)

References : The Report on Germany of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor ; W. H. Dawson's *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888), and *Bismarck and State Socialism* (1890).

GERRYMANDERING.—In United States politics, an arrangement of the political divisions of a State in disregard of natural boundaries, as indicated by geography or position, so as to give one party an unfair political advantage. This is done sometimes by throwing the

greatest possible number of hostile voters into a district which is certain to be hostile, sometimes by adding to a district where parties are equally divided some place in which the majority of friendly voters is sufficient to turn the scale.

The aim of gerrymandering is so to lay out the districts as to secure in the greatest possible number of them a majority for the party which conducts the operation.

The word is derived from Elbridge Gerry, a leading Democratic politician in Massachusetts (a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in 1812 elected Vice-President of the United States), who, when Massachusetts was being re-districted, contrived a scheme which gave one of the districts a shape like that of a lizard. A noted artist entering the room of an editor who had a map of the new districts hanging on the wall over his desk observed, "Why, this district looks like a salamander," and put in the claws and eyes of the creature with his pencil. "Say rather a Gerrymander," replied the editor; and the name remained.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN HENRY, was born at Sherman, Conn., in 1855. After preparatory studies at Great Barrington he entered Union College in 1873, and received the degrees of A.B. and A.M. Entering journalism, he was connected with the *Daily Union and Republican* of Springfield, Mass. In 1885 he made an investigation of cooperation and profit-sharing for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, the results being published in its seventh annual report. In 1888 he was appointed Resident Lecturer and in 1891 Associate Professor of Political Science at Bryn Mawr College. In 1891, without leaving Bryn Mawr, he was appointed Lecturer on Sociology in the School of Political Sciences at Columbia University, and in 1894 Professor of Sociology in that University, leaving Bryn Mawr. Professor Giddings has been Chairman of the Publication Committee of the American Economic Association, and Vice-President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His contributions to economic journals have been almost constant, and since 1891 mainly concerned with the province and contents of sociology, in which department Professor Giddings has come to be an acknowledged leader, his studies culminating thus far in his *The Theory of Sociology* (1896), at present the latest and most complete treatise on the subject.

GIDE, CHARLES, was born in 1847 at Uzès, France. From 1874-80 Professor of Jurisprudence at Bordeaux, he has been since 1880 Professor of Political Economy at Montpellier. His chief work is his *Principes d'Economie Politique* (1883), which has been translated into English. He is even better known by his valuable reviews and magazine articles as one of the leaders in the revolt against the classic French economists, and also for his active interest in the French Protestant movement toward Christian Socialism (*q.v.*).

GIFFIN, ROBERT, was born at Strathaven, Lancashire, in 1837, and educated in its parish school. He was a solicitor's clerk at Strathaven

and Glasgow, and from 1856-58 attended Glasgow College. He then entered a commercial house in Glasgow, but in 1860 entered journalism, being connected with the *Stirling Journal*, the *Globe*, and for a short time the *Fortnightly Review*. From 1868-76 he was assistant editor of the *Economist*, and from 1870-76 edited the trade and finance articles of the *Daily News*. In 1876 he was appointed chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade. He has written numerous reports and magazine articles.

GILMAN, NICHOLAS PAINE, whose name is so prominently identified with the subject of profit-sharing, was born December 21, 1849, in Quincy, Ill. His early education was obtained in the public schools and academies of Maine and New Hampshire, and at the Harvard Divinity School, from which he was graduated in 1871. From 1872-84, with the exception of 1878-81, when he was professor in Antioch College, he was pastor of Unitarian churches in Scituate, Bolton, and Wayland, Mass. Mr. Gilman was associate editor of the *Unitarian Review* of Boston, 1885-90, and has been editor of the *Literary World* of Boston from 1888-96. When the *New World* was established in Boston, March, 1892, Mr. Gilman became its editor, and, at the founding of the Association for the Promotion of Profit-Sharing, he was chosen secretary and made editor of the *Employer and Employed*, the organ of the association. In 1896 he became Professor of Sociology in Meadville Theological Seminary, at Meadville, Pa. Besides articles on religious, theological, and social subjects published since 1877, he has written *Profit-Sharing between Employer and Employed* (1889), *The Law of Daily Conduct* (1891), *Socialism and the American Spirit* (1893).

GIOJA, MELCHIORRE, was born in Piacenza, Italy, in 1767. Receiving priest's orders, he welcomed the entry of the French into Italy, and argued for the establishment of an Italian republic. Made State historian, he lost this position by a work he wrote on divorce (1803), and placed in charge of the Italian statistics, he lost this by his criticism of State officials. He was in prison for eight months in 1820 on a charge of conspiring with the Carbonari. In spite of this eventful life, he was, till his death in 1829, among the foremost Italian economists of his day, a leader in statistical science, and a critical student of all economical schools. He largely favored State interference. Among his works are *Nuove prospettive delle scienze economiche* (6 vols., 1815-19) and *Filosofia della statistica* (2 vols., 1826).

GLASGOW is considered by Mr. Albert Shaw, in his *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (p. 169), to be the leader in Great Britain of that new régime of municipal socialism which is so marked a characteristic of the present day. It is to his study of Glasgow contained in the above-named book that we are mainly indebted for the following facts:

Glasgow claims for itself the second place in the British Empire. It has grown in population

with great rapidity from about 75,000 in 1800 to some 800,000 in 1895, in a compact space of 15,000 acres. This dense population, together with the nature of the inhabitants—a working class living in crowded tenements—has made its municipal problems of the utmost gravity. London in 1881 had a population of 51 to the acre; Glasgow in 1891 had 92 to the acre, and in five districts 300 to the acre.

At first a bishop's seat, Glasgow became wholly self-governing only in 1690. In 1833 the Scotch Reform Act made her municipal franchise the same as the parliamentary, and the act of 1868 enfranchised many more. Her municipal voting roll in 1891 included 94,186 names (15,448 women). The franchise depending on rate-paying, the poorer classes and the floating population dodge the rates and lose their vote.

The municipal government consists of a council of 78 members, three members being elected from each of the 25 wards, one retiring each year, and the remaining members being the Lord Provost, or Mayor, **Constitution.** and two other *ex-officio* members. The provost is elected by the council from its own number. He presides and personifies the dignity of the city, but has little or no executive power. He is elected for three years, like the bailies, and, like them, is a magistrate. The bailies sit as citizen magistrates in certain districts. The whole executive power is in the hands of the council, which works through committees and makes all appointments. The town clerk and chamberlain preserve the records, statistics, etc., and are men of high authority and learning. No salaries are attached to the offices of councillors.

The municipalism of Glasgow is developed on many lines. Its sanitary department is most efficient. Magnificent hospitals have been erected. Food, milk, and, above all, lodging-houses and tenements, are carefully inspected and controlled. (For the fine bath-house and wash-house system of Glasgow, see **BATH-HOUSES**.) The streets and also the tenement courts are cleaned every day. Manure and refuse collected by the city is sold (in 1893, 276,000 tons, from 25 to 50 cents a ton). Refuse is also used on two successful municipal farms.

The city lights not only the streets **Sanitation.** but the courts and common staircases, spending more for these than she does for the streets. The worst slums have been torn down and streets widened and improved, a part laid out by the council acting as an "improvement trust" (commencing in 1866). The city has bought large tracts of land, and is gradually tearing down the tenements upon this land and building improved dwellings, which it rents at \$100,000 a year, largely paying the interest charge on the whole property, which it is holding for sale. Glasgow having had particularly bad lodging-houses, the city, by 1879, built and still maintains seven municipal lodging-houses, with 2000 beds, which are an unqualified success. They have wiped out the worst private houses, and yield a revenue to the city. As a result of these and other improvements, the condition of the tenement population is improved. In 1871, 30.4 per cent. of Glasgow's population lived in tenements of

one room; in 1881, 24.7 per cent.; in 1891, only 18 per cent. Those living in two rooms, however, have increased. In 1891, 47.5 per cent. lived in two rooms; only 8 per cent. in houses of five or more rooms. Until 1860 Glasgow had its water supplied by a private corporation at a rate of 14 pence in the pound. To-day, under municipal management, water is brought in abundant quantities from lochs in the Highlands at 7d., **Natural Monopolies.** and still gets a net revenue of \$200,000. Up to 1895 the city had spent \$14,000,000 on its water supply, and expects to spend \$6,000,000 without increasing charges or taxes by a penny. In 1869 the city bought its gas-works from a private company; it has reduced the price from the \$1.14 charged by the company to 60 cents, tho the price of making coal gas has risen. The original cost was \$2,600,000, and improvements created a debt in 1875 of \$5,300,000. To-day it is \$2,400,000, much more than covered by the value of the plant. The city sells gas at very cheap rates for fuel in the tenements, and in 1892 had rented 8000 gas stoves, besides selling many thousands—a great convenience in the crowded tenements. In 1892 the city bought out the company conducting electric light, and has made a success of this. In 1894 Glasgow bought out the private horse railway system. She allowed an elaborate system of omnibuses to compete with her. Yet after raising the wages of the employees, limiting their hours, establishing a sick and death insurance, adding clean and good cars, increasing the service, refusing street-car advertisements, the city has lowered the fares, a large proportion of which has been one-cent fares, and yet made, in 1895, a gross profit of \$121,025.

Glasgow's greatest municipal activity, however, has been her improvement of the Clyde, which has made Glasgow what she is. In 1750 the Clyde was fordable. To day the greatest ship-yards of the world line the river. The city supplies **Results.** ships with water, owns and provides docks, ferries, harbor steamers, and thus receives a revenue of from \$1,750,000 to \$2,000,000 per year, an interest on improvements only recently approximating \$100,000,000, so that when that sum has been reached the direct revenue will be a larger percentage on the expenditure, to say nothing of the indirect revenue from the creation of the city. Besides these activities are municipal buildings, markets, slaughter-houses, sewerage systems, public schools, parks, art galleries, libraries, playgrounds. Its debt is not large, and potentially covered by the growing sinking funds of prosperous and productive departments.

Reference: Albert Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain*.

GOBLET, RENÉ MARIE, was born at Aire in 1828. He entered the legal profession, then journalism, and, later, politics. In 1870 he was Procureur-Général at Amiens; in 1871 representative for La Somme, being a Republican of the Left, and though at first a supporter of the Government, he gradually became more and more independent. From January to August.

1882, he held the portfolio of the Interior in the Freycinet Cabinet; from April, 1885, to December, 1886, the portfolio of Public Instruction and of the Arts, under Brisson. From 1886-87 he was President of the Council; and from April, 1888, to April, 1889, Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the last general election he declared out and out for socialism, and is considered a leading socialist in French Government circles.

GODIN, JEAN BAPTISTE ANDRÉ, AND THE FAMILISTÈRE AT GUISE; was born, in 1817, at Esquehéries, of a family of artisans. Early engaging in industry, he, in 1847, moved his works to Guise, and became interested in cooperation as a disciple of Fourier. In 1859 he commenced his famous *Familistère*, or communal home, and rapidly developed it. In 1870 he was elected Mayor of Guise, and in 1871 representative for Aisne. In 1871 he also published his *Solutions Sociales*, or account of his *Familistère*. He fully established profit-sharing in 1876, and in 1886 he made the *Familistère de Guise* a cooperative society, associating in his firm 32 clerks or workmen. From 1876-88 the average sales were 3,935,600 frs., with a gross profit of 735,000 frs., which were distributed among the workmen, capital, the common fund, education, and the sinking fund. The *Familistère* is organized like a great family. It has its buildings for habitation, baking-house, steward's office, nursery, schools, pension bank, and insurance office. The *Familistère* in 1888 had 13 *associés*, 67 *sociétaires*, 52 *participants*, out of 1237 employees. The industry carried on is the making of stoves, ovens, and smaller hardware. There are three big buildings with 1800 inhabitants, each family having two or three rooms. Each building encloses an interior court, covered with a glass roof and paved with cement. The building is four stories high. The central parallelogram, or rectangle, is 211 ft. front and 130 ft. deep. The stores of the association on the lowest story of the central portion of the building contain whatever is necessary for ordinary need and comfort, without reference to luxuries. In the social palace 1500 persons can see each other go to their daily domestic occupations, reunite in public places, go to market or shopping, under covered galleries, without traversing more than 200 yards. Much attention is given to education. Babies can be left by their mothers in a *crèche* from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. There is considerable social life. Godin died in 1888. The firm is now Dequenne et Compagnie, M. Dequenne being managing director for life.

GODWIN, MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, was born at Hoxton, England, in 1759. Forced early to earn her own living, she became governess in the family of Lord Kingsborough, in Ireland. She soon resolved to devote herself altogether to literary work, and began to translate from the French. In 1792 appeared her best-known work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Her book was mainly a plea for equality of education, for State education, and for the joint education of the sexes. It was a strong protest against the assumption that woman was only the plaything of

man; and she asserted that intellectual companionship was the chief and lasting happiness of marriage. She daringly dealt with dangerous questions, incidentally upheld greater freedom of divorce, and denied the eternity of the torments of hell. Having great sympathy with the ideas back of the French Revolution, she went to Paris, and remained there during the Reign of Terror. In 1797 she was married to William Godwin, and died in giving birth to a daughter, who became the wife of the poet Shelley.

GODWIN, WILLIAM, was born in 1756, at Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, at which place his father was a Nonconformist minister. Educated for his father's profession, he was at first more Calvinistic than his teachers, becoming a Sandemanian, of which sect he says that they were the followers of "a celebrated north-country apostle, who, after Calvin had damned ninety-nine in a hundred of mankind, has contrived a scheme for damning ninety-nine in a hundred of the followers of Calvin."

He officiated as a minister at Ware, Stowmarket, and Beaconsfield. At the second of these places the teachings of French Reformers were brought before him by a friend, and these, while they intensified his political, undermined his religious opinions. This finally led him to resign his charge. His only resource was to remove to the metropolis and engage in literature. His first work, a series of *Historical Sketches*, in the form of sermons, was unsuccessful, and he was reduced to penury and despair; but they made him acquainted with Fox, Sheridan, and other Whig leaders, and he turned his attention to politics. The American Revolution, closely followed by that of France, excited the public mind, and Godwin wrote his *Inquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). This was followed by *The Adventures of Caleb Williams*, a remarkable novel, intended to illustrate the political views advanced in the *Political Justice*.

In 1796, the intervening years having been spent in strenuous literary labor, Godwin married Mary Wollstonecraft. Since both held the same views regarding the slavery of marriage, and since they only married at all for the sake of possible offspring, the marriage was concealed for some time, and the happiness of the avowed married life was very brief. Mrs. Godwin died in giving birth to a daughter, afterward the second wife of Percy Bysshe Shelley. The cares of a family led him to contract a second marriage with Mrs. Clairmont in 1800.

To secure a more certain support, Godwin and his wife opened a circulating library, but he also worked indefatigably with his pen to the end of his life. He wrote many school books; an admirable *Life of Chaucer* (1801); *Fleetwood*, a novel (3 vols., 1805); *Mandeville* (1817); a *Treatise on Population*, a refutation of Malthus (1820); a *History of the Republic of England* (4 vols., 1824-28); *Cloudestley* (1830); *Thoughts on Man* (1833). As he grew old, he modified his opinions on politics and society, and especially on marriage, which he warmly commends in some of his later works. He was appointed to a place under Government; but he knew not how to be idle, and wrote *Delo-*

raine, a novel, and the *Lives of the Necromancers*. Many of his works were translated into foreign languages. He died in London, April 7, 1836.

In his own time, by his writings and by his conversation, Godwin had a great power of influencing men, and especially young men. He was an intense individualist, holding that all control of man by man was wrong, and that Government must disappear.

But all was to be done by discussion, and matured change resulting from discussion. His *Political Justice* almost created the English radicalism of the early part of the century, and led to the milder liberalism of to-day. In it he maintained that natural relationship had no claim on man, nor was gratitude to parents or benefactors any part of justice or virtue. Property was to belong to him who most wants it; accumulated property was a monstrous injustice. Hence marriage, which is law, is the worst of all laws, and property the worst of all properties. His life was published in 1876 in two volumes, under the title *William Godwin, his Friends and Contemporaries*, by C. Kegan Paul. A part of his *Political Justice* has been recently brought out in the (English) Social Science Series.

GOLD AND SILVER, PRODUCTION OF.—We give in this article the facts as to the production of gold and of silver in the world and in the United States, and their relative commercial value. (For the explanation of the facts by the believers in the single gold standard, see **MONOMETALLISM**; for the explanation by believers in the double standard, see **SILVER**; for the coinage of gold and silver, see **CURRENCY**.)

I. GOLD.

The color, luster, and power of resisting oxidation possessed by gold have caused it to be considered a precious metal from the earliest times. Allusions to gold are frequent in the Jewish Scriptures and in classical writings. Jewelry and vessels found in Egyptian, Greek, and Trojan tombs show the perfection attained in working gold, while the value attached to it is shown by its being used in religious worship and in its being chosen by the poets to describe the glory of the gods.

The ancient supply of gold seems to have come from Eastern Africa, and around the sources of the Indus. In the times of the Romans, gold does not seem to have been so abundant, tho gold was worked near Apulia and in Spain. After the discovery of America it was brought in large quantities from Mexico, Brazil, and other South American countries. Between 1829 and 1838 it was found in Siberia and largely exported. The great gold fields of California were discovered in 1848, by accident by a Mr. Marshall, who found particles of gold dust in a mill race on the estate of a Captain Sutter. It led to intense excitement.

In February, 1851, the gold fields of Australia were discovered near Bathurst by a Mr. Hargraves, and this led to a series of discoveries. From 1851-94 the gold produced in Victoria is estimated at 59,446,235 oz., valued at £237,784,-

940. The gold fields of Queensland, discovered in 1858, are estimated to have yielded, to the end of 1894, 9,926,923 oz., valued at £37,744,230. The gold fields of New South Wales has produced, since 1851, 11,061,379 oz., valued at £41,010,669.

The most famous gold mines of Europe are those of Hungary and Transylvania, tho it has been found in Piedmont, Spain, and the British Islands.

The greater part of the gold of the world is obtained by washing from detrital deposits along the beds of rivers; a smaller quantity is obtained by crushing and washing quartz.

II. SILVER.

Silver, like gold, has been known and prized from the earliest ages. Phidon, King of Ægina, is said to have struck coins in silver B.C. 869. Silver currency was adopted by the Romans in 269. It was largely used by Greek and Roman artists. The silver mines of Mexico were, until quite recently, by far the richest known to exist. Until the remarkable discoveries of silver ore in Nevada and adjoining States in 1859 and 1860, Chile and Peru had long stood next to Mexico in their yield. Bolivia is also rich in silver.

Of European countries, Spain is the most productive. Next to Spain, Austria, Saxony, and the Harz district, in Northern Germany, yield the largest supplies. The silver mines of Königsberg, in Norway, are likewise valuable, and have been long famous.

The great silver-mining industry of the United States had no existence before 1860. The prospectors and pioneers who traversed Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, and other Territories in the Far West, seeking for gold, in the years between 1850 and 1860, fell upon silver unexpectedly. The greatest silver mine ever known was discovered in this way in 1858-59, in the Washoe Country, on the eastern foothills of the Sierra Nevada. This was the celebrated "Comstock" mine, which was found by James Shinney and Henry Comstock, both of whom parted with their interest for a trifle, not discerning the value of the discovery. A portion of the mine was worked in 1860-61, and by 1865 it had yielded the value of \$30,000,000; and a city of 20,000 inhabitants was planted on its site. From 1859-66 the total product of the mines on the Comstock lode was about \$70,000,000. This discovery encouraged further prospecting. Idaho and Montana became silver bearing territory; and the Wasatch range, looking down into the Salt Lake valley, was found to be rich in silver-bearing lodes. Up to December, 1878, the value of the silver yield of Colorado was about \$16,000,000. Two years later the mines of Leadville, alone, not discovered till 1877, yielded as much.

III. STATISTICS.

The following table shows the world's production of gold and silver for 400 years, and compares their ratio of production with the ratio of their relative commercial value for the entire period. The figures giving production from 1493-1885 are from tables by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer, as given in the Report of the Director of the Mint for 1894, pages 304-305. The produc-

tion for the years from 1885-94 is given upon estimates of the Bureau of the Mint in the reports for 1893 and 1894. Recently published estimates of the production of gold and silver for 1894 have been added.

The two columns showing the amount of silver produced to one unit of gold in dollars and in ounces were prepared by Mr. George B. Waldron, from the world's production for each period as given in the preceding columns of the table.

For purposes of comparison he has added Dr. Soetbeer's estimates of the *commercial* ratio of gold to silver down to 1832, the estimates of Pixley and Abell from 1833-78, and those of the Director of the Mint from 1879-94. (See Report of the Director of the Mint for 1895.) Variations between the highest and lowest ratios of each period are given in the next column from 1687-1894, based on daily London quotations beginning with 1833.

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD AND SILVER FOR 400 YEARS—COMPARISON BETWEEN RELATIVE AND COMMERCIAL VALUES OF THE TWO METALS.

CALENDAR YEARS.	WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD.		WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF SILVER.		SILVER PRODUCED TO ONE OF GOLD.		COMMERCIAL VALUE OF SILVER TO ONE OF GOLD.		Significant Historical Events.
	Fine Ounces.	Value.	Fine Ounces.	Value.	Dollars.	Ounces.	Average Ratio.	Variation between Highest and Lowest Ratio.	
1493-1520.	5,221,160	\$107,931,000	42,309,400	\$54,793,000	\$0.507	8.10	11.30	....	1492. Discovery of America.
1521-1540.	5,524,656	114,205,000	69,598,320	89,986,000	.788	12.60	11.20	....	1521. Cortez completes the conquest of Mexico.
1541-1560.	4,377,544	99,492,000	160,287,040	207,240,000	2.290	36.62	11.50	....
1561-1580.	4,398,120	99,917,000	192,578,500	248,999,000	2.739	43.79	11.50	....
1581-1600.	4,745,340	98,095,000	269,352,700	348,254,000	3.559	56.76	11.90	....
1601-1620.	5,478,360	113,248,000	271,924,700	351,579,000	3.105	49.64	13.00	....
1621-1640.	5,336,900	110,324,000	253,084,800	327,221,000	2.966	47.44	13.40	....
1641-1660.	5,639,110	116,577,000	235,530,900	304,525,000	2.601	41.77	13.80	....
1661-1680.	5,954,180	123,084,000	216,691,000	280,166,000	2.276	36.39	14.70	....
1681-1700.	6,921,895	143,088,000	219,841,700	284,240,000	1.986	31.76	14.97	.93	
1701-1720.	8,243,260	170,403,000	228,650,800	295,629,000	1.735	27.74	15.21	.48	
1721-1740.	12,268,440	253,611,000	277,261,600	358,480,000	1.414	22.60	15.09	.60	
1741-1760.	15,824,230	327,116,000	342,812,235	443,232,000	1.355	21.66	14.75	1.12	
1761-1780.	13,313,315	275,211,000	419,711,820	542,658,000	1.972	31.53	14.73	.73	
1781-1800.	11,438,970	236,464,000	565,235,580	730,810,000	3.091	49.41	15.09	1.32	1792. United States Mint established. Ratio 15 to 1
1801-1810.	5,715,627	118,152,000	287,469,225	371,677,000	3.146	50.39	15.61	.82	
1811-1820.	3,679,568	76,063,000	173,857,555	224,786,000	2.955	47.25	15.49	1.14	1816. England demonetizes silver.
1821-1830.	4,579,444	94,479,000	148,070,040	191,444,000	2.026	32.40	15.80	.25	1834. United States Mint ratio changed to 16 to 1.
1831-1840.	6,522,913	134,841,000	191,758,675	247,930,000	1.839	29.40	15.76	.53	1847. Gold discovered in California, Panic.
1841-1848.	14,084,001	291,144,000	200,732,500	259,520,000	.891	14.25	15.85	.40	
1849-.....	1,789,875	37,000,000	30,164,000	39,000,000	1.054	16.85	15.78	.20	
1850-.....	2,150,269	44,450,000	30,164,000	39,000,000	.877	14.02	15.70	.55	
1851-.....	3,270,150	67,600,000	30,937,500	40,600,000	.593	9.46	15.46	.42	1851. Gold discovered in Australia.
1852-.....	6,421,781	132,750,000	31,402,000	40,600,000	.366	4.18	15.59	.51	
1853-.....	7,519,804	155,450,000	31,402,000	40,600,000	.310	5.09	15.33	.42	
1854-.....	6,165,378	127,450,000	31,402,000	40,600,000	.301	4.81	15.38	.44	
1855-.....	6,534,253	135,075,000	31,402,000	40,600,000	.305	4.88	15.27	.34	
1856-.....	7,149,159	147,600,000	31,440,800	40,650,000	.326	5.21	15.38	.28	
1857-.....	6,447,177	133,275,000	31,440,800	40,650,000	.326	5.21	15.38	.28	
1858-.....	6,029,044	124,650,000	31,440,800	40,650,000	.326	5.21	15.38	.28	
1859-.....	6,039,619	124,850,000	31,517,600	40,750,000	.326	5.22	15.10	.24	1859. Discovery of silver in Nevada.
1860-.....	5,758,719	119,250,000	31,556,250	40,800,000	.326	5.22	15.26	.28	1861. Opening of American Civil War.
1861-.....	5,505,075	113,800,000	34,572,700	44,700,000	.393	6.28	15.50	.41	
1862-.....	5,212,406	107,750,000	34,959,400	45,200,000	.410	6.71	15.35	.28	1862. Gold and silver at a premium in the United States.
1863-.....	5,173,706	106,950,000	38,053,000	49,200,000	.460	7.36	15.37	.19	
1864-.....	5,466,375	113,000,000	39,986,700	51,700,000	.458	7.31	15.37	.46	
1865-.....	5,814,675	120,200,000	40,180,000	51,950,000	.452	6.91	15.44	.35	1865. End of American Civil War.
1866-.....	5,858,213	121,100,000	39,252,000	50,750,000	.419	6.70	15.43	.53	
1867-.....	5,943,094	104,025,000	41,939,600	54,225,000	.521	8.32	15.57	.23	
1868-.....	5,197,947	109,725,000	38,845,900	50,225,000	.458	7.32	15.59	.25	1868. Valuable silver mines opened in Colorado.
1869-.....	5,138,634	106,225,000	36,738,200	47,500,000	.447	7.15	15.66	.26	
1870-.....	5,168,869	106,850,000	39,890,000	51,575,000	.483	7.72	15.57	.44	1870-71. Franco-Prussian War.
1871-.....	5,176,125	107,000,000	47,183,600	61,050,000	.571	9.12	15.59	.21	1871-73. Germany demonetizes silver.

WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD AND SILVER FOR 400 YEARS (Continued).

CALENDAR YEARS.	WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD.		WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF SILVER.		SILVER PRODUCED TO ONE OF GOLD.		COMMERCIAL VALUE OF SILVER TO ONE OF GOLD.		Significant Historical Events.
	Fine Ounces.	Value.	Fine Ounces.	Value.	Dollars.	Ounces.	Average Ratio.	Variation between Highest and Lowest Ratio.	
1872.....	4,818,150	\$99,600,000	50,466,800	\$65,250,000	\$0.665	10.47	15.63	.49	1872. Scandinavian Union formed on a gold basis.
1873.....	4,653,675	96,200,000	63,267,000	81,800,000	.850	13.59	15.92	.56	1873. Silver demonetized in the United States. Panic.
1874.....	4,399,031	90,750,000	55,300,000	71,500,000	.788	12.60	16.17	.62	1874. Silver demonetized by the Latin Union.
1875.....	4,726,563	97,500,000	62,262,000	80,500,000	.826	13.17	16.59	.63	1875. Holland suspends the coinage of silver.
1876.....	5,016,488	103,700,000	67,753,000	87,600,000	.845	13.51	17.88	4.05	1876. Russia suspends the coinage of silver.
1877.....	5,514,750	114,000,000	62,648,000	81,000,000	.711	11.36	17.22	1.52	1877. Finland adopts the gold standard.
1878.....	5,757,625	119,000,000	73,476,000	95,000,000	.798	12.76	17.94	1.98	1878. United States returns to limited remonetization of silver.
1879.....	5,272,875	109,000,000	74,250,000	96,000,000	.881	14.08	18.40	1.76	1879. Resumption of specie payments in the United States.
1880.....	5,141,938	106,500,000	74,791,000	96,700,000	.908	14.55	18.05	.61	
1881.....	4,982,625	103,000,000	78,890,000	102,000,000	.990	15.83	18.16	.66	
1882.....	4,933,250	102,000,000	86,470,000	111,800,000	1.096	17.53	18.20	.86	1882. War with Egypt.
1883.....	4,614,975	95,400,000	89,177,000	115,300,000	1.209	19.32	18.64	.42	
1884.....	4,910,738	101,700,000	81,597,000	105,500,000	1.037	26.59	18.57	.70	
1885.....	5,243,850	108,400,000	91,652,000	118,500,000	1.094	17.48	19.41	1.26	1885. Single gold standard introduced in Egypt.
1886.....	5,127,750	106,000,000	93,276,000	120,600,000	1.138	18.19	20.78	2.39	
1887.....	5,116,866	105,775,000	96,124,000	124,281,000	1.175	18.79	21.13	1.79	
1888.....	5,330,780	110,107,000	108,827,000	140,706,000	1.277	20.41	21.09	1.51	
1889.....	5,973,780	123,489,000	120,213,600	155,427,700	1.259	20.12	22.10	1.27	
1890.....	5,749,272	118,848,700	126,095,000	163,032,000	1.372	21.03	19.76	4.39	1890. Silver purchasing act in the United States.
1891.....	6,320,104	130,650,000	137,170,900	177,352,300	1.357	21.90	20.02	2.33	1892. Gold standard replaces silver standard in Austria-Hungary.
1892.....	7,071,146	146,297,600	152,940,100	197,749,700	1.352	21.63	23.72	3.34	1893. Suspension of silver coinage in India and repeal of purchasing clause of act of 1890 in the United States.
1893.....	7,605,909	157,228,100	161,776,100	209,165,000	1.330	21.27	26.49	6.58	
1894.....	8,780,551	181,510,100	165,887,700	214,481,100	1.182	18.80	32.59	5.22	
1493-1600.	24,266,820	\$501,640,000	734,125,960	\$949,173,000	\$1.802	30.25	11.48	.70	
1601-1700.	29,330,445	606,315,000	1,197,973,100	1,547,731,000	2.554	40.81	13.97	2.20	
1701-1800.	61,088,215	1,262,805,000	1,833,672,035	2,370,809,000	1.885	30.02	14.97	1.60	
1801-1848.	34,572,643	\$714,679,000	1,001,887,995	\$1,295,357,000	\$1.812	28.08	15.69	1.14	
1849-1873.	133,603,284	2,761,825,000	910,628,850	1,180,015,000	.431	6.88	15.48	1.26	
1874-1894.	117,596,989	2,430,945,500	2,060,581,400	2,664,185,800	1.096	17.52	20.22	18.97	
1806-1894.	285,772,915	\$5,997,449,500	3,982,098,245	\$5,148,557,800	\$8.72	13.94	16.65	19.88	
1493-1894.	400,458,396	\$8,278,209,500	7,746,969,340	\$10,016,270,800	\$1.210	19.34	13.95	23.72	

The table is most important in its bearing on the silver question. The uniformity of the ratio down to 1873 is very marked. The lowest point in that period was touched in 1760, when it stood at 14.14 to 1 of gold, and the highest point in 1813, during the war with England, when it stood at 16.25. Since 1873 the ratio has rapidly risen until in March, 1894, it stood at nearly 35 to 1.

The commercial ratio of gold to silver, from the time of Herodotus (born 484 B.C.) down to the year 1717, is shown in the following from the letter of Lord Liverpool to the King of England (see *Coinage Laws of the United States*, 1894, p. 435):

In Persia, according to Herodotus..... 1 to 12½
 In Greece at same period..... 1 to 13
 In Greece in the time of Plato..... 1 to 12
 In Greece it is stated by Xenophon at..... 1 to 10
 After the plunder of gold from the Temple of Apollo, according to Menander, it was..... 1 to 10
 In the reign of Alexander the Great it was.... 1 to 10
 In Rome, according to Pliny the Elder... 1 to 10½
 In Rome, after the tribute from the Etruscans..... 1 to 10
 The plunder of gold from the Gauls by Julius Cæsar reduced the proportions to..... 1 to 7½
 In the reign of Claudius, Tacitus states it at. 1 to 12½
 Until the reign of Alexander Servius it contained..... 1 to 12½
 In the reign of Constantine the Great..... 1 to 0½
 The disorders in the Roman Empire under Arcadius and Honorius raised it to..... 1 to 14½
 From which it appears that gold, unless when depressed by sudden and unusual

occurrences, or enhanced by a dread of public insecurity, may be stated to have been for upward of 900 years in the proportion of..... 1 to 10 or 12
 In England, in the reign of Henry III., 1216 to 1272..... 1 to 9½
 In England, in the reign of Edward III., 1330 to 1377..... 1 to 12½
 In England, in the reign of Henry IV., 1400 to 1412..... 1 to 10½
 In England, in the reign of Edward IV., 1461 to 1477..... 1 to 11½
 In England, in the reign of Henry VIII., 1510 to 1547..... 1 to 11.10
 In England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1560..... 1 to 11
 In England, in the reign of King James I., 1604..... 1 to 12½
 In England, in the reign of King James I., 1601..... 1 to 13½
 In England, in the reign of Charles II., 1665..... 1 to 14½
 In England, in the reign of George I., 1717..... 1 to 15½

Relative proportions in China, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 12½
 Relative proportions in Japan, according to Humboldt..... 1 to 8½
 Relative proportions in Bengal, according to bullion report..... 1 to 14.86
 Relative proportions in Madras, according to bullion report..... 1 to 13½
 Relative proportions in Bombay, according to bullion report..... 1 to 15
 In the China Diaries it is stated at 16 taels of silver to 1 tael of gold of 100 touch of pure gold. If it is meant to be of pure silver also, the proportion would be 1 to 16; but it is believed to be the average fineness of silver in dollars, which would be..... 1 to 14.296

The following is the London price of silver per ounce sterling from 1833-95 (*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1895, p. 42):

CALENDAR YEAR.	Lowest Quotation.	Highest Quotation.	Average Quotation.	Value of a Fine Ounce at Average Quotation.	Commer- cial Ratio.	Calendar Year.	Lowest Quotation.	Highest Quotation.	Average Quotation.	Value of a Fine Ounce at Average Quotation.	Commer- cial Ratio.
	Pence.	Pence.	Pence.	Dollars.			Pence.	Pence.	Pence.	Dollars.	
1833.....	58¾	59¾	59½	1.297	15-93	1865.....	60½	61¾	61½	1.338	15.44
1834.....	59¾	60¾	59½	1.313	15-73	1866.....	60¾	62½	61½	1.339	15.43
1835.....	59¾	60	59½	1.308	15-80	1867.....	60¾	61¾	60¾	1.328	15.57
1836.....	59¾	60¾	60	1.315	15-72	1868.....	60¾	61¾	60¾	1.326	15.59
1837.....	59	60¾	59½	1.305	15-83	1869.....	60	61	60¾	1.325	15.60
1838.....	59¾	60¾	59½	1.304	15-85	1870.....	60¾	60¾	60¾	1.328	15.57
1839.....	60	60¾	60¾	1.323	15-62	1871.....	60¾	61	60¾	1.326	15.57
1840.....	60¾	60¾	60¾	1.323	15-62	1872.....	59¾	61¾	60¾	1.322	15.63
1841.....	59¾	60¾	60¾	1.316	15-70	1873.....	57¾	59½	59½	1.298	15.92
1842.....	59¾	60	59½	1.303	15-87	1874.....	57¾	59½	58½	1.278	16.17
1843.....	59	59¾	59½	1.297	15-93	1875.....	55½	57½	56¾	1.246	16.50
1844.....	59¾	59¾	59½	1.304	15-85	1876.....	46¾	58½	52¾	1.156	17.88
1845.....	58¾	59¾	59½	1.298	15-92	1877.....	53¾	58½	54¾	1.201	17.22
1846.....	59	60¾	59½	1.30	15-90	1878.....	49½	55¾	52¾	1.152	17.94
1847.....	58¾	60¾	59½	1.308	15-80	1879.....	48½	53¾	51¾	1.123	18.40
1848.....	58¾	60	59½	1.304	15-85	1880.....	51¾	52¾	52¾	1.145	18.05
1849.....	59¾	60	59½	1.309	15-78	1881.....	50¾	52¾	51¾	1.138	18.16
1850.....	59¾	61½	61½	1.316	15-70	1882.....	50	52¾	51¾	1.136	18.19
1851.....	60	61¾	61	1.337	15-46	1883.....	50	51¾	50¾	1.111	18.64
1852.....	59¾	61	60¾	1.326	15-59	1884.....	49½	51¾	50¾	1.113	18.57
1853.....	60¾	61	61½	1.348	15-33	1885.....	46¾	50	48¾	1.0645	19.41
1854.....	60¾	61	61½	1.348	15-33	1886.....	42	47	45¾	.9946	20.78
1855.....	60	61¾	61½	1.344	15-38	1887.....	43¾	47¾	44¾	.97823	21.13
1856.....	60¾	62¾	61½	1.344	15-38	1888.....	41¾	44½	44¾	.93897	21.99
1857.....	61	62¾	61½	1.353	15-27	1889.....	42	44½	41¾	.93512	22.10
1858.....	60¾	61¾	61½	1.344	15-38	1890.....	43¾	54¾	47¾	1.04633	19.76
1859.....	61¾	62¾	62½	1.36	15-19	1891.....	43¾	48¾	45¾	.98782	20.92
1860.....	61¾	62¾	61½	1.352	15-29	1892.....	37¾	43¾	39¾	.87106	23.72
1861.....	60¾	61¾	60¾	1.333	15-50	1893.....	30¾	38¾	35¾	.78031	26.49
1862.....	61	62¾	61½	1.346	15-35	1894.....	27	31¾	28¾	.63479	32.56
1863.....	61	61¾	61¾	1.345	15-37	1895.....	27¾	31¾	29¾	.65406	31.60
1864.....	60¾	62½	61¾	1.345	15-37						

The following is the currency price of gold in the New York market (*American Almanac*, 1879, p. 249):

MONTHS.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.
January.....	102.5	145.1	155.5	216.2	140.1	134.6	138.5	135.6	121.3	110.7	109.1	112.7	111.4	112.5	112.8	106.2	102.1
Feb.....	103.5	160.5	158.6	205.5	138.4	137.4	141.4	134.4	119.5	111.5	110.3	114.1	112.3	114.5	113.4	105.2	102.
March.....	101.8	154.5	162.9	173.8	130.5	135.	139.5	131.3	112.6	111.	110.1	115.5	112.1	115.5	114.3	104.8	101.4
April.....	101.5	151.5	172.7	148.5	127.3	135.6	138.7	132.9	113.1	110.6	111.1	117.8	113.4	114.8	113.2	106.2	100.7
May.....	103.3	148.9	176.3	135.6	131.8	137.	139.6	139.2	114.7	111.5	113.7	117.7	112.4	115.8	112.7	106.5	100.8
June.....	106.5	144.5	210.7	140.1	148.7	137.5	140.1	138.1	112.9	112.4	113.9	116.5	111.3	117.	111.9	105.5	100.8
July.....	115.5	130.6	258.1	142.1	151.6	139.4	142.7	136.1	116.8	112.4	114.3	115.7	110.	114.8	111.8	105.6	100.6
August.....	114.5	125.8	254.1	143.5	148.7	140.8	145.5	134.2	117.9	112.4	114.4	115.4	109.7	113.5	110.8	104.6	100.6
Sept.....	118.5	134.2	222.5	143.9	145.5	143.4	143.6	136.8	114.8	114.5	113.5	112.7	109.7	115.8	109.7	103.5	100.6
October.....	128.5	147.7	207.2	145.5	148.3	143.5	137.1	130.2	112.8	113.2	113.2	108.9	110.	116.5	110.7	102.9	100.3
Nov.....	131.1	148.	233.5	147.	143.8	139.6	134.4	126.2	111.4	112.2	112.2	108.6	110.9	115.2	110.9	102.9	100.3
Dec.....	132.3	151.1	227.5	146.2	136.7	134.8	135.2	121.5	110.7	109.3	112.2	110.	111.7	113.9	108.	102.7	100.3
Average for year..	113.3	145.2	203.3	157.3	140.9	138.2	139.7	133.	114.9	111.7	112.4	113.8	111.2	115.1	111.5	104.7	100.9

The following is the product of gold and silver from mines in the United States from 1845-94 (*Statistical Abstract*, 1895, p. 40):

PRODUCT OF GOLD AND SILVER FROM MINES IN THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1845 TO 1894.

CALENDAR YEAR.	GOLD		SILVER.		
	Fine Ounces.	Value.	Fine Ounces.	Commercial Value.	Coining Value.
1845.....	48,778	\$1,008,327	38,672	\$50,106	\$50,000
1846.....	55,116	1,139,357	38,672	50,274	50,000
1847.....	43,009	889,085	38,672	50,583	50,000
1848.....	483,750	10,000,000	38,672	50,428	50,000
1849.....	1,935,000	40,000,000	38,672	50,622	50,000
1850.....	2,418,750	50,000,000	38,672	50,892	50,000
1851.....	2,660,625	55,000,000	38,672	51,704	50,000
1852.....	2,902,500	60,000,000	38,672	51,279	50,000
1853.....	3,144,375	65,000,000	38,672	52,139	50,000
1854.....	2,902,500	60,000,000	38,672	52,130	50,000
1855.....	2,660,625	55,000,000	38,672	51,985	50,000
1856.....	2,660,625	55,000,000	38,672	51,985	50,000
1857.....	2,660,625	55,000,000	38,672	52,333	50,000
1858.....	2,419,000	50,000,000	386,720	519,752	500,000
1859.....	2,419,000	50,000,000	77,344	105,188	100,000
1860.....	2,225,250	46,000,000	116,016	156,832	150,000
1861.....	2,080,125	43,000,000	1,547,000	2,062,151	2,000,000
1862.....	1,896,300	39,200,000	3,180,000	4,683,880	4,500,000
1863.....	1,935,000	40,000,000	6,574,220	8,842,326	8,500,000
1864.....	2,230,100	46,100,000	8,510,000	11,445,950	11,000,000
1865.....	2,574,750	53,225,000	8,791,200	11,642,206	11,250,000
1866.....	2,588,062	53,500,000	7,734,490	10,356,362	10,000,000
1867.....	2,502,197	51,725,000	10,441,000	13,865,648	13,500,000
1868.....	2,322,000	48,000,000	9,281,250	12,306,938	12,000,000
1869.....	2,370,375	49,500,000	9,281,250	12,297,656	12,000,000
1870.....	2,418,750	50,000,000	13,000,000	17,264,000	16,000,000
1871.....	2,104,300	43,500,000	17,789,000	23,588,214	23,000,000
1872.....	1,741,500	36,000,000	22,244,100	29,406,700	28,750,000
1873.....	1,741,500	36,000,000	27,650,000	35,750,000	35,750,000
1874.....	1,620,563	33,500,000	28,849,000	36,869,000	37,300,000
1875.....	1,615,725	33,400,000	24,518,000	30,549,000	31,700,000
1876.....	1,930,162	39,000,000	30,009,000	34,690,000	38,800,000
1877.....	2,268,788	46,900,000	30,783,000	36,979,000	39,800,000
1878.....	2,476,800	51,200,000	34,060,000	40,279,000	45,200,000
1879.....	1,881,787	38,900,000	31,550,000	35,430,000	40,800,000
1880.....	1,741,500	36,000,000	30,320,000	34,720,000	39,200,000
1881.....	1,678,612	34,700,000	33,260,000	37,850,000	43,000,000
1882.....	1,572,187	32,500,000	36,200,000	41,120,000	46,800,000
1883.....	1,451,250	30,000,000	35,730,000	39,660,000	46,200,000
1884.....	1,489,950	30,800,000	37,800,000	42,070,000	48,800,000
1885.....	1,538,325	31,800,000	39,910,000	42,500,000	51,600,000
1886.....	1,693,125	35,000,000	39,449,000	39,230,000	51,000,000
1887.....	1,596,375	33,000,000	41,200,000	49,410,000	53,350,000
1888.....	1,604,841	33,175,000	45,780,000	43,020,000	59,195,000
1889.....	1,587,000	32,800,000	50,000,000	46,750,000	64,646,000
1890.....	1,588,880	32,845,000	54,500,000	57,225,000	70,465,000
1891.....	1,604,840	33,175,000	58,330,000	57,630,000	75,417,000
1892.....	1,596,375	33,000,000	63,500,000	55,563,000	82,101,000
1893.....	1,739,323	35,955,000	60,000,000	46,800,000	77,576,000
1894.....	1,910,813	39,500,000	49,500,000	31,422,000	64,000,000

R. W. Raymond, United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics, estimates the gold mined from 1792 to July 31, 1834, at \$14,000,000, and from that date to 1845 at \$7,500,000. Silver he

estimates for the first period as insignificant, and for the second period at \$250,000.

The following table shows the production of gold and silver by States and by counties:

SOURCES OF THE SILVER PRODUCT OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1893.

STATE OR TERRITORY.	FINE OUNCES SILVER IN—			Total.
	Quartz and Milling Ores.	Lead Ores.	Copper Ores.	
Arizona.....	1,852,200	812,900	270,000	2,935,700
California.....	420,200	49,900	.....	470,100
Colorado.....	11,627,400	12,660,900	1,550,300	25,838,600
Idaho.....	1,035,000	2,884,600	.....	3,919,600
Montana.....	9,016,900	2,427,200	5,500,900	16,945,000
Nevada.....	1,436,300	.....	125,000	1,561,300
New Mexico.....	153,100	306,300	.....	459,400
Utah.....	1,800,000	5,146,300	350,000	7,196,300
All others.....	300,000	300,000	74,000	674,000
Total.....	27,641,100	24,713,100	7,645,800	60,000,000

From an examination of the above table it will be seen that of the 60,000,000 ounces of silver produced in the United States during the calendar year 1893, about 27,600,000 ounces were extracted from milling ores—that is, silver ores proper—while 24,700,000 ounces came from lead ores, and 7,600,000 ounces from copper ores.

It would appear, therefore, that less than one half of

the silver product of the United States is derived from mines producing silver ores proper, and that considerably more than one half of the entire silver output of the United States is an incidental product from the smelting of lead and copper ores, altho this incidental product is frequently more valuable than the other metals contained.

STATEMENT OF DEPOSITS AT MINTS AND ASSAY OFFICES OF THE GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCED IN THE SEVERAL STATES FROM 1793 TO DECEMBER 31, 1894.

LOCALITY.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Alabama.....	\$246,356.98	\$253.75	\$246,610.73
Alaska.....	1,483,536.88	15,529.64	1,499,066.52
Arizona.....	6,951,793.19	14,085,175.88	21,036,969.07
California.....	767,568,763.99	4,241,156.90	771,809,920.89
Colorado.....	68,246,222.38	24,800,014.45	93,047,136.83
Georgia.....	9,210,074.50	6,851.56	9,216,926.06
Idaho.....	35,201,629.69	1,900,383.64	37,162,013.33
Maine.....	6,311.06	22.90	6,333.96
Maryland.....	17,578.38	40.91	17,619.29
Michigan.....	418,294.12	4,063,354.04	4,481,648.16
Missouri.....	96.71	359.11	455.82
Montana.....	73,490,543.57	21,982,919.05	95,473,462.62
Nebraska.....	1,921.79	273,226.13	275,147.92
Nevada.....	33,678,267.56	104,191,259.88	137,869,527.44
New Hampshire.....	481.34	1.75	483.09
New Mexico.....	6,080,775.90	7,059,250.52	13,140,026.42
North Carolina.....	11,773,222.35	66,441.54	11,839,663.89
Oregon.....	21,999,696.50	94,499.95	22,094,196.45
South Carolina.....	2,319,436.73	3,969.82	2,323,406.55
South Dakota.....	50,923,627.71	1,051,824.45	51,975,452.16
Tennessee.....	107,177.22	14.15	107,191.37
Texas.....	7,910.56	3,447.01	11,357.57
Utah.....	1,477,262.74	19,920,438.78	21,397,701.52
Vermont.....	78,647.87	84.65	78,732.52
Virginia.....	1,760,135.87	438.02	1,760,573.89
Washington.....	927,925.42	12,959.31	940,884.73
Wisconsin.....	325.73	7.02	332.75
Wyoming.....	848,335.02	13,060.55	861,395.57
Other sources.....	41,943,089.28	42,908,216.05	84,851,305.33
Total unrefined.....	\$1,136,769,441.04	\$246,756,101.41	\$1,383,525,542.45
Refined bullion.....	450,641,481.96	526,943,607.40	977,585,089.36
Grand total.....	\$1,587,410,923.00	\$773,699,708.81	\$2,361,110,631.81

The following table shows the relative variations in wages and prices as measured in currency gold and silver from 1840-92. It is taken from George B. Waldron's *Handbook on Currency and Wealth*, pp. 82, 83. Mr. Waldron says:

"The figures are compiled from the results of the special Senate committee investigation, transmitted to the Senate March 3, 1893. The investigation was made by a sub-committee on tariff, with Nelson W. Aldrich as chairman.

"The comparative percentages on prices are based on quotations of wholesale prices of 223 articles, covering the period from 1860 to 1892, and of 83 articles covering the whole period from 1840. In most cases these were actual prices paid during the month of January, and not average prices for the year. In a few instances, when the January price is not the typical price for the year, the quotations for another month are taken; potatoes, for example, being quoted for October. All these quotations of the 223 articles were reduced to relative percentages with 1860 as 100.

"It would be manifestly unfair to give equal weight to all the quotations and strike a general average for each year, so the attempt was made to give each quotation the weight it would have in the expenditures of the average family. The basis taken was the investigations of the Commissioner of Labor, reported in the seventh annual report (1891), in which the average expenditures of 2561 normal families are found to be as follows:

"Rent, 15.06 per cent.; food, 41.03; fuel, 5.00; clothing, 15.31; light, 0.90; all other purposes, 22.70; total, 100.00 per cent.

"Of the 84.94 per cent. (excluding rent) of the expenditures of the average family, it was found that the

quotations of prices covered 68.60 per cent. Giving to each article the exact weight that it would have in the expenditures of the average normal family, the committee obtained the results given in the first column of prices in the table.

"The method pursued is probably as accurate as any that could be followed. Certain assumptions, however, should be noted. It is assumed that family expenses follow the same proportions in 1840 and 1860 that obtained in 1891. This assumption was necessary from the fact that no earlier investigations of family expenditures were made. Quotations of prices are given always at wholesale, and the assumption is that retail prices have varied in the same ratio. In general this is probably true, but in particular articles and for particular periods this would not be true. But in spite of these assumptions, the investigation is probably the most reliable ever made.

"These prices and percentages are all on a currency basis. This would be the same as the gold basis, except for the years from 1862 to 1878. The second column of prices shows what the variations were on a gold basis at the average price of currency for January of each of these years as given on pages 69 and 70.

"For purposes of further comparison we have added the relative prices in silver from quotations of the January price of silver in London (which is always the governing price), furnished us from the Treasury Department at Washington. Prices measured in silver were at 94.9 in 1860, as shown by the table, and did not rise to par until after 1873, since which time they have been steadily rising.

"A similar plan was followed by the committee in securing the relative wages for the period. Quotations of day wages were obtained, of which 61 series begin as early as 1840, and 543 cover the period from 1860. These quotations, as in the investigation on prices, were reduced to percentages with 1860 as 100, and the

RELATIVE PRICES AND WAGES IN CURRENT, GOLD, AND SILVER—1840 TO 1892.

(All figures are in percentages, with the year 1860 as 100.)

YEAR—JANUARY.	RELATIVE PRICES IN—			RELATIVE WAGES IN—		
	Cur- ren- cy.	Gold.	Sil- ver.	Cur- ren- cy.	Gold.	Sil- ver.
1840.....	97.7		95.4		82.5	80.6
1841.....	98.1		95.8		79.9	78.6
1842.....	90.1		89.1		84.1	83.2
1843.....	84.3		83.7		83.0	82.5
1844.....	85.0		84.5		83.2	82.7
1845.....	88.2		87.8		85.7	85.3
1846.....	95.2		94.8		89.1	88.7
1847.....	95.2		93.2		91.3	89.4
1848.....	88.3		88.0		91.6	91.3
1849.....	83.5		82.5		90.5	89.4
1850.....	89.2		88.1		90.9	89.8
1851.....	98.6		94.4		91.1	87.2
1852.....	97.9		93.7		91.8	87.9
1853.....	105.0		100.9		93.2	89.6
1854.....	105.0		100.5		95.8	91.7
1855.....	109.2		104.6		97.5	93.4
1856.....	112.3		108.6		98.0	94.7
1857.....	114.0		108.0		99.2	94.0
1858.....	113.2		108.6		97.9	93.9
1859.....	102.9		98.4		99.7	95.0
1860.....	100.0		94.9		100.0	94.9
1861.....	94.1		90.5		100.7	96.9
1862.....	104.1	101.6	90.8	103.7	101.2	97.4
1863.....	132.2	91.1	87.1	118.8	81.9	78.3
1864.....	172.1	110.7	105.0	134.0	86.2	81.8
1865.....	232.2	107.4	102.9	148.6	68.7	65.8
1866.....	187.7	134.0	128.4	155.6	111.1	106.4
1867.....	165.8	123.2	119.4	164.0	121.8	118.0
1868.....	173.9	125.6	122.2	164.9	119.1	115.9
1869.....	152.3	112.3	109.0	167.4	123.5	119.9
1870.....	144.4	119.0	115.8	167.1	136.9	133.2
1871.....	136.1	122.9	119.7	166.4	150.3	146.4
1872.....	132.4	121.4	117.6	167.1	153.2	148.4
1873.....	129.0	114.5	111.0	166.1	147.4	142.9
1874.....	129.9	116.6	117.1	162.5	145.9	146.5
1875.....	128.9	114.6	117.4	158.0	140.4	143.9
1876.....	122.6	108.7	115.5	151.4	134.2	142.6
1877.....	113.6	107.0	109.6	143.8	135.4	138.7
1878.....	104.6	103.2	113.4	140.9	139.0	152.5
1879.....	95.0		111.4	139.4		163.4
1880.....	104.9		117.9	143.0		160.7
1881.....	108.4		124.7	150.7		173.3
1882.....	109.1		123.8	152.9		173.5
1883.....	106.6		125.0	159.2		186.8
1884.....	102.6		119.0	155.1		179.8
1885.....	93.3		110.8	155.9		185.0
1886.....	93.4		117.9	155.8		196.6
1887.....	94.5		119.0	156.6		197.2
1888.....	96.2		127.9	157.9		209.9
1889.....	98.5		136.6	162.9		225.8
1890.....	93.7		124.2	168.2		222.9
1891.....	94.4		116.1	168.6		207.4
1891, October.....	92.8		122.8	168.4		215.9
1892, October.....	91.7		138.9	166.0		251.4
1840-49.....	90.6		89.5		86.1	85.2
1850-59.....	104.7		100.6		95.5	91.7
1860-69.....	151.4	110.0	105.0	135.8	101.4	97.5
1870-79.....	123.7	112.3	114.9	156.3	142.2	145.9
1880-89.....	100.8		122.3		155.0	188.9
1890-92.....	93.2		125.5		167.8	224.4

played in each industry by periods of 10 years. Giving to each industry the weight indicated by the relative number of persons employed in that industry, the committee secured the relative wages for each year of the whole period, as given in the first column of relative wages. The columns of wages in gold and in silver were obtained as in the similar columns of prices.

"One caution should be given in passing. The relative wages given are of persons actually employed, and necessarily make no account of the varying number of the unemployed or of those partially employed during the year." See WAGES.

"Gold and silver" are considered in the same connection by Richard P. Rothwell in the volume on *Mineral Industries* of the census of 1890, beginning with page 33. According to this article, "the number of gold and silver 'claims,' or 'locations,' commonly called 'mines,' in the United States is practically beyond computation. The names of nearly 100,000 of such claims or mines were received by the Census Office." But of these only 6004 were finally tabulated as being of sufficient importance to be classed as mines. The relative importance of these is shown by the following table:

GOLD AND SILVER MINES—CENSUS OF 1890. (*Mineral Industries*, p. 35.)

MINES.	Number.	Per Cent. of Producing Mines.
Producing over \$500,000 billion.....	28	0.75
Producing from \$250,000 to \$500,000.....	44	1.18
Producing from \$100,000 to \$250,000.....	107	2.87
Producing from \$50,000 to \$100,000.....	95	2.55
Producing from \$10,000 to \$50,000.....	437	11.72
Producing from \$1,000 to \$10,000.....	1,408	37.76
Producing less than \$1,000.....	1,610	43.17
Total producing mines.....	3,729	100.00
Mines reported working, but not producing.....	1,009	.....
Mines reported idle.....	1,266	.....
Total number of mines reported.....	6,004	.....

Speaking of the influences which affect the production and relative values of gold and silver, the report says (p. 118):

"The production of gold and silver in the United States is coming more and more from the treatment of the gold-bearing ores of other metals, and less from strictly gold and silver ores. The industry is becoming year by year more of a regular non-speculative manufacturing business, in which 'finds' and bonanzas have less and less influence, and it is, therefore, certain to increase with a steady and healthy growth. Investments in precious metal mines still continue to be made as 'gamblers,' and consequently are still, on the whole, unprofitable; but every year diminishes this unhealthy characteristic of mining, and brings the industry more into the category of legitimate industrial enterprises, where investments are made with the same precautions as in other classes of business, and moderate profits are sought as the reward of steady industry, while the class of 'millionaires of a day' is disappearing. At the present time about 134,000 tons, or 72 per cent. of the entire output of lead, is silver-bearing or silver-and-gold bearing, and is 'desilverized' before marketing, while nearly all the copper produced in Montana, amounting in 1889 to about

yearly percentages averaged for each of the 17 general industries represented. The different census reports from 1840 to 1880 showed the number of persons em-

100,000,000 lbs., and nearly all that mined in California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and other Western States, except in some of the Arizona copper mines, carries silver and gold. . . .

"The progress in metallurgy is, however, adding still more rapidly to the production of silver than that of gold, so that while the output of gold will probably increase in the future, that of silver, a much more abundant metal in nature, will undoubtedly increase still more rapidly."

Of the capital and expenditures of these mines the report says (*Mineral Industries*, p. 34) :

VALUE OF MINING PLANT.	
Buildings.....	\$7,565,918
Railroads on surface.....	1,475,074
Machinery.....	14,985,215
Underground improvements.....	95,806,648
Mine supplies.....	3,919,480
Cash.....	4,112,810
Value of Mines*.....	338,994,821
Total.....	\$465,960,566

MILLS AND REDUCING WORKS.	
Buildings.....	\$5,685,562
Machinery.....	13,456,938
Supplies.....	1,220,272
Total.....	\$20,362,772
Mines and works.....	\$486,323,338

EXPENDITURES.	
Total wages paid.....	\$40,412,022
Paid to contractors.....	1,421,301
Paid to office force.....	1,347,373
Total.....	\$43,180,696
Value of supplies.....	13,817,739
Other expenditures.....	6,452,470
Grand total.....	\$63,451,136

PRODUCTION OF BULLION.	
Gold.....	\$32,886,744
Silver.....	66,396,988
Total.....	\$99,283,744
Net production over expenditures.....	\$35,832,608

Of the employees, wages, days employed, etc., it says (*Mineral Industries*, p. 34) :

EMPLOYEES.	Number Employed.	Average Wages per Day.	Average Days Employed per Year.	Average Wages per Year.	
				Wages per Year.	Year.
Grand total.....	57,307	....	....	\$729	
Above ground, total...	22,025	\$2.77	192	\$531	
Foremen or overseers.....	1,585	\$4.04	216	\$873	
Mechanics.....	3,273	3.67	244	895	
Laborers.....	17,085	2.51	195	489	
Boys under 16 years of age.....	82	1.16	199	231	
Below ground, total...	34,409	\$3.08	237	\$730	
Foremen.....	1,352	\$4.16	238	\$990	
Miners.....	23,144	3.12	236	736	
Laborers.....	3,870	2.46	244	600	
Boys under 16 years of age.....	43	1.51	208	314	
Office force.....	873	....	....	\$1,544	
Males.....	848	....	....	\$1,575	
Females.....	25	....	....	....

* Exclusive of the other items. † Coinage value.

As to the cost of producing gold and silver, the report says (p. 119) :

"When the enormous amounts of money actually invested in unprofitable mines and mills are considered, some of which are strictly legitimate and honest, while some have been 'salted' or sold on false representations, it is easy to recognize the heavy offset to the great profits of the few large producers and to believe that the average cost of all the gold produced is more than \$20.67 per ounce troy," and that of silver is more than say \$1 per troy ounce."

Some idea of the immense profits from favorable mines may be obtained from the workings of the famous Comstock Lode, in Storey Co., Nev.

"In a paper by Alfred Doten, of Virginia City, Nev., in the report of the Director of the Mint for 1892, beginning with p. 150, it is shown that from the discovery of the Comstock Lode, in February, 1859, down to 1892, the total production of gold was \$141,986,344, and of silver \$198,877,548, making an aggregate of \$340,863,892, of which 41.65 per cent. was gold and 58.35 per cent. silver. To this should be added \$13,173,947, extracted from the tailings or residue of the ore reduced in the mills, making a total of \$354,037,839 produced from these mines in 34 years. The yield of tailings is about 66½ per cent. of silver to 33½ per cent. of gold."

"For a number of years the companies have been obliged to give sworn quarterly statements to the tax collectors, giving the gross yield of metal less the cost of extraction, reduction, etc. Mr. Doten gives figures from these tax returns, showing that for the 10 years, from 1871 to 1880, there was produced \$192,174,307 in gold and silver, or 56.4 per cent. of the total production of these mines down to 1892. The total cost of mining and reducing this was \$99,579,955, leaving a profit of \$92,594,352, or 48½ cents for every \$1 produced."

"The best six years were from 1873 to 1878, when the mines produced \$157,555,878, with a profit of \$83,895,885, or 53½ cents on every \$1 produced. The largest yield for any one year was \$36,301,537 in 1877, on which the profits were \$21,872,866, or 60½ cents on every \$1 produced."

"Since 1880 the yield has averaged \$3,326,100 per year, and the average profits have been 6½ cents per dollar produced."

"On all the mines of the lode, from the beginning of work down to January 1, 1893, the total dividends declared have been \$134,666,780. Against this are \$52,478,235 in assessments, leaving a net gain of \$81,588,545. The great bonanza represented by the Consolidated Virginia, the California and the Consolidated California and Virginia has declared \$85,170,000 in dividends, against \$2,667,900 in assessments."

"On the other hand, the Sierra Nevada mine shows assessments of \$6,476,920, against \$102,500 in dividends. The stockholders of the Bullion Mine have paid \$2,957,000 in assessments, upon which the mine has been worked for 30 years without producing an ounce of bullion or a pound of pay ore."

We close this article with some statistics bearing on the amount of gold and silver in the world. According to the report of the Director of the Mint for 1894, the amount of gold in the world used as money was \$3,901,900,000; the amount of silver, \$3,931,100,000. Of the latter amount, \$854,000,000 was in countries using silver only. Professor Taussig (*The Silver Situation in the United States*) shows that the geologists think the amount of silver production cannot increase much more; and the facts show that it is steadily increasing. (See table above.) President Andrews ("The Future of Silver Production," in *An Honest Dollar*, ed. of 1894) argues that the production has reached its height. He says: "The topographical conditions of mining are becoming more adverse." A *résumé* of the critical views of metallurgists in United States Consular Report No. 87, December, 1887, strongly supports this view, as does Suer's *Die Zukunft des Goldes and The Future of Silver*.

PRECIOUS METALS CONSUMED IN THE ARTS.

(Average annual consumption, estimated by the Director of the Mint, 1895.)

COUNTRIES.	Year.	Authority.	SILVER.		GOLD.	
			Weight, Kilo-grams.	Value.	Weight, Kilo-grams.	Value.
United States.....	1894	Official.....	232,480	\$9,661,871	12,750	\$8,473,658
France.....	1894	".....	131,250	5,454,750	14,400	9,570,240
Sweden.....	1894	".....	2,500	103,900	272	180,771
Netherlands.....	1894	".....	5,600	232,736	336	223,306
Switzerland.....	1894	".....	55,000	2,285,800	7,000	4,652,200
Austria.....	1894	".....	49,000	1,662,400	.....	.....
Russia.....	1893	".....	75,000	3,117,000	5,331	3,542,983
Portugal.....	1893	".....	23,000	955,880	1,960	1,302,616
England.....	1890	Haupt.....	80,000	3,324,800	17,000	11,298,200
Germany.....	1890	".....	100,000	4,156,000	15,000	9,969,000
Belgium.....	1885	Soetbeer.....	17,400	723,144	2,070	1,376,722
Other countries.....	1885	".....	40,000	1,662,400	2,400	1,595,040
Total.....			802,230	\$33,340,681	78,519	\$52,183,736

GOMPERS, SAMUEL, was born in London. Apprenticed to a shoemaker at the age of 10, his education was obtained after working hours. Later he became a cigar-maker and came to the United States in his fourteenth year, and has since resided in New York. Joining the Cigar-makers' Union immediately after his arrival, he became prominent in its councils, and served as President of Union No. 144 for six years. He has been a delegate to every convention of the Cigar-makers' International Union since 1877, and its constitution is largely the result of his earnest efforts toward the up-building of that powerful organization. He has represented his international union at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, was its first president, and held that position till 1895, when he was defeated on account of his opposition to the endeavors of the Socialist Labor Party to capture the federation. In 1895, however, he was reelected president.

Mr. Gompers has repeatedly declined election to prominent and lucrative political positions, and during the first six years of his official duty he received no salary nor any other emolument. In the great eight-hour struggle of 1886 he paid his entire expenses and worked night and day for many weeks.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS.—The establishment of "good government clubs," whose object is explained by their name, began with the formation of the City Club, of New York City, April 13, 1892.

The failure of the Municipal League to elect its candidate to the mayoralty in 1891 occasioned profound discouragement among those desirous of obtaining good city government. It seemed to indicate that mere popular indignation or enthusiasm could not be counted upon when pitted against an organized political machine. It became clear, therefore, that if the work of improving city government was to be undertaken at all, it must be undertaken upon a permanent plan—a fact which suggested the organization of a social club which would serve to bring together and to keep together all those interested

in the organization of a municipal party built upon the principle that city government should be separated from national politics.

The City Club was therefore established, largely owing to the efforts of Mr. Edward Kelly. One of its chief activities was to establish other local clubs, which were called good government clubs, and have been very successful. Their cardinal principle is the separation of municipal government from national politics; and, with a view of securing this, it is proposed to direct their energies to securing (1) honest and unbiased primaries; (2) ballot reform; (3) separate elections; (4) home rule.

Wherever a nucleus or group of citizens can be found to adopt the views, a club can be organized, with headquarters or club house as circumstances appear to require. The first was organized in February, 1893, and some 23 others in New York City within two years. In March, 1894, they were confederated and a council established. Similar clubs have been started in other cities as far as California. The clubs have committees on municipal government, various municipal undertakings (like street cleaning), cooperation with other clubs, etc.

GOOD TEMPLARS.—The Independent Order of Good Templars is a beneficial order, based on total abstinence, founded in Central New York in 1851, and now organized in nearly every State of the Union, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Canada, West Indies, East, West, and South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, British India, Iceland, and other countries. All persons becoming members of the order are required to subscribe to the following pledge: "That they will never make, buy, sell, use, furnish, nor cause to be furnished to others, as a beverage, any spirituous or malt liquors, wine, or cider, and will discountenance the manufacture and sale thereof in all proper ways."

The last report of the Right Worshipful Secretary puts the number of grand lodges in the world at 100, the membership at 403,849, with 169,804 in juvenile branches.

GOUGH, JOHN BARTHOLOMEW, was born at Sandgate, Kent, England, in 1817; his father a pensioner of the Peninsular War; and his mother a village schoolmistress. At the age of 12 he went to America as an apprentice, and worked on a farm in Oneida County, N. Y. In 1831 he went to New York City, where he found employment in the binding department of the Methodist book establishment; but habits of dissipation lost him this employment, and reduced him to that of giving recitations and singing comic songs at low grog shops. He was married in 1839; but his drunken habits reduced him to poverty, and probably caused the death of his wife and child. A benevolent Quaker induced him to take the pledge; and he attended temperance meetings and related his experience with such effect as to influence many others.

He then became a prominent advocate of the temperance cause; but in 1842 some of his former companions led him to violate his pledge. He subsequently confessed his fault and endeavored to make amends. After 10 years of great success as a temperance lecturer he went to England in 1853 and carried on a remarkable work there. He returned to the United States in August, 1860, and soon began to lecture on *Street Life in London*. Other subjects were added to his list, and in all he retained his great popularity. In 1873 he announced that he would retire from the lecture field, but he was afterward prevailed upon to appear on special occasions. In 1878 he again visited England. He died at Philadelphia, February 18, 1886. In 1869 he issued his *Autobiography and Personal Recollections*, and in 1880 *Sunshine and Shadow*, being chiefly passages from his lectures.

GOULD, DR. ELGIN R. L., was born August 15, 1860, at Oshawa, Ontario, Canada, and received his early education at home. He attended the Victoria University, Coburg (now at Toronto), where, in 1881, he received the degree of A. B. He then entered at Johns Hopkins University for graduate study, where, in 1886, he secured the degree of Ph. D., his studies having been interrupted for a time by a serious illness. During the years 1884-87 Dr. Gould was instructor in charge of the Department of History and Political Economy in the Washington (D. C.) High School. In 1885 he conducted an official inquiry in Belgium and Germany for the Department of Labor, and in 1887 became permanently connected with the department as a statistical expert. He has been especially identified with the work of the department abroad, having spent four years there in prosecuting various inquiries. In 1887-88 Dr. Gould was Reader in Social Statistics at the Johns Hopkins University, and in 1892 Resident Lecturer on Social Economics and Statistics. He has represented the United States Government at various international congresses, and is a member of economic and statistical societies at home and abroad. In 1894 he became Professor of Statistics in the University of Chicago. Professor Gould believes thoroughly in the application of the historical method and of statistics to economics, but does not accept the opportunism of some of the historical school. He believes in

the gradual reduction of the tariff and in international bimetalism; he does not believe in the nationalization of natural monopolies, but thinks the municipalization of some of them might be carefully tried. Among the most important of his many publications are *The Social Conditions of Labor*, *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic*, and *The Housing of Working People*—the last two being reports to the Department of Labor.

GOURNAY, JEAN CLAUDE MARIE VINCENT, SEIGNEUR DE, was born at Saint Malo in 1712. Traveling as a merchant in Spain, Holland, and England, he published in France on his return a report on the economic and financial condition of these countries. Appointed Intendant du Commerce in 1851, his observation convinced him that the lack of development in French manufacturing was due to the various governmental restrictions, and he came thus to largely to not wholly embrace the views of the Physiocrats (*q. v.*), and became the author of the famous phrase, "*Laissez faire, laissez passer.*" He died in 1759.

GOVERNMENT (from Latin *gubernare*, to steer, direct, govern) is the power in the State by which the affairs of State are conducted. Government may be of any form—monarchical, despotic, autocratic, aristocratic, plutocratic, democratic; it may be local, municipal, State, or national. (For the principles involved and the various forms of government, see STATE; FEDERATIONS; REPUBLICAN PARTY; DEMOCRATIC PARTY; ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM; VOLUNTARISM, etc.)

"Government means power to enforce a decision—this is its essential nature. In an ideal order of things, social action might be possible without government; in the present order of things social action and government are practically interconvertible terms."

Says Hamilton (*Federalist*, No. 15), "Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice without constraint." (For a discussion of this, see ANARCHISM; SOCIALISM; STATE.)

Of the cost of government, Mr. Edward Atkinson (*Harper's Weekly*, July, 1895) writes concerning the United States and other countries:

"The true annual cost of supporting this Government, including civil and military service, naval service, the construction of public works and improvements, miscellaneous expenditures, interest, pensions, sugar bounties, and other charges, has been, from 1880 to 1894 inclusive, on the average, a fraction over \$282,000,000; the average revenue during the same period, a fraction over \$365,000,000. The surplus, mainly applied to the reduction of deb., has averaged \$83,000,000 a year. The nearest approach to a billion-dollar expenditure in any two years occurred in 1893 and 1894, when the amount, aside from the postal service, not including the postal deficiency, came to less than \$750,000,000 or three quarters of a billion. Of course annual expenditures increase somewhat with the growth of population. During the last administration expenditures were increased both in amount and in proportion to numbers. They are now being diminished in the aggregate and yet more in the ratio per head of population. The following table gives the facts, omitting the postal service, also omitting premium on bonds purchased and other non-recurrent items. If these latter items were included, the average per capita expenditure would show 19 cents per head more:

YEAR.	Revenue.	Per Head.	Expenditures.	Per Head.
1880.....	\$333,526,401	\$6.825	\$258,902,180	\$5.298
1881.....	360,782,293	7.193	253,137,478	5.047
1882.....	403,525,250	7.864	248,244,691	4.837
1883.....	398,287,581	7.587	258,045,546	4.916
1884.....	348,519,870	6.491	237,659,244	4.426
1885.....	323,690,706	5.895	253,674,439	4.620
1886.....	336,439,727	5.992	236,383,979	4.210
1887.....	371,403,278	6.470	261,737,657	4.560
1888.....	379,266,075	6.463	253,494,650	4.320
1889.....	387,050,959	6.454	275,104,407	4.587
1890.....	403,080,983	6.577	291,028,440	4.749
1891.....	392,612,447	6.270	346,845,214	5.539
1892.....	354,937,784	5.548	333,872,752	5.219
1893.....	385,819,620	5.899	370,132,606	5.659
1894.....	297,722,010	4.455	351,234,799	5.346
Total.....	\$5,476,664,102	....	\$4,235,486,082	....
Average..	\$365,110,949	....	\$282,365,738	....

Difference in totals, \$1,241,178,020; in averages, \$82,745,200.

"Even this table does not show all the facts as to the actual cost of government. During the years 1891 to 1894, inclusive the direct-tax charge assessed during the war was returned to the amount of \$15,218,665. Sugar bounties which had been declared unlawful by the district court of the District of Columbia were paid to sugar-planters to the amount of \$29,797,308.13."

"From 1882 to 1888," continues Mr. Atkinson, "the cost of our Government was only \$4.58 per head, while the revenue was \$6.50 a head. Since 1890 excessive expenditure and diminished revenue have brought about a temporary deficit, but if the future Congresses are reasonably economical, 'there can be little doubt that the revenue at \$5 per head will develop the surplus of \$1,200,000,000 in the next 15 years, which may be applied to the final payment of the debt of the United States.' In that event 'the cost of the Government, interest, and diminishing pensions will be \$4 per head.'"

Turning next to the cost of government in other countries, Mr. Atkinson finds that our burden is very light indeed in comparison with that of other nations. He writes:

"Even at \$5 per head our rate of national taxation is but a fraction over one half as much as that imposed in Great Britain for the same national expenditures. It is, as far as I can ascertain, less than one half the taxation of Germany for imperial purposes; but that comparison is rendered uncertain by the large element of expenditures of the kingdoms forming the empire, which are included in our national bill of cost. At \$5 per head our national taxation will be about one third that of France. But here again the true burden upon France is rendered obscure by the constant deficit and the obligations of the Government on the part of railway service. It is also about one third the burden upon poor Italy. If we take out the \$1 per head which is to be applied to the final payment of the debt, and deal only with the ratio of the cost of our Government to that of their governments, our position is correspondingly improved. But even this comparison does not show the true relative burden of national taxation.

"If our cost of government shall be but \$4 for the next 15 years, it will come to less than 2 per cent. of our average product. The imperial taxation upon Great Britain on a much less product per capita must be at least treble our own in ratio to product, while that of France bears a yet greater proportion to production. That of Germany takes out from the product of a poor soil so much that there is barely enough to support a large proportion of the population, while it is alleged that the imperial taxation of Italy absorbs at least 30 per cent. of the product of the whole country.

The other side to this somewhat roseate view is to ask what governments do for their citizens. There are those who believe that, so measured, the United States Government is not so cheap. Other countries protect their citizens everywhere. Germany, with her insurance laws; Belgium, with her cheap nationalized railroads,

all continental European countries, with their cheap national telegraph systems; England and most European countries with their postal savings-banks, afford elements of a view very different from Mr. Atkinson's. Some even urge that there is more liberty and freedom of action in Europe than in America. The curse of European governments is their standing armies. (See STATE.)

GRANGERS.—An association of American agriculturists, commonly known by this name, tho formerly called Patrons of Husbandry.

Soon after the close of the Civil War President Johnson sent O. H. Kelly, an employee of the Department of Agriculture, as an agent into the Southern States to investigate the condition of the farmers in that section of the country and to report the result of his observations. He was so seriously impressed with what he saw that he proposed a national association of farmers, with branches in all sections of the country. On his return to Washington he held a consultation with J. R. Thompson and W. M. Ireland, also of the Department of Agriculture, who indorsed the views of Mr. Kelly. William Saunders, Rev. John Trimble, Rev. N. B. Grush, all in the employ of the Government, and F. M. McDowell, of Wayne, N. Y., were consulted, and these seven men met at the office of Mr. Saunders on December 4, 1867, and organized the National Grange, with Saunders as Master, Thompson as Lecturer, Ireland as Treasurer, and Kelly as Secretary. The object was to organize the farmers not only of the South, but of all parts of the country.

Under the scheme of the order it was to be divided into national, State, and subordinate assemblies, or "granges." Women were to be admitted to membership on equal standing with men. The ritual embraced four degrees for men, under the titles of "laborer," "cultivator," "harvester," and "husbandman," and four for women, entitled "maid," "shepherdess," "gleaner," and "matron." The purposes of the order were two—the industrial benefit and the social improvement of its members. The discussion of any political question was strictly forbidden.

Tho the order is thus fundamentally non-political, it has been extremely difficult to keep it free from political influences. Its extent is a standing temptation to politicians; and its aim to cheapen transportation has a constant tendency to carry it into a quasi-political warfare against railroad corporations. Its leaders have, however, been successful in the main in keeping it out of politics, and it is different in this respect from the other farmers' organizations. (See FARMERS' ALLIANCE.)

Up to the close of 1871 there were but about 200 granges organized, while the national grange contained only its seven original members. From this time forward its progress was rapid. The farming population began to perceive the advantages of the association, and grew as enthusiastic as they had been lethargic. In 1872 there were organized 1160 granges; in 1873, 8669; and in 1874 and 1875 about 11,000 in each year. At the close of 1875 there were about 30,000 granges in existence, said to average

about 40 members each, the order being strongest in the West and Northwest and well represented in the South. The reason for this extraordinary growth is found largely in the discontents arising from the causes which resulted in the financial crisis of 1873, and from the industrial depression following. The inflation of the currency and the increase in credit through each venture were instruments in building up gigantic speculative operations, which finally resulted in a crash. During the apparent prosperity of trade men were attracted from agriculture to trade. Farm land declined, while city real estate rose. Speculation and "corners" in staple farm products caused great fluctuations in prices, while the prices of farmers' necessities rose. By this time its climax of prosperity had been reached. In the succeeding years jealousy arose between the subordinate and the national granges, and parties with no interest in agriculture beyond that of fleecing the farmers made their way into the order. So far was this carried that one grange was organized on Broadway, New York City, with 45 members, representing a capital of perhaps as many millions, and composed of bank presidents, wholesale dealers, sewing-machine manufacturers, and speculators. Other instances of a similar character might be named. The result of all this was a great depression of the order. Nevertheless, the order has endured, and has had no little influence. At its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1891 it claimed to have prevented the renewal of patents on sewing-machines, thus saving to the people millions annually; to have taught transportation companies that the creator is greater than the creature; to have passed and enforced oleomargarine laws, laws restricting alien landlords and corporations, the interstate commerce law, ballot reform laws, the making the Secretary of Agriculture a Cabinet officer. It claimed to have led in establishing agricultural colleges and stations, arbor days, public schools, numerous local institutions.

Cooperation has been much favored by the Grange, and numerous experiments have been tried, but without great success. (See COOPERATION.)

The method of cooperative buying most prevalent in New England is that by trade discounts or trade lists. The State granges make arrangements with certain large manufacturers and wholesale firms for discounts on cash payments. Each subordinate grange chooses a purchasing agent, who receives the lists and makes the purchases. The agents and members receiving the discount are bound to keep the discounts secret. Another analogous method is to furnish members with "trade cards," on presentation of which to the firms under contract with the State grange discounts are allowed. This method is employed largely in Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, while Massachusetts has mere purchasing agents and Maine has its grange store.

The strongest cooperative enterprises of the grange in New England are the fire insurance companies. Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts each have one. The Connecticut Patrons' Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized in 1888. In 1892 there were about 1000 policies out, representing a risk of about \$1,600,000. In 1891 alone, policies to the amount of \$52,926 were taken out. The first assessments were made in 1892, and this owing to the unusually heavy losses from lightning. The Massachusetts Fire Insurance Company began business in 1887. In 1890 it reports 1050 policies in force, covering \$1,187,586 worth of property. The New Hampshire company is the strongest. In 1892 it had 1600 policies, covering insurance to the amount of \$2,200,000, as against 1399 policies

in 1891, covering risks amounting to \$1,872,677.17. No assessments have been necessary.

At the St. Louis session of the national grange, in 1874, the following "Declaration of Purposes" was issued:

"We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:

"To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves; to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits; to foster mutual understanding and cooperation; to maintain inviolate our laws and to emulate each other in labor to hasten the good time coming; to reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate; to buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining; to diversify our crops and crop no more than we can cultivate; to condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece, less in lint and more in warp and woof; to systematize our work and calculate intelligently on probabilities; to discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to profligacy and bankruptcy.

"We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good-will, vital brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our order perpetual."

The war in the West against unjust discrimination in railroad freights, which produced restrictive laws in Illinois and Wisconsin in 1873, has been charged upon the granges, but falsely, as they declare. It was organized and sustained by agricultural clubs outside the order, whose constitution did not permit a participation in it, tho the members were undoubtedly in strong sympathy with its objects. They succeeded in 1873 and 1874 in carrying the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin; these legislatures passed stringent laws directed against "extortion and unjust discrimination in the rates charged for the transportation of passengers and freights." These acts were subsequently repealed, but while they were in force had a very unfavorable effect on the railroads. In Congress their efforts led to considerable discussion regarding the regulation of interstate commerce, since consummated by the act of February 4, 1887. Other questions which the grange has taken in hand are such as the rapid increase of insects through undue destruction of insectivorous birds, the exposure of attempted swindles, to which the isolation of the farmer renders him particularly liable, and of combinations to extort money for the use of articles falsely claimed to be patented, such as the *swing gate*, the *driven well*, etc., and particularly the sale of oleomargarine passed off for butter. Some of the public questions which the organization at present is interested in agitating are:

Passage of measures to prevent adulteration of food. Passage of the Washburn-Hatch bill. Free delivery of mail to rural population. Non-irrigation of the arid lands of the West by the Government, on the ground that the lands are not yet needed. The securing of laws to remedy unequal taxation. Promotion of interest in agricultural colleges. Action for better roads, etc.

Of late the Grange has been wholly eclipsed in large sections of the country by the Farmers' Alliance. Yet it still exists, and is particularly strong in the East, where the Farmers' Alliance movement has taken small hold. In 1892 the membership was about 50,000.

Reference: An article by Florence I. Foster in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. iv., p. 798.

GREEK SOCIAL POLITY.—This was, in a word, the exaltation of the State, ordinarily a democratic city, based upon slave labor, over all departments of life. (See the articles ATHENS; ARISTOTLE; PLATO.) We give here simply the synopsis of the Greek economic and social idea, as given in Professor Ingram's *History of Political Economy*:

"1. The individual is conceived as subordinated to the State, through which alone his nature can be developed and completed, and to the maintenance and service of which all his efforts must be directed. The great aim of all political thought is the formation of good citizens; every social question is studied primarily from the ethical and educational point of view. The citizen is not regarded as a producer, but only as a possessor of material wealth; and this wealth is not esteemed for its own sake or for the enjoyments it procures, but for the higher moral and public aims to which it may be made subservient.

"2. The State, therefore, claims and exercises a controlling and regulating authority over every sphere of social life, including the economic, in order to bring individual action into harmony with the good of the whole.

"3. With these fundamental notions is combined a tendency to attribute to institutions and to legislation an unlimited efficacy, as if society had no spontaneous tendencies, but would obey any external impulse, if impressed upon it with sufficient force and continuity."

GREELEY, HORACE, was born in Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811. Before he was 10 years old his father became bankrupt. The family then moved to Vermont, where they made a scanty living as day laborers. When 14 years of age Greeley was apprenticed in the office of the *Northern Spectator*, East Poultney, Vt. His wages were but \$40 a year; but by living on almost nothing he was able to send money home. He remained here six years, when the paper was suspended. For a time he worked with his father on a rough farm in Pennsylvania, and then began to tramp the country in search of employment. Traveling mostly on foot, in 1831 he entered New York with \$10 in his pocket, and for a while had to accept the hardest work and poorest pay. In 1833 he formed a partnership with a fellow-workman, Francis V. Story. Combining their capital, which amounted to \$150, they commenced by printing the *Morning Post*, which failed in three weeks. But Greeley went on writing as well as printing. He was invited by James Gordon Bennett to go into a partnership with him in the *Herald*, but he declined, and issued instead the *New Yorker*, a literary journal which lived seven years. Later he published the *Log Cabin*, a weekly campaign paper, which was a great success. On April 10, 1841, Greeley commenced the New York *Tribune*, which was to be his life-work.

He was now entirely without money. From a personal friend, Mr. James Coggeshall, he borrowed \$1000, on which capital and the editor's reputation the *Tribune* was founded. It began with 600 subscribers. The first week's expenses were \$525 and the receipts \$92. By the end of the fourth week it had run up a circulation of 6000, and by the seventh reached 11,000, which was then the full capacity of its press.

Mr. Greeley opened its columns to well-nigh every reform. He made it the leading abolition newspaper. He advocated in it dress reform, vegetarianism, and Fourierism.

From 1850 until the end of the Civil War the *Tribune* did much to create and awaken the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. Altho before the war he declared himself willing that the slave States should secede, if they honestly desired to leave the Union, yet when the rebellion had begun he threw himself heartily on the side of the Government. He urged in his paper

the vigorous prosecution of the war, but at its close immediately advocated universal amnesty and suffrage. He exhibited his impartiality and moral courage by protesting against the prolonged imprisonment of Jefferson Davis, and, in spite of Northern sentiment, was one of the signers of Davis's bail bond. He held that to make a martyr of a Southerner by unwarranted imprisonment was an unnecessary hindrance to a peaceful reconstruction, an infraction of the Constitution, and a stain upon the character of the republic.

From 1848-49 he was a Whig representative in Congress, but gained hostility even in his own party by advocating mileage reform. He was one of the founders of the Republican Party, and by opposing Seward did much to give the nomination to Abraham Lincoln. In 1861 he was candidate for United States Senator, but was defeated by Ira Harris.

In 1867 he was appointed delegate to the convention for the revision of the Constitution. He antagonized General Grant's administration, and was one of the chief promoters of the Liberal Republican Party, which held its national convention at Cincinnati in 1872, and nominated him for President. His lifelong opponents, the Democrats, nominated him also at their national convention—a move which greatly lessened his chances of success by repelling many of his Republican supporters. During the canvass feeling ran high, and he took the field in person and made one of the most brilliant, able, and sustained series of campaign speeches on record.

In the election he received 2,834,079 votes as against 3,597,070 for Grant. Greeley carried Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas.

He at once resumed the editorship of the *Tribune*, but it was soon evident that he had overtaxed his strength in the campaign. No sooner was it ended than he was called to the bedside of his dying wife, from which he went only to be himself prostrated by a nervous disorder of the brain. His illness was short and severe, and on November 29, 1872, he died. His decease made a profound impression upon the country, and showed how deeply and truly he was esteemed by men of all sects and parties. His published volumes are as follows: *Hints Toward Reforms* (1850); *Glances at Europe* (1851); *History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension* (1856); *Overland Journey to San Francisco* (1860); *The American Conflict* (2 vols., 1864-66); *Recollections of a Busy Life* (1868); *Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy* (1870); and *What I Know of Farming* (1871). His life was written by James Parton in 1855, and a new edition appeared in 1868.

GREENBACK PARTY, THE, originated in 1873-74 in the opposition felt by many to the asserted manipulation of the currency in favor of the banking and bond-holding class. (See CURRENCY.) It was claimed that the bankers of the country had conspired (1) to make the issue of the war greenbacks a failure by inducing Congress to prevent their being legal tenders for customs and for payment of the national debt, and so depreciating their value; (2) to

buy up these greenbacks at their depreciated value, and with them purchase bonds, paying for the bonds with greenbacks at their face value; (3) to induce Congress to vote that these bonds bought with greenbacks at 30 cents on the dollar should be redeemed by Congress under the pretence of national faith and of "an honest dollar" in gold, in interest as well as capital, while the soldiers and sailors of the war who had risked their lives and got no "interest" had been paid in greenbacks. Intense excitement was aroused, which the period of contraction of the currency greatly increased. As early as 1868 the demand was broached called "the Ohio idea," that all bonds which did not distinctly call for payment in coin should be redeemed in greenbacks. This "idea" seemed to have dominated the Democratic convention of 1868, but was distinctly disavowed by Mr. Tilden and other leading Democrats. Many local and State conventions in the West, however—chiefly Democratic—endorsed the idea. Its advocates still hoped to bring the entire party to their way of thinking.

Finally the financial crisis of 1873 caused the masses of the people to seek legislative relief for the evils from which they were suffering, and produced a certain disintegration of the established political parties. The pressing questions of the time appeared to require and justify new political organizations. A greenback convention was held at Indianapolis in 1874, and demanded: (1) The withdrawal of the national bank-note currency; (2) that the only currency should be of paper, and that such currency should be made exchangeable for bonds bearing interest at 3.65 per cent.; and (3) that coin might be used for the payment of the interest and principal of such bonds, and such only, as expressly called for coin payments. In 1876 a national greenback convention was held at Indianapolis, which nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for President and Vice-President of the United States. In the election which followed they received 81,737 popular votes.

To these attempts to found a new party, based on financial issues, a turn in another direction was given by the labor troubles which had culminated in the great railroad strikes of 1877. In 1878 a "national or greenback-labor convention" was held at Toledo, O., as the result of a coalition between the labor reformers and the advocates of a greenback currency. In the following election the Greenback-Labor tickets polled over 1,000,000 votes, and 14 representatives of the party were sent to Congress. But the party was made up of different elements; and altho the distress which gave it such a sudden increase of strength was real, none of the party leaders seem to have had definite ideas as to what was to be done to effect a cure. In 1880 the Greenback-Labor convention, at Chicago, nominated for the offices of President and Vice-President James B. Weaver, of Iowa, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas. In that year the popular Greenback-Labor vote was 300,867, and eight of their representatives were elected to Congress. The ticket in 1884 was headed by General B. F. Butler, who was also the Anti-Monopoly candidate, and received 175,380 votes.

In that year the Greenback ticket in Iowa, Michigan, and Nebraska was fused with that of the Democrats, and in Missouri and West Virginia with the Republican ticket.

The Greenback Party proper has always had its strongest support in the Western States. In Maine, New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts the Greenback element has been made up of labor reformers, and its tickets have generally been supported principally by laboring men. But on several occasions the Greenbackers have received much encouragement and support from either one or the other of the two great parties of the country, who have hoped to create a diversion in their own favor by running a third ticket, so made up as to draw votes from the opposing party.

The following is the platform of the Greenback Labor Party, adopted at the National Convention, held in Chicago, June 9 and 10, 1880:

"Civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort and the facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn as unworthy of our civilization the barbarism which imposes upon the wealth producers a state of perpetual drudgery as the price of bare animal existence.

"Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power, the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence.

"The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money and cheap labor, a 'strong Government,' and hence a weak people.

"Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes; of the unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce, and scarcity of money enforces debt-trade, and public and corporate loans—debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower.

"Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty of manufacturing enterprise and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism.

"Therefore we declare:

"1. That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, conferring upon a subordinate irresponsible power, and absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations, and when so issued should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

"2. That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as it is practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the national banking system abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.

"3. That labor should be so protected by national and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results; the eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract convict labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under 14 years of age forbidden, and wages paid in cash.

"4. Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore, immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame treaty.

"5. Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the Government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

"6. It is the duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

"7. We denounce, as destructive to prosperity and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations and monopolies, invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their use.

"8. That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldier and sailor who periled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country, and we condemn the cruel class legislation of the Republican Party, which, while professing great gratitude to the soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him, and in favor of the bondholder.

"9. All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

"10. We denounce as most dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.

"11. We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

"12. We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

"13. We demand a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, instead of a government of the bondholder, by the bondholder, and for the bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

"14. In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, we wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the machinery of Government, and largely over the press, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over life and property."

For a discussion of these principles, see PAPER MONEY; MONEY; SILVER.

The literature of the movement is large, but much of it was in only transient form. Among the best books is B. S. Heath's *Labor and Finance Revolution*. The papers of Henry C. Baird and *The Currency Question*, a pamphlet by G. M. Steele, contain more moderate statements of the views of the Greenback Party.

GRONLUND, LAWRENCE, was born in Denmark in 1848. As a boy he was in the war between Denmark and Germany. He later graduated at the university and commenced the study of law, but came to the United States in 1867, and taught German in a public school in Milwaukee. In 1869 he was admitted to the bar, and practised in Chicago. He then became interested in socialism by reading Pascal's *Pensées*, which, he says, made him "a socialist before he knew it." In 1880 he published a dialogue on *The Coming Revolution*, and in 1884 his *Cooperative Commonwealth*, which was the first full statement of modern socialism published in this country, and that has had a wide sale and

influence. Mr. Gronlund has since given all his time to the propaganda of socialism. He has written and lectured wherever he could get a hearing—in Chicago, New York, Boston, and more recently on the Pacific coast, where he has organized several Fabian clubs. He held for a while an office in the United States Labor Department, but relinquished it for the lecture field. In 1887 he published *Danton*, a study of the French Revolution, from the standpoint of an admirer of Danton, who believes him to have been greatly misjudged. In 1890 he published *Our Destiny*, a work religious as well as socialistic, which has had a large sale, especially in England, where 1000 copies were sold in the first month. It has also had a favorable reception in France, where it was called by the *Revue d'Economie Politique* "the most elevated and attractive conception of socialism yet published." Its central thought is that socialism is not a "bread and butter question," nor one of either personal or even altruistic idealism, but a movement toward the organic unity of national society, without which true morality is impossible.

GROTIUS, HUGO, or DE GROOT, was born at Delft in 1583; his father was the burgo-master. He entered the University of Leyden in 1594 and took his degree in 1598. Traveling in France, he returned to practise as a lawyer, and in 1607 was fiscal general, and in 1610 council-pensionary at Rotterdam. For supporting the Remonstrants he was condemned, in 1619, to imprisonment for life, but escaped by the aid of his wife, who took his place in the castle, tho for her bravery she was set free. He wandered through the Netherlands and France, and for a while enjoyed a pension at the court of Louis XIII. He was allowed to return to Holland, but again exiled for life. A wanderer again, he entered the service of Sweden, and from 1635-45 was Swedish ambassador at Paris. Returning to Sweden, he passed through Amsterdam, and was honored there as well as in Sweden. He received a pension, but while journeying fell ill and died at Rostock in 1845. He was a profound scholar, an eminent theologian, an erudite historian, a Latin poet, an eminent jurist. His *De Jure Belle et Pacis* (1625) has been translated into all the languages of Europe, and may be called the basis of international law. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

GRÜN, KARL, was born at Lüdenscheid, in Westphalia, in 1817. A Hegelian, he became editor of a Mannheim journal in 1842, and advocated socialistic views till expelled from the duchy. After 1868 he lived in Vienna, writing various literary and philosophical works till his death in 1887.

GUESDE, JULES, was born at Paris in 1845. Entering political journalism at Paris, Toulouse, and Montpellier, at the latter place he published the *Droits de l'homme*, and was imprisoned six months for a revolutionary article against the empire. At the time of the Commune he attempted to stir up a revolution in Montpellier, and was condemned to five years' imprisonment; he fled to Geneva and joined the Internationalists. Driven to Italy, he returned

to Paris in 1876 and edited the *Citoyen*, the *Cri du Peuple*, and then founded the *Egalité*, the first paper of modern Marxist socialism in France. In 1879, with Marx, Engels, and La Fargue, he drafted the program of the Marxist *Parti ouvrier français*, of which he has ever been a foremost leader. (See FRANCE.) He was imprisoned for six months in 1878, and again in 1883 for his socialist activities. In 1893 he was elected deputy from Roubaix, and has become perhaps the foremost leader of French Marxist socialism. Among his numerous other brief writings are *Collectivisme et Révolution* (1879); *Socialisme et services publics* (1884); *Le Collectivisme au Collège de France* (1884).

GUILDS.—In separate articles we consider trade-unions, friendly societies, etc. In this article we consider simply the ancient labor unions and the medieval guilds.

I. ANCIENT LABOR UNIONS.

That labor unions have existed all through history has long been known, but only recently have they been carefully studied. Particularly in America has Mr. C. Osborne Ward investigated the subject in his *The Ancient Lowly*, reaching conclusions by no means always accepted by all scholars, yet at least collecting valuable information. According to Mr. Ward, in the beginnings of society the family consisted of some strong man or bully and a few women, attracted to him by hope of protection, by lust, or perhaps captured, and beyond these their children and perhaps a few slaves. There being no law, the strong man, or *puterfamilias*, was a despot. When he died the oldest son usually took his place; but the shades of the father and of his fathers were still regarded as present and worshiped. (See FAMILY.) But some of the younger sons would rebel. These were not slaves, but of the same blood as the head of the family. Out of this division, according to Mr. Ward, came classes—the aristocrats, or heads of families, and the dispossessed freemen who were not slaves. These developed the artisan classes, and when they united, the first labor unions. These unions were connected with a religious culte. As the aristocrats worshiped the shades of their ancestors, and made that worship the center of the family, so the labor unions found their patron gods.

The date of the earliest labor organization cannot be fixed; but it must have been very early. As early as 1180 B.C., according to Plutarch's *Theseus*, one Menestheus rose against the aristocrats at

History. Athens to demand for the people the right to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. There must have been at least some understanding between working men at this time, and one of their first grievances was that they were excluded from the aristocratic religious rites, the aristocrats teaching that working men had no souls. A fragment from the age of Solon shows that in his time (about 600 B.C.) trade-unions were common (Granian's *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, pp. 283-287). The celebrated Roman Law of the Twelve Tables specified the manner of organization of working men, and is declared by

some (Gaius' *Digest*; Plutarch's *Numa*) to be a translation from the Greek law of Solon; and the law of Solon is said to be a paraphrase of the still more ancient law of Amasis, King of Egypt. References are found by some to trade-unions in the Bible, in the time of Joshua (1537-1427), and certainly in the time of Solomon. Hiram of Tyre, who is said to have been the architect of the Temple at Jerusalem, brought with him from Tyre 3200 foremen and 40,000 free artificers—not a large number, when it took the immortal Phideas, Calligrates, the chief architect Ictinus, and probably 50,000 unionist craftsmen 10 years to design and complete the Parthenon—the perfection of architectural art.

By the time of Numa Pompilius we find unions fully developed and recognized by law. (See Plutarch's *Numa*.) Mommsen (*De Coll. and Sodal. Rom.*, p. 78) says: "The relics of innumerable communal associations of ancient times are seen scattered all through Italy, as found among the inscriptions of the Italian towns." Down to B.C. 58 of the times of the emperors, the right of working men in Rome to organize was unabridged. Numa divided the unions into eight great classes, a clear witness to their number.

Later, the unions became innumerable. Ward describes a great number both Greek and Roman. The source of our knowledge of these is mainly from inscriptions, tablets, columns, and mutilated manuscripts. Most of the historians were too aristocratic to notice labor organizations, and, according to Ward, the references they did make to uprisings of slaves and laborers were mutilated by aristocrats.

The early Greek unions were called *thiasotai* (or disciples of mutual love), *sussitai* (or those who eat at a common table), *omotaphoi* (or burial societies). According to Ward, the *hetaroi* and *hetarai* were male and female associates of labor societies, and only later was the word used for prostitutes, because laborers were despised. Ward mentions especially the Greek *thiasoi* and *eranoi* as general names for Greek guilds. Of the Roman organizations we have fuller information. The *Fabri navium*, or ship carpenters and boat-makers of the Tiber; the *collegium vasculariorum* (metal vessel makers); the *collegium pistorum* (millers); the *collegium incendiarium* (firemen); the *collegium vinariorum* (wine dealers); even the *collegium lupanarium* (brothel keepers); the *collegium biselliariorum* (makers of chairs for the gods); the *collegium centonariorum* (rag-pickers or junkmen); the *collegium saliarium baxiarum* (shoemakers); the *fullonum sodalicum* (fullers); the *corpus nemesiacorum* (fortune-tellers); the *collegium armatorum* (gladiators); the *communio minorum* (actors); the *collegium castrrensialiorum* (sutlers); the *collegium vinatorum* (planters); the *collegium farnariorum* (mowers); the *collegium urinatorum* (devils), and a long list of others too numerous to mention.

Names.

These *collegia* seem to have been scattered all over the Roman Empire, in Asia Minor, the Greek islands, Spain and Gaul, as well as in Greece and Rome. Mr. Ward says they were established in England by the Romans, and gave rise to the medieval guilds (*g.v.*), especially in Kent, whence "the men of Kent" have brought the labor movement to America.

All these unions were more or less combinations of religious societies, burial societies, convivial societies, and friendly societies, with dues and benefits. Each organization took some patron god and celebrated his worship. They had banners and processions and days of wor-

ship. This was partly to cover their meeting for other purposes. They had occasional or regular convivial meetings, and suppers in common, and their dues were sometimes simply to meet the expense of these. Almost invariably they were burial societies with dues to meet the expense of the burial, of which the ancients made so much. Sometimes they were trade-unions and friendly societies in the modern sense. They had fixed prayers and a ritual for the conduct of their meetings. Their officers were usually presiding officers (of both sexes), a "president of finance," a stewardess or housewife, a manager or trustee, a recording secretary or scribe, lawyers to defend the members, priests to conduct the religious rites.

Some of the inscriptions give the best picture of their organization. A Greek one, in plain Attic Greek (translated in the *Revue Archéologique*) reads: "Because of rutable and just administration of the common fund of money of the community of *eranistai*, and having ever conducted himself with kindness and with honesty; and because he has righteously husbanded the funds successively paid by the *eranistai* themselves, as well as the annual subscription, according to the law of the *eranas*, and in

**Organi-
zation.**

view of the fact that in everything else he still continues to show integrity to the oath which he swore to the *eranistai*, therefore hail Alcmeeon. The community of the *eranistai* rejoice to praise Alcmeeon, son of Thon, a stranger who has been naturalized—their president of finance, and do crown him with a chaplet of foliage because of his faithfulness and good will to them. They are, moreover, rejoiced, and praise the trustees, and also the priests (chaplains) of Jupiter the Savior, and of Hercules, and of the Savior of the Gods. And they crown each of them with the wreath of honor because of their virtue, and their lively interest in the community of the *eranistai*."

The stone is broken and the date is gone, but it seems to be of the Aristotelian period.

That these unions were very much like modern trade-unions, and even in advance of many present unions, is seen by the following inscription, discovered at Pompeii, showing that they endeavored to influence politics, and that they honored women (Ward's translation).

1. "The members of the Fishermen's Union nominate Popedius Rufus for member of the Board of Public Works."
2. "The International Gold Workers' Association of the City of Pompeii demand for Member of the Board of Public Works Cuspis Pansa."
3. "Verna, the home born, with her pupils in all right, put Mrs. Capella to the front for a seat on the Board of Magistrates."

To these unions Ward ascribes great influence in ancient times. Socrates, he says, was a member of them; and his last words as he lay dying was to remind his disciples that they (the *thiasotai* or brethren) owed their cook for a chicken on which they had banqueted. Southern Italy was most full of these unions, where Plato found a system of communisms supposed to have been founded by Pythagoras. Jesus Christ, Ward believes to have belonged to such a union, and to simply have proclaimed successfully to the

world the brotherhood and equality which the unions had long preached and striven for in private. The early Christian churches, he says, were first developed where these unions were strong, as at Pergamus, Laodicea, Ephesus, and Hierapolis ("the seven churches"), Antioch, Rhodes, and elsewhere. Many of these unions doubtless became corrupt; their feasts became feasts of revelry and dissipation; but originally, according to Ward, the Bacchic festivities, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, were not licentious. Ancient authors despised these workmen, even Aristotle, and especially Plato (*g.v.*), and therefore have given the names of their organizations a bad repute, which they do not deserve.

These unions were almost exclusively of free working men, tho occasionally slaves were admitted. But the condition of the slaves was terrible in the extreme. At Sparta Lycurgus instituted a communism, but it rested on slavery of the helots. There were common tables, but they were waited upon by nearly naked slaves. The slaves were State slaves, and were flogged once a day. The young *ephori* were taught to hunt for the helots and kill them as they toiled in the fields, in order to keep the helot class in subjection. Two thousand helots are known to have been killed in the fields at one time. At Athens slaves worked the State mines at Laurium and elsewhere, both sexes working naked in the mines under the lash, and loaded with chains. In Rome they were made to fight each other and wild beasts in the arena. In Sicily they were housed in dungeons, compelled to work naked in the fields, beaten, tortured, crucified.

Slaves.

Hence arose great slave strikes. The earliest in Greece was probably a rising of the Spartan helots, which was put down in cold blood in the time of Agis I. (about 1055 B.C.). During the Peloponnesian wars there was a great strike of the 20,000 Athenian slaves at Sunium, who went over in a body to the enemy, Sparta (413 B.C.). Another strike seems to have occurred at the same place, B.C. 133, when 1000 slave miners killed their overseers and rushed into the town and temple for security, but were finally overpowered. According to Livy (*Annales*, lib. IV., 45), the slaves rose in Rome 407 B.C., and tried to fire the city, but were betrayed and the ringleaders crucified. B.C. 194, the slaves rose in Latium and gained the city, but were again betrayed to forces marching from Rome, and some 2000 were slaughtered (Livy, XXXII., *Epitomy*). B.C. 196, another great strike seems to have taken place in Etruria, and another in Apulia, B.C. 185-184 (Livy, XXXIX.). In the island of Chios the slaves rose at an uncertain date, and, under Drimakos, a soothsayer, escaped to the mountains and maintained independence there under their slave king. But finally, according to the story, the *Chiot*s, offering a great reward for Drimakos' head, the old man called a boy friend to him and had him cut off his head to get the reward, which the youth did, a temple afterward being built to Drimakos. In Sicily, under Eunus, 143-133 B.C., the slaves rose and conquered their masters and chose Eunus king, and finally had a force of 200,000 men, defeat-

**Slave
Revolts.**

ing army after army sent against them from Rome during a period of six years. In Pergamus, in Asia Minor (b.c. 130), King Attalus willed his empire to Rome; but Aristonicus, a natural brother, roused the slaves, and offered them their freedom if they would support him. He, with his *eranoi*, defied Rome and defeated her consular armies, till finally overthrown by M. Paperna (b.c. 104). Another great slave rising took place in Sicily under Athenion, who united with the free workmen and defeated Rome in six great battles. The rising of the gladiators under Spartacus is better known. Spartacus at Capua plotted his escape with 200 gladiators, 74 b.c. Gaining weapons, they attracted slaves and working men to them till they had ultimately an army of 300,000 men. He defeated army after army of the Romans by shrewd tactics and desperate valor, but finally was conquered by Crassus, Spartacus himself perishing in the battle; 60,000 workmen fell in the battle, and 6000 were crucified by the Romans along the road from Capua to Rome.

II. MEDIEVAL GUILDS.

The medieval guild in one sense doubtless sprang from the ancient labor unions, but in an important sense it did not. Medieval life sprang from Germanic life, adapted to and molded by the Roman civilization it overran. Wherever the Germanic tribes went, in Germany, England, France, Italy, or Spain, they found labor unions, and, as it were, inherited them. Yet is the medieval guild essentially German and not Roman. The Roman guilds were mainly of slaves or of the despised. The medieval guilds were composed essentially of freemen. They were not simply trade-unions.

Some have argued that the medieval guilds sprang from the early common banquets of the Gothic tribes. They more probably sprang from a variety of causes. The name guild is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gylden* or *gildan*, "to pay," since a distinctive feature of all the guilds was the common contribution or assessment. The word at first seems to have been used for any association for any purpose that had contributions to a common fund. "The early guilds," says Professor Seligman, "had no connection with trade or industry." They were largely social, often protective, sometimes political, almost always with a religious spirit. Says Gierke (*Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht*, p. 227): "The old Germanic guild embraced the whole man and was intended to satisfy all human purposes; it was a union such as exists to-day only in our towns or States; it answered at the same time religious, moral, social, economical, and political purposes."

An important variety of these guilds were the *frith*, or *peace guilds*, sworn communities for the protection of right and the preservation of liberty. Many guilds were formed by and often composed of the clergy. A still larger class were purely social and charitable. There were said to have been as many as 909 guilds in the county of Norfolk alone. Contributions to the common treasury, masses for the living, and funeral rites for the deceased brethren, observance of a mutual char-

ity, and the bathing, feeding, and clothing of 100 poor men, are among the obligations of most of the guilds whose members promised to conduct themselves as righteously as possible, and be of "one heart and of one soul."

These guilds, of one kind or another, extended all over Germanic Europe and endured in most countries till the time of the Reformation. In England, Henry VIII. sequestered the property of the religious guilds. In Denmark and North Germany their property was devoted to the public service.

The most important, however, of all medieval guilds were the *guilds-merchant* and the *craft guilds*. The former came first and grew to great power, becoming often the real municipal corporation of the towns. Gradually, however, the craft guilds gained upon them, and finally replaced them.

III. GUILDS-MERCHANT.

The guilds-merchant in all European countries seem to have been developed about the same time. In England, they are mentioned first in *Doomsday Book*, both knighton-guild and guild-merchant existing at Nottingham. Lincoln is said to have had one during the Danish supremacy, and soon after *Doomsday* they are frequently mentioned in town charters. The drapers' company of Hamburg dates from 1153, and that of the shoemakers of Magdeburg from 1157. Similar associations existed in Milan about the same time.

**Develop-
ment.**

They were common in France in the reign of Louis IX. By the close of the twelfth century they were general throughout Europe. The Hanseatic League, which was practically a league of North German guilds-merchant, and which came to have such power, dates from the thirteenth century. Their charters were essentially monopoly licenses to sell. With the license also went certain privileges and exemptions. Says Professor Seligman, from whose *Two Chapters on the Medieval Guilds of England* we derive much information:

"It was essential for the merchant traveling from town to town, or even trading within the burgh, to be freed from these burdens, and we find accordingly immunities of this kind in almost every case. . . .

"Another privilege that is often mentioned is the *hansa*. What this was is not very clear. The magnificence of the Hanseatic League and its branches in medieval England are well known, and the Steelyard of the hanse-merchants or Easterlings, who were already protected by Æthelstan, became a renowned institution of London. . . . But the term is much older, and occurs frequently in the English charters, probably at first having reference to the privileges of merchants when away from home. For the English had their guilds in foreign ports also. Its meaning, however, soon became equivalent to guild, or the rights of a guild, and in this generic signification it is used all through the later documents. The 'hansa of the guild' thus became a collective name, which included all the usual attributes of a trading corporation."

The constitution of the guilds shows their character. Seligman tells us that "at the head stood the alderman or master, who probably paid something for his position, and at his side were the wardens or stewards, and occasionally other officers, such as *seneschals*, ushers, clerks, deans, and chaplains. Membership was obtained by heredity, purchase, or gift, and frequent mention is made of the seats of the associates, which probably referred to their position at the feasts or the arrangement of the booths in fair-time. The alienation of the seats, whether by sale or gift, was forbidden, and while the sons and sometimes the nephews and daughters of members were admitted

Constitution.

free of all charges, others were obliged to pay an entrance fee and produce two sureties. In the oath that was administered on initiation, the new member pledged himself to conform to the ordinances, to be subject to the same burdens as his fellows, to inform the officials and inhabitants if he discovered any merchant in town who was not a member, and to obey the command of the mayor as well as to maintain the good usages of the city. Peace and good-will between the members were enjoined; provisions of a charitable character, such as alms to the impoverished and visits to the imprisoned, are occasionally found; the morning speeches and periodical banquets were not omitted, and the members were admonished not to forget to drink their guild-merchant, on which festive occasions the officers availed themselves of the opportunity to collect the taxes.¹⁷

The guild merchant was then at the outset a mere company of traders; but the term merchant, which by no means conveyed the same ideas as at present, included not only those that carried on foreign commerce, but petty traders of all kinds, even artisans. The guild, however, in course of time lost its character as a purely private society, and became closely connected with the municipal organization, altho never identical with it. When the towns and boroughs obtained charters, they took care to have it included that the men of the place should also have their guild-merchant. "Guild law" often became the law of the town. But in England and the north of Europe the guilds-merchant, having grown rich and tyrannical, excluded the landless men of the handicrafts; these then uniting among themselves, there arose everywhere by the side of the guilds-merchant the craft guilds, which gained the upper hand on the continent in the struggle for liberty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In England these companies usually existed side by side with the old town or merchant-guild; until at length their increasing importance caused the decay of the old guilds, and the adoption of these crafts as part of the constitution of the towns (thirteenth to fifteenth century).

In the great cities like London and Florence the guilds-merchant, if organized, never seem to have taken deep hold. The craft guilds seem to have been early organized.

IV. CRAFT GUILDS.

The origin of these craft guilds is more disputed than that of the guilds-merchant. There are three main views. Brentano, in his *Guilds and Trade-Unions*, argues that they were associations of craftsmen to protect themselves from "the abuse of power on the part of the lords of the town, who tried to reduce the free to the dependence of the unfree." There seems, however, little to support this view. Dr. Cunningham (*History of Industry and Commerce*, vol. i., p. 310) says they were "called into being not out of antagonism to existing authorities, but as new institutions, to which special parts of their own duties were delegated by the burgh officers or the local guild-merchant.

Origin.

Professor Ashley (*Introduction to Economic History and Theory*) takes the middle ground that they were self-governing bodies of craftsmen, more or less under municipal control. They are, however, in no case to be identified with modern trade-unions, and tho Brentano

and Mr. George Howell following him have held that modern trade-unions are descended from them, there seems to be no proof of this. The prototype of the modern trade-union is to be sought rather in the journeymen associations that sprang up later, as the craft guilds grow aristocratic and wealthy. The craft guilds were rather guilds of employers. As the guilds-merchant were monopolies in traffic, so the craft guilds were monopolies in production.

The early charters, says Professor Seligman, all contain as a cardinal point the provision that no one should venture to carry on the trade either in the city or suburbs unless a member.

The crafts could thus not be initiated without permission. The towns often assumed the right of recognizing the formation of guilds, which was regarded as a perfectly legitimate exercise of municipal powers. The regulations of the craft were subject to the periodical approval of the municipal officers, and the guilds were formed and recognized as welcome auxiliaries to the means for the enforcement of the market laws. Care, indeed, must be taken not to exaggerate the involuntary character of the unions, for the early rights of the craft guilds were probably, in part at least, the growth of self-assertion. But, above all, the ordinances were the outgrowth of a general medieval policy.

Their constitution resembled that of the guilds-merchant. The unions known by the names of mystery, faculty, trade, fellowship, or (from the fact of possessing particular costumes) livery company, were divided into two or three categories. At the side of the alderman or master, the chief officer, stood

four or six wardens or searchers who possessed the general authority to inspect work and rectify abuses. As in all guilds, the social gatherings, processions, and annual feasts played a great rôle, and we find here and there provisions for the common welfare, assistance to the needy, and the maintenance of a chaplain. But these few ordinances of a charitable character played an exceedingly insignificant part in the constitution of the craft guilds. The true significance of the crafts was economic, not social.

Membership in the guild in the period of their prosperity depended on full citizenship. Non-citizens, whether aliens or simple strangers, enjoyed but a precarious position in medieval England. The qualification of freeman was necessarily relaxed in the case of women, who were also admitted as members, for certain occupations were almost exclusively conducted by them.

But participation in the franchise was not enough. A perfect acquaintance with the details of the trade and the ability to produce good work were in all cases preliminary requisites. In fact, the main provisions of the craft, the very soul of its constitution, were the regulations intended to ensure the excellence of the products and the capacity of the workman. The ordinances almost invariably commence with a recital of the various subterfuges employed by knavish artificers to deceive the public.

The whole character of the craft guild is seen by these regulations to be due to the compulsion of the city authorities rather than to any

philanthropic anxiety on the part of the trades. Carefully ascertained rules as to the exact proportion and quality of the raw materials were prescribed with great minuteness; the mixing of good and bad wares was strictly prohibited, and the greatest care was exercised in the selection of proper tools.

Similar considerations led to the prohibition of night work or sales by candle-light. Said an edict: "The spurriers shall not work after curfew, 'by reason that no man can work so neatly by night as by day,' and especially because many persons 'compass how to practise deception in their work,' and introduce false and cracked iron for tin and put gilt on false copper."

It was imperative on the craftsman to furnish an adequate guarantee of his fitness to join the guild and produce good work. This guarantee consisted in the fact of a previous apprenticeship and the evidence of a good moral character. The apprenticeship continued as a rule for seven years, but was, in itself, an insufficient security. Defective workmanship indeed was generally the effect of fraud, not of inability, and the longest apprenticeship could give no security against fraud.

These regulations were but a part of the whole medieval system. The Middle Ages were a period of customary, not of competitive prices,

Trade System.

and the idea of permitting agreements to be decided by the individual preferences of vendor or purchaser was absolutely foreign to the jurisprudence of the times. The "higgling of the market" was an

impossibility, simply because the laws of the market were not left to the free arbitrament of the contracting parties.

The remaining features of the guild manifest the same dependence on the laws of the realm. The severance of occupations was imposed upon the trades, not spontaneously adopted by them, and the medieval statutes teem with provisions of this nature, as, for instance, that shoemakers shall not be tanners, brewers not be coopers, cordwainers not be curriers, butchers not be cooks, drapers not be "litsters," while a statute of 1363 admonishes all artificers and handicraft people to use only one mystery or occupation.

But the subordination of the guilds to the general laws of the realm constitutes only one half of the explanation. The other half must be sought in the commanding influence of the towns in economic life. All powers of market and social police were from the first massed in the hands of the urban authorities. The guilds developed and were developed by this life. They aided, too, in art (*q. v.*) and religion.

All medieval guilds, as has been said, were largely religious; and Gierke says in his *Deutsches Genossenschafts-Recht* (p. 227): "As a religious community, as a union for worship, which probably the name signifies, every guild had a patron saint, whose name it bore, and by whom its members swore, and an altar of its own, which it maintained. The erection of benevolent institutions, perpetual masses, and similar gifts to the church, the giving of alms and the assistance of pilgrims, the maintenance of altar lights, and other pious acts

were matters of the union and among its purposes."

Without the guilds the cathedrals would not have been built. As Lowell says in his *Cathedral*:

"I gaze round on the windows, pride of France,
Each the bright gift of some mechanic guild
Who loved their city and thought gold well spent
To make her beautiful with piety."

Says Mr. J. Bleecker Miller: "That was a time when the *Cathedral* system was the religious organization of a great city, with its centralized government under one head, its chapter of priests who attended to the religious wants of the city as a whole, and with the citizens divided according to their trades and professions into smaller religious and political communities, called guilds."

The guilds did much for charity. A brother of the craft would give house and lands to better the annual feast, which the craft always held; or he might found a school, a hospital, or an almshouse, and after defining the amount of his benefaction, would leave the surplus, if any, to the discretion of the guild. Or he would make the guild the trustees of the fund, from which the mass priest should receive his stipend for spiritual offices, the residue being left to the guild as remuneration for management. Occasionally the corporations bargained for the amount of the spiritual service, and refused to agree to a proposal which might be too costly for the fund to bear. They exacted fees for apprenticeship, for taking up freedom by inheritance or servitude, and more lately for admission into the guild by purchase. Like prudent men, who might be liable to occasional charges, they saved and invested these funds, as also gifts for lending without usury to poorer citizens, for apprenticing poor boys or girls, or for marriage portions, or for widows' pensions, or for the relief of the destitute members of the craft, the first and the most enduring duty of the guild. The guild estates, the chest of the company, its revenues and rents, were, like the endowments of an academical college, at once the support of the fraternity and the means by which the discipline of the order or craft was maintained.

Of their life Seligman says:

"But there was no monopoly or exaggerated exclusiveness. Any one could become apprentice, and the number was limited only by the ability of the master to support them or by considerations of a police nature. The apprentice formed a member of the master's family. For the principles of the law of parent and child were made applicable to a certain extent, and all responsibility for purchases of the apprentices as well as for their behavior were imposed on the masters by city ordinance. From one of the indentures that have been preserved we can obtain a clear view of his position. The apprentice is to keep his master's secrets, do him no injury, nor commit excessive waste on his goods. He is not to frequent taverns, commit fornication or adultery with the housemaids or in town, nor betroth himself without his master's permission. He is not to wear certain garments, play at dice, checkers, or any other unlawful game, but is to conduct himself soberly and piously as a good and faithful servant, or in default to serve double time. The master, on the other hand, agrees to find him in all necessities, food, clothing, bed, and so on, for four years. In the fifth year he finds himself, but receives 20s. and the tools of the trade; and in the sixth year he gets 40s., but finds his own tools. The master agrees on his side to teach him the craft without any concealment. . . .

"The condition of the workmen proper was essentially similar. They were known by the various names of varlet, sergeant, yeoman, garson, bachelor, allowe, and journeyman, and were taken for any stipulated period, altho probably at first engaged by the day, as the last term implies. Restrictions were rarely placed on their number; but the necessities of a small household would in general preclude the master from employing more than a limited number. . . .

"All possible disputes were settled primarily by the wardens, some of whom were in certain crafts chosen from the ranks of the journeymen themselves. If the master refused to give the stipulated wages, the wardens forbade him to work until the obligation should be fulfilled. The journeyman was likewise protected against other exactions on the part of unscrupulous masters, such as attempts to compel him to serve beyond his time or against his will, while a stimulus was given to loyal fidelity by prescribing assistance out of the guild funds in case of illness or misfortune. . . .

"But a conflict of interests was in general unknown. The journeyman always looked forward to the period when he would be admitted to the freedom of the trade. This was a rule not difficult for an expert workman to attain. No insuperable obstacle was thrown into his path. In fact, there was no superabundance of skilled labor at this time. It was a period of supremacy of labor over capital, and the master worked beside."

Naturally, however, there were sporadic cases of disaffection on the part of individual workmen against imagined or perhaps real maltreatment by the master. These cases no doubt existed from the earliest period. Out of them came the journeymen's associations. Thus in 1303, in one of the earliest craft ordinances that we possess, the journeymen cordwainers of London are forbidden to assemble or make any provisions prejudicial to their masters or to the public. (See COMBINATION LAWS.)

But altho this, as well as the similar case of the journeymen weavers in 1362, resembles to a certain degree our modern strike and boycott, it is not indicative of any general banding together of the yeomen against the employers.

At first these associations were simple fraternities of a social character. As on the Continent, they were considered quite harmless and in most cases freely permitted. Sometimes, however, they were prohibited, as tending to weaken the paternal authority of the craftsmen. The "congregations" of the journeymen cordwainers above mentioned were doubtless of this class and continued, for over three quarters of a century later they are again charged with making an illegal fraternity, for which they sought a confirmation from the Pope. The general proclamation of 1383 was, however, not directed especially against such associations, as has been represented. For this forbade conspiracies and combinations of all kinds, and did not mention the workmen at all. Probably the regulation was designed to prevent the recurrence of such riots as had taken place during Wat Tyler's uprising, in 1381. The character of the early journeymen's guilds is shown by their fraternities in Coventry, where the journeymen or young people of various trades, "observing what merry meetings and feasts their masters had, themselves wanted the like pleasure, and did therefore of their own accord assemble together, and for their better conjunction make choice of a master with clerks and officers." But as this was found to be to "the prejudice of the other guilds and disturbance of the city," the mayor and citizens petitioned the king, in 1425, to abolish them.

The journeymen's associations which seem to have been quite common (for the statute of 1402 speaks of "fraternities or guilds of servants" in general) were thus mere social brotherhoods, formed by the young "desirous of merry meetings and feasts." It is not permissible to cite them as proving any conflict between labor and capital at this period. The unions were everywhere confined to the youths, who in turn gradually became masters and were enrolled as full members of the craft-guild proper. But gradually this changed. The guilds became too rich and strong, and were hated.

Says Professor James, in a chapter written for McNeill's *Labor Movement* :

"The complaints about the heartless policy of the guilds began as early as the fifteenth century, and did not die out until the guilds themselves died. During the fifteenth century the abolition of the guilds was demanded on this ground. When Henry III., of France, in 1581, extended the provisions of the guilds to all branches of mechanical industry in France, the parliament refused at first to register the edict. In 1614, the third

Downfall.

estate in France moved the abolition of the guilds; in 1624, a party in the city council of Bremen; in 1669, the Elector of Brandenburg, in the German Parliament, made the same motion. In Prussia, beginning with 1688, a series of laws was adopted looking toward the reformation of the guilds in the direction of greater freedom, and in the interest of a growing industry. But the chief attack upon the old guild system came on its theoretical side from Adam Smith and the French Physiocrats.

"God, said the physiocratic school of economists, made the right to labor the property of every person by giving to every one wants and referring him to labor as a means of satisfying them. This property is the first in order of time, the most holy and the most inalienable. Owing to the restrictions on labor maintained by the guilds, the poor are condemned to protract a precarious existence under the control of the masters, to linger in poverty or to betake themselves and their industry to foreign lands. Just as the whole existing system of law had proceeded from the selfish efforts of privileged classes, who resisted every reform, so in making the regulations in regard to organization of the system of apprentices and journeymen the councilors of the government had always been the employers. They served merely to secure to the masters the labor of the apprentice for a long time at a very low rate of wages or for no wages at all; to keep down the wages of the journeyman and to diminish competition by limiting the number of masters. It is one of the first duties of justice to free those whose only property consists in the skill and strength of their hands from the limitations placed upon them by the guilds."

Justice and economic expediency thus united in demanding the freedom of labor. The same demand for freedom of industry and of contract was made by those interested in the large industry which was now beginning to rise in England. The guild system was in the interest of the small employer, but opposed to the interest of the large employer. The mere requirement that a man should have passed through an apprenticeship, and, on the continent, a journeymanship also, stood in the way of those who wished to utilize their capital.

Thus theory and pecuniary interest united in demanding the abolition of the old system. In France, the old system was abolished in the memorable night of August 4, 1789. (See FRANCE.) In Germany, Prussia, in 1810, was the first to do away with the old system completely. England, under the control of the large capitalists, abolished the apprentice law of 1562 in 1814.

The prohibitions of coalitions of laborers were,

however, left on the statute books. The prohibitions in England were abolished by the law of 1824. In France they were not abolished until 1864; for all Germany not until 1871; for Austria in 1870. Nevertheless, many traces of the mediæval guilds still remain, especially in England. (See LONDON.)

In Scotland, the companies of merchant freemen still exercise great power, and the magistrate next in rank to the mayor (provost) is the dean of the guild. But all these modern city guilds are mainly mere inherited monopolies.

References: C. Osborn Ward's *The Ancient Lowly* (1886); L. Brentano, *On the History and Development of Guilds* (1870); G. R. A. Seligmann, *Ten Chapters on the Mediæval Guilds of England* (1887).

GUISE. See GODIN.

GUNTON, GEORGE, was born in England, but when quite young came to this country, and worked in the factories of Fall River, Mass.

Interested in social studies, he worked his way up till he became a leading writer on economic questions from the eight-hour standpoint. His *Wealth and Progress* appeared in 1887, and is the fullest statement of the eight-hour philosophy, tho not endorsed by most of the eight-hour trade-unionists, on account of Mr. Gunton's opposition to other trade-union demands, and by some of them on account of his advocacy of protection. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) His *Principles of Social Economics* was issued in 1891. He is best known to-day for the Economic School, situated at 34 Union Square, New York City, and as the editor of *Gunton's Magazine* (formerly *The Social Economist*), in which he opposes most propositions looking toward State ownership, or even control of industries. Advocating a gold monometallism, he argues that the best way to aid the cause of labor is through the reduction of the hours of labor. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.)

H.

HABEAS CORPUS is a writ issued by a court of law or equity to produce before it the body of a prisoner, that the court may inquire into the cause of imprisonment or detention, with a view to protect the right of personal liberty. Properly speaking, this writ is known in law as *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*. The term *habeas corpus* is used for it, as its formal commencement, as it is for several other similar legal writs known to English and American law. It rests upon the right wrested from King John in the Magna Charta, that no one may be imprisoned save by due process of legal trial and sentence. It is inserted in Sec. 9 of Art. I. of the United States Constitution, that this right shall not be suspended "unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

HADLEY, ARTHUR TWINING, was born in New Haven, Conn., son of Professor James Hadley, in 1856. He was graduated at Yale in 1876. Studying at the University of Berlin in 1879, he became tutor in 1883, and in 1886 Professor of Political Economy at Yale. In 1885 he was appointed Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Connecticut, and published the reports of 1885 and 1886. He has published *Railroad Transportation, its History and its Laws* (1885), and *Economics* (1896), besides many articles and papers.

HALE, EDWARD EVERETT, was born in Boston, April 3, 1822, son of Nathan Hale, LL.D., and Sarah P. (Everett) Hale. Studying in the Boston Latin School, he was graduated at Harvard College in 1839. He studied theology with Revs. S. K. Lothrop and John G. Palfrey, and was licensed to preach in 1842. Preaching in various churches, he was settled in 1846 as pastor of the Church of the Unity, in Worcester. In 1856 he became pastor of the South Congregational (Unitarian) Church, in Boston, where he still remains. He is even better known

as a leader and often the starter of a marvelous number of philanthropic movements. His *Ten Times One is Ten* led to the establishment of clubs devoted to doing good scattered throughout the world, with a membership of over 50,000. They are called "Harry Wadsworth clubs." They have for their motto, "Look up and not down; look forward and not back; look out and not in; and lend a hand." He has also taken great interest in the Chautauqua and other literary, educational, and reform movements. When the Nationalist and Christian Socialist movements were commenced, Dr. Hale interested himself in them. In 1869 he founded, in connection with the American Unitarian Association, the magazine *Old and New*, which in 1875 was merged into *Scribner's Monthly*. In 1886 he started *Lend a Hand*. His short stories are among his best works, notably *My Double and how he Undid me* (1859), *The Man without a Country* (1863), and *How they Lived in Hampton*—a nationalistic tale written before the days of Nationalism.

HAMILTON, ALEXANDER, was born on the island of Nevis, West Indies, in 1757, the son of a Scotch merchant. Entering a counting house at the age of 12, his abilities induced his friends to secure for him a college education, and he was graduated at Columbia College, New York. At the age of 18 he wrote a series of papers on the relation of the colonies to England, which were at first taken for the production of the statesman Jay. On the outbreak of the war he became a captain of artillery, but soon gained the confidence of Washington and became his aide-de-camp and confidant in 1777. In 1780 he married a daughter of General Schuyler, and became one of New York's leading lawyers.

He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1782-83, and of the Convention of 1787. His perspicacity and power of thought

were remarkable. One of the most abused as well as one of the most lauded of men, he played a leading part in the early history of this country.

In conjunction with Madison, he had the most important share in drafting the Constitution. He was a strong supporter of the federal policy of developing a strong national government, and, along with Jay and Madison, defended the Constitution against all attacks by a series of letters in the *Daily Advertiser* of New York, afterward collected and published under the title of *The Federalist* (*q. v.*). On the establishment of the new Government in 1789, with Washington as President, Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. The disorder of the public credit and the deficiency of official accounts of the State treasury rendered this office one of peculiar difficulty. In order to reestablish public credit, he carried, in spite of much opposition, a measure for the funding of the domestic debt, founded a national bank, and rearranged the system of duties. In 1795 he resigned his office and resumed the practice of law in New York. When the war with France broke out in 1798, he was, according to the wish of Washington, made Major-General of the United States Army; and, on the death of Washington, he succeeded to the chief command. When peace was restored, he returned to his civil duties, but became involved in a political quarrel with Aaron Burr. This difference unhappily culminated in a duel, in which Hamilton received a wound, of which he died the following day (July 12, 1804). (See FEDERAL PARTY; CONSTITUTION.)

HARDIE, JAMES KEIR, M.P., was born in Glasgow in 1856. Before he was eight years old he went to work in the coal-pits, and worked at the pick till he was 24, never having a day's schooling. As a boy he descended the pit at 5.45 A.M., and did not ascend again until six o'clock at night. He taught himself to write by holding a white stone over the smoke of a lamp and tracing characters upon the smoke-stained surface with a pin. He eventually became secretary of the Miners' Union in Lanarkshire. It was at this time that Mr. Hardie was first discovered to be a "monster in human form," for on the very day that his election became known a benevolent mine-owner dismissed him and his two young brothers from his employ. Six months after Keir Hardie's dismissal he had organized the Lanarkshire men, and 23,000 miners were paying their levy into the union war-chest.

In 1882 a new sphere of work was opened out. Mr. Hardie took to journalism, and became sub-editor of the *Cumnock News*. At the end of four years the circulation of that journal was quadrupled. During this four years, however, the miners' wages had again fallen for want of efficient organization, and Mr. Hardie was once more asked to come over and help. He did so, and in a very short time those wages were doubled.

In 1888 he received an invitation to stand as parliamentary candidate for Mid-Lanark, but was defeated, gaining experience, however, which led him to found the Scottish Labor Party.

His next move was to favor the eight-hour movement; but the Westham Radical Association approached Mr. Hardie soon afterward with an invitation to fight the next election in their district. For two years and a half Mr. Hardie spoke at street corners and everywhere he could; and when the figures of the poll were published in 1892 he was elected, a crowd of 50,000 people in Stratford Highway watching the returns. The new member was carried shoulder-high to Canning Town—over two miles. In 1893 he was the main leader in founding the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*).

Mr. Hardie is a man of transparent honesty, with a sincere hatred of all shams and petty, unnecessary formulas. He is one of the most lovable of men, and, in spite of his cloth cap, can give points to many of the British peerage in the matter of good manners. He is editor of the *Labor Leader*, and a frequent contributor to the monthly periodicals.

In the last election Mr. Hardie was defeated, but still holds his ground as a leader of his party. In the autumn of 1895 he paid a brief visit to the United States, speaking in the principal cities.

HARMONISTS, THE.—The name of a religious celibate German sect now established at the communistic village of Economy, Pa. The sect was founded at Wirtemberg by George and Frederick Rapp about 1787, and its adherents are therefore sometimes called Rappists. According to their creed, Adam was created a dual being, as is the Creator. If Adam had been satisfied, he could have increased and brought forth without the aid of woman; but he became discontented, and then the Creator separated his twofold nature, of the female element making woman, and therein consisted the fall of man. They believe that the condition of celibacy is thus most pleasing to God; that in the renewed world man will be restored to his dual condition; that the coming of Christ and the renovation of the world are near at hand; that Jesus was of a dual nature; that Christ taught a community of goods; that ultimately all mankind will find salvation; but that only those who are celibates, and otherwise conform to what they believe to be the commandments of Jesus, will be at once received into the company of Christ and His companions, and that offenders must undergo a probation for purification. The early members were so much harassed by petty persecutions that in 1803 they determined to emigrate, and came to Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1805 they were firmly and prosperously established at Harmony, Butler County, Pa., where they remained 10 years. Then they migrated to New Harmony, Ind., remaining there until 1824, when they sold their land to Robert Owen, the socialist, and returned to Pennsylvania, establishing themselves at Economy, near Pittsburg. Here they have grown in wealth and decreased in numbers, for they have of late years sought few accessions. There are probably not more than 50 in the neat little village that are members of the community, tho there are besides several hundreds of employees. The German language is still used. They have much property in real estate,

in coal mines, and they control at Beaver Falls what is said to be the largest cutlery manufactory in the country.

There are in the society a few more women than men, but no families. Its employees have wives and children, and live in neat houses with well-kept gardens about them. The members of the society live with and among their employees. They have no separate home life apart from those who labor for them.

The amount of capital invested by the society has been estimated from \$5,000,000 to \$25,000,000. There is no means of finding out the actual sum, for it is one of their tenets to keep no accounts for inspection. Everything is in common, and is controlled by trustees, John S. Duss being now the central power, since the recent death of Father Henrici, for long years the head of the community. The original holding of the community consisted of 1100 acres, upon which the town of Economy is built; but these have been expanded into several thousand, and the well-tilled fields bear splendid crops. There are also steel-works, a bank, iron-works, saw-mills, grist-mills, shoe-shops, a great wine cellar, a dairy, harness-shop, and looms. The form of government of the industries and of the society is patriarchal, and is administered by the two trustees and seven elders.

They have a fine choral society. In the garden back of the central house they have music every evening during the summer. In the winter they have glees, and dancing in a great music hall. On Sunday, in the great meeting-house, the services are more than half musical.

The employees are accorded the same privileges, except that of sharing in the bank account and accumulations, as members of the society. Every one draws from the general warehouse whatever is needed for comfort. In other words, the employees have all the requirements and many of the luxuries of life, besides receiving \$8 a month.

The future of the community is, however, quite uncertain. Decreasing slowly but steadily in numbers, yet with enormous wealth, made principally by investments, it has practically lost its cooperative character, and may become an ordinary corporation.

HARRINGTON, JAMES.—Born 1611; died 1677. The author of *Oceana* was educated at Oxford University. In 1646 he was a personal attendant to Charles I. when he was imprisoned, and attended him at his execution. In 1656 he published the work he is best known by—a political allegory, somewhat in imitation of Plato—in which he depicted an ideal republic named *Oceana*. He was arrested in 1661 on a charge of treason, but was confined without a trial until he finally became insane, and died in 1677. The probable reason of his imprisonment was in his avowed republican opinions.

HARRIS, THOMAS LAKE, was born at Fenny Stratford, England, May 15, 1823. At the age of four he was brought to America by his father, who settled at Utica, N. Y. He was soon compelled to earn his own living, and at 17 began to write for newspapers. Having renounced the Calvinistic faith, in which he was

early trained, he became a Universalist preacher at Minden, N. Y., in 1844. His health failing, he went to Charleston, S. C., but from 1845-47 was pastor of a church in New York City. In 1848, having adopted Swedenborgian views, he organized an Independent Christian Society in New York, but in 1850 joined a community at Mountain Cove, Va. He afterward lectured in many parts of the Union, endeavoring to turn the public interest in spiritualism to what he considered a higher plane of religious thought and life. In 1855 he established the *Herald of Light* to advance his views, and in 1858 visited England and Scotland, where he gained converts. Returning in 1861, he settled in Amenia, N. Y., where several friends gathered around him and formed the "Brotherhood of the New Life." The settlement was afterward removed to Brocton, N. Y., where Lady Oliphant and several Japanese of distinction joined the society, and remained many years. The property was not held in common. Mr. Harris appears to exert a marvelous influence upon men, but he seems to hold all power in his own hands, with the natural results of creating great hostility, deserved or undeserved. Scandalous stories are told of the community; but as all is secret, reliable information is not available. Members, scattered over the world, are said to belong to this unique society. About 1876 Mr. Harris removed to the neighborhood of Los Angeles, Cal., where he lives a retired life. His principal works are *Wisdom of Angels* (1856); *Arcana of Christianity* (1857, 1866); *Modern Spiritualism* (1869); *Millennial Age* (1860). He has also published several volumes of hymns and poems.

HARRISON, FREDERIC, was born in London in 1831, and educated at King's College, London, and at Oxford, where, in 1853, he was elected fellow and tutor. He was admitted to the bar in 1858, and in 1877 was appointed Professor of Jurisprudence and International Law by the Council of Legal Education. He has deeply interested himself in the English labor movement, in 1861 writing important letters to the press defending trade-unionism; later getting trade-unions legalized as friendly societies; writing for the *Beehive* from 1861-77, the principal labor paper of London, etc. He is the chief exponent of the Positivist school, a critic of authority, and a master of English prose. Among his works are: *The Meaning of History, Social Statics, Order and Progress,* and *Oliver Cromwell.*

HEADLAM, STEWART DUCKWORTH, was born at Wavertree, near Liverpool, in 1847, and educated at Walthurst, Eton, and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was curate of St. John's, Drury Lane, from 1870-73; St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, 1873-78; St. Thomas', Charterhouse, 1880-81; St. Michael's, Shoreditch, 1881-84. Mr. Headlam early interested himself in social problems as a priest of the Church of England, and his parochial duties bringing him in contact with girls and actors on the stage, he defended them from what he believed unwarranted condemnation, and came to believe in and study stage dancing as an art.

A lecture on this subject gave serious offense to the late Bishop of London, and he refused him a license in his diocese, so that Mr. Headlam has worked under great difficulties. Nevertheless, few clergymen in London exert a stronger influence for Christianity and the Church. He has been the leading spirit and the real founder of the Church and Stage Guild, and also of the Guild of St. Matthew (*q.v.*), a Christian socialist society—the first society still existing in England to declare for socialism. He was, till its suspension in 1895, the editor of *The Church Reformer*, the organ of the guild. Mr. Headlam is the author of several small but remarkable volumes of sermons and lectures: *Priestcraft and Progress* (1882); *Lessons from the Cross* (1887); *The Laws of Eternal Life* (1888); *Salvation through Christ*; *Christian Socialism* (1888). He has also edited part of Carlo Blesis's work on dancing, under the title *The Theory of Theatrical Dancing*. He has written essays on *The Function of the Stage*, *The Ballet*, etc. He thus unites the most radical views with a high Anglican Catholicism. He is most popular with the London working men, and has been elected on the London School Board for Hackney, and most actively works as a Fabian socialist for board schools, etc.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH, was born at Stuttgart in 1770. He studied at Tübingen with Schelling, and became professor at Jena, Heidelberg, and Berlin. His principal works are: *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807); *the Logik* (1812-16); an *Encyclopædie der Philosoph. Wissenschaften* (1817); *Philosophie des Rechts* (1821). He early in life turned his attention to social questions, writing (1797) a commentary on Stewart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*. Later he published various small works on the political constitutions of Würtemberg and Germany, criticising them and admiring Napoleon, "that universal genius." Living in the stirring times of the French Revolution, rejecting the idea of the Absolute, and conceiving of everything, even of God, as an eternal process, he thinks of society as developing through the individual, the family, the town, the State, the world, higher and higher unities, each unity, however, realizing and not destroying the lower unity. It is easy to see how he came to be the intellectual father of Marx and of most early German socialists.

HELD, ADOLF, was born in Würzburg in 1844. He studied in Würzburg and Munich. In 1867 he became teacher, and in 1872 full Professor of Political Economy at Bonn. In 1880 he was called to the university at Berlin, but was drowned on August 25 of the same year. He was prominent as one of the socialists of The Chair (*q.v.*). Among his best-known works are: *Die Einkommensteuer* (1872); *Die deutsche Arbeiterpresse der Gegenwart* (1873); *Grundriss für Vorlesungen über Nationalökonomie* (1876); *Sozialismus Sozialdemokratie und Sozialpolitik* (1878).

HELPERS, ASSOCIATION OF.—An association of men and women organized by W. T.

Stead, the London journalist, who, irrespective of differences of party, creed, or social condition, have agreed to work together for the attainment of certain broadly defined ideals, social, political, and religious. It was founded in January, 1890, immediately after the appearance of the *Review of Reviews*, with its *Address to all English-speaking Folk*. In February, 1892, there were between 500 and 600 Helpers on the list. (See CIVIC CHURCH)

HERBERT, AUBERON EDWARD WILLIAM MOLYNEUX, son of the third earl of Carnarvon, was born in 1838. He left Oxford for the army, serving 18 months in India, but returned and took his degree, and for a year taught at Oxford. He then visited Denmark during the Prussian-Danish War, and the United States during the War of the Rebellion, becoming acquainted in camp with Generals Grant and Meade. His next few years were spent in London aiding working men in clubs. From 1870 to 1874 he was in Parliament for Nottingham. He went to France during the Franco-Prussian War. He left Parliament, coming to believe, with Spencer, that the people needed to reconstruct their own conditions in life and not to depend on politicians. He has thus become an intense individualist, the editor of *Free Life*, the organ of Voluntaryism (*q.v.*), advocating the voluntary state and voluntary taxation. He published *The Right and Wrong of Compulsion by the State* in 1885.

HEREDITY.—The influence of heredity upon character has been very widely discussed. For the position of heredity in the philosophy of evolution, and especially for the view held by Weismann and the majority of modern evolutionists that *acquired* characteristics are not transmitted to posterity, see EVOLUTION. Says Professor R. T. Ely, writing in *The Outlook*, September 16, 1893:

"Many facts have been brought forward in substantiation of this doctrine. The experience in the breeding of lower animals was one which most naturally occurred to those thinking earnestly upon heredity. Various social studies which have been made tend, at first blush, at any rate, to emphasize heredity. All those who have given attention to crime and pauperism in the United States are familiar with the story of the Jukes, so well told by Richard Dugdale. To Margaret, 'the Mother of Criminals,' can be traced numerous pauper and criminal descendants who have, all told, cost the State of New York millions of dollars. The 'Tribe of Ishmael' is the name given in Indiana to the many descendants of two or three persons weak in body, mind, and character. These descendants fill the hospitals and jails in the neighborhood of Indianapolis. A city missionary in Berlin has traced to two sisters, who lived not long ago, paupers, prostitutes, thieves, murderers. The descendants of these two sisters have served hundreds of years in prison. A most remarkable social experiment was conducted in Oneida, N. Y., which, on account of the delicacy of the subject, has never received the scientific attention which it deserves. At this place there was a communistic settlement, composed very largely of able and highly educated men, who attempted to apply strictly scientific principles in the breeding of men. Dr. Ely van de Walker, of New York City, has given some attention to the subject, and he pronounces the result quite remarkable. It is claimed that the children born are far above the average, in their physical qualities at least.

"Further thought appears to bring a reaction in favor of environment. The facts of social parasitism could not be long observed before it became apparent that heredity brings circumstances with it. Are the resulting crime and pauperism due to heredity or to

the circumstances which unfortunate heredity brings in its train, or to both? Experimentation on a considerable scale has given a partial answer. The Children's Aid Society of New York and other similar agencies have changed the circumstances of those whose heredity was unfortunate, and the outcome has been changed character in the vast majority of cases; probably it is safe to say in nine out of ten cases. Thousands of children born of the worst parents have been taken from surroundings in the slums of cities which would have made of them paupers, prostitutes, and criminals, and they have become useful and honorable citizens. With some degree of certainty it can be predicted that the circumstances of the worst slums mean to the child brought up in them ruin, and perhaps with quite as great a degree of certainty it can be predicted that a change to an altogether favorable environment will mean social salvation. If heredity is, in such cases, as it may be admitted, an adverse force which must be overcome, yet favorable circumstances are sufficient to overcome it, and circumstances have by far the greater weight.

"Recent studies of heredity appear also to give less importance to it, on the whole, than earlier ones. It is now frequently asserted by scientists that acquired qualities cannot be transmitted. An English economist says of Weismann, whose essays upon heredity are well known, that he has reopened the case for Socialism. What he means is this: Socialism lays emphasis almost entirely upon circumstances, and Weismann's investigations have so emphasized the importance of circumstances as opposed to heredity that once more the case for Socialism requires discussion before the bar of public opinion."

Dr. H. D. Chapin, in the *Forum* (March, 1894), gives the results of his studies:

Dr. Chapin is a physician to the New York Post-Graduate Hospital, and has made a record of 600 cases that came under his care. His object was to determine how far the diseases of very little children were occasioned by heredity and how far by the conditions in which they lived. Most of the children were under two years of age, and nearly half under one year. At the time of birth, 58 of them were reported to have been in good condition, and only 20 were reported to have been in bad condition. In 12 cases the report was "only fair," and in the remaining cases there was no report. The children as a whole, therefore, seem to have started life well. What, then, had been their environment? It was found that in 106 cases the mothers were the sole bread-earners, and that in 88 cases the fathers were out of work when the children came to the hospital. Besides these there were 176 cases in which the mothers as well as the fathers were obliged to work. The results of this were very striking. "Two hundred and fifty-seven of the cases," says Dr. Chapin, "were deprived of maternal nourishment before the proper time, and 101 of the babies never received it at all. The usual reason was that the mothers were obliged to go out to work and remain away for too long intervals to care properly for their infants. As a direct result, a large number develop rickets, which is usually accompanied by a softening of the bones, together with great irritation of the nervous system. Almost all these diseases could have been prevented by proper diet and care, and yet when brought to the hospital they were frequently so far advanced as to result either in death or in a more or less permanent crippling of a healthy life." The family incomes in nearly half the cases could not be obtained with any definiteness, but in 150 cases they were reported to be between \$5 and \$10 a week, and in 117 cases to be less than \$5. In only 85 cases were they reported to exceed \$10 a week. The large proportion of the families having less than \$5 a week reveals a stratum of society which factory returns show nothing of. With such incomes, insufficient nourishment and unhealthy, overcrowded rooms are inevitable. When families are reduced to these conditions, physical degeneration is likely to destroy the power to rise. "It is evidently time to consider," says Dr. Chapin in conclusion, "whether some reasonable form of cooperation cannot be substituted for the bitter competition so wasteful of human life."

In a recent letter Mr. C. Loring Brace, Secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York, said:

"So far as we can judge, inheritance does not figure in the problem. . . . This society has placed 84,000

children in homes since it began this work 40 years ago, and it is our experience that no matter what the parents may be, if the child is taken away at an age so early that it has not yet understood the wickedness about, if placed in a country home with kind and judicious adopted parents, it is almost certain to do well. . . . But if the child is not transplanted early enough, then there are the bad examples, bad habits, and knowledge of evil ways to contend against.

"The last word of the scientists is in accord with the words of these practical scientists. The theory of heredity now held by Wallace, who shares with Darwin the credit of the hypothesis of natural selection, and by Weismann and the most eminent authorities, is that acquired characteristics of the parent do not pass to the child by inheritance."

Professor A. G. Warner says (*American Charities*, pp. 119-21):

"The question of heredity is at bottom a biological question; and it is decidedly annoying that, just when we most desire certainty, biologists should be able to supply us with little but controverted speculations. After many books have been written to explain how acquired characteristics are transmitted from parent to offspring, Professor Weismann steps out of his laboratory to deny that we have any proof that they are so transmitted. He defends his denial so shrewdly that the authors of some of the books referred to accept his view of the matter. This doubt pulverizes the foundations of nearly all that has been written of late on heredity, and of an especially large proportion of what has been written on heredity in its bearing on social life and development.

"If acquired characteristics be inherited, then we have a chance permanently to improve the race independently of selection, by seeing to it that individuals acquire characteristics that it is desirable for them to transmit. But Weismann prevents our assuming that, by improving the environment and training the individuals, we can thereby permanently improve the stock. Change of environment and special training affect only the individual; the progeny are uninfluenced by the life history of the parent. We are thus more in the dark than was for a time supposed as to the causes of variation. According to the new theory, those causes are beyond our reach and beyond our knowledge; all that we can do for the improvement of the race is to make the most possible of each individual, and, by some system of rational selection, see to it that the essentially unfit have every facility for becoming extinct. Wallace, who is inclined to think that Weismann's point is proved, suggests that if we were to take two herds of wild horses, and attempt to develop runners from one by selection without training, and from the other by training without selection, there can be no doubt that the former method would be the surest and most expeditious. Some have felt that if acquired characteristics be not inherited, the outlook for the improvement of the human race is very hopeless, since it would seem to be nature's policy to induce variations blindly, and then to weed out those individuals and strains that prove unsatisfactory. A continuous or fortuitous supply of the unfit would constantly be brought to birth only to be exterminated. Suspend the selective processes, and, according to Weismann, the race would not only cease to improve, but would certainly and at once begin to degenerate. Our only hope for the permanent improvement of the human stock would then seem to be through exercising an influence upon the selective processes.*

"With the tendency which now seems to be manifest to think that Weismann has not finally made his point, at least in so far as it applies to heredity among the higher animals, we can return to the earlier, and perhaps more encouraging view, if we will; but, at the same time, the illustration suggested by Wallace must convince us that selection is a far more important factor in race improvement than the training which can be given by the most carefully adjusted environment. At the present time perhaps the best working hypothesis is to assume that Weismann is right, but remember that whatever environment cannot do for the race, it is conceded that it is unquestionably in the highest degree important for the individual. Weismann himself shows that many of the resem-

* Kidd's *Social Evolution* is based on the hypothesis that Weismann's opinions on this point are correct; all of Spencer's social philosophy is based on the opposite assumption.

blances of children to parents, which we have attributed to heredity, are merely the result of early environment on offspring. . . . To assume Weismann to be right—acquired characteristics to be not transmitted—is possibly the safest working hypothesis, because, on the one hand, it does not limit our efforts to improve environment, while, on the other hand, it gives us a sharp realization of the importance of selection, a factor which we are prone to forget or to undervalue." (See EVOLUTION.)

HERRON, REV. GEORGE, was born at Montezuma, Ind., in 1862. Of feeble health as a child, he grew up in the closest communion with a father and mother of humble life, but of unusual Christian character and devotion in the evangelical faith. The "kingdom of God was to him from his earliest years a tremendous reality." He is to a large extent a self-educated man. Entering the Congregational ministry, he early developed deep interest in social matters. In 1891 he read a paper called *The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth*. It was published in the *Christian Union*, and later as a booklet, and immediately arrested very wide attention. In 1891 he was called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Burlington, Ia., and aroused the deepest interest in social problems among men and women of all classes. He conducted a retreat at Grinnell in 1892, and in 1893 he was chosen to the professorship in the Rand chair of Applied Christianity, established at that time in Iowa College, at Grinnell. Since then he has preached and lectured on social Christianity to audiences, classes, and summer gatherings from Massachusetts to California, everywhere creating a profound impression. He is first of all a preacher of righteousness, a profound believer in the Gospel of the kingdom as the Gospel of the present day, which he believes to be a crisis in the history of Christianity, as well as of the country, and to the preaching of which Dr. Herron devotes himself with the conviction, the fearlessness, and the consecration of an apostle. He has written numerous small books; among them are: *The Larger Christ* (1891); *The Call of the Cross* (1892); *A Plea for the Gospel* (1892); *The New Redemption* (1893); *The Christian Society* (1894); *The Christian State* (1895); *Social Meanings of Religious Experiences* (1896).

HERTZEN, ALEXANDER, was born in Moscow, Russia, in 1812. Shortly after completing his education he was imprisoned for his outspoken views and banished to Viatka and Vladimir. On his return he devoted himself to literature, and in 1842 his *Dilettantism v. Naukie* attracted attention. In the same year, for criticising the police, he was ordered to live in Novgorod. In 1847 he obtained permission to travel, and in 1851 set up in London a *Free Russian Press* to attack the Government and issue works forbidden in Russia, notably *Kólokol* (*The Bell*), started in 1857. Thousands of copies were smuggled into Russia and read by all, from the emperor to the peasants. After sympathizing with the Poles in their insurrection of 1863, he transferred the *Kólokol* to Geneva, where it had an obscure existence till about a year before Herten's death in Paris in 1870. He was romantic and skeptical, eloquent and satirical. He wrote various books and

stories, his complete works being published in Basle in 1875.

HERTZKA, THEODORE, was born in Buda Pesth in 1845, and studied in Vienna. In 1872 he was editor of the *Neue Freien Presse*; in 1880 superintendent of the *Wiener Allgemeinen Zeitung*. The same year he brought out his *Die Gesetze der Handelspolitik* (*Laws of Trade*), from the standpoint of the orthodox economy, which, however, he wholly gave up six years later in his *Die Gesetze der Sozialen Entwicklung* (*Laws of Social Evolution*). A still further advance is made in his utopia of *Freiland* (1890), in which he pictures a colony in equatorial Africa on the principles of communism. At the end of this volume he called for the creation of such a colony, and met with a large response. By 1891 the book had been translated into many languages, and some 1000 local unions had been formed to provide the means and start the colony. A central committee was organized, and in 1893 a start actually made. At the last, however, the difficulties were too great, and the plan failed. Most socialists believe that socialism must come in through evolution, not through colonies.

HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH, was born in Cambridge in 1823, and was graduated from Harvard in 1841. Settled as pastor of the First Church in Newburyport, but dismissed in 1847 because of his anti-slavery preaching, he organized the Free Church in Worcester, where he remained nearly six years, an enthusiastic worker against slavery and the intimate friend of Garrison and Phillips. He enlisted in the war in 1862, and served till seriously wounded in 1863. He was appointed colonel of the first regiment of colored troops enlisted in South Carolina. His great work, however, has been as essayist, author, poet, lecturer, and novelist. Some of his best writings have been his short essays contributed to *Harper's Bazar*. His lecture, *The Aristocracy of the Dollar*, gave him a national reputation. His devotion to the cause of humanity led him to especially espouse the cause of the slave, and since then of woman emancipation from intellectual and political subjection. He was one of the first interested in Nationalism, tho not fully indorsing its views. Living in Cambridge, Mass., he is prominent in public affairs and reform movements.

HIGH LICENSE may be defined as a license to sell liquors granted at what is regarded as high rates, and intended thereby to reduce the number and improve the character of the places licensed. Many advocates of the high-license program claim that the term has a wider meaning, and also covers accessory restrictions of all kinds—that it is merely a convenient generic name for all "improved" license acts. High license provisions are invariably accompanied by certain restrictions or prohibitions governing the manner of sales; but such restrictions and prohibitions are incidental to all license laws, and the high-license idea derives its special significance not from the restrictive principle proper—*i. e.*, the principle of absolute-

ly prohibiting sales to certain persons during certain hours and in certain places—but from the tax or revenue principle—*i. e.*, the principle of taxing the traffic as for the present at least a "necessary evil"—taxing it to the maximum attainable point, and drawing from it for the public funds the maximum amount of revenue. The high-license plan was not urged with any activity in the early years of the temperance agitation in the United States.

The high-license movement, as a feature of the temperance agitation, came into existence at about the same time that the constitutional prohibition idea attained prominence. Preparation for it had been

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made by a gradual raising of the license rates in many States. Up to 1880, however, a rate of \$200 per year was considered high. The high-license crusade dates from the enactment of the Nebraska "Slocumb" law in February, 1881. It fixed minimum annual fees of \$500 for saloons in all towns having less than 10,000 population, and \$1000 in those containing more than 10,000 inhabitants, and established numerous restrictions of a very rigid nature. The enactment of the Downing law of Missouri followed in March, 1883, fixing the yearly license charges at \$50 to \$200 for State purposes, and \$50 to \$800 for county purposes—a minimum of \$550 and a maximum of \$1000. In the same year (in June) the Illinois Legislature passed the Harper law, under which minimum rates of \$500 for the sale of all kinds of liquors and \$150 for the sale of malt liquors only were fixed. Since then many of the other license States have required the saloon-keepers to pay relatively large sums—notably Massachusetts, where the minimum license rate for the ordinary saloon selling all kinds of liquors for consumption on and off the premises is now \$1300 per year; Minnesota, where the minimum rates are \$500 for towns and \$1000 for cities; Pennsylvania, where the uniform rate for each city is \$500; the new State of Montana, where \$500 is charged in towns having 3500 inhabitants or more; the Territory of Utah, where the minimum charge is \$600 and the maximum \$1200, and several Southern States, like Arkansas, Texas, and West Virginia, where the aggregate fees exacted range from \$500 upward.

The first high license legislation undeniably originated with thoroughly radical temperance men, believers in the principle of Prohibition, who honestly thought they were making a serious attack upon the traffic. The framers of the Nebraska act were John B. Finch, H. W. Hardy, and other temperance leaders equally earnest. The Missouri law was passed as a compromise measure, to defeat the prohibitory bill pressed by John A. Brooks and his aggressive followers; but it was looked upon by many as an important step in the direction of prohibition. It was several years before the high license program was regarded with decided suspicion by the prohibitionists; but by 1886 a general distrust was felt, and ever since then active hostility has been manifested. Opposition to high license is now as much a part of the prohibition creed as opposition to the saloon itself.

The arguments in favor of high license are

various. Its supporters claim, first, that in the present state of society, especially in the larger cities, it reduces drinking and the number of saloons far more than prohibition or any other system now possible, the drinking of wine and intoxicants being, as most adherents of high license hold, not a sin *per se*, like prostitution, but only an evil when carried to excess; or if an evil in its beginnings simply so because it leads the drinker or other drinkers to go on to drinking in excess; it is argued that it is not immoral to license drinking, if this be the best way to promote temperance. This the adherents of high license claim. They say that in the present state of the community, especially in our large cities, with our numerous foreign inhabitants, who are accustomed to the use of wine and beer, and who consider them innocent as water, it is not possible to sustain a prohibitory law, and therefore that in practice prohibition here means approximately free rum. They point out that in places the liquor interest has worked with prohibitionists to enact a prohibitory law, knowing that such a law could not be enforced. They point out that Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have all tried prohibition and given it up, it being claimed that prohibition increased the number of saloons and amount of drinking.

Dr. Ernest H. Crosby says:

"The Metropolitan Excise Law, which was passed by the Legislature of New York on April 14, 1866, affords an excellent example of increased revenue produced by increased fees. At this time there were 9720 saloons in New York and Brooklyn, less than one fourth of them being in the latter city. . . . Under the new law the Metropolitan Board of Health fixed the licenses at \$250 and \$100. At the expiration of 11 months there were only 6779 licensed places in the metropolitan district, of which 5203 were in New York and 1476 in Brooklyn. In New York the sum of \$993,379 was collected in license fees, and in Brooklyn \$257,725. . . . In 31 months New York contributed over \$3,000,000. This law was repealed during the supremacy of the Tweed ring" (*North American Review*, vol. 144, p. 501).

Dr. Crosby, also in the same article, gives the following facts:

The Illinois high license law went into effect in 1883. It closed several hundred saloons in Illinois, and raised the revenue from \$700,000 to \$4,500,000. Michigan, in 1875, under prohibition had 6444 saloons; in 1876, under regulation, 1577 were blotted out, and by 1882 there were only 3461. In Missouri, Governor Marmaduke said in his message to the Legislature, January, 1887: "Prior to the enactment and enforcement of the law providing for what is known as high license for dram-shops, there were in this State 3601 dram-shops and other places where ardent spirits were sold to be used as a beverage, yielding a revenue of \$547,320. There were, on July 4, last, 2880 such dram-shops, yielding a revenue of \$1,842,208." Of Ohio, Governor Foraker says: "The most reliable data obtainable indicate that the tax law has suppressed a large percentage of the saloons."

A second argument in favor of high license is that by lessening the saloons it becomes possible to inspect and control the traffic, closing saloons as may be voted on Sundays and at certain hours, and forbidding the sale to minors, etc. This is not possible, they urge, under prohibitory laws, which, not being enforced, both allow the grossest evils and accustom the community to non-obedience to law. There is no

Argument
for
High
License.

use, they urge, in legislating far beyond the average moral sense of a community.

The third argument is that high license does bring in large revenues, and so enables governments to meet the frightful expenses entailed by the traffic in caring for the poor or punishing the criminal, thus making the traffic pay for its own evils. Prohibition, they argue, creates more drinking and less ability to meet the evil.

Other claims made for high license are that it will operate to exterminate the most objectionable saloons; that it will confine the traffic to men of responsibility, and therefore, presumably, to men of better character; that by diminishing the aggregate number of liquor dealers, it will diminish the temptations to the drinker, and consequently reduce the consumption of drink; that it will remove from political warfare the organized power of the more dangerous, demonstrative, ignorant, and offensive rum element that is seen in active and constant operation so long as the laws bestow upon it the right to exist; that by entrusting a comparatively few responsible men, under rigid conditions, with the privilege of selling liquor—that privilege to be purchased at a high money price and to be cancelled in case of violations of the law—the cooperation of these privileged licensees will be commanded by the authorities in their efforts to enforce wholesome restrictions and to suppress unlicensed establishments; that the first restriction of the liquor traffic by high license will make it comparatively easy to bring about a second and greater restriction, to be followed in time by more radical restrictions, until the whole traffic is "taxed to death" and thus extinguished by progressive action instead of by a sudden (and not necessarily permanent) sentimental decree; that, meanwhile, the liquor traffic will be under the severest stigma attaching to any trade, and be pronounced by law to be so dangerous to the community as to require restriction at all points and the payment of enormous sums to the Government.

The opponents of high license deny that it does lessen drinking, even tho it may lessen saloons. They say that it makes drinking respectable and legal, and so encourages it. Poor people, they argue,

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feel the injustice of making license a matter of money, and so keep up kitchen bars, etc. The fact that high license does bring in revenue its opponents consider almost its worst feature, since it interests the community in maintaining the evil traffic, and so, instead of high license leading to prohibition, it is considered by prohibitionists as among their worst foes. The (prohibition) *Encyclopedia of Temperance* tabulates the statistics of 41 high license and 38 low license cities, and draws the following conclusions:

1. The license fee is five times as great in the 41 high license cities as in the 38 low license cities, and the number of saloons is only about one third as great.

2. Yet there is but very little difference in the number of arrests in ratio to population in the high license and the low license cities.

3. The ratio of arrests for drunkenness and disorder to the total arrests is noticeably greater in the high license than in the low license cities.

Of Chicago it gives the following figures:

YEAR.	Saloon License Fee.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness and Disorderly Conduct.	Arrests of Minors.
1880	\$52	28,480	.....	6,144
1881	52	31,713	.....	6,753
1882	52	32,800	.....	7,199
1883	103	37,137	18,045	6,675
1884	150-500*	39,434	21,416	6,718
1885	150-500*	40,998	23,080	6,550
1886	500	44,261	25,407	6,841
1887	500	46,505	26,067	7,539
1888	500	50,432	31,164	8,923

The main argument of the prohibitionists against high license, however, is that it commits the State to a license of the drink evil, and gives it an interest in the ruin of its citizens, and thus demoralizes both the Government and the community and puts back the advance of temperance.

References: Articles in the *North American Review*, vols. cxliv., p. 498; cxlv., p. 231; cxlvii., p. 638; *The Forum*, vol. v., p. 281; *Andover Review*, vol. xi., pp. 240, 611. (See also INTEMPERANCE; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NORWEGIAN SYSTEM; PROHIBITION; SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.)

HILDEBRAND, BRUNO, was born at Naumburg, Prussia, in 1812. Studying philosophy, he was implicated in the affair of the *Burschenschaften* (corporations of students suspected of liberalism); he succeeded, however, in being appointed Professor Extraordinary in the University of Breslau, then Titular Professor of Political Science at Marburg (1841), where he published some years later (1848) the first volume of *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft*. He was the same year chosen deputy from Marburg to the National Assembly at Frankfort, and his attitude was so hostile to the Government that he was exiled to Switzerland. At Zurich he was appointed Professor of Political Economy. He had already created at Marburg a bank for widows (*Wittwen casse*); and he founded at Berne the savings and loan bank. After he left Zurich (1861) he occupied the chair at Jena (1862), and in 1862 founded the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*. After 1873 he edited this journal in connection with Conrad, his son-in-law. He died at Jena January 29, 1878, a leader in the historical school (*q.v.*). (For his economic position, see POLITICAL ECONOMY; GERMANY.)

HILL BANKING SYSTEM, THE, was originated by Mr. Thomas E. Hill, a Chicago capitalist.

It demands absolute ownership and control of all banks by the Government, and consequent prevention of bank failures. The money with which to do banking is to be obtained from the people. To induce people to bring into circulation the hundreds of millions now hoarded in safety deposit vaults and other hiding-places, 3 per cent. interest is to be paid on long-time deposits.

* \$150 for beer and \$500 for strong liquors.

Three thousand bank depositories are to be established throughout the United States, from which money is to be loaned at 4 per cent.

Every post-office is to be made a receiving bank where money can be deposited, thus giving over 65,000 banks of deposit.

The \$1,500,000,000 in sight, and the hundreds of millions, now hidden, which will come into the banks will increase the Government's banking capital to \$2,000,000,000.

Appropriating \$20,000 per year for the management of each bank will make the cost for the distribution of money \$60,000,000. Allowing 3 per cent. interest on \$2,000,000,000 will be \$60,000,000; hence the total annual expense to the Government for the distribution of its funds and interest will be but \$120,000,000.

As all money loaned comes immediately back to the absolutely safe bank, it can be loaned over and over. If loaned up to \$5,000,000,000 at 4 per cent., the annual income will be \$200,000,000, a profit to the Government of \$80,000,000 per year. If loaned over four times, up to \$8,000,000,000, charging only 2 per cent. interest to borrowers, the annual profit to the Government would be \$40,000,000.

The Hill banking system makes the people the owners of all banks, and uses the people's money for banking.

How, some will ask, can the Government pay 3 per cent. and loan at 3 per cent.? The system here outlined proposes to pay interest to long-time depositors only. To business men and all those who have open accounts no interest is paid. Thus, when one person deposits money not to be removed for a long time, more than one hundred times this amount will be deposited by business men, who frequently borrow, paying interest on their loans, while they receive no interest on their deposits. The system starts on a sound conservative basis, borrows at 3 per cent., loans at 4 per cent., divides the profits with the people, and through a system of active accounts and many loans will reduce the rates to an almost incredibly low per cent.

One of the chief advantages of the Hill plan is that it fits immediately into the present methods of doing business, creating no great change in existing financial arrangements except a general lowering of interest and a vastly wider distribution of money which will start many enterprises into activity, enabling money-loaners to employ their means to as good advantage for themselves as the lending of money.

HILL, OCTAVIA, is widely known in social reform movements for her successful work in rent collecting in London, making this work an opportunity for aiding those from whom the rent is collected in cleansing and improving their tenements. Commenced as an experiment, it has grown till Miss Hill and her assistants are said to care for some 5000 dwellings. (See article TENEMENTS, Sec. 3.)

HILL, SIR ROWLAND, was born at Kidderminster in 1795. After his own education he taught in his father's school till 1833. He then joined the association for establishing the colony of South Australia on Mr. Wakefield's scheme of colonization (see AUSTRALIA), and be-

came secretary to the royal commission on the colony. In 1837 he published his famous pamphlet advocating cheap and uniform postage. In 1840 a uniform rate of 4d. per letter was adopted, soon after reduced to 1d. Mr. Hill was placed in the treasury to work out his plan, but was soon dismissed by a Tory government which came into power. In 1846, however, the Whigs returned to power, and Mr. Hill was made secretary to the postmaster, and in 1854 secretary to the post office, an appointment he held till failing health compelled him to resign in 1864.

HINTON, RICHARD J., was born in London, England, in 1830, and educated mainly at a mechanics' institute. He came to the United States in 1851, and became a printer and reporter. He became an ardent abolitionist, and went to Kansas as a newspaper correspondent in the times of the John Brown agitation. He studied and was graduated as a topographical engineer in New York City in 1855. During the war he served nearly four years in the Union armies. After the war he was a correspondent at Washington and in Europe, writing on social reform topics. From 1867 he was representative for the United States in the International Working Men's Association. He has since made investigations and written reports on various industrial and economic subjects for the Government, including extensive reports on Western irrigation. Identified with various reforms, he has written various biographies of abolitionists, two military histories, etc.

HISTORICAL SCHOOL.—A school of political economists which arose in Germany, in reaction from the theorizing of the English school of *laissez faire* as developed in Ricardo and his followers. Most economists rightly object to being classed in this or any other "school," preferring to be catholic in their views and unaffiliated by designation of belonging to any school. Yet this school has many sympathizers. The school is in the main inductive, where the Ricardian economy is deductive. It owes its rise very largely to the influence of Comte and the Positivists.

Roscher, Bruno, Hildebrand, and Karl Knies may be said to be its four German founders. (See their names.) The school has always had a marked leaning toward State socialism in reaction from individualism. Says Professor Ingram (*History of Political Economy*, p. 207):

"The historical method has exhibited its essential features more fully in the hands of the younger generation of scientific economists in Germany, among whom may be reckoned Lujo Brentano, Adolf Held, Erwin Nasse, Gustav Schmoller, H. Rösler, Albert Schäffle, Hans von Seeel, Gustav Schönberg, and Adolf Wagner. Besides the general principle of an historical treatment of the science, the leading ideas which have been most strongly insisted on by this school are the following: 1. The necessity of accentuating the moral element in economic study. This consideration has been urged with special emphasis by Schmoller in his *Grundfragen* (1875) and by Schäffle in his *Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirtschaft* (3d ed., 1873)."

Two other ideas which Professor Ingram considers prominent in the historical school are a close relation between economics and jurisprudence as brought out particularly by Wagner, L. von Stein, and H. Rösler, and the concep-

tion of the State as the organ of the nation for any end that may seem desirable.

This latter position accounts for the friendliness between the historical school and the so-called academic socialists or the socialists of the chair (*q.v.*). This friendliness, however, must not be pressed too far, and it must be remembered that not even do the socialists of the chair support the whole socialist program, and still less the whole socialist philosophy. They simply hold that the function of the State may well be and should be enlarged to control and care for the interests of the working class and the less fortunate members of the State, on points where they seem not able to protect their own interests. The historical school does not even dogmatically stand for all this. It represents simply a tendency in this direction. Its real position that one should not dogmatize, but simply by a study of the past and the present see what experience teaches that the State may wisely and safely do. The historical school stands, then, not so much for socialism as for a protest against the dogmatism alike of individualism and of socialism. Its characteristic development has been in Germany, but it has influenced all modern economic thought, and, outside of Germany, particularly England, and to a less extent the United States. In England, those economists who have perhaps most felt its influence are Cliffe-Leslie, Jevons, Ingram, Rogers, Toynbee, Foxwell, Cunningham, Symes, and to a less extent Marshall and Sidgwick. In the United States, Professors Ely, James, H. C. Adams, Jenks, Andrews, Ashley, and Bemis are prominently of this school, tho differing very materially in their conclusions. In Belgium, De Laveleye is the great name of this school; in Austria, Schäffle; in France, Sismondi, and more recently Gide; in Italy, Loria.

In all countries, however, the school is rather a tendency than a distinct school, and has influenced all thought rather than created partisans. Recently a so-called Austrian school of thought has arisen, to some extent critical of the historical school, and has deeply influenced economic development, particularly in Austria, Italy, and the United States. (See *POLITICAL ECONOMY*.) The result has been that as the historical school freed economic thought from the dogmatism of the *laissez-faire* school, so the Austrian school has shown the limitations of the historical study, and that facts must be viewed in the light of psychologic ideas as truly as ideas must be tested by the scrutiny of hard facts. Social mind and individual will enter into and influence every economic act.

HOBBS, THOMAS, was born at Malmesbury, April 5, 1588. He was the son of a clergyman, and went to Oxford at the age of 15. Six years after, having taken his degree, he became tutor to the eldest son of Lord Hardwick, afterward Earl of Devonshire. In 1610 he went abroad with his pupil, making the tour of France and Italy; and after his return became acquainted with Bacon, Raleigh, Ben Jonson, and other distinguished men. But it was not till he had reached the age of 40 that he published, in 1628, his first work, a translation of *Thucydides*.

He was deeply afflicted by the death of the Earl of Devonshire in 1626, and by that of his pupil in 1628. He afterward went abroad with the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, remaining for some time in France; but in 1631 resumed his connection with the Devonshire family by becoming tutor to the young earl, the son of his former pupil, a boy of 13.

In 1634 he went to Paris, and returned to England in 1637, having applied himself during that time to the composition of his first original work, entitled *Elementa Philosophica de Cive* (1642). He soon after published two small treatises, entitled *Human Nature* and *De Corpore Politico*. In 1651 he published the *Leviathan*, the fullest and perhaps the best-known exposition of his views on mind, politics, morals, and religion.

After the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, dreading the civil troubles, he returned to Paris. In 1647 he was appointed mathematical tutor to the Prince of Wales, afterward Charles II., by whom he was highly esteemed; but his writings were so obnoxious to the royalist clergy and to all other sects that Charles was induced to part with him, and he fled in alarm to England. There he found himself safe, the Protestant Government according to him the most ample toleration. After the Restoration, however, altho Charles granted him a pension of £100 a year, his views were condemned by Parliament in 1666, and he was in danger of still severer measures. His last works were a translation of Homer and a history of the civil wars. He died December 4, 1679, in his ninety-second year. (For a review of his theories and views, see *POLITICAL SCIENCE*.)

HOLLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICS.

The constitution of the Netherlands after its reconstruction as a kingdom dates from 1815, revised in 1848 and 1887. It established a constitutional and hereditary monarchy. The executive power is given to the sovereign; the legislative power rests with him and the States-General, consisting of two chambers. The Upper Chamber has 50 members, elected by the provincial States from the privileged classes; the Second Chamber has 100 deputies, elected by all male citizens who have paid 10 guilders in ground tax or a certain corresponding amount as direct tax. The total number of electors is about 295,000, or 1 in 15 persons. There is a ministerial council of eight department heads and a deliberative State council of 14 members appointed by the sovereign, and over which the sovereign presides. The kingdom is divided into 11 provinces and 1123 communes, with considerable local autonomy. The total population in 1889 was 4,511,415 on an area of 12,648 English square miles, or 374 to the square mile. The surplus of births over deaths is large. The population is largely Protestant. In 1889, 2,194,649 belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church and 1,596,482 to the Roman Catholic Church. Education is general, but not compulsory nor

necessarily free. There are four universities, very numerous special schools, middle-class schools, and elementary schools. (See EDUCATION.)

The revenue in 1894 was 132,940,890 guilders, and the expenditure, 131,491,882 guilders. The principal sources of revenue are excise duties, direct taxes (land and personal), indirect taxes, and to a small extent imports—Holland having only a fiscal and not a protectionist tariff. **Finances.** The national debt is 1,110,747,643 guilders. The imports in 1894 were 1,461,000,000 guilders, and the exports, 1,115,000,000 guilders. Agriculture flourishes in Friesland, where the finest cattle are raised. The most important manufactures are cheese, gin, cocoa, chocolate, potteries, linens. The fisheries have declined, but still bring in large revenues. Commerce is large. In 1892, 1365 sailing vessels, of which 491 were Dutch, and 7364 steamers, of which 2045 were Dutch, entered the Dutch ports.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

In Holland wealth is very unequally divided. Wages are very low, and taxation, being indirect, falls mainly on the producer; but the people are very frugal and industrious, and on small means maintain an unusual appearance of comfort and decency. The labor movement has a firm hold in Holland. Trade-unions are numerous, but not like the English unions, many of them being survivals of ancient guilds.

Socialism entered Holland in 1869 with the International (*q.v.*), but did not endure. In 1878 Domela Nieuwenhuis, a retired Protestant minister, a man of great capacity and zeal, reopened the socialist movement, starting the *Recht Voor Allen*, and founding the Social Democratic Union. In 1887 he was imprisoned for political reasons, but in 1888 elected to the Legislature.

In 1889 a Social Democratic League was founded. Cooperation was attempted in connection with the socialist movement, as in Belgium, but did not largely succeed, tho some co-operative stores at the Hague are still carried on. Latterly Mr. Nieuwenhuis (*q.v.*) has turned away from political socialism and developed anarchist communist views. Most of the Dutch socialists, however, follow the program of German socialism and have several journals.

Wages of skilled artisans and factory hands vary from 18 cents to 22 cents. Agricultural wages are greatly depressed. (For an account of the Dutch labor colonies, see LABOR COLONIES.)

Reference: The Report on Holland of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor.

HOLLAND, HENRY SCOTT, was born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, England, in 1847, and was educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. After some years of residence at Oxford as student of Christ Church he became canon of Truro (1882), and of St. Paul's, London (1884). He is one of the leaders in the Anglican Church. Besides his notable share in *Lux Mundi*, he has written many books, such as *In Behalf of Belief* and *The City of God*. He was principal founder of the Christian Social

Union (*q.v.*) in 1889, and is chairman of the energetic London branch of the Union, for which he edited *A Lent in London* (1895), a course of sermons on social subjects. He is in politics and reform an outspoken leader in Anglican Christian Socialism.

HOLYOKE, GEORGE JACOB, was born in Birmingham, England, in 1817. The son of an iron-worker, he was educated in the mechanics' institute and taught mathematics. In 1837 he heard Robert Owen, and became one of his "social missionaries" stationed at Sheffield. In 1841, in lecturing at Cheltenham, he gave a novel turn to a Bible passage, and was imprisoned six months for blasphemy. He is sometimes called the father of secularism, being neither theistic nor atheistic. For several years he edited *The New Moral World*, and then for 15 years *The Reasoner*. To abolish "the taxes on knowledge" he printed an unstamped newspaper till his fines amounted to £600,000. Becoming interested in cooperation, he identified himself with the cause, and published *The History of Cooperation in Rochdale*, which is said to have led to the formation of 250 co-operative societies. His *History of Cooperation in England* (2 vols.) appeared in 1875-78; *The Rochdale Pioneers* in 1882. Besides these he has written numerous tracts and papers and innumerable newspaper articles on cooperation and on secularism. His life is told in *Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life* (1892).

HOMESTEAD AND EXEMPTION LAWS.—The homestead may be defined as the house and the land connected therewith, which forms the immediate residence of a family. The provisions of law by which homesteads are secured beyond reach of creditors or liabilities on the part of their owners are of modern growth. The Homestead Law of the United States, tho long agitated and several times passed by the House of Representatives, and tho antedated by the like laws of several States, was not enacted by Congress till May 20, 1862. Altho often abused (see PUBLIC DOMAIN), it has proved one of the most beneficent as well as successful laws ever passed. It has opened up to immediate settlements millions of acres of public lands, and has attracted to this country millions of our best citizens. By its provisions any citizen or applicant for citizenship over 21 years of age may enter upon 160 acres of any unappropriated public lands, graded at \$1.25 per acre, or 80 acres of such lands, valued at \$2.50 per acre, by the Government on payment of the nominal fee of \$5 to \$10. After five years' actual residence on the land, a patent thereof is issued to the settler by the general land officer at Washington. This patent is a valid title from the United States. If the purchaser wishes to complete his title in less than five years, he can only do so by purchase. No individual is permitted to acquire more than 160 acres, tho there is no limit to the amount he can purchase. There is a proviso that no lands acquired under the homestead act can be liable for any debts of the settler contracted before the issuing of the patent for his homestead. The exemption laws of various States vary all the

way from values of \$500 in Maine, to \$5000 in California.

HOMESTEAD, STRIKE AT.—In July, 1892, a serious difficulty arose in the iron and steel works of Messrs. Carnegie & Co., Homestead, Pa., employing several thousand men. Wages had been for many years fixed in these works by a sliding scale based upon the selling price of steel billets. (See AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.) The wages were high for many of the men, but a considerable degree of skill is required for the work, which also, in some cases, makes great demands upon the health and strength of the workers, owing to the high temperature of the workshops in which the molten iron has to be worked. The scale agreed upon in 1889 was to expire on June 30, 1892; and when that date approached, the owners gave notice of a desire to reduce the basis from \$26.50 a ton to \$23, and to make the scale terminable at the beginning of January instead of at the beginning of July. To this the employees objected, because in the middle of winter they could not afford a cessation of work, and would not be in a position to resist any unwelcome demands made by the employers. The number of men actually affected by the cut-down was not large, but the delegates of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, in the name of the employees, rejected the proposed scale. The employers retaliated by formally discharging all who refused their terms and announcing that they would hold no further negotiation with the association as such. A virtual lockout followed, for tho the company had nominally severed all connection with the discharged employees, they subsequently issued a notice that "all the old hands who did not return by a certain date would lose their positions." Further Messrs. Carnegie & Co. had provided against the contingency of a strike or lock-out during the previous six weeks by building a fence round the works three miles long and 12 ft. high upon a parapet 3 ft. in height, and covered with barbed wire, so that the operatives called the works Fort Frick. Having prepared the works to stand a siege, they proceeded to obtain a force of Pinkerton special constables to enable them to introduce non-union labor to take the place of the strikers. Negotiations for the supply of this force had been begun even before the lock-out was declared, tho the men were not introduced until after application had been made to the sheriff for a guard to protect the property of the company. The officials of the Amalgamated Association, on their side, offered to provide such a guard; but their offer was refused by the sheriff on the ground that tho they might prevent destruction of property, they would not facilitate the introduction of non-union labor. Three hundred Pinkerton constables were brought by water to the works. They were introduced into the State unarmed, but brought arms and ammunition with them packed in boxes. On their way up the river these boxes were unpacked, so that when the force arrived at Homestead in the early morning they were fully armed. News of their coming had preceded them, and a large crowd of

strikers were in waiting to prevent their landing, having gone in behind the wall of steel rails. The testimony is conflicting as to which party fired first, but a skirmish ensued with a heavy volley of shots from the strikers, in which seven of the Pinkertons and strikers were killed and many others wounded. The struggle continued two days. On the opposite bank a brass ten-pound cannon was obtained and fired on the barges. The crowd also attempted to set fire to the barges by pouring burning oil upon the river, and finally the Pinkertons surrendered to the leaders of the Amalgamated Association, and were imprisoned in a rink until evening, when they were got away from the town by rail. On their way to the rink and to the station they were beaten and maltreated in spite of the efforts of the strike leaders to control the crowd, which was largely composed of Slavs, Hungarians, and women. Troops were sent to Homestead by the Governor of Pennsylvania and stationed there many weeks, the town being put under martial law. Great severity was displayed. Eleven workmen and spectators were killed in the fights. Some of the leaders were arrested and order was restored; for tho the manager, Mr. Frick, was afterward shot at by a Russian named Berkmann, this act seems to have been quite independent of the men on strike. For an unguarded expression of sympathy with Berkmann, a private (James) was strung up by his thumbs and flogged. After about six weeks a large number of the strikers returned to work, but a number of new men were subsequently engaged by the company, and many of the strikers did not return. A committee of Congress, appointed to investigate the employment of Pinkerton detectives, held an inquiry at Pittsburg into the circumstances of the strike. The evidence given before them showed that a conviction prevailed among the men, that since the introduction of the McKinley tariff the profits of the company had increased, and that there was, therefore, no occasion for any such reduction of wages as they proposed. Further, the strength of the feeling against the employment of Pinkerton special constables found general expression. Great excitement over the strike was roused through all the country. Subscriptions were raised by working men to support the strike. Lawyers were sent on to defend the strikers against persecution for using arms to defend their homes against "foreign invasion." The feeling against the Pinkertons ran very high. In Massachusetts an act prohibiting the employment of Pinkerton constables was passed in 1892, and a similar act was passed in New Jersey during the same year.

HOMICIDE.—The following summary is presented by Mr. Frederick H. Wines, special agent on pauperism and crime for the Eleventh Census in his *Bulletin* report:

"Of 82,329 prisoners in the United States June 1, 1890, the number charged with homicide was 7386, or 897 per cent.

"Omitting 35 who were charged with double crimes, 6958 of them (or 94.65 per cent.) were men, and 393 (or 5.35 per cent.) were women.

"As to color, 4425 were white, 2739 negroes, 94 Chinese, 1 Japanese, and 92 Indians.

"As to the nativity of the 4425 whites, 3157 were born in the United States, 1233 were foreign born, and the birthplace of 55 is unknown.

"A careful and accurate inquiry into the parentage of those born in the United States results in the mathematical conclusion that 56.14 per cent. of homicide committed by white men and women is chargeable to the native white element of the population, and 43.86 per cent. to the foreign element. On the same scale of 4614 to 3605, the negro contribution to homicide is represented by 5478.

"More than one half of the foreign-born whites are unaturalized, and nearly one fifth are unable to speak the English language.

"In respect to age, prisoners charged with homicide range from 11 to 86 years. One sixth of them are under 24 years, and more than one half under 33 years of age. Their average age is 34 years and 193 days. The lowest averages are among the Indians, 30 years and 180 days, and the negroes, 30 years and 279 days. The highest are among the Chinese, 37 years and 246 days, and the foreign-born whites, 4 years and 159 days. The average age of women charged with homicide is 32 years and 216 days. The ages at which homicide was committed are estimated to be at least 5 years below the averages here stated.

"Nearly one half of this group of prisoners were found to be unmarried. The number of unmarried was 3615; married, 2715; widowed, 703; divorced, 144.

"The percentage of those who can both read and write is 61.73; of those who can read only, 4.84; of those who can do neither, 33.43. Of the negroes, more than one half can neither read nor write; of the Indians, nearly two thirds. The percentage of illiteracy among the foreign born is nearly or quite three times as great as that among the native whites.

"The number who have received a higher education is 253, or 3.44 per cent.

"More than four fifths have no trade. The foreign born and their children have much more generally acquired a trade than the native whites, and the native whites than the negroes.

"The occupations of 6546 prior to incarceration have been ascertained, and are grouped as follows: professional, 102; official, 38; agricultural, 1893; lumber, 29; mining, 212; fisheries, 19; trade and commerce, 173; transportation, 380; manufactures and mechanical industries, 1086; personal service, 600; unskilled labor, 2253; miscellaneous, 21.

"The number employed at the time of their arrest was 5650; unemployed, 1225; unknown, 467.

"The habits of 973, in respect of use of intoxicating liquors, are not stated. The remaining 6378 are classed as follows: total abstainers, 1282; occasional or moderate drinkers, 3829; drunkards, 1267.

"The number arrested and imprisoned in the State of their residence was 6268; out of the State, 867.

"463 had served as soldiers in the civil war.

"534 were known to have served a previous term of imprisonment.

"224 were federal prisoners.

"As to their physical condition, 6140 were in good health, 600 ill, 283 insane, 24 blind, 14 deaf and dumb, 18 idiots, and 263 crippled.

"Of prisoners charged with homicide, more than one eighth are awaiting trial.

"Of those convicted, 158 are awaiting execution, 2405 sentenced to imprisonment for life, 845 for 20 years and over, 1438 for from 10 to 10 years, and 1395 for less than 10 years. The tendency to greater severity increases slightly from east to west, and from north to south. The average sentence less than life is 13 years and 292 days. It is greater for men than for women, and for negroes than for whites. The highest average sentence is pronounced upon Chinamen.

"The number of cases classed as murder is 5548, of which nearly one half received a life sentence. The number classed as manslaughter is 1704, of which nearly one half received a sentence of over 10 years.

"Of the 153 prisoners awaiting execution, 49 were found in the Kansas penitentiary, no date having been fixed for their execution by any governor since 1872. The death penalty is thus practically abolished in Kansas, tho not by statute. The only States in which it has been abolished by law are Rhode Island, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The figures here published do not indicate any increase in the number of homicides as the result of such abolition.

"In the Tenth Census there were reported 4668 prisoners charged with homicide. In the Eleventh Census the number is 7351. This is an increase of 59.53 per cent., while the increase in the total population has been only 24.86 per cent. But it is largely explained by the great length of sentences for homicide, in con-

sequence of which the majority of those reported in 1880 are again reported in 1890, together with those since convicted of the same offense.

"The county sheriffs have reported 156 executions during the calendar year 1889, of which 94 were in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions. They have also reported 117 lynchings, of which 94 (the same number) were in the same divisions. These reports are not believed to be complete, but are given for what they are worth."

Mr. Wines has also presented in a succinct but clear way the leading features of the law of homicide in the United States, showing its legal varieties and its varying definitions in the several States and Territories, together with the varying sentences authorized by law. He observes that the variations of the codes, in the adjustment of penalty to the guilt of homicide, are on their face absurd and indefensible, and that the claim that there is a natural standard of justice in the human mind, which will enable legislators to arrive at an approximately accurate judgment of the desert of crime, is contradicted by the record which legislative bodies have made for themselves. He suggests possible remedies for what he terms "the confused state of the criminal law."

Says Mr. Wines:

"Two impressions have been received in the course of this investigation, by the mathematical demonstration which it furnishes of the erroneous nature of certain prevalent beliefs.

"First. As to the effect of severity of punishment upon the volume of crime.

"It is popularly supposed that the prevalence of crime is chiefly due to inadequate punishment, and that the remedy for it is to be found in harsher laws and a more rigorous administration of them by the courts.

"If this were so, then there should be less homicide, relatively to the population, in the South Central division than in any other. The percentage of sentences for 20 years and over is there greater than in any other division, and the average sentence pronounced by the courts is longer. In these respects, the Western division stands almost side by side with the South Central. Yet the ratio of prisoners charged with homicide to the total population of these divisions is much higher than elsewhere; it is more than double the ratio for the other three divisions taken together.

"The lowest average sentence is in the North Atlantic division, where there are also the fewest death sentences, except in the South Central, and yet the ratio of prisoners charged with homicide in the North Atlantic division is less than in any other.

"The ratio of prisoners charged with homicide in Rhode Island, where the death penalty has been abolished, is lower than in any other State in the North Atlantic division, except in Massachusetts.

"The number of executions in 1880, as reported by the sheriffs, was relatively largest in the Western division, where it was 7.1 in 178,095 of the population. Yet it was in this very division that the ratio of prisoners charged with homicide was also greatest.

"The next largest ratios of executions to the population were in the South Atlantic (in 205,998) and South Central (in 215,155) divisions. Yet these are the divisions in which are also found the next largest ratios of prisoners charged with homicide.

"It is frequently said that lynching takes place where the law is not executed, and that it is designed as a protest against the inefficiency of the courts. But the sections in which there are the most executions are those in which there are also the most lynchings. The number of executions and of lynchings reported by the sheriffs in the Southern States is identically the same. It is further to be noted that the largest number both of executions and of lynchings is in the South Central division, where the average sentence for homicide is the longest, and where the percentage of long sentences imposed by the courts is the highest.

"Second. As to the causes of crime.

"A careful study of the figures here given will serve to correct the exaggerated impressions current as to the causation of crime.

"Ignorance is a cause of crime. Nevertheless, 66.57 per cent. of all prisoners charged with homicide have received the rudiments of an education, in English or in their own tongue, and 3.44 per cent. have received a higher education.

"Ignorance of a trade is a cause of crime. But 19.35 per cent. are returned as mechanics or apprentices, and a much larger number have the necessary skill to follow mechanical pursuits.

"Idleness is a cause of crime. But 82.21 per cent. were employed at the time of their arrest.

"Intemperance is a cause of crime, tho a less active and immediate cause than is popularly supposed. But 20.10 per cent. were total abstainers, and only 19.87 per cent. are returned as drunkards.

"All of these causes, and others which might be named, are in fact only contributory causes, whose operation is secondary and indirect. External circumstances facilitate or hinder the commission of crime. They operate as a stimulant to the criminal impulse or as a check upon it. But the root of crime is not in circumstance, but in character. The saying of the Great Teacher will forever remain true; 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders,' Science confirms the moral teaching of religion."

The homicides in the United States, according to the record kept by the Chicago *Tribune*, were as follows from 1886-95 :

YEARS.	Murders and Homicides.	Legal Executions.	Lynchings.
1886.....	1,449	83	133
1887.....	2,335	79	123
1888.....	2,184	87	144
1889.....	3,597	98	175
1890.....	4,290	102	127
1891.....	5,906	123	192
1892.....	6,791	107	236
1893.....	6,615	126	200
1894*.....	7,747	112	165
1895†.....	7,900	113	160

The figures in the first column represent manslaughter of all kinds when perpetrated by an individual, whether by premeditation or passion, or by an insane person, or in self-defense, rioting, duels, and resisting arrest by officers of the law. The number of homicides in the partially reported year 1894 is swollen by the deaths of rioters and others in the strike disturbances of July. The percentage of executions to killings in the nine years included in the table is 2.20. The percentage of killings to total deaths from all causes, same period (estimated), is 0.52, or about 52 per 10,000.

Italy takes the lead of European nations, with an average annual crop of murders of 2470, a ratio per 10,000 deaths of 29.4 ; Spain follows, with a ratio of 23.8, and 1200 murders ; Austria, ratio of 8.8, and 600 murders ; France, ratio of 8.0, and 662 murders ; England, ratio of 7.1, and 377 murders. The figures, however, represent actual murders, not homicides from all causes, as do those in the United States table.

In England, in the reign of Henry VIII., there were 71,400 persons hanged or beheaded ; in one year 300 beggars were executed for soliciting alms. In 1820 no less than 46 persons were hanged in England for forging Bank of England notes, some of which were afterward asserted to be good. Capital punishment was

abolished in Italy in 1875, and murders increased 42 per cent.

HOPEDALE was an attempt at religious communism about the same time as the more famous attempt at Brook Farm. As the latter was the outcome of Unitarianism, so Hopedale was the outcome of Universalism. Its founder was Rev. Acton Ballou (*q.v.*). Milford was the site of the community. Its first compact dates from January, 1841, before Brook Farm ; but the community did not actually commence operations till April, 1842. Hopedale lasted much longer than Brook Farm, continuing till 1856 or 1857. In 1854 it was at its highest point of success and hopefulness. The community was originally called Fraternal Community No. 1, and numbered about 30 individuals.

By 1851 the community came to own about 500 acres, consisting of about 30 new dwelling-houses, three mechanic shops, with water power, carpentering and other machinery, and a small chapel used for educational and religious purposes. At the same date it had about 36 families, besides single persons—some 175 persons in all. According to a tract written by Mr. Ballou himself in 1851, the leading characteristics of Hopedale were as follows :

"1. It is a church of Christ (so far as any human organization of professed Christians, within a particular locality, have the right to claim that title) based on a simple declaration of faith in the religion of Jesus Christ, as He taught and exemplified it, according to the Scriptures of the New Testament, and of acknowledged subjection to all the moral obligations of that religion. No person can be a member who does not cordially assent to this comprehensive declaration. Having given sufficient evidence of truthfulness in making such a profession, each individual is left to judge for him or herself, with entire freedom, what abstract doctrines are taught, and also what external religious rites are enjoined in the religion of Christ. No precise theological dogmas, ordinances, or ceremonies are prescribed or prohibited. In such matters all the members are free, with mutual love and toleration, to follow their own highest convictions of truth and religious duty, answerable only to the great Head of the true Church Universal. But in practical Christianity this church is precise and strict. There its essentials are specific. It insists on supreme love to God and man—that love which 'worketh no ill' to friend or foe. It enjoins total abstinence from all God-contemning words and deeds ; all unchastity ; all intoxicating beverages ; all oath-taking ; all slaveholding and pro-slavery compromises ; all war and preparations for war ; all capital and other vindictive punishments ; all insurrectionary, seditious, mobocratic, and personal violence against any government, society, family, or individual ; all voluntary participation in any anti-Christian government, under promise of unqualified support—whether by doing military service, commencing actions at law, holding office, voting, petitioning for penal laws, aiding a legal posse by injurious force, or asking public interference for protection which can be given only by such force ; all resistance of evil with evil ; in fine, from all things known to be

* To October 17, 1894.

† To November 18, 1895.

sinful against God or human nature. This is its acknowledged obligatory righteousness. It

does not expect immediate and exact perfection of its members, but holds up this practical Christian standard, that all may do their utmost to reach it, and at least be made sensible of their shortcomings. Such are the peculiarities of the Hopedale Community as a church.

"2. It is a civil State, a miniature Christian republic, existing within, peaceably subject to and tolerated by the governments of Massachusetts and the United States, but otherwise a commonwealth complete within itself. Those governments tax and control its property according to their own laws, returning less to it than they exact from it. It makes them no criminals to punish, no disorders to repress, no paupers to support, no burdens to bear. It asks of them no corporate powers, no military or penal protection. It has its own constitution, laws, regulations, and municipal police; its own legislative, judiciary, and executive authorities; its own educational system of operations; its own methods of aid and relief; its own moral and religious safeguards; its own fire insurance and savings institutions; its own internal arrangements for the holding of property, the management of industry, and the raising of revenue; in fact, all the elements and organic constituents of a Christian republic on a miniature scale. There is no red republicanism in it, because it eschews blood; yet it is the seedling of the true democratic and social republic, wherein neither caste, color, sex, nor age stands proscribed, but every human being shares justly in 'liberty, equality, and fraternity.' Such is the Hopedale Community as a civil State.

"3. It is a universal religious, moral, philanthropic, and social reform association. It is a missionary society, for the promulgation of New Testament Christianity, the reformation of the nominal church, and the conversion of the world. It is a moral suasion temperance society on the teetotal basis. It is a moral power anti-slavery society, radical and without compromise. It is a peace society on the only impregnable foundation of Christian non-resistance. It is a sound theoretical and practical woman's rights association. It is a charitable society for the relief of suffering humanity, to the extent of its humble ability. It is an educational society, preparing to act an important part in the training of the young. It is a socialistic community, successfully actualizing, as well as promulgating, practical Christian socialism—the only kind of socialism likely to establish a true social state on earth. The members of this community are not under the necessity of importing from abroad any of these valuable reforms, or of keeping up a distinct organization for each of them, or of transporting themselves to other places in search of sympathizers. Their own Newcastle can furnish coal for home consumption, and some to supply the wants of its neighbors. Such is the Hopedale Community as a universal reform association on Christian principles."

These high hopes were for a time realized. Acton Ballou worked faithfully to carry them

into effect. That they finally failed was no fault of Mr. Ballou. At first Mr. Ballou was the head of the community, but ultimately he was superseded by a Mr. G. D. Draper, a sharp, enterprising business man. He soon became the business spirit of the whole community. He had a brother in business with him who had no sympathy with the community. Mr. Draper became more and more interested in lucrative outside concerns. Meanwhile, he had bought up three fourths of the joint stock. Finally, becoming dissatisfied with the community, he paid the debts and compelled its suspension.

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL.—This association was incorporated March 16, 1893, under the name of the National Columbian Household Economic Association, but at its meeting in April, 1894, the word Columbian was dropped from its name. The object of the association, as declared in its constitution, is:

"1. To awaken the public mind to the importance of establishing bureaus of information where there can be an exchange of wants and needs between employer and employed, in every department of home and social life. 2. To promote among members of the association a more scientific knowledge of the economic value of various foods and fuels; a more intelligent understanding of correct plumbing and drainage in our homes, as well as need for pure water and good light in a sanitarily built house. 3. To secure skilled labor in every department in our homes, and to organize schools of household science and service."

The management is vested in a board of 16 directors, with headquarters in Chicago, but composed of members from all States. The association holds annual meetings, and has the following standing committees:

1. Committee on Sanitary Condition of the Home Correct Plumbing and Ventilation, Light, Heat, etc. The duties of this committee shall be to establish home science clubs and to make a study of sanitary science.

2. Committee on Cooking Schools, Industrial Schools, Housekeepers' Emergency Bureau, Cooperative Laundries, Cooperative Bakeries, Training School for Servants, Kitchen Gardens and Public Kindergartens, Diet Kitchens, Mothers' and Nurse Girls' classes, and Training School for Nurses. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work of each school and institution, and to direct all who wish to know where and at what hour one may visit these schools.

3. Committee on Food Supply. The duties of this committee shall be to prepare a descriptive list of wholesale and retail foods, such as meat, vegetables, butter, eggs, etc.; to compare New York and Chicago with other markets, and furnish statements of what articles of food are most desirable to buy, either in large or small quantities, with household recipes for cooking and all other matters relating to household economics.

4. Committee on Housekeepers' Clubs. The duties of this committee shall be to formulate plans to simplify housework in village communities, to suggest plans for cooperation in laundries, bakeries, and kitchens, to discuss plans for profitable market gardening, poultry and egg-raising on a small scale, and to furnish information on all topics connected with housework.

5. Committee on Sewing. The duties of this committee shall be to keep itself informed of the work done in various schools where sewing is taught, and give outlines of the methods used.

6. Press Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to secure the publication of notes concerning the National Household Economic Association in some journal or periodical in the North, South, East, West, and Middle sections of the country, in order to keep alive public interest in the science of household

economics; each member of the committee taking charge of the matter in her own section.

All women may become members of this association by the payment of an annual fee of \$.

The association works mainly not by establishing new clubs, but by inducing existing woman's clubs to establish departments of household economics, for the study of how better to manage the home, educate better servants, have more healthy food, etc. The Honorary President of the association is Mrs. Potter Palmer; the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Alice J. Whitney, 453 Belden Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Helen Campbell (*q. v.*) has been appointed National lecturer for the association, and since the syllabus of her lectures have been adopted as a part of the program of the association, we print this in full, as giving something of the scope of this important subject:

I.—THE STATICS AND DYNAMICS OF HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY.

The relation of household economics to life. Structural and functional organization of the household; the essentials of each and their interdependence. Arts, crafts, and sciences involved. The low popular opinion of household economics, its cause and effect. Personality and generalization. Savage and child to scientist. Evolution of household economics. Division of labor on sex lines and the biological reason for this division. Ascent of man economically.

References: The Place of Woman in Primitive Culture, by O. T. Mason; Man and Woman, by Havelock Ellis; Primitive Culture, by Edward Tylor; Das Weib, by Dr. Herman Ploss; Dynamic Sociology, by Lester F. Ward, pp. 552-61 and 656-67; The Evolution of Marriage, by Charles Letourneau; The Evolution of Sex, by Geddes and Thompson; Prehistoric Man, by Daniel Wilson; Origin of Civilization, by Sir John Lubbock; Buckle's History of Civilization; The Story of My House, by G. H. Ellwanger; The City Residence, by W. B. Tuthill; Das Deutsche Zimmer der Gothik und Renaissansens Des Barock—Rococo und Zopfstitz, by Dr. Georg Hirth (München and Leipzig); Convenient Houses, with Fifty Plans for the House-keeper, by Louis H. Gibson; Homes in City and Country, by Russell Sturgis, *et al.*

II.—THE HOUSE.

What is a house? Relation of house to human life. Value of human production in proportion to durability and usability. Organic structure of the house with its evolution. The kitchen and derivatives. Bedroom and derivatives. Parlor and derivatives. Relation of differentiation and specialization in building to the same processes in social evolution: hut to hotel; tent to tenement. The typical farmhouse. Industries represented. The rudimentary shop. Effect of habitat. Soil, location, foundation, elevation. Topographical maps. From isolation to aggregation. The City Beautiful.

References: The House that Jill Built, by E. C. Gardner; Homes and How to Make Them, by E. C. Gardner; Villages and Village Life, by Nathanael C. Eggleston; Hygeia, a Model City of Health, by Dr. Benjamin W. Richardson; The City Without a Church, by Henry Drummond; The Ancient City, by Coulanges; The Easiest Way, by Helen Campbell, chap. i.; An Ideal Kitchen, by Maria Parloa; Health and Comfort in Houses, by J. P. Hayward, Popular Science Monthly, vol. iv, p. 69.

III.—THE BUILDING OF THE HOUSE.

The place of architecture in household economics. Relation to other arts. Primitive architecture and its development—domestic, civic, and ecclesiastic. The city and the king. Ancient architecture, public and private. Herculaneum and Pompeii. Character of Oriental home. Effect of house on its occupants. The house and the family. Confusion of domestic with industrial architecture. Rooms and their relation. Existing conditions of domestic architecture in Europe and America. Built to live in and built to sell. Limitation of the private home. Gridiron topography. Need of combination and juxtaposition. Essentiality of the separate home. Our present trend.

References: Tuthill's History of Architecture, chap. xiv.; Ferguson's History of Architecture; Hans und Halle, by Dr. Conrad Lange, p. 12; Leben der Griechen und Römer, by Erckm. Kuhl und Köner, 1893; Das Haus, p. 558; Pericles, by Evelyn Abbott; Greek Home Life, chap. xvii.; Landscape Gardening, by S. V. Parsons; Discourses on Architecture, by Viollet Le Duc; The Habitations of Man, by Viollet Le Duc; Our Colonial Homes, by Samuel Adams Drake; Rural Homes, by Gervase Wheeler; Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England from the Conquest to the End of the Thirteenth Century, by T. Hudson Trower; House Building, by Helen Churchill, chap. xiv., in the Woman's Book.

IV.—ORGANISM OF THE HOUSE.

Structural necessities. Vital processes of the house. Air, light, heat, water, ventilation. Troglodytes, ancient and modern. Proportion of air to occupancy. Air and women. Air and boys. "Night Air." Ventilation, public and private. Our schools. Light: its influence on the body and spirit. Sun-baths. The artificial light habit. Heat, natural and artificial. Methods of application. Plumbing. Water, clean and unclean. Drainage, private and public; its evolution history, present methods and tendencies.

References: Sanitary House Inspection, by W. P. Gerhard; Drainage and Sewerage of Dwellings, by W. P. Gerhard; The Drainage of Habitable Dwellings, by W. L. Brandmore; How to Drain a House, by George E. Waring; The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns, by George E. Waring; The Separate System of Sewerage, by Staley and Pierson; Ventilation and Heating, by Dr. John S. Bellamy; Women, Plumbers and Doctors, by Mrs. H. M. Plunkett; Hygiene and Public Health, by Louis C. Parkes, M.D.; Hygiene and Public Health, edited by A. H. Buck, M.D.; Practical Hygiene, by E. A. Parker, M.D.; Hand-book of Hygiene and Sanitary Science, by George Wilson; Hygiene, by A. News-holme, M.D.; The American Health Primers, edited by W. W. Keene, M.D.; Our Homes, by Dr. Henry Harts-horne; Healthy Houses, by Fleeming Jenkin; Petten-kofer on Air in Relation to Clothing, Soil, and Dwell-ings; Dulce Domum; or, The Plumber and Sanitary Houses, by S. S. Hellyer; Sanitary Arrangements for Dwellings, by W. Eassie; Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Board of Health; The Sanitarian, a monthly magazine of health; The Plumber and Sanitary Engineer, a bi-weekly journal; The Sanitary Record (London); Defects in Plumbing and Drainage Work, by Francis Vacher; The Easiest Way, by Heler Campbell, chaps. ii. and iii.; Leeds on Ventilation Hygiene in the Home, by West Roosevelt, M.D., vol. i., chap. vii. of the Woman's Book; Hygiene and Public Health, edited by Albert Buck, M.D.; Public Health Problems, by John E. I. Sykes; The Law of Public Health and Safety, by Leroy Parkes and Robert Worthington; Plumbing Problems, from the Sanitary Engineer, published by Engineering Record, 1892; House Lighting by Electricity, by Angelo Fahie; American Plumbing, by Alfred Revill; Sanitary Appliances for Buildings, by F. Colyer; The Water Meter, by W. G. Kent; Ventilation and Heating, by Billings; A Practical Treatise on Foundations, by W. M. Patton; Sewage Disposal, by Waring Kitchen Boiler Connections, published by D. Williams; Notes on the Ventilation and Warming of Houses Churches, Schools, and Other Buildings, by Ernest H. Jacob (Manual of Health Series).

V.—DECORATION.

Use and value of decoration in nature and art: its laws and principles. Relation to pictorial art. Evolution and history. Special development in races. Associate conditions in cause and effect. Racial influences. Periods. Our present level—the highest, the lowest, the average. Masculine and feminine decoration. "How to make home beautiful." The sense of beauty in women. "Traces of a woman's hand." Survivals of savagery. "Home-made," "ready-made," "born and not made." The power of the homemaker. Educational and moral value of truth in art. Artistic sins and their moral counterparts. Homes, schools, and prisons. Practical possibilities. "Often in a wooden house a golden room you find." National importance of elevation in art.

References: Hints on Household Taste, by Sir Charles Eastlake; The House Beautiful, by Clarence Cook; The House Comfortable, by Agnes Ormsbee; House Decoration, by Mary Gav Humphreys, chap. xv., in the Woman's Book; House Decoration, by Rhoda and Agnes Garrett; Art and the Formation of

Taste, by Lucy Crane; Lectures on Art, by William Morris; Hopes and Fears for Art, by William Morris; Woman's Handwork in Modern Homes, by Constance Cary Harrison; Outlines of the History of Art, by Dr. Wilhelm Lübke, edited by Clarence Cook; The History of Ancient Art, from the German of John Winckelmann; The Two Paths: Lectures on Art and its Application to Decoration and Manufactures, by John Ruskin; Handbook of Greek Archaeology, by A. S. Murray—Mural Decoration, pp. 348-444; Handbook of Pottery and Porcelain, by Hodder Westropp; History of Ancient Pottery, by Samuel Birch; A Short History of Tapestry, by Eugene Müntz, translated by Miss Louisa A. Davis; Aesthetics, by Eugène Véron; The Pottery and Porcelain of the United States, by Edwin Atlee Barber; Domestic Decoration, by A. F. Oakey, Harper's Magazine, vol. lxxviii, p. 579; American Decorative Art, by M. G. Humphreys, Art Journal, vol. xxxvi, p. 325; Decoration and Furnishing, by C. F. Armytage, American Architect, vol. xviii, p. 116; Decorative Decorations, by G. H. Ellwanger; A History of Furniture, by Albert Jacquemart, translated from the French, and edited by Mrs. Bury Palliser; The Claims of Decorative Art, by Walter Crane; Polychromatic Decoration, as Applied to Buildings in the Mediæval Styles, by W. and G. Audsley; Household Art, edited by Candace Wheeler; Practical Designing—Carpets, Alex. Millar; Woven Fabrics, Ar. Silver; Pottery, Wilton P. Rix; Tiles, Owen Carter; Metal Work, R. L. B. Rathbone; Home Handicrafts, edited by Charles Peters; Decoration and Furniture of Town Houses, by Robert W. Edis; Art in the House, by Jacob Von Falke (translated by Charles C. Perkins); Album of Decorative Figures, by J. Moyr Smith; Handbook of Ornament, by Franz Sales Meyer; Decorator and Furnisher (New York); Modern Home Decoration, Illustrated Monthly, Int. News Co. (New York); House Beautiful, by W. C. Gannett; Aesthetic Principles, by H. Marshall, 1890; American Architecture, by Montgomery Schuyler; Evolution of Decorative Art, by H. Balfour; Birth and Development of Ornament, by Hulme; Renaissance Architecture and Ornament in Spain, by A. N. Prentice.

VI.—FURNISHING.

Organic relation of furniture to humanity. Man manufactures extensions of his body while the animals grow them. Laws of construction. Use and beauty. Practical conditions. Destructibility. Relative value of materials, mineral, vegetable, and animal. Limitations of applied beauty. Essential principles, use, ease, and economy. Evolution of house furniture; the seat, the couch, the table, the cupboard, the vessel. Vessel, utensil, tool. History, distribution, present status. Relation to class; industry, wealth, sex, age. Children's furniture. Carpets, rugs, and cushions. Upholstery. Specialization and personality in furniture. Mobility as a factor in evolution. Ideals.

References: Illustrated History of Furniture, by Frederick Litchfield; Colonial Furniture of New England, by Irving Whitall Lyon; Furnishing and Decoration, by G. F. Armytage, American Architect, vol. xviii, p. 116; Domestic Furniture, by G. T. Robinson, Art Journal, vol. xxxvi, p. 373; House Furnishing, by Mary Gay Humphreys, the Woman's Book, chap. xv.; The Home Life of the Greeks and Romans, by Kuhl and Köner, chapter on furniture; Furniture, by Clarence Cook, Scribner's Magazine, vol. x., p. 161; vol. xi., pp. 342, 809; vol. xii., pp. 168, 796; Furniture, by Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Macmillan's Magazine, vol. viii., p. 138; The Art of Furnishing, Cornhill, vol. xxxi., p. 535; Good and Bad Furniture, All the Year Round, vol. xxviii., p. 42; Arts and Crafts Essays, 1893; Wood Carvings and Furniture in the Style Louis XV., by A. Hoffmann; Furniture, by F. S. Meyer; Practical Decorative Upholstery, by P. A. Moreland.

VII.—HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRIES.

Structure and function. Functional development of society and domestic industries. Order of appearance of domestic industries and progress toward higher specialization. Relation of work to worker. Effect of special industries on body and mind. Exercise more important than environment; action than reaction. The division of labor. Sex in industry. Distinction one of degree, not of kind. Jane-of-all-trades. Arrested development and suppressed specialization. Effect of racial growth. Present condition of domestic industries in relation to social economy and personal development. The two remaining functions, nutritive and excretory.

References: The Place of Woman in Primitive Culture, by O. E. Mason; Woman, Church, and State, by Matilda Joslyn Gage, p. 456; Women Wage Earners, by Helen Campbell, chap. xii.

VIII.—NUTRITION.

Nutritive function of the household in relation to the individual; in relation to society. Processes of nutrition in organ; organism and organization. Importance of nutrition to life and of its secondary processes to development. The struggle for existence. Man's victory. No longer a struggle but a growth. Household nutrition merely a stage in the process. The kitchen, the stomach of the house. Primitive nutrition simple and private. Increase of complexity and coordination. From bone to banquet. Physiological needs. Waste and supply. Age and occupation. Racial dietetics. Theories and facts. Some of our errors. Control of nutrition and its consequences.

References: Influence of Foods on Civilization, by R. A. Proctor, North American Review, vol. cxxxv., p. 547; Science Applied to the Production and Consumption of Food, by Edward Atkinson, Science, vol. vi., p. 234; The Easiest Way, by Helen Campbell, chaps. vii. to ix.; The Physiology of Common Life, by George Henry Lewes; The Chemistry of Common Life, by James F. W. Johnston; The Handbook of Household Science, by Edward Youmans; Food and Feeding, by Sir Henry Thompson; The Philosophy of Eating, by A. J. Bellows; A Course of Practical Elementary Biology, by John Bidgood; Food, by A. H. Church; The Chemistry of Cookery, by W. Mattieu Williams; The Perfect Way in Diet, by Dr. Anna Kingsford; Foods, by Edward Smith; Food and Dietetics, by Dr. Chambers; Food and Dietetics, by Dr. Pavy; Food and Digestion, by Dr. Brinton; Food, by Dr. Leteby; Text-Book of Physiology, by M. Foster, M.D.; How Plants Grow, by Asa Gray; The Vegetable Kingdom, by E. A. Rand; What to Eat and How to Eat It, by R. F. Beardsley; Food in Health and Disease, by B. Burney Yeo, M.D.; Outlines for the Management of Diet, by Dr. Edward Tunis Bruen; Foods for the Fat, edited by Dr. C. W. Greene; Food for the Invalid, the Convalescent, the Dyspeptic, and the Gouty, by Dr. J. Milner Fothergill; The Science of Nutrition, by Edward Atkinson; Principles of Chemical Philosophy, by Josiah Cooke; Inorganic Chemistry, by Dr. Remsen; Human Physiology, by Landis and Sterling.

IX.—FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION.

Chemical properties of foods. Animal and vegetable foods; mineral constituents. Nutritive values. Our food supply "from the ground up." Preparatory processes, general and special. Diets. Vegetarianism. The cooking animal. Cooking as an art, a science, a handicraft, a profession. Apparatus and methods—primitive; ancient; modern; local. Our advance in this art as compared with others. Dietsaries for infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, age, and for the sick. Markets and marketing. Adulteration. Super-visions of foods. Civilized living.

References: Chemistry of Foods, by Dr. Beal; Chemistry of Foods, by Dr. Allen, Armour Institute; Food Materials and their Adulteration, by E. H. Richards; Chemistry of Cooking and Cleaning, by Ellen H. Richards; Food Adulteration, by Jesse P. Battershall; Food and its Adulterations, by Arthur Hill Hassall; Meat Inspection, by Thomas Whalley; Infectiousness of Milk, by the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture; Potable Water, by Floyd Davis; Physiology of Bodily Exercise, by Ferdinand Lagrange; Mrs. Lincoln's Boston Cook Book: What to Do and What Not to Do in Cooking; Just How, by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney; Mrs. Rorer's Philadelphia Cook Book; Practical Cooking and Dinner-Giving, by Mrs. Henderson; In the Kitchen, by Mrs. E. S. Miller; Good Living, a Practical Cook Book for Town and Country, by Sara Van Buren Brugière; French Dishes for American Tables, by Pierre Caron; Cuisine Classique, by Urbain Dubois; Carême, Gouffé, and Sayer; Diet for the Sick, by Mrs. Mary A. Henderson; Diet for the Sick, by Mary Boland; Catherine Owen's Books: Choice Cookery, Ten Dollars Enough, etc.; Canoe and Camp Cookery, by "Seneca," Forest and Stream Pub. Co. (New York); Miss Parloa's Camp Cookery; Delicate Feasting, by Theodore Child; Practical Sanitary and Economical Cooking, by Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel, The Lomb Prize Essay; The Easiest Way, by Helen Campbell, chap. xii.; Student Dietaries, by Mrs. Ellen H. Richards, New England Kitchen Magazine, 1895; How to Feed the Baby, by Dr. Charles Page.

X.—CLEANING AND ITS PROCESSES.

Cleaning the essential and permanent household industry. The excretory system of the household organism. Friction, exposure, and decay. Essential and necessary waste. The grave and the garret. Fuel and flies. The dirt we make. Cleaning, mechanical and chemical. Primitive household without excretory system. Semiannual attacks on dirt. Elements of cleaning processes, sweeping, dusting, and washing. Development and excesses. The New England housewife and her Dutch prototype. Fluff. Dust and its dangers. Bacteria and microbes. Antiseptic cleaning. Light and cleanliness, physical, mental, and moral. What it is to be clean, and the results.

References: Bacteria and their Products, by Germain/Sims Woodhead; Dust and its Dangers, by T. Mitchell Prudden; Chemistry of Cooking and Cleaning, by Mrs. Ellen H. Richards; The Chemistry of Cleaning, by Professor Vivian Lewis, Armour Institute; Thoughts About Dust, by M. A. Molineux, M.D., New England Kitchen Magazine, April, 1895; Dangerous Properties of Dust, by F. A. Abel, Nature, vol. xxvi., p. 19.

XI.—SERVICE.

The servant question. Total inadequacy of existing treatment. Failure to grasp essential distinction between service and labor. Service a condition peculiar to humanity. Philosophy of service. Division of labor and coordination. Primitive coordination compulsory. The army of Xerxes as illustration of its inferiority. Evolution of service. Effect of service on character. Status of domestic service in social economy. Present condition. Some secondary conditions of domestic service. The stranger within our gates. Reports of Bureaus of Labor. Philadelphia special inquiry in this connection. The training school and its results. Matters of life and death. Diploma and license. Servant, employee, artist, and professor.

References: The Servant Question, by Harriet Prescott Spofford; Domestic Service, by Professor Lucy Salmon, New England Magazine, 1893; Domestic Service, by Mrs. C. L. Stone; The Biddy Club, by Griffith A. Nicholas; Domestic Service, by E. P. Whipple, The Forum, vol. i., p. M: 25; Prisoners of Poverty, by Helen Campbell, Chapters on Domestic Service.

XII.—ORGANIZED LIVING.

Law of organization in individual and species. Organic evolution, racial, national, civic, domestic. Primitive conditions of household economy. The woman's world and the man's. How to "keep the boys at home." Survivals and rudiments. Effects on the brain. Strain of contending eras. Relation to progress. Home influence. The matrix of civilization. How we really live. Flat, club, hotel, and boarding-house. Reaction and compromise. Lines of development. Scientific prophecy. Asa Gray and his unknown butterfly. Our possibilities. The higher education and the higher life.

References: Man and Woman, by Havelock Ellis; The Evolution of Marriage, by C. H. Letourneau; Cooperation, by Mrs. C. L. Pierce; England's Ideal and other Papers on Social subjects, by Edward Carpenter; Essay on "Simplification of Living;" Civilization, its Cause and Cure, by Edward Carpenter (chapter on "Custom").

HOWARD, JOHN, was born at Enfield, England, in 1726. His father, a wealthy London merchant, apprenticed him to a grocer, but in 1742 he bought up his indenture. Until 1773 he lived a comparatively secluded life, distinguishing himself only in charity. He was made the high sheriff of Bedford in 1773, and the characteristic work of his life then began. Visiting the jails, he found them wretchedly defective; but what chiefly shocked him was that neither the jailer nor his subordinates were salaried officers, but were dependent for their livelihood on fees which they rigorously exacted from the prisoners themselves. Some whom the juries had declared not guilty, others in whom the grand jury had not found even such appearance of guilt as would warrant a trial,

others whose prosecutors had failed to appear, were frequently detained in prison for months after they had ceased to be in the position of accused parties, until they should have paid the fees of jail delivery. His prompt application to the justices of the county for a salary to the jailer in lieu of his fees was met by a demand for a precedent for charging the county with such an expense; and he went accordingly from county to county until his journey had extended to every town in England which contained a prison, but the object of his search eluded inquiry. But he did find so many abuses in prison management that he determined to devote himself to the reform of those abuses. The task cost him a fortune and the best remaining years of his life.

He reported his discoveries to the House of Commons, and at once an act was passed which provided for the liberation, free of all charges, of every prisoner against whom the grand jury failed to find a true bill, giving the jailer a sum from the county rate in lieu of the abolished fees. This was followed in June by another requiring justices of the peace to see that the walls and ceilings of all prisons within their jurisdiction were scraped and whitewashed once a year at least; that the rooms were regularly cleaned and ventilated; that infirmaries were provided for the sick, and proper care taken to get them medical advice; that the naked should be clothed; that underground dungeons should be used as little as could be; and generally that such courses should be taken as would tend to restore and preserve the health of the prisoners.

He then devoted himself for eight or nine years to an investigation of the prisons of Europe, overcoming many difficulties and braving many dangers. The publication of his large accumulation of facts had a direct and immediate influence upon prison legislation. The last five years of his life were chiefly devoted to researches as to the means which ought to be used in the prevention of the plague and all contagious diseases. In pursuit of knowledge on this subject he again traveled through Europe and Asia Minor, visiting hospitals, lazarettos and pest-houses of all kinds, and published the results of his researches in 1789. Attempting to make yet another European tour, he took a fever from a patient he was attending and died at Cherson in 1790. He was of a deeply religious temperament, and the greater part of his life shows that his enthusiasm of humanity was the unusual yet normal outcome of the sincerest piety. "He died a martyr after living an apostle." (See PENALOGY.)

HOWELLS, WILLIAM DEAN, was born at Martinsville, O., in 1837. His father was a printer, and of him he learned the printer's trade. He afterward became editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette* and the *Ohio State Journal*. He was United States Consul at Venice 1861-65, and in 1871 became editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, retaining this position till 1880. Since then he has produced a long list of writings, all of his works circulating largely in England, making his name almost as familiar there as in the United States. He conducted for several years "The Editor's Study" in *Harper's*

Magazine. He has interested himself in recent years very largely in social reform in various novels, and especially in his *A Traveller from Altruria*.

HUBER, VICTOR AIMÉ, who may be called the founder of German Christian socialism, was born in Stuttgart in 1800. He took a degree in medicine in 1820 at the University of Göttingen, but obtained, through the influence of his mother, a State stipendium. Throwing himself into the social and political movement of the times, he visited Paris, Lisbon, Hamburg, Edinburgh, Italy, and at last settled down in Bremen as one of the masters at the Merchants' School of that town. He became more than ever interested in social problems, but now from a religious standpoint.

In 1832 he procured a post at the University of Rostock, and a call to Marburg six years later. In 1839 he was elected as the representative of this collegiate body in the Hessian House of Representatives as an ultra-Conservative statesman. Friedrich Wilhelm IV., of Prussia, now induced him to come to Berlin and to found a Conservative periodical under royal patronage. As editor of this periodical, the *Janus*, Huber made it the vehicle for pressing his pet scheme of cooperation.

After the March revolution in 1848 this publication, which in many respects resembled the *Christian Socialist of England* and *L'Avenir* of France, was discontinued, and another method for rallying the friends of social reform on Conservative principles was made by Huber in forming his Association of Christian Order and Liberty. But this, too, proved unsuccessful. Huber found more favor, in truth, among the Social Radicals than in his own reactionary circles. His assistance was sought by some Liberals and Democrats who had lately established a "building society for the common good," which had for its object the improvement of the dwellings of the poor. Huber readily subscribed \$7000 to its funds and drew up its constitution. He also interested himself in the *Gesellenwater Kolping* and Bishop Ketteler (*q.v.*). But failing to interest the aristocratic classes of Berlin, he found a new home in the little town of Wenigerode, among the Hartz Mountains, and left only to pay visits to France, Belgium, and England, and thus became a living organ, so to speak, for international communication on the subject of cooperative association. He lived in daily companionship with laborers and artisans in order to raise them by personal contact to a higher level. In this he spared no sacrifice of time or money. He founded a loan society, an institution for smaller tradespeople, and a technical school for the instruction of young apprentices after leaving the ordinary schools, where he taught himself. He also called into existence a Christian Association of Journeymen. During the summer of 1869 he was prostrated by illness, and died July 19 of that year.

HUET, FRANÇOIS, was born at Villeau, in Beauce, in 1814. M. de Lavelle, his distinguished pupil, says of him (*Socialism of Today*, p. 253):

"At the age of 22 he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ghent, a post which he retained up to 1850. He was the disciple of a spiritualist philosopher, a man of very vigorous intellect, Bordas-Demoulin, and, through him, of Descartes and Plato. Protesting to the last against Ultramontanism and its new dogmas, they were the last Gallicans of the school of Pascal and Bossuet. About the year 1846 his philosophical studies led Huet to approach social questions, as has been the case with most of the philosophers of our times. . . . At Ghent, Huet collected around him a group of pupils, among whom was the author of this book, and from before 1848 we thoroughly studied, each with his own preferences, the various systems of social reform. . . . Huet also published, in 1864, *La Science de l'Esprit*. He presided over the education of Prince Milan, now King of Servia, and even followed him to Belgrade. Having returned to Paris to undergo treatment for a severe disease, he died from the effects of a surgical operation (1869). . . .

"For the basis of his system he takes the principles of 1789, and endeavors to realize in everything the motto, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.' His ideas on this point were, without his knowing it, similar to those of Fichte. . . . The following is a summary of them: Men are by right equal. They have the right to an opportunity to develop themselves. This means a right to property, which should be realized in the 'right to patrimony,' by virtue of which every person in a position to labor would obtain a share in the general wealth. 'Every year a division should be made of the patrimonial property left ownerless through deaths. All the young people of either sex, who during this year reach the age of either 14 or 25 years, should obtain a share, the share of each person of full age being double the share of each minor.' The right of hereditary succession is abolished, but gifts by will or *inter vivos* are authorized. Each person, however, can dispose only of property acquired by his own labor, and not of that received by way of gift or legacy. This goes to increase the common patrimony. 'Continuously fed from an inexhaustible source, the general patrimony would be composed, at any given time, of all the ancient patrimonial property and of all the subsequent accumulations of capital; for as these accumulations could only once change hands by way of gift, at the deaths of the donees they would go to swell the mass of the original patrimony. 'Leveling socialist as Huet is when he claims for all an equal right of accession to property, he is a thorough individualist on the question of the organization of labor. He rejects all State intervention; he does not like even corporations holding industrial capital. The individual, put in possession of 'his patrimony,' may work by himself, or in partnership with others, provided he do so freely, without any privileges or close corporations.'

M. Huet also published a charming book entitled *Le Règne Social du Christianisme*, containing a complete social theory based on Christianity, which Lavelle says has not met the attention it deserves only because it is too full of Christianity for the socialists and too full of socialism for Christians.

HUGHES, THOMAS, was born near Newbury, Berkshire, England, in 1823. He was educated at Rugby under Dr. Arnold, and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he was graduated in 1845. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1848. He was prominent in the Christian socialist movement of Maurice and Kingsley in 1849-50. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) He published his immortal *Tom Brown's School-days* (1857); *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861); *The Manliness of Christ* (1879), besides many lesser writings. From 1865-74 he sat in Parliament. In 1869 he became Queen's Counsel, and in 1882 a county court judge. In 1870 he visited the United States. Becoming interested in this country, the "New Rugby" colony was conceived. Fifty thousand acres were bought and 300 men were actually on the grounds, mainly sons of English farmers. Judge Hughes

was its active superintendent. Roads, cricket grounds, a hotel, and brick kiln were started. Cooperation and profit-sharing were attempted, but Judge Hughes was no financier, and it honorably failed. He died March 22, 1896.

HUGO, VICTOR MARIE, Vicomte, was born in 1802 at Besançon, where his father was commandant of the garrison. His youth was spent partly with his mother in Paris, partly in Italy and Spain, where his father held high appointments. He early acquired distinction by his poetry, and before he was 30 years of age his published works were numerous and famous. He led in a literary revolution whose followers—*la jeune France*—called themselves the Romanticists, and their opponents the Classicists. The literary war lasted several years. In 1832 the ministry suspended one of his dramas—*Le Roi s'amuse*—but his popularity continued to increase, and in 1837 Louis Philippe made him an officer of the Legion of Honor, and in 1845 a peer of France. After the Revolution of 1848 he was elected to represent Paris, both in the constituent and in the legislative assembly, in which he manifested democratic principles, and was one of the members of the Extreme Left who were banished from France for life by Louis Napoleon. He went to reside in the island of Jersey. In 1852 he assailed the ruler of France in a political pamphlet, *Napoleon le Petit*; and next year, in *Les Châtiments*, a series of poems written with great *verve*, in the same spirit. He refused to avail himself of the amnesty of 1859; but on the fall of the empire joined in the republican movement, and was returned to the National Assembly at Bordeaux, which, however, he soon quitted in disgust. He then went to Brussels, but the Belgian Government expelled him from the country, and he had to seek refuge in Vianden, a village of Luxemburg, where *L'Année Terrible* was composed. Returning to Paris in July, 1871, he pleaded earnestly but without effect for the lives of the communists. Hugo has given an account of his life in *Actes et Paroles* (1870-72). In 1862 appeared *Les Misérables*; in 1869 *L'Homme qui Rit*; *Quatrevingt-treize* (1874); his *Speeches* (1875); the *Légende des Siècles* (1877); *L'Histoire d'un Crime* (1878); and *Le Pape*, a poem (1878). His main work for social reform has been in these novels, the influence of which has been marked in the development of social democracy in France. He says in his *William Shakespeare*: "True socialism has for its end the elevation of the masses to the civic dignity, and that, therefore, its principal care is for moral and intellectual cultivation."

HULL HOUSE (CHICAGO).—The two original residents of Hull House, Miss Jane Adams (*q. v.*) and Miss Ellen G. Starr, went to commence a work at 335 South Halstead, Chicago, in a poor neighborhood of the city, in September, 1889. Their one thought was that personal social intercourse could best realize their growing sense of the economic unity of society, and all the developments of their work have grown up from this as there seemed to be need. Their earliest activities were the ordinary ones of children's clubs, kindergartens, afternoon

teas, etc., as a means of securing natural acquaintance in the neighborhood.

The Working People's Social Science Club was the first body including men to be organized at Hull House. This club was formed through the activity of an English working man, during the first year of Hull House, for the discussion of social problems, and has continued to meet weekly ever since. The discussion is always animated, and every conceivable shade of social and economic opinion is represented. In 1893 was formed also a Hull House Men's Club. It holds a reception once a month and an occasional banquet. Composed of 150 men of the vicinity, the constitution commits them, among other things, to the "cultivation of sobriety and good fellowship." At present 30 or more clubs meet regularly at Hull House, and every quarter there is a congress of the different clubs.

Clubs.

The Hull House Women's Club, which now numbers 60 of the most able women in the ward, developed from a social meeting of a few for purposes of tea-drinking and friendly chat. Several members of this club have done good work in street and alley inspecting in connection with the Municipal Order League, and have taken an active part in a cooperative coal scheme recently inaugurated at Hull House.

From a like informal origin grew the College Extension courses. These classes were established at Hull House before the University Extension movement began in Chicago, and are not connected with it. Several University Extension courses have been given at Hull House. The first class met as a social club, guests of the residents. As the classes grew larger and more numerous, and the object of newcomers more definitely that of acquisition of some special knowledge, the informality of the social relation is necessarily less. But the prevailing attitude toward the House of the 250 students now enrolled is that of guests as well as students.

The most popular and continuous courses have been in literature, languages, music, art, history, mathematics, drawing and painting. A helpful supplement of the College Extension courses has been the Summer School, held for five years in the building of Rockford College, at Rockford, Ill. The sum of \$3 a week paid by each student for board covers the entire expenses of the school; the use of the buildings, including gymnasium and laboratories, are given free of rent.

Under the educational aspect of the House may be considered the occasional exhibitions of pictures. Owing partly to the limited space available for the purpose, these exhibits have been small.

The first residents held strongly to the belief that compromise in the matter of excellence in art was a mistake. They hung their own walls only with such pictures as they felt were helpful to the life of mind and soul. One of the residents has been able to put a number of good pictures into the school nearest Hull House, and into departments of several other public schools.

Art.

The same principles the House is striving to carry into effect with regard to the music it provides. Every Sunday afternoon a free concert is given in the gymnasium. There is also musical instruction given through the week, with a children's chorus, etc.

The connection of the House with the labor movement may be fairly said to have begun on the same social basis as its other relations. Of its standing with labor unions, which is now "good and regular," it owes the foundation to personal relations with the organizer of the Bindery Girls' Union and of various women's unions, who lived for some months in the house as a guest. It is now generally understood that Hull House "is on the side of unions." Several of the women's unions have held their regular meetings at the House, two have been organized there, and in four instances, men and women on strike against reductions in wages have met there while the strike lasted. In one case a strike was successfully arbitrated by the head of the House, the abuses complained of by the employees being removed.

Trade Unions.

The initiative toward the factory inspection measure of Illinois was taken by a resident of Hull House. The same resident conducted in Chicago the so-called "slum investigation" for the Department of Labor at Washington, and after the passage of the law was appointed inspector of factories for the State of Illinois.

A resident has tabulated the information collected in the "slum investigation" in the form of two sets of

maps, one set on the plan of Charles Booth's wage maps of London, and one set showing the nationalities of the district. The latter shows 19 different nationalities within the third of a square mile lying east and south of Hull House. (See reference at end of article.)

After the passage of the factory and work-shop bill, which includes a clause limiting women's labor to eight hours a day, the young women employees of a large factory in the near neighborhood of Hull House formed an "Eight-hours Club" for the purpose of encouraging women in factories and workshops to obey the eight-hour law. This club, which holds its meetings at Hull House, has maintained its own position, and has done good missionary work for the cause. When the hours were shortened, and work stopped on Saturday, several members of the club devoted their Saturdays to seeking work in candy and tobacco factories for the purpose of making the acquaintance and cultivating the friendship of workers in these shops, and urging them to obey the law; and a number of the latter were brought into the club.

The Jane Club, a cooperative boarding club for young working women, had the advice and assistance of Hull House in its establishment. The original members of the club, seven in number, were a group of girls accustomed to cooperative action. The club has been, from the beginning, self-governing, the officers being elected by the members

from their own number, and serving six months gratuitously. The two offices of treasurer and steward have required a generous sacrifice of their limited leisure time, as well as a good deal of ability from those holding them. The weekly dues of three dollars, with an occasional small assessment, have met all current expenses of rent, service, food, heat and light, after the furnishing and first month's rent was supplied by Hull House. The club now numbers 50 members. The one flat is increased to five. The members do such share of the work of the House as does not interfere with their daily work at their trades. There are various circles within the club for social and intellectual purposes. The atmosphere of the house is one of comradeship rather than of thrift.

One of the residents of Hull House has been appointed a member of the State Board of Charities. The House has been active in the movement to organize the charities of Chicago, and has recently united its relief office with the ward office established by the new organization.

The House has always had a free kindergarten, and for five years a day nursery, where mothers who are obliged to go out to work leave their children for the day, paying five cents for each child. The crèche averages in summer 50 children, and in winter between 30 and 40.

There is also a children's dining-room in a neighboring cottage. Dinners are served to school children upon presentation of tickets which have been sold to their mothers for five cents each. Those children are first selected whose mothers are necessarily at work during the middle of the day, and the dinner started with children formerly in the Hull House crèche. While it is desired to give the children nutritious food, the little diners care much more for the toys and books and the general good time than they do for the dinners. Besides these activities there are various children's clubs, cooking classes, a nature class, sewing school, art classes, a public bath-house, a cooperative association, a gymnasium, playground, coffee-house, New England kitchen with a noon factory delivery, a temporary lodging-house, a labor bureau, etc. A resident physician conducts a public dispensary.

No university nor college qualification has ever been made in regard to residents, altho the majority have always been college people. The organization of the settlement has been extremely informal, the number of residents being now about 20. Residents are received for six weeks, during which time they have all privileges, save a vote at residents' meeting. At the end of that period, if they have proved valuable to the work of the House, they are invited to remain, if it is probable that they can be in residence for six months. The expenses of the residents are defrayed by themselves on the plan of a cooperative club, under the direction of a house committee. A limited number of *fellows* has been established. All the residents of Hull House for the first three years were women, tho much valuable work has always been done by non-resident men. Since men have come into residence in a cottage on Polk Street,

Residents.

dining at Hull House, and giving such part of their time to the work of the settlement as is consistent with their professional or business life. Only one man has been able to devote his entire time to settlement work.

It is estimated that 2000 people come to Hull House each week, either as members of clubs or organizations, or as parts of an audience. One hundred of these come as teachers, lecturers, or directors of clubs. The House has always had much valuable assistance from the citizens of Chicago. This voluntary response to its needs, perhaps, accounts for the fact that it has never found it necessary to form an association with chapters in colleges, as other settlements have done. It is incorporated with a board of trustees.

No rent is paid for the use of Hull House, nor for the adjacent lots. Three buildings have been built upon these by friends of the House. The superintendence and teaching of the settlement are volunteered by residents and others, and are unpaid. The running expenses of the settlement proper are therefore reduced to a minimum. No public appeal for funds has ever been made.

Reference: *Hull House Maps and Papers*, by residents of Hull House (1895).

ELLEN G. STARR.

HUMANITARIAN LEAGUE, THE, was started in England in February, 1891, its object being to advocate humane principles from rational and consistent principles.

The main principle laid down in its manifesto is that "it is iniquitous to inflict suffering on any sentient being except when self-defense or absolute necessity can be justly pleaded." It urges the application of this principle to international warfare, the criminal code, social questions, and all wanton ill treatment of the lower animals, whether for the purposes of fashion, sport, and science, or "those dens of torture known as private slaughter-houses."

Its members direct public attention to the League's purposes, and it has brought out a series of uniform pamphlets at a low price; among others are: *Humanitarianism: Its General Principles and Progress*, by Mr. H. S. Salt, the leading member of the society; *Royal Sport: Rabbit Coursing: An Appeal to Working Men; The Horrors of Sport; Behind the Scenes in Slaughter-houses; Vivisection and Women's Wages*.

HUNTINGTON, FREDERICK DAN, was born at Hadley, Mass., in 1819. He was graduated at Amherst College in 1839, and at Cambridge Divinity School in 1842. Entering the Unitarian ministry, he held a pastorate in Boston, and from 1855-60 was Professor of Christian Morals and preacher at Harvard University. In 1860 he entered the Episcopal Church and became rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, and in 1869 was consecrated Bishop of Central New York. Besides many religious books, he has written numerous magazine articles on religious and social problems with kindred subjects. He is president of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (*q.v.*), and of the Church Social Union (*q.v.*).

HUXLEY, THOMAS HENRY, we consider here simply for his contributions to social science. Born at Ealing, Middlesex, England, in 1825, he studied at Charing Cross Hospital and at the University of London. As assistant surgeon in the royal navy he sailed round the world and made many observations in natural science.

In 1854 he became Professor of Natural History in the School of Mines, and Professor of Physiology. From 1863-69 he was professor in the Royal College of Surgeons. He was president of various scientific societies, from 1870-72 on the London School Board, and in 1893 privy councillor. He has been a careful student of biology, yet few men have done more to popularize science by his lectures and his numerous writings. Mr. William M. Salter thus describes his social positions (we abridge his account):

"Huxley held to what might be called a reasonable individualism—*i.e.*, the view that it is better to leave men as free as possible, so long as their action is not incompatible with social welfare. But what he termed 'fanatical individualism,' which questions whether society may constrain one of its number to contribute his share toward maintaining it, or even whether it may prevent him from doing his best to destroy it, found in him a keen opponent; he called it 'reasoned savagery.'

"Society, he held, came into being when mutual war gave way to mutual peace—and it 'most nearly approaches perfection as the war of individual against individual is most strictly limited.' The 'eternal competition of man with man and of nation with nation' did not please him. He put his hand on the weak spot in the laborer's situation when he said that it is the competition of laborers with one another that makes the capitalist's strength.

"As to what is called the social problem' he felt deeply. He thought there were some to whom society assured quite too much and others to whom it assured too little. He had something rather sharp to say of those artificial arrangements by which fools and knaves are sometimes kept at the top of society, instead of sinking to their natural place at the bottom.

"He thought society might act in various ways for the good of its members—*e.g.*, by providing proper drainage in crowded cities, by establishing libraries, schools, and gymnasia, by factory legislation, by regulating not only the production, but the distribution of wealth—as it already does in a measure by its laws of inheritance, tho it might do much better in this particular.

"Huxley was no optimist, and yet he saw no limit to the extent to which 'intelligence and will, guarded by sound principles of investigation, and organized in common effort, may modify the conditions of existence for a period longer than that covered by history.' With due regulation of its numbers and due ordering of its industrial life, Huxley thought that a society might even now eliminate poverty and want (save such as arose from moral delinquencies or unavoidable calamities). Whether any society would actually rise to this height remained, of course, to be seen. Huxley was only sure that if some advance was not

made in this direction, it was an open question whether the life of the race was worth preserving. If there was no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family, he declared he should welcome the advent of some kindly comet that would sweep the whole affair away."

HYNDMAN, HENRY MAYERS, was born in 1842, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Taking his degree in 1864 he entered the Inner Temple in 1865, but as special correspondent for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, went through the Italian campaign of 1866. From 1868-70 he traveled through the United States and Australia. In 1877 he published books on *The Indian Famine* and the *Crisis in India*, which brought prominently into public notice the appalling condition of Indian affairs. At the general election of 1880 he was an unsuccessful independent candidate for the parliamentary seat of Marylebone, London. In the same year, with several others, he raised an agitation in England against Mr. Gladstone's "coercion policy" in Ireland, and several times he had narrow escapes from being mobbed by the Liberals for his outspoken denunciations. In January, 1881, was founded, mainly through his efforts, the Democratic Federation, which soon became a distinctly socialist organization, and grew into the Social Democratic Federation. From that time forward he has been closely identified with this organization, speaking and writing unceasingly. In 1886 he was tried, with Messrs. Burns, Champion, and Williams, for "uttering seditious and inciting to violence" in a speech made at a meeting of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square. After a trial lasting three days they were all acquitted. His first socialist publication was *England for All* (1881), followed by *The Historic Basis of Socialism in England* (1883); *The Social Reconstruction of England, a Summary of the Principles of Socialism* (1884). He is still the leading member of the Social Democratic Federation, and constantly contributes to *Justice*, its organ. A man of some means, no one has more absolutely devoted his whole life to the cause of socialism.

I.

IBSEN, HENRIK, was born at Skien, Norway, March 20, 1828. Apprenticed to a druggist, he early left the pharmacy for literature. In 1854 he was appointed director of the theater at Bergen; in 1857 at Christiania. In 1866 he received a pension and resided abroad at Dresden, Munich, and Rome till 1891, when he returned to reside at Christiania. His first drama, *Catilina* (1850), was not considered a success, tho with marks of genius. He then turned to Norwegian historical subjects and found great success, and followed these by some satirical dramas, which have had still more popularity in Norway, and have been translated into most European languages. With *The Pillars of Society* (1877) Ibsen began a series of realistic pictures satirizing every-day life that have made

him famous the world over. This was followed by *A Doll's House* (1878); *Ghosts* (1881); *An Enemy of the People* (1882); *Hedda Gabler* (1890); *The Master Builder* (1892), and other dramas less known. These productions have been attacked as immoral, and have been lauded as of the highest genius. They have done good service for social reform by showing some of the shams and weak spots of respectable society, as in part due to present economic conditions. See G. B. Shaw's *Quintessence of Ibsenism* (1891).

ICARIA, a communistic settlement begun in 1847, to embody the social ideals described in Cabet's romance *Voyage en Icarie*. Cabet (*q.v.*) wrote his romance in 1839, and then,

pressed by his friends, sought for an opportunity to carry out his ideas. He finally succeeded in making arrangements for an experiment on American soil. In his journal, *Le Populaire*, he announced the purchase of a considerable tract of land on the Red River, Tex., and a treaty by which Cabet was made the director of an intended colony, and the depository of all the funds, community of property being the distinctive principle of the society. Accordingly, in 1848, an expedition of 69 persons sailed to America as an advance guard, leaving Cabet himself and another company to follow soon after. But difficulties arose. They were attacked by the yellow-fever, and, unable to endure the Texan climate, the survivors were obliged to abandon their claims and return to New Orleans. Here Cabet met them, with 400 additional members. News, however, had been received in New Orleans of the proclamation of the republic in France, and many felt tempted to return. Cabet was denounced, but induced several hundred to keep on. Learning that the Mormons had abandoned their settlement in Nauvoo, Ill., he set out for that place with his followers. The Icarians in Nauvoo numbered at one time 600. They met with some success in cultivating their land, established shops, pursued trades, and set up a printing-office; but instead of rejoicing in his prosperity, and laboring to increase it, Cabet was dreaming what he might do if he had half a million, as is evinced by his publication *Wenn ich \$500,000 hätte*.

It is said that Cabet developed a dictatorial spirit; but this is doubtful. He was in a difficult place, and had many rivals and enemies. He was even summoned back to Paris on a trumped-up charge of fraud, but was able to successfully defend himself before the tribunal. Returning to Nauvoo, he found it prospering; but dissension again arose, and Cabet was expelled. He went with some of his followers to St. Louis, where he died (1856). His followers founded a colony at Cheltenham, which, however, did not endure. Meantime, the faction which had remained at Nauvoo, after many years of struggle, decided to remove, and 4000 acres were bought by the Nodaway River, in Adams County, Ia., in the town of Corning, and the colony moved there. Dissensions were, however, not over, and in 1880 two factions—the Young Party and the Old Party—having failed to live together, separated. The property was equitably divided by arbitrators; but through a technicality the old charter was lost, the Young Party obtaining a new one and the right to the name, with the original settlement; the Old Party found themselves obliged to found a New Icaria a mile farther east. The Young Party soon dissolved. The Old Party continued, but finally disbanded in 1895.

The essential principles of Cabet's communism were the equality of all and the brotherhood of man. Executive officers were elected every year, who were, however, only empowered to execute the orders of their fellow-citizens, and could not so much as buy a bushel of corn without being authorized to do so by the society. The directors bought the goods needed by the Icarians twice a year at wholesale. Each one

made known his wants previously to the semi-annual purchases. "To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability" was the economic doctrine of the community. Marriage was essential according to Cabet's scheme, and wives highly honored. Not only was the strictest fidelity enjoined upon the husbands, but they were required to render special acts of homage to their wives.

The government was purely democratic. Concerning religion, the constitution of the community said: "The Icarian Community adopts as its religion the religion of Christianity in its primitive purity, and its fundamental principle of fraternity of men and of peoples." Sunday was set apart as a day of rest and recreation. Walking, riding, visiting, fishing, and dancing, with occasional amateur theatricals, were the amusements. In addition to the national holidays they celebrated two of their own, February 3, or the anniversary of the founding of the community, and the "Fête de Mais," or corn festival.

They lived in little houses in plots of ground bright with flowers around a central house, where they had their meals in common. They at one time published a little paper, the *Revue Icarienne*.

ILLEGITIMACY.—In studying the subject of illegitimacy at least three things must be remembered. First, that the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in any country is by no means an index of the morality of the country. A country may have a high rate of illegitimacy not because morals are low, but because of the law. There is probably a lower rate of illegitimacy in Turkey than in England; but few would argue that Turkey is the more moral country of the two. The simple reason is that in Turkey polygamy and frequent change of wives are allowed by the law. Bavaria in former times had laws forbidding marriage except to those possessed of property or who were members of a guild. The natural result was an enormously high rate of illegitimacy. When the laws were changed, about 1868, the proportion sank in a few years nearly 50 per cent. Lord Kames states that in 1707, Iceland having become almost depopulated by an epidemic, the King of Denmark issued a proclamation legitimizing all children to the extent that no unmarried mother was to be deemed to have lost her reputation until her progeny exceeded six. Again, a low rate of illegitimacy may obviously prevail in a country because there is a high rate of antenatal destruction of life, or a frequent practice of neo-Malthusianism. (See MARRIAGE; MALTHUSIANISM.) This may be the reason why illegitimacy in some countries like England seems more prevalent in rural than in urban districts. This may be the reason, too, why certain sections of Scotland have a higher rate of illegitimacy than France.

The second point that must be remembered is that even where a high rate of illegitimacy is caused by laxity in morals, it does not always imply low morals in all directions. Miss Mulock, in *Thoughts about Women*, says:

"Women who thus fall are by no means the worst of their station. I have heard it affirmed by more

than one lady, and by one in particular whose experience is as large as her benevolence, that many of them are of the very best—refined, intelligent, truthful, and affectionate.

“I don't know how it is,” she would say, “whether their very superiority makes them dissatisfied with their own rank, so that they fall easier victims to the rank above them, or whether other virtues can exist and flourish entirely distinct from and after the loss of what we are accustomed to believe the indispensable virtue of our sex—Chastity.”

Froude says (*History of the English in the West Indies*, p. 344):

“Immorality (in Hayti) is so universal that it almost ceases to be a fault, for a fault implies an exception, and in Hayti it is the rule. Young people make experiment of one another before they will enter into any closer connection. *So far they are no worse than in our own English Islands, where the custom is equally general.*”

The third point applies to all statistics, but especially to statistics of morals, and among statistics of morals, particularly to statistics concerning chastity, that a high rate of evil may simply indicate a careful registry and a high social standard, so that low morality and good appearances not seldom go together. Remembering these precautions, the following statistics, taken, unless otherwise indicated, from Dr. Albert Leffingwell's *Illegitimacy*, are of great value.

ILLEGITIMACY IN EUROPE.

Of each 1000 births (still-births excluded) the

	1857.	1858.	1867.	1868.	1877.	1878.	Ten Years, 1876-85.
Northeastern Counties	145	146	145	153	139	139	141
Northwestern Counties.....	57	61	61	61	65	59	64

He asks :

“Why do these two sections differ, and differ so enormously? Why does one locality persistently and regularly pay twice the tribute of bastardy of its neighbor, year after year?”

He says it is not because of differences in education, since in 1878 94 per cent. of the married women in the northeastern division were able to write, while in the other only 33 per cent. of the whole number who married could sign their names. It was not due to poverty, because in no portion of Scotland do so small a proportion of the population live in cottages of

following were illegitimate in the different countries in the years mentioned :

	1869.	1870.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
Ireland	29	27	28	27	28	29	28
Russia.	28	28	28	27	28	27	27
Holland.	36	35	31	32	32	31	33
Switzerland* . . . . .	..	..	50	49	48	48	47
England and Wales	58	56	48	47	48	46	46
Spain.....	56	55	..	..	..	..	..
Italy.....	60	64	76	75	75	74	73
France	75	75	80	82	82	85	84
Belgium	71	72	87	87	88	87	88
Prussia*	78	79	82	82	82	80	80
Hungary.....	70	68	84	83	84	84	85
Scotland.....	98	96	85	82	83	81	79
Norway.....	85	91	79	79	77	76	74
Denmark...	114	111	100	97	97	93	93
Sweden.....	102	104	104	102	105	102	101
Saxony.....	136	137	130	129	128	125	125
Bavaria*.....	179	164	139	139	138	140	141
Austria.....	138	131	147	147	147	146	147

According to the *Bulletin de l'Inst.*, etc., vol. vii., illegitimacy is increasing in Italy, France, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Roumania, Servia, and Massachusetts, and decreasing in England, Scotland, Holland, Norway, and Denmark.

The rate of illegitimacy seems to differ steadily and unaccountably in different portions of the same country.

Dr. Leffingwell gives the following table of the number of illegitimate births per 1000 in two sections of Scotland :

a single room. It cannot be due to religion, because both sections cherish the stern faith of Calvin and Knox. Dr. Leffingwell says :

“It seems to me that the most plausible explanation of this remarkable local proclivity toward immorality is that it is primarily due to ancestral tendencies, coming, it may be, from prehistoric times. Probably the immediate and active cause to-day is the contagion of loose example, the near inheritance of unwise proclivity.”

In English counties the rates also strangely vary. Here is a table of certain English counties :

DIVISIONS AND COUNTIES.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	10 Years Average.
Shropshire.....	76	80	82	79	84	85	91	82	81	80	82
Cumberland.....	77	81	79	76	72	71	75	79	72	78	76
Hereford.....	68	74	75	78	79	67	77	80	74	85	76
Norfolk.....	77	79	75	78	73	70	70	72	73	74	74
Westmoreland.....	72	71	73	84	67	71	62	69	64	69	70
North Wales.....	71	67	63	68	67	68	69	75	73	73	69
All England.....	48	48	49	49	48	47	48	47	48	46	48
Devonshire.....	48	45	47	46	48	46	48	46	48	46	47
Somerset.....	44	46	44	47	44	43	42	42	41	41	43
Hampshire.....	45	44	46	42	43	42	43	41	41	43	43
Kent.....	43	40	44	45	43	44	43	43	43	44	43
Surrey.....	37	38	42	38	39	41	44	41	40	43	40

* Including still-births for 1885-89.

Says Dr. Leffingwell :

"This is the record of 10 years. Every year one section of the country pays twice the tribute of another part; and yet both sections are equally under English laws, English customs, English civilization. What, one may well ask, are the influences, the circumstances, the conditions, which produce such surprising contrasts between the social morality of Devon and Norfolk, or Surrey and Shropshire?"

In Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia have a very high rate of illegitimacy, altho one is agricultural and the other mining and manufacturing. Saxony and the Rhine provinces have rates of illegitimacy of 9.36 and 3.76 per cent. of the total number of births, altho both are industrial regions (R. Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology*, Book I., chap. v.).

According to some, illegitimacy is larger in cities than in the country. According to others, the contrary is the case. For France, Levasseur (*La Pop. française*, II., p. 34) states the percentage of illegitimate births for 1879-83 in the Department of the Seine as 24.1, and among the urban population generally 10.1, while in all France it was 7.4 and in the rural population 4.2. In Germany, in 1890, the illegitimate births in the cities numbered 13.2 per cent., and in the country only 9.1 (*Jahrbuch der deutschen Städte*, 1892).

In England, illegitimacy, according to Dr. Leffingwell, prevails in the country more than in the cities. He says (p. 31):

"The great cities of England nearly all show a proportion of illegitimate births below the rate prevalent in certain agricultural and rural districts inhabited

by an honest, sober, industrious, and estimable population. Contrast, for instance, the number of illegitimate in every 1000 births, as they occur in the three principal cities of England, with the rate which obtains in some of the most beautiful of rural resorts."

	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
London.....	40	38	40	38	38
Birmingham.....	40	43	50	53	45
Liverpool.....	61	61	66	57	58
North Wales.....	69	75	73	73	71
Westmoreland.....	62	69	64	69	72
Cumberland.....	75	79	72	78	79
Shropshire.....	91	82	81	80	79

Illegitimacy, according to Dr. Leffingwell, is not due primarily to poverty. He says (pp. 26-31):

"There can be no doubt that wealth, or at least a competence, does secure to its possessors certain safeguards against temptations which assail not only the hungry and homeless, but those who are struggling for daily bread.

"And yet it is perfectly evident that poverty of itself does not predispose to vice or to looseness of morals. We hardly need statistics in proof of this, and yet they confirm the general belief. If we look at those sections of the United Kingdom where poverty is most hopeless and pressure for the barest necessities of life the strongest, it is there in very many instances that we find the least tendency to illicit relations, so far as these are measurable by their most natural result.

"In Ireland, for example, we find the rate of bastardy less than that in England or Scotland. Yet no one can question the misery in which the Irish peasantry has been steeped for centuries. But some parts of Ireland are exceptionally poverty-stricken, and

COUNTY.	No. of Illegitimate Births each Year.										
	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	Total.
Mayo.....	31	51	29	34	33	28	36	23	30	27	322
Down.....	337	287	328	322	284	269	312	322	331	292	3,084

some sections, measured by an Irish standard, exceptionally prosperous. Two counties, Mayo and Down—one on the bleak and barren coast of the Atlantic, the other in prosperous Ulster—each containing by the census of 1881 about the same number of inhabitants, present a contrast which is worth a moment's special study. . . .

"I have carried out these figures for so long a period that the reader may see that the phenomenal preponderance of bastardy in Down was persistent year after year. Compare now the proportion of these births to the total number born:

COUNTY.	Total Births 10 Years, 1879-88.	Total Number of Illegitimate Births.	To 1,000 Total Births, how many Illegitimate?
Mayo (Connaught).....	57,741	322	5.6
Down (Ulster).....	60,346	3,084	51.1

"What do these figures reveal? On the one hand we have a section of prosperous and happy Ulster, wherein the average rate of illegitimacy for 10 years was 51 per 1000 births, greater than that in England and Wales; while the wretched land of barrenness and bog shows a ratio less than any county in England, Scotland, or Ireland, and possibly less than elsewhere in Europe. If we look at the relation between illegitimate births and the unmarried and nubile womanhood between ages of 15 and 45, we shall see a somewhat modified result, yet practically the same."

	No. of Unmarried Women Living between Ages of 15-45.	To 10,000 Unmarried Women 15-45, how many Illegitimate Births Annually During 10 Years, 1879-88?
Mayo (Connaught).....	29,069	11
Down (Ulster).....	34,330	90
All Ireland.....	731,767	44

It is not due to religious differences. Says Dr. Leffingwell (pp. 41-42):

"Does the reader believe that the highest appreciation of chastity depends upon the spiritual acceptance of Calvinistic theology; in reverence for the sanctity of the Sabbath, and abhorrence of the Papacy? Let him ponder over the statistics of Scotland, and explain why this land of strictest Sabbath keeping and purest Calvinism exhibits double the illegitimacy of England every year. Does he hold that the pre-eminent excellence of the theology of Martin Luther is evidenced by the morality of its believers? Let him study the records of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, where Lutheranism for centuries has held undivided sway. Does he claim that the infallible creed of the Roman Catholic Church insures its adherents superiority in morals? Then upon this hypothesis he must explain why Austria and Bavaria are so low down on this scale. Is it, then, to believers in the 39 articles of the Established Church of England that we are driven to

look for freedom from frailty? But where in England is the rate of illegitimacy so low as in Russia or in Greece—not to speak of Ireland at her side?"

In Prussia, in 1875-81 the number of illegitimate children among evangelical mothers was 8.85 per cent. ; among Catholic mothers, 5.64 ; among Jewish mothers, 2.73 per cent. (*Zeitschrift des Preuss. Bureau*, 1882, p. 232).

It is not due to lack of education. Dr. Leffingwell says (pp. 36-38) :

"Many countries where popular education is widely diffused among all classes, such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, and Scotland, show a high rate of illegitimacy, while in some others, such as Russia and Ireland, the rate is very low. . . .

"Of the number of women married in Kirkcudbright, a county in Southern Scotland, 99 per cent. are able to write their names in the marriage register ; showing a larger proportion of women thus far educated than in any country of Europe or any county of England or Wales. Yet the rate of bastardy which there annually prevails is, year by year, greater than in any one of the 89 departments of France, Paris only excepted! . . .

"In France, putting Paris aside, those departments where ignorance of the alphabet is most general are in many cases the very ones which hold the virtue of chastity in highest esteem. Finisterre, for example, of the 89 departments of France, stands first for the ignorance of the male population and first for the illiteracy of its women ; yet its rate of illegitimacy during the period observed was but 34 per 1000 births ; less than that which prevailed during the same time in any one of the counties of England, Wales, or Scotland."

Dr. Leffingwell concludes that a high rate of illegitimacy is mainly due to law and to heredity. He says (pp. 47, 50-52) :

"I think it perfectly evident that if throughout Europe all obstacles to marriage were abolished ; if parental prudence were given no power to oppose ; if all that is necessary were simply the registration of intention before a public official qualified to take acknowledgments, an act of recognition obtainable at all times, publicly or privately, by rich or poor, *without fee or cost of any kind*, it would undoubtedly add to the greater frequency of the legal tie among the poorer class, and decrease in very great proportion the prevalence of illegitimate births. . . .

"But of all causes of human conduct, one of the most potent is probably the predisposition that lies wrapped in organization, and which is passed onward by inheritance. . . .

"It will be noted that, with few exceptions, the northern nations of Europe of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin apparently show the strongest proclivity to those ante-marital irregularities of which illegitimacy is a sort of gauge. Why should it be so prevalent in Norway, Scotland, Iceland, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Austria, and Bavaria? Chiefly upon hereditary predisposition or organization persistent through successive generations of families."

Contrary to the above views is the position held by many in the United States that easy marriage, while it may lower illegitimacy, increases divorce. Very many biologists, too, question the influence of heredity. (See DIVORCE ; HEREDITY.) It has been argued that the high rate of illegitimacy prevailing in most Teutonic or Scandinavian countries indicates not a low morality so much as the absence of the custom of neo-Malthusianism. Undoubtedly, in any case, the rate of illegitimacy depends upon the social customs of a people far more than on economic grounds. In Scotland and in Eastern Prussia a birth before marriage is lightly esteemed if the child be legitimized by a subsequent marriage.

In Denmark, with regard to the peasant population of the rural districts . . . it was found that of 100 first-born children no less than 39 were born under seven months after marriage, to which must be added

9 per cent. born between seven and nine months after marriage. A great number of the brides who were not pregnant at marriage had already had illegitimate children with the bridegroom or others ; so that it may probably be assumed that *in two thirds of the marriages* (childless marriages excepted) *the bride had had children while unmarried, or was pregnant at the marriage.* (Westergaard on *Marriage Statistics of Denmark*, Copenhagen. Translation furnished to Seventh International Congress of Hygiene and Demography.)

In regard to the lessening of illegitimacy, most individualists would lessen it by raising the moral sense of the individual. Socialists would add to this economic changes, making it economically possible for men and women to marry early, but above all making it economically easier for every married couple to bring up its family in good, healthy homes. Dr. Mayo-Smith (see above, p. 84) states that there is very little illegitimacy among young women living with their parents.

Reference: *Illegitimacy and the Influence of Seasons upon Conduct*, by Albert Leffingwell, M.D. (1892). (See also PROSTITUTION ; MARRIAGE ; DIVORCE.)

ILLITERACY. (See EDUCATION.) We give here some of the reported facts as to illiteracy. All comparative tables of illiteracy are exposed to the greatest difficulties, owing to the varying degree of accuracy and the different basis of the statistics of illiteracy in different countries. Our facts for Europe are based upon Dr. R. Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 196, and are taken for the sake of uniformity for the years 1880-82, and refer to illiteracy among recruits, except for England, Scotland, and Ireland, where bridegrooms are taken, and the United States, where males from 15-21 are taken as the class nearest the recruits.

The most illiterate countries in Europe are the Slavonic countries. Russia has a percentage of illiteracy of 78.8. The colored population of the United States has a percentage of 62.1. Hungary's is 58. Next in illiteracy come the Roman Catholic countries of Italy, Austria, and Ireland. The percentage of illiterates in the latter is 27.6. Considerably higher stand Belgium (15.9), France (14.9), and England (13.2). The white population of the United States have a percentage of 7.7. The following countries have less illiteracy than the United States : Scotland (6.8), Switzerland (2.5), Germany (1.6). Sweden and Denmark have only .04 of their population illiterate. According to Muhlhall (1889), the ratio of those unable to write to the total population was : England, 9 ; Scotland, 6 ; Switzerland, 5 ; Germany, 4 ; Scandinavia, 3.

Professor Mayo-Smith considers such statistics, tho perhaps the best which can be had—since few countries take a census of illiterates—nevertheless more or less misleading, because recruits and those able to marry are a select class, and the statistics do not show the great illiteracy of the very poor—paupers, criminals, and defectives. Again, in many countries the young who marry and all the recruits are much more literate than the old. In Belgium, the lowest number of illiterates is among persons of 15 to 25 years of age, while of those over 60, 50 per cent. are illiterate.

The statistics of illiteracy for the United States, according to the census of 1890, were as follows :

STATISTICS OF ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES.

CENSUS OF 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.			WHITE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.			NATIVE WHITE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.			FOREIGN WHITE POPULATION, 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.			COLORED POPULATION,* 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.		
	Total.	ILLITERATES.		Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
		Number.	Per Cent.												
Alabama.....	1,069,545	438,535	41.0	107,335	18.2	106,235	18.4	1,100	7.9	331,200	69.1				
Arizona.....	46,079	19,785	21.4	8,956	21.1	2,059	7.9	6,900	42.2	1,820	50.9				
Arkansas.....	787,113	209,745	26.6	93,990	16.3	92,052	16.6	1,038	7.5	116,655	53.6				
California.....	989,896	75,902	7.7	40,233	4.8	10,113	1.7	30,120	10.5	35,669	39.3				
Colorado.....	327,896	17,180	5.2	15,474	4.8	4,300	3.8	6,239	7.8	1,706	25.0				
Connecticut.....	606,830	32,104	5.3	30,236	5.1	6,068	6.2	2,118	16.8	10,652	19.8				
Delaware.....	131,667	18,878	14.3	8,186	7.4	1,803	1.7	1,692	9.3	21,380	35.0				
District of Columbia.....	188,567	24,884	13.2	3,495	2.7	16,685	11.3	1,831	10.8	60,204	50.6				
Florida.....	283,250	78,720	27.8	18,510	11.3	113,045	16.5	746	6.4	404,015	67.3				
Georgia.....	1,302,208	518,706	39.8	114,691	16.3	867	1.9	1,252	8.3	1,106	48.6				
Idaho.....	62,721	3,225	5.1	2,119	3.5	64,380	3.1	75,839	9.4	12,415	27.0				
Illinois.....	2,907,671	152,634	5.2	140,219	4.9	78,638	5.3	15,696	11.0	11,495	32.2				
Indiana.....	1,674,028	105,829	6.3	94,334	5.8	49,828	3.5	20,449	1.8	29,179	9.3	2,233	26.4		
Iowa.....	1,441,308	52,061	3.6	29,710	2.9	17,137	2.0	12,562	8.8	12,360	32.5				
Kansas.....	1,055,215	42,079	4.0	18,851	15.8	178,159	16.1	5,692	9.8	110,539	55.9				
Kentucky.....	1,360,931	294,381	21.6	80,939	20.1	72,013	20.3	8,926	18.7	72,911	70.9				
Louisiana.....	794,683	364,184	45.8	45,755	11.9	44,087	11.9	768	10.1	314,858	60.9				
Maine.....	541,662	29,587	5.5	29,108	5.4	11,443	2.5	17,665	24.1	1	479	31.8			
Maryland.....	798,605	125,376	15.7	44,653	7.0	32,105	5.0	12,548	13.8	80,793	50.1				
Massachusetts.....	1,830,607	114,468	6.2	111,442	6.1	9,727	0.8	101,715	16.2	3,026	15.4				
Michigan.....	1,610,035	95,914	5.9	91,070	5.7	27,016	2.5	64,060	12.4	4,838	28.4				
Minnesota.....	962,350	58,057	6.0	56,066	5.9	7,112	1.4	49,854	11.1	1,001	23.3				
Mississippi.....	902,288	300,612	40.0	45,755	11.9	44,087	11.9	768	10.1	314,858	60.9				
Missouri.....	1,095,638	181,368	9.1	133,806	7.1	112,038	6.8	20,868	9.1	47,562	41.7				
Montana.....	107,811	5,884	5.5	2,132	4.1	1,020	1.6	3,212	8.2	1,652	36.3				
Nebraska.....	771,659	24,021	3.1	21,575	2.8	7,412	1.3	14,163	7.3	2,446	25.7				
Nevada.....	38,225	4,807	12.8	1,350	4.2	173	0.8	1,183	10.0	3,541	50.7				
New Hampshire.....	315,497	21,476	6.8	21,340	6.8	3,679	1.5	17,661	26.3	136	23.3				
New Jersey.....	1,143,123	74,321	6.5	63,163	5.7	21,351	2.7	41,812	13.3	11,158	28.4				
New Mexico.....	112,541	59,970	44.5	43,265	41.6	49,065	42.8	3,200	30.5	6,805	80.6				
New York.....	4,822,362	266,011	5.5	255,499	5.4	57,362	1.8	198,136	13.1	11,413	18.4				
North Carolina.....	1,147,446	409,793	35.7	173,722	23.0	173,545	23.1	177	5.0	235,981	60.1				
North Dakota.....	129,452	7,743	6.0	7,528	5.8	929	1.8	6,599	8.7	215	47.4				
Ohio.....	2,858,659	149,843	5.2	132,244	4.7	82,673	3.5	49,571	11.1	17,599	25.4				
Oklahoma.....	44,701	2,400	5.4	1,503	3.5	1,342	3.4	161	6.1	807	39.2				
Oregon.....	244,374	10,103	4.1	6,046	3.0	3,302	1.8	3,644	7.9	3,157	27.6				
Pennsylvania.....	4,063,134	275,353	6.8	254,663	6.4	110,737	3.5	143,926	17.8	20,600	23.2				
Rhode Island.....	281,959	27,255	9.8	26,355	9.6	4,087	2.3	22,268	22.1	1,170	18.5				
South Carolina.....	802,406	360,795	45.0	59,443	17.9	59,063	18.1	380	6.3	301,262	64.1				
South Dakota.....	236,208	9,974	4.2	9,564	4.1	1,811	1.2	7,753	9.0	410	33.4				
Tennessee.....	1,276,631	340,140	26.6	172,160	17.8	170,318	18.0	1,851	9.5	167,971	54.2				
Texas.....	1,564,755	308,873	19.7	132,380	10.8	89,829	8.3	42,560	20.6	176,484	52.5				
Utah.....	147,227	8,232	5.6	7,407	5.1	2,210	2.3	5,188	10.3	825	46.1				
Vermont.....	271,173	18,154	6.7	17,986	6.7	7,211	3.2	10,775	25.8	168	21.3				
Virginia.....	1,211,934	305,736	30.2	105,058	13.9	103,265	14.0	1,793	1.0	260,678	57.2				
Washington.....	275,639	11,778	4.3	8,261	3.1	2,467	1.3	5,794	7.0	3,517	44.4				
West Virginia.....	549,538	79,180	14.4	68,188	13.0	65,420	12.9	2,768	15.1	10,902	44.4				
Wisconsin.....	1,258,390	84,745	6.7	82,984	6.6	15,613	2.1	67,371	13.4	1,761	36.7				
Wyoming.....	47,755	1,630	3.4	1,408	3.0	427	1.3	981	7.1	222	16.8				
Totals.....	47,413,559	6,324,702	13.3	3,212,574	7.7	2,065,003	6.2	1,147,571	13.1	3,112,128	56.8				

* Persons of negro descent, Chinese, Japanese, and civilized Indians.

Many countries considered illiterate are making wonderful advances. According to Dr. R. Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology*, in 1841, 53 per cent. of the population of Ireland over five years of age could not read and write; in 1891 this was only 18 per cent.

IMMIGRATION.—The dictionary definition of immigration makes it to consist in moving from one country to another for the purpose of *permanent residence*. But this, tho perhaps correct as a definition, is not correct as regards

the practical social problem that confronts us when we speak of the evils or advantages of immigration. Especially in the United States the trouble is largely not from those who come expecting to remain permanently and to become citizens, but from those who come without the slightest thought of permanent residence. On the Pacific and Atlantic coasts the main problem has arisen from such as the Chinese, or the Italians, who come to us, perhaps for 10 years, willing to live on the lowest level which can sustain life if they can save money (and it need

not be a large sum) which will enable them to return to their native land and live there in comparative affluence.

The problem of immigration is not, however, peculiarly an American one. It is a universal concomitant of the increasing restlessness of the labor world coupled with increasing ease and cheapness of travel. The immigration into London from Germany and from Russia is today of a size almost beyond belief for those who have not studied the question. Every English colony, every new country, and almost every old country has its immigration problem. Most English colonies have passed anti-Chinese immigration acts, or have attempted to check or control immigration. According to Professor R. Mayo-Smith (*Statistics and Sociology*, chap. xiv.), the immigration to Australia is from 200,000 to 250,000 per annum, mainly British.

Yet certainly no country has such an immigration problem as the United States, and it is

of this problem alone which we in this article treat, as its principal features apply everywhere. It is not a new problem, altho only within the last 20 years has it assumed serious proportions, and only within the last 10 years has it been very seriously mooted to rigidly restrict general immigration. From 1820-91 inclusive, the total immigration into the United States was 16,821,477. From 1789-1820 there are no statistics, but it is estimated to be 250,000. The following table, by decades, will show how rapidly the immigration has increased :

1821-30.....	143,439
1831-40.....	599,125
1841-50.....	1,713,251
1851-60.....	2,570,580
1861-70.....	2,282,787
1871-80.....	2,812,191
1881-90.....	5,236,722
1891-95.....	2,219,793

The following table gives the immigration by years :

YEAR.	Total Alien Passengers.	YEAR.	Total Alien Passengers.	YEAR.	Total Immigrants.	YEAR.	Total Immigrants.
1820.....	8,385	1840.....	84,066	1860.....	150,237	1879.....	177,826
1821.....	9,127	1841.....	80,289	1861.....	89,724	1880.....	457,257
1822.....	6,911	1842.....	104,565	1862.....	89,007	1881.....	669,431
1823.....	6,354	1843.....	52,490	1863.....	174,524	1882.....	788,992
1824.....	7,912	1844.....	78,615	1864.....	193,195	1883.....	603,322
1825.....	10,199	1845.....	114,371	1865.....	247,453	1884.....	518,592
1826.....	10,837	1846.....	154,411	1866.....	163,594	1885.....	395,346
1827.....	18,875	1847.....	234,968	1867.....	298,967	1886.....	334,203
1828.....	27,382	1848.....	226,527	1868.....	282,189	1887.....	496,109
1829.....	22,520	1849.....	297,024	1869.....	352,569	1888.....	546,889
1830.....	23,322	1850.....	369,986	1870.....	387,203	1889.....	444,427
1831.....	15,000,000	1851.....	379,466	1871.....	321,350	1890.....	455,332
1832.....	60,492	1852.....	371,603	1872.....	404,806	1891.....	550,319
1833.....	58,640	1853.....	308,645	1873.....	459,803	1892.....	623,084
1834.....	65,375	1854.....	427,833	1874.....	313,339	1893.....	502,917
1835.....	45,374	1855.....	200,877	1875.....	227,498	1894.....	314,467
1836.....	76,242	1856.....	195,857	1876.....	169,986	1895.....	219,006
1837.....	79,340	1857.....	246,945	1877.....	141,867	From 1789-1820, estimated.....	250,000
1838.....	38,914	1858.....	119,501	1878.....	138,489		
1839.....	68,069	1859.....	118,616				

Of the whole number of immigrants in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, 335,752 came through the customs district of New York; 14,311 through Baltimore; 20,245 through Boston; 21,744 through Philadelphia, and 9392 through San Francisco.

Mulhall estimates the number of individuals who emigrated from Europe in 73 years, 1816-88, at 27,205,000. Of these, 15,000,000 came to the United States.

The reported occupations of immigrants who arrived during the year ending June 30, 1894, were as follows: Laborers, 59,575; farmers, 16,452; servants, 28,763; carpenters, 2034; miners, 2505; clerks, 2222; tailors, 3184; shoemakers, 2284; blacksmiths, 1554. The total number of professional immigrants was 1738; of skilled laborers, 33,926; of miscellaneous, 116,187.

In immigration, however, one must consider quality as well as quantity. There has been of late years a great change in the quality of our immigration. The principal European countries reduced their exodus to America very greatly about 1883. The two exceptions are Italy and Hungary, and in the following year Hungary and Russia. Since 1883 the Russian immigration, especially of Russian Jews, shows a constant increase.

Says President F. A. Walker (*Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1896):

"Fifty, even 30 years ago, there was a right-

ful presumption regarding the average immigrant, that he was among the most enterprising, thrifty, alert, adventurous, and courageous of the community from which he came. It required no small energy, prudence, forethought, and pains to conduct the inquiries relating to his migration, to accumulate the necessary means and to find his way across the Atlantic.

"To-day the presumption is completely reversed. So thoroughly has the continent of Europe been crossed by railways, so effectively has the business of emigration there been exploited, so much have the rates of railroad fares and ocean passage been reduced, that it is now among the least thrifty and prosperous members of any European community that the emigration agent finds his best recruiting ground. Hard times here may momentarily check the flow, but it will not be permanently stopped so long as any difference of economic level exists between our population and that of the most degraded communities abroad."

The following table (compiled by the Superintendent of the Census) tells the story down to 1890:

COUNTRIES.	1841-50.	1851-60.	1861-70.	1871-80.	1881-90.
England	32,092	247,125	251,288	440,961	649,052
Ireland	780,719	914,119	456,593	444,589	655,381
Scotland	3,712	38,331	44,681	88,925	149,856
Wales	1,261	6,319	4,642	6,779	11,990
Great Britain, not specified....	229,979	132,199	349,766	7,908	147
Total United Kingdom.....	1,047,763	1,338,093	1,106,970	989,163	1,466,426
Austria .....	.....	.....	9,398	69,558	226,020
Belgium	5,074	4,738	7,416	7,278	17,506
Denmark	539	3,749	17,885	34,577	88,108
France	77,262	76,358	37,749	73,301	50,460
Germany	434,626	951,667	822,007	757,698	1,452,952
Hungary .....	.....	.....	448	13,475	127,698
Italy	1,870	9,231	12,982	60,830	397,095
Netherlands	8,251	19,789	9,539	17,236	53,791
Norway and Sweden.....	13,923	20,931	117,798	226,488	560,483
Russia and Poland.....	656	1,621	5,047	54,606	265,064
Spain and Portugal.....	2,759	19,353	9,047	9,767	5,564
Switzerland	4,044	25,011	23,839	31,722	81,987
All other countries in Europe	155	116	234	1,265	22,770
Total Europe.....	1,597,502	2,452,657	2,180,399	2,346,964	4,725,814
China	35	41,397	68,059	122,436	*59,995
Total Asia.....	82	41,458	68,444	123,068	63,932
Africa	55	210	324	221	*375
Canada	41,723	59,309	184,713	430,210	392,802
Mexico.....	3,271	3,078	2,386	5,164	†1,913
Central America.....	368	449	96	229	1,646
South America.....	3,579	1,224	1,443	1,152	1,646
West Indies.....	13,528	10,660	9,698	14,461	*‡26,487
Total America.....	62,469	74,720	198,336	451,216	422,848
All other countries.....	53,143	29,169	19,249	23,226	25,759
Aggregate.....	1,713,251	2,598,214	2,466,752	2,944,695	5,238,728

As the reports for British North American provinces and for Mexico have been discontinued since 1885 by the Treasury Department, the figures here represented only cover five years of the decade. An estimate based upon the immigration of the years from 1881-85, inclusive, would give 785,604 to British North America for the decade from 1881-90, and 3826 to Mexico, making the aggregate for America 817,563, instead of 422,848.

This table becomes the more alarming when one realizes the percentage of the illiteracy of immigrants from various countries. Of the immigrants in 1891:

England sent	10	per cent.	of her immigrants illiterate.
Ireland	8	"	"
Wales	6	"	"
Scotland	1.5	"	"
France	2	"	"
Germany	2	"	"
Denmark			
Norway			
Sweden			
Hungary	sent	28	per cent. of her immigrants illiterate.
Russia proper	20	"	"
Poland	56	"	"
Armenia	44	"	"
Italy	65	"	"

This, of course, does not mean that Italy has more illiteracy than Armenian-Turkey, but that of the Italians who come to this country a larger percentage are illiterate than of the Armenians who come.

Since 1885 the Irish immigration, once so far

in the lead, has relatively decreased. England alone (not even including Wales) has since 1885 sent a larger number of immigrants than Ireland.

For Chinese immigration, see special article CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Says President Walker, as above:

"For nearly two generations, great numbers of persons utterly unable to earn their own living, by reason of one or another form of physical or mental disability, and others who were, from widely different causes, unfit to be members of any decent community, were admitted to our ports without challenge or question. It is a matter of official record that in many cases these persons had been directly shipped to us by States or municipalities desiring to rid themselves of a burden and a nuisance; while it could reasonably be believed that the proportion of such instances was far greater than could be officially ascertained."

Another important element of the situation is that the mass of the illiterate immigration does not distribute itself through the country, but settles in great cities, mainly on the Atlantic coast. The Immigration Restriction League of Boston recently investigated this subject. Its published account says in part:

"The following tables are presented as a partial result of a recent visit to the Immigrant Station on Ellis Island, N. Y., made by members of the Executive Committee of the League. . . .

"On December 13, 14, and 15, 1895, about 1000 immigrants over 16 years of age were examined, chiefly Russians and Austro-Hungarians, together with some Syrians, arriving on six steamers from Bremen, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Southampton, and Liverpool. Too few Italians came for tabulation.

"It is believed that the results obtained are characteristic of such immigration throughout the year.

* Not given in 1890.

† Reports discontinued after 1885.

‡ Includes Central and South America for 1889.

DESTINATION OF ILLITERATES.

	BY NUMBERS.							BY PERCENTAGES.	
	Penn- sylvania.	New York.	Other Atlantic.	Middle.	Central and Western.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.	Atlantic.	Non- Atlantic.
Russians	11	28	11	4	1	50	5	91	9
Hungarians.....	76	20	34	4	..	130	4	97	3
Galicians.....	25	12	26	11	5	63	16	80	20
Croats, etc.....	20	8	..	4	4	28	8	78	22
Syrians .....	..	21	2	..	4	23	4	85	15
Totals.....	132	89	73	23	14	294	37	89	11

"While little emphasis should be laid on the amount of money brought by an immigrant—as money is no test of an immigrant's real worth, light may be perhaps thrown on the question why the Russians, Galicians, Croats, and Syrians do not or cannot go West, by the statement that of the 331 illiterates examined at Ellis Island, 32, or 10 per cent., brought in no money; 101, or 30 per cent., \$1 to \$5 each; 92, or 28 per cent., \$6 to \$10, and 106, or 32 per cent., over \$10; that is, 40 per cent. of these immigrants had \$5 or less, and 68 per cent., \$10 or less.

"The total amount of money known to have been brought in during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895, by 160,103 immigrants over 20 years of age was \$4,126,793, an average of \$25.97 per capita over 20 years of age, but an average of only \$16.34 for each of the total number of immigrants for that year.

"Note, however, that of the above 160,103 immigrants 78 per cent., or 125,328, brought in less than \$30, and 34,775, or 22 per cent., brought in more.

"The figures as to average amount per immigrant, \$25.97, as given above, were therefore extremely misleading, because it is evident that a very large percentage of immigrants may have brought in less than \$10; but this would be counteracted by a small number of immigrants bringing several hundreds of dollars, as those who intend to settle on farms do.

"This is clearly shown by the report of the Superintendent of Immigration for 1892, page 26, where he says that, of the 9630 immigrants from Russia arriving at the ports of New York, 333 brought more than \$1000 each, several of these bringing considerable sums of money; one bringing \$25,000, while the 9306 Russians who brought less than \$100 were nearly all destitute."

"With the above caution note that the report of the Superintendent of Immigration for the fiscal year 1892 shows that the 152,360 immigrants over 20 years of age arriving at the port of New York brought \$3,060,908, an average of \$20.09 per capita. Immigrants from

France brought	\$5.67 per capita.
Germany.....	35.42 "
England.....	26.43 "
Sweden.....	21.69 "
Russia.....	22.10 "
Armenia.....	19.68 "
Austria.....	14.05 "
Poland.....	12.31 "
Italy.....	11.77 "
Hungary.....	11.42 "

COUNTRIES WHICH SEND US SKILLED LABOR.

(From Report Superintendent of Immigration for 1893.)

"Of the immigrants sent to us in 1893 by the various countries of Europe, but a small proportion were skilled workmen. Thus among immigrants from Scotland there was 1 skilled in 4; from England and Wales, 1 in 5; Belgium, 1 in 7; France, 1 in 9; Germany and Norway, 1 in 10; Italy, 1 in 14; Russia, 1 in 18; Ireland, 1 in 19; Poland, 1 in 23; Austria-Hungary, 1 in 29."

A few other points as to immigrants may be briefly noted. Professor R. Mayo-Smith says (*Statistics and Sociology*, chap. xiv.):

"It would probably be safe to say that at least four fifths of the immigrants belong to the unskilled occupations."

He estimates that between 1881 and 1890 some 21.4 per cent. were under 15 years of age, and 68.1 between 15 and 40. Germany, Russia, and Poland send the most children and families, Ireland the most single young people, Italy and Hungary the most adult laborers. The males form about 60 per cent. of the whole.

Professor Mayo-Smith, by subtracting the total number of passengers departing from the United States between 1881 and 1890 from the total number arriving, calculates the net immigration, and estimates that 15.86 per cent. of the immigrants sooner or later return. By comparing, too, the total number in the United States of each nationality reported by the census of 1890, with the number reported in 1880, and allowing 20 per 1000 as a death-rate, he subtracts the difference from the reported immigration, and so finds how many of each nationality have returned. In the case of Russian Poles, Danes, and Scandinavians, he finds that few return. Of Germans, he estimates that 12,500 per annum return. Of Italians and Hungarians more, while of the Irish still more seem to return, tho he questions the correctness of this.

Perhaps one of the greatest evils has been contract immigration. Says Governor Altgeld (in the *Forum* for February, 1890):

"The condition of the laborer has been made deplorable by the importation of shiploads of men under contract. These do not come with the motives or with the ambition of the class we have been considering; they have no thought of becoming citizens, but are practically slaves, who will work for wages upon which the American laborer cannot exist. Agents for large corporations are constantly importing them. Steamship companies, to get the passage money paid by American employers, bring them over by the thousands, so that many great centers of industry in the East have been filled with them, and the American laborer is being crowded out. Both the native-born and the naturalized laborer have been almost driven out of the great State of Pennsylvania by these importations. True, there is a law against such contracts, but it is a dead letter; so that we have in this country the strange spectacle of the Government keeping up the price of a great many articles by shutting out foreign competition, and at the same time permitting the manufacturers of these articles to import the pauper laborers of Europe to produce them."

The law has been recently more strictly enforced; but this immigration is still an evil.

Concerning the magnitude and the causes of the immigration into the United States, Dr.

Josiah Strong says (*Our Country*, revised ed., pp. 45, 46) :

"America, as the land of promise to all the world, is the destination of the most remarkable migration of which we have any record. During the last 10 years we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army more than four times as vast as the estimated number of Goths and Vandals that swept over Southern Europe and overwhelmed Rome. During the past 100 years 15,000,000 foreigners have made their homes in the United States, and three quarters of them have come since 1850, while 5,248,000 have arrived since 1880. A study of the causes of this great world movement indicates that perhaps as yet we have seen only beginnings. These controlling causes are threefold: 1. The attracting influences of the United States; 2. The expellent influences of the Old World; 3. Facilities for travel.

"1. The attracting influences of the United States. We have already seen that for every one inhabitant in 1880 the land is capable of sustaining 20. This largeness of room and opportunity constitutes an urgent invitation to the crowded peoples of Europe. The prospect of proprietorship in the soil is a powerful attraction to the European peasant. In England only one person in 20 is an owner of land; in Scotland, one in 25; in Ireland, one in 70, and the great majority of land-

Causes of Immigration.

holders in Great Britain own less than one acre each. More than three fifths of the United Kingdom is in the hands of the landlords, who own, each one, 1000 acres or more. . . . What must free land mean to such a people?

"This, moreover, is the land of plenty. The following table, giving the average amount of food annually consumed per inhabitant, shows how much better the people of the United States are fed than any people of Europe. All kinds of grain are included, as what is fed to cattle serves ultimately to produce food for the population. Potatoes are estimated as grain, at the rate of four bushels to one of wheat.

	Grain, Bush.	Meat, Lbs.
France	24.02	81.88
Germany	23.71	84.51
Belgium	22.84	57.10
Great Britain	20.02	119.10
Russia	17.97	54.95
Spain	17.68	25.04
Austria	13.57	56.03
Sweden and Norway	12.05	51.10
Italy	9.62	20.80
Europe	17.66	57.50
United States	40.66	120.00

"John Rae says that in Prussia nearly one half of the population have to live on an annual income of \$105 to a family. Is it strange that they look longingly toward the United States? . . .

"Every foreigner who comes to us and wins success, as most of them do under more favorable conditions, becomes an advertiser of our land; he strongly attracts his relatives and friends, and very likely sends them money for their passage. Our consul at Frankfurt writes: 'Not less than one half of the German emigrants to the United States emigrate by the advice and assistance of friends residing there.' Says Professor R. M. Smith: 'The Inman Steamship Company has 3500 agents in Europe, and an equal number in this country, selling prepaid tickets to be sent to friends and relatives of persons already here, in order to provide them with passage.' Of course other companies pursue a like policy."

Perhaps a stronger cause of immigration is Europe's expellent influences. We have already referred to the lack of land and of food in the old countries. Taxation to maintain standing armies and requisition for military service, especially in Germany and Austria, drives thousands to this country. In the last 12 years near-

ly three quarters of a million of people have come from Germany alone.

"During 1872 and 1873, which were good years for the working classes of Germany, there were not less than 10,000 processes annually for evasion of military duty by emigration" (Professor Smith's *Emigration and Immigration*, p. 27).

A few years ago a member of the Reichstag exclaimed: "The German people have now but one want—money enough to get to America."

Says Dr. Strong, in *Our Country* :

"In Continental Europe generally the best years of all able-bodied men are demanded for military duty. Germans must be 7 years in the army, and give 3 of them to active service; the French, 9 years in the army and 5 years in active service; Austrians, 20 years in the army and 3 in active service; Russians, 15 years in the army and 6 in active service. When not in active service they are under certain restrictions. In addition to all this, when no longer members of the army, they are liable to be called on to do military duty for a period varying from two to five years. This robbery of a man's life, together with the common expectation that war must come sooner or later, will continue to be a powerful stimulus to emigration; and the 'blood tax' which is required to support these millions of men during unproductive years is steadily increasing. While aggregate taxation decreased in the United States from 1870 to 1880, 9.15 per cent., it increased in Europe 28.01 per cent. The increase in Great Britain was 20.17 per cent.; in France, 36.13 per cent.; in Russia, 37.83 per cent.; in Sweden and Norway, 50.10 per cent.; in Germany, 57.81 per cent. And while the burden of taxation is so heavy and so rapidly increasing, the public debts of Continental Europe are making frightful growth. They increased 71.75 per cent. from 1870 to 1880, since which time they have been enlarged by nearly \$3,000,000,000, and now reach a total of \$20,580,000,000, entailing an annual burden of \$1,000,000,000 for interest.

"The Italians are worse fed than any other people in Europe, save the Portuguese. The tax-collector takes 31 per cent. of the people's earnings! Many thousands of small proprietors have been evicted from the crown lands because unable to pay the taxes. The burden of taxation has become intolerable. Notwithstanding the industrial advance made by Italy from 1870 to 1880, the national debt increased so much more rapidly that the nation was \$200,000,000 poorer in 1880 than 10 years before. For the financial year ending in 1888 there was a deficit in the national treasury of 57,000,000 lire; and for the two years ending in 1890 the budget estimates showed a deficit of 248,000,000 lire. Growing population and increasing taxation are resulting in increased emigration. The total number of emigrants, which in 1884 was 147,000, had increased in 1888 to 200,000.

"Facilities of travel are increasing. From 1870 to 1880, 39,857 miles of railway were built in Europe, only 2000 less than in the United States during the same period; and from 1880 to 1888 there were 26,478 miles built. Thus, interior populations are enabled more easily to reach the seaboard. Instead of a long and tedious passage by sailing vessel, the steamer lands the immigrant in a week or 10 days. We find that steamships, in a single year, make 741 trips from nine European ports to New York, and 144 from other ports of Europe. And some of these ships carry upward of 1000 steerage passengers. Improvements in steam navigation are making the ocean passage easier, quicker, and cheaper. In 1825 the cheapest passage from Europe to America was about \$100. Now the rates from continental ports to New York are from \$23 to \$26. Steerage passage from Hamburg to New York has been as low as \$7.

"Furthermore, labor-saving machinery has entered upon a campaign of world-wide conquest. This fact will render still more operative each of the three classes of influences enumerated above. Wherever man labors labor-saving machinery is destined ultimately to go; and the people of the United States are to make most of it for the world. We have mountains of iron and inexhaustible measures of coal, together with a genius for invention."

With such potent causes of immigration the problem in the United States has grown most

serious, resulting in a strong movement for restricting immigration. There are strong arguments both for and against this. We notice first the reasons for restricting immigration.

1. *The Moral Reason.*—Immigration is morally dangerous. Many immigrants to this country are of the best of Europe, friends of liberty, law, order, and religion. But many are not. Too frequently the immigrant is a European peasant whose horizon has been narrow, whose moral and religious training has been meager or false, and whose ideas of life are low. Not a few belong to the pauper and criminal classes. Some countries of Europe deliberately, and other countries almost equally, send their discharged convicts to America, while fugitives from justice continually seek our shores. The census of 1890 shows that 20 per cent. of the population of this country is practically foreign, and this one fifth furnishes more than half the inmates of our reformatories, over one third of our convicts, and very nearly three fifths of all the paupers supported in almshouses. (But see CRIME.)

Even of those immigrants who are not of the criminal class, a large number, escaping from the restraints of family, of acquaintance, of priest rule, of State rule, in the old countries, mistake license for liberty in this country, and morally deteriorate.

There are also two sides to the fact which must be admitted, that the Roman Church is losing her power over the children of Roman Catholic immigrants. Are the restraints of morality not also losing their power?

Foreigners fill the slums in our cities and congregate even in the country. Already the Territories have a foreign population greater than the States east of the Mississippi.

Says Dr. Strong :

"In 1845, New Glarus, in Southern Wisconsin, was settled by a colony of 108 persons from one of the cantons of Switzerland. In 1880 they numbered 1060 souls; and in 1885 it was said, 'no Yankee lives within a ring of six miles round the first built dug-out.' This Helvetic settlement, founded three years before Wisconsin became a State, has preserved its race, its language, its worship, and its customs in their integrity. Similar colonies are now being planted in the West. In some cases 100,000 or 200,000 acres in one block have been purchased by foreigners of one nationality and religion, thus building up States within a State, having different languages, different antecedents, different religions, different ideas and habits, preparing mutual jealousies and perpetuating race antipathies. In New England conventions are held to which only French Canadian Catholics are admitted. At such a convention in Nashua in 1888, attended by 80 priests, the following mottoes were displayed: 'Our tongue, our nationality, and our religion.' 'Before everything else let us remain French.' If our noble domain were tenfold larger than it is, it would still be too small to embrace with safety to our national future little Germanies here, little Scandinavias there, and little Irelands yonder."

2. *The Political Danger.*—The corruption of American politics, especially the corruption of our municipal politics, is notorious. The corruptors may be the political "boss," the saloon politician, the heeler; back of these, using these, seemingly almost compelled to use these, may be the great corporations and monopolies pouring out their thousands and their millions to elect their tools or to purchase men already elected (see CORRUPTION); yet tho these

be the corruptors, it takes people to be corrupted, and this immigration supplies.

The result of a national election may depend on a single State; the vote of that State may depend on a single city; the vote of that city may depend on a "boss," or a capitalist, or a corporation; or the election may be decided and the policy of the Government may be reversed by the liquor or the immigrant vote.

Can we afford to welcome to our country, with its democratic institutions, the illiteracy now pouring into our cities? Said a pregnant writer recently: "America may be the asylum of the oppressed, but it does not follow that she must be at once an insane asylum, a hospital, and a prison."

In contradiction to both the above arguments, Governor Altgeld of Illinois (*Forum*, February, 1890) shows what immigrants have done. He says:

"But for the assistance of the immigrant the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States would have been an impossibility, and had the cry, 'America for the Americans,' prevailed at an earlier period of our history, the nineteenth century would never have seen the great free republic we see, and the shadow of millions of slaves would to-day darken and curse the continent. . . .

"The facts are that in every State carried by Lincoln there was a large foreign population, which was mostly, and in some States entirely Republican, and which continued to be Republican down to a very recent date; and if the vote of this class had been omitted in 1860, it would have reduced Lincoln's vote to such an extent as to defeat him in most of the States that he carried. I am speaking only of the foreign-born voters; but, as already shown, to these should be added a large percentage of the people who, altho native-born, are of foreign-born parentage, and must be considered with them in viewing the general political course of immigrants. There is not a swamp or field or dark ravine where treason made a stand but is covered with the graves of Germans and of Scandinavians who died for the principle of equal rights. Tho the Irish more generally voted the Democratic ticket, yet their patriotism was prompt to respond to the call of their adopted country, and there is not a battle-field where blood was shed for the Union that has not the bones of Irishmen rotting upon it."

3. *The Industrial Danger.*—This is perhaps the greatest danger. Under competitive trade producers must produce cheaply. To do this they must pay the lowest wages for which they can get the requisite grade of work. To a certain extent high labor is cheap labor, because well-paid men can turn out more and better work. But there is a limit to this, and more and more are machinery and invention enabling unskilled and cheap labor to produce that which undersells, in amount at least, skilled work. As a matter of fact, every factory town sees the survival of the unfit. Irishmen drive out Americans; French Canadians, Irishmen; Poles and Hungarians, French Canadians; and so on to the lowest. This is particularly true in certain lines of industry. Of the clothing trade, it was recently written:

"Has it come to this, that the guests of the nation shall make tramps of the original proprietors? That American women, who have been brought up to the trade, and worked many years at the business (and we have such in our shop), should be denied the right to an honorable living? And shall our clothing be made exclusively by those who are content to wallow as a hog in a sty?"

"While we have no prejudices against class or nationality, but give all suitable persons an equal footing in our shop, yet we must insist that the early

should have and maintain equal rights with the later comers."

In contract labor (*q. v.*) lies a great evil. According to an investigation made by the United States Commission of Immigration, Italian padroni undertake to supply contractors of municipal or corporation work with laborers. They go to the Italian immigrants on arrival and offer them work at rates that seem to them, fresh from Italy (*q. v.*), large. The padroni seem their best friends; they contract to live in the houses of the padroni and to buy at their stores.

According to statements of the commission printed in the *Congressional Record*, 1896, p. 5983, a typical case is where a padrone kept \$1 a head for finding 215 men work, paid their fare to the place of work in advance (\$7 each); there he lodged the 215 men in huts of 3 rooms each, charging them \$1 a month each, though he only paid \$25 a month for the 9 huts and a store, clearing thus \$190 a month. All supplies had to be bought at his store, on a penalty of a fine of \$5 for disobedience. He charged 10 cents for each 5-cent loaf of bread, 10 or 12 cents a pound for meat that could be bought at wholesale for 4½ cents, and so on. Purchases averaged \$8 a month for each man, out of which a 25 per cent. profit (and it was much more) would be \$600 with the board, giving the padrone over \$1000 per month. Yet this labor is displacing American-born labor.

Perhaps still worse is the labor formerly introduced by corporations into the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania to drive out the American miners. Here Italians and Slavs will labor for 80 or 90 cents a day (to them good pay), living in hovels, contracting scurvy by a steady diet of cheapest salt pork, with sore eyes and bodies from owning no towel or wash-tub, having fever from lack of any of the most primitive sanitary arrangements. To a less extent the same thing happens wherever the corporations or municipalities introduce contract labor. Said an employer: "I paid \$1 a head to get such men here. I would pay \$20 per head to get them out."

We next consider the reasons for not restricting immigration.

1. *There is no need.* This country, we are told on good authority, can support 2,000,000,000 of people, while to-day we have only 65,000,000. There is room for millions more. What we need is more men to till our prairies and to develop our unequaled natural opportunities. America need not stop the coming of men. Even if

Arguments against Restriction.

many of them be densely ignorant and incompetent, American schools can educate at least their children, and American life can lead them into valuable citizenship. The assimilating power of American civilization has not yet failed; why should we fear for it now?

But to this it must be said that while America doubtless can support a much larger population, the immigrants that come do not and at present cannot be made to scatter over all the land, but gather in our cities, breeding in disease, ignorance, and filth. Again, while our life may be able to assimilate millions more, it is quite another thing to say that we can assimilate so many at one time as have recently come to us.

A second argument for not restricting immigration is the good that immigration has done this country and our dependence upon it. Commissioner Knapp, formerly Commissioner of Emi-

gration at New York, by a computation based partly on the price of slaves and partly on German estimates as to the cost of rearing German laborers, once fixed the value of the average immigrant to this country at \$1125. The indirect beneficial effects, however, of the immigration, which alone has rendered the rapid development of the United States possible, are still further beyond estimate. Every kind of skilled and unskilled labor has been introduced to add to the productive power of the country. The records of the Bureau of Statistics show that in the years from 1873-83 the principal occupations of the immigrants were:

Professional occupations.....	25,343
Skilled occupations	455,049
Miscellaneous occupations.....	1,588,246
Occupations not stated.....	81,223
Without occupations.....	1,997,019
Total immigration.....	4,147,780

The laborers of every class are scattered throughout the land. The Lake States of the Northwest have no population more industrious and more efficient in agricultural pursuits than the Scandinavians, who form a large proportion of the community. Much of the railroad building, which has been a chief instrument in developing the country, would have been impossible but for the labor of immigrants, who endure drudgery that the natives of this country are unable or unwilling to undergo. The quick invention and adaptability of the Irish, the economy and industry of the Germans, the sturdy qualities of the Scandinavian character, and the varied excellencies of the other component parts of our vast foreign-born population have been of incalculable advantage. Without the added population and wealth which immigration has brought the growth of the country would have been slow indeed. All of which is made an argument by some for not restricting the immigration. But it is really only an argument for not absolutely preventing immigration, which no one proposes to do. It is quality we want, not quantity.

A third argument, sometimes raised, for not restricting immigration is that our danger is not from the poor, but from the wealthy. Said Wendell Phillips: "In combining, perpetual, legalized private wealth lies our danger to-day;" many believe that the rich men of this land are "our dangerous class;" that Newport and Saratoga, Lenox and Wall Street are the centers of our social and national corruption. Nor is it only labor leaders who say this. Says Professor R. T. Ely:

"It is unscrupulous wealth which rules and corrupts our cities. What influence, comparatively speaking, have working men in our politics? Was Jacob Sharp a wage-earner? Were the manipulators of the West End scandal in the Massachusetts Legislature dwellers in the slums of Boston? Does any sane man in Baltimore who wishes to work a measure through our City Council rely upon the assistance of leaders of working men? I have some idea of what I would do in Baltimore. I know the men whom I would approach, but they are not wage-earners. President Seth Low has said that his study and actual experience as Mayor of Brooklyn have convinced him that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city governments. He says he did not find wealth always ready to cooperate, and he believes that our cities could not have made so rapid progress as they have without universal suffrage."

Some radical reformers, therefore, argue that we need socialistic legislation, and that immigration will help the socialist vote. But to this it may be said that even granting the premises, the conclusion does not follow. The wealth be to blame, it does not follow that all immigrants will quietly vote for reform. On the other hand, there is only too much evidence to believe that, in their ignorance, it is these very people who, being corrupted by the wealthy, enable dishonest politicians and corrupt legislators to sell legislation to the interest of monopoly and of greed. Finally, it is urged that the general principle of the brotherhood of man and the traditions of this country, as an asylum for the oppressed, should prevent any restriction upon immigration. To this it is answered that as we do not invite all the world to our family tables, we are not compelled to ruin our national life by inviting all the world to occupy our lands. The question is whether by maintaining our own high level we do not best play our part in the great brotherhood of nations. Said the late Bishop of Massachusetts: "The trusteeship of our land for all humanity—we can never go back upon that; but it may be in order for us to stand guard over the quantity, in order that we make more sure of the quality of those whom we welcome to our world."

OUR PRESENT LAWS.

The main law, which is now in force, was approved March 3, 1891. The first and chief section of this law debarb from landing "all idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from a loathsome or a dangerous contagious disease, persons who have been convicted of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and also any persons whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown on special inquiry that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes, or to the class of contract laborers. . . ." This section does not exclude persons living in the United States from sending for a relative or friend who is not of the excluded classes. In addition to these classes of persons, contract laborers are debarred under the Contract Labor Law of February 26, 1885. The new law of March 3, 1893, names no additional classes of persons to be excluded, altho the general impression is to the contrary. It simply provides for the making out of manifests at the port of embarkation, containing answers to a number of questions to be put to each intending emigrant, as to name, age, sex, occupation, etc. These manifests are to be signed or sworn to by the masters or officers of the steamers bringing the immigrants, the officers having to swear that, so far as they know, none of their passengers are of the excluded classes. These oaths are taken before the American consul at the port of departure, the object of the law being to prevent the embarkation of any persons who ought to be debarred here.

There was, however, in the winter of 1895-96, a strong agitation to place an educational

restriction on immigration. The immigration checked by the hard times of 1893-94 had increased, especially as to Italian immigration. From January 1 to May 1, 1896, 2700 Italians are said to have landed in New York City. As a result, on May 20, 1896, the House passed the so-called McCall Bill, principally prepared by the Immigration Restriction League of Boston. The principal items of the bill are (1) that "all male persons between 16 and 60 years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language" shall be refused admission, provided that no parent of a person now living in this country or admitted to this country shall be excluded because of inability to read and write; and (2) that no person shall be admitted to engage in mechanical or manual labor who resides or retains his home in a foreign land, except that the Secretary of the Treasury may allow aliens to come and teach new arts and industries; (3) that no persons, company, or corporation shall employ such aliens except in the case of employees of vessels of the United States or railroad companies whose lines enter foreign countries. The bill was carried by 195 to 26.

References: *Emigration and Immigration*, by R. Mayo-Smith (1890). See also Reports of the U. S. Commission of Immigration.

IMPORTS. See EXPORTS.

INCIDENCES OF TAXATION. See TAXATION.

INCOME TAX.—An income tax is a direct tax levied upon income, and usually progressively graded according to the size of the income. (See TAXATION.) It seems at first sight unquestionably the most equitable of taxes, conforming as it does to almost all the canons of taxation (*q.v.*). There is, however, one great drawback. It seems almost impossible to equitably collect the tax. Honest people will report their whole income and pay the proper tax. Dishonest people (and the number of persons who will honestly report their incomes seems lamentably small) falsify their incomes and escape taxation. Some people, therefore, call it a tax upon honesty, and consider it in practical working the most unjust of taxes. John Stuart Mill says (*Political Economy*, Book V., chap. iii., § 5):

"The tax, therefore, on whatever principles of equality it may be imposed, is in practice unequal in one of the worst ways, falling heaviest on the most conscientious. The unscrupulous succeed in evading a great proportion of what they should pay; even persons of integrity in their ordinary transactions are tempted to palter with their consciences, at least to the extent of deciding in their own favor all points on which the smallest doubt or discussion could arise; while the strictly veracious may be made to pay more than the State intended, by the powers of arbitrary assessment necessarily intrusted to the commissioners as the last defense against the taxpayer's power of concealment.

"It is to be feared, therefore, that the fairness which belongs to the principle of an income tax cannot be made to attach to it in practice; and that this tax, while apparently the most just of all modes of raising a revenue, is in effect more unjust than many others which are *primâ facie* more objectionable. This consideration would lead us to concur in the opinion which, until of late, has usually prevailed—that direct taxes on income should be reserved as an extraordinary resource for great national emergencies, in

which the necessity of a large additional revenue overrules all objections."

Professor E. R. A. Seligman, on the other hand, speaking of this quarter in practice, says (*Political Science Quarterly*, vol. ix., pp. 636-638):

"It is usually forgotten that in dealing with problems of this character the real inquiry is not what is absolutely good, but what is relatively best. So far as the objection is true, it will be found to be due in great part to certain provisions of the law which, as we shall see, might have been avoided. But the objection itself has been made too much of. It is undoubtedly true that the income taxes in the commonwealths are almost entirely farcical. But that is owing solely to the fact that no earnest effort is made to execute the law. Where, however, there is a serious administration, as was the case with the federal income taxes during the Civil War, the result is very different. It is commonly assumed that the Civil War income tax was in many respects a failure and was provocative of great frauds. But after some comparison of the federal income tax with the local property taxes, I venture to say that the federal income tax, notwithstanding all its imperfections, crudities, and ensuing frauds, was nevertheless more successful than the general property tax. Let us test this by taking its fortunes in a typical State, utilizing the returns of the State comptroller and the federal officials. . . .

"In short, the history of the income tax clearly shows that it was more lucrative than a corresponding property tax, and that it succeeded in many cases where the personal property tax failed. The income tax was indeed productive of great frauds, but the personal property tax created far more. It was precisely because the income tax reached so many of the mercantile and capitalistic classes who have both previously and since escaped taxation, that it became unpopular and was abolished."

Such are typical opinions. In Europe it is a common form of taxation, and seems to have worked better the longer it has been tried.

Of the history of the income tax Professor Seligman says (in the above article):

"England led the way in the introduction of the new system. When Pitt had come almost to the end of his fiscal expedients during the desperate struggle with France, he introduced in 1798 the famous 'triple assessment.' The so-called 'assessed taxes' at that time included taxes on carriages, servants, horses, dwellings, dogs, powder, and watches. Pitt took the taxpayers who were assessed to these taxes, and multiplied their assessment by a figure ranging from three to five times the original amount. Although reference was made to income in several places, the tax was really on expenditure, or on the presumed income as calculated by expenditure. Partly for this reason and partly because it was levied only on those who had previously paid the 'assessed taxes,' it was a failure. Accordingly in 1799 the new 'property and income tax' was levied directly on income, not on expenditure, and all persons were required to make a return of their total income. In 1803 an important change took place, in that the tax was no longer assessed on the total income, but on each source of income by itself, in five schedules. With some minor changes the tax continued until the close of the Napoleonic wars, when it was dropped, not to reappear until 1842.

"At that time the contemplated abolition of the Corn Laws and the abandonment of the protective system made it necessary to seek some compensation in other directions. It was, therefore, chiefly as a revenue measure that recourse was had to the old income tax, now reenacted on about the same lines as those of 1803. But what was imposed

History.

as a mere temporary makeshift has grown to be a permanent part of the English tax system, which no one now thinks of abandoning, and which yields an annual revenue of about \$70,000,000, capable of increase or diminution according to a change in the annual rate.

"As in England, so in Italy the revenue feature was the chief consideration in the origin of the present income tax. It was adopted by Cavour, the great admirer and student of England, as a means of support

for the newly born kingdom of Italy. Initiated by the law of 1864 and greatly altered by the law of 1877, the Italian income tax now yields about \$50,000,000 a year.

"In France, again, the immense burdens of the war of 1870 led the financiers to cast about for means of relief. The sad memories of the abuses connected with personal taxation before the Revolution were still strong in the minds of the public. Although a general income tax was proposed, the law enacted in 1871, which is still in force to-day, provided for a tax only on income from corporations and associations. This partial income tax yields about 75,000,000 francs a year.

"In the United States the federal income tax was also due to fiscal considerations. During the War of 1812 Secretary Dallas had put forth a scheme of a general income tax, and if peace had not been concluded a few weeks later, there is little doubt that the proposition would have been adopted. When the Civil War broke out, the fiscal exigencies were such that no opposition to the scheme was made. The income tax sections of the Direct Property Tax Act of 1861, however, were never put in force, and it was not until 1862 that an 'income duty' was levied on all annual 'gains, profits, or income.' The tax, of which we are told in the Government reports that 'the people have accepted it with cheerfulness,' grew increasingly unpopular as the great need of revenue diminished, until the system came to an end in 1872.

"While in England, Italy, France, and the United States, the income tax was due primarily to the temporary needs of the Government, in other places like Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and some of the American commonwealths, it was adopted as a means of improving the general tax system. In the German States the real-estate tax had become by the beginning of the century a tax on the produce of land and houses. To this some of the States gradually added taxes on the product from other sources, like capital, business, and individual exertions. Other States sought to make the system more equitable by regarding the personal situation of the profits-receiver rather than the amount produced. Thus, there grew up, on the one hand, a general income tax, as in Prussia, Saxony, and Baden, and on the other hand a system of partial income taxes supplementing the original taxes on produce, as in Bavaria, Württemberg, and some of the smaller States. But everywhere the idea was to attain a greater uniformity and equality of taxation. So also in Holland, the two laws of last year have finally realized the much-mooted scheme of reform, introducing a general plan of income taxation, through a tax on income from property and a separate tax on income from all other sources.

"In the cantons of Switzerland the system of taxation was for a long time exactly the same as in the American States. But the inadequacy of the general property tax finally led them to supplement it by a taxation of incomes. In some cantons we find a general property tax and a general income tax; in others we have a property tax on certain elements and an income tax on other elements. But in the majority of cases we find a property tax together with a supplementary income tax, in order to avoid double taxation. In democratic Switzerland, as in monarchic Germany, the income tax has become so firmly entrenched that any proposition to abolish it would be regarded as a retrograde step.

"Some of the American commonwealths also have endeavored to remedy the defects of the general property tax by the imposition of an income tax. This is a chapter in the history of finance which has been almost entirely overlooked, and which can only be alluded to in this place. The still existing income tax in North Carolina was begun in 1840, because, as the preamble of the act recites, 'there are many wealthy citizens who derive very considerable revenues from

interest, dividends, and profits, and who do not contribute a due proportion to the public exigencies.' So also the income taxes of Alabama and Virginia, which were introduced in 1843 and 1849, arose out of dissatisfaction with the existing property taxes. These examples are all the more significant when it is borne in mind that the defects of the general property tax were by no means so glaring 50 years ago as they are to-day. It is true that most of these income taxes were failures for much the same reason that the tax on personal property has become a farce. In Alabama the income tax was abolished in 1884; only in Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina is any attempt made to-day to levy an income tax, and in these States the attempt for many reasons meets with a very slight degree of success. But the point to be empha-

sized here is that the income tax, whenever introduced into any American commonwealth, was enacted with the avowed purpose of removing inequalities in the tax system.

"In Australasia, also, there has been of recent years a very decided movement toward income taxes for the purpose of rendering the revenue systems more equitable. An income tax has existed in South Australia since 1885, in addition to the land tax. In Tasmania an income tax-bill has recently been introduced. In New South Wales a similar bill was passed by the Assembly a year or two ago, after much discussion. It was indeed rejected by the Legislative Council, but it is bound to reappear in the near future. In New Zealand the dissatisfaction with the general property tax finally reached such a point that it was replaced in 1891 by a land tax, together with a tax on all incomes other than those from land. The income tax was collected for the first time in 1893."

As to the United States war income tax, the following are the more important details :

It was during the extra session of Congress in 1861 that Thaddeus Stevens, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, reported the first Income Tax bill. As amended and passed, it taxed all incomes over \$800 3 per cent., unless derived from United States bonds, which were taxed 1½ per cent. Incomes of citizens of the United States residing abroad were taxed 7½ per cent. Owing to the late time of its taking effect, the income tax brought into the treasury but a small sum prior to the year 1864, when there was collected under the head of income tax a little over \$15,000,000. By the act of March 3, 1865, the Income Tax law was amended so as to increase the 3 per cent. tax to 5 per cent., and the 5 per cent. tax on incomes over \$10,000 was changed to a 10 per cent. tax upon the excess over \$5000 income. The most of the tax for the year 1865, however, was collected under the original law, and brought into the treasury the sum of \$21,000,000 for the fiscal year 1864-65. The following year, 1865-66, the war having ceased and the country being in a high state of development in all its resources, the income tax rose to a point the highest ever reached in the history of the tax. The returns for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, showed a total revenue from the income tax of \$60,547,832.43. This was but little diminished in the following year, 1866-67, when the net revenue from the income tax footed up \$57,040,640.67.

The income tax was further amended March 2, 1867, so as to increase the exemption then standing at \$600 (it having in the mean time been modified from \$800) up to \$1000. At the same time all discrimination as to taxing large incomes a higher rate was abolished, and the tax fixed at 5 per cent. on all incomes in excess of \$1000.

Under the modified tax there was collected in the year 1868 the large sum of \$32,027,640.73 ; in 1869, \$25,025,068.86, and in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1870, \$27,125,046.11. On that day the income tax ceased in the United States.

The entire amount realized from it in 10 years was nearly \$365,000,000. It reached about 250,000 persons out of a population of 40,000,000.

In recent years there has been considerable agitation for an income tax, culminating in the passage of a bill establishing such a tax, tho it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Professor Seligman says (in the above-quoted article) :

"For some years a progressive income tax has been one of the chief planks in the platforms not only of the Populists and the anti-monopolists, but of the farmers' conventions throughout the length and breadth of the land.

"When, therefore, the opportunity presented itself, the Western and Southern representatives in Congress were not slow to seize it. The self-imposed mission of the Democratic Party was to reduce and equalize taxation. Altho the Democrats at first proposed simply to lower the tariff to a revenue basis, it was soon recognized that the reductions would be more radical. Looked at merely from the standpoint of convenience and ease of collection, the simple method of making good a deficit in the tariff revenue would have been to modify the system of internal revenue. This plan, indeed, was advanced by Mr. David A. Wells, and at one time it seemed to enjoy a reasonable prospect of meeting with legislative approval. . . .

"But while the anticipated deficit gave the Western and Southern representatives their opportunity, it was not so much the idea of increasing the revenue as that of correcting inequalities in the tax system that was really in their mind. . . . Opposition to the tax came, as was natural, from the great cities of the East. . . . The large dailies were filled with indignant protests. In the West there was by no means the same opposition even among Republicans. An Income Tax bill was introduced into the House January 24, 1894, but was subsequently incorporated in the Wilson tariff bill. It was bitterly opposed, notably by David Hill, of New York, but it finally passed with the Tariff bill by a vote of 182 to 106. It became a law without the President's signature. Its constitutionality, however, was questioned, and several test cases were pushed through to the Supreme Court, which rendered a decision April 8, 1895, declaring some of its clauses unconstitutional, but on some other points, Justice Jackson being sick, the court was evenly divided. May 20, however, a final decision was rendered by a vote of five to four, declaring the whole bill unconstitutional, in that it was a direct tax, and made no provision for an apportionment among the States according to the population, the Constitution declaring that all direct taxes must be so apportioned. Justices Brown, Jackson, Harlan, and White entered a vigorous dissenting opinion, but one of those who had previously thought the tax constitutional had changed his mind, and the tax was declared illegal. But the Democratic Party has put an income tax plank into its platform of 1896, and the end is not yet."

References : See TAXATION.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, THE (ENGLISH), popularly called the I. L. P., is mainly the outgrowth of the agitation of Mr. Keir Hardie (*q. v.*), for an independent political party to voice the demands of labor. In 1888 he established a Scotch Labor Party. (See SCOTLAND.) In January, 1893, a conference of 115 persons was held at Bradford, England, and the Independent Labor Party organized. Tho not using the term socialist in its name, it is now distinctly socialistic, its constitution, as amended in 1894, declaring its object to be "the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange."

Its methods are the capture of the House of Commons by independent labor representatives. Its present social and industrial program includes an eight-hour day, abolition of overtime, provision for the aged and disabled, universal free education, work for the unemployed, taxation of unearned incomes, arbitration, and disarmament.

At the second conference, held in Manchester in 1894, 115 delegates were present, representing branches. An I. L. P. of Wales and Monmouthshire was formed in 1894. At the third annual conference (1895), held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the political program of the party was much extended and classified under 27 items. Of the part played by the I. L. P. in the general election in 1895 Mr. Tom Mann, the secretary of the I. L. P., writes in the *Labor Annual* for 1895 :

"The defeat of the Liberal administration in the month of June, necessitating the general election in July, involved the summoning of a special I.L.P. conference to decide what should be the policy of the I.L.P. in constituencies where no socialist candidate could be run. Accordingly, a special conference was held on July 4, in Essex Hall. It was agreed that none but socialists should be supported by the I.L.P. members, and only those to be counted worthy of support who were either members of the I.L.P. or the S.D.F. In order to test the feeling of the delegates as to their attitude toward the orthodox parties in other constituencies, a vote was taken, with the following result : One delegate thought the I.L.P. as a body should

vote Liberal; 2 others, that they should vote Conservative; 7 thought it best to vote against the sitting member; and 105 that the party should entirely abstain from voting for either Liberal or Conservative. This decisive vote was sent all over the country as an instruction from the conference. . . . The loyalty of the rank and file to the special conference decision was in every way commendable. Altho not one member of the party was returned to Parliament, to have run 28 candidates, to have secured an average of 1583 votes, and a total of 44,321 for a first trial, was, without a doubt, an achievement of much hopefulness."

The prominent organs of the I. L. P. are Keir Hardie's *Labor Leader* and Robert Blatchford's *Clarion*.

INDIA AND SOCIAL REFORM.—(For the conquest of India by the British, see EAST INDIA COMPANY; for the agricultural conditions, see AGRICULTURE.)

The present form of government in India dates from 1858, when all the territories in India governed by the East India Company were vested in the crown, the executive authority being a governor-general, styled viceroy, appointed by the crown and acting under the orders of the secretary of the State for India, who is assisted by a council, the major part of whom must have served or resided 10 years in India. There is also a council of the governor-general of 6 members, appointed by the crown, and a legislative council of 22, nominated by the viceroy. There are 12 provinces, each with a governor. The governors of Madras and Bombay have also legislative and executive councils.

Statistics.

The total area of the 12 provinces of British India, not including the tributary native states, was in 1891, 964,993 square miles, with a population of 287,223,431; 85,670,000 speak Hindu, 41,340,000 speak Bengali, 238,499 speak English. The English-born population was 100,551 in 1891; 171,735,000 are supposed to be dependent on agriculture, 25,468,000 on general labor, 3600 on the State and local administration.

Two hundred and seven millions in 1891 were of the Hindu religion, 57,000,000 Mohammedans, 7,000,000 Buddhists, 9,000,000 Animistic, 2,285,380 Christians (of which 1,315,265 were Roman Catholics), 246,546,176 were illiterate and not under instruction, 3,195,220 were under instruction. The revenue of India in 1894 was 90,505,214 rix. The expenditures in 1894 were over 92,112,212 rix.

The main source of revenue was a land tax, and the main expenditure for the army. The imports in 1894-95 were 83,110,200 rupees, and the exports, 117,139,831. In 1894 there were 18,855 miles of railway open, of which 5377 were worked by the State. The working expenses are less than 50 per cent. of the gross earnings. India has to spend about £16,000,000 in England in gold, while its revenues are raised in silver. June 26, 1893, its mints were closed to the unrestricted coinage of silver.

The problems of social reform in India are those incidental to a great empire of one degree of civilization being ruled from a far-distant land of a very different civilization. On the one hand, Great Britain is accused, not without a very large basis in fact, of governing India, not for the good of India, but of Great Britain. The monetary policy, the trade restrictions, adopted by the Anglo-Indian Government is dictated undoubtedly by the interest of English gold rather than Hindu needs. Nevertheless, it can equally be shown that Great Britain's rule of India, however selfish, has been more for India's good than the centuries when India undertook to govern herself. If there have been famines and plagues under the rule of Great Britain in India, they have doubtless been lighter than they were formerly. Great Britain has scrupulously, for the most part, respected the religious views and rites of her heathen subjects, and only comparatively recently

has she even ventured to forbid the inhuman sacrifices and self-immolations taught by the Hindu faiths. She has introduced railroads and developed commerce. The problems of India to-day are how far to allow local government in communities not fitted for it, and how far to force Western ideas of democracy on civilizations molded on caste. Too often, however, a necessary paternalism has been made the excuse for the selfish tyranny of the parent government.

INDIRECT TAXATION. See TAXATION.

INDIVIDUALISM.—The term *individualism*, as used in social science, has been defined as "the theory of government which favors the non-interference of the State in the affairs of individuals" (*Century Dictionary*). It is, however, more commonly, and much more correctly used for the *tendency* to oppose State interference in the affairs of the individual rather than for any cut-and-dried theory of the function or lack of function of the State. When a man says he is an *individualist*, he usually means not that he holds any exact *à priori* theory as to what the State should or should not do, but that he inclines to oppose State interference, unless it be very clearly proven that it is necessary. **Definition.** The presumption with him is against interference. He inclines to resist socialistic legislation, even in small matters, lest they lead to a general State socialism. He believes that we must finally decide from experience and history what in each particular case is wise. Individualism must not be confounded with anarchism (*q. v.*), nor with the positive program laid down by particular individualists, however prominent. (See SINGLE TAX; SPENCER; VOLUNTARISM.)

We find individualism somewhat developed among the Greek Sophists and in all Greek thought. Greek political philosophy conceived, it is true, of the individual as living for the State rather than for himself; but with this went a high conception of the complete man, the sound mind in a sound body, and this developed a practical, ethical, if not a political individualism. Aristotle, with his tendency to exalt the concrete over Platonic abstractions, may be said to be the first great thinker of individualism, tho even he held the high Greek conception of the State. The Cyrenaic and the Epicurean schools both developed a type of ethical individualism. Still more did Stoicism lend itself consistently to individualism. Some of the profoundest thoughts of ethical individualism have come down from the Greek Stoics, while some of its noblest and most classic utterances must be sought in the pages of the Roman Stoics.

The Roman Empire, it is true, developed into a strong imperialism; nevertheless, in Roman thought, and above all in Roman jurisprudence, the individual is in a large sense supreme over the State, since we have here the first clear development of the theory of contract between free individuals. Meanwhile, the life and teachings of Christ were developing, many hold, an individualism flowering into fraternal charity rather than the primitive Christian communism,

of which so much is said to-day. (For a discussion of this, see CHRIST AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Be this as it may, the Middle Ages, inheriting the traditions of Roman power, together with the religious teachings of Christ, developed an ecclesiastical paternalism removed alike from a primitive communism or an ethical individualism.

Nevertheless, in some of the school men we trace an individualist thought based in part upon the teachings of Aristotle, while some of the ascetics practised what may be called a selfish individualistic spirituality. The characteristic ages of individualism, however, are those between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Revolted alike from the despotism of the Church and the tyranny of the warrior, we find the individual asserting himself everywhere, in religion and in philosophy, in political science and in practice. In religion, Luther, by the doctrine of salvation by faith, lifts the individual into the right of private judgment; while Calvin, with his doctrine of the divine decrees, by making man obedient to God alone, lifts him above obedience to any human power. From the position of Luther or Calvin it was but a step toward the practical realization of their theories by an assertion of the right of private judgment in morals and of civil liberty in matters where unity of action was not a social necessity. Kant, Bentham, John Stuart Mill, all helped people to take this step more and more fearlessly. The line of thought advanced by these men finds its legitimate development in the writings of John Morley and its exaggeration in those of W. K. Clifford.

Says Mr. Morley (*On Compromise*, pp. 278-281):

"We may best estimate the worth and the significance of the doctrine of Liberty by considering the line of thought and observation which led to it. To begin with, it is in Mr. Mill's hands something quite different from the same doctrine as preached by the French revolutionary school; indeed, one might even call it reactionary, in respect of the French theory of a hundred years back. It reposes on no principle of abstract right, but, like the rest of its author's opinions, on principles of utility and experience. . . . Mr. Carlyle and one or two rhetorical imitators poured malediction on the many-headed populace, and with rather a pitiful impatience insisted that the only hope for men lay in their finding and obeying a strong man—a king, a hero, a dictator. How he was to be found, neither the master nor his still angrier and more impatient mimics could ever tell us.

"Now Mr. Mill's doctrine laid down the main condition of finding your hero—*viz.*, that all ways should be left open to him, because no man, nor majority of men, could possibly tell by which of these ways their deliverers were from time to time destined to present themselves. Wits have caricatured all this by asking us whether by encouraging the tares to grow, you give the wheat a better chance. This is as misleading as such metaphors usually are. The doctrine of liberty rests on a faith drawn from the observation of human progress, that tho we know wheat to be serviceable and tares to be worthless, yet there are in the great seed-plot of human nature a thousand rudimentary germs, not wheat and not tares, of whose properties we have not had a fair opportunity of assuring ourselves. If you are too eager to pluck up the tares, you are very likely to pluck up with them these untried possibilities of human excellence, and you are, moreover, very likely to injure the growing wheat as well. The demonstration of this lies in the recorded experience of mankind."

Professor Hadley thus sums up this philosophy of individualism (*Economics*, p. 14):

"Constitutional liberty in politics, rational altruism in morals, and modern business methods in production and distribution of wealth have been the outcome of the great individualistic movement of the nineteenth century. The individualist has taught people not to confound public morality with a state church, public security with police activity, or public wealth with government property. He has taught men that, as society develops, the interests of its members become more and more harmonious; in other words, that rational egoism and rational altruism tend to coincide."

But the characteristic modern development of individualism is economic. With many fore-runners, and perhaps particularly Hume, Adam Smith is here the great name, the father of the school of natural liberty, which we do not dwell upon here only because it is treated in full elsewhere.

Causes.

(See POLITICAL ECONOMY.) Yet perhaps even here the school of natural liberty and Adam Smith are a result rather than a cause. It was necessary to break the old economic restraints. New discoveries, new inventions, new processes refused to be fettered by old laws. In France, the Revolution; in England, Adam Smith; in Germany, the Stein Hardenberg legislation; in America, the bills of rights incorporated into the national and State constitutions, all witness to and develop the same tendency to free and to protect the individual from restraint. In every country it has produced reaction—in France, the empire; in Germany, State and democratic socialism; in England, factory laws, and more recently municipalism; in the United States, federalism, republicanism, and protection. Through all the first half of the nineteenth century, however, individualism was in all directions dominant. Its results are well known. The individual, free from legislative restraint, seeks gain. The producer who can produce the most, the best, or the cheapest gains the market.

Out of competition to do this has sprung the modern mastery of the methods of production, division of labor, improved machinery, gigantic plants, the factory system, industry on the large scale; if it has produced the capitalist and the millionaire, it has also both lowered prices and raised wages for the million. In its search for new markets and commercial gain it has girded the world with the telegraph, continents with railroads, and whitened the sea with sails. It has developed more progress in 100 years than all the other centuries put together. If its characteristic results have been material, it has made education common. It is true that large producers and the development of colossal transportation corporations have created difficulties for the small producer, made the workman largely dependent upon the capitalist, and developed the means of production beyond the present ability to consume, causing the phenomena of the unemployed and the tramp. But it must be remembered, in the first place, that these evils are due to the very success of individualism, so that we should think twice before we attempt to cure them by destroying the system which has created this success; secondly, it is to be doubted if there are more unemployed than before, while certainly real wages, measured by prices, are materially advanced; thirdly, individualists believe that the cure lies

Results.

not in forsaking the principle which has been the very life of modern progress, but in lifting up every individual to a level of more effective competition till every man receive the means of life because every man be able to contribute something to the social need. What is needed, according to this view, is not less, but more individualism.

Modern practical individualism does not urge that at present we should do away with all industrial legislation or all interference of the State with the affairs of individuals; it believes that till men grow wiser they need some legislative checks, but it holds that in general it is wiser to let the individual act as he will and seek to overcome the ills resulting from his mistakes by educating wiser and better individuals.

THE ARGUMENT FOR INDIVIDUALISM.

The arguments for individualism may be conveniently divided into four heads: (1) The ethical argument; (2) the biological; (3) the inductive positive argument; (4) the inductive negative argument from the follies and evils of State interference. The ethical argument probably affects the common consciousness far more than any other. Professor S. N. Patten, in the Introduction to his *Theory of Social Forces*, considers individualism to rest largely on eighteenth century philosophy, and says:

"I question whether the hold which this social philosophy has on the popular mind can be shaken by an appeal to inductive evidence. This hold depends upon certain concepts and ideals which have received classical statements at the hands of our ablest thinkers, and which cannot be displaced by unorganized facts."

The basis of popular individualism undoubtedly lies deep down in the fundamental facts of the universe, in the power, the worth, the consciousness of responsibility in the individual soul. It takes ordinarily a form either religious or one of so-called natural ethics. **The Ethical Argument.** One of the fundamental principles of Christianity is the worth of the individual soul. Protestantism, with its right of private judgment, its doctrine of salvation by faith, is particularly in accord with the individualistic tendency.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his *Evolution of Christianity*, says:

"It has been said that Jesus Christ was the first socialist. This is certainly an inexact, if not an absolutely erroneous statement. It would be more nearly correct to say that He was the first individualist. The socialist assumes that the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization. Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery in the world is individual wrong-doing."

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman (*Socialism and the American Spirit*, pp. 324-327):

"A higher individualism is possible, and has long been actual, with at least a few of each generation of mankind. It respects every person as having something of infinite worth in him, and would begin to improve the world by elevating the single spirit, counting no advance permanent that is not based on reformed and cultivated individuals. This method fully deserves the epithet, 'Christian,' derived from 'the only soul in history who has appreciated the worth of a man.' The teaching of Jesus was profoundly individualistic in its imperative address to the private conscience. Such a spiritual doctrine does not find its

natural alliance with a mechanical socialism. This, with most of its expounders, is materialistic to the core. The Christian spirit is in full harmony with a rationalized individualism in social life. So inspired, individualism includes voluntary cooperation, the method of modern civilization; and the ideal to which it tends is fraternalism, not paternalism. The inquiry is extremely pertinent: 'Have we yet even discovered the resources of an individualism which is not synonymous with selfishness, but welcomes and fosters public spirit?' Few wise persons will answer this in the affirmative."

This higher individualism, perhaps, quite as often to-day takes the form of so-called "natural ethics."

Mr. M. D. O'Brien, in the Introduction to his *Socialism Tested by Facts*, says:

"Weak and little, low and corrupt as he is, yet Nature has endowed man with such a spirit that he can never permanently become the slave of men. This spirit is individualism, the deepest and mightiest fact in existence, which brings man closest to Nature herself, to his central silent home, and plants the root of his life in a substance that cannot perish. Through this spirit works the infinite, and while the heavens bend above, it can never break or fail. . . . This spirit of individualism, of nonconformity, of social, political, and religious heresy is the sword which Nature forges while despots sleep; and just when they dream themselves insured in an eternity of comfortable stagnation it suddenly flashes before them, scattering their plans, circumventing their cunning, and breaking all their pet idols in pieces. This spirit opens the enslaving shell of custom, throws it aside, and allows the inner life to grow. Low slavish natures hate and fear it above everything, and no means are too bad for them to use against it; but it has always managed in the long run to undo them, and it will yet live and flourish when they and all their works are lost in the slavery of the past."

"Individualism," says Draper (*Conflict between Religion and Science*, chap. ii., p. 295), "rests on the principle that a man shall be his own master."

It is in such thoughts, of the worth of the individual, either because of its individual union with God, if the theory take a religious form, or because of the conviction that simple character, self-rule, self-reliance, self-poise, is the one thing of worth in the universe, that most men base their argument for individualism. They argue that for the State to interfere with the action of the individual weakens character. It is far better, says the individualist, for men to carve their own way, to live their own lives, to learn by experience their own lessons, even if they make continual blunders, than for the State to be interfering, even if, so far as the immediate step be concerned, it interfere wisely, because the latter course will weaken the individual will and lessen individual ability. Few individualists think that any government is wise enough to interfere wisely, but even if it were, individualists would still oppose it because of its undermining influences upon character. A wise government, they would argue, may be even worse than a foolish government. A foolish government would probably call out resistance and activity. A wise paternalism might lull to eternal sleep the power of self-choice and self-will.

The second argument for individualism is a biological one. (For a completer statement of it, see BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.) We shall also notice it again in considering the objection to socialism. It may be said, in a word, to be that there can be no progress save by competition, no progress save by natural selection and the survival of the fittest, so that the struggle for life

between individuals is of the very essence of progressive life, while just so far as the State interferes with this struggle between individuals, and either forces or leads all men into cooperation, it must induce a low and lowering social level and the gradual degeneration of the individual. This is one of the arguments for individualism most prevalent to-day. We do not dwell upon it here simply because it is considered elsewhere. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.)

The third argument, or the induction from positive experiences of individualism, may be deemed but a form of the biological argument. It is, however, such an important form as to make it worthy of treatment by itself. It argues that the highest civilization, materially and in character, has as a matter of fact been developed when there has been the most individualism. We have seen something of this in considering the history of individualism.

Beginning largely with Adam Smith and the so-called school of national liberty (see POLITICAL ECONOMY), we have had less interference of the State with the individual than ever before in the history of civilized man. What has been the result? There have been evils; no man claims perfection for the nineteenth century; but there has been more progress in most directions than in all the other centuries of civilization put together. In science, in the means of livelihood, in popular education, in the art of preserving life, in acquainting men with the facts of the universe, in the means of communication, man has advanced as never before in all his history. Generally speaking, perhaps, the country where individualism has been carried to the farthest degree is the United States, with Great Britain next. With what result? These two countries are to-day the wealthiest, the strongest, the most vital countries of the world. The language and the commerce of these two nations are dominating the world. Particularly has the United States stood for individualism.

Says Mr. N. P. Gilman (*Socialism and the American Spirit*, p. 90):

"In more senses than one America may be called the paradise of the individual. No other country has held out such great prizes to private talent for the last century, or offered it a freer field to work in. A manly, capable, and self-reliant people, Americans have had an opportunity the like of which is unknown to history. Least of all peoples have they had reason to put their faith in governmental machinery, even that of their own devising, in preference to individual initiative and voluntary cooperation. Especially in the building up of great manufacturing industries and the development of immense transportation systems has the practical genius of the people asserted itself, with the results in the gigantic operations and colossal fortunes which we see to-day in all directions. The American is always ready to receive help from the State in starting a railway or a steamship line (the old flag and an appropriation), but he is not at all inclined to consider the Government a proper agent for the management or ownership of either."

Mr. Gilman quotes Alfred Fouillée as saying (*Education from a National Standpoint*, Am. ed., p. 6): "Scarcely an American can be found who has not in his mind, in a more or less nebulous form, this idea of illimitable individualism and indefinite expansion."

Now, what has been the result? America's material wealth, her popular education, and her progress in almost all ways, are the marvel of the world. Nowhere do the common people begin to be so well off. In wages, in home comforts, in liberty, in popular education, the working people native to the United States are far ahead of any working classes of the world, unless it be in New Zealand and in Australia. Particularly has business in America been free from governmental restrictions, with the result that nowhere else does business begin to be carried on in so effective or colossal a way, and nowhere else are the masses of the people so well off. This last thought leads to the reflection that the very fact of the prosperity of the people is the cause of the present social unrest.

Says Herbert Spencer, in the Introduction to *A Plea for Liberty*:

"Of the many ways in which common-sense inferences about social affairs are flatly contradicted by events, . . . one of the most curious is the way in which the more things improve, the louder become the exclamations about their badness. In the days when the people were without any political power, their subjection was rarely complained of; but after free institutions had so far advanced in England that our political arrangements were envied by continental peoples, the denunciations of aristocratic rule grew gradually stronger, until there came a great widening of the franchise, soon followed by complaints that things were going wrong for want of still further widening. . . . A century ago, when scarcely a man could be found who was not occasionally intoxicated, and when inability to take one or two bottles of wine brought contempt, no agitation arose against the vice of drunkenness; but now that, in the course of 50 years, the voluntary efforts of temperance societies, joined with more general causes, have produced comparative sobriety, there are vociferous demands for laws to prevent the ruinous effects of the liquor traffic. . . . And so it is too with the general state of the population in respect of food, clothing, shelter, and the appliances of life. Leaving out of the comparison early barbaric states, there has been a conspicuous progress from the time when most rustics lived on barley bread, rye bread, and oatmeal, down to our own time when the consumption of white wheaten bread is universal; from the days when coarse jackets, reaching to the knees, left the legs bare, down to the present day, when laboring people, like their employers, have the whole body covered by two or more layers of clothing; from the old era of single-roomed huts without chimneys, or from the fifteenth century, when even an ordinary gentleman's house was commonly without wainscot or plaster on its walls, down to the present century, when every cottage has more rooms than one, and the houses of artisans usually have several, while all have fireplaces, chimneys and glazed windows, accompanied mostly by paper hangings and painted doors, there has been, I say, a conspicuous progress in the condition of the people. And this progress has been still more marked within our own time. Any one who can look back 60 years, when the amount of pauperism was far greater than now, and beggars abundant, is struck by the comparative size and finish of the new houses of operatives; by the better dress of workmen, who wear broadcloth on Sundays, and that of servant girls, who vie with their mistresses; by the higher standard of living, which leads to a great demand for the best qualities of food by working people. . . . Not that the evils to be remedied are small. Let no one suppose that, by emphasizing the above paradox, I wish to make light of the sufferings which most men have to bear. The fates of the great majority have ever been, and doubtless still are, so sad that it is painful to think of them. Unquestionably the existing type of social organization is one which none who care for their kind can contemplate with satisfaction, and unquestionably men's activities accompanying this type are far from being admirable. . . . But it is not a question of absolute evils; it is a question of relative evils—whether the evils at present suffered are or are not less than the evils which would be suffered under another system; whether efforts for miti-

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under Individualism.**

gation along the lines thus followed are not more likely to succeed than efforts along different lines. . . . The present social state is transitional, as past social states have been transitional. There will, I hope and believe, come a future social state, differing as much from the present as the present differs from the past, with its mailed barons and defenseless serfs. . . . My opposition to socialism results from the belief that it would stop the progress to such a higher state, and bring back a lower state. Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life can produce permanently advantageous changes."

An even stronger argument for individualism is drawn from the follies and miscarriages of the wisest and best-intentioned State legislation and control. As is well known, Herbert Spencer calls the notion that evils can be readily righted by legislation the great modern political superstition. He says: "The great political superstition of the past was the divine right of kings. The great political superstition of the present is the divine right of parliaments" (*Essay on the Great Political Superstition*). He is never weary of illustrating the sins of legislators. He argues that legislators never know where the effect of their legislation will end. He says (*The Coming Slavery*):

The Follies of Legislation. "The legislator contemplates intently the things his act will achieve, but thinks little of the remoter issues of the movement his act sets up, and still less its collateral issues. . . . When, in war-time, 'food for powder' was to be provided by encouraging population—when Mr. Pitt said, 'Let us make relief in cases where there are a number of children a matter of right and honor, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt,' it was not expected that the poor-rates would be quadrupled in 50 years, that women with many bastards would be preferred as wives to modest women, because of their incomes from the parish, and that hosts of ratepayers would be pulled down into the ranks of pauperism. . . . Even less, as I say, does the politician who plumes himself on the practicalness of his aims conceive the indirect results which will follow the direct results of his measures. Thus, to take a case connected with one named above, it was not intended, through the system of 'payment by results,' to do anything more than give teachers an efficient stimulus; it was not supposed that in numerous cases, their health would give way under the stimulus; it was not expected that they would be led to adopt a cramming system and to put undue pressure on dull and weak children, often to their great injury; it was not foreseen that in many cases a bodily enfeeblement would be caused which no amount of grammar and geography can compensate for. The licensing of public-houses was simply for maintaining public order; those who devised it never imagined that there would result an organized interest powerfully influencing elections in an unwholesome way. Nor did it occur to the 'practical' politicians who provided a compulsory load-line for merchant vessels, that the pressure of ship-owners' interests would habitually cause the putting of the load-line at the very highest limit, and that from precedent to precedent, tending ever in the same direction, the load-line would gradually rise in the better class of ships, as from good authority I learn that it has already done. Legislators who, some 40 years ago, by act of Parliament compelled railway companies to supply cheap locomotion, would have ridiculed the belief, had it been expressed, that eventually their act would punish the companies which improved the supply; and yet this was the result to companies which began to carry third-class passengers by fast trains; since a penalty to the amount of the passenger duty was inflicted on them for every third-class passenger so carried. . . . 'We must educate our masters,' is the well-known saying of a Liberal who opposed the last extension of the franchise. Yes, if the education were worthy to be so called, and were relevant to the political enlightenment needed, much might be hoped from it. But knowing rules of syntax, being able to add up correctly, having geographical information, and a memory stocked with the dates of kings' accessions and generals' victories, no more implies fitness to form political conclusions than acquire-

ment of skill in drawing implies expertness in telegraphing, or than ability to play cricket implies proficiency on the violin. 'Surely,' rejoins some one, 'facility in reading opens the way to political knowledge.' Doubtless; but will the way be followed? Table-talk proves that nine out of ten people read what amuses them or interests them rather than what instructs them; and that the last thing they read is something which tells them disagreeable truths or dispels groundless hopes. That popular education results in an extensive reading of publications which foster pleasant illusions rather than of those which insist on hard realities is beyond question."

In other writings, Mr. Spencer gives still more detailed instances of the ways in which State legislation works unexpected ills. He says (*Social Statics*, ed. of 1851, p. 384):

"An architect and surveyor describes it [the Building Act] as having worked after the following manner. In those districts of London consisting of inferior houses built in that unsubstantial fashion which the New Building Act was to mend, there obtains an average rent, sufficiently remunerative to landlords whose houses were run up economically before the New Building Act passed. This existing average rent fixes the rent that must be charged in these districts for new houses of the same accommodation—that is the same number of rooms, for the people they are built for do not appreciate the extra safety of living within walls strengthened with hoop-iron bond. Now it turns out upon trial, that houses built in accordance with the present regulations, and let at this established rate, bring in nothing like a reasonable return. Builders have consequently confined themselves to erecting houses in better districts (where the possibility of a profitable competition with preexisting houses shows that those preexisting houses were tolerably substantial), and have ceased to erect dwellings for the masses, except in the suburbs where no pressing sanitary evils exist. Meanwhile, in the inferior districts above described, has resulted an increase of overcrowding—half-a-dozen families in a house, a score of lodgers to a room. Nay, more than this has resulted. That state of miserable dilapidation into which these abodes of the poor are allowed to fall is due to the absence of competition from new houses. Landlords do not find their tenants tempted away by the offer of better accommodation. Repairs, being unnecessary for securing the largest amount of profit, are not made. . . . In fact, for a large percentage of the very horrors which our sanitary agitators are trying to cure by law, we have to thank previous agitators of the same school!"

Later, in *The Sins of Legislators*, Mr. Spencer says of the building laws:

"See then what legislation has done. By ill-imposed taxes, raising the prices of bricks and timber, it added to the costs of houses and prompted, for economy's sake, the use of bad materials in scanty quantities. To check the consequent production of wretched dwellings, it established regulations which, in medieval fashion, dictated the quality of the commodity produced; there being no perception that by insisting on a higher quality and therefore higher price, it would limit the demand and eventually diminish the supply. By additional local burdens, legislation has of late still further hindered the building of small houses. Finally, having, by successive measures, produced first bad houses and then a deficiency of better ones, it has at length provided for the artificially increased overflow of poor people by diminishing the house capacity which already could not contain them!

"Where then lies the blame for the miseries of the East End? Against whom should be raised 'the bitter cry of outcast London'?" . . .

"So, too, with State supervision. Guaranteeing of quality by inspection has been shown, in the hall-marking of silver, to be superfluous, while the silver trade has been decreased by it; and in other cases it has lowered the quality by establishing a standard which it is useless to exceed: instance the case of the Cork butter-market, where the higher kinds are disadvantaged in not adequately profiting by their better repute; or instance the case of herring-branding (now optional), the effect of which is to put the many inferior curers, who just reach the level of official approval, on a par with the few better ones who rise above it, and so to discourage these. But such lessons pass unlearned. Even where the failure of inspection is most

glaring, no notice is taken of it; as instance the terrible catastrophe by which a train full of people was destroyed along with the Tay bridge. Countless denunciations, loud and unsparring, were vented against engineer and contractor; but little, if anything, was said about the Government officer from whom the bridge received State approval. So, too, with prevention of disease. It matters not that under the management or dictation of State agents some of the worst evils occur; as when the lives of 87 wives and children of soldiers are sacrificed in the ship 'Accrington'; or as when typhoid fever and diphtheria are diffused by a State-ordered drainage system, as in Edinburgh; or as when officially enforced sanitary appliances, ever getting out of order, increase the evils they were to decrease."

These instances of the failure of legislature, quoted by Spencer, are now somewhat classical and out of date, but they can be easily replaced by modern ones. Mr. Charles Fairfield, in his chapter on "State Socialism in the Antipodes" contained in *A Plea for Liberty*, instances many failures of legislation in Australia, supposed to be in the vanguard of socialistic progress. He shows how the early-closing law in Melbourne in 1885, whereby shops could not keep open after seven P.M., proved utterly impracticable, robbing all the small suburban stores, which did their main business in the evening, of all chance of success and creating such an opposition that the law was repealed in a few days. He argues that the conduct of the Australian State railroads has been at a heavy loss, only concealed by government book-keeping. In England herself instances of the failure of State operations can be multiplied almost indefinitely.

Says Mr. L. J. Jennings, M.P. (*Fortnightly Review*, August, 1888, p. 185):

"Look, for instance, at the Admiralty and the War Office. These two departments alone cost the country £563,324 a year. The waste of labor that goes on daily is incredible. At the Admiralty the officials, sitting under the same roof, write long letters to one another on the most trivial subjects, just as if they were 500 miles apart. An immense heap of correspondence may be accumulated about a stick of sealing-wax or a bit of string. The Accountant-General's Department, crammed with extravagantly paid officials, involves charges for the working staff of £63,557 a year, and a pension list of £32,324. . . . The Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Porwood, has admitted (First Report of Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission, Q. 9751) that if the salaries were placed on a 'commercial basis' the expense of the Accountant-General's Office would be brought down to £35,000 or £40,000 a year. Why is it not placed on a commercial basis? It cannot be because the authorities have not had a free hand in the 'game of reorganization.' There have been at least five heroic operations of this kind since 1869, at tremendous cost to the country. . . . What sort of commentary is it on the great reorganization of 1878-80, which cost the country £20,000 a year in pensions and £52,199 in bonuses, that the Department is now found to be filled, as the heads of it allege, with extravagantly paid or incompetent officials. . . . The War Office clerk goes leisurely to his duties at 10 or 11, and remains till four or five, his prescribed hours being six each day. And what is the nature of his work? A good deal of it is utterly thrown away. Accounts are audited and reaudited in a purely arbitrary and farcical manner. . . . Correspondence rolls on in huge volumes about trifles light as air; a charge for the use of a cab, a bill of 2s. 6d. for candles, a rent in a soldier's jacket, the loss of a nosebag (actual instances of these cases will be found in the evidence taken before the Army Estimates Committee, 1887 and 1888) may form the theme of an almost interminable number of letters. The cut in the soldier's jacket was 'inquired into' by colonels, lieutenant-colonels, deputy adjutant-general, assistant deputies, and all sorts of high officials. The documents were entered into books, signed, stamped, and passed on from one to the other for nearly four weeks."

In the United States illustrations of the cost-

liness and inefficiency of State operations are notorious. All municipal operations are full of jobs. The building of the County Court House in New York City is only an extreme instance of what goes on in all government undertakings. When designed in 1868 its cost was estimated at \$250,000. Before the end of 1871 it had cost a sum variously estimated at from \$8,000,000 to \$13,000,000, and it was still far from finished. Among the items of the cost for fitting it up were \$404,347 for safes and \$7500 for thermometers. It is from such facts as these of the repeated failures of government activities to-day that individualists drew their negative argument against socialism. From such instances they very naturally draw the inference that if government cannot efficiently conduct the comparatively small activities it now attempts, it must still further fail in the almost infinitely more difficult functions that would be given to it under a complete socialistic régime. They further argue that even if government, surrounded and supported by individualistic methods, and with wealth created by individualism for it to tax, can, perhaps, altho clumsily and expensively, carry on the few activities of which socialists make so much to-day, were the government to attempt all, it would be quite another thing. Yet if the State cannot do all, the accustoming of people to depend upon the State weakens the power of individuals and teaches them to lean on a reed that finally will break. To argue that government ever can conduct the complete industrial life of the people is to almost all economists and to absolutely all individualists the height of absurdity.

Mr. E. S. Robertson, in his essay on "The Impracticability of Socialism" (chap. i. in *A Plea for Liberty*), argues that, passing by the facts that socialists very rarely go into practical details; that it is scarcely possible to see how socialism could provide the clothing for a community except by putting it into a strict uniform as in an army, since, if fashion were allowed, no national committee could foretell what would be needed—passing by the enormous problem of how to manage domestic labor under socialism, except by destroying the home, saying nothing of the still greater difficulties of just distribution between labor of different degrees of value and laborers of different degrees of ability—passing by all these and a hundred other similar difficulties, socialism utterly breaks down before the population question. He says: "The situation may be summed up in a sentence: Socialism without restraints on the increase of population would be utterly inefficient. With such restraints it would be slavery. In a word, socialism—the scheme of collective capital and collective production and distribution—breaks down the moment it is subjected to any practical test." How would the community decide, he asks, of the children born in any year—how many boys should be tailors and how many girls dress-makers? "Socialism, disguise it as we may, is the negation of freedom." Similarly argue all individualists.

The
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States.

The Impos-
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Socialism.

But probably the chief arguments raised to-day to show the impracticability of socialism and the necessity of individualism, are, as above stated, biologic. Mr. Kidd argues in his *Social Evolution*, p. 209, that socialism has not and probably cannot make any serious attempt to deal with even the initial difficulties of the continued success of a society where the struggle for existence is eliminated. He says: "Underneath all socialist ideals yawns the problem of population."

Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his latest work, says: "People who in their corporate capacity abolish the natural relation between merits and benefits will presently be abolished themselves. Either they will have to go through the miseries of slow decay consequent on the increase of those unfit for the business of life, or they will be overrun by some people who have not pursued the foolish policy of fostering the worst at the expense of the better." Mr. Lecky says (*Democracy and Liberty*, chap. viii.): "The socialist remedies would only bring evils far greater than any they could possibly prevent. The desire of each man to improve his circumstances, to reap the full reward of superior talent, or energy, or thrift, is the very mainspring of the production of the world. Take these motives away; persuade men that by superior work they will obtain no superior reward; cut off all the hopes that stimulate among ordinary men ambition, enterprise, invention, and self-sacrifice, and the whole level of production will rapidly and inevitably sink. . . . the essential difference of men in aptitudes, capacities and character, are things that can never be changed, and all schemes and policies that ignore them are doomed to ultimate failure." Says Mr. Kidd (*Social Evolution*):

Degeneration under Socialism.

"It will not help us, even if there are to be no competing societies, and if in the contemplated era of socialism the whole human family, without distinction of race or color, is to be included in a federation within which the competitive forces are to be suspended. We may draw such a draft on our imagination, but our common sense, which has to deal with materials as they exist, refuses to honor it. We are concerned not with an imaginary being, but with man as he exists, a creature standing with countless sons of this competition behind him, every quality of his mind and body . . . the product of this rivalry, with its meaning and allotted place therein, and capable of finding its fullest and fittest employment only in its natural conditions."

Individualism, then, bases its argument on the fact that government can scarcely efficiently conduct even now the comparatively limited functions that it does attempt, and would utterly break down before the attempt to control the complete complex interests of all social life; that individualism, on the other hand, so far as tried during this century, while not by any means doing away with all evils, has produced more material and educational progress than in all the other centuries put together, and especially in those countries and in that country where individualism has been tried the most; that even if socialism were practicable, it would inevitably lead to the biological degeneration of the individual and of the race and finally that even the beginnings of socialism tend to undermine that self-reliance, self-rule, free self sacri-

fic, which, the men consider it born of individual communion with God or of natural ethics alone, all men are agreed to be the noblest and the only enduring and eternal quality of man. Individualism may not produce all progress in a day; individualists are not blind to the evils of the present, but they do know that an infinite progress has been made; that that progress is now going on; that it has been and is now almost solely due to individual struggle and competition in life, and that therefore it is but simple duty to resist even the beginnings of a socialism which for an impossible mirage threatens to attack all progress and to undermine man's noblest possession, individual character and individual aspiration. It is better to let a man struggle and work his own way even slowly toward character than to lift him, were it possible, into an Utopia of physical comfort, at the cost of weakened will and increased tendency to rely on a paternal or even a fraternal organization.

THE INDIVIDUALIST PROGRAM.

As asserted above, individualists are neither doctrinaires nor visionaries. Says Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe in "The Limits of Liberty," a chapter in *A Plea for Liberty*:

"It is not fair to assert or even to insinuate that individualism as a practical working doctrine in this country [England] and in the United States is based on reasoning from abstractions. . . . No one with the smallest claim to attention has been known to affirm that this or any other nation is yet ripe for the abolition of the State. . . . I suppose no one acquainted with his political writings will accuse Victor Yarros of backwardness or even of opportunism. Yet says he, 'The abolition of the external State must be preceded by the decay of the nations which breathe life and vigor into that clumsy monster; in other words, it is only when the people learn to value liberty and to understand the truths of the anarchistic philosophy that the question of practically abolishing the State looms up and acquires significance.'"

Mr. N. P. Gilman says of American individualists (*Socialism and the American Spirit*):

"The practical effort of those who here accept the name of individualist is to maintain the actual status against the strong tendency toward socialism which characterizes the time. If this can be successfully resisted, they trust to gradual enlightenment to weaken gradually the power of the State. The anarchist ideal, into which extreme individualism blends, is not to be reached by crying and striving. The individualist trusts in natural and in the unforced evolution of society; he exerts himself with more or less energy simply to resist efforts contrary to this law which tend to produce an artificial development. . . . The present tendency toward socialism he would explain as a reaction toward primitive ideas which have long since, for the wiser minority, been fully exploded by experience. He stands stubbornly on the defensive against this tendency, feeling sure that, unchecked, it can only result in great evil."

Contrasting individualism with Schaffle's definition of socialism (*g. v.*), Mr. Gilman says concerning individualism in its practical application:

"Economic individualism would then be the system of production by means of private capital (held by single persons, firms, corporations, or cooperative associations); this method of production demands a free labor contract, open competition, and distribution to individuals. The alpha and omega of individualism is, accordingly, private and competing capitals, with a large measure of individual freedom from State control (p. 11). . . . If we attend chiefly to the facts of the existing situation in the United States, we should then

consider individualism and socialism as two opposite tendencies, moved by either of which an American citizen may advocate or attack a definite and particular measure of legislation. The Utopia of the individualist, if Mr Herbert Spencer may speak for him, is an approach to anarchy; the Utopia of the socialist: melts into communism, but neither scheme is proposed for immediate adoption here by sensible advocates. . . . The individualist . . . in all his degrees tends to unfavorable criticism, not to high admiration, of the manner and the results of governmental activity at present. He concedes that a nation may well tolerate a certain degree of inefficiency on the part of its officials in executing their present tasks, this being, on the whole, more endurable than the evils which would result from putting the same duties upon private persons. He opposes, however, any considerable further extension of the sphere of the State, and looks to education of the individual mind and conscience and to general progress for relief from existing evils. The extreme individualist would not only resist the tendency to socialism, but would also retrace some steps already taken in that direction, as he would say, such as universal free education. There are very few, to be sure, in America who hold the creed with such vigor."

So conceiving of practical individualism, it is evident that there can be no fixed universal individualist program. It must be different in different countries; it is differently conceived by different individuals. On all important points the general individualist propositions will be found in this cyclopedia under each respective subject. (See LAND; INTEREST; WAGES; COMPETITION; EDUCATION; RAILROADS; POST-OFFICE; BANKING; MUTUAL BANKING, etc.)

We give here one illustration of how individualists would work out social problems. Of perhaps the most serious problem in modern life Mr. N. P. Gilman says (*Socialism and the American Spirit*):

"No evil in our cities appeals more forcibly to the kind-hearted than the crowded tenement houses. . . . Every one who has a particle of philanthropy in him cries out that these evils should be made to cease from off the earth. The end is clear, but what means shall we use? The socialist will dilate upon what Glasgow and Liverpool have done, and urge that Boston and New York at once purchase whole squares, pull down the noisome houses of to-day, and erect instead, clean and convenient tenements, to be let at low rates. This, however, would be too much like journeying from Chicago to Minneapolis, via Paris, the Suez Canal, and Japan. The Chicagoan would thus reach Minneapolis in time, indeed, but money and patience held out. But a more direct way would be first to discover what persons are responsible as owners or lessors of these foul habitations, and then to bring home to them as individuals the distress and the crime which they occasion, while drawing profit from such inhuman conditions. Many of these persons sin as much through ignorance as through hardness of heart. . . .

But if this should be of no effect, the men and women who are taught by the higher individualism that we are our brothers' keepers to a great degree can then follow the example of Mrs. Lincoln in Boston. Let them singly or in small associations buy or lease one or more city houses in the poorer districts and care for them in person or through kindly and capable agents. A large part of the tenement-house problem is manageable under this simple plan. . . . Where this plan is not expedient, the Peabody trustees in London, the Improved Dwelling-House Associations in Boston and New York, and such individuals as Mr. A. T. White in Brooklyn have demonstrated the eminent success of a more difficult method. Mr. J. A. Riis, a good authority, believes thoroughly in the compatibility of 'philanthropy and 5 per cent.'—the one as beginning, the other as the result. . . . The tenement-house problem in our American cities is thus fully within the control of a comparatively few persons. . . . Very few of the rich or the moderately rich in the United States would need to be converted to a higher individualism than they now practise to make the tenement-house problem a thing of the past so far as money can do it."

Such is, we believe, a fair example of the in-

dividualist program. For the far more radical proposals of such extreme individualists as the philosophical anarchists—the Spencers, the single-tax men, the voluntarians—we refer the reader to the respective articles which treat of them. Most individualists like Professor Huxley condemn alike the dogmatism of Herbert Spencer and the theories of the socialists. They hold, with Professor Jevons, that in social reform "the first step is to throw aside all supposed absolute rights or inflexible principles;" they would not, at present at least, destroy the State; what is shown by experience that the State can do better than the individual, that they would have the State do; but they hold that, fundamentally and eternally, all experience teaches that primary reliance must be put on industrial action; that what limits individual initiation limits freedom; that what weakens individual responsibility weakens character, and that therefore, in the words of President E. B. Andrews, of Brown University: "In all economic activity the presumption is in favor of individual liberty and free competition."

References: *A Plea for Liberty* (P. Mackay, Ed., 1891); Wordsworth Donisthorpe's *Individualism: A System of Politics* (1890); *The Man versus the State* (a collection of articles by Herbert Spencer, and published under that name, 1884); N. P. Gilman's *Socialism and the American Spirit* (1893); W. G. Sumner's *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883); W. H. Mallock's *Classes and Masses; or, Wealth, Wages, and Welfare in the United Kingdom* (1896); Edward Atkinson's various articles; John Morley on *Compromise*; A. T. Hadley's *Economics, an Account of the Relation Between Private Property and Public Welfare*. See also ANARCHISM; SPENCER; SINGLE TAX; FREE TRADE; VOLUNTARIISM. For opposite views to those in this article and for objections to Individualism, see SOCIALISM.

Revised by A. T. HADLEY.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.—We include under this general heading three subjects which are distinct, altho continually confounded in the public mind—trade education, technical education, and manual training. We consider them under one head, in order that, by placing the subjects side by side, the important differences between them may be clearly brought out.

We commence with definitions. Trade education is the preparing of craftsmen for practical work in a particular trade. Technical education is the teaching of the sciences in their practical application to the material interests of man. A good trade school may be a very poor technical school, while a good technical school is not of necessity a good trade school. Manual training is different from either; it is instruction in the use of tools as a part of a complete educational discipline. Trade schools seek to turn out craftsmen; technical schools seek to turn out scientific specialists and professional men, such as civil engineers, architects, etc.; manual training seeks to develop complete manhood and womanhood by developing dexterity of hand as well as head. We must consider the three in their modern chronological development.

I. TECHNICAL SCHOOLS.

Science is modern; scientific schools are therefore modern. When Count Rumford, in 1799,

founded the Royal Institution in London, he aimed at making it a technical school. It originally contained a workshop for blacksmiths and models of machinery of all kinds; but it was fortunately diverted into a laboratory of research, developed by Davy.

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Thomas Young, Faraday, Tyndall, Rayleigh. The first really technical school seems to have been the famous school of mines at Freiburg, created by the demands of the region. The *École Polytechnique* was established in France in 1794, primarily to train men for the engineer and artillery corps of the French Army. The Imperial Technical School at Moscow and the Institute of Technology at St. Petersburg early took high rank. England, always holding a prominent place in science, was backward in developing technical schools.

Germany and Switzerland have led in technical schools. Scientific high schools sprang up for the training of men who might compete with English engineers trained in the workshop. The universities of 50 years ago did not meet the case, and consequently each State did its best to create technical institutions that would do so. Magnificent polytechnics arose like the Federal Polytechnic School at Zurich, the Polytechnic Schools at Munich, Vienna, Stuttgart, Dresden, Hanover, Aachen, the Technical High School of Berlin, now the Charlottenburg Polytechnic, the Polytechnic Schools of Delft and at Moscow.

These schools cost \$15,000,000 for building and fittings, and their maintenance costs \$1,000,000 annually.

The Zurich Polytechnic was established by the Swiss Confederation in 1854. It is one of the finest in the world, and comprises seven special schools: 1. Architecture, with a three years' course. 2. Civil engineering, three and a half years' course. 3. Mechanical engineering, three years' course. 4. Chemical technology, including pharmacy, three years' course. 5. Agriculture and forestry, two and a half years' course. 6. Normal school for training special science teachers. 7. Philosophical and political science.

Further, a preliminary course is provided in mathematics for those not yet prepared to enter one of these schools. There are 200 courses of lectures, 45 professors, and 13 assistant professors, besides tutors, curators, etc. The institution spends over \$100,000 a year. A few years ago the Federal Council voted to it \$250,000 for the extension of the chemical laboratories. The cost to a student is \$20 the half year and \$10 for laboratory practice, or about \$60 per annum in the chemical department for the full use of these great opportunities.

In the United States, the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y., was established in 1824 to teach civil engineers, who till then had to go to France to study. The growth of science led to the establishment of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University in 1847, the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard in 1848, and the Chandler Scientific School of Dartmouth in 1852. In 1862 Congress voted land grants to

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the several States to enable them to build institutions for teaching agriculture and mechanics. Most of the State universities established scientific schools. Cornell became prominent for its scientific teaching. Washington University, at St. Louis, organized its School of Engineering, and Columbia College its School of Mines. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was chartered in 1861 and opened in 1865. The Worcester (Mass.) Polytechnic Institute was opened in 1867; the Stevens Institute followed in 1871; the Rose Polytechnic Institute, in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1883; the Case School of Applied Science, at Cleveland, in 1891. In most of these schools there is a four-years' course. Modern languages are usually required for admission in place of Greek and Latin. Language, history, political economy are usually taught, besides the higher mathematics and the various sciences.

II. TRADE SCHOOLS

came after technical schools. They are modern attempts to develop craftsmen in place of the apprentice system, now all but gone. (See APPRENTICESHIP.) Here again Germany and Switzerland lead.

There are schools of a lower type called "real" and "trade" schools. The course in some is nine years, and these are called "upper real schools;" in others six or seven years, and these are called "burgher" schools.

Prussia has building schools in Berlin, Nienburg, Eikernförde, Breslau, Höxtar, and Idstein. There is a school for machine construction at Eimbeck; four weaving schools at Crefeld, Mulheim, and Eimbeck; a trade school for pottery at Höhr; trade metal schools at Iserlohn and Remscheid. There are trade continuation schools for apprentices and artisans under 18, who can be compelled to attend, as their masters are to grant them time to do so. In that case the State pays half the cost. Agricultural schools, etc., are also in operation.

Apprenticeship schools in Germany train workmen in pure and applied art and in practical work in the shop. They have spread over Southern Germany and Austria and all parts of Prussia. The manufacturers demanded better workers. Three years is the course, in which the pupils are trained as designers, modelers, wood-carvers, molders, founders, turners and pressers, chasers, engravers, gilders, and etchers. The number of artisans attending the schools is increasing.

Chemnitz, Saxony, has a technical school for chemists, a foremen's school, a building school, a drawing school, and a weaving school. A technical knowledge of dyeing is required for the exquisite work here produced.

The metallurgical school of Bochum, Westphalia, is open only to workmen employed four years in iron or engineering.

The Crefeld weaving school teaches drawing and the loom; painting from models, natural plants, and flowers for printing and other branches; machine drawing; fabrics decomposed; original design; unmounting and rebuilding power-looms, and forge work. It has a museum of textile fabrics, and the Krauth

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collection of historical patterns. The dyeing and finishing departments of the school are complete.

The industrial art schools of Germany apply art to manufactures more than those of France. The Dresden school has revived old and established new industries. It has departments of designing, architecture, decorative painting, ornament, figure drawing, art modeling, decorative painting from the figure. It has 16,000 mounted patterns, 11,000 examples of embroidery and lace, and a school museum containing 140,000 patterns of textile fabrics of all kinds and ages.

The industrial art school of Vienna practises carving, metal-chasing, and working in brass and bronze.

The Royal School of Art Embroidery, Vienna, is wholly technical. Girls from the primary schools are carried forward to every kind of fancy needlework and designing. There are no fees save for foreigners.

Switzerland, for the size of the country, outdoes Germany and leads the world in trade schools. She has the Technikum, at Winterthur; the general industrial school at Basel, 7 schools for industrial arts and drawing, 31 industrial drawing schools, 57 schools for professional improvement and working men's schools, 2 weaving schools, 7 watch-making schools, 8 workshops for apprentices, 2 wood-carving schools, 5 female industrial schools, 13 industrial museums, collections, etc.

Cheese and butter-making are taught at a dairy station at Perolles (Fribourg), the dairy school de la Rutti (Berne), and at a dairy school at Sorntal (St. Gall).

France has many trade schools.

The Polytechnic Association was founded in 1830 by the graduates of the Polytechnic School for the purpose of conducting preparatory courses of industrial and technical training for both sexes. Training is given in the cutting and fitting of garments, decorative painting, making of artificial flowers, and commercial courses to young girls. The municipality of Paris has been to the forefront in supplying technical education for girls. It has undertaken to fit every girl for domestic or business life who applies at its schools, and without cost to the pupil. Its *écoles professionnelles ménagères* number six, besides its "commercial school." On these schools alone £30,000 is spent annually. Other special schools in France are: the School of Telegraphy, for Government employees; schools of manual apprenticeship; higher schools of commercial studies; the National School of the Industrial Arts at Roubaix, for practical and theoretical study of the manufacture of cloth; the *École des Beaux-Arts* at Paris; the *Académie de France* at Rome; the *École des Beaux-Arts* at Lyons; the *École Nationale des Arts Decoratifs* at Paris; the National Professional School at Vierzon; the *École Professionnelle Municipale* of Rheims, to instruct youth in manufactures and commerce; the Polytechnic School at Paris; the High School of Mines at Paris; the National School of Design for Young Women at Paris; the Limoges School of Decorative Art; schools attached to the national factories of Gobelins, Sèvres, and Beauvais; a

school of fine arts at Toulouse; a school of master workmen of mines at Calais; a school of horticulture at Versailles; the Central School of Arts and Manufactures in Paris.

There are also schools of arts and manufactures at Aix, Angers, and Chalons; two schools of watch and clock-making; weaving schools at Nîmes, Amiens, and St. Étienne; several lace-making schools; a free school of political science, with a remarkable and exhaustive program of constitutional, legal, financial, and diplomatic studies; farm schools, agricultural colleges, and the Institut National Agronomique at Paris. Voluntary agricultural schools are active, and there are 12 State schools—*viz.*, agriculture, 3; horticulture, 1; dairying, 1; veterinary, 3; forestry, 2; and shepherds' schools and bergeries, 2.

Belgium is prominent in trade instruction. Her schools include:

1. Apprenticeship schools and *ouvroirs*, or workshop and school combined. These were established as charities, and are diminishing in number and importance.

2. Agricultural and horticultural schools, and schools for training dairymaids.

3. Girls' housekeeping schools, rapidly developing, over 250 having already been established.

4. Trade schools for girls, of which all the principal cities now boast one or more.

5. Parochial trade schools, those of St. Luke being the highest type.

6. Trade schools supported by guilds and trade-unions, such as the brewers' and tailors' schools.

7. Trade schools having day classes and shop-work. Their design is to fit for a trade and to do away with the often misdirected drudgery of apprenticeship.

8. Large industrial schools, sometimes combined with drawing schools, sometimes separate, where classes are held in the evenings and on Sundays and where the course is widely eclectic.

9. Drawing schools, existing in every town of any size in the kingdom.

10. Commercial schools, the most important of which is at Antwerp, with the object to prepare accountants, merchants, consular and commercial agents for home and consular service.

11. Schools of industry and mines, highly scientific in character.

In England, distinctive trade schools are not many. She is working out industrial education in other ways. Slow in establishing technical schools, technical education is being developed to-day in connection with numerous institutions. In 1836 a sum of £1500 (\$7299.75) was voted by Parliament for the encouragement of art, with which trade and navigation became associated. The first school of design was opened at Somerset House with 12 pupils in 1837. Subsequently a sum of £10,000 (\$48,665) was voted in aid of 14 schools, and by this means art education was provided for about 2250 pupils. In 1845 the Royal College of Chemistry was established in Oxford Street, London; and in 1851 the Jermyn Street Royal School of Mines was started. These institutions are now united under the title of the

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Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines, at South Kensington.

Commencing about the year 1882, what has been termed a technical education scare swept over England, owing to the fear that Germany was competing with increasing success for the foreign trade of the world. This advantage was believed to be due to her system of technical instruction. As a result of this apprehension concerning trade a great deal of attention was given to the subject during succeeding years. A royal commission was appointed by Parliament to inquire into the various technical and trade schools on the Continent, with a special view of reporting upon the effect the instruction given in these schools had upon the industries of the various countries in which they were situated.

In London, Finsbury College was then the only center, apart from the Polytechnic Young Men's Christian Institute, that gave evening manual instruction; and even at Finsbury the number of real artisans in attendance was very small.

By 1889 the art schools and classes, national scholarships, etc., in local schools, received £38,500 (\$187,360.25).

The total expenses incident to the conduct of schools of science and of art in all parts of the kingdom reached in 1889 the sum approximately of £154,000 (\$749,441).

Some of the schools established by institutions of learning as part of their educational system, or by individuals or industrial associations to advance particular interests, are as follows: Technical School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Durham College of Science, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Owens College, Manchester; Yorkshire College, Leeds; Mason Science College, Birmingham; University College, Bristol; University College, Nottingham; University College, Liverpool; University College, Dundee; Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College; University College, Cardiff; Sheffield Technical College.

Among schools established to advance local industries may be included the Manchester Technical School, Huddersfield Technical School, and Leicester Technical School. There are a large number of technical schools with social features, the Regent Street Polytechnic of London being the most notable example. There are several which are still incomplete, but which are doing excellent work. Among these latter are the Finsbury Polytechnic Institute, the South Lambeth Institute, the Albert Youth's Institute, and the Woolwich Polytechnic.

In technical education, various bodies have been active, such as the cooperative societies. Some municipal technical schools have been started, as at Rochdale and Manchester. Private firms have established technical schools in connection with their trades, as at Elswick, Crewe, Manchester, Accrington, Oldham. The technical colleges of Bradford and Leeds and the Yorkshire college compare with the weaving schools of Germany.

There is an intermediate technical college at Finsbury (London) for systematic teaching of boys from 14 to 18. The evening classes here in 1891 had over 1000 students. Its school of

electrical engineering is of wide renown. University College and King College have numerous technical and scientific classes. The Leather Trades in Bethnal Green teach hand and machine work. Polytechnic institutes are springing up in all parts of London.

The People's Palace schools are kept up by the Drapers' Company, and besides art and science, the technology of building, bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing, steam boiler design, machine construction, surveying, tailors' cutting, typography, etc., has been taught to hundreds of students. Besides these there are the Battersea Institute, the Borough Road Institute, the Chelsea Institute, the Northwest London Institute, the North London Institute, the City Polytechnic, and the Goldsmiths' Institute.

There were, in 1892, no fewer than 200 science schools in London, including day and evening schools and schools of science attached to elementary day schools. There are some 5000 students in the district schools of art in London. Through the country the newly established county councils are moving in the way of technical education.

In the United States, trade schools commenced with the New York trade schools, founded by Robert T. Auchmuty in 1881. They commenced as simply night schools with 33 pupils, and in 1893 had 536.

Schools of a like nature have been established by the Philadelphia Master Builders' Exchange and by the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn.

At Waltham, Mass., there is a horological school. Philadelphia has a textile school. In 1888 an artist artisan school was founded in New York. Michigan has a mining school. Through the country there are various mechanic institutes, art schools, music schools and academies, etc. The agricultural college and cooking schools are considered in separate articles.

In 1876 Professor J. D. Runkle, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, saw M. Della Vos's exhibition of the Russian system at the Philadelphia Exhibition, and on August 17, 1876, the department of the institute since known as the School of Mechanic Arts was established. The same step was taken a little later (June 6, 1879) by Washington University in St. Louis, at the suggestion of Professor C. M. Woodward, of the engineering department in that institution. These two examples were soon followed by other scientific and technological schools in different parts of the country.

Pardue University (Indiana) has schools in agriculture, horticulture, veterinary science, mechanical engineering, civil engineering, science, industrial art, and pharmacy.

There are 12 business colleges in Illinois, 16 in Iowa, 16 in Massachusetts, 28 in New Jersey, 16 in Ohio, 19 in Pennsylvania. The business college teaches how business is transacted in large cities in banking, real estate, insurance, and commercial houses. The students have to keep and work a bank in all details. So with other callings prepared for.

In the South, trade schools have been especially developed for the negroes. The John F. Slater Fund distributes \$45,000 annually among

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negro schools in the South expressly to foster hand training. Forty-four institutions received this aid in 1888, two of them for medical students. The Tuskegee Normal School enrolls 294 students, and requires all to work. The school farm is of 600 acres, 475 acres in woods. Its brickyard turned out 150,000 bricks in one year. There is a carpenter's shop and printing office. All the buildings on the school grounds have been erected by students' labor.

III. MANUAL TRAINING.

The thought of manual training as a part of education is not a new one. It has been a theme with educational writers from Luther and Comenius down to the present time. Rousseau would have Emile

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learn a trade, that his pupil might acquire a more valid title of nobility than any he might inherit from his ancestors. Pestalozzi resorted to manual training with the vagabond children he collected in his schools, believing it to be one important means of educating the poorer classes. Locke, in writing of the education of gentlemen's sons, pointed out some practical advantages to be gained from manual work by boys passing through the usual course of book instruction; the chief of which were the promotion of bodily health by physical exercise and the mental relaxation brought about by change of employment. But Froebel (*q.v.*) took the first steps.

The realization of Froebel's ideas in the kindergarten has made his name well known. What is not so well known is that to the influence of his writings is due the introduction of handcraft in the elementary schools of Finland and Sweden, where it is known as *slöjd* (*sloyd*), and whence it has spread to Denmark, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, England, and the United States.

Had Froebel been permitted to finish his great work, *The Education of Man*, it is probable that the education of boyhood and of youth would have been worked out by him with the same attention to details and the same practical wisdom, but it was not until 1860 that a man of sufficient courage and force appeared in Finland and undertook to reconstruct the educational system of his native land in accordance with the principles of Pestalozzi and Froebel. This was Uno Cygnaeus, of the Helsingfors Teachers' Seminary, who, after long and diligent study of Swiss and German educational authorities, devised an advanced system of manual exercises adapted to pupils beyond the kindergarten age. This is sometimes called the Russian system of tool instruction, tho the term Russian system is now generally used to designate that plan of applying to the mechanic arts the laboratory (workshop) method of instruction—a method which has revolutionized instruction in chemistry, physics, and other sciences within the last 40 years.

It was in the Imperial Technical School at Moscow, Russia, in 1868, under its director, Victor della Vos, that this laboratory method of instruction was first successfully applied to the mechanic arts.

Manual training combined with ordinary

school work was first completely worked out in Sweden, commencing about 1876. There are over 700 schools in Sweden in which *slöjd** is taught. The normal school for this instruction is at Nääs, where a considerable number of teachers of the system are trained. The principles laid down are: (1) Voluntary attendance at *slöjd*; (2) *slöjd* work must be useful; (3) not fatiguing in tool exercises; (4) varied; (5) such as can be done by pupils themselves; (6) real work, not play; (7) not articles of luxury; (8) the work becomes the property of the pupil; (9) the pupil must be able to do it; (10) done with exactness; (11) neat and clean; (12) thoughtful, not merely mechanical; (13) strengthening to the body; (14) develop sense of form; (15) rich in manipulative detail. Again, the teacher of it should be the ordinary teacher, and he should superintend the work, but not handle it. It should begin at the eleventh year. *Slöjd* includes carpentry, turning, and wood-carving. *Slöjd* carpentry and trade carpentry differ. The former is small work; tools are different, and there is no division of labor.

From Sweden manual training ideas have gone to all countries. Belgium was one of the first to receive the ideas, and in different schools commenced teaching needlework, cooking, and woodwork. Germany is not remarkable for manual training, but perhaps only because she has so many technical and trade

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schools. Yet in 1888 a German report on manual training states that of independent school workshops there were 67 in 62 places; in teachers' seminaries, 12 in 12 places; in private and common schools, 12 in 12 places; in orphans' homes, 15 in 14 places; in boys' homes, 44 in 21 places; in reformatories, 10 in 10 places; in asylums for feeble-minded, 2 in 2 places; in blind asylums, 5 in 5 places; in deaf and dumb asylums, 7 in 7 places; in school workshops with industrial object, 12 in 12 places—a total of 186 school workshops in 120 places. The training was in pasteboard-work, wood-carving, joinery, metal-work, and modeling. Needlework is now taught in many schools.

Switzerland, like Germany, is not so prominent in manual training as in trade and technical schools, yet a good beginning has been made. Manual training classes for boys existed in 1891 in the cantons Grisons, Saint Gall, Appenzell, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Aargau, Basel, Soleure, Berne, Neuchâtel, Freyburg, Vaud, Glarus, and Geneva, over one half of the cantons.

Manual training for girls, such as needlework, knitting, darning, mending, etc., has existed in Switzerland for many years, and in most cantons it is considered as one of the most important branches of study for girls. In nearly all cantons this instruction is compulsory.

In France public education has been entirely remodeled since 1880. The law of 1881 made primary education absolutely free. The law of 1882 rendered attendance at school compulsory for children between the ages of 6 and 13 years,

* *Slöjd* has the same meaning as "sleight" in England, viz., *dexterous feat or practice*, only it is used of *workmanship*.

and gave to instruction a purely secular character. The law of 1886 organized primary education in its various grades of infant schools (known popularly as kindergartens), elementary primary schools, advanced primary schools, and schools of manual apprenticeship, as defined by the law of 1880.

In the infant schools kindergarten work is the rule. The elementary primary schools teach hygiene and cleanliness, ethical training, gymnastic and military exercises, reading, penmanship, French language, history, geography, civic instruction, arithmetic, geometry, elements of physical and natural science, agriculture and horticulture, and singing.

In Paris instruction in sewing has been given to girls since 1867. In the advanced primary schools in Paris, every school has a workshop for manual work in wood and iron, and the movement is spreading through the country.

Of the higher trade schools we have spoken above.

In England the movement has a growing hold. Among the most active agencies in furthering the cause is the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education.

In 1887 the Drapers' Company placed £1000 (\$4866.50) at the disposal of the City and Guilds of London Institute for the promotion of manual training. Through the efforts of the guilds the school board established woodwork training in six centers in various parts of London for selected children from the board schools. The training began in January, 1888. The pupils attended once a week for a whole morning or afternoon, thus giving up one school attendance per week for the manual training. The six centers thus provided for the instruction of 584 children.

The experiment of the work has proved so successful that since 1890 the Government has carried on the work in board and lower grade schools in London and the provinces.

Kindergarten work in infant schools is now general. In the primary schools cooking and laundry are now recognized. Many cities employ special technical teachers who go from school to school giving science teaching in such subjects as magnetism and electricity, physiology, mathematics, hygiene, machine construction, or chemistry. Models, apparatus, and experiments are freely employed, and the interest of the scholars is kept at the highest point. Each school for older scholars receives a weekly or fortnightly lesson.

In the United States, manual training is in full swing. The Redfield (Maine) Wesleyan School seems to have united literary and manual training early in the century.

In 1867 Massachusetts citizens petitioned the Legislature to introduce schools for drawing free to all men, women, and children. In 1872

the State authorized by act of its Legislature the teaching of agriculture in *all* public schools, the establishment of industrial schools, and the teaching of navigation.

New Jersey moved in 1881. New York State passed in 1888 an act authorizing the industrial manual arts in the public and normal schools. Pennsylvania followed in 1883.

In 1879 St. Louis established the first manual training school, the experiments in classes had previously been made in Massachusetts and elsewhere. It was not a trade school, but aimed at complete education and arrested general attention, and similar schools were organized in Chicago (now a part of Chicago University), Baltimore, Toledo, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Cambridge, Providence, Denver, and elsewhere.

The Pratt Institute, founded in Brooklyn in 1887, endowed by Mr. Charles Pratt, is one of the most complete in the country. It combines trade, technical, and manual training schools, and in 1894 had over 4000 students. There are departments of commerce, agriculture, trades of all kinds, library classes, and a department of domestic art and science, one of the most complete. It deserves special notice, including, as it does, courses of instruction unique in the combination of constant practical work with the most thorough study of artistic and scientific principles in their relations not only to good housekeeping, but to homemaking, to the preparation of clothing, of economical and wholesome food, and to such knowledge of sanitary and hygienic laws as will tend to secure comfortable and healthy homes at the least expense. The property of the Pratt Institute is now valued at over \$4,000,000.

The Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry, at Philadelphia, is a new school of complex character. Opened in September, 1892, its work comprehends mechanic arts, business stenography, typewriting, cookery, dress-making, millinery, drawing, science, physical culture, science of all departments, art of all kinds, electrical engineering, mechanics, etc. The whole is the gift of Mr. Drexel, of Philadelphia. The Armour Institute, in Chicago, founded in 1893, is on the same lines.

In all the schools the course of instruction for the boys is substantially the same—*viz.*, joinery, wood-turning, wood-carving, pattern-making, molding, casting, forging, chipping, filing and machine-shop practice, together with drawing and the book work of the ordinary high-school course. From these schools manual training has gone into the elementary schools. Here Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey have led.

Wood-working has been adopted more or less extensively in the grammar schools of Washington, D. C.; New Haven, Conn.; St. Paul, Minn.; Montclair, N. J.; New York City; Jamestown, N. Y.; and of Boston, Brookline, Springfield, Northampton, Waltham, and Salem in Massachusetts. It is also to be noted that the lively demand for good slöjd teachers indicates a widespread interest in the subject.

There are several State normal schools which, like that at New Britain, Conn., have adopted wood-working, not only that their pupils may understand the principles of manual training as a *method in education*, but also acquire the skill to construct the simple apparatus they may afterward need in their teaching. The kindergarten had entered the schools long before (see KINDERGARTEN) for girls.

The first branch of industrial education which found a place in the schools of Boston was sew-

ing for girls. As early as 1835 the girls of the second and third classes of the grammar schools were instructed in sewing and knitting by their regular teachers one hour a day. In 1854 a petition was presented to the school committee by a large number of Boston women, which resulted in the establishment of sewing for all fourth-class grammar-school girls, two hours a week, under the instruction of a special teacher for each school.

In Winchester, in 1873, a teacher was appointed for every class, teaching the highest classes to cut and fit their own dresses. In 1876, instruction in sewing, two hours a week, to the three lower classes in the grammar school, was established by the school committee. Since that year it has increased steadily in efficiency in all the schools. Classes in sewing for boys have been started. Cooking was first taught in the public schools in 1880. (See *COOKING SCHOOLS.*) Vacation industrial schools are organized in several places.

IV. ECONOMIC BEARING.

Industrial education to-day everybody believes in. The development of the body is recognized as a vital part of education (*g.v.*). Socialists, individualists, radicals, and conservatives, all are agreed to-day that industrial education should be carried to a far degree.

But there is a difference of opinion as to what form this industrial education should take. Working men and many not working men favor technical schools and general manual training, but oppose trade schools. Speaking of manual training, in an address before the Social Science Association, in 1884, General Walker says: "It is not so much the creation and endowment of separate schools of this character which is in view, as the gradual conversion of all the existing schools of the land to this use through the grafting of certain studies and exercises upon the traditional curriculum."

This is what working men desire.

Says Mr. George E. McNeill (*Report of Massachusetts Commission on Manual Training, Part III.*):

"The manual training school is a necessary substitute for part of that which has been lost to the children of to-day. . . .

"The 'Puritan,' sneered at by the dilettante liberals of to-day, was a hard man—hard to contend with, whether in the field of productive labor or destructive war, in religious argument or political debate. He was the best equipped man of his time. As populations increased and industries became more diversified, his adaptability was extended.

"Every home had its Bible, its library, musket, and tool chest. . . .

"A boy of 12 years of age who could not use the tools required for the manual training school of to-day was held to be below par. . . .

"In the crisis of the Union, men were found in the ranks of the New England volunteers who could do any kind and all kinds of work, and do it well. . . .

"The wage-worker of to-day, whether a hand tool or a steam or electric tool worker, is less and less required to depend upon himself in his work; his opportunities of development in his work are limited, as compared to those of former times. . . .

"Handicraft, as a means by which the masses of mankind can earn a living, is being replaced by machine-craft. . . .

"Learning a trade is like learning a dead language, useful as an accomplishment, but useless as an investment, save as it interprets a past mystery and disciplines the learner. . . .

"The plain men, labor reformers, who studied the industrial conditions and the evolutionary processes of development, foresaw that adaptability and availability were worth more than skilled ability. They were among the first to advocate and demand the kindergarten and the school of technology. They wrote, lectured, and petitioned that the school should be the place of resistance to the demoralizing influences of the rapidly decaying industrial and social system, and a source of persistence in the direction of the moralizing influences of enlightened civilization.

"That some working men should oppose the extension of school work to primary preparation for manual pursuits was to be expected. Men whose occupations are their life must needs be jealous of everything that tends to increase competition. They know by instinct, if not by experience, that wages, under the pressure of competition with other laborers in the same craft, will, like water, seek its lowest outlet; and they feel that resistance to lower wages, like resistance to tyranny, is obedience to God. . . .

"Our public schools are for the training of citizens, not mechanics, merchants, lawyers, or the other professions; and the youth is not correctly trained who enters upon the duties of citizenship with contempt for manual pursuits."

This quotation perhaps indicates the position occupied by the more intelligent working men of the world. They honor labor, and believe that all men should labor. They would have manual training taught to everybody, but they fear trade schools. Trade schools which, in their opinion, turn out *dilettante* workmen, feeling themselves superior to "ordinary" workmen, and refusing to develop the necessary trade-unions (see *TRADE-UNIONS*), they fear and oppose. They do not oppose good workmen, but they do not believe that trade schools are the place to produce real effective craftsmen. They argue that American and English mechanics who lead the world were not taught in trade schools, but in the workshop.

They would have in place of trade schools schools of technology, for the study and teaching of science and manual training for everybody, giving boys and girls that general adaptability to fit them to enter any trade workshop and become skilled craftsmen. On the other hand, many people regret the rule of machinery, and believe we need, besides the teaching of the workshop, where money alone rules, the teaching of trade schools, as in Europe, to teach hand-carving, artistic weaving, pottery-making, and good work of every kind. (For the question whether industrial education should be in the hands of the State or private individuals, see *EDUCATION*; *SOCIALISM*; *INDIVIDUALISM.*)

References: *Report on Industrial Education of the United States Commission of Labor* (1892); *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Manual Training and Industrial Education*; *Technical Education at Home and Abroad*, a paper by J. Hirst Hollowell in the *Co-operative Annual*.

INEBRIATE ASYLUMS. See *TEMPERANCE.*

INGRAM, JOHN KELLS, was born in Donegal, Ireland, in 1823. He was educated at Newry School, and at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was successively scholar, Fellow, Professor of Oratory and English Literature, Regius Professor of Greek, and Librarian. In 1878 he became president of the Statistical Society of the British Association, when his address in that capacity on *The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy* attracted much attention. He is the author of the article on

Political Economy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.), and also contributed the article on Slavery, as well as biographical notes on many of the political economists. Both of these articles have since been published with slight enlargement in book form as *A History of Political Economy* (1888) and *A History of Slavery and Serfdom* (1895).

INHERITANCE TAX.—A tax on those acquiring property by inheritance or will; sometimes levied only on collateral relatives or strangers, and then commonly called a collateral inheritance tax. It is a tax that has been widely tried.

Says Mr. Max West, in the *Review of Reviews* for February, 1893:

"From the standpoint of political economy, as well as of law, the inheritance tax may be regarded either as a tax or as a limitation of inheritance. For at least a century, economists and statesmen have been pointing out glaring anachronisms in the existing law of inheritance. Jeremy Bentham proposed to abolish interstate inheritance except in the case of immediate relatives, and to limit the power of bequest of childless testators. John Stuart Mill went further, and proposed to limit absolutely the amount which any one should be allowed to take either by inheritance or bequest. The existing laws make it easy to forget that inheritance and bequest are not natural rights, nor even necessary consequences of the right of private property; and to many these proposals of Bentham and Mill seem almost communistic utterances. Yet no one has ever been able to give a good reason for the operation of intestate inheritance in modern times between distant relatives—relatives so distant that they know and care nothing of one another. As for Mill's proposal to set a limit to the amount of inheritances and bequests, it has within a few years been revived in so conservative a body as the Illinois Bar Association, and a bill for the purpose was introduced in the Illinois Legislature in 1887.

"The limitation of inheritance by means of a progressive inheritance tax is advocated alike in the writings of one of America's most talked-of millionaires on the one hand and in the platform of the Knights of Labor and the organ of the nationalists on the other. Andrew Carnegie and Edward Bellamy agree perfectly in this matter; both would like to see an inheritance tax rising as high as 50 per cent. in the case of multimillionaires. Four years ago Mr. Carnegie wrote as follows: 'Of all forms of taxation this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the State, cannot be deprived of its just share. By taxing estates heavily at death the State marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life.'

"Collateral inheritances alone are now taxed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, and they have at various times been taxable in several other States. The tax has existed in Pennsylvania since 1826, in Maryland since 1844, and in Delaware since 1860. In the other States it is of more recent date; Massachusetts adopted it in 1801 and New Jersey only last spring. The rate is in most cases 5 per cent., but in Maryland and West Virginia it is 2½ per cent., and in Delaware it varies from 1 per cent. for brothers and sisters to 5 per cent. for distant relatives. Bequests for charitable and educational purposes are generally exempt, as well as small amounts in other cases.

"The 'duties on estates of deceased persons' form one of the chief sources of revenue in Australasia. The rates are progressive in most of the colonies; in Victoria the maximum is 10 per cent., applying to estates of more than £100,000. The widow and children pay one half the schedule rates. In New South Wales the maximum is 5 per cent., and no favor is shown the direct heirs. In South Australia, on the other hand, the succession duty is graduated from 1 to 10 per cent., according to relationship alone; and there is a probate duty in addition. Until recently the highest rate in Australasia has been the 13 per cent. maximum of New Zealand; but by an act of last October Queensland now takes 20 per cent. of large amounts be-

queathed to persons not related to the testator. Tasmania has a slightly progressive tax, levied on personally alone.

"At the Cape of Good Hope the inheritance tax was introduced nearly 30 years ago. The rates are from 1 to 5 per cent., according to relationship.

"The United Kingdom has a complicated system of 'death duties,' as Mr. Gladstone has named them, known separately as the probate, account, legacy, succession, and other duties. The probate duty, which must be paid before the estate can be settled, and the account duty on gifts, which, strictly speaking, is not a death duty at all, apply to personally alone, and the rates approximate 3 per cent. The legacy duty on personal property and the succession duty on realty and settled personally are graduated according to relationship. The estate duty is an additional 1 per cent. tax on property amounting to £10,000 or more; so that its effect is to make the death duties slightly progressive. There is an annual tax in lieu of death duties or corporations. A municipal death duty for London is a possibility of the future.

"The heaviest inheritance taxes on the continent are levied in Switzerland. In Geneva distant relatives pay 15 per cent. In six cantons the rates are progressive. When there is no will, the little canton of Uri taxes distant relatives 20 per cent., and even more on the excess above 10,000 francs.

"In Germany the Erbschaftsteuer nowhere applies to direct heirs except in Alsace-Lorraine. Herr Miquel tried to extend the Prussian tax to direct heirs in 1890, but failed. The rates in Prussia are from 1 to 8 per cent., according to relationship.

"The French law taxes the gross value of the property, without allowing deduction for debts—an unusual feature, which has caused much dissatisfaction. The maximum rate is 1½ per cent.

"Austria, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Poland, Roumania, Monaco, all have inheritance taxes.

"The tax has been found to be quite satisfactory in its practical operation and productive of very considerable revenues. It has not driven away capital, because men would rather pay their taxes after death than at any other time. It is difficult to evade, and the cost of collection is not heavy. In New York especially it has become one of the principal modes of taxation. For the three years before the New York tax was extended to direct inheritances, the average yield was more than \$1,000,000—far more than the State tax on personal property and nearly as much as the corporation tax; and in the fiscal year 1902, with the new law partly in operation, the payments amounted to nearly \$2,000,000. In Pennsylvania the collateral inheritance tax yields about \$1,000,000 annually."

In Practice.

Of the objections to the tax, Mr. West says (*Political Science Quarterly*, vol. viii., p. 441):

"The classical objection to the inheritance tax, urged by Adam Smith and Ricardo, is that it is a tax on capital. This objection has also been applied to the property tax; but the inheritance tax is perhaps more likely to be paid out of capital than an annual property tax. It has been pointed out, however, by Mill, and more recently by Leroy-Beaulieu, that whether a tax will be paid out of capital or out of income depends not so much upon the mode of taxation as upon the amount of the tax and the time allowed for payment. And even if the tax is paid out of capital in a given case, it does not follow that there will be any diminution of the national capital. Over against the objection that the tax will be paid out of capital there are two counter arguments: first, that being levied only when the taxpayer has just received a mass of property, it is easily and conveniently paid; and second, that by diminishing large fortunes it tends to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth. This second argument will of course apply only when the tax is progressive, or when small amounts are exempt.

"Adam Smith also charged the inheritance tax with violating his canon of equality, 'the frequency of transference not being always equal in property of equal value.' It has been suggested that this cause of inequality will operate in the long run between families, because of hereditary differences in longevity. This objection can be sustained only by regarding the inheritance tax as a property tax paid once in a lifetime. If the tax is considered as a limitation of inheritance, or as a fee, or as a tax resting upon the

increased taxpaying ability of the heir, there is no inequality in exacting it as often as the devolution occurs. . . .

"The courts have frequently attempted to define the nature of inheritance taxes, but their deliverances on the subject do not agree. The United States Supreme Court decided that a tax which Louisiana formerly levied on foreign heirs was an exercise of the State's power of regulating inheritance and bequest. . . . Inheritance tax laws have been declared unconstitutional for particular reasons in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and in New Hampshire this mode of taxation was declared to be unequal and unjust. New Hampshire is the only State in which it has been held to be unconstitutional for reasons which apply to inheritance taxes in general; and it has often been declared not to conflict with the requirements of equality and uniformity."

References: See TAXATION.

INITIATIVE. See REFERENDUM.

INJUNCTIONS.—An injunction may be defined in law as an order by a court possessing equitable powers, commanding a designated person or designated persons to desist from some action commenced or proposed, to restore to its former condition something which has been interfered with or violated, or to perform certain acts. Only recently, however, in English and American jurisprudence have injunctions been mandatory. Until now they have been simply used in restraint of action. In Roman law, however, whence they have come into modern jurisprudence direct, they were mandatory, and were extensively used, but called interdicts. They were issued by the pretor and other magistrates, and afforded large powers of compelling or preventing action, giving Roman law great practical and all but imperial efficacy.

Recently they have been used in America in ways and to a degree which some consider revolutionary, as giving to courts of equity powers all but or quite imperial and destroying the immemorial Anglo-Saxon rights of trial by jury. This is, however, both strongly asserted and denied. (For a review of the facts concerning the recent use of injunctions, see COMBINATION LAWS.) We give here two careful views, one supporting, the other condemning the recent extension of the injunction. In the *Forum* for May, 1893, Mr. A. F. Waiker says:

"Four extremely interesting opinions concerning the rights and obligations of working men have recently been rendered by Judges Taft, Ricks, Speer and Billings, sitting in various divisions of the United States Circuit Court.

Conservative Newspaper comment upon these decisions has been quite misleading, being often apparently based upon conjecture rather than actual knowledge concerning the points decided. Their scope and extent may be briefly summarized as follows: Judge Ricks holds that a mandatory injunction may issue requiring employees fully to perform their duties connected with interstate commerce, so long as they remain in service. Judge Taft rules that acts tending to induce a boycott which would interrupt the movement of interstate commerce may be prevented and corrected by like process. Judge Billings affirms the propriety of an injunction against a combination of laborers acting in restraint of trade or commerce. Judge Speer approves a receiver's contract for labor, but makes it subject to conditions which eliminate the boycott.

"Each of these decisions rests upon the federal control of interstate commerce, as expressed in the Interstate Commerce law and the Anti-Trust law. The novelty in each is in the remedy employed. Illegal acts of the nature in question have heretofore been approached judicially in actions at law or by indictment. In the fourth section of the Anti-Trust law jurisdiction by injunction is specifically conferred. The Interstate Commerce act contains no such affirm-

ative provision. Judge Ricks recognizes the fact that his use of the process is new, and says:

"Every just order or rule known to equity courts was born of some emergency to meet some new condition, and was therefore in its time without a precedent."

"He refers to two mandatory injunctions recently issued, one compelling the Union Pacific Railway Company to permit certain other companies to use the Omaha bridge, under a continuing contract previously made between them to that end; and the other compelling the Wabash Railroad Company to permit another company to use certain tracks and facilities at St. Louis under a similar contract. In the latter case it was said by the Supreme Court of the United States (Justice Blatchford) as follows:

"It is one of the most useful functions of a court of equity that its methods of procedure are capable of being made such as to accommodate themselves to the development of the interests of the public, in the progress of trade and traffic, by new methods of intercourse and transportation. . . .

"The original office of the injunction was negative rather than affirmative; to restrain, not to command. The text-books abound in authorities to the effect that equity will not enforce the specific performance of a contract; will not interfere to prevent a crime; will not enjoin acts for which a remedy at law exists.

"While practitioners of the old school are somewhat aghast at the enlargement of equity jurisdiction upon which the Federal courts have of late so distinctly entered, there is much to be said in support of its propriety. Other remedies are exceedingly inadequate, often involving innumerable suits at law; contracts not performed are practically valueless; damages are often difficult to assess, and impossible to collect; insolvency has always been considered as presenting an exceptional case; crimes which invade private rights have at times been prevented by injunction; the power in question rests upon the thought expressed by Judge Brewer in the Nebraska case above referred to, where he said:

"I believe most thoroughly that the powers of a court of equity are as vast and its processes and procedure as elastic as all the changing emergencies of increasingly complex business relations and the protection of rights can demand. . . .

"This use of the writ of injunction will afford a speedy and effective solvent for many evils which hitherto have been permitted to run their course. It may at times operate in favor of the laboring classes as well as against them, for the lockout must be subject to like rules with the strike. It will often prevent the necessity of military intervention to repress excesses and disorders. The law forbids the boards of directors of a railroad company from wantonly interfering with the rights of connecting lines; this principle is now extended to employees and their organizations; a corporation can act only through agents, and none of the agents or employees are above the law. Our people are occasionally surprised at the sudden development of a new situation in the law or in its administration, but they immediately adapt themselves to the changed conditions, and the wheels of trade and commerce revolve with less friction than before.

"Contests over wages and terms of service will always exist, until human nature is revolutionized, or the Government is sufficiently paternalized to take charge of the subject of wages generally. But the public is entitled to minimize these evils so far as practicable, and to confine the contest to the actual parties, to prevent interference with the rights of others, and to restrict the contestants to the exercise of their own lawful rights, restraining all illegitimate excesses.

"To this end the process of injunction is peculiarly adapted, and when it is exercised with the care and self-restraint exhibited by the judges whose decisions have been analyzed there can be no danger in its use.

"The questions of legal right covered by the cases present nothing new. Their application to interstate commerce gives jurisdiction to the Federal Courts. This opportunity is of recent origin, being consequent upon recent statutes enacted under the constitutional power of Congress to regulate commerce among the several States. It has always been the legal obligation of employees to perform fully their contract of service, whether by the year, month or day, and of employers to pay compensation for the term agreed upon; employees are legally responsible to employers for the results of their negligent acts and wilful omissions, and employers are in turn responsible to them for the furnishing of safe and sufficient machinery and working room; both are subject to the rule that one's own property (or rights) must be so used that

others be not unnecessarily injured; and both are within the law which condemns conspiracies and combinations to oppress.

"The only extension or enlargement perceptible in the recent cases is in the use of the mandatory injunction for the enforcement of well-known rights and obligations; this is supported by precedents in other directions and can be employed without objection, being wholly in the direction of the preservation of personal rights and the protection of public interests."

On the other hand, Mr. F. J. Stimson, in an address delivered before the Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts, and published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1895, says:

"What are the facts? Briefly these:

"We have seen, in private lawsuits between individuals or corporations, courts of equity—civil, not criminal courts—invoked to restrain, not alone parties to the suits, but anybody, the whole world, with or without actual notice of a court order or injunction, not merely from interfering with property which is the subject of the suits, but also from committing or conspiring to commit, or aiding or advising others to commit, acts which are criminal; and sometimes only on the ground that they are criminal acts—criminal at common law, or made so by the recent statutes known as the Anti-Trust Law and the Interstate Commerce Law. We have seen more: we have seen persons committing, or about to commit, or said to be about to commit, such acts, arrested by these civil courts, deprived of their liberty and punished by imprisonment; and this, as in the Debs case and others, after the emergency which furnished the excuse for invoking the protective jurisdiction of the equity court has long gone by. And we have seen persons so punished without the usual safeguards of liberty afforded by the criminal law—without indictment, without right to counsel, without being confronted with witnesses, without trial by jury—and sentenced without uniform statute, at the discretion of the judge.

"We have seen more: we have seen courts, not content with ordering all the world what not to do, order at a word the 10,000 or 20,000 employees of a railroad system to carry out each and every the definite or indefinite duties of their employment as directed by any of their superior officers, or by receivers of the courts themselves, so that for any failure or omission or merely negative act on the part of one of these employees, he may be summarily brought into court and punished, either at that time or later, as the court may find leisure to sentence or its attorneys to file complaints. Take one example of many. Judge Ross, in the case of the Southern California Railroad vs. Rutherford, where the bill alleged that the defendants continued in the employment of the complainant company, and yet refused to perform their regular and accustomed duties as such employees, said:

"It is manifest that for this state of affairs the law—neither civil nor criminal—affords an adequate remedy. But the proud boast of equity is: *Ubi jus, ibi remedium*. It is the maxim which forms the root of all equitable decisions. Why should not men who remain in the employment of another perform the duties they contract and engage to perform? It is certainly just and right that they should do so, or else quit the employment. [And in conclusion,] I shall award an injunction requiring the defendants to perform all of their regular and accustomed duties so long as they remain in the employment of the complainant company, which injunction, it may be as well to state, will be strictly and rigidly enforced."

"We have seen yet more. By the act of 1890, commonly known as the Anti-Trust Law, it is declared that 'every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States,' is illegal; and by the fourth section, the attorney-general, or any district attorney, upon the information of any individual, is authorized to institute proceedings in equity, in the name of the United States, to prevent and restrain violations of the act.

Furthermore, by the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 it is made a criminal offense for railroads, their officers or employees, to refuse to perform their duties as common carriers, and to refuse to receive the cars and passengers of other railroads or companies; as a result of this a strike of such employees becomes in effect also a conspiracy against interstate commerce.

Radical Views.

"The first attempt to enforce the Anti-Trust Law was made in a case here in Boston, before Judge Putnam of the federal court. Judge Putnam wisely refused to extend the meaning of this act beyond its expressed words, and said: 'It is not to be presumed that Congress intended to extend the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States to repressing strikes and boycotts, without very clear language.' If the courts had stopped there, there would be little need for this address. But since then what changes have happened!

"The Attorney-General of the United States, or his district attorneys, acting for the United States in the exercise of its sovereignty as a nation, has sued out injunctions in nearly every large city west of the Allegheny Mountains. Injunction writs have covered the sides of cars; deputy marshals and federal soldiers have patrolled railway yards; chancery process has been executed by bullets and bayonets. Equity jurisdiction has passed from the theory of public rights to the domain of political prerogative. In 1888 the basis of jurisdiction was the protection of the private right of civil property; in 1893, it was the preservation of public rights; in 1894, it has become the enforcement of political powers.

From being applied to parties to a suit, the process of contempt has come to be applied to large bodies of men who may never have heard of the suit which gave it rise. For instance, the Chicago 'omnibus bill' of last summer was filed to prevent interference with 23 great railroad systems, and the injunction issued not only against several members of the American Railway Union by name, but against as many thousands unnamed; and, to prevent a possible confusion of identity in the defendants, it was further directed to 'all other persons whomsoever.'

"The history of jurisprudence surely furnishes no precedent in which the chancery has called out the military in aid of an injunction writ. . . . The public anxiety has some legal ground. Briefly, the objections are three:

"1. This course of things does away with the criminal law and its safeguards of indictment, proof by witnesses, jury trial, and a fixed and uniform punishment. Most of these offenses might well have been the subject of criminal prosecution; and the bill of rights of our constitution says that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

"2. It makes the courts no longer judicial, but a part (and it bids fair to be a most important part) of the executive branch of Government. More briefly and picturesquely: the federal courts may thus grow into mere star-chambers and run the country—as they already run nearly half our judiciary.

"3. It tends to make our judiciary either tyrannical or contemptible. If we do not fall under a tyranny, such as might have existed in the England of Charles I. or such as does exist in the South America of today, we shall fall into the almost worse plight of finding an injunction of our highest courts a mere *brutum fulmen*—an empty threat, a jest and a byword; so that through their own contempt process the courts themselves will be brought into contempt. . . .

"There is nothing new under the sun. . . . In 1382 the commons complained to the king of grievous oppressions caused by the power of great barons, who rendered the remedies of the common-law courts of no avail. Accordingly the judges of these courts themselves were placed under the special supervision of the chancellor, and the chancellor began to exercise his authority in repressing disorderly obstructions to the course of law, and in affording civil remedy in cases of outrage which for any reason whatever could not be effectually redressed through the ordinary tribunals. Thereupon, however, the commons took great umbrage at the exercise of such authority on the part of the chancellor, claiming that his jurisdiction was an interference with the common law; but the king persevered, stating that he would preserve his prerogative; and a resort to the chancellor under his ordinary jurisdiction was thus secured for the poor, the weak and the friendless, to protect them from the injuries to which they were exposed. . . . Even the court of Star Chamber had originally a similar jurisdiction, and it was first used to prevent cases of oppression and other exorbitant offenses of great men, where, as Lord Coke says, inferior judges would,

in respect to the greatness of the offenders, be afraid to take jurisdiction. . . .

"The court of Star Chamber, as Spence explains, was perverted from its original purposes; and having become odious by the tyrannical exercise of its powers, it was abolished by statute in the time of Charles I., just before the Commonwealth was established. . . .

"So far, history. And I think you will say it has but repeated itself. Are we to go back? Have liberty and property again grown so insecure under the common law that the extraordinary power of the sovereign acting through his chancellor—that is, of the United States Government acting through its equity courts—is again to be invoked? And will the federal government, stretching to the last point of prerogative the phrase of the Constitution giving it power to regulate commerce among the several States—for the meaning of those simple words has grown, from the mere prohibition of imposts and interstate duties or taxes upon the carrier, to the control of the reward of the carrier; and from that (as the United States Labor Commissioner demands), to the wages of the carrier's servants; and from that, to criminal jurisdiction over all persons concerned in transportation; and from that, now, to an executive ordering of the whole business by the federal courts—will the federal Government, through its courts as did King Richard II. in 1382 to the Commons: The sovereign will preserve his prerogative?"

Remedies.

Before suggesting remedies, I want to call to mind again the fact that the revival of these old equity powers has been caused chiefly by one particular law, passed by the Congress of the United States four years since, supposedly in the interest of the people and of the laborer, and known as the Anti-Trust Law. A striking example of the danger of extraordinary legislation, whether demanded by the masses or by the classes! I agree with Mr. Wright that, if this goes on, the nation will have to own and run the railroads in theory as well as in fact, and Democrats at least should not believe that this is any part of the duties of our national government. Nor do I think the machinery of any true democratic government is arbitrary and tyrannical enough to stand such a strain.

"Leaving out the question of this Anti-Trust Law and its provisions, and the Interstate Commerce Law, which, on one short clause in the Constitution of the United States that 'Congress shall have power to regulate commerce among the several States,' hang all this extraordinary jurisdiction and law-making—leaving aside these two radical and extraordinary statutes, it seems as if the question we have asked might be thus solved:

"1. Let the courts of equity go back to their proper jurisdiction as civil courts. . . .

"2. Let no person be punished in an equity action for contempt not committed in presence of the court, unless he is a party to the suit, or the servant or agent of a party, or has been personally served with a copy of the injunction order. . . .

"3. In any case where both a crime and an infringement of a property right are involved, the injunction will have to issue as to the property right, and be valid as a concurrent remedy with the criminal process; but let not *ex post facto* punishment be inflicted where there is a criminal penalty. . . . It would be easy to provide that the finding of a judge in the contempt process should take effect as the presentment of a grand jury. Then Debs, or any other person complained of, could be at once handed over to an ordinary officer of the criminal courts, to be locked up or bailed until the time of trial, then to be tried by a jury of 12 men, and, if found guilty, to be sentenced as a criminal, according to the law of the land and the Constitution of the United States."

INNER MISSION.—The so-called Inner Mission of Germany originated in a *Memorial to the German Nation*, written in 1848 by Pastor Wichern. This was a passionate appeal to turn the energy of the Church toward every social need. It argued that the causes of all suffering are moral; that the Gospel is the only cure, but that the Gospel must be applied to all life. As a result, a very great movement has resulted, the Protestant Christian Socialism (*g.v.*) of Germany mainly developing on this

line. Houses of Brothers (16) and of Sisters (63) have been established to train workers. In 1890 they had an income of nearly \$2,000,000. Agencies for reform of all kinds have been established—444 lodging-houses (*herberge*) have been opened, 5900 schools for Sunday (tho not called Sunday-schools), 2209 schools for the care of children, 25 asylums for fallen women, 42 day nurseries, 588 houses for the sick, 426 homes for travelers. Labor bureaus and boys' clubs have been planted in almost every German city. The bureaus in 1890 found 15,000 situations. In 1891 poor children from 121 places in Germany were sent to seashore or country. The movement is spreading to other lands.

Reference: A series of articles in *The American Journal of Sociology* for 1896.

INSANITY.—It is generally supposed that insanity is on the increase in civilized countries, owing to the increasing complexity and intensity of life, and the statistics seem to bear this out; but many hold that such is not the case, and that the apparent increase is due to more careful registration, and, above all, to the growing custom of placing the insane in asylums. According to Professor R. Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology* (p. 221) the number of insane persons treated in public and private asylums in the United States was 56,205 in 1881 and 97,535 in 1889, an increase of 73 per cent.; but the number of insane per 1,000,000 of population was 1833 in 1880 and only 1697 in 1890. The census of 1891 in England showed an increase of the total number of lunatics since 1871, but calculated that this was due to the better care given to them and the consequent prolongation of life. In 1889 there were 85,345 insane persons (including idiots) in England, or 2907 per 1,000,000. In Ireland, the proportion of lunatics to 1,000,000 of the population was 775 in 1851, and in 1891, 3174. The proportion of idiots was in 1851, 750 per 1,000,000, and in 1891, 1326. Since 1881, however, there has been a decrease. In Scotland, lunatics increased from 2250 per 1,000,000 in 1881 to 2596 in 1891, while idiots decreased from 1603 per 1,000,000 to 1246. There are more women insane than men in Sweden, England, Scotland, and Ireland. In Austria and Hungary men lead. In Ireland, 79.6 per cent. of the mentally deranged were unmarried. In 1891, in Ireland, 41 per cent. could read and write. In Massachusetts, in 1885, there were 2344 insane men and 987 idiots; there were 2919 insane women and 651 idiots.

There has been great progress in modern times in the care of the insane. Pinel, in 1792, took a great step forward in liberating 53 patients at Bicêtre who had been in chains. Franklin, in 1750, succeeded in establishing a department for the insane in the Pennsylvania Hospital. To-day there are 135 public and 117 private insane asylums in the United Kingdom. In the United States, they exist in every State except Delaware, Florida, and Nevada.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES.—The phrase "institutional church," first used, it is believed, by President Tucker of Dartmouth College, applied to Berkeley Temple, Boston,

Mass., has recently come into use describing a church that works on all lines of human improvement. The Rev. C. A. Dickinson, pastor of Berkeley Temple, Boston, says of the institutional church :

"If I were to define it, I should say that it is an organization which aims to reach all of the man, and all men, by all means. In other words, it aims to represent Christ on earth, in the sense of representing Him physically, morally, and spiritually to the senses of the men and women who live in the present age. The Institutional Church aims to provide a material environment wherein the spiritual Christ can express Himself, and be felt among men as when He was here in the flesh, and it begins by planting itself just where Christ stood and worked when He was on the earth—in the midst of publicans and sinners."

Different institutional churches work in somewhat different ways. St. George's, New York City, one of the first churches to work on this line, with its magnificent parish house, naturally puts much of its strength into educational and industrial work, and its admirable equipment helps it to obtain a peculiarly strong grip upon young men. The Fourth Church of Hartford, Conn., emphasizes evangelism, and has been remarkably successful in reclaiming the fallen. At the Jersey City Tabernacle the amusement features are kept to the front, and the church aims especially to fill the leisure hours of the working young men and women who flock to it full with wholesome pleasure. At Berkeley Temple, Boston, while other lines are not neglected, an exceptional amount of energy is put forth through the Church office in attending to the wants of all sorts and conditions of men and women who are in need of sympathy, advice, and succor.

But while all these churches have their distinctive differences, they are alike in certain fundamental characteristics. They either make their free pews absolutely free or else adopt a system which practically secures free pews. They all believe in a church open all the week and made a center of social life. They all develop church workers, and make their services attractive with popular music, etc. They exist in all denominations, but have been particularly developed in the Protestant Episcopal Church and in the Congregational. St. Paul's Church, in New York City, is an example of a most successful Roman Catholic institutional church. They exist, too, all through the country, as in the Plymouth Church in Milwaukee, and the Tabernacle in Denver. Many churches, too, in the smaller towns are working on the same lines, and everywhere they are successful, as is shown by the congregations they draw, the number who are added to the Church, the spiritual life, and the practical benefits they conduct. The institutional church "begins with the people just where they are, meets the needs of which they are conscious, and so generally leads them to be conscious of needs higher and nobler."

INSURANCE.—Insurance may be defined as a contract of a company or person to pay a sum or sums of money to indemnify the insured, or a designated beneficiary, in case of loss through the happening of certain events which constitute the risk insured against.

HISTORY AND STATISTICS.

Insurance is mainly a modern development,

tho it originated in the remote past. It was known to the ancients, but was chiefly developed by more recent mercantile adventures. It began by men agreeing to divide among themselves the burden of the loss of ships or cargoes in the days when commerce was the fitting out of ships for single, long expeditions. This custom arose in England in the Elizabethan era. It had appeared in Southern Europe earlier than that.

Insurance depends on the law of probabilities. It is said that the doctrine of probabilities was developed about the year 1650, when the Chevalier de Mere, a Flemish nobleman, who was both a respectable mathematician and a gamester, attempted to solve the problem of dividing equitably the stakes when a game of chance was interrupted. The problem being too difficult for him, he sought the aid of the famous Abbé Blaise Pascal, one of the most accomplished mathematicians of any age. Pascal solved the problem, and in doing so enunciated the "doctrine of probabilities," or laws governing so-called chances.

This doctrine or theory Pascal illustrated by the throwing of dice. When a single die is thrown, the chance of turning up an ace is precisely one out of six, or one out of the total number of sides or faces. But if a large number of throws are made, it will be found that each face will be turned up an equal number of times. From this Pascal laid down the proposition that results which have happened in any given number of observed cases will again happen under similar circumstances, provided the numbers be sufficient for the proper working of the law of average. Thus the duration of the life of a single individual is one of the greatest uncertainties; but the duration, or rate of mortality, of a large number of individuals may be predicted with great accuracy by comparison with the observed results among a sufficiently large number of persons of similar ages, occupations, and climatic influences.

From this principle insurance has developed on a scientific basis. It is of many kinds. Fire, marine, and life insurance are the best known; but accident, liability, plate glass, steam boiler, elevator, burglary, sickness, guarantee, mortgage and title, hail and live-stock insurance have each reached large

History.

proportions. All of these branches of insurance are in successful operation in the United States and Europe. Many other branches of insurance have been suggested, and in some cases attempted, among which are: Insurance against loss of occupation; insurance of premiums paid for stocks or bonds, which are subject to redemption; insurance against issue and survivorship; insurance of marriage portions for daughters; insurance against divorces; insurance against celibacy. A queer sort of insurance has been issued in Switzerland against death or injury by "tiles that may drop on the passer's head."

The earliest form of insurance was by means of individual underwriters, each one assuming a fixed proportion of the aggregate amount fixed. In London, the venturesome who took part in this underwriting used to meet at Lloyd's Caf-

fee-house, from which fact the name of Lloyd's was given to this form of insurance. Within the last 10 years this form of insurance has been revived in the United States, and especially in New York; but, as a general thing, insurance is carried on by corporate companies which are either mutual or stock, and which are subject more or less to Government supervision.

Sheppard Homans, an eminent actuary, says of this in the *North American Review*:

"The system of government supervision or control varies in different countries. In Great Britain and continental countries in Europe companies are required to report general facts only regarding income, disbursements, assets, insurances in force, and liabilities estimated by themselves. In the United States, where every State is a sovereign, there are 44 different insurance departments. Each State may impose such conditions, restrictions, and taxes upon corporations of all other States having to transact business within its sacred territory as its legislators may deem proper. As a result, the laws, taxes, and requirements vary greatly, and impose serious burdens and expenses upon companies, which, of course, are borne by their policy-holders. On the other hand, each company is obliged to answer in minute detail questions regarding its business, so that its condition may be made clear to the general public, as well as to persons directly interested.

"The American system, then, is one of paternalism, while the British system is one based upon freedom and publicity. Paternal supervision involves, logically, paternal responsibility. State control means State guarantee. Persons who insure in reliance upon governmental certificate of solvency would, in justice, have a claim for compensation should that certificate be misplaced. But such claim could scarcely be enforced in the United States.

"On the other hand, the British system of freedom and publicity enables unsound or swindling companies to prey upon the general public, which has no means of acquiring exact information regarding the condition of an institution other than the reports and statements of its officials.

"Probably the best system would be a happy mean between the two, where the supervision of the State would combine the maximum of freedom and publicity with the minimum of interference necessary to the ascertainment of solvency and honesty of management."

Fire insurance seems to have been the first to develop its modern form. A regular office for insuring against fire was opened in London in 1681. The great fire of 1666 was the exciting cause. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the older fire insurance companies were organized, as follows: The Hand in Hand, 1696; the Sun, 1710; Union, 1714; Westminster, 1717; London, 1720; Royal Exchange, 1720; the Salop, 1780; Phoenix, 1782; Norwich Union, 1797. The first fire office in Scotland was established in 1720, the first in Germany in 1750, and the first proprietary company in that country in 1779; the first office in the United States was established at Philadelphia in 1752, one of its early directors having been Benjamin Franklin; the first in France dates from 1816, and the first in Russia from 1827.

According to the same authority, the essential principle of fire insurance is the distribution of loss. It does not aim, directly at least, at the prevention and only in a secondary way even at the minimizing of loss.

The extinguishment of fire is commonly undertaken by municipalities, the fire insurance companies often sustain patrols to care for property. (See FIRE DEPARTMENTS.) In the United States, fire insurance has been greatly developed.

Life insurance, tho starting later, has reached a higher state of development than fire insurance. It began at near the first of the eighteenth century.

The Grand Pensioner DeWitt, of Holland, was the first to reduce these theories to practice, which he did in 1693, by calculating the true values of annuities, based upon observed rates of mortality. Dr. Halley, Astronomer Royal of Great Britain, was the first to discover and arrange what are called life tables from which all monetary values depending upon the chances of living and dying, combined with the improvement of money by interest, may be computed. He has been called the father of the modern system of life insurance. These tables have now only a historical interest. Various other tables have been used, such as the Northampton, Carlisle, Equitable Assurance, English Life, Seventeen Offices, American Experience, Thirty American Offices, and many others.

About the close of the seventeenth century there were also several annuity schemes launched, such as the Mercies Company, of London, for the benefit of widows and orphans of the Church of England. The first life insurance company was the Amicable Society, chartered in 1706. In 1762 the Equitable was chartered, and began issuing policies payable at death, upon the lives of persons of any age, charging premiums according to age. The Royal Exchange and London Assurance, however, had both been doing this business without charters for 40 years. In the United States, the Presbyterian Ministers' Fund, of Philadelphia, was chartered in 1759 by Thomas Penn, for the insurance of Presbyterian clergymen. In 1769 a similar institution was chartered for clergymen of the Church of England. The former has survived, but not the latter.

Recent History.

In 1812 a company called the Pennsylvania was chartered; in 1830 the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, which is still in existence, but does no life insurance business. The Mutual of New York, the first of the mutual companies, was organized in 1842, and from 1845-60 many new companies were organized. In 1858 the State of Massachusetts originated a system of State supervision, and it was immediately followed by the State of New York. The Massachusetts department adopted the Seventeen Offices, commonly known as the Actuaries' Table, as its standard; and the New York department, the American Experience Table, which was a modification of the Seventeen Offices Table, in the light of experience of the Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Life insurance companies nowadays issue a variety of immediate and deferred annuities, temporary and whole life insurance, the latter often paid for by a limited number of payments; and a large variety of endowment, tontine, and other investment policies. The companies are mutual, proprietary, or mixed, according as all the savings and profits belong to the insured or all belong to the stockholders, or stockholders receive a part and the policy-holders the remainder. Mutual companies alone have no capital stock. While nominally the members control mutual companies, the practical operation of

the proxy system of voting makes the managers all-powerful.

Originally the companies did not give cash or other surrender values for their policies. It was made compulsory for Massachusetts companies to do so by a State law early in the sixties, and not long after it was also made compulsory for New York companies to give paid-up insurance upon surrender; notwithstanding which, by waiving the law, several companies set out on a career of tontine policies, which were originally wholly forfeitable, but which held out to a persistent policy-holder hopes of very large profits if he survived and sustained his policy. These hopes were not realized, and to-day but one company in the United States is writing a policy the name of which contains the word "tontine," altho several are issuing policies which, while allowing liberal surrender values, give all the profits to the persistent survivors.

One result of the reaction from cash surrender legislation which took the form of tontine insurance was the organization of a large number of mutual assessment life insurance associations. More than one half of all the life insurance now in force in the United States is in these organizations, and many more than one half the number of persons carrying insurance. They have furnished insurance on three different plans—*viz.*, first, by assessing the same amount on members without regard to age, whenever there were losses; second, by assessing according to certain ratios fixed at age of entry; third, by assessing according to certain ratios according to the actual age attained at time of assessment.

Mutual Assessment Companies.

Associations using the first of these systems have nearly all gone out of existence. Associations using the second, which came later into use, are now having an unpleasant experience, and are likely to be driven out of existence unless they reform their plan. There is no scientific reason why associations using the third system should not continue indefinitely. Most of them, however, seek to create a level price in spite of the increasing cost by charging more than the insurance costs during the earlier years, with a view to offsetting the increased cost during the latter years. The success of such associations will de-

pend upon the adequacy of this provision. The management of the associations is commonly much more democratic and truly mutual than that of the regular companies, altho some of them are managed in quite as autocratic a manner. Those which operate on the lodge system are, however, all managed on the representative plan, the members electing delegates to State and national conventions who legislate for the association and elect its managers. (For further information concerning these orders, see FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.)

Marine insurance began in England very early. In the United States, the first record of it is in 1757 in New York City. In 1794 the Insurance Company of North America was organized to do a marine and fire business. Sickness insurance was attempted from 1845 until 1850, but failed of success, there not being sufficient data to work upon. It is now being again undertaken with better prospects. The first accident insurance company was the Travelers, of Hartford, organized in 1863, which has been successful from the start. Live-stock insurance began in Connecticut in 1866. In the same year the Hartford Steam Boiler Insurance Company was organized. In 1872 the Guarantee Company of North America began the business of surety insurance, with headquarters at Montreal. In 1876 the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Company, of Philadelphia, was organized. Liability insurance did not become popular until about 1890, and burglary insurance only within the last two or three years. Credit insurance has been widely patronized during the last 10 years.

In some places in Germany a system of employment insurance is said to be in full working order. The recent history of insurance in Europe lies in the development of State and of compulsory insurance; this we study in a section by itself **The Future.** (see p. 740). Insurance some consider the most socialistic form of modern business, since its essence is security for the individual by dividing losses over the community. Undoubtedly the future of insurance is involved with that of socialism. The agitation for old age pensions (*q. v.*) clearly indicates this.

The following are the most recent insurance statistics:

FIRE INSURANCE, JANUARY 1, 1895.

NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN THE UNITED STATES.	Capital.	Assets Exclusive of Premium Notes.	Net Surplus.	Cash Premiums Received during Year.	Total Cash Income during Year.
293 Stock..... } 235 Mutual..... }	\$71,446,660	\$351,072,971	\$108,887,343	\$161,557,830	\$161,557,830

NUMBER OF COMPANIES.	Paid for Losses during Year.	Paid for Dividends during Year.	Expenses other than Losses and Dividends during Year.	Total Disbursements during Year.	Risks Written during Year.
293 Stock..... } 235 Mutual..... }	\$94,646,618	\$12,592,356	\$52,843,860	\$160,251,738	*\$16,000,000,000

* Approximation. With the exception of the estimate of risks written during the year, compiled from "The Insurance Year-Book." They do not include a few stock companies and some 600 mutuals, whose transactions are purely local and of small volume.

LEADING FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES.

COMPANIES.	Assets.	Capital.	Net Surplus.
Ætna, Connecticut.....	\$10,847,816	\$4,000,000	\$3,197,847
Insurance Company of North America.....	9,562,600	3,000,000	2,244,260
Home, New York.....	9,159,837	3,000,000	1,070,428
Hartford Fire, Connecticut.....	8,645,736	1,250,000	2,422,890
Liverpool, London and Globe.....	8,498,268	*200,000	2,871,180
Royal, England.....	7,609,259	*200,000	1,067,805
Continental, New York.....	6,754,909	1,000,000	1,811,269
German-American, New York.....	6,240,099	1,000,000	1,856,375
Phœnix, Connecticut.....	5,588,058	2,000,000	737,218
Phenix, New York.....	5,545,629	1,000,000	406,360
Fire Association, Pennsylvania.....	5,191,055	500,000	620,302

* The New York law requires a deposit of \$200,000 from foreign companies with the insurance department. This is treated by the department as "deposit capital," and the surplus stated in the next column is "surplus beyond deposit capital" and other liabilities.

LIFE INSURANCE* FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 1, 1895.

NO. OF COS.	Assets.	Premiums Received.	Total In- come.	Payments to Policy- holders (Losses, Dividends, Surrenders, etc.).	Total Ex- penditures.	NEW POLICIES ISSUED.		POLICIES IN FORCE.	
						No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.
56	\$1,073,156,679	\$209,641,725	\$261,959,111	\$118,423,246	\$182,290,595	5,135,109	\$1,588,248,222	8,702,393	\$5,566,166,664

CONDITION AND BUSINESS OF ASSESSMENT COMPANIES AND ORDERS.†

NO. OF COS.	Assets.	Assess- ments Collected.	Total In- come.	Payments to Policy- holders.	Total Ex- penditures.	MEMBERSHIP.	INSURANCE IN FORCE.	
						Admitted during the Year.	No. of Mem- bers.	Amount.
350	\$54,907,024	\$81,010,799	\$87,760,498	\$63,123,185	\$86,722,085	734,688	3,638,815	\$7,482,286,000

* Including industrial policies.

† According to the report made at the annual meeting of Mutual Benefit Life Associations, at Atlanta, Ga., October, 1895. It includes the returns of the fraternal orders.

The returns of life insurance in the first and third tables are from "The Insurance Year-Book."

INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR FIVE YEARS.

The following table shows the receipts and disbursements of the "old-line" life insurance companies reporting to the New York Insurance Department for five years.

YEAR END- ING DECEM- BER 31.	No. of Companies.	Total In- come.	Total Pay- ments for Losses, End- owments, and Annui- ties.	Total Pay- ments for Lapsed, Sur- rendered, and Pur- chased Policies.	Total Divi- dends to Policy- holders.	Total Pay- ments to Policy- holders.	Taxes, Com- missions, and other Expenses.	Total Dis- burse- ments.
1890.....	30	\$187,424,959	\$58,606,615	\$13,827,225	\$14,271,501	\$86,707,341	\$39,616,782	\$126,653,530
1891.....	29	201,931,425	62,731,497	16,230,891	13,991,226	92,953,614	42,350,372	135,792,048
1892.....	31	223,024,998	72,576,866	15,658,759	14,386,195	102,621,820	49,665,730	152,890,333
1893.....	32	236,683,206	75,903,820	19,839,418	14,823,176	110,566,414	55,205,336	166,512,254
1894.....	33	256,624,478	78,313,162	23,164,108	14,577,455	116,054,725	61,073,545	177,863,333

Total assets of the 33 companies last reported, \$1,056,331,683; surplus as to policy-holders, \$139,740,545.

ASSETS OF AND AMOUNT INSURED BY THE PRINCIPAL AMERICAN COMPANIES JANUARY 1, 1895.

COMPANIES.	Insurance in Force.	Gross Assets.
Equitable, New York	\$913,556,733	\$183,138,559
Mutual, New York.....	854,710,761	202,289,424
New York, New York.....	813,294,160	162,011,771
Metropolitan, New York.....	441,375,367	22,326,622
Northwestern Mutual, Wisconsin.....	349,697,569	73,324,694
Mutual Reserve Fund, New York*.....	293,366,106	4,311,520
Prudential, New Jersey.....	280,345,654	13,188,291
Mutual Benefit, New Jersey.....	209,369,528	55,687,872
Connecticut Mutual, Connecticut.....	156,686,871	62,229,586
Northwestern Masonic Aid, Illinois*.....	141,154,500	763,217.
Ætna, Connecticut.....	135,907,796	41,770,215
Pennsylvania Mutual, Pennsylvania.....	126,537,975	24,800,850
Massachusetts Benefit, Massachusetts*.....	106,889,455	1,180,505
Provident Life and Trust, Pennsylvania.....	103,671,924	27,049,119
John Hancock Mutual, Massachusetts.....	102,149,180	6,689,182

LIFE INSURANCE IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

COUNTRIES.	Insurance in Force.	Year's Premiums.	Year's Losses.
United States.....	\$13,948,452,664	\$290,661,514	\$143,220,212
Great Britain.....	3,628,365,000	113,119,055	92,525,050
Germany.....	980,935,375	34,502,390	13,012,600
France.....	680,180,205	34,077,350	8,579,420
Austria.....	191,843,009	12,507,691	2,828,842
Scandinavia.....	53,011,561	1,722,207	415,637
Russia.....	47,925,979	1,757,681	584,707
Switzerland.....	38,908,928	1,317,467	923,679

* Assessment companies.

† Including assessment business (\$7,482,286,000 insurance in force), on which no part of the future premium is collected in advance.

INSURANCE REFORM.

Richard A. McCurdy, president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, of New York, says in the *North American Review* :

"Any form of insurance, whether it be purely mutual, proprietary, or fraternal, if not conducted on a paying basis, must necessarily fail. The purely mutual company will drop asunder; stockholders in a proprietary company will wind up the concern or it will go into the hands of a receiver by process of law; enthusiasts who sustain clergy mutual leagues and employees' benefit associations will grow weary in well-doing and try to reinsure their risks or leave them to their fate. Assessment societies come to grief when the assessments are levied too often, and the shores of the ocean of indemnity are strewn with innumerable wrecks of craft, fantastically named and equipped, which have met the common fate of all non-paying enterprises in a commercial age. . . .

"Wise management freed from antiquated precedent and dead tradition; accumulation superimposed upon indemnity; legitimate methods of increasing accumulation systematically employed; adoption of long-deferred periods of repayment or distribution; recognition of the fact that insurance must be conducted on a paying basis, just like any other business that succeeds; in fine, a continuously productive union of the capital of the intelligent policy-holder and the skilled labor of the experienced and successful life underwriter, supported by highly instructed and organized agency forces—these to-day are demonstrating the possibilities of insurance in ways till recently not fully understood, and it is to these that we must look for even greater developments in the future."

This is a business view of insurance promulgated by a business man. Against it may be offset what David Parks Fackler, an eminent actuary, said at the annual meeting of State Insurance Commissioners in 1892 :

"Our life companies are becoming vast financial corporations, and may become a source of danger to the commonwealth by reason of the vast money powers lodged in the hands of a few men—possibly only one man in each company. The assets of great railroad and manufacturing companies are practically all planted, while those of life companies are in marketable securities which can be converted into cash in \$10,000,000 lots and be used to influence legislation or to affect the money market. It is easy to imagine very startling possibilities when our life companies shall have obtained their probable future size."

Thus far, however, this has developed no serious evils. Insurance companies have been the corporations least criticised and perhaps the least open to criticism. They have, however, weakly permitted themselves to be blackmailed by unscrupulous legislatures and politicians, and in New York especially are understood to be very heavy contributors to the corruption funds of the political machine.

The principal criticism is that all kinds of insurance could be furnished at considerably lower rates than at present prevail. It is thought that the proportion of the rates disbursed for expenses is entirely too large. In all branches of insurance, and especially in life insurance, it is conceded that the commissions paid agents have in recent years exceeded all reason. This indictment is most severe against the regular life insurance companies, tho some of the assessment associations are almost equally extravagant. The extreme is reached among the industrial companies, as might be expected, since weekly collections involve a very great amount of work, when the amounts collected are rarely more than 15 cents, and frequently as

low as five. Of course the largest part of this expense could be avoided if people would seek insurance instead of letting it seek them; but even at the extravagant rates of expense under which the business is now conducted, the benefits are so great that hundreds of millions of dollars of industrial insurance are taken every year.

The insurance problem, then, of this day is to secure good, reliable insurance for the poor at a low price. No one needs insurance as do the poor. They seldom save, and often cannot save.

The Real Problem.

When sickness or death enters the family, it costs untold financial anxiety and suffering, from which insurance should protect them. Probably the industrial companies are doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. It cannot be said that their collectors as a rule are making more than living wages. The managers of the companies have also exhibited unusual liberality in paying, during the recent hard times, a multitude of claims which could have been defeated according to the terms of their policies. They have also voluntarily, of their own motion, admitted industrial policy-holders to the benefits of paid-up insurance, to which also they were not entitled by the terms of their policies.

In the United States, outside of endowment and tontine insurance, which are patronized almost exclusively by the well-to-do, there are no means of providing for old age through the means of insurance. In this respect we are far behind almost all the countries of Europe.

STATE AND COMPULSORY INSURANCE.

In several countries, notably Switzerland and Norway, there are State fire insurance companies competing with the stock companies for business. In England there is a system of government annuities. In New Zealand there is an exceedingly successful governmental life insurance department which does about half the business of that colony, and which now has aggregate assets of more than \$10,000,000. This company also has operated in competition with proprietary and mutual corporations. The State insurance companies, with the exception of the English annuities, have been almost uniformly successful; but it cannot be said that in the majority of cases they have furnished materially cheaper or more reliable insurance than have private corporations.

It is believed that this phenomenon is explained by the fact that they are competitive and not monopolistic institutions. As a result of their competitive nature, they are compelled to incur practically all the expenses that are incurred by stock corporations. Wherever insurance has been made a State monopoly, as is the case in the compulsory insurance of Germany, it has been found that it can be conducted with great economy. Even in Germany working men are permitted to exercise the option of insuring in private companies, but the fact of compulsion operates there to make the State insurance practically monopolistic. The chief though not the only objection to the State insurance system of Germany—a full description of which will be found in a publication by the Depart-

ment of Labor, Washington, D. C.—is that its management is autocratic and paternal instead of democratic and fraternal. At the same time there is no question whatever that the idea of introducing this form of insurance was obtained by Bismarck from the socialists. Concerning this, the publication of the labor department referred to says:

"After the Franco-Prussian war a growth of socialism, between 1871 and 1877, nearly fourfold, startled the government so seriously that active measures were considered for meeting the danger. The famous 'exception law' was passed against the socialists. The severity of the law was extreme. Not only were meetings, clubs, and hundreds of publications at once forbidden, but the measures against them were pitilessly enforced. Leaders were driven out of the country, and apparently the very sources of the party quenched. It was the drastic character of this legislation that made it imperative that something should be done against this peril, of a wholly different nature. . . .

"No bolder or more aggressive attitude was ever taken than that which the chancellor [Bismarck] assumed at this time. He admitted frankly his admiration for Lassalle and his sympathy with many of his aims. He saw, however, in the new socialism a fact of absolutely different character from that for which Lassalle stood. Of more importance, however, is the daring form in which he proposes to take wind from the sails of his enemies. 'The State,' it was said, 'shall be put fearlessly at the disposal of the laboring classes.' Bismarck taunted the socialists with being negative, 'but my program,' said he, 'shall be positive.'

"The positive remedy that he brings is the elaborate scheme of compulsory insurance of the working classes. . . .

"It has been said, 'Two shots at the emperor upon Unter den Linden are responsible for the insurance laws.'"

The idea of Bismarck was to prevent the advance of socialism, but in this he did not recognize that a thing of this sort is tyranny or beneficence, according as it is put on the necks of the people by others or by themselves. Professor E. R. L. Gould, of Johns Hopkins University, thus describes the measures of the German Government:

"The first of these measures was passed June 15, 1883. It was modified in April, 1892, in order to bring it into harmony with the other insurance laws which had in the mean time been passed. Sick insurance is about to be extended to agricultural laborers and to servants. At present nearly eight millions of persons are insured, and expenditures for sick relief amount to more than \$23,800,000 annually. The purpose of sick insurance is to ensure a certain and sufficient relief in case of illness during at least 13 weeks. The employee pays two thirds of the sick insurance and the employer one third.

"Accident insurance is likewise compulsory and universal. The first law was passed July 6, 1884, and dealt chiefly with industrial enterprises. The law of May 28, 1885, extended accident insurance to transportation agencies. A subsequent enactment, bearing the date of March 15, 1886, regulates accident insurance for State officials, military officers and soldiers. A few months later there was a further extension to agriculture and forestry, and it is on the eve of extension to home industry and commerce. Accident insurance is at the cost of employers.

"Invalidity and old age insurance law was enacted June 22, 1889, and subjects to compulsory insurance after 16 years of age all persons working for wages in every branch of trade, apprentices and servants included, managing officials and commercial assistants with regular salaries up to \$476. The old age and invalidity insurance fund is formed by equal contributions from employers and employed, and an imperial subsidy amounting to \$11.00 per annum is granted to every annuity."

The writer says of the operations of the system:

"Public opinion now very generally favors sickness insurance, regards accident insurance with compla-

gency, but is apparently discontented with the old age and invalidity measure. The law seems to be defective, since, according to a reliable private calculation, nearly 40 per cent. have failed to meet their legal obligations to contribute. The official statement reduces this to 16 or 17 per cent. In four years' time 60,000 claims have had to be refused, and this furnishes ground for criticism and disappointment. Playing sick under the insurance laws, which was originally conceived to be a formidable obstacle to contend with, is now less considered, possibly because less resorted to, possibly

also because better means are found for preventing it. It is very natural that the unworthy classes should hasten to exploit so tempting an opportunity, and thus create an alarming showing during the first few years. There is reason to believe, however, that this was but temporary, and that the phenomena will not occur again."

The summary of this insurance in 1892 was as follows :

PERSONS INSURED, RECEIPTS, EXPENSES, ETC.	INSURANCE AGAINST		
	Sickness.	Accidents.	Old Age and Invalidity.
Persons insured.....	7,273,000	18,000,000	11,200,000
Persons relieved.....	2,752,000	210,000	187,800
RECEIPTS :			
Contributions of employers.....	\$7,378,000.00	\$12,852,000.00	\$11,275,250.00
Contributions of employed.....	18,445,000.00		11,275,250.00
Total.....	31,416,000.00	16,184,000.00	25,751,600.00
EXPENDITURES :			
Benefits.....	22,610,000.00	7,735,000.00	5,331,200.00
Administration.....	1,475,600.00	1,761,200.00	1,066,240.00
Total.....	29,512,000.00	12,852,000.00	25,751,600.00
Accumulated funds.....	26,180,000.00	24,038,000.00	38,758,300.00
Benefits per case.....	8.33	44.03	28.56
Charges per person insured.....	3.33 ²	.714	2.142

The report of the Department of Labor referred to says of the system :

"Certain confident claims that were made by the early leaders in this legislation are not only not fulfilled, but there is scarcely a sign that they will be.

"1. In the sense in which Bismarck used the word, there is little likelihood that the laborers will be made contented by the laws.

"2. The hope that certain classes of the insured would the more readily go into the country from the city, or stay away from the city (as their money would go farther in the country), shows no hints of being fulfilled.

"3. That the social democracy has been in the least harmed or checked in its propaganda very few would claim.

"4. Whatever may be true in the future as a result of these laws, the charity burden has not been lightened in any way corresponding to the belief of many advocates of the insurance.

"5. As to the belief entertained by many that the laborer would be led through the influence of these forced contributions to learn the habit of saving, it is quite certain that no such results could as yet be brought forward.

"6. That a better feeling has in consequence been brought about between employer and employed is, upon the whole, questionable, altho this (under many circumstances where the groups are not too large) is affirmed to be true.

"It is fair to reply that most of these disappointments are of little consequence even if true, and also that time will work very great and hopeful changes.

"There are many reasons to believe that much of this faith is justified, not as yet on strictly economic grounds, but upon grounds that are more important.

"There are indications of extreme significance that results of the widest social advantage are to follow this very brave attempt to use all powers, whether of state or individual, to lessen evils which none deny. . . .

"The chief moral effect will be in the increasing sense of solidarity which the very attempt to make the laws succeed will intensify and increase.

"If the laws had eventually to be abandoned, this result would remain. This quicker sense of 'social oneness' is apparent in the press, in public speeches, in university lectures, in countless volumes upon every phase of the so-called social question, as well as in the philosophical and ethical treatises. (See for an example Paulsen's *Ethik*, pp. 787,802, etc.)

"Here is a force far too considerable to be measured by any merely economic estimate.

"In expressing this belief in ultimate results that are essentially extra-economic, it is not forgotten that the

principle of self-help is put by these laws to much risk. It is bad that the free, friendly associations should be made to suffer as they unquestionably are by this form of State competition, but the evidence is overwhelming that society is unwilling to wait for the self-help institutions to deal with social ills."

The disposition is strong to introduce compulsory insurance in other countries, especially in France, where M. Bourgeois, the recent Premier, was the author of a measure for compulsory insurance in that country. In 1888 Australia adopted a system similar to that of Germany and Hungary in 1891.

What might be accomplished in the way of furnishing cheap insurance through the means of compulsion in a democratic State might be imagined by the following statement from the *Insurance World* :

"Mr. Leslie (Assistant Actuary Government Insurance Department of New Zealand) recently published a study of *The Rates of Mortality in New Zealand*, covering the mortality according to the census, which compilation is the best and most practical thing of the sort that has come to our attention. It also shows that a mortality table constructed with great care from the data which the census-takers collected is not merely more favorable than the tables constructed from the census of any other country, but also more favorable than the experience on insured lives in any compilation, except in that of the Australian Mutual Provident Society. Indeed, so low is this experience that it shows that all the male citizens of New Zealand could be insured from age 20 at a net rate of but \$10.96 per \$1000 if compulsory insurance existed, *all being taken without regard to state of health*. Such a favorable opportunity to test the virtues of compulsory insurance by the State will probably not be long neglected, especially as the machinery of State insurance is ready for it. The rate for women would be slightly lower than even these figures."

The cost of administration could not be great, and it is probable that this insurance could be furnished at a total cost of not exceeding \$12 per \$1000 without taking into account the fact that higher rates of interest than 4 per cent., upon which the rate is based, would be for a long time obtained. It must be taken into account also that this compulsory system would furnish to a very large part of the population

whose health condition now prevent their obtaining insurance the protection of which their families stand in need. This beneficent thing would be accomplished not at an increased cost to the healthy and robust, but instead at a diminished cost.

But this is not all. With the introduction of compulsion all necessity for a reserve disappears. The reserve in life insurance is for the purpose of supplying future premiums when the same become less than the cost of insurance. If a compulsory system were adopted, this equalization would be brought about by collecting from each productive member of the community, without regard to age or health conditions, his quota of the aggregate losses. Actuaries agree that this would be entirely practicable on the basis of compulsory insurance, altho entirely impracticable when the young and healthy are free to enter or not, as they choose. The effect of this would be that probably all persons in New Zealand, for instance, could be permanently supplied insurance at a cost not much, if any, exceeding \$12 or \$13 per \$1000. As the New Zealand insurance department already supplies conveniences for monthly and for four weekly payments without adding any considerable sum for the additional expense, there seems to be no reason why this experiment should not be tried by this colony, which is already so far ahead of the rest of the world in socialistic enterprise.

In England nothing has been done up to the present time, and there is little likelihood that anything will be done in the immediate future, tho men of the ability and standing of Secretary Chamberlain, Sir John Gorst, Canon Blackley, Charles Booth, and others, have urged action.

MILES M. DAWSON.

INTEMPERANCE.—For a discussion of the various ways of dealing with the social

problem of intemperance, see HIGH LICENSE ; LOCAL OPTION ; MULCT LAW ; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ; NORWEGIAN SYSTEM ; PROHIBITION ; SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM. For the history of the temperance movement and the condition in England, see TEMPERANCE. For the extent and political power of the traffic, see LIQUOR TRAFFIC. For a discussion of how far intemperance is the cause of poverty and crime, see POVERTY ; CRIME.

We consider here the statistics of the growth, prevalence, and cost to the community of intemperance, with opinions as to its evil, our statement being abridged from Mr. George B. Waldron's *Prohibition Handbook*, 1896.

I. CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR.

The *Statistical Abstract of the United States* for 1895 (p. 294) gives the consumption of liquors of all kinds in the United States for a series of years. The table here given contains the figures for the past 20 years. For purposes of comparison the figures are given by decades, from 1876-85 and from 1886-95.

There was little change from the first decade to the second in the per capita consumption of spirits and wine ; but the increase in the use of beer has been very marked, jumping from 8½ galls. per capita on the average in the first decade to 14 galls. in the second, which is a gain of over 60 per cent. In the past four or five years the per capita consumption of beer has been more than twice as great as during the first years of the period.

It may be an aid in comprehending, in a measure, the immense quantity represented in 15,000,000,000 galls. to know that it would fill a canal 20 ft. wide, 10 ft. deep, and 1938 miles long, or of sufficient length to reach from New York to Denver.

ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF INTOXICANTS, IN THE UNITED STATES FOR THE PAST 20 YEARS.

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	AMOUNT OF LIQUOR CONSUMED.			PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION.			
	Spirits.	Wine.	Beer.	Spirits.	Wine.	Beer.	Total.
	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>
1876..	59,983,890	20,161,808	308,336,387	1.33	.45	6.83	8.61
1877..	59,420,118	21,876,330	304,927,677	1.28	.47	6.58	8.33
1878..	51,931,941	22,263,919	317,969,352	1.09	.47	6.68	8.24
1879..	54,278,475	24,377,130	344,605,485	1.11	.50	7.05	8.66
1880..	63,526,094	28,320,541	414,220,165	1.27	.56	8.26	10.09
1881..	70,607,081	24,162,925	444,112,169	1.38	.47	8.65	10.50
1882..	73,556,976	25,502,927	526,379,980	1.40	.49	10.03	11.92
1883..	78,452,487	25,778,180	551,497,340	1.46	.48	10.27	12.21
1884..	81,128,581	20,508,345	590,616,517	1.48	.37	10.74	12.60
1885..	70,600,092	21,900,457	596,131,866	1.26	.39	10.62	12.26
1886..	72,261,614	25,567,220	642,967,720	1.26	.45	11.20	12.90
1887..	71,064,733	32,325,061	717,748,854	1.21	.55	11.23	13.99
1888..	75,845,352	36,335,068	767,587,056	1.26	.61	12.80	14.67
1889..	80,013,158	34,144,477	779,897,426	1.32	.56	12.72	14.60
1890..	87,829,562	28,956,981	855,792,335	1.40	.46	13.67	15.53
1891..	91,157,565	29,033,792	977,479,761	1.42	.45	15.28	17.16
1892..	98,328,118	28,467,860	987,496,223	1.50	.44	15.10	17.04
1893..	101,197,753	31,987,819	1,074,546,336	1.51	.48	16.08	18.04
1894..	90,541,209	21,293,124	1,036,319,222	1.33	.31	15.18	16.82
1895..	77,828,561	19,644,449	1,043,292,106	1.12	.28	14.95	16.35
1876-85	663,486,535	234,852,562	4,398,196,928	1.31	.48	8.68	10.45
1886-95	846,667,625	287,755,451	8,883,127,039	1.33	.46	14.01	15.79
Total	1,510,154,160	522,608,013	13,283,323,967	1.32	.46	11.64	13.42

Distilled liquors are measured by the Government in proof gallons, which indicates that they are 50 per cent. in volume of alcohol. Wines average, say, 12 per cent., and beer 5 per cent. On this basis the people of the United States consumed 93,446,171 galls. of alcohol in 1895, which is 1.34 galls. per capita. In 1894 the consumption of alcohol was 99,641,740 galls., or 1.46 per capita, and in 1893, 108,164,732 galls., or 1.62 galls. of alcohol per capita.

There are no reliable data for the amount of wine and beer used as a medicine and in the arts and manufactures. The census of 1890 makes an estimate of the amount of distilled liquors so used during the calendar year 1889 (see *Census Bulletin* No. 22), as follows : Alcohol, 6,745,152 proof galls.; Cologne spirits, 1,453,048 galls.; high wines, 75,992 galls.; whisky, 2,023,000; brandy, 266,874; rum, 189,581;

gin, 222,295 : total, 10,976,842 galls. This is 12.5 per cent. of the 87,829,562 galls. of spirits consumed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890.

BEER PRODUCT OF THE WORLD IN 1894.

The tables which follow, showing the world's production of beer for 1894, are prepared from statistics gathered and published by *Gambrius*, a beer organ of Vienna, Austria. What it means, that nearly 5½ thousand million galls. of beer were demanded during the year for the world's consumption, is beyond the power of the mind to conceive. At the average retail rate of not less than 50 cents a gall., to quench its beer thirst the world expended 2739 millions of dollars in a single year, a rate of expenditure sufficient in less than 18 months to purchase every ounce of the world's great stock of gold.

COUNTRIES.	MALT LIQUORS PRODUCED.		REVENUES COLLECTED.	
	Quantities.	Per Capita.	Total.	Per Capita.
	<i>Gallons.</i>	<i>Gallons.</i>		
German Empire	1,466,129,420	39.86	\$16,317,638	\$0.44
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1,394,139,317	36.02	46,094,192	1.07
North and South America	1,323,563,026	19.28	33,497,663	0.49
Austria-Hungary.....	484,938,903	15.58	14,160,953	0.48
Belgium.....	252,856,814	38.60	2,868,207	0.44
France.....	223,056,827	5.82	3,676,430	0.09
Russia.....	122,080,090	1.48	3,298,054	0.06
Denmark.....	52,273,035	24.04	2,081,283	0.99
Switzerland.....	41,850,234	11.68	.....	.....
The Netherlands.....	39,527,440	7.93	443,650	0.13
Sweden.....	34,795,838	6.76	.....	.....
Other countries.....	42,051,277	....	2,399,626	....
Total.....	5,477,862,221	....	\$124,837,696	....

THE WORLD'S WINE PRODUCT.

The following figures are prepared from the *Bulletin de Statistique et Legislative Com-*

parée, of France, quantities being converted at 26,417 galls. to the hectoliter. They give the average yield for 1893 and 1894 :

COUNTRIES.	Population.	PRODUCTION OF WINE.	
		Total Gallons.	PerCapita, Gallons.
France.....	38,300,000	1,177,168,000	30.74
Italy.....	30,500,000	748,446,000	24.54
Spain.....	17,500,000	648,537,000	37.06
Germany.....	49,400,000	137,368,000	2.78
Algeria.....	4,200,000	100,120,000	23.84
Austria.....	24,900,000	92,460,000	3.72
Russia.....	124,000,000	92,460,000	.75
Turkey and Cyprus.....	39,400,000	47,551,000	1.21
Servia.....	2,200,000	47,551,000	21.61
Switzerland.....	2,900,000	47,551,000	16.40
Portugal.....	4,700,000	44,909,000	9.55
Hungary.....	18,300,000	40,101,000	2.19
Bulgaria.....	3,300,000	39,626,000	12.01
Greece.....	2,200,000	34,342,000	15.61
Argentine Republic.....	4,250,000	31,700,000	7.46
Roumania.....	5,800,000	29,059,000	5.01
United States.....	68,400,000	25,096,000	.37
Chile.....	3,300,000	23,775,000	7.20
Brazil.....	14,600,000	10,567,000	.72
Tunis.....	1,500,000	4,227,000	2.82
Australia.....	4,700,000	3,170,000	.67
Azores, Madeira, Canary.....	900,000	3,170,000	3.52
Cape of Good Hope.....	1,600,000	243,000	1.52
Persia.....	9,000,000	766,000	.85
Total.....	475,850,000	3,432,150,000	7.21

II. THE COST OF INTEMPERANCE.

The retail cost of the drink traffic was made the subject of a very careful investigation by Mr. F. N. Barrett, editor of *The American Grocer*, of New York City, for the Treasury Department, in 1887. Mr. Barrett's methods were given so fully that we have followed them

substantially in the estimate for 1895 in the table which follows. Mr. Barrett's figures for 1887 were practically the same as those of Mr. Edward Atkinson, the Boston statistician, for the same year. The figures for the consumption of liquors, which form the basis of the estimate, are taken from *The Statistical Abstract for 1895* (page 294) :

ESTIMATED RETAIL COST OF THE TRAFFIC—YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1895.

KINDS OF LIQUOR.	Gallons Consumed.	ESTIMATED RETAIL COST.			Internal Revenue and Customs.
		Per Gallon.	Total.	Per Capita.	
Distilled, domestic.....	†76,331,701	\$5.00	\$381,658,505	\$5.47	\$79,862,627
Distilled, imported.....	1,496,860	8 00	11,974,880	.17	2,594,366
Fermented, domestic.....	1,040,259,039	*.50	520,129,520	7.40	31,049,618
Fermented, imported.....	3,033,867	*1.00	3,033,067	.04	637,512
Wines, domestic.....	16,580,657	*2.00	33,179,314	.48	.....
Wines, imported.....	3,054,392	*4.00	12,217,568	.17	3,697,826
Total.....	1,140,764,716	....	\$962,192,854	\$13.79	\$118,432,949

* Estimates of Mr. F. N. Barrett, editor of *The American Grocer*.
 † We estimate that 12½ per cent. of this is used in the arts, manufactures, and sciences, but this is fully compensated for in the water added when sold at retail.

DIRECT AND INDIRECT LOSS FROM THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

The nation's liquor bill for 1890..	\$902,645,867
Government revenues from liquor:	
Internal revenues.....	\$107,695,910
Customs.....	8,518,081
State and local revenues.....	241,786,496
Total Government receipts	\$141,000,487
Expenses of collecting (2.65 per cent.).....	3,736,513
Net Government revenues from liquor.....	137,263,974
Net direct cost of liquor traffic..	\$765,381,893
Indirect cost of liquor traffic:	
Loss of work by 3,750,000 hard drinkers.....	\$132,750,000
Loss of work by non-drinkers.....	66,275,000
Loss from deaths of 45,000 drunkards.....	116,289,000
Cost to Government of poverty and crime.....	68,881,110
Private cost of poverty and crime.....	68,881,110
Total indirect cost of traffic..	453,076,220
Total cost of liquor traffic...	\$1,218,458,113

How much loss is occasioned by the poverty and crime due to drink? \$91,841,480 is spent by the State and local governments for the courts, police, jails, poor-houses, and other methods of caring for the criminals and paupers. Of this it is safe to estimate that at least 75 per cent. is due to drink, making a loss from this source of \$68,881,110. But this is only the cost to the State or local governments and does not include the private losses due to these causes. These we estimate at as much more—another \$68,881,110, making \$137,762,220 for poverty and crime.

A reference to the table shows that the total indirect cost of the traffic from these sources is \$453,076,220, which, added to the \$765,381,893 of direct cost, makes an aggregate of \$1,218,458,113 of direct and indirect cost of the traffic.

III. EVIL EFFECTS OF INTEMPERANCE.

(a) POVERTY.

The twenty-third annual report (1893) of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor contains a special investigation into the condition of the tenement population of Boston. One of the inquiries made was as to why the tenants of the poorer houses remain in undesirable conditions. The investigation covered 475 families and 2140 persons residing in tenements, or neighborhoods classed as poor or bad. The principal cause was in each case selected, although in some cases more than one cause was found. The following table shows, as the results of the inquiry, that more than 42 per cent. of these people live in bad tenements primarily because of intemperance :

CAUSES FOR REMAINING IN POOR TENEMENTS.

CAUSES.	Number of Families.	Population.	PERCENTAGE.	
			Families.	Population.
Intemperance.....	205	912	43.16	42.62
Low rent.....	74	290	15.58	13.55
Poverty.....	22	103	4.63	4.81
Choice.....	53	240	11.16	11.22
Necessity.....	117	572	24.63	26.73
Nearness to work....	4	23	0.84	1.07
Total.....	475	2,140	100.00	100.00

(b) CRIME.

A careful investigation into the relation of drink to crime was made by Carroll D. Wright, now United States Commissioner of Labor, when he was in charge of the Massachusetts Bu-

reau of Labor. He analyzed the crimes committed in Suffolk County, which contains the city of Boston, for the year ending September 1, 1880. The total number of sentences passed during the year was 16,897, of which 12,289, or 72 per cent., were for offenses clearly due to drink, 12,221 being for drunkenness and 68 for illegal sales of liquor. Of the remaining 4608 persons convicted of various crimes, Mr. Wright found that 2097 had committed them while under the influence of liquor, and that the intent to commit the crime was formed by 1918 while under the influence of liquor. It was found in 1804 cases that the crime was committed under conditions induced by the drinking habits of criminals, while in 821 cases the drinking habits of others induced the crime condition.

If the 2097, who were shown to have committed their offenses while under the influence of drink, be added to the 12,289 convicted of "distinctively rum offenses," this makes 14,386 out of the total 16,897 commitments, or 84 per cent., due to drink particularly.

Professor J. J. McCook, of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., in a paper read before the Twentieth Century Club, of that city, in 1895, speaks of the relation of drink to crime in these words:

"For 12 years the police arrests for drunkenness alone averaged in Hartford 62.8 per cent. of the whole number, while drunkenness and its allied offenses numbered 80.6 per cent. This proportion is perhaps somewhat larger than in most places, but it may generally be expected to be at least as high as three fifths. "95 to 97 out of every hundred incarcerated in our jail are self-confessed drinkers, altho they pleasantly add 'moderate' to the title; and from 43.6 to 56.1 per cent. of them are there specifically for drunkenness, and fully 66 per cent, or two thirds of them, are there for that and its resulting crimes. There were 1303 of them there last year out of a total of 2111.

"Of the 381 captives in our State prison last year, 46.8, or almost half, thought drink had done it.

"Take special phases of crime, for example:

"Abuse, neglect, or abandonment of children. Those most familiar with the subject in this neighborhood have put the proportion of cases attributable to drink at or beyond two thirds. From the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, with headquarters in Philadelphia, a former vice-president, in talking with me, fixed the proportion roughly at four fifths to nine tenths. But the secretary gives me definite statistics for 1891-92, showing 309 cases of drink out of a total of 864 in 1891, and 359 out of 987 in 1892, i. e., from 35.8 per cent. to 36.4 per cent. In some previous years the percentage had been as high as 50.

"Take murder and homicide. During the months of January, February, and March of last year I clipped from three daily papers here every case of murder and homicide and classified them according to assigned causes. In a very large proportion no cause was given. All such were reckoned as not due to drink—which is, of course, conceding far too much—and drink was charged only when definitely assigned. In January there were 31 cases, of which 9 were due to drink; in February there were 67, of which 10 to drink; in March, 41, of which 10 to drink. The total was 119, with 29 cases, or 20.9 per cent., specifically attributed to drink."

The railroads of the country recognize the importance of having sober men. *The Voice* has recently collected information from leading officials of 45 railroads, having some 200,000 employees, or about one fourth of the total number employed in the country. Without exception all agree that, from their business experience, "habitual drinking makes employees less efficient in their work." In reply to the question, "Does your company forbid the use of intoxicants to employees while on duty?" all,

without a single exception, reply that they do. The class of service upon which this requirement is usually made is the train service, but many require this of all employees.

OTHER OPINIONS.

"For myself, 21 years of study and observation have convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance, and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the father of the drink hallucination.

"To the labor reformers I have to say, you have united for home protection; so have we. You will bring it about by standing together at the ballot-box; so shall we. In the slums they drink to forget; we would make life something they would gladly remember. We once said intemperance was the cause of poverty; now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance, and that the underpaid, underfed, undersheltered wage-earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler who is well paid, well fed, and well cared for. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace.

"Ten years ago I could not have said it honestly, five years ago I could not have said it helpfully, but now I fearlessly declare that I believe it to be the right and duty of white ribbon women to help abolish poverty in the largest sense of that great phrase; but I must in the same breath ask our friends of the labor movement to recognize that our special work for the abolition of poverty consists in the abolition of the public-house and the saloon."—*Frances E. Willard, in her presidential address before the World's W. C. T. U., in London, June, 1895.*

"Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases (of pauperism) as sickness or old age, but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must therefore be accounted the most prolific of all the causes, and it is the least necessary."—*Charles Booth, in his book on Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age (pp. 140, 141).*

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty,' and the present licensing system is a chief cause of the present time poverty, debasement, and weakness of the poor."—*John Burns, M.P., and 130 other British labor leaders, in an address supporting the Veto bill in 1893.*

"If I could I would inaugurate a strike that would drive the liquor traffic from the face of the earth."—*P. M. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in a speech at Cleveland, O., March 28, 1886.*

"The liquor traffic is responsible for nine tenths of the misery among the working classes, and the abolition of that traffic would be the greatest blessing which could come to them."—*T. V. Powderly, ex-General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor.*

"I am perfectly well aware that here and there in any country there can be found dens and hovels in which men and families devoted to industrial pursuits find what they call their homes. I have seen such. I can find them in my own State, and probably in every State in the Union. I can find them in England, and in every continental country, but they are the exceptions. In Manchester, England, 60 years ago, 60,000 factory operatives were living underground in cellars. To-day you cannot find one family belonging to the industrial classes living in such a hole. I have looked into a thousand homes of the working people of Europe; I do not know how many in this country. I have tried to find the best and the worst; and while, as I say, I am aware that the worst exists, and as bad as under any system or as bad as in any age, I have never had to look beyond the inmates to find the cause; and in every case, so far as my own observation goes, drunkenness was at the bottom of the misery, and not the industrial system or the industrial conditions surrounding the men and their families."—*United States Commissioner Carroll D. Wright, in an address on The Relation of the Modern System of Industry to Intellectual Development (1895).*

"If I could have my way I would wipe out every saloon. The saloon is the prolific source of nine tenths of the misery, wretchedness, and crime, and is, more than we know, responsible for the social evil."—*Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., in an interview in The Voice of January 16, 1896.*

"After all, if we hunt vice and crime back to their lairs we will be pretty sure to find them in the gin-mill. Drunkenness is the prolific mother of most of the evil-doing. . . . Drunkenness is the prime cause of all the trouble."—*Thomas Bynes, while Superintendent of the New York Police Department.*

For views and statistics contrary to this opinion that intemperance is the main cause of poverty, see POVERTY.

(c) PHYSICAL EFFECTS.

In the annual report of the Registrar-General for England and Wales for the year 1893, it is stated that "the deaths directly ascribed to intemperance numbered 2174, or 73 per 1,000,000, which is the highest rate on record; the rates in the three preceding years had been 70, 71, and 67 per 1,000,000." The deaths reported due to intemperance have reference only to those acute forms of alcoholism in which the death could be immediately traced to intemperance. Since 1869 the death-rate from this cause has more than doubled, being 34 per 1,000,000 in 1869, 29 in 1870, and 32 in 1871.

In the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria*, published in Melbourne, January, 1894, is a paper on *The Damage Done to Members of the Medical Profession by the Abuse of Alcohol*. The writer has traced the careers of the members of three classes graduating at Melbourne University. Of 56 Bachelors of Medicine in the Class of 1881-82, 12, or 21 per cent., are known to have become victims to an "excessive use of alcohol." Of 86 in the Class of 1883-84, 10, or 12 per cent., have become victims. Of 106 in the Class of 1885-86, 12, or 11 per cent., have become victims.

The French Academy of Medicine, one of the most illustrious scientific bodies in the world, near the close of 1895 adopted the following resolutions proposed by MM. Bergeron and Labordi:

- "The French Academy of Medicine, believing—
- "That the rapid increase in the amount of intoxication due to the manufactured alcohols and the essences and liquors which they help to compose,
- "And that the artificial 'bouquets,' oils of wine, aldehydes, and all compositions intended for the artificial manufacture of wines and liquors,
- "Cause a permanent danger to public health, and create, both directly and by way of heredity, impulsive and criminal insanity, and physical and mental degeneration of the individual and of the race;
- "That they constantly attack the very life and force of the country, and greatly contribute to its depopulation and decadence;
- "Believing, therefore,
- "That it is urgently necessary in the interest of human and national honor to avert as far as possible this danger, and the evil, already rooted, which it produces;
- "Believing, on the other hand, that science has demonstrated, both by experimental study and by chemical observation, that the most impure and poisonous alcohols, whatever may be their composition and source, can be converted into the purest and least poisonous alcohol, which is none the less always and fundamentally a poison;
- "Therefore, be it resolved,
- "That the absolute rectification of all alcohol should be assured by law; . . . and that all products and compositions intended in behalf of the manufacture of artificial wines and liquors . . . should be the objects of absolutely prohibitive legislation; and that these fundamental measures should be aided by others, such as the lessening of the opportunity and temptation, by limiting the number of licenses. . . ."

Beer-drinking Germany, too, is beginning to see that her favorite beverage is not so harmless

as certain American advocates are fond of declaring. The *Deutsche Versicherung-Zeitung*, of Berlin, an insurance journal, published a lecture delivered March 28, 1894, by Dr. Brendel before the Anthropological Society of Munich, in which he said:

"Alcohol, which apparently brings so much pleasure to its partaker, acts as poison, if even consumed in small doses daily, by means of its cumulative action, as strikingly shown here in Munich, the center of beer consumption, by the frequent sudden cases of death of apparently healthy men. Fatty, enfeebled hearts, shriveled kidneys, fatty or hardened livers, changes in the texture of blood-vessels, which cause paralytic strokes and softenings of the brain, by bursting in the brain, chronic catarrhs of the stomach and bronchial tubes, etc., trembling of the limbs, aberrations and diseases of the mental faculties, delirium tremens, etc.—these are some of the consequences of an immoderate drinking of alcoholic stimulants. Professor Dr. Bollinger of this city (Munich) has in the same manner proved the prevalence of various diseases of a definite nature of the internal organs caused by the universal drinking of beer. A normal heart or kidney is the exception only here in Munich. This state of affairs also injures the progeny in a most serious manner. Dr. Demme found that of the children of non-drinkers, 82 per cent. were sound, while of those of drinkers only 17 per cent. were sound. Germany spends at present 2,500,000,000 marks annually for alcoholic beverages! [About \$600,000,000; population about 50,000,000.—*Editor.*] Altogether large quantities of beverages were drunk formerly, still only in the last century, and more especially only in the last decades, in which the brewer's art was perfected, drinking has become universal. It has spread everywhere and increased to a frightful, most alarming extent. It has been introduced even into country communities, and the only inevitable consequence will be the thorough degeneration of the human race, if the evil is not checked before it is too late. Altho it is contended that beer contains less alcohol than either wine or whiskey, it is nevertheless as injurious as either of them, while its vaunted nutritive value stands in no proportion to its price. When a man is required to perform the greatest feats of corporeal exertions, in battle, sport, explorations, etc., the baleful effect of alcohol is most strikingly shown. English life insurance companies divide their risks into two classes, the non-drinkers and the drinkers, and the average of expected mortality has for several years been only 71 per cent. for the former, therefore 29 per cent. less than that of the latter. Taking the rate of mortality at 10,000 of this unit die: Farmers, 630; brewers, 1361; saloon-keepers, 1521; waiters (of both sexes) in barrooms and saloons, 2205. In spite of the marvelous advantages of our present age, a great retrogression, in an ethical sense, is undeniable, the chief cause of which is principally due to the increase of drunkenness, because the beer saloon has become the center and focus of social life."

Reference: See TEMPERANCE.

INTEREST, as the word is popularly used, may be defined as the price paid for the use of money. In exacter thought it is the price paid for the use of *capital* (money or any other form of capital). It is identical with the original meaning of the word *usury*, which, according to all lexicographers, originally meant not, as now, exorbitant interest, but any interest at all, usury being what was paid for *using* money. When the Old Testament forbids *usury*, it is *interest* that is forbidden—taking any pay for the use of money. But this raises a question we shall not here discuss. (For a discussion of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of taking interest and for a history of that question in ethics, see **USURY**.) We here ask simply what part does interest play in modern economic relations; what are the laws which govern it, and how may they be used for the social good?

Here we must, however, sharply notice several important distinctions. The capitalist who in-

vests money to-day usually gets more than mere payment for the use of his money. Why this is so it is easy to see by considering the case first not of a lender of money, but of a corporation or company in business to make money. To do this at the start, it often, perhaps usually, has to borrow money. It does this, hoping out of its business to pay not only for the use of the money borrowed, but also to clear some profits for itself. If it were not for this hope it would not borrow the money or go into business. It can thus be seen that interest or what it pays for the use of borrowed money and profits for itself are two distinct things. Interest may be and often is at 6 per cent., when profits are at 12 or more. It is, of course, often true that in a business there may not be for a long time, and possibly may never be, any profits. The business may be run simply paying rent, wages, and interest; but this is only done for a while, because it is hoped that eventually profits will accrue. Thus having seen the distinction between profits and interest in the case of a business corporation, we can now see that they are still distinct even when paid to the same person. A corporation or individual may have money enough to furnish their own capital without borrowing. They, in this case, may be said to borrow of themselves. They expect, therefore, not only profits, but interest on the money they put in. They expect this because capital, under competition, can always command some interest (whatever the market rate is), and they go into business only because they expect to get something more than the mere rate paid for the use of money; they expect to get some profit out of their especial venture or undertaking. Interest and profits (*q.v.*) are thus distinct.

We must now see another distinction. Some trades are more risky and uncertain and perhaps more dangerous than others. Those who invest money in such pursuits, therefore, demand and can get extra pay for running an unusual risk. They can get this, for otherwise they would prefer to put their money in safer ventures. Hence besides ordinary interest or payment for the use of money, they get extraordinary interest or payment for their risk. Hence such interest is really made up of two elements: (1) payment for the use of money—interest proper; and (2) indemnity for risk. Thus, a corporation or individual has to pay, besides wages, and rent, and interest proper on its capital, an indemnity for its risks and profits or dividends (if it has stockholders) on its business. In economic thought the general word *interest* is generally used to cover the indemnity for extra risks, and the expression *interest proper* is used for interest in its narrower sense of the ordinary payment for the use of money. We shall so use the terms in this article.

We come now to ask what are the laws which govern interest? Interest, under competition, is governed, in the first place, by the law of supply and demand. When there is much loanable capital, interest falls; where there is much demand for capital, interest rises.

Says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*):

"Combining the laws of supply and demand we

get the law of the normal rate of interest, which is: When the economic conditions of a country have been nearly uniform for a long period of time, the supply of capital is such that the rate of interest which can be obtained for it is that which has been required to cause this supply to be forthcoming; and the rate thus determined is the normal rate. The rate is in equilibrium when it is just that at which the whole supply of capital can find employment."

Laws of Interest.

From this general statement many minor truths follow. First, interest (including in it payment for risk) varies with the risk of losing the capital invested. Where this risk is at all serious, interest grows very high. Unstable governments like Turkey or Egypt, or "shaky concerns" or doubtful parties pay sometimes enormous rates of interest. The poor always have to pay higher risks than the rich. Four or 5 per cent. a month (48 and 60 per cent. a year) are not uncommon rates in pawnbrokers' shops. Forty dollars are not unfrequently paid by the poor in a few months for a first loan of \$20 or less. Second, interest varies with the length of time for which the capital is borrowed. People want proportionate compensation for the trouble of frequent transference of capital and their risk of being unable to replace at once. Money on short-time loans will be often three times long-time rates. Here again the poor, who borrow to meet immediate necessities, are often at great disadvantage. Third, interest tends to an equality in different trades.

Says Professor Jevons, in his *Primer of Political Economy*:

"The most important fact about interest is that it is the same in one business as in another. The rates of profit differ very much, it is true, but this is because the labor of superintendence is different, or because there is greater risk in one trade than another. But the true interest is the same, because capital, being lent in the form of money, can be lent to one trade just as easily as to another. There is nothing in circulating capital which fits it for one trade more than another; accordingly it will be lent to that trade which offers ever so little more interest than other trades. Thus there is a constant tendency to the equality of interest in all branches of industry."

Fourth, interest tends to obey the so-called law of diminishing returns (*q.v.*). As civilization advances, the price for the use of money falls, for various reasons: (a) Because stability and confidence, as a rule, increase, and less and less of the element of payment for risk enters into the payment for money; (b) because as society grows wealthy the supply of capital increases in proportion to the demand—how this is modified we shall see later; (c) because capital applied to land already well cultivated causes in general a less than proportionate increase in the return, or, as we may say, it will obtain a diminishing return. This last element is called by some economists exclusively the law of diminishing return (*q.v.*). How all these laws are modified by the advance of civilization in opening up new channels for the employment of capital we shall in a moment see. But it is necessary to note this law, for it is made much of by writers like Edward Atkinson, who assert that capital is always getting a less and less portion in distribution, and labor always more and more.

It is true of interest as the price paid for the use of capital; it is only partially true of the

whole share of capital. The latter, as we have seen, includes interest proper and profit or dividends. Now, interest proper may decrease and yet dividends increase. A fall in the current rate of interest, says G. Bernard Shaw, indicates rather "a tendency of the real interest or share of capital to increase. Current rates of interest we all know tend to fall with increase of population; yet at the same time the market value of established stock rises with increasing population, rises, therefore, as the current rates fall. The current rate," he says, "must, under present conditions, eventually fall to zero, and even become 'negative.' By that time shares which now bring in a dividend of 100 per cent. may very possibly bring in 200 or more."

Capital, by being invested in established stocks, may thus be getting larger dividends, altho the popular rate of interest be falling. Again, tho the *rate of both* dividends and popular interest be falling, the return to the wealth of a few individuals may be steadily gaining, because the amount of the principal on which they draw grows rapidly. Two per cent. on \$1,000,000 is better than 10 per cent. on \$1000. While millionaires are, as at present, yearly adding millions to their principal, it is small comfort to the poor to be shown by Mr. Atkinson that the *rate of interest or even of dividends may be slightly falling.*

Coming now to ask what are the present rates of interest, Professor Jevons, writing in 1878, says (*Primer of Political Economy*):

"The rates of interest actually paid in business vary very much, from 1 or 2 per cent. up to 50 per cent. or more. When the rate is above 5 or 6 per cent., it will be to some extent not true interest, but compensation for the risk of losing the capital altogether. To learn the true average rate of interest, we must inquire what is paid for money lent to those who are sure to pay it back, and who give property in pledge, so that there may be no doubt about the matter. It seems probable that the true average rate of interest in England is at present about 4 per cent., but it varies in different countries, being lower in England and Holland than anywhere else."

Says Professor Marshall more recently (*Economics of Industry*):

"The normal rate of interest in England does not seem likely to deviate much from 4 per cent. for some time to come; but it may be slowly altered by changes in the field of employment, while the market rate of interest is oscillating rapidly up and down on either side of the normal rate as a center. . . . A rate of 8 per cent. on sound investments has spread like a wave, steadily over the greater part of the North American continent; and this is being followed by waves of 7 and of 6 and even 5 per cent. interest that have already started on their way westward and southward from the Northern Atlantic States."

Concerning the future, he says:

"It is difficult to forecast the distant future of the rate of interest. Hitherto the progress of civilization has increased the willingness to save at a low rate. In old countries, in which men are accustomed to work patiently for small gains and to value highly the possession of a secure income, a low rate of interest seems to have little effect in checking the accumulation of capital. In England, for instance, in spite of the low rate of interest, the capital of the country is increasing at the average rate of about £200,000,000 annually; that is, by a little more than a thirtieth of its total amount. If this rate of increase were sustained for 400 years, the capital owned by Englishmen would be multiplied a millionfold, and in 800 years a billionfold. But however high the hopes we may have of the future progress of the arts of production, we cannot suppose that there will ever be a field for the profitable employment of as much capital as this. Sooner or

later the rapid growth of capital must increase the competition of capital for the aid of labor, and diminish the competition of labor for the aid of capital."

Professor Marshall therefore concludes that the share that capital may draw from production will probably tend to be less, and so interest falls. He thinks, however, that it will not fall rapidly to a minimum, but fall slowly, and the rate of fall become slower and slower as it approaches the minimum. A recent illustration in the United States of the lowering of interest is the refunding in February, 1897, of some forty odd millions of maturing 7 per cent. bonds of the Lake Shore Railway in a 3½ per cent. 100-year gold issue limited to \$50,000,000.

But it must not be thought that the problem of interest will be removed from the world while wealth goes on amassing, as it has in England and New York City for examples, with the consequent increasing returns to the fortunate few in spite of falling interest.

Indeed, the fall of interest accompanied by the amassing of wealth rather intensifies many of the problems involved in interest, because when the rate of interest is low, it takes a very large capital to produce the income demanded by many modern families. Hence there results an increasing dissatisfaction with small capital and a more feverish and intenser struggle to earn, and perhaps quite as likely to inherit or by fortunate speculation to acquire large fortunes. This very dissatisfaction tends to induce a willingness on the one hand to run large risks and deal in speculative interests, which makes interest a little higher, and also tends to create a demand for socialistic and other reforms, which again tends to raise interest by making investments insecure and profits uncertain. Only very large capitals and strong houses and corporations can stand hard times and low rates of interest. Thus in the question of the future of interest is involved the whole social movement.

All we can do is to note the laws which at present govern the rate of interest. Besides those above noted, or, rather, as special applications of those laws, we may see that every invention or discovery tends, for a while at least, to raise interest because it creates a new demand for capital to put the invention in operation. It may, however, eventually lower interest because it may enable men to produce with much less expensive plant. The general tendency of invention, however, has been to cheapen production by increasing the cost and extent of plant to enable the producer to very much increase the volume of his product, and so make greater profits by selling at lower rates. The invention of steam transportation has cheapened products, but has enormously increased the demand for capital. Density of population, too, tends to increase the opportunity to use capital. So, too, does the raising of the standard of living. Marshall points out that when a community begins to outgrow its primitive cheap buildings and demands expensive buildings, the demand for capital rises, and with it the rate of interest. One other factor and a general conclusion Marshall states in these words:

Other Factors.

"There is also the demand for the loan of wealth by persons or States who do not intend to use it productively, but who mortgage their future incomes to enable them to increase their expenditure in the present. This part also of the demand for capital will be the greater the lower the rate of interest at which loans can be obtained.

"We see then that the demand for capital depends on the numbers of the population, the natural resources of the country, the scope that the arts of production afford for the employment of auxiliary capital, and the needs of unproductive consumers."

PROPOSED REFORMS.

Such being the main laws which govern interest, we come now to ask how they may be used for the social 'good. The advantage of low interest to a community is apparent. It may indeed be abused by persons borrowing when they would do better not to borrow; but this is a matter of education, and is overbalanced by the stimulus which low interest gives to production, the employment of labor, and the development of natural resources, with all the accompanying advantages. Therefore many schemes have been proposed looking to the lowering of interest. The oldest and seemingly the simplest of these is for government to enact laws forbidding interest above a fixed rate. This was in the Middle Ages, and until recent times the universal custom, due in part to the medieval belief that interest was wrong (see *USURY*); and in part to a paternal theory of government, according to which the State should aid the poor. To-day few believe in this method. It is seen that practically its only effect is to *raise* and not lower the price. We quote on this point a classical passage from J. S. Mill (*Political Economy*, Book V., chap. x., § 2):

"It is, however, a misapprehension of the causes which influence commercial transactions to suppose that the rate of interest is really made lower by law than it would be made by the spontaneous play of supply and demand. If the competition of borrowers left unrestrained would raise the rate of interest to 6 per cent., this proves that at 5 there would be a greater demand for loans than there is capital in the market to supply. If the law in these circumstances permits no interest beyond 5 per cent., there will be some lenders who, not choosing to disobey the law, and not being in a condition to employ their capital otherwise, will content themselves with the legal rate; but others, finding that in a season of pressing demand more may be made of their capital by other means than they are permitted to make by lending it, will not lend it at all; and the loanable capital, already too small for the demand, will be still further diminished. Of the disappointed candidates there will be many at such periods who must have their necessities supplied at any price, and these will readily find a third section of lenders, who will not be averse to join in a violation of the law, either by circuitous transactions partaking of the nature of fraud, or by relying on the honor of the borrower. The extra expense of the roundabout mode of proceeding, and an equivalent for the risk of non-payment and of legal penalties, must be paid by the borrower, over and above the extra interest which would have been required of him by the general state of the market. The laws which were intended to lower the price paid by him for pecuniary accommodation end thus in greatly increasing it. These laws have also a directly demoralizing tendency.

"Such restriction, altho approved by Adam Smith, has been condemned by all enlightened persons since the triumphant onslaught made upon it by Bentham in his *Letters on Usury*, which may still be referred to as the best extant writing on the subject."

Another popular method for lowering the rate of interest, agitated in the United States since the war, has been the issue of paper currency by the Government or by some means the in-

creasing of the currency of the country, thus aiming to increase the amount of capital to be loaned, and thus to lower interest. But the wisdom or unwisdom of this depends wholly on how it is done, and so we consider it under *EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF CURRENCY*. It should be noted here simply that if the rate of interest depend on confidence, as we have stated above, no amount of increase of currency will lower interest, if the currency be depreciated or break public confidence. This is the danger of that plan. If this could be avoided, and it seemed advisable for other reasons, it would doubtless lower interest.

A third popular method for lowering interest, and one recently much agitated, is for the Government to make loans to people directly on security of any form of property. It is said that if the Government makes loans to the bankers to furnish the banking system of this country, and out of this the bankers make large profit by reloading the money sometimes at high interest, there is no reason why the Government should not do the same by all classes, instead of compelling all others to go to this one favored class of money brokers whenever they need to borrow. There have been various plans proposed for governmental loans, usually at 2 per cent. The agricultural class has been especially active in urging such plans, and especially the so-called sub-treasury plan (*q.v.*), by which Government should lend at 2 per cent. on agricultural produce brought to appointed Government elevators or storehouses. This is by no means a merely popular and unscientific scheme. At the meeting of the American Economic Association, August 23-26, 1892, Professor Commons said (*Report of Proceedings*, p. 70):

"That seems to me the most scientific plan put forward by any writer or thinker. . . . The sub-treasury will give an elastic currency. I do not want to favor a scheme like this on my own responsibility; but the fact is that this very scheme is in operation, and has been for about six years in Russia. It is not a new thing even in this country. In colonial times Maryland and Virginia had a sub-treasury plan. They had warehouses where tobacco could be stored, and the farmer was given a certificate, which was legal tender throughout the colonies. It circulated as money, but it did not represent the faith of the Government; it represented goods which were stored—just what the farmer wants to-day."

Perhaps the only obstacle to the plan is one of administration, and the question why the same plan should not be applied to all commodities as well as agricultural, and therefore, when it comes to that, if there cannot be a different scheme of governmental socialism, whereby interest shall not be reduced, but practically abolished.

Fearing that this scheme thus directly leads to socialism, most individualists and all conservatives oppose it, and would trust simply to the competition of capitalists to lower interest, a competition which they say has already lowered interest, so that stable governments can now loan money at 3 per cent., and which they say will gradually still lower all interest, if confidence is not upset by sub-treasury paper money and socialistic schemes.

To this it is answered that competition of capital cannot be trusted, because we are having to-day the *combination* of capital. Wherefore some socialists would practically abolish interest

by having all capital owned by the nation or community and individual wealth be obtained only by a system of labor checks. (See SOCIALISM.) A large number of socialists, however, with other social reformers would not favor direct attempts to either reduce or abolish interest, but simply by steadily expanding the sphere of the democratic State in and over industry gradually reduce the sphere of and demand for private capital, and hence steadily reduce interest till it finally fell to nil. The mere nationalization of railroads, it is claimed, would cut off such a large opportunity for the investment of money as to leave no adequate field for the enormous fortunes of to-day, and so compel the rapid decline of interest. Still another class of thinkers (see SINGLE TAXERS) believe that interest may be lowered by freeing land values, and so making the producer less dependent upon the capitalist. (See CAPITAL; USURY, etc.)

INTERNAL REVENUE.—That part of the revenue or income of a country which is derived from duties on articles manufactured or grown at home. In the United States, the principal receipts are now from spirits, tobacco, and fermented liquors. (For early internal revenue laws and for English laws, see EXCISE.)

The Civil War forced a renewal of the internal revenue system, and in 1861 a direct tax of \$20,000,000 was apportioned among the States, tho it was not collected till a year later. On July 1, 1862, an exhaustive internal revenue act was passed, levying taxes on all sorts and kinds of articles too numerous to mention, on trades, incomes, sales, manufactures, legacies, etc., and the people submitted to the necessities of the

case. Extensive reductions were made after the war had ceased, by various acts in 1866, 1867, and 1868. Further reductions were made in 1872, when, among others, stamp taxes, except that of two cents on checks, drafts, and orders were abolished. Various acts since 1872 have reduced the subjects of internal revenue taxation to their present numbers, tobacco, spirits, fermented liquors, bank circulation, and, by act of August 2, 1886, oleomargarine. The following is a table of receipts from internal revenue taxes from 1792-1865, up to 1820 by calendar years, and after that by fiscal years ending June 30.

INTERNAL REVENUE.	
YEAR.	Amount.
1792.....	\$208,942.81
1793.....	337,705.70
1794.....	274,089.62
1795.....	337,755.36
1796.....	475,289.60
1797.....	575,491.45
1798.....	644,357.95
1799.....	779,136.44
1800.....	809,396.55
1801.....	1,048,033.43
1802.....	621,898.89
1803.....	215,179.69
1814.....	1,662,984.82
1815.....	4,678,059.07
1816.....	5,124,708.31
1817.....	2,678,100.77
1818.....	955,270.20
1819.....	229,593.63
1820.....	106,260.53
1863.....	37,640,787.95
1864.....	109,741,136.10
1865.....	209,404,215.25

SUMMARY OF INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS FROM 1865 TO 1895, INCLUSIVE.

FISCAL YEARS.	Spirits.	Tobacco.	Fermented Liquors.	Banks and Bankers.	Penalties, Oleomargarine, etc.	Adhesive Stamps.	Collections Under Repealed Laws.
1865.....	\$18,731,422	\$11,401,373	\$3,734,928	\$4,940,871	\$520,363	\$11,162,392	\$160,638,180
1866.....	33,268,172	16,531,008	5,220,553	3,403,988	1,142,853	15,044,373	236,236,037
1867.....	33,542,952	19,705,148	6,057,501	2,046,562	1,459,171	16,094,718	186,954,423
1868.....	18,055,531	18,730,095	5,955,869	1,866,740	1,256,882	14,852,252	129,863,090
1869.....	45,071,231	23,430,768	6,099,880	2,196,054	877,089	16,420,710	65,943,673
1870.....	55,606,094	31,350,708	6,319,127	3,020,084	827,995	16,544,043	71,507,908
1871.....	46,281,846	33,578,907	7,389,502	3,644,242	636,980	15,342,739	37,130,958
1872.....	49,475,517	33,736,171	8,258,498	4,028,229	442,205	10,177,321	19,053,007
1873.....	52,099,372	34,386,303	9,324,938	3,771,031	401,653	7,702,377	6,329,782
1874.....	49,444,090	33,242,876	9,304,680	3,387,161	364,216	6,136,845	764,880
1875.....	52,081,991	37,303,462	9,144,004	4,097,248	281,108	6,557,230	1,080,111
1876.....	56,426,365	39,795,340	9,571,281	4,006,698	409,284	6,518,488	509,631
1877.....	57,469,436	41,106,547	9,480,789	3,829,729	419,999	6,450,429	238,261
1878.....	50,420,810	40,091,755	9,987,052	3,492,932	346,008	6,380,405	429,659
1879.....	52,570,285	40,135,003	10,729,320	3,198,884	578,591	6,231,538	....
1880.....	61,185,509	38,870,149	12,829,803	3,350,985	383,755	7,068,394	....
1881.....	67,153,995	42,854,991	13,700,241	3,762,208	231,078	7,924,708	152,163
1882.....	69,873,408	47,391,989	16,153,990	5,253,458	199,830	7,570,109	78,559
1883.....	74,104,250	44,104,250	16,900,616	5,084,954	305,803	7,953,053	171,852
1884.....	76,905,385	26,062,400	18,084,964	....	289,144	....	205,068
1885.....	69,511,209	26,407,088	18,230,782	....	256,681	....	49,361
1886.....	69,092,266	27,907,363	19,676,731	....	194,422	....	32,087
1887.....	65,664,076	30,083,710	21,918,213	4,288	219,058	....	29,282
1888.....	69,287,431	30,626,076	23,324,218	4,203	154,970	....	9,548
1889.....	74,302,887	31,862,195	23,723,835	6,179	83,993	....	....
1890.....	81,682,970	33,949,998	26,038,535	....	135,555	....	....
1891.....	83,335,964	32,796,271	28,565,130	....	256,214	....	....
1892.....	91,309,684	31,000,493	30,037,453	....	239,520	....	....
1893.....	94,712,938	31,843,556	32,527,424	....	166,515	....	....
1894.....	85,259,252	28,617,899	31,414,788	2	1,876,599	....	....
1895.....	79,862,627	29,707,908	31,640,618	....	1,960,794	....	....
Total 31 Years ...	\$1,884,755,870	\$986,681,730	\$481,253,954	\$67,719,947	\$16,944,660	\$197,838,124	\$1,207,070,330

Aggregate receipts, 1865-95 inclusive, including commissions allowed on sales of adhesive stamps, \$4,842,348,766. Aggregate receipts from all sources in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1895, \$143,246,078.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.—The following article except for its concluding paragraph is contributed to this encyclopedia by Eleanor L. Lord, abridged from her monograph on the subject published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

As it is understood to-day, international arbitration is limited in meaning, implying: (1) the participation of sovereign States of acknowledged independence and autonomy; (2) a formal agreement on the part of the litigants to submit their difficulties to the decision of an arbitrating body or individual; (3) the consent of the latter to undertake such decision and to render an award after a thorough and impartial examination of the facts of the case; (4) an agreement on the part of the contracting parties to accept the decision as final and conclusive.*

Before passing to the application of pacific principles to international relations in the present century, it may be well to review briefly the changes which the last 1900 years have witnessed in the attitude of civilized nations toward war.

The Christian religion, as taught and practised by its founder and His disciples, placed especial emphasis on the principles of brotherly love, forbearance, forgiveness of enemies, and peace and good-will

History. toward all men—theories of life and of human intercourse quite strange to the civilizations of the pre-Christian era. All the records of the early Church which have come down to us of the first two centuries of its existence would seem to show that the inconsistency of warfare with the tenets of the new religion had made a strong impression upon the sect.

It was the Church as an organization that, throughout the Middle Ages, uttered the sole remonstrance against the practice of private war. When, in France, the atrocities of feudal warfare became so great as to threaten the very foundations of society, it was the Church that came to the rescue with the "peace of God;" and five years later, the "truce of God," by which fighting was forbidden from Thursday morning to Monday morning of every week, on all feast days and in Lent, leaving, practically, about 80 days in the year when war was allowable.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries numerous associations were formed which were the prototypes, on a small scale, of modern peace societies. There was not as yet, however, any conception of international peace—the word international could hardly have had any meaning. By the time that the spirit of nationality had begun to assert itself—*i. e.*, when there had begun to be a distinct differentiation of the several small nations of Europe in respect to language, institutions and political interests, schemes of universal peace and of a united Christian State had become dreams of the past.

Medieval methods of grappling with the war problem ended, then, in practical failure; and the cause of universal peace was forgotten in

the horrors of the Inquisition and the blood-thirsty wars of the Reformation. The conception of Henry IV. of France of a grand Christian republic of 15 States, and his scheme of international arbitration were too far in advance of his time not to have been regarded either as the dreams of a visionary fanatic or as a subtle attempt at the aggrandizement of France. More valuable and far more important was the work of Hugo Grotius, who, while a guest at Henry's court, received the inspiration to his great work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, in which he laid the foundation of a system of international law.

Here it will be observed that the character of the peace movement has changed. It is no longer religious, but political in its aims. Efforts toward reconciliation no longer originate with the Church, but with monarchs and statesmen; they take the form, in general, of alliances of the great powers of Europe for the purpose of preserving peace among themselves, and thus, by the latent strength of unity and numbers, preventing the possibility of attack by ambitious and grasping rivals. Experience shows the delusiveness of such a theory.

The opening of the nineteenth century brought with it a return to the religious point of view, and to the primitive notion that Christianity is the basis of all international law. Europe entered upon the century worn out with conflict and in desperate need of peace. Russia, Austria, and Prussia accordingly, in 1815, formed what is known as the Holy Alliance, agreeing by a sacred compact to respect the great principles of right and justice, and to repress violence—promises which fell far short of fulfillment.

In 1818, at the Conference held at Aix-la-Chapelle, the four nations that had conquered Napoleon, joined later by France, formed themselves into the Great Pentarchy, in the interests of permanent peace. The dangerous principle of intervention was unanimously recognized, and the outcome was the congresses of Troppau, Laybach, and Verona.

The Holy Alliance forms a link between the peace policy of the past and that of the present. The unsatisfactory results of the Grand Alliance dealt the death-blow to the theory of the balance of power as an efficient and practicable system. Henceforth all efforts toward amicable adjustment of international affairs are to be based upon other principles.

The work of the nineteenth century in view of this end takes on three forms:

1. The organization and work of peace conferences and associations for the promotion of arbitration.

2. Legislation favoring arbitration.

3. The practical application of the principle.

Peace societies began to be established early in the century, the first having been organized in New York in 1815. Six months later the London Peace Society was formed. Similar organizations sprang up all over Europe. Their object was to unite all the advocates of peace for concerted action.

Conferences have been held from time to time

* It is this last feature that distinguishes arbitration from mediation, in which adherence to the decision is optional.

at London, Brussels, Geneva, Paris, and elsewhere, for the interchange of sympathy and the discussion of plans.

About 1873, efforts were made to bring the subject of arbitration before the legislative bodies of the different countries. A motion of the late Mr. Henry Richard passed the House of Commons, in 1873, proposing that England should communicate with foreign powers with a view to the improvement of international law and the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration.

Signor Mancini presented a similar resolution to the Italian Parliament in the same year. From time to time petitions and memorials have been presented to the various governments of Europe and the Americas. Work of this character is necessarily slow and cautious, working like leaven, silently, but effectively.

More attractive to the practical observer is the record of actual cases of settlement by arbitration during the present century. Their number is surprising. I have carefully examined the records of 77 cases, and there are a half dozen more of which I have hitherto been unable to find more than a statement of the dates and participants.

The questions which have proved susceptible of arbitration fall under five main heads:

1. Boundary disputes.
2. Unlawful seizure of vessels or other property.
3. Claims for damage by the destruction of life or property.
4. Disputed possession of territory.
5. The interpretation of treaties.

More than one third of the cases have related to claims for damages presented, usually, by one government in behalf of certain of its citizens resident in the country of the offending government. Such questions, altho occasionally of such a character as to lead to heated controversy and menacing dispatches, have been, for the most part, amicably settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

This list does not include the Danubian Commission established in 1856, the Berlin Congress of 1878 (to settle claims of States in the Balkan peninsula), nor the Joint Commission on the Fisheries Question that met at Washington in 1888 and recommended the submission of future disputes on that question to a mixed commission and an umpire.

The most serious obstacle to the introduction of international arbitration as a permanent institution has been the indecision of its advocates as to the method of conducting cases. Hitherto, three methods of arbitration have been employed: First, reference to some trustworthy and disinterested individual. This is the least advisable plan of all, for

Practical Application. it is usually difficult to find a person who will be satisfactory to the litigants and who will be willing to undertake so delicate a task. Moreover, in the case of disputed boundary lines or claims for indemnity, the labor of investigating records would usually be quite beyond the strength of one man.

The second method, adopted in certain cases, is that of settlement by a conference of diplo-

mats representing the governments concerned. Such a body is unwieldy, and necessitates a large expenditure of time and money for preliminary negotiations.

The most popular and successful plan has been the appointment of a mixed commission, small enough to be easily managed, large enough to work rapidly and systematically, unhampered by diplomatic "red tape." Still, such a commission is temporary—unsuited to a scheme of permanent arbitration. The Halifax Fisheries Commission of 1871 illustrates another objection. The question at issue was to be decided by a commission of arbitration. The clause in the Treaty of Washington admitting the possibility that the choice of umpire of the commission be left to the Austrian Minister at London was very annoying to the United States. The suspicion of unfairness and partiality, whether well founded or not, was the cause of considerable irritation. The final award of the commission was a surprise to the world. By Americans it was considered excessive and exorbitant, and many doubted if it were lawfully and honorably due. The United States promptly paid the money; but as a case of arbitration this was, perhaps, the most unsuccessful on record, and greatly shook the public confidence in the efficacy of that method of adjusting differences.

A permanent mixed tribunal would insure impartiality. Such a scheme would imply the abolition of standing armies or a uniform reduction in their numbers. The question has been raised by doubters, How will such a tribunal be able to enforce its decisions if the army is banished? Some have suggested that each nation furnish its quota of soldiers to form a kind of international police. Such an institution, however, would seem an inconsistency, if a tribunal aiming to substitute reason and justice for the sword and bayonet be obliged to use force in the execution of its decrees.

There is, apparently, some confusion in the public mind between an international court and a permanent commission of arbitration. The former should mean a court of international law, and, to be effective, should be composed of the most eminent jurists and statesmen of whom the world can boast, men who know the laws of nations as they now exist, and who are capable of interpreting and codifying those laws. There is urgent need of a complete and precise code of international law. Much dispute and misunderstanding is the consequence of the imperfection of the present code. "The great end of law is not to decide, but to prevent disputes."

A court of international law would find its authority in the majesty of the law, and the moral support of the nations ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the acceptance of its decrees. Any government which refused to abide by the decisions of so august a body would suffer eternal disgrace in the eyes of the world, to say nothing of the material loss of commercial good will. The expense of such a court, shared by the participating nations, would be comparatively light.

When a dispute arose the plaintiff would at once carry the case to this great Court of Appeals, which would investigate the said case on

a purely legal basis. This would take the place of special arbitration, but should any question not susceptible of legal interpretation arise, a commission of arbitration could easily be formed from the panel of the international jury.

Recent events have occasioned a marked spread of interest in international arbitration. In the winter of 1895-96, France, by the nearly unanimous action of its legislative chambers, proposed a permanent treaty of arbitration between that country and the United States; negotiations are now pending between England and the United States for a permanent tribunal for the settlement of issues arising between those two nations; and the International Parliamentary Conference, in which were members from 14 different European parliaments, not only proposed to its respective governments the organization of a permanent tribunal, but formulated a plan for its organization.

INTERNATIONAL, THE.—The International was a society attempting to unite the working classes of all nations in one socialistic organization. As early as 1840 endeavors were made in this direction, when some German refugees in London formed a *Deutscher-Arbeiter Bildungsverein*, later called the Society of the Fraternal Democrats, and aiming to unite all nationalities. The manifesto (*q. v.*), published by Marx and Engels, 1847-48, aided the movement. The coming of some French workmen to the London Exhibition of 1862 led to further exchange of ideas, and on September 28, 1863, in St. Martin's Hall, London, a meeting was held under the presidency of Professor Beesly (*q. v.*) and the International organized.

Englishmen were chosen as president, secretary, and treasurer of the general council; corresponding secretaries were appointed for the affiliated countries, and Marx naturally received the office for Germany.

Beginnings. At first the policy of the International was little defined, and thus, in endeavoring to unite the workers of all countries, it came to stand for various things in the various countries. Even Mazzini for a while joined it, but drew out when it developed the materialistic socialism he opposed. (See MAZZINI.) In England, it meant little more than international trade-unionism, and when English workmen found that on the Continent it meant more they virtually left it. In Germany, it became socialistic. (See GERMANY.) In France and most Latin countries it developed anarchist-communism. In the United States it had little more than a nominal existence. These divergences naturally proved its weakness, but for a while it alarmed all European governments. Marx became its real leader. He wrote an address in which he dwelt upon

“the want prevailing among the working classes, want which had continued undiminished since 1848, tho the propertied classes had become more prosperous. He held it to be incontrovertibly proved that the perfection of machinery, the utilization of science in industry and agriculture, the extension of markets, artificial measures like colonization and emigration, as well as free trade, were all unable to relieve the condition of the laboring population. Asking for a remedy, he found it in cooperative labor developed to national dimensions and promoted by State resources.

But as the land-owning and capitalist classes would be sure to use their political privileges for the defense of their economic monopolies, the working classes must first acquire political power. They possessed one element of strength, that of numbers, but numbers without union were of no avail, and thus it was a paramount duty to combine for mutual defense and offense. ‘Proletariat of all countries,’ ended the address, ‘unite!’”

The European governments began to take alarm. The first congress was to have been held in Brussels, but was not allowed, and another conference was held instead in London. The first real congress was held at Geneva in 1866, 60 delegates being present, and the second at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1867. The spirit at this congress was more radical, as in the words with which the president closed the congress: “We want no more governments, for governments oppress us by taxes; we want no armies, for armies massacre and murder us; we want no religion, for religion chokes the understanding.”

Bakounin, the Russian apostle of nihilism, joined the International and fought with Marx for the leadership. Marx and his friends desired a revolution to be conducted by the orderly political capture of the State and the use of the State to develop communism. Bakounin desired to plant communism on the ruins of the State. For a while his fiery leadership carried the mass of the members with him, particularly in Italy, France, French Switzerland, and Belgium. Germany favored the Marxist policy, and in 1869 the Social Democratic Party was formed on its lines. In 1870 the congress was to have been held in Paris, but this was prevented by the Franco-German War, a war which the International strenuously denounced. The revolutionary spirit gave birth to the uprising of the Paris Commune (*q. v.*), tho the International was not directly connected with it. Marx found that this anarchist element must be suppressed, and the General Council arranged to have the congress of 1872 held at The Hague, where Bakounin could not easily come, as he was in Switzerland and would have been arrested in passing through either Germany or France. As a result, the Marxist party triumphed at The Hague, and removed the seat of the General Council to New York City to avoid the machinations of Bakounin. The Bakouninists, however, repudiated The Hague congress and held another at Geneva, claiming to represent the true International. The movement thus divided soon came to an end both in Europe and America. For a while the “autonomists,” as the Bakounin faction styled themselves, kept up a fiery agitation, created several uprisings in Southern Europe, and in the Latin countries had the majority of the organization with them. But suppressed by the police, and unable to effect solid organization, especially after the death of Bakounin in 1876, the party died as an organization, its members, however, becoming the modern anarchist-communists of Europe. (See ANARCHISM.)

The Marxist movement has passed into the Social Democratic parties, formed first in Germany and later in even the Latin countries on Marxist lines, the socialist congresses being the

real representatives of the International to-day (See SOCIALISM.)

In the United States, the International was at first, as in England, considered a mere union of organized labor in all countries, and many American trade-unionists joined it, and delegates were sent to some of its European congresses as in 1867 at Basle. Numerous branches were formed in America, but never took root. After the removal of the

United States.

General Council to New York in 1872, the struggle between the anarchists and the socialists re-appeared on the new shores. In 1877 the socialists took the name of the Socialist Labor Party, and left the International practically to the anarchist communists, the trade-union element having abandoned it long before. The socialists, however, did not wholly leave it till after the arrival in this country of John Most in 1882 and the final separation in 1885. Among the anarchist-communists two separate societies developed, the I. W. P. A. (International Working People's Association) and the I. W. A. (International Workman's Association), the latter being less violent and emphasizing education. (See ANARCHISM.) Both organizations have disappeared (see ANARCHISM), but their spirit has produced monuments in this country like the so-called anarchist movement in Chicago and the various gatherings and deeds of anarchists.

References: Villetard's *Histoire de l'Internationale* (1871); Rae's *History of Socialism*. See also SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM.

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE, THE.—The International Statistical Institute was founded in 1887, and is composed of 150 members interested in statistical work in various countries of the world. Its meetings are held biennially. The President is Sir Rawson W. Rawson, of England, and its Secretary is Signor Luigi Bodio, Director-General of the Royal Statistical Service of Italy, Rome. It publishes at Rome, Italy, a *Bulletin*, which contains valuable papers in Italian, French, German, or English. Six volumes have already been issued.

INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, THE.—Local unions of printers were formed in the United States at least as early as 1831 and 1834, and probably earlier. A National Convention of Journeymen Printers met in New York December 2, 1850, and effected permanent organization. At the convention the next year, in Baltimore, the name National Typographical Union was chosen. Yearly conventions were held after that, but in 1869 the organization took the present name, the International Typographical Union, to admit Canadian unions. This convention chartered Woman's Typographical Union No. 1, located in New York City. Since then the organization has prospered till it is to-day the oldest and one of the strongest national unions in America. Enrolling to-day some 40,000 members, it claims to have raised wages 40 per cent., and by its dues and benefits to have aided its members still more. According to the report of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor (1891-92), the Interna-

tional Typographical Union received in 1892, \$113,134.49, and spent \$98,384.78. Of this, in round numbers, \$50,000 was for strike and lock-out benefits, \$30,000 for the Childs-Drexel Printers' Home, \$11,000 for burial benefits. The Childs-Drexel Printers' Home is located in Colorado Springs, the nucleus for its establishment being \$5000 given by Messrs. Childs and Drexel. Besides maintaining this, the union has recently established a fund for death benefits. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT AND COMMISSION, THE.—The growing sentiment against railroad combinations and railroad discriminations (see RAILROADS) led, in 1887, to the passage of an act, and the creation of a commission by Congress called the Interstate Commerce Act and Commission. The act was passed by the Senate January 14, 1887, by a vote of 45 to 15, by the House January 21, 1887, by a vote of 173 to 41, and was approved by President Cleveland February 4, 1887. The act provides for the appointment of an Interstate Commerce Commission, consisting of five members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The act applies to common carriers conveying merchandise or passengers between one State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, to another one of those divisions.

"Unjust and unreasonable charges and unjust discrimination are prohibited; the latter is defined to be the demanding from one person of greater compensation than is asked from another for a like service. It is made unlawful to give undue advantage to one person, locality or kind of traffic over another, or to discriminate between connecting lines. The 'long and short haul clause' provides that the rate for a short haul shall not equal nor exceed the rate for a long haul under like conditions, except as the commission may provide or may relieve from the operations of this section. Freights cannot be pooled with connecting lines; schedules of rates, which must be conformed to, are to be made public, and 10 days' notice of any advance must be given. Combinations to prevent continuous carriage are prohibited. Persons suffering by reason of violations of the act may secure damages in the United States courts, or they may complain to the commission, who have power to compel the attendance of persons and the production of papers, and who shall investigate and order reparation or the ceasing of the violation of the act, and the circuit courts of the United States are given power to enforce these orders, subject to an appeal to the Supreme Court in certain instances. Each wilful violation of the act is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine not exceeding \$5000."

It is almost universally admitted to-day that the act is a failure. Says H. T. Newcomb, writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1896:

"A careful analysis of the act shows that Congress attempted to provide three remedies, each of which separately and independently had been advocated as a satisfactory solution of the problem of railway rates by persons holding the most divergent views. These remedies were: (a) a summary process for hearing and adjudicating complaints against railways and for enforcing without delay the measures of relief found necessary; (b) the perpetuation of competition; and (c) publicity for the details of railway management, operation and finances.

"The failure of the first remedy was immediate and complete. The United States courts, to which appeal must be made for decrees enforcing the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission, promptly declared that the law gave no finality to the acts or conclusions of that body; and in proceedings upon applications by the commission for the enforcement of its orders, defendant railways were permitted to introduce entirely new evidence and to adopt new lines of defense. Obviously this construction of the statute deprives pro-

cedure before the commission of any efficacy in simplifying or expediting measures for relief from railway oppression, except in those cases in which the railways see fit to comply voluntarily with its orders."

The second aim, Mr. Newcomb thinks, has been realized with practical uniformity, but argues that it has done no good, and that experience has shown that it is idle to attempt to force railroads to compete. (See RAILROADS.) He says :

"The insertion of this provision is now generally considered to have been a serious mistake, and its operation an almost insurmountable obstacle to the satisfactory enforcement of the fundamental principles of the law."

Of the third aim he says :

"In the third remedy Congress evidently intended to provide for the broadest and most comprehensive exercise of the visitatorial function of government. It authorized and required the Interstate Commerce Commission to inquire, generally, into the business of the carriers subject to its jurisdiction, and to keep itself continually informed as to the manner and methods of conducting their business, and it provided for full investigations and reports concerning all complaints against such carriers."

With what result? Mr. Newcomb conservatively analyzes the railroad situation in the United States, and says :

"The conditions described are fairly typical of those existing all over the United States. The Interstate Commerce Law has mitigated but slightly, if at all, the evil of unjust discriminations between individuals; has in but few instances moderated to any important extent the relative injustice in the charges exacted for moving competing commodities; and has almost utterly failed to remedy the far more serious inequities in rate-making which operate to the disadvantage of towns, cities or districts. The practical acquiescence of the Interstate Commerce Commission in this conclusion may reasonably be inferred from the following extract from its latest annual report :

"It is believed, as was further indicated in our last report, that the discussion of the principles and aims of the statute may well give place, temporarily, to a consideration of the means necessary to make effective and give force to the law in accordance with the purpose of its enactment. The experience and observations of the past year, in which the progress of regulation has not been entirely satisfactory, warrant the conclusion that with the official proceedings and transactions of the year relating to the operations of the law we should report as a matter of first importance and recommend the additional legislation deemed indispensable to give effect to the act in accordance with its purpose, as declared in the first three sections thereof. . . . The importance of amending the present law cannot be stated with too much emphasis. . . . It certainly cannot be believed that Congress, having once assumed to exercise a measure of control over railway carriers, will allow that control to become ineffectual by withholding the legislation found necessary to secure the results expected" (*Ninth Annual Report*, pp. 5-11).

Mr. H. L. Lloyd, in his *Wealth vs. Common-wealth*, is more severe on the commission. He says (p. 19) :

"The independent miners of Pennsylvania appealed to it. Two years and a half were consumed in the proceedings. The commission decided that the rates the railroad charged were unjust and unreasonable, and ordered them reduced. But the decision has remained unenforced, and cannot be enforced. . . . The Interstate Commerce Law provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers. But the only conviction had under it has been of a shipper for discriminating against a railroad."

Nor is it true in the broad sense that the Interstate Commerce Act has prevented combination. It may have prevented pooling under one

form, but the consolidation of railroads and combination of interests has notoriously gone on. The main efficacy of the law has been its use by the courts as a basis for injunctions against strikes and combinations of employees. (See INJUNCTION ; RAILROADS.)

IRELAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICAL.

Ireland, with an area of 32,337 square miles, has had great variations in population within modern times. In 1750 it had 2,372,634 ; in 1841, 8,175,124 ; then it lost by the potato famine and emigration, till in 1851 it had only 6,552,385, and in 1871, 4,704,750. From 1851-61, 114,912 emigrated annually ; from 1861-71, 76,886 ; from 1871-81, 54,271 ; from 1881-91, 71,667 ; in 1892, 52,292. In 1891, 75.4 per cent. were Roman Catholics, .94 per cent. of the Church of Ireland (Protestant Episcopal). In 1869 this Church was disestablished. (See ENGLAND.)

In 1891 there were 572,640 holdings, of which only 89,019 were over 50 acres. Acts passed since 1870 give the Irish cultivators more favorable laws than the Scotch or English as to fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale. Cattle-raising is the most important industry. (For other statistics, see ENGLAND.)

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Social reform in Ireland is inextricably bound up with the past. Divided from early times between warring kings and numerous clans, Ireland was easily conquered by the English under Henry II. in the twelfth century, altho the subjection was long only nominal. When Henry VIII. attempted to introduce Protestantism into the island there were repeated revolts, ending in suppression and the bestowal of the lands of the rebellious chiefs among Scotch and English Protestants. In 1641 the Irish rose in revolt and massacred the Protestants, but were

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severely punished by Cromwell in 1649, and Protestants were established in the confiscated lands of Ulster. At the revolution, the Irish Catholics siding with James II., and the Protestants with William and Mary, the struggle ended in 1692, when the triumph of the Orange Party again was accompanied by excessive punishment. Secret revolutionary societies existed still, and a serious revolt occurred in 1798. In 1801, however, the Irish Parliament voted the final Union with Great Britain. Emmet's insurrection was easily suppressed in 1803, but the emancipation of the Roman Catholic Church had to be granted in 1829, and the "tithe war" compromised in 1838. O'Connell's agitation for repeal collapsed in 1843, and the revolution of 1848 was put down, but the Fenian Brotherhood arose in 1858, with, it was claimed, 80,000 adherents in the United States. Riots could be suppressed, but in 1869 the Irish (Anglican) Church was disestablished, and in 1870 the land question developed. In 1873 the Home Rule Party was developed, and led first by Butt and then by Parnell, who

formed the Irish National Land League in 1879. By skillful parliamentary tactics Mr. Parnell, defeating Mr. Gladstone in 1885, in 1886 forced him to advocate the

Home Rule.

cause of home rule for Ireland. His bill proposed the formation of a legislative body sitting at Dublin, with power on all subjects except those specially reserved for the imperial Parliament. After the defeat of the bill, land agitation was renewed, leading to a coercion act of the Conservative Party, rigorously enforced by Mr. Balfour. By 1890 the agitation had subsided, and the Government brought in and passed its Land Purchase Bill. Mr. Parnell, however, having been correspondent in a divorce suit, Mr. Gladstone declined to stand longer by his ally, and the Irish party was divided. The priests, however, opposed Mr. Parnell, and the party led by Justin McCarthy came into power. Mr. Gladstone again supported home rule, and in the elections of 1892 came into power and carried a bill through the Commons to be rejected in the House of Lords.

This review of the Irish question will show that the political agitation has been so constant in Ireland as to leave little opportunity for the development of social reform on other lines. Michael Davitt (*q.v.*) alone of the prominent Irish leaders is an out-and-out land nationalizer. Trade-unionism in Ireland in 1890 claimed 40,000 members of all kinds, mainly in Cork and Dublin. Cooperation (*q.v.*) has little popular hold.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES.—

The part played by iron and steel in modern industry has led to the present century's being sometimes called "the age of steel," tho some believe that we are now on the threshold of an electrical age. Nevertheless, iron and steel play still most important parts. Iron was known and manufactured in rude ways in ancient times, but the process of puddling and rolling, invented by Henry Colt in 1784, the employment of the hot blast by Neilson, of Glasgow, in 1830, and, above all, the introduction of the Bessemer process of making steel (patented in 1856) have revolutionized the iron industry.

In the United States, a foundry blast furnace was established at Lynn, Mass., in 1643. Iron had been manufactured in Virginia before this. Connecticut made steel in 1656. By 1750, however, Pennsylvania led, exporting 2358 tons of iron in 1772. The first iron foundry at Pittsburgh was established in 1803. In 1840, the introduction of bituminous and anthracite coal in the blast furnace wholly changed the industry. The manufacture of charcoal iron has since declined in Pennsylvania. In 1860 there were 652 establishments engaged in this industry. Bessemer steel was first manufactured in any quantity in the United States in 1867. The Siemens-Martin or open-hearth process appeared in 1869.

The capital invested in the iron industry in this country in 1890 was \$414,044,844, and the product, \$478,687,519. In 1870 the average product per establishment was \$256,446; in 1890, \$665,768. The product in 1890 was 5,049,693 gross tons, outdistancing

Great Britain by 1,370,650 tons. The industry is concentrating in large establishments. Between 1880 and 1890 the employees in iron and steel works of all kinds, except architectural and ornamental work, increased from 157,595 to 193,557. Yet the establishments decreased from 1299 to 984.

In 1890, in mining iron ore, 38,227 were employed. A census bulletin gives the following as to the wages in mining iron:

"The mechanic's wages varied from 50 cents per day in Texas, where convict labor was largely employed, to \$3.86 per day in Colorado, the average for the entire country being \$1.90, and the average number of days worked during the year 274. The total calculated wages which were received by mechanics during the year 1889 was \$1,080,406. The average wages received by the 14,531 laborers employed above ground was \$1.29, ranging from 53 cents in Texas to \$3.50 in New Mexico and Utah. These laborers worked on an average 228 days during the year and received a total compensation of \$4,277,199. The 709 boys under 16 years of age received a total compensation of \$97,279, and worked 221 days during the year. They therefore received an average of 62 cents per day, the wages varying from 49 cents in Missouri to \$2 in Colorado.

"The number of foremen or overseers working under ground was 686, altho at a number of mines foremen had charge both above and below ground, one-half time being charged to each. They received in wages a total of \$476,233, working on an average 282 days per year, and earned \$2.46 per day. The highest average wages were paid in Colorado—viz., \$3.99 per day, and the lowest in Pennsylvania, \$1.67 per day. The 124,432 miners received \$6,189,308 for their labor during the year, an average per man of \$1.91 per day during the days worked—viz., 261. The wages ranged from \$3.50 in New Mexico and Utah to \$1.13 in Virginia and West Virginia. The highest wages paid laborers under ground was in Colorado, \$2.68 per day, and the lowest in Georgia and North Carolina, 68 cents per day. In Georgia, however, some convict labor was employed, reducing the general average for the State. The 6479 laborers under ground received as wages \$2,716,424, working on an average 261 days per year, and earned an average of \$1.60 per day. The 111 boys under ground received \$19,617, working on an average 216 days and earning 82 cents per day."

The average wages paid in iron establishments in 1890 was, in the New England States, \$433 per year for skilled and \$353 for unskilled; in the Southern States it was \$582 for skilled and \$320 for unskilled.

Carroll D. Wright (*Industrial Evolution in the United States*, p. 221) puts the average wage in the manufacture of iron and steel at between \$1 and \$2, altho the rates range from 41 cents to \$19.40 per day.

The iron industry has seen many contests between employers and employees. (See STRIKES; HOMESTEAD STRIKE.) Labor organization in this industry commenced with the Sons of Vulcan, organized in 1858; but the great organization has been the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q.v.*), dating from August 4, 1874.

In England, the Friendly Society of Iron Founders (or Iron Molders) is the oldest large trade-union in England still existent, having been organized in 1809. It had, in 1890, 14,821 members, and is a leading union of the older friendly society type. The Associated Society of Iron and Steel Workers, established in 1862, had, in 1890, 7800 members, and is best known for its steady advocacy of the sliding scale (*q.v.*). The more progressive British Steel Smelters' Association, established in

Labor.

England.

Develop-
ment.

1886, originally a Scotch union, is extending all over the kingdom. The Associated Iron Molders of Scotland, established in 1831, had in 1890, 6198 members. The United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders, established the next year, had, in 1890, 32,926 members. Such

are some, tho not all, of the unions connected with the iron industry in Great Britain, showing the relative importance of the iron industry in various countries. The following are the most recent statistics of the iron and steel production of the world :

COUNTRIES.	IRON ORE.		PIG IRON.		STEEL.	
	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
United States.....	1893.....	11,587,629	1893.....	7,124,502	1893.....	4,019,995
Great Britain.....	1893.....	11,203,476	1893.....	6,976,990	1893.....	3,049,663
Germany and Luxembourg.....	1893.....	11,457,491	1893.....	4,986,003	1893.....	2,171,138
France.....	1891.....	3,579,286	1893.....	2,032,507	1893.....	803,063
Belgium.....	1892.....	209,943	1893.....	760,206	1893.....	273,058
Austria-Hungary.....	1892.....	2,050,000	1892.....	916,505	1892.....	559,734
Russia.....	1892.....	1,577,015	1892.....	1,014,252	1892.....	365,484
Sweden.....	1892.....	1,293,583	1892.....	485,664	1892.....	160,471
Spain.....	1893.....	5,497,540	1893.....	250,450	1891.....	78,413
Italy.....	1892.....	214,487	1892.....	12,729	1892.....	56,543
Canada.....	1893.....	99,412	1893.....	44,601	1889.....	24,887
All other countries.....	1893.....	1,800,000	1893.....	70,000	1893.....	6,000
Total.....		50,569,862		24,684,559		11,568,449
Percentage of the United States.....		22.91		28.86		34.74

English tons of 2240 lbs. are used for the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, and metric tons of 2204 lbs. are used for all the continental countries of Europe.

IRON LAW OF WAGES.—This is the name given by Lassalle to the asserted principle based on Ricardo's theory of wages (see RICARDO), and developed by the German socialists, that wages under competition must always in the long run be what will just support and renew the laborer's life. (For a discussion of this view, see WAGES.)

IRRIGATION.—The arid region of the United States, as defined by the irrigation inquiry (Department of Agriculture), embraces all west of the 98th meridian of longitude west. The geological survey limited it to the 100th meridian, the line of 15 in. of precipitation. The census of 1889-90 adopted the line of 97° longitude for the eastern limit, including thereby a subhumid section. This makes an area of about 1,100,000,000 acres. The subhumid section is nearly 2° of longitude wide on the great plains through North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas; a portion also of Northern Idaho (the Pan Handle) and of Eastern Washington, as well as about one sixth of the northern and coast sections of California, must be classified in the same way. The semi-arid section embraces the great plains from 99° to 103° of longitude; also moderate portions of Oregon, Washington, and the central and foothills sections of California. For the subhumid section irrigation stands in the nature of a crop insurance, water being needed chiefly to provide against the summer drought. In the semi-arid section a moderate application of water is required, while in the arid division irrigation is absolutely required.

The amount of water "in sight" or readily available is the economic point of difference among those who have studied the problems. John W. Powell holds the more limited view of possibilities, claiming that only 40,000,000

acres may be irrigated. Major George M. Wheeler maintains the larger limits. The present writer, who has conducted for several years the United States irrigation inquiry and the investigation of underflow and artesian waters in the great plains division, holds a middle position.

The writer's estimate is that of a probable reclamation of 127,000,000 acres to be increased to 170,000,000 acres through the natural influences which will follow irrigation.

Two of these influences may be briefly indicated: 1. The capillary attraction of roots will draw the subwater plane which lies under the most arid soil surfaces up to moderate distances from the surfaces, thereby increasing utilization. 2. Plant life and cultivation will affect the surface temperature. Plant transpiration tends to rapid cooling. Atmospheric condensation must follow. Local rains will be more largely retained and distributed.

The areas capable of irrigation by water "in sight" or readily utilizable within it may be estimated as follows:

Arid, 800,000,000, one-tenth.....	80,000,000 acres.	Value.
Semi-arid, 150,000,000, one-fifth..	30,000,000 "	
Subhumid, 50,000,000, one-third..	17,000,000 "	

Total irrigable..... 127,000,000 acres.

Allowing one third more service or "duty" of water after from three to five years of irrigation supply, we may calculate on a cultivated area by the known water supplies of 170,000,000 acres. With the certainty of increased economy of rainfall, as caused by cultivation and its effects on the temperature of earth and atmosphere, we may under constant irrigation fully expect to reclaim and maintain under cultivation at least 200,000,000 acres of land now almost wholly valueless for farm purposes. In this es-

time there has been no inclusion of possible small bodies of land within our great pastoral areas that may be brought to cultivation for grass, roots, and hardier grains, and which may reach several million acres. It will not be extravagant, then, to estimate that under a wise, comprehensive, and beneficial policy, supervised by nation and States, for the preservation of forest, the conservation and management of water, and the proper utilization of pastoral lands, there will be within a comparatively brief period 225,000,000 acres of desert and semi-desert lands added to the food-producing area of the United States. It is estimated that each irrigated acre will produce at least four times as much as any acre, within similar areas, under ordinary cultivation.

The cost of such reclamation in the British Indies, where the work is accomplished on a large scale and with a solidity and expense that we shall not need to equal, makes the average for works—ditches, dams, headgates, etc.—about \$9 per acre. Adding cost of preparing land, etc., the average rate, first cost of irrigation and cultivation, it need not exceed \$20 per acre, or a total on one-tenth of the arid region of *four billion* dollars. Such lands, applying present rates, will be then worth \$50 per acre; the acre water rights will be valued at not less than \$30 each, a total of \$80 per acre, or in all *sixteen billions*. This leaves on total first cost and plant a profit of three-fourths—*twelve billions*. The annual outlay per acre thereafter, maintenance and repairs, farm work and interest, should not exceed \$7 per acre. Net crop returns will average \$16 per acre, leaving a profit of \$11, or a total return on the full acreage estimated of \$2,200,000,000. Besides this vast return there must be taken into account the economic values of town, mines, transportation, mercantile, manufacturing and commercial life, which such farm labor and returns will readily create. This will annually return at least as much more, while the fixed wealth, property, interest and plant will be worth enough more to make the total valuation at least *forty billion* dollars.

As to population: France supports three persons to the acre; Japan, 11; the United States one to each three acres.

From a United States census bulletin (1894, F. H. Newell special agent) the following irrigation statistics for the census year (May 30, 1889, to June 1, 1890) are collated.

In the first division the statistics given are:

Total number of farms enumerated in arid region, 123,143; total number of irrigators in 1889, 52,584; area irrigated, acres of, 3,564,416; average size of such farms in acres, 68; average value of product per acre, \$14.80; total acreage of farm holdings containing such areas, 17,199,925; per cent. of irrigated lands therein, 20.72; average percentage of irrigated acres to entire land surface, 0.50; per cent. of crops to total acreage, forage and miscellaneous, 65.31; per cent. in cereals, ditto, 34.69.

Of irrigated lands, average value per acre is \$8.23; products, value \$14.70; cost of water rights, \$8.15; annual (rental) value of water, \$1.07; cost of preparing and leveling land, \$12.12.

Statistics. Average cost per acre of land (estimate on Government rate). \$1.25; total cost of land, water, rental and preparation,

\$21.32. Average value (1890) of water rights per acre, \$26.

The total costs, as estimated on foregoing averages, upon 3,561,416 acres, are: Land, \$890,354; water, \$20,049,982; annual water rentals, \$3,824,005; land preparation, \$43,200,709; total according to census figures (1890), \$78,965,050.

The statistics for the second or subhumid division are quite meager. The census bulletin gives them as follows:

Number of irrigators (1889), 1552; acres irrigated, 66,965; average size of such farms in acres, 43; total acres in farm areas, 1,545,993; per cent. irrigated, 6.40.

Values in subhumid division for 1890 are given as follows: Average first cost of water, \$4.07 per acre;

annual rental per acre, \$1.21; land preparation, \$4.62 (original cost of land not given); the total stated is \$9.90 per acre.

The census bulletin shows further the number of artesian wells within whole region under review. The totals given (omitting New Mexico and Arizona) are: Wells on farms, 8097; average depth, 210.14; average cost, \$245.58; average discharge per minute, 51.43 gallons; used in irrigation, 3930; acres irrigated thereby (estimated), 51,896. The area served by each is averaged at 13.21 acres. No statement is given to show whether this acreage is included in the total irrigated area, but it probably is not.

The table annexed gives figures taken from returns and estimates gathered by the writer during the earlier months of 1894. They are careful and conservative, and the increase of cultivated acreage since then will make a total of at least 8,750,000 acres.

	Estimated Area now Cultivated.	Estimated Mean Annual Precipitation.
Arizona	600,000	*10.28
California	3,000,000	†16.59
Colorado	2,000,000	‡14.77
Idaho	350,000	15.00
Montana	450,000	15.00
Nevada	490,000	10.00
New Mexico	550,000	12.50
Oregon	†150,000	13.00
Utah	400,000	11.00
Washington	150,000	†16.00
Wyoming	**150,000	15.00
Great Plains sections††	500,000	16.00
Total	8,450,000	13.76

The value of irrigation, then, as a maker of homes and new wealth cannot be questioned. Whether its development shall be accompanied by normal, social, and industrial progress or be left to breed the reverse, is a matter of importance. This depends upon a proper understanding of the legal as well as the political economic conditions that should govern water conservation, its management and distribution. The United States, in this as in many other ways, has begun wrong. In arid countries, where water for irrigation is a necessity of successful cultivation, the land is of little value until it has been fructified by such water. There is the possibility, then, of serious economic disorder and extended litigation. The region has been brought under our rule from sources differ-

* Highest, 14.48; lowest, 3.12.

† The State average is 25.45, but that of the 20 counties in which irrigation is largely followed is given in the table. For the balance of State it is 34.45.

‡ Foothills and east of, the mean is 13.53; in the mountains and west, it is 14.02.

§ The actual irrigation for crops did not exceed 76,000 acres; balance of 148,000 acres was pastoral irrigation, water applied to natural grass.

|| The same error was made by the census field agents in Oregon of returning grass or pastoral irrigation as that of food crops. This is shown by the wide difference between the irrigation and the regular crop bulletins in certain counties, where more for land is given as irrigated than is shown to have been cultivated for crops. This estimate is for eastern Oregon also.

¶ Estimated for the western State section.

** Of this great area, reported at 229,668 acres, there was probably not more than 60,000 actually under food crop. The balance was pastoral irrigation.

†† This embraces the two Dakotas, Oklahoma, and the western halves of Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas.

ing widely. In the Southwest—New Mexico, Arizona, California, Utah, and portions of Colorado—the original irrigators were the Pueblo people, the village and mission Indians. They held and still hold water, salt springs and licks, with land as community or common property. There is no general law, seldom a written one, but custom makes a rigid code operative within limited borders. The Roman or civil law, however, allows no recognition whatever of property rights in this use. Water is treated by it as a natural element, necessary for life as is the air itself. The civil code controls in legal principles the whole region taken over from France, Spain, and Mexico. Treaty obligations guarantee this. By it water is a "trust," and not the property of the State any more than it is that of the individual. The Anglo-Saxon idea of legal

Legal Status.

property has since come in. The common law, built up by the customs, equities, and habits of a people using humid land, has established the doctrine that water is seized to the land through which it flows, and the restraint to the community exists only as to its use, so that injury shall not be worked to others. One riparian owner may not divert a stream without recovery to the channel or pollute the waters, to the injury or non-use by other owners, without being liable at law therefor.

This common law doctrine, however, is passing rapidly into disuse. The conditions which shaped pioneer life and the usual American disregard of the lessons from yesterday, with the indifference always shown in national legislation until an issue is forced, left the States to work out their own processes. Three distinct concepts have resulted:

1. The doctrine of "prior appropriation"—first come first served. This is the law of placer mining. It was afterward made part of the federal mining and land laws, and has been adopted into the constitutions and statutes (one or both) of the 17 irrigation States and Territories.

2. Colorado, when admitted as a State, adopted a constitutional proviso to the effect that the "natural waters" within the State are the "property" of the people thereof, subject under law and regulation to beneficial appropriation and use. Her court decisions, however, are all tending to the broad interpretation of such property as a "trust," not an ownership.

Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, North Dakota, and Utah have adopted the same or similar language. By the admission of these States into the Union it is assumed that the Federal Government has abandoned all control over waters within their borders. The States of Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada have no such distinct constitutional provision. They have all embodied the prior appropriation doctrine in their statutes.

3. Growing out of the confusion of Indian and other customs, California has evolved a new administrative plan. This consists in applying municipal control by permitting any body of citizens having common interests in the agricultural use of locally available water to form an irrigation district, to make plans for new works, and to

build the same, or to provide for the purchase and condemnation when necessary of existing ones; to issue bonds with which to meet the costs and expenses, to levy taxes for payment of interest and principal, and to maintain works with power to make regulation for use, etc. There are now 38 districts formed under these laws, with several million acres of land within their control. The special municipalities thus created become not the owners of water, but its administrative users and distributors. But the State may yet make its supervision active. Indeed, the development of water supply will compel such action. California is favorable for such development, inasmuch as its interstate sources of supply are quite limited. The "Wright Irrigation District System," so named from its author, Counsellor C. C. Wright, of Modesto, Cal., embodies as fundamental ideas the practical recovery of common law idea of "prior appropriation," and the Anglo-Saxon principle of municipal or local control and administration. Amendments are needed to a realization of its full benefits, but the underlying ideas need no change. Oregon, Washington, and Kansas have adopted the same general plan. Nebraska, Montana, and Idaho are considering it favorably, and it now seems probable that it will yet be the law of the arid region. South Dakota has applied it in part to her artesian supply by permitting township bonding and ownership of wells up to a certain number. The speculative promoter or negotiator does not like it; the investor accepts it, when once understood. Colorado has developed the legal control or division of the water supply at considerable cost of litigation, and Wyoming has, following on the same general ideas, framed the best plan of administrative control or administration. South Dakota, Colorado, and Wyoming provide for well-equipped State engineer offices. Nebraska and Kansas will follow suit. The general trend of court decisions is to regard water once applied to the land as escheated thereto; to regulate prior appropriations according to needs under the supply, and to regard ditch and other irrigation-water companies in the light of common carriers. There is a tendency in State legislation to regulate royalties and rentals. In Colorado and Idaho notably an agitation is growing for State ownership of irrigation works. All through the arid region the idea of public storage is becoming fixed in the popular mind. The passage by Congress (1894) of the Carey law, granting each State 1,000,000 acres of public lands to be held in trust for reclamation, is likely rapidly to accelerate this trend to public control. Utah stands in an exceptional position, as its development under Mormon direction has given a freedom, economy, and security to irrigation therein that no incorporated control will ever secure.

Civil Control.

The vital water supply issue concerns, however, the nation at large. The eastern line of the arid region—97° of west longitude—is bounded and crossed by the Missouri River for more than one third of its 1300 miles. This great river and all of its upper basin rises in and is supplied from the precipitation of our north-

west area. The Missouri is the principal affluent of the Mississippi. The two great basins and their branches drain and supply 15 great States. Yet the headwaters, with the exception of the

National Interests.

Upper Mississippi, all rise within the borders of three arid land States. Practically, too, all of the chief

affluents so rise.

Each of the three States of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana has adopted the constitutional provision that natural waters within their borders are the property of the State or of the public thereof. They each assume that this gives them possession and control of all such supply, to the permanent exclusion, of course, of all other communities below them, provided only that they can conserve, take out, and use for "beneficial" purposes all such natural waters as find their sources within their borders. Such a position will breed difficulties. Engineers are quite generally leaning to the view that storage on an extensive scale will finally be the means adopted for the regulation and control of the lower Mississippi floods. If the General Government has no control over interstate waters under the State claims already assumed, how can the Government do this? The question may be met by stretching the theory of control over navigable waters into jurisdiction over all branches and affluents of such hydrographic basins and channels. But that will not reach such use as irrigation requires. The three States named embrace the sources not only of all leading western affluents of the Missouri and Mississippi, but they hold also the sources of the Rio Grande, the Rio Colorado, and Snake rivers.

Ninety per cent. of the natural water flow or stream to be found within the arid region rises within the borders of Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. It needs no more than such a statement to show the importance of issues embraced in the interstate supply question. The policy of forest and water storage reservations on an extended scale, already inaugurated, should be extended until it covers the source of every interstate water supply.

The census placed the first cost of irrigation works, etc., at \$77,490,000; the value thereof in June, 1890, at \$296,850,000. The cost of irrigation works now constructed is not less than \$150,000,000; their value will be fully \$500,000,000. The water rights for 8,500,000 acres, at the census valuation of \$26 per acre, will be worth \$221,000,000. The value of the land, as placed at \$83.28 per acre (census), will be \$707,880,000. At the census rate of \$15 per acre of crop returns, we have a net annual result of \$227,500,000. Adding water and land values, we have a total of \$928,880,000, and an annual return, deducting a water rental of \$1.50 per acre (\$12,750,000), of \$214,750,000, or a profit of over 24 per cent., besides the water rental, interest on deferred payments, royalty, and increase of land values. If we add the value of land and water rights on irrigation areas, served but not yet cultivated, we shall find an estimated value of another \$1,000,000,000 to our arid domain. The estimated industrial value to water for this use of \$300 per cub. ft., which is much less than the actual possibility (counting at 1 acre-ft.

for each 130,000,000 acres), gives us a value of \$6,000,000,000 more.

These figures illustrate the immensely possible if still tentative values involved in the recognition of personal, corporate, or community property in water.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

ITALY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

I. STATISTICS.

ITALY is to-day a kingdom by its present constitution, which is an expansion of the *Statuto fondamentale del Regno*, granted on March 4, 1848, by King Charles Albert to his Sardinian subjects. By this constitution the executive power belongs solely to the sovereign. The legislative authority belongs conjointly to him and to a parliament consisting of a *Senato* and a *Camera de Deputati*. The Senate is composed of princes of the royal house and an indefinite number of prominent persons nominated by the king for life. In May, 1895, there were 397 senators. The deputies to the lower house are elected by ballot by all citizens over 21 who can read and write and pay a direct tax of 19.80 lire, or, in the case of certain peasant farmers, 80 centesimi.

The deputies number 508. In 1895 the number of enrolled electors was 2,121,125, and those who voted May, 1895, numbered 1,256,244. No priest nor one receiving State pay can be elected. Local government is in the hands of communal and provincial councils. The population in 1881 was 28,460,000, an area of 114,410 sq. m. The births steadily exceed the deaths. Emigration is large, but not larger than the excess of births over deaths. Of the total population, 62,000 were Protestants and 38,000 Jews. Under the papal authority there were, in 1881, 6 cardinal bishoprics near Rome, 49 archbishoprics, 221 bishoprics, 76,560 parochial clergy, 20,465 parishes. In 1865 there were 2382 religious houses in Italy, with 14,807 men and 14,184 women. All religious houses were suppressed in 1866, tho a small pension was given to all who had taken regular religious vows before January 18, 1864, and a few monasteries were temporarily set aside for such as wished to continue conventual life. All other property was appropriated by the State. The constitution enacts that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the sole religion of the State. By the royal decree of October 9, 1870, Rome and the Roman provinces were declared an integral part of the kingdom of Italy; the Pope was acknowledged supreme head of the Church, ranking as a sovereign prince. By the law of May 13, 1871, there was guaranteed to him and his successors forever the Vatican and Lateran palaces and the Castle Gandolfo, with 3,225,000 lire annually, which allowance still remains unclaimed and unpaid. The State regulates public instruction, and no person can keep a school without State authorization. Education is compulsory in children from six to nine years of age. (See EDUCATION.)

The budget for 1895-96 (June 30) was: Revenue, 1,699,088,025 lire, and the expenditure, 1,689,342,764. The larger sources of revenue were, in millions of lire: Income tax, 288; customs, 235; tobacco monopoly, 192; land tax, 106; house tax, 87; salt monopoly, 71; stamps, 70; lottery, 65. The larger expenses were, for consolidated debt, 463,000,000 lire, with 124 for floating debt; 70, redeemable debt; 223 for the Ministry of War, and 94 for the Ministry of Marine; 62 for public works. The total debt July 1, 1894, was 12,307,857,604 lire, or some \$75 per head. Exports in 1894 were 1,094,649,101 lire, and the imports, 1,026,506,700. The main imports were raw cotton, coal, wheat, and unbleached, raw, or twisted silk. The main exports were silk, olive oil, fruit, and wine. The main imports came from Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Austria. The main exports are to Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Austria. The agricultural population numbers 10,000,000.

The Church of Rome.

Financial.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

Social reform in Italy through the first part of the century was almost wholly confined to

the noble efforts made in various ways by patriots like Mazzini and Garibaldi, by societies of various kinds like the Carbonari, to secure democratic liberty and Italian unity. (See MAZZINI; CARBONARI.) Mazzini opposed socialism as it was presented in his day as being materialistic and anti-nationalistic, and standing for an almost individualistic battle for personal rights rather than for cooperation and duty; but his position on almost all subjects was that of modern ethical socialism, and his followers in Italy have done much to develop reform of this kind. In 1861 a Fratellanza Artigiana (Artisan Brotherhood) was started in Florence connected with Mazzini's name to develop cooperation in various ways. It was intended to spread through Italy. This hope has not been realized, owing to political jealousies; but it still survives at Florence, and has several thousand members. (See COOPERATION.) In 1871 a pact of working men's societies, Patto di Fratellanza, was formed at Rome, also drawn up under the auspices of Mazzini, and still endures. It held its eighteenth general congress at Palermo in 1892, and stands for cooperation and liberty. Previously to this, however, the International (*q.v.*) had entered Italy. Bakunin (*q.v.*) founded a section at Naples in 1867, and established a paper, *Equity*. Other sections were formed in Genoa, Milan, and Italy. This movement opposed the Mazzini societies and developed strength enough to frighten the Government into suppressing the sections in 1871. It sprang up again, however, till finally again suppressed in 1875. It represented anarchist communism rather than socialism.

In 1882 the Italian franchise was widened, and in 1885 an Italian Labor Party was formed at Milan, partly socialistic, partly anarchistic. It won strength enough to cause it to be dis-

solved by the Government in 1886. A new laborers' party (Partito dei Lavoratori), however, was formed at congresses in Milan and Genoa in 1891 and 1892.

In September, 1893, the party held a second congress at Reggio (Emilia), when it assumed a distinctly socialist attitude, and adopted the name of Italian Laborers' Socialist Party (Partito Socialista dei Lavoratori Italiani). The reports of the central committee to this congress and to the International Congress at Zurich (1893) give some further interesting details concerning the development and present position of the party, which may be added to the above account. Owing to the remissness of the affiliated societies in furnishing the committee with returns, it has not been found possible to publish perfectly satisfactory statistics, but it is probable that the party includes at the present time not less than 200,000 active members, and almost 300 affiliated societies, among them the agricultural federations of Mantua, with about 11,000 peasant members.

The party works on the lines of German socialism, but has not German organization, standing at present principally for agitation. More immediately practical is the establishment of labor chambers in Italy. (See LABOR EXCHANGE.) Cooperation has had considerable development in Italy, particularly interesting being the cooperative societies of the laborers and builders, who take contracts directly from the municipalities. (For an account of this, however, see COOPERATION.) Anarchism has still considerable hold, particularly in the inflammable South, where, however, conditions seem almost to drive the peasants into it.

Reference: The best book in English on social reform in Italy is the *Report on Italy* of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor.

J.

JACKSON, ANDREW, seventh President of the United States, was born in the Waxhaw Settlement, Union County, N. C., March 15, 1767. He was of Scotch-Irish parentage, his father a farm laborer. Both parents died early, leaving their children destitute. With little schooling young Jackson worked his way in a saddler's shop and by teaching school, and in 1786 was admitted to the bar. In 1790 he was appointed by Washington United States Attorney for the newly constituted Territory of Tennessee, and became most active and prominent. In 1796 he was Tennessee's first representative in Congress, and in 1797 United States Senator. In 1798 he resigned, and became a Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee till 1804. In 1803 he was an unsuccessful candidate for appointment as governor of the new Territory of Louisiana. In 1804 he retired from politics, but in 1813 led the forces of Tennessee to New Orleans in the War of 1812, and in 1814 was made Major-General. The famous victory of January 8, 1815, made him a popular hero. In 1821 he was appointed Governor of Florida. In 1824 Jackson,

nominated by the Tennessee Legislature, received the largest popular vote for the Presidency, but John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives. In 1828 Jackson was elected, and this election is considered the beginning of the modern Democratic Party (*q.v.*). Inaugurated March 4, 1829, he at once removed all incumbents belonging to the opposite party. He also commenced war on the national banks. (See BANKS AND BANKING.) In 1832 he received 219 out of 288 electoral votes. In 1833 he removed the Government deposits from the United States Bank. The national debt was extinguished, but in 1837 came the first great panic. In 1836 Jackson succeeded in obtaining the election of his friend Van Buren, and, retiring from politics, died June 8, 1845. Of violent and impulsive temper, perhaps no American statesman has been more loved, hated, opposed, and admired.

JACOBINS.—Jacobin was the name chosen by a French political club founded in 1789 by some deputies from Brittany during the session

of the States-General at Versailles. (See FRENCH REVOLUTION.) The club was first called the Breton Club, then the Société des Amis de la Constitution. After the Assembly went to Paris the club occupied an old Dominican monastery in the Rue Saint Honoré. These Dominicans had been called Jacobins from a fact that the Church of St. James (Jacobus) had been given to them, and the political club now took their name. Lafayette and Mirabeau, among others, at first belonged to it, but as its principles dominated the commune it became more and more radical. Its *Journal des Amis de la Constitution* spread its principles through France. Robespierre became the ruling member, and after his downfall in 1794 the club was also overthrown, and in November was suspended. Persons of extreme revolutionary principles are still sometimes called Jacobins.

JACQUERIE.—In May, 1358, rebelling against the tyranny of Charles the Bad of Navarre and of the nobility, the French peasants rose in revolt during the imprisonment of John II., the Good, in England. The revolt commenced near Paris, but spread to the Marne and the Oise, and for three weeks carried all before it; but in June it was put down with great slaughter at Meaux. The name comes from the Jacques or clowus, used for peasants, from the Christian name Jacques, supposed to be peculiarly a peasant name.

JAMES, EDMUND JANES, was born in 1855, at Jacksonville, Ill. He was prepared for college in the Illinois State Normal School, and entered the Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., in 1873. Having been appointed Recorder on the United States Lake Survey, he joined (May 1, 1874) the party of Engineer Terry, engaged on the upper St. Lawrence and the lower part of Lake Ontario. At the end of the season he entered Harvard College.

In July, 1875, he went to Europe to study political economy, and attending lectures also at Berlin and Leipsic, was graduated from Halle in 1877, taking the degrees of M.A. and Ph.D.

On his return home he was principal of the high school in Evanston, Ill., and of the high school department of the Illinois State Normal School. He resigned this position in 1882 in order to continue his studies in Europe, which he pursued at various German universities.

In 1883 he was elected Professor of Public Finance and Administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania, and since 1886 has had practical charge of this department. In 1891 he was elected President of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and held this position until 1895, during which time the work of the society was greatly extended and strengthened.

In 1896 he went to the University of Chicago as Professor of Public Administration in the Department of Political Science, and Director of the University Extension Department.

Professor James has been and is an active member of many educational and economic associations. He was one of the founders of the American Economic Association, and for some

time its Vice-President. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and at the first meeting for formal organization, December 14, 1889, was elected President, an office to which he has since been annually reelected. He was also, till his removal to Chicago, editor, and is still associate editor, of the *Annals* of the academy.

With Dr. Charles De Garmo, President of Swarthmore College, he founded the *Illinois School Journal*, now the *Public School Journal*, one of the most influential educational periodicals in the West.

He was one of the first to take part in the recent movement for the improvement of city politics in the United States; was one of the organizers of the Municipal League of Philadelphia (out of which the National Association of Municipal Leagues has grown), and served as its first president from December 1, 1891.

Professor James' contributions to the literature of the subjects in which he has been interested have been very numerous, tho they have taken the form of papers, magazine and cyclopaedia articles, addresses, etc., rather than the form of books. Among them are *The Relation of the Modern Municipality to the Gas Supply* (1886); *The Canal and the Railway* (1890).

JANNET, CLAUDIO, was born at Paris in 1844. He became a lawyer at Aix and later Professor of Political Economy at the Catholic University of Paris. Some of his principal works are: *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des associations coopératives* (1867); *l'Internationale et la question sociale* (1871); *les Institutions sociales et le droit civil à Sparte* (1874); *les États Unis contemporains* (1875); *les Faits économiques et le mouvement social en Italie* (1889); *le Socialisme d'État et la réforme sociale* (1889); *le Capital, la spéculation et la finance au XIXe siècle* (1892). Jan-net belongs to the school of Le Play.

JAPAN AND SOCIAL REFORM.—We consider Japan under two general heads: I. Statistics; II. Social Reform.

I. STATISTICS (IN GENERAL).

The Japanese claim that their empire was founded by the first emperor, Jimmu, 660 B.C., and that the present emperor is descended from him, having overthrown in 1868 the power of the Shogun, who had ruled since the twelfth century. In 1871 the feudal system was suppressed. In 1889 a constitution was proclaimed, and Japan is now a constitutional empire. The emperor, with advice of a Cabinet and Privy Council, has the executive power, even to declaring war and making peace. Laws must receive the consent of the Imperial Diet, consisting of a House of Peers and of representatives, each with about 300 members. The representatives are elected by male subjects of 25 years of age resident one year in the Fu or Ken, and who pay 15 yen or more as a national tax. Voting is by secret ballot. Local self-government is on the increase.

The population December 31, 1893, was 41,388,313 in an area of 147,655 sq. miles, not including Formosa. There is absolute religious freedom, tho the principal Shinto temples are maintained by State or local authorities. There were in 1893, 193,430 Shinto temples, and 71,839 Buddhist. Education is compulsory, with 23,960 elementary schools, 1410 special, and 427 others. Justice is modelled on European lines.

The revenue, 1894-95, was 88,045,234 yen, and the expenditure, 80,140,500. The main source of revenue

Constitution.

Social.

(nearly 50 per cent.) is a land tax; the main expenses are interest on the public debt, and for the army and defenses. The peace footing of the army in 1893 was 3615 officers, 65,098 men, 218 students. The reserve has 94,676, and the *landwehr*, 105,053. The total war strength is now said to be 328,000. The Japanese navy has 9 armored ships, 32 unarmored, 28 gunboats, 11 lesser vessels, and 75 torpedo boats.

The land is cultivated by peasant proprietors, tenancy being rare. Rice is with the largest crop. The exports in 1894 were 121,677,263 yen, and the imports, 113,308,997. The chief exports are silk, tea, and rice; the main imports, raw cotton, sugar, and machinery. The largest exports are to the United States, France, and Hongkong; the largest imports from Great Britain, China, and the United States.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

The following is from the United States Consular Reports of May, 1896:

"The development of both internal and foreign trade is the all-absorbing problem with every class of the people of Japan. The system of education employed in the schools is admirably adapted to the turning out of well-equipped business men, so far as a practical commercial education can accomplish such an end.

"Merchants, manufacturers, and, in fact, all engaged in trade actively or by investment of capital are making and will continue to make the very best use of the time intervening between the present and the coming into operation of the lately revised treaties, in borrowing, *ad libitum*, the products (in the shape of labor-saving appliances) of the inventive genius of the people of the United States, and of every other nation, for use in the workshops of the Empire, and will return the results in merchantable goods to the people of the nations from whom they are now borrowing at prices which will make competition an exceedingly difficult problem to solve.

"The Japanese excel in productions of silk, jute, cotton, clay, iron, and straw in the shape of piece goods, wearing apparel, floor coverings, porcelain wares, curios of every description, mechanical and other toys, paper, and other goods in which they are the principal commodities used, and in retail products, among which may be mentioned surgical instruments, which, for delicacy of design and quality of temper, can scarcely be surpassed.

Manufactures.

"The raw material necessary for the production, not only of the merchandise named, but of nearly all other goods produced by the most favored of the producing nations, are found in the territory of the empire, the material wealth and producing power of which have been enhanced in no small measure by the annexation of Formosa. The mines are rich in coal, iron, and other minerals; the soil is fertile, and, judging from the extraordinary progress being made in agricultural pursuits, every available foot of it will, in the near future, be put into a high state of cultivation. In many of the subdivisions of Japan, two crops are produced annually.

"The daily wage paid for mining and unskilled labor necessary for the production of what may be termed raw materials will average about 10 cents (United States currency), and that paid for skilled labor, at present, will average about 18 cents.

"With her natural advantages, the method of education employed in the schools and the universality of effort in the direction of increasing trade internally and directly with the people of other nations, it would seem that the Empire of Japan is destined to become the great producing nation of the Orient. But before such a conclusion can be accepted, consideration should be given to certain drawbacks, among which may be mentioned the inability to produce quality and quantity in accordance with contract stipulations. This defect is subjecting her tradespeople to very serious criticisms on the part of those with whom they trade; and by many it is alleged to be due to a lack of commercial probity. I am not of that opinion, but rather ascribe it to a lack of training in the art of producing stated quantities in stipulated periods. In short, they can produce, under present conditions, quality, but not quantity.

"Up to the date of the recent war with China, it seemed impossible to persuade Western people to take the new Japan seriously. It needed the crushing defeat of the Chinese Empire to open people's eyes. To

be sure, the events which electrified the rest of the world excited no surprise whatever in Japan, where the issue was foreseen with absolute clearness before a shot was fired.

"Since the conclusion of the war, renewed activity is noticeable in every branch of industry. The huge cotton mills that have sprung up in Osaka and other towns are among the most noteworthy of new enterprises set on foot from day to day. Every town and city, and the country generally, has an air of prosperity. Gas and electric light are more and more used, and, in the larger centers of population, are all but universal. In several towns, the electric-light apparatus is worked by water power—a source of energy practically unlimited, and hitherto scarcely utilized.

Progress.

"The railway system is extensive and admirably managed, and every corner of the empire is now provided with good macadamized roads, an inestimable boon.

"It is impossible for me to conclude these brief notes without some mention of the numberless schools, public and private, in Japan. The Government is thoroughly alive to the national importance of education."

JEFFERSON, THOMAS, third President of the United States, was born in Albemarle County, Va., April 13, 1743, the son of a citizen of some importance. Attending William and Mary College, and studying law at Williamsburg, he was admitted to the bar in 1767, and soon acquired standing and wealth, and in 1772 married an heiress. From 1769 to the Revolution he served in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Tho' no orator, he soon became a leader of the opposition to the king, and June 21, 1775, took his seat in the Continental Congress. He drafted the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he resumed his seat in the Virginia Legislature, and secured the first law establishing perfect religious freedom. From 1779 for two years he was Governor of Virginia. In 1782 his wife died, and, distracted with grief, he accepted an appointment as Minister to France. In 1789 he was appointed by Washington Secretary of State, and served till 1794, when he resigned. During this period the Democratic Party (or Republican-Democratic Party as it was first called) developed with Jefferson as leader, opposed to the federalism of Hamilton, Jefferson's colleague in the Cabinet. In 1796 Jefferson was elected Vice-President, and in 1800 President. During his administration the public debt was reduced, Louisiana was purchased for \$15,000,000, the Algerian pirates conquered, and the system of precedence was abolished for a reasonable etiquette. Jefferson was elected in 1804 almost without opposition. His embargo policy, retaliating upon France and England prohibiting United States vessels from leaving port, struck a blow at the navy, and opposition to him increased. In 1808 he declined to be nominated for a third term, and retired to Monticello, where he interested himself in founding the University of Virginia. He died July 4, 1826. (See DEMOCRATIC PARTY.)

JENKS, JEREMIAH W., was born in 1856 at St. Clair, Mich. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1878, receiving the degree of A.M. in 1879 and the degree of Ph.D. in 1885 from the University of Halle, Germany. He has taught at Mt. Morris College, Ill.; Peoria High School, Ill.; Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.; Indiana State University, Bloomington, Ind., and at Cornell University,

where, since 1891, he has been Professor of Political, Municipal, and Social Institutions. He is Secretary of the American Economic Association, and of the Finance Department of the American Social Science Association. His writings have been numerous, but have taken the form of monographs, magazine and cyclopedia articles, addresses, etc., rather than of books. He has written particularly on elections, ballot reform, and similar political subjects.

JEVONS, WILLIAM STANLEY, was born in Liverpool in 1835. He went in early life to Australia, and held the post of assayer in the Sydney Mint from 1854-59; he then returned to England in order to pursue his studies in philosophy and ethics. He was Professor of Logic from 1866-76 at Owens College, Manchester, and of Economics at University College, London, from 1876-81. He met his death by drowning at Bexhill in 1882.

Cossa says of him in his *Introduction to Political Economy* :

"In him logical powers of the highest order were happily associated with the trained acuteness of a mathematical expert and the rare gifts of a born economist, and to all these was added a unique aptitude for statistical observation. He was equally at home when presenting the results of his investigations in such a popular form as that of his *Primer of Political Economy* (1878), his *Money the Mechanism of Exchange* (1879), and when employing the more abstruse language of science, as in his *Principles of Science* (1874, 2 vols.). Something fantastic, however, will at times lie in wait for his readers even in the midst of such a vigorous concatenation of reasoning as that in his account of commercial crises."

Professor Ingram says of him :

"The reputation of Jevons as an acute and vigorous thinker, inspired with noble popular sympathies, is sufficiently established. But the attempt to represent him, in spite of himself, as a follower and continuator of Ricardo, and as one of the principal authors of the development of economic theory (meaning by 'theory' the old *a priori* doctrine) can only lower him in estimation by placing his services on grounds which will not bear criticism. His name will survive in connection, not with new theoretical constructions, but with his treatment of practical problems, his fresh and lively expositions, and, as we have shown, his energetic tendency to a renovation of economic method."

In the field of applied economics Jevons often discussed monometallism and bimetallicism, declaring himself, tho' in very temperate and guarded terms, a monometallist. He favored cooperation and profit-sharing, and also believed in State legislation on social questions. (See his *The State in Relation to Labor*, 1882.)

In economic theory he is best known for his conception of total utility (*q.v.*). Besides the above-mentioned books there should be noticed his *Theory of Political Economy* (1879); *Methods of Social Reform* (1883); and *Investigations in Currency and Finance* (1884).

JOBS, as used in political science, are defined by the *Century Dictionary* to be undertakings "so managed as to secure unearned profit or undue advantage, especially a public duty or trust performed or conducted with a view to improper personal gain." Mr. Ferdinand Seege, writing in the *North American Review* (vol. cxliii., p. 87), says :

"Nearly all the very large corporate undertakings in the United States during the past 20 years have had

in them more or less of the corrupt political and financial elements which the public have come to sum up in the word *job*."

The writer gives many instances of jobs, as "the Broadway Steal" (*q.v.*), "the Cable Road Grab." Of the New York new aqueduct he says :

"The 'biggest job,' as well as the largest project, now under way in any city of the United States, is probably that of the new aqueduct, which is to be the main source of our New York City water supply."

"The new aqueduct is to be 31 miles long. Through 10 miles of this area nature has furnished a solid rock bottom, perfectly water-tight, and much better than any artificial bottom that could possibly be constructed. Yet the Board of Aqueduct Commissioners has voted to line the entire aqueduct with brick, bottom and all, including the 10 miles already lined with the best of natural stone. Controller Loew opposed this worse than useless expenditure, intended wholly for the benefit of political corruptionists, but the job has been sustained by the majority of the board. When the matter came up, the controller offered a resolution that the work be done as any sensible business man would do it for himself—that is, that the aqueduct be lined only where necessary. The resolution was voted down, Mayor Grace alone sustaining the controller. Judge Spencer, the Tammany member of the Aqueduct Commission, then offered a resolution that the whole structure receive the brick lining. The resolution was passed, the mayor and the controller voting against it. In the passage of this little resolution, the people of New York City were put to an unnecessary expense of a million and a half of dollars, in order that the contractors and, indirectly, a political ring, might profit by it."

"In order, however, that the ring might not be troubled with such 'factious opposition' to future jobs of the kind, the ring decided to legislate the inconvenient mayor and controller out of the Board of Aqueduct Commissioners, altho' they were the chief representatives and the only safeguards to the city, for whom the aqueduct is being constructed. The bill was therefore introduced in the Legislature and swiftly passed—'kissed through,' as it is termed by Hon. Timothy J. Campbell, which is the technical name for a corrupt bargain between political managers for both parties, and was signed by Governor Hill.

"Among the most prominent and influential of these contractors are Messrs. Clark and O'Brien, Mr. O'Brien being chairman of the Democratic State Committee and also the political special manager and henchman of Governor Hill. The opinion now and then escapes the intimate friends of these gentlemen that the 'aqueduct job,' if 'handled for all it is worth,' will furnish the financial sinews (or what they briefly term 'the party bundle') to make Mr. Hill the next President of the United States.

"The work on the aqueduct is supposed to be given out to the lowest bidder. One precarious section of it, under the Harlem River, was allotted some time ago to Messrs. Clark and O'Brien, at an allowance of \$50,000 more than the lowest bid, for fear that the lowest bidder might not do the work well. But it was immediately sublet to this lowest bidder, and the difference pocketed."

(See also CORRUPTION ; CITY MUNICIPALISM.)

JONES, RICHARD, was born at Tunbridge Wells, England, in 1790. He graduated from Cambridge in 1816, was ordained to the ministry, and took a curacy in Sussex. In 1833 he became Professor of Political Economy at King's College, London. In 1835 he succeeded Malthus in the chair of Political Economy and History at the East India College, Haileybury. From 1836 to 1851, he occupied the position of commissioner under the Tithe Commutation Act. He died at Haileybury, January 26, 1855. His chief works are : *An Essay on the Distribution of Wealth and on the Sources of Taxation, Part I., Rent* (London, 1831); *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy, delivered at King's College, with a Syllabus of*

a *Course of Lectures on the Wages of Labor* (London, 1833); *Text-Book of Lectures on the Political Economy of Nations* (Hertford, 1852). As an economist, Jones stands between the school of Adam Smith and the modern historical economists. He recognizes strongly the necessity of the inductive method, and opposes the deductive method of Ricardo.

JUDAISM, SOCIAL POLITY OF.—All views and interpretations of the sacred books of the Hebrew race find in them the institutes of a peculiar social polity. Viewed as the product of infallible inspiration or in the light of the latest and highest criticism, the Old Testament records a social polity, whether given of God in immediate revelation or developed through long ages of national evolution, of deepest interest and most practical significance. The heart of the whole is in the national law. Says Canon Fremantle (*The World the Subject of Redemption*):

"The Law was the center of the religion and theology of Israel. . . . It was not 'the law of commandments contained in ordinances,' but the law of righteousness, which underlays the ordinances. . . . The mere ceremonialism, apart from moral good, finds no encouragement in the Old Testament. Against that all the prophets from Hosea onward protest. . . . The law of moral and political relations is the center of the theology of the Old Testament. . . . The theme which is more than any other upon their poets' lips is the law of Jehovah. . . ."

"In the Psalms there are a few faint allusions to ceremonial customs, such as the laws of drink offerings of blood, or of forbidden food, or the purging with hyssop; a few words about the new moon and solemn feast days; not a word about circumcision, not a word about the passover, not a word about the Sabbaths, not a word about ceremonial uncleanness. There is probably in modern hymns, 18 centuries after Christ, more of artificial religion than in the Psalms, written in the bosom of Judaism. But, on the other hand, almost every Psalm appeals to the law of plain justice, public and private. . . . It is the moral and political law, not the ceremonial, which is enshrined in the hearts of the people."

The basis of the whole law is the recognition of Jehovah as the 'God of the nation, the Creator and Ruler and Owner of the earth. Land belongs to Him; His are the firstfruits; He is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; His law is to be obeyed. This law is given to the organized nation,

National Basis.

not to individuals. The first duty of parents to the male child or of a Gentile convert was circumcision, the symbol of initiation into the

national life. The Law was not given to any person in view of a personal relation to God, but only to the circumcised, or their wives and daughters, those who belonged to the organic national life. It was, thus, primarily a law of institutions. With the organized national life went the family. The first duty of the circumcised child was to obey and honor his parents (Ex. xx. 12). "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man" (Lev. xix. 32). Purity and chastity were strictly inculcated. The law allowed polygamy; but he who follows the development of the Hebrew people from the obscenity and impurity, into which they are recorded as falling, through idolatrous practices, in the early years of their history, into the comparative purity and monogamy which prevailed among the Jews in the

time of Christ, will realize how practically the Law aided and developed pure family life.

As in all patriarchal civilizations, the servant or slave was made a member of the household. Slavery was allowed, but it was nothing like chattel slavery; it was scarcely slavery. In Judea alone of all countries, ancient and modern, the slave had rights and was not under the caprice of his master.

Every Hebrew slave could go free **Treatment of the Poor.** at the end of the sixth year (Ex. xxi. 2). He was to be furnished

liberally out of the flock, and out of the flour, and out of the winepress (Deut. xv. 14). The wages of servants were to be paid every night: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide all night until the morning" (Lev. xix. 13). Charity in all relations was inculcated: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor," said the law (Lev. xix. 18); "Thou shalt hate thine enemy" was an unauthorized addition. Justice in trade was a sacred duty (Lev. xix. 36); but the needy were particularly to be aided. "If there be among you a poor man, of one of the brethren, within any of the gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need" (Deut. xv. 7, 8). The loan was to be without interest. "If thou lend money to any of My people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as a usurer; neither shalt thou lay upon him usury" (Ex. xxii. 25). Usury meant interest; the word is sometimes translated increase. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury," said the Deuteronomic law. This was not a moral law of universal validity. The Hebrew was allowed to take interest from a Gentile. "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii. 20). It was a socialist law, and one had to belong to the instituted nation to gain its benefits. Those who walked through cornfields or vineyards were to be allowed to pluck of the corn or the vine (Deut. xxiii. 25). The widow and the orphan were particularly to be cared for (Deut. x. 18).

All these enactments were made possible by the Hebrew land law. Under private property and a competitive civilization it is impossible to lend without interest to every one that asks, or to allow trespassing on a planted field or vineyard. Under **Land Law.** the Hebrew law it was possible, because everybody was protected in the *use* (not ownership) of a little land, and therefore those who needed to borrow or receive aid were comparatively few. God was considered the owner of all the land, and it was meted out not for ownership, but for use. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine," God is represented as saying in Lev. xxv. 23. The land was supposed to have been measured out by Joshua by the line and the lot, and a portion assigned to each family according to its size. And this ownership for use was inalienable. If any family became embarrassed and gave the land in debt, it returned on the fiftieth year—the year of jubilee

—to its former owner. This was the wording of the law as given in Lev. xxv. 24-31 :

"And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.

"If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold.

"And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it;

"Then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession.

"But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which is sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession."

There was a difference, however, with walled cities.

"And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then he may redeem it within a whole year after it is sold; *within* a full year may he redeem it.

"And if it be not redeemed within the space of a full year, then the house that is in the walled city shall be established forever to him that bought it, throughout his generations: it shall not go out in the jubilee.

"But the houses of the villages, which have no walls round about them, shall be counted as the fields of the country: they may be redeemed, and they shall go out in the jubilee."

The object of this distinction seems to have been to make agricultural life and property more secure than city life and property, in order to encourage agricultural life. But it was not only the land that the law protected for the use of all. It was a socialist law in that it protected the worker in the ownership of his tools. If he gave them in pledge they could not be kept from him overnight. Says Deut. xxiv. 10-14 :

"When thou dost lend thy brother anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge.

"Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee.

"And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge:

"In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment, and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God."

Verse 6 in the same chapter says: "No man shall take the nether or upper millstone to pledge, for he taketh a man's life to pledge." Protected thus, both in the access to land and the use of tools, no Hebrew, as long as the law was obeyed, need be poor. Taxation was a single tax of one tenth of all produce of the soil or the flock. This prevented all extortion of financiers. The whole system of laws was connected with a ritual to connect the political Law with the thought of God. Great religious festivals were organized

Religious Sanctions.

in connection with the national history and with the seasons. The Levites administered the law in connection with the temple or religious gatherings. The people, in solemn assemblies, repeated the curses and blessings of the Law. The whole law of the land was connected with the religious Sabbatical feasts. One day in seven the laborer found complete rest. One year in seven the land was to go untilled; the slave was to go free; one year in seven times seven was the year of jubilee, when land reverted to the owner and every mortgage was wiped off. Religion was thus associated with relief from labor and release from debt.

There was no king; those ruled who showed themselves inspired of God; the nation was organized by tribes, families, and other divisions. Such was, in brief, the Hebrew social polity. In practice it was overthrown. The Hebrew people eventually chose a king, and found slavery and captivity. Some think the Law was never fulfilled; that the Law we have summarized was only very gradually developed. With the history we are not here concerned. Christian socialists believe that it needed the Spirit of Christ to fulfil the law. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) Socialists argue that the world was not yet ready for socialism. Individualists claim that it was an impossible and impractical legalism.

JUDICIARY.—We consider in this article the judiciary system of the United States alone (1) because, on account of the size of the country and the involved relation of federal and State courts, the system is very much more complicated and involved in this country than in any other, and gives example of almost all judiciary problems; and (2) because in no other country does the judiciary play the important political part that it does in the United States; for in no country except the United States is the Supreme Court of justice also the Supreme Court of legislative judgment.

We shall treat in this article of—I. The Federal Courts; II. The Relation of the Supreme Court to the Constitution; III. The State Courts; IV. The Miscarriage and Reform of Justice.

I. THE FEDERAL COURTS.

The Constitution gives to the federal courts jurisdiction in

"1. All cases in law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority.

"2. All cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls.

"3. All cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.

"4. Controversies to which the United States shall be a party.

"5. Controversies between two or more States, between a State and the citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

"The judicial power of the United States is here extended to controversies between a State and citizens of another State. This clause gave much discussion at the time the Constitution was adopted, and the States were unwilling to be subjected to lawsuits brought by citizens of other States. Accordingly, an amendment to the Constitution was proposed, and on January 8, 1793, the President announced to the Congress that the amendment had been adopted by three fourths of the States, and was, therefore, a part of the Constitution. This constitutes the eleventh of the amendments, and is as follows:

"The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."

The federal courts are of three kinds—the Supreme Court at Washington, circuit, and district courts. The Supreme Court has nine judges—a chief justice **Jurisdiction.** (salary, \$10,500) and eight associate judges (salaries, \$10,000). They are nominated for life by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and are removable only by

impeachment. Only once has a judge of the Supreme Court been impeached—Samuel Chase, of Maryland, in 1804-5, and then unsuccessfully. The Supreme Court sits from October to July of each year. Six judges must be present to pronounce a decision, and every case is discussed by the whole body twice over.

The circuit courts number nine, each with two judges (salaries, \$6000), and to each is allotted a judge of the Supreme Court. A Circuit Court of Appeals was established in 1891, to attempt to relieve the overtaxed Supreme Court. District courts number 45; and there has been established at Washington a special Court of Claims. All Federal judges are appointed for life (subject to impeachment), as the Supreme judges, tho the Constitution does not state that this should be so. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in cases affecting ambassadors, and where a State is a party, is original; in all other cases it is appellate.

The criminal jurisdiction of the federal courts, which extends to all offenses against federal law, is purely statutory. "The United States as such can have no common law. It derives its powers from the grant of the people made by the Constitution, and they are all to be found in the written law, and not elsewhere" (Cooley's *Principles*, p. 131).

Each federal court has attached to it a United States marshal, to carry out its decisions, and he can call on good citizens for help, and, if necessary, apply to Washington to obtain the aid of the federal troops.

On the somewhat complicated point as to the relation of federal and State law, Mr. Bryce says (*The American Commonwealth*, first ed., pp. 247, 248):

"The United States is a federation of commonwealths, each of which has its own constitution and laws. The Federal Constitution not only gives certain powers to Congress, as the national legislature, but recognizes certain powers in the States, in virtue whereof their respective peoples have enacted fundamental State laws (the State constitutions) and have enabled their respective legislatures to pass State statutes. However, as the nation takes precedence of the States, the Federal Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land everywhere, and the statutes duly made by Congress under it, are preferred to all State constitutions and statutes; and if any conflict arise between them, the latter must give way. The same phenomenon therefore occurs as in the case of an inconsistency between the Constitution and a congressional statute. Where it is shown that a State constitution or statute infringes either the Federal Constitution or a Federal (*i.e.*, congressional) statute, the State constitution or statute must be held and declared invalid. And this declaration must, of course, proceed from the courts, not solely from the Federal courts; because when a State court decides against its own statutes or constitution in favor of a Federal law, its decision is final.

"It will be observed that in all this there is no conflict between the law courts and any legislative body. The conflict is between different kinds of laws. The duty of the judges is as strictly confined to the interpretation of the laws cited to them as it is in England or France; and the only difference is that in America there are laws of four different degrees of authority, whereas in England all laws (excluding mere by-laws, Privy Council ordinances, etc.) are equal because all proceed from Parliament. These four kinds of American laws are:

1. The Federal Constitution. 2. Federal statutes. 3. State constitutions. 4. State statutes.

"The American law court therefore does not itself enter on any conflict with the legislature. It merely secures to each kind of law its due authority. It does not even preside over a conflict and decide it, for the relative strength of each kind of law has been settled

already. All the court does is to point out that a conflict exists between two laws of different degrees of authority. Then the question is at an end, for the weaker law is extinct."

This leads us to the important point of

II. THE SUPREME COURT AND THE CONSTITUTION.

The Constitution of the United States is above the power of Congress to change. It was ratified and made binding not by Congress, but by the people, and can, therefore, be amended only by the people (see AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION) in appointed ways—a most difficult and slow process. Congress can, therefore, legislate only subject to the limits the Constitution sets. The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1791, distinctly says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Now, according to the Constitution, the body that finally decides what is constitutional is the Supreme Court. Any law that the Supreme Court decides unconstitutional is illegal. This gives the Supreme Court enormous power. After long debate Congress recently passed an income tax (*g.v.*), and there is no question that such a tax was desired by a large majority of the people; but the Supreme Court decided by one vote that the bill was unconstitutional, and the bill did not become law. In such a case a single

Dangerous Power.

corrupt judge could subvert the will of the whole people save as by slow process the Constitution is amended. This to an extent makes the judiciary supreme over Congress and the Executive, and (except by the slow process of constitutional amendment) to a degree supreme over the people. It is true that the Supreme Court does not formally act on legislative bills—its power is only one of interpretation. It simply decides the individual case brought before it according to the law, and where laws conflict, according to the highest law, that is the Constitution; but this practically enables it to pass upon any bill enacted by Congress. And this power of interpretation is the greater for two reasons: 1. That

Danger.

a wrong decision is not easily reversed. In England, if the courts find that a law means what the people do not desire, the law can easily be amended. In the United States, a wrong interpretation of the Constitution is most difficult to reverse. 2. The Constitution, being of necessity brief, the opportunity for interpretation is very broad. Hence in practice the Supreme Court has enormous power. It is true that this power has not been frequently corruptly used. The Supreme Court has not by many been considered venal or even unfair; but the trouble is that the people often have more to fear from just decisions than unjust. A decision flagrantly unjust or venal could be more easily reversed; but a just decision that the Constitution does not allow of a certain measure is difficult to reverse, even tho the whole people desire it. Yet to Democrats at least, what the large majority desire

ought to be legal. Legislation ought to belong in usufruct to the living. A free people ought not to be fettered by a Constitution enacted a century ago under conditions utterly different from the present. Yet if the Supreme Court decides a bill unconstitutional, it cannot hold, no matter what the people will, save by slow process of amendment; and the more honest the judges are the more difficult to change the decision. In cases where a United States official, like the President, deems that the Supreme Court has made a mistake in the interpretation of the Constitution, it has been claimed that he must follow the best judgment he has and disobey the Supreme Court, since, in his judgment, to obey the Court would violate the Constitution he is first of all bound to obey. President Jackson attacked the United States Bank as illegal, tho the Supreme Court had decided it legal. Jefferson denounced a judgment of Chief Justice Marshall. Majorities in Congress have claimed the same right; but recently both executive and legislative have receded from claiming this right, and certainly in case of a just decision it would be impossible to disobey it on this ground.

The Constitution does not limit the number of Supreme judges, and some claim that the will of the people could be realized by appointing judges who would decide that the will of the people was constitutional; but such a procedure would be looked upon as revolutionary by many, if not by most. The seriousness of this feature of the Constitution cannot, therefore, be easily exaggerated. It is true that thus far no great evils have seemed to arise. John Fiske says of the Supreme Court (*Civil Government in the United States*, p. 252):

"It is peculiarly American, and for its exalted character and priceless services it is an institution of which Americans may well be proud."

Mr. Bryce says (*The American Commonwealth*, first ed., pp. 406, 407):

"The rigid Constitution of the United States has rendered and renders inestimable service. It opposes obstacles to rash and hasty change. It secures time for deliberation. . . . It forms the mind and temper of the people. It trains them to habits of legality. . . . It familiarizes them with it, attaches them by ties of pride and reverence to those fundamental truths on which the Constitution is based."

And again (p. 271):

"The credit and dignity of the Supreme Court stand very high. No one of its members has ever been suspected of corruption, and comparatively few have allowed their political sympathies to disturb their official judgment."

But in spite of this favorable view two things must be remembered: (1) that the longer the country moves from the conditions when the Constitution was framed, the more must its requirements fetter and be unsuited to the needs and wishes of the people; (2) the more political questions turn upon industrial and financial questions, the more likely is the Supreme Court to be out of touch with the masses of the country. Almost of necessity the Supreme judges must come from the class of the most educated, the most successful, the most wealthy; this must be so almost inevitably from the nature of the case; almost inevitably, therefore, with the

best of will, they must judge from their environment, their education, their experience. Whether they will understand the common people is, therefore, especially in industrial matters, at least questionable. Without, then, the slightest reflection on the purity of the Supreme Court, its power under the Constitution is open to the gravest question. It is not necessary. In England it is not so. In England, Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland are merely ordinary laws which can be repealed by Parliament at any moment. There is no Constitution superior to the Legislature. All laws are made by the Legislature and all can be repealed by it; nor is the institution necessary even to a republic.

Says Mr. Bryce (*The American Commonwealth*, pp. 259, 260):

"The case of Switzerland shows that the American plan is not the only one possible to a federation. The Swiss Federal Court, while instituted in imitation of the American, is not the only authority competent to determine whether a cantonal law is void because inconsistent with the Federal Constitution, for in some cases recourse must be had not to the court but to the Federal Council, which is a sort of executive cabinet of the confederation. And the Federal Court is bound to enforce every law passed by the Federal legislature, even if it violate the Constitution. In other words, the Swiss Constitution has reserved some points of cantonal law for an authority not judicial, but political, and has made the Federal legislature the sole judge of its own powers, the authorized interpreter of the Constitution, and an interpreter not likely to proceed on purely legal grounds."

Some radicals believe that the cure for America lies in one constitutional amendment giving to Congress the power of action, within certain limits, without reference to the Constitution. A large number find the cure in the adoption of the referendum (*q.v.*).

III. STATE JUDICIARY.

The judiciary in every State includes three sets of courts: A supreme court or court of appeal; superior courts of record; local courts; but the particular names and relations of these several tribunals and the arrangements for criminal business vary greatly from State to State. We hear of courts of common pleas, probate courts, surrogate courts, prerogative courts, courts of oyer and terminer, orphans' courts, court of general sessions of the peace and jail delivery, quarter sessions, hustings' courts, county courts, etc.

The jurisdiction of State courts is complete. There is no appeal to federal courts except on matters pertaining to federal law. Each State recognizes the judgments of the courts of a sister State, gives credit to its public acts and records, and delivers up to its justice any fugitive from its jurisdiction charged with a crime. Of course the courts of one State are not bound either by law or usage to follow the reported decisions of those of another State. They use such decisions merely for their own enlightenment, and as some evidence of the common law, just as they use the English law reports. Each State makes its own law, and these laws vary enormously not only between States, but also from time to time. Judges in 1894 were

elected by the people in 31 States, by the legislatures in 5, and appointed by the Governor, with the consent of a legislature or council, in 8 States, namely, in New England and the older States. In New York and Pennsylvania they are elected. In 4 States they are elected for life; in others for terms varying from 2 years, in Vermont, to 21 years, in Pennsylvania—8 to 10 years is the average. Salaries for the higher courts vary from \$10,000, in New York, to \$2000, in Oregon.

Concerning the purity of the State judiciary, Mr. Bryce says (*The American Commonwealth*, p. 507):

"Any one of the three phenomena I have described—popular elections, short terms, and small salaries—would be sufficient to lower the character of the judiciary. Popular elections throw the choice into the hands of political parties—that is to say, of knots of wirepullers, inclined to use every office as a means of rewarding political services, and garrisoning with grateful partisans posts which may conceivably become of political importance. Short terms . . . oblige the judge to remember and keep on good terms with those who have made him what he is, and in whose hands his fortunes lie. . . . Small salaries prevent able men from offering themselves for places, whose incomes are perhaps only one tenth of what a leading barrister can make by private practice. . . . The mischief is serious, but I must own that it is smaller than a European observer is prepared to expect."

The reasons given for this lack of the worst results Mr. Bryce considers the presence in every State of federal tribunals, the power of public opinion, and lastly the power of the professional influence of the bar. Mr. Bryce said in the first edition of his book, vol. ii., p. 501:

"In a few States, perhaps six or seven in all, suspicions have at one time or another within the last 20 years attached to one or more of the superior judges. Sometimes these suspicions may have been ill-founded."

"In one State, viz., New York, in 1860-71, there were flagrant scandals which led to the disappearance of three justices of the superior courts who had unquestionably been sold and denied justice. The Tweed Ring, when masters of New York City and engaged in plundering its treasury, found it convenient to have in the seat of justice accomplices who might check inquiry into their misdeeds. This the system of popular elections for very short terms enables them to do; and men were accordingly placed on the Bench whom one might rather have expected to see in the dock—bar-room loafers, broken-down Tombs attorneys, needy adventurers whose want of character made them absolutely dependent on their patrons."

(For further facts, however, as to corrupt courts, see PLUTOCRACY; STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY.)

Lawyers in the United States, differently from those in Europe, are allowed to plead in any court they will. Almost absolute liberty is given. The result is an intense competition, and not unfrequently a low tone for the profession.

This freedom allows of great injustice to the poor. Judgments are often pronounced, not upon absolute equity, but upon whether the accused has been proven in

The Bar. court to have violated a law. Especially where the laws are as involved as in the United States, a shrewd lawyer, unless opposed by one equally shrewd, can find some loophole in the law for almost any client, at least in civil practice. A wealthy corporation can afford to employ the shrewdest counsel. The poor usually cannot. Therefore the poor are usually in such cases helpless. Of the injustice of this to the poor

we speak in the next section. Of its effect upon the lawyers we speak now. It means that in most cases success for the lawyer lies in shrewdly defending or serving the interests of the great Corporation corporations, as the railroads, etc. **Lawyers.**

To do this requires of necessity no actual dishonesty, but simply the development of ability to see shrewd ways of avoiding or using the requirements of law. The average successful lawyer is the corporation lawyer. He becomes unconsciously accustomed to viewing things not from the standpoint of equity, but of shrewd interpretation in favor of his corporation. This is what he is paid to do. Involving at first at least no absolute dishonesty, it leads too often to a blunting of the moral sense. Even where this does not result, by his interests, his ambitions, his associations, his professional instinct, above all, his social environment, he becomes honestly the partisan of the corporation. He goes into the Legislature and finds there abundant opportunity to serve his former clients, and by his training is led even unconsciously to do so. The financial prizes in this line are very large. Corporation lawyers, in what is considered perfectly legitimate practice, can make as much as \$100,000 a year, while \$50,000 is not infrequent. With 89,000 lawyers in the United States in 1890 competing for these prizes, many of them poor, the temptation to rise by serving the interests of wealth becomes well-nigh irresistible. A very few succeed by championing the cause of labor, but usually they lose professional and social caste, so that many who for political reasons might choose the side of the poor are deterred by family and social claims. Under these circumstances, without the necessity of implying any unusual corruption on the part of the lawyers, the people are, not without reason, growing suspicious of corporation attorneys, and particularly of their presence in legislatures, where, however, they form the large majority, in the House of Representatives, for example, being about 70 per cent. of the whole number. (See DIRECT LEGISLATION.) We come, then, to consider

IV. THE MISCARRIAGE OF JUSTICE AND ITS REFORM.

The miscarriage of justice in modern courts is not mainly due to unjust judges or corrupt lawyers, but to the present judicial system. Professor Ely writes in the *Christian Advocate*:

"Perhaps no current phrase is more frequently heard than that all men are equal before the law. It belongs to a class of phrases which cover facts and prevent thought. Nothing could be further from the truth, for it is possible to mention at least six respects in which legal inequality exists to-day in the United States.

"1. All men are supposed to be familiar with the law, and ignorance of the law excuses no one. How, then, can we talk about the equality of the law, when the law is so complicated, and only few can know it? In addition to the comparatively few who can know it, there are a few wealthy individuals and corporations who can employ well-trained experts in the law to inform them of the law in so far as it is important for them to know it. Compare the situation in this respect of a great railway corporation and a labor organization with which it may be engaged in conflict. It is not at all unlikely that some of the officers of the corporation may themselves be trained lawyers, receiv-

ing salaries of from \$5,000 to \$25,000, and in addition to this the corporation is certain to have in its constant employment attorneys receiving high salaries, and who give advice upon every step taken. The counselors of the corporation are familiar with every twist and turn of the law, and know the purport of conflicting judicial decisions, so hard for the ordinary man to understand. The highest salary ever received by an officer of a labor organization was \$5,000, and it is believed that at the present time no one receives over \$3,000. No labor organization can keep in its constant employ able

Expense of Litigation.

attorneys, for, on the one hand, it cannot pay sufficiently high salaries to secure the best talent, and, on the other, the position of attorney for working men is not calculated to lead to further advancement. . . .

"2. The law affords very unequal protection to the rich and to the poor. The avenues of justice are in one way and another closed to the poor and ignorant. If ignorance itself of the proper method of securing redress is not a sufficient barrier, fees of one kind and another and heavy court charges deter the poorer members of the community from seeking justice at law. When poor people have a case in the courts to protect them against their employers, or others with larger economic resources, the case may be delayed from time to time, may be appealed from one court to another, and it may be transferred from one jurisdiction to another. Railway corporations engaged in inter-state commerce like to transfer cases to the United States courts, and thus they can put their antagonists to the expense of long journeys. These are some of the ways by means of which the resources of the poorer party can be exhausted and justice defeated. Often the poor man does not know how to take the first step to secure justice, and when he takes the first step it often happens that he is exhausted before he can take the last one.

"The secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Justice, to which reference has already been made, in his second annual report speaks about the inaccessibility of the means of legal redress for wage-earners, and generally for the poorer members of the community. He says that it is necessary that the fee system should be abolished, both in so far as it relates to justices of the peace and to constables.

"3. We must consider the inequality of the law itself. The law in the United States is not so framed expressly that an offense committed by an employer or a rich man receives one kind of punishment, and the offense committed by an employee or a poor man receives a different kind of punishment, but the penalties are so framed that they bear with unequal severity upon the various social classes, and thus offenses apt to be committed by the rich are not likely to be visited by such heavy penalties as those to which the poorer people are specially liable.

"I am glad to be able to quote so good an authority, a man so highly esteemed, as the late Josiah Quincy, who in his *Figures of the Past* thus describes one kind of legal inequality: 'It is no disrespect to the majesty of the law to maintain that it has not yet sloughed off all its barbarisms. So long as a punishment of a money fine is accepted from the rich, and the alternative imprisonment is exacted from the poor, the equality of all men before the law is but a sounding phrase.'

"4. We have under the next heading to notice the unequal administration of even equal law. The devices which are open to those who can employ the best legal counsel for escaping the penalties of the law on the one hand, and for bringing them to bear heavily on opponents on the other hand, are well known to all.

Again, I am glad to be able to make a quotation in order to have additional confirmation of my position, altho I think no honest and well-informed man will attempt to dispute it. It excited no surprise a few years ago when Mr. Walling, ex-Superintendent of Police of New York City, said: 'Altho, of course, all things are possible, yet I would not count as among probable contingencies under the present system of government in New York the hanging of any one of its millionaires, no matter how unprovoked or premeditated the murder he might have committed.'

"Many examples of unequal administration of the law can be given—in fact, so many that it seems almost absurd to mention any concrete cases. Nevertheless, I will give one or two illustrations in order to direct the thought of my readers, and to lead to further observation on their part. Railways are again instructive. A few years ago a terrible accident oc-

curred in Massachusetts. The railway directors had disregarded the express recommendations of the railway commissioners of Massachusetts to test the safety of the bridge properly. There were no automatic brakes, and there were not so many brakemen as the law requires. A prominent paper of New York of high standing said that the case was clearly one of a preventable accident, and that it was deemed in law criminal negligence. The writer of the editorial stated that the parties responsible could be indicted and punished, and suggested that an example of punishment would teach railway managers a useful lesson. Is it necessary to tell my readers that no attempt was made to enforce the law? Every reader knows it before I state it, and he knows, furthermore, that the law in such cases is not likely to be enforced. Suppose, on the other hand, that the leaders of a great labor organization, in their desire to raise wages, or for any pecuniary reasons, should take a course resulting in loss of life, is there one of my readers who does not know that the law would lay a very heavy hand on these labor leaders? It happened not long ago that certain directors of a great corporation were indicted for an accident which resulted in a horrible death of passengers. How tenderly and considerably they were treated when they were brought before the court was described by the daily press, and the bail was fixed at \$5,000, a mere nothing for men of vast wealth. About the same time a labor leader was indicted in New York for conspiracy and extortion. This leader was at the time in Pennsylvania, and bail was at first altogether refused, and finally was fixed at \$20,000, an enormous sum for such a person, probably more than he and a half dozen of his best friends together were worth.

"Taxation reveals another kind of unequal administration. The property of the rich is rarely assessed at so high a relative rate as the property of the poor.

"5. A fifth kind of legal inequality is seen in the failure to provide laws needed by the masses when contrasted with the readiness to provide laws needed by the few rich, especially powerful corporations. . . .

"6. The last kind of legal inequality relates to the use of more or less corrupt means for defeating the ends of justice. These means, which of course should not exist at all, are accessible only to the few. Jury bribing is one, but that is coarse and clumsy. There are many more refined processes. A friend of mine was employed in a large law office which was concerned especially with railway cases. He tells me that the lawyers in this office secure a list of all names on the jury list in all places along the line of the railway for which they are attorneys. They found out before cases were tried the personal opinions in regard to railways of every single man who could be drawn for jury service, and they challenged the names of those who were regarded as unfriendly to railways. He said that it thus becomes impossible for any one to recover damages. I will mention only two other devices under this head. One is through influence with the appointing power to secure the appointment of judges friendly to railway interests where judges are appointed, and through influence with politicians to secure the nomination of judges by both parties favorable to these same interests."

Concerning the reforms of the judiciary, various proposals have been made. Extreme individualists and anarchists would abolish all courts of government authority. According to Mr. Bryce, there are parts of the United States even now where

Reforms Proposed.

the people have deliberately concluded that it is cheaper and simpler to take the law into their own hands on those rare occasions when a police is needed than to be at the trouble of organizing and paying a force for which there is usually no employment. Their method is a volunteer jury, and, in a clear case, a simple seizure and execution of the criminal.

Mr. W. M. Salter (*Anarchy or Government*, p. 22) gives the following interesting instance:

"A few years ago there died in a little town in Iowa a remarkable man named Thomas Chilson. He was a blacksmith, but was crippled by an accident, and in time such qualities were discovered in him that his

fellow-townsmen and the farmers around used to come to him to have him settle their disputes. For years previous to his death it was not uncommon to see in front of his modest dwelling the motley collection of vehicles which is a familiar spectacle in the vicinity of a rural court-house. Inside, gathered about the cripple's chair, were the litigants, their respective witnesses, and as many curious spectators as were able to get within hearing distance. His judgments, it is said, were almost invariably respected. The people in the neighborhood became thus accustomed, instead of 'going to law,' to 'going to Chilson,' the process being a great deal cheaper, costing nothing in fact, and the results being much more satisfactory.

"Such an instance raises the query whether it would not be well to have it always possible for private enterprise to compete with government? The idea may be impracticable (Chilson, I believe, dealt only with civil cases), and yet it has something to recommend it."

Socialists, on the other hand, believe that with human nature as it is, and in the involved conditions of civilized existence, such voluntary courts are utterly impracticable. The ultimate appeal must be to Lynch law; and they cannot believe that, when appearances and true facts are often so utterly different, it is safe to trust judgment to the hasty feelings of the community. (See LYNCH LAW.) They would have all justice in the hands of the community organized as a State, but make justice absolutely free. If it be argued that this would enormously increase litigation, they reply that, if justice were free, any one could get justice, and trespassers would be afraid to commit wrong. To-day, they argue, the wrongdoer, especially the rich corporation, can commit wrong almost with impunity. Under free justice, with judges and lawyers paid by the State, wrongdoing, socialists claim, would be reduced to a minimum. Less radical propositions are to procure cheap justice by the organization of popular courts of conciliation (*q. v.*), as in Denmark.

JUKES, THE, is the name of a poor family whose genealogy was investigated by Mr. R. L. Dugdale as a study in heredity, etc., and the results of which investigation he recorded in his book *The Jukes*.

Mr. Dugdale traces the family back to a man whom he calls Max, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, and born between the years 1720 and 1740. He is described as a hunter and fisher, a hard drinker, jolly and companionable, averse to steady work, tho working hard by spurts, and becoming blind in old age and entailing this blindness upon his children and grandchildren. Two of his sons married Juke sisters, of whom there were six in all. The progeny of five of these sisters is traced with more or less exactness through five generations. The total lineage Mr. Dugdale calculates reaches over 1200 persons, but he traces only 709, of whom 540 were related by blood to the Jukes and 169 were connected with them by marriage or cohabitation. The latter class Mr. Dugdale classes under the head of X. The descendants of one of the women, Ada Juke, proved so unworthy that she is often referred to as Margaret, the mother of criminals. According to Mr. Dugdale's table (p. 69), of the 540 of Juke blood, 305 reached marriageable age. Of these 82 were illegitimate; 73 were prostitutes, 58 unascertained; 12 kept brothels, 51 had syphilis; 15 acquired property and 5 lost it; 95 received

outdoor pauper relief, 53 almshouse relief; 49 were criminals. Of the X blood (169 of marriageable age), 9 were illegitimate, 55 prostitutes, 23 unascertained, 6 kept brothels, 16 had syphilis, 7 acquired property and 3 lost it; 47 received outdoor relief and 11 almshouse relief; 27 were criminals. This shows that of the adult Juke women, 52.40 per cent. were harlots, tho some lines of the family were more criminal than others. Their environment was in rural New York at a time when to others equally circumstanced success was entirely possible. At the same time it cannot be said that all this is due to heredity, because the "tendency of heredity is to produce an environment which perpetuates that heredity." A child born on the roadside or in a pauper asylum is likely to be brought up as a pauper. Mr. Dugdale estimates that the family cost the community in 75 years over \$1,250,000, without reckoning the cash paid for whisky and the crime, disease, and pauperism left to ensuing generations. Mr. Dugdale says: "Fornication, either consanguineous or not, is the backbone of their habits, flanked on the one side by pauperism, on the other by crime." Such is the evil record, tho its evil has been exaggerated by many who have referred to it.

JURY, TRIAL BY, often called the "palladium of our civil and political liberties," is considered by many to-day to have been changed from its original form as to have become a hindrance rather than a help to justice, and to be in need of radical reform. A jury to-day may be defined as a body of men selected according to law and sworn to inquire into or to determine facts concerning a cause or an accusation submitted to them, and to declare the truth according to the evidence adduced. A "grand jury" is a jury of not less than 12 or over 23 men, of whom 12 must agree, to decide whether there is sufficient ground of suspicion to justify trial before a jury, which, as compared with the grand jury, is called a "petty" or "petit jury." A "coroner's jury" is a jury summoned by a coroner to investigate the cause of a death.

The origin of the jury is in the remote past. Says Canon Stubbs:

"Many writers of authority have maintained that the entire jury system is indigenous in England, some deriving it from Celtic tradition based on the principles of Roman law, and adopted by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans from the people they had conquered. Others have regarded it as a product of that legal genius of the Anglo-Saxons of which Alfred is the mythic impersonation, or as derived by that nation from the customs of primitive Germany or from their intercourse with the Danes. Nor even when it is admitted that the system of recognition was introduced from Normandy have legal writers agreed as to the source from which the Normans themselves derived it. One scholar maintains that it was brought by the Norsemen from Scandinavia; another that it was derived from the processes of the canon law; another that it was developed on Gallic soil from Roman principles; another that it came from Asia through the crusades. The true answer seems to be that forms of trial resembling the jury system are to be found in the primitive institutions of all nations."

The jury, however, in modern forms was mainly developed in England. Some have claimed that originally it was not what it is to-day. Mr. Lysander Spooner, in his *Trial by Jury*, published in 1852, argued that the present jury trials are illegal and unconstitutional, and

that the establishment of the true original system would not only at once cause the total disappearance of the evils complained of, but would also certainly result in a general purification and elevation of the art of politics and the business of government.

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According to Mr. Spooner, "the trial by jury is a trial by the country, by the people, as distinguished from a trial by the Government." Anciently it was called trial *per pais*—that is, trial by the country. And even to-day, in every criminal court the jury are told that the accused "has, for trial, put himself upon the country, which country you (the jury) are." The object of this trial, by the country, in preference to a trial by the Government, is *to guard against oppression by the Government.* He says :

"Since Magna Charta, in 1215, there has been no clearer principle of English or American constitutional law than that in criminal cases it is not only the right and duty of juries to judge what are the facts, what is the law, and what was the moral intent of the accused, but that it is also their right and their primary duty to *judge of the justice of the law*, and to hold all laws invalid that are in their opinion unjust or oppressive, and all persons guiltless in violating or resisting the execution of such laws."

According to Mr. Spooner, "if, after hearing both sides, the jury declare that the Government is right, the accused become criminals and are liable to punishment. If they declare the Government wrong, the accused walk out free and honorable men, and the law in question becomes null and void.

But this "trial by the country" would be a sham, a delusion, and a snare if the Government could say either who may and who may not be jurors, or could dictate to the jury anything whatever either of law or evidence. In short, to use Mr. Spooner's words :

"The jury must judge of and try the whole case, and every part and parcel of the case, free of any dictation or authority on the part of the Government. They must judge of the existence of the law; of the true exposition of the law; of the justice of the law; and of the admissibility and weight of all the evidence offered. Otherwise, the Government will have everything its own way, the jury will be mere puppets in its hands, and the trial will be in reality a trial by the Government."

That the trial by jury was originally this, Mr. Spooner claims to be proved by the history and the language of Magna Charta.

At the time of Magna Charta the king was constitutionally almost the entire government, the sole legislative, judicial, and executive power. The officers were merely his servants, appointed by him and removable at his pleasure. The only legal limitation upon his power was the "law of the land," or the common law, which he was bound by oath to maintain. But the oppressions and usurpations of King John were so intolerable that the whole nation finally made war upon the king and compelled him to pledge himself that he would punish no man for the violation of any law except with the consent of the equals of the accused. Thus the Great Charter of English Liberties was granted. This charter took the liberties of the people out of the hands of the king and placed them in the keeping of the people themselves.

Whether Mr. Spooner's view of the past be cor-

rect or not, there is no question that the custom is different to-day. To-day the province of the jury is to judge of facts; they have nothing to do with the law—which they must take from the presiding judge at the trial. The old *decantatum* assigns to each his own independent function: "Ad quæstionem legis judices respondent, ad quæstionem facti juratores."

From the beginning parties have been allowed to *challenge* the jury. In civil and criminal cases a challenge *for cause* is allowed; in criminal cases only, a peremptory challenge is also allowed. A challenge to the array is either on the ground that the sheriff is a party to the cause or related to one of the parties, on the ground of circumstances implying "at least a probability of bias or favor in the sheriff." A challenge to the polls is an exception to one or more jurymen on either of the following grounds: (1) *propter honoris respectum*, as when a lord of Parliament is summoned; (2) *propter defectum*, for want of qualification; (3) *propter affectum*, on suspicion of bias or partiality; and (4) *propter delictum*, when the juror has been convicted of an infamous offense.

Unanimity in the jury is essential to conviction.

Such is the English procedure, and it is substantially the same in the United States.

In France, there is no grand jury, and unanimity is not necessary.

To-day, however, dissatisfaction with the system is widespread. It is argued that the law to-day allows only fools who have no opinions to be jurors, and does not allow conviction if a sharp lawyer can bulldoze or a culprit can bribe one of the jury not to vote guilty.

Men are but too anxious to escape jury duty, and the excuse of "prejudice" is so simple that they seize upon it with the greatest avidity. Thus the men who would make excellent jurors escape by pleading bias, while those who are actuated by unworthy motives and who are anxious to enter the jury box glibly assert their perfect freedom from all bias, and virtually beg the court to accept them.

Many propositions for reform have been made, among them the abolition of the requirement of unanimity in jury verdicts and the substitution of a majority verdict; the doing away with the examinations of talesmen as to their "opinions" about the case; the abatement of the exemption abuse, and the improvement of the methods of selecting and drawing names for the first jury list. (For more radical propositions, see JUDICIARY, last section.)

JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.—According to the census for 1890, the following are the statistics of juvenile reformatories :

Total number of inmates in reformatories in 1890.....	14,846
Total number of inmates in reformatories in 1880.....	11,468
Increase in the decade.....	3,378
Number of males, white.....	9,998
Number of males, colored.....	1,537
Number of females, white.....	2,905
Number of females, colored.....	400
Number of native born, white.....	11,073
Number of foreign born, white.....	1,405
Number with nativity unknown.....	420

Number of native-born white with parents native	3,245
Number of native-born white with parents foreign	3,965
Number of native born white with one parent foreign	963
Number of native-born white, nativity of parents unknown	2,905

The increase from 1880-90 was 29.46 per cent. The increase in the total population was 24.86 per cent. In 1880 the ratio of juvenile delinquents confined in reformatories to the population was 229 in each million; in 1890 it was 237; the increase, therefore, has been only 8 to the million. The largest increase has been in the North Central division, where it was 61 to the million. In the South Atlantic and Western divisions it was 24 to the million, but in the North Atlantic and South Central divisions there has been a relative decrease, in the former of 44 and in the latter of 10 to the million. In the

South Central division there has been an absolute decrease of 28 in the number of inmates of this class of institutions. It is evident from these figures that the juvenile reformatory system is not growing rapidly.

The following table shows the nature of their offenses :

	OFFENSES AGAINST—				Miscellaneous.
	The Government.	Society.	The Person.	Property.	
Boys	18	5,222	291	4,169	1,835
Girls	1,708	17	346	1,240

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KAUFMANN, MORITZ.—Born in Germany, he early went to Ireland, and graduated at Trinity, Dublin. Taking orders in the Church of England, he became rector of Ingworth and vicar of Calthorpe. He has been a lifelong student of socialism, and has written numberless magazine articles and accounts of socialism, with several books, such as *Socialism: its Nature, its Dangers, and its Remedies Considered* (1874); *Utopias from Sir Thomas More to Karl Marx* (1879); *Christian Socialism* (1888); *Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social Reformer* (1892).

KAUTSKY, KARL, a leading German socialist, was born in 1854. He is now editor of *Die Neue Zeitung* of Stuttgart, the leading German socialist review, and also, with E. Bernstein, of *Die Geschichte der Sozialismus*, now appearing in parts. He has been a voluminous writer. Among his books are: *Thomas More und seine Utopie*; *Der Arbeiterschutz, besonders der internationale Arbeiterschutz*; *Gesetzgebung und der Achtstundentag*; *Die Klassengesetze von 1789*; *Karl Marx, Oekonomische Lehren, Das Erfurter Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Theil*; *Der Parlamentarismus, die Volksgesetzgebung und die Sozialdemokratie*.

KAWEAH was a cooperative colony located in Tulare County, Cal. In 1884 a number of Californians decided to form a cooperative colony or community, and after examining different sites, in October, 1885, filed their claims, 45 in number, to some Government land near the Kaweah River, under the Timber Act of June 3, 1878. The Act provides for a probationary period of 60 days "for the sole purpose of permitting adverse claims, if any, to be filed." Before the end of this period Land Commissioner Sparks ordered a suspension of their claims, on the ground that he doubted if they were *bona fide* settlers, land at that time being continually obtained by monopolies by setting up claims for dummy settlers.

The colonists, however, conscious that they were *bona fide* settlers and had acted legally every way, believed that in due time their claim must be acknowledged, and refused to spend any money in Washington to push it. They went ahead rather, opening up the land and building a road 18 miles long through land the timber companies had considered inaccessible, and by 1890 were prepared to haul lumber for the market. Their claims, meanwhile, dragged along uncompleted. The colony was organized on a cooperative plan in August, 1886. Shares were \$500, one fifth of which had to be paid before residence was allowed. A socialistic paper was published. All went reasonably well till 1890. Then at least, as the colonists believe, the timber companies of California, fearing their competition, plotted their overthrow. A bill was hurried through Congress on the last day of its session, October 1, 1890, reserving land for Yosemite National Park, and including in it the land the colonists had taken up and had improved for five years. Stories were circulated that the colonists were cutting down the big trees of the Yosemite, which, tho near the colony, the colonists had not touched, and offered to guarantee not to touch. The colonists claimed that they had legally entered their claims, that judgment on them had been suspended only to be sure that they were *bona fide* settlers, and that since this was the case, they could not be dispossessed except by eminent domain, with compensation. They were, however, dispossessed. The trustees were accused of illegally cutting down five trees which the colonists argued they had done legally. The papers where the trial took place were filled with editorials against the socialistic leaders, and they were condemned to pay \$300 each for cutting down five trees. Appeal was taken.

On February 25, 1891, Lewis A. Groff, Land Commissioner at Washington, submitted to Secretary of the Interior Noble a full and elaborate report concerning the title of the colonists to their lands, in which the commissioner maintains that the colonists had faithfully complied

with every requirement of the land laws, and shows that the General Land Office was possessed of no legal reason why their patents should not be at once issued.

But, in spite of this report, Secretary Noble rendered a decision in which he ordered the colonists' entries to be canceled, on the ground that as their titles were not *perfected* they had no rights against the United States Government, and for the reason that "Congress, in the exercise of its authority, has made other and final disposition of the lands."

He said: "Since the very inception of certain of these claims to the lands in question in October, 1885, it has been asserted that the same were fraudulent, and it must be assumed that Congress acted with a full knowledge of all the facts in the case; at all events, its action in disposing of the lands is final."

The colony, already financially hurt, was broken up by this decision.

KETTELER, WILHELM EMANUEL FREIHERR, von, was born at Münster in 1811; he was educated there, and under the Jesuits at Brug, and at the universities of Göttingen, Heidelberg, and München. He entered the public service as "Referendar" from 1834-38, but siding with the Church against the State, he studied under Döllinger, and was ordained priest in 1844. Located at Mayence, he was very popular and untiring in his work in his parish, especially during an epidemic, and was elected to the Germanic Parliament at Frankfurt. In 1848 he preached at Mainz on social subjects to five or six thousand people, and in 1850 was made Bishop of Mainz. He was untiring in his devotion to his people. He started various church associations for working men, and is considered the founder of the Catholic socialism of Germany, a movement which, tho of some size and political influence, is, however, quite different from English Christian Socialism.

Acquainted with and perhaps influenced by Lassalle, von Ketteler's ideas were in many points radically socialistic, tho always from a church standpoint, and conceiving of all social reforms as to be carried out under the patronage of the church. Bishop von Ketteler's main published work is *Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum*. He died in 1875. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

KIDD, BENJAMIN, was born in England in 1858. He left school at the age of 17 and read under private tutors, first for the Indian civil service and later for the Chinese consular service, obtaining, in the mean time (1877), an appointment in the home civil service, London. In the course of his reading he became deeply interested in biology and made this a specialty, having colonies of ants and bees in his study, and following closely all work in the leading departments of biology. As a result, tho keeping his civil service appointment, he did not go abroad, but devoted his time out of office hours to biology. He has followed closely the Weismann controversy, and has believed from the first that it bore directly on sociological subjects. He has been a frequent contributor to the magazines, tho not always over his name,

his articles appearing in *The Nineteenth Century*, *Review of Reviews*, *The English Illustrated*, *Cornhill*, *Longman's* and other magazines. His book, *Social Evolution* (1894), aroused remarkable interest. It argues that progress inevitably depends on natural selection and the struggle for existence, and that socialism, arising from the short-sighted working-class opposition to this struggle, cannot endure, but will end in increased State activity, not in owning or conducting industry, but in insuring competition by preventing all monopolies. Religion, he believes, has played a large part in civilization, by its superrational sanctions teaching an altruism the effect of which has been to lift up the weaker portion of the community to a place where they can more effectually compete with the stronger. (See BIOLOGY; EVOLUTION.)

KINDERGARTEN is the German name (meaning "garden of children") given by Friedrich Froebel (*q. v.*) to the "play school" invented by him for furthering the physical, moral, and intellectual growth of children. Froebel's observation of nature and his fondness for analogies drawn from trees and plants made him attach especial importance to the early years of childhood.

Pestalozzi, Comenius, and others, who attached much importance to the first years of life, looked to the mother as the sole educator. But, as in the case of the poor, the mother might not have time to attend to her children. Pestalozzi planned and Oberlin formed day asylums for young children. Schools of this kind took in the Netherlands the name of "play school," and in England of "infant schools." Froebel's conceptions differed, however, materially from those of the infant schools. He held that children should be educated physically, morally, and intellectually at once; that the essence of all education was to be found in rightly directed but spontaneous action, that at their age the most suitable and natural employment was play, especially games in which to imitate the parts they themselves will have to fill in after years. Froebel agreed with Montaigne that the games of children were "their most serious occupations."

Froebel embodied his ideas of the means to be used in early child culture in the remarkable book, *The Mother Play and Nursery Songs*. This book he made the foundation of his lectures to kindergarten teachers. To the average reader **Principles**, the book may appear at first sight trivial and absurd, but whoever will study it with the key to its meaning will find in it a very profound philosophy. As to its meaning, the Baroness Marenholtz says: "The key-note of the book is the analogy between the development of humanity from its earliest infancy and the development of the individual."

Froebel wrote: "The development of the child requires the same series of steps in the child as the development of the human race—that is, it must be done as God Himself has conducted the education of the human race." But he adds: "We can spare our children the details of experiments which mankind has passed through if we educate them aright. They must,

indeed, become wise through their own experience, but they need less rough experience." He saw that the primitive man had been educated chiefly through symbols, "had needed and dwelt in symbols," and, therefore, Froebel held that the deepest need of childhood is to make the intellectual its own through symbols or sensuous forms.

To guide in the use of these means Froebel announces an educational law, and declares that his method stands or falls upon the recognition or the non recognition of it. This law is the law of unity.

In Froebel's writings, and in those of the Baroness Marenholtz, the law we are considering is sometimes spoken of, as the *law of the connection of opposites*, sometimes as the *law of contrasts and their connections*; it is also called the *law of harmony, the law of equilibrium*.

Such are the ideas at the base of Froebel's system, and which have been applied in modern kindergartens.

The first kindergarten was opened at Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, in 1840, but after a needy existence of eight years was closed for want of funds. In 1851 the Prussian Government declared that

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"schools founded on Froebel's principles or principles like them could not be allowed." But the idea had far too much vitality to be starved or frowned down. As early as 1854 it was introduced into England by the then famous Ronges.

The great propagandist of Froebelism, the Baroness Marenholtz-Bülow, drew the attention of the French to the kindergarten from the year 1855, and Michelet declared that Froebel had "solved the problem of human education."

After 1872 the system spread rapidly, and is now more or less adopted in all European public school systems, especially on the Continent. It has been most developed, however, in the United States. In 1854 Mr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, declared it "by far the most original, attractive, and philosophical form of infant development the world has yet seen," and wrote about it in the *Journal of Education* in 1856. Soon after, Miss Elizabeth Peabody, of Boston, established the first kindergarten in this country. In 1871 an American Froebel Union was established in Boston, merged later into the Froebel Institute of North America, established by Mr. W. N. Hailmann in 1882, and to-day kindergartens exist in all portions of the country. (See EDUCATION.)

KINGSLEY, CHARLES, was born at Holne Vicarage, Dartmoor, Devonshire, in 1819. Educated first at private schools and at King's College, London, his father becoming rector of Chelsea, he entered Magdalen College, Cambridge, and graduated in 1842. He was the same year ordained curate of Eversley, in Hampshire, and this was his home through all his life. In 1848 he published his first work, a drama *The Saint's Tragedy*, and soon after *Twenty-five Village Sermons*. In 1849, stirred by the Chartist movement and by the sufferings which he saw, particularly among the agricultural laborers and the sweated tailors of Lon-

don, he threw himself into the Christian Socialist movement with the little company of clergymen and laymen that gathered around Frederick D. Maurice (*q.v.*) as leader. He declared himself in one passionate address, "a Church of England parson and a Chartist."

In *Politics for the People and the Christian Socialist* (see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM), he wrote *Letters to the Chartist*, signed "Parson Lot." In his *Cheap Clothes and Nasty* he made a burning plea for the sweated tailors. Perhaps, however, he did his best work for social reform in his novels, *Yeast* (1848) and *Alton Locke* (1850). With Maurice, he advocated and sought to establish cooperative shops. In politics he was a Tory. He wrote: "I expect nothing from the advocates of *laissez-faire*, the pedants whose glory is in the shame of society, who arrogantly talk of economics as of a science, so completely perfected, so universal and all-important, that common humanity and morality, reason and religion must be pooh-poohed down." The Bible he considered the poor man's comforter and the rich man's warning. His program, however, was not radical. If he wrote: "My only quarrel with the Charter is that it does not go far enough in reform," he only meant, he explains further on, that the Chartists erred in "fancying that legislative reform is social reform, or that man's heart can be changed by act of Parliament."

"We must touch the workman at all his points of interest," he wrote to Mr. Ludlow, "first and foremost at association, but also at political rights, as grounded both on the Christian ideal of the Church and on the historic facts of the Anglo-Saxon race. Then national education, sanitary and dwelling-house reform, the free sale of land and corresponding reform of the land laws, moral improvement of the family relation, public places of recreation—on which point I am very earnest."

In later life, altho not giving up his views, he greatly modified his expressions, and is said to have regretted his earlier intensity. He devoted himself to ecclesiastical and parochial and sanitary reforms. "Politics and political economy," he said in 1857, "may go their way for me. If I can help to save the lives of a few thousand working people and their children, I may earn the blessing of God."

He wrote *Hypatia* (1853), *Westward Ho* (1855), besides numerous other stories, volumes of sermons, etc. In 1860 he was made Professor of History at Cambridge, resigning in 1869. He became Canon of Chester, and, in 1873, of Westminster. He paid a lecture visit to America. He died at Eversley, in 1875.

KNEIS, CARL G. A., was Professor of National Economics at Heidelberg, and one of the German socialists of the chair (*q.v.*). His *Die Politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der Geschichtlichen Methode* (1853, 2d ed., 1883) formulates and completes with great precision the canons of the historical school (*q.v.*) of Hildebrand and Roscher (*q.v.*). He challenges absolutism in economics, and teaches that political economy should vary in different times and countries. His *Geld und Kredit* (1873-79) has become a classic.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR, THE.—The order of the Knights of Labor was first organized as a local secret society in Philadelphia, December 23, 1869, by 10 garment cutters. They had previously been organized as a trade-union, but dissolved this union and organized the new society mainly under the lead of Uriah S. Stephens, one of their number. The names of the others were James L. Wright, Robert C. Macauley, Joseph S. Kennedy, William Cook, Robert W. Keen, James M. Hilsee, David Westcott, W. H. Phillips, Washington Shields. On December 30 the new society declared itself Local Assembly No. 1 of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Stephens was elected Master Workman. They decided to admit to their number working men, no matter of what occupation. They grew slowly; but a second assembly was not organized till 1872. During that year, however, 27 assemblies were organized in Philadelphia. The first assembly organized outside of Philadelphia was an assembly of gold-beaters in New York City. Christmas Day, 1873, the first district assembly was formed. A general assembly was not formed till January 1, 1878, at Reading, Pa., when Mr. Stephens was chosen Grand Master Workman. Up to this time the order had elicited little general notice; it was strictly secret, with ritual and educational work in the principles of the labor movement. The following declaration of principles was adopted at this assembly, having been written in substance by Mr. G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*) for a labor congress at Rochester in 1874. It came from this time the principles of the order.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating, and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party, it is more—for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

1. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations, and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the law-making power of Municipality, State, and Nation:

3. The establishment of the Referendum in the making of all laws.

4. The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses and the establishment of free State Labor Bureaus.

5. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should

not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

6. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

7. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

8. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

9. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

10. The abolition of the contract system on National, State, and Municipal works.

11. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

12. The prohibition, by law, of the employment of children under 15 years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least 10 months in the year of all children between the ages of 7 and 15 years; and the furnishing at the expense of the State of free textbooks.

13. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.

14. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

15. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the Government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

16. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the Government, but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

17. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

18. That in connection with the post-office the Government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

19. That the Government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers, or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and National Governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

20. To establish cooperative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a cooperative industrial system.

21. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

22. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

23. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

At the third annual General Assembly, Mr. T. V. Powderly (*q. v.*) was elected Grand Master Workman, and annually reelected till 1893. The order now began rapid growth and excited general attention. There were at one time 700 local assemblies with some 500,000 members. Each year saw new growth. In the winter of 1885-86 there seemed to be a rush into organization. The railroad strikes in the Southwest (see STRIKES) and the excitement over the so-called Chicago anarchists (*q. v.*) turned the attention of working men everywhere to labor organization. At the General Assembly of 1886 delegates were present representing 800,000, and it was claimed

that the total membership was over 1,000,000. The growth was too fast. Men, without understanding the principles of the order, voted rash strikes. The general executive committee undertook too centralized an authority. Massing men of various callings into the same assembly, and failing sufficiently to respect the autonomy of the different trades, an opposition to this policy sprang up, eventuating ultimately in a split which culminated at the General Assembly of 1886, and resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor (*q.v.*), which does recognize the autonomy of each craft, and only federates the organizations of the various crafts into one general federation for general purposes. Since then the Knights of Labor have gone down and the Federation has grown. The order, however, was still for many years very powerful. In 1887 extensive headquarters were purchased in Philadelphia. A footing, too, was gained for the order in England and Belgium. Cooperative experiments were made, but proved unsuccessful. The order entered into political alliances with the Farmers' Alliance (*q.v.*), but little resulted from it save education.

In 1890 a journal was commenced called *The Journal of United Labor*, and later made a weekly and called the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*. The order continually losing ground, in 1893 dissensions led to the defeat of Mr. Powderly for reelection as General Master Workman, and Mr. J. R. Sovereign (*q.v.*) was elected in his place. Dissensions and desertions from the order have continued, till at present the order numbers only a very few thousand men. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN.—The order of the Knights of St. Crispin was an organization in the shoe trade, first conceived by Newell Daniels, of Milford, Mass., in 1864. He moved West, and the first lodge of the order was organized in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1867. It gradually spread East, and by 1868 a grand lodge meeting was held in Rochester, representing 60 chapters. Martin Gavin was chosen the first presiding officer. The aim of the order was to unite all shoe-workers, to obtain the control of the trade. During the next few years the order grew very rapidly, claiming 400 lodges and 40,000 members at one time, making it among the largest trade-unions of the world. It established a journal, attempted cooperation, entered politics; it conducted strikes and won many, but the reaction came, and divisions sprang up and led to desertions, till in 1874 it had almost disappeared. In 1875 it was revived in Massachusetts and defeated an attempt of the Lynn manufacturers to make their employees promise to belong to no organization. The revival, however, was temporary, and by 1878 the order was practically extinct. It had aimed at too much, and failed save in educating its members for wiser efforts.

KNOW-NOTHINGS was the name applied to a secret political society in the United States, organized in 1853 to oppose foreign citizenship. The members were called Know-Nothings because if asked about the society they said that they knew nothing. Its real name is said to

have been the Sons of '76, or the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. Its one principle was America for Americans. It played quite a part in the elections of 1854, and in 1856 held a convention, organized an "American Party," and nominated Millard Fillmore for President. After that it disappeared in the growing anti-slavery excitement. (See AMERICAN PARTY.)

KROPOTKINE, PETER ALEXEIVITCH, was born in Moscow in 1842 of a Russian noble family. He studied at St. Petersburg, and in 1862 joined a regiment of Cossacks as lieutenant, but resigned and traveled for five years in Eastern Siberia, collecting geological and geographical information. In 1867 he returned to St. Petersburg, studying science, and acting as Secretary to the Geographical Society. In 1872 he paid a visit to Belgium, and became interested in the International, along with Bakunin (*q.v.*). Returning to Russia, he joined the revolutionary circles, under the name of Borodin, and gave many secret lectures. Arrested in 1874 he was confined in the prison of St. Peter and St. Paul, but at the request of leading scientists he was allowed to continue his writings on the *Glacial Period*. His health failing, he was transferred to the Military Hospital, whence in 1876 he escaped to England. In 1877 he went to Switzerland, and in 1879 founded the paper *La Révolté* at Geneva (in 1885 transferred to Paris). Expelled at last from here, he was arrested, in 1883, in France, condemned to five years' imprisonment, but was liberated by the President of the French Republic. In 1886 he helped to found the English anarchist-communist paper *Freedom*. He has since resided at Harrow-on-the-Hill, near London. He takes high rank as a geographer and geologist, and is the leader of the anarchist movement in England. His title of Prince he repudiates. He has written many articles and tracts: *Paroles d'un Révolté* (1885); *Coming Anarchy* (1887); *Scientific Basis of Anarchy* (1887); *Appeal to the Young* (1890), etc.

KRUPP FOUNDRIES, SOCIAL WORK AT.—About the year 1861 the number of persons in the employ of the Krupp Steel Works at Essen had increased till the dwelling capacity of Essen was overtaxed. The firm began to think of methods to improve the situation. The first start in this direction was made in 1861-62. Two rows of houses, one with six dwellings and the other with four, were built for the foremen of the factory.

In the summer months of 1863 the first colony of workmen's dwellings, known as *Alt-Westend*, was built, and the houses rented to the employees. The buildings were simple, and, in the words of Mr. Alfred Krupp, intended for poor families who must save, but desire a healthful dwelling.

A second colony, called *Neu-Westend*, was completed in the winter of 1871-72.

In July, 1891, there were 3659 dwellings (not including 43 dwellings given to widows rent free). There has been a net income of 2.5 on the capital invested, and this has been spent on other local improvements.

In 1868 there existed in Essen a small co-

operative society, the majority of whose members were connected with the Krupp works. At the request of the officers of this society the firm undertook its management, and changed its character to that of a *Consum-Anstalt*, or a complete store on a large scale, whose object should be to furnish all varieties of first-class goods needed by the workmen at lowest possible prices. For many years the firm ran this *Consum-Anstalt* on its own account and at its own risk, grading prices so that the cost of administration would be covered without attempt at profit. In order, however, to do away with all possibility of doubt in this direction, a plan of real cooperation has been adopted in recent years. All sales are made solely on a cash basis.

At the end of each business year the total profits are divided among the purchasers in proportion to the value of purchases.

The boarding establishment is known as the "Menage." It was started as far back as 1856 with 200 unmarried men; through the sixties it had an average of 500 men, and by 1873 the number had reached 1775, but sank again to less than 500 persons in 1875. At present it averages about 800 men. The fall in numbers was largely due to the desire on the part of the men for greater freedom than the supervision of the "Menage" allowed. Other improvements have been made.

A board of physicians was formed whose sole duty is to look after the health of the employees and their families.

A large bathing establishment has been ar-

ranged, where steam baths can also be given when prescribed.

Insurance associations have been established—three in number—one for insurance against accident, one for life insurance, and one for insurance against sickness. The total sum paid by the Krupps for pension purposes is \$60,000 a year, of which \$2500 is paid under the provisions of the Imperial Insurance Law.

Two other funds, partially of a pension character, were established by Mr F. A. Krupp upon the death of his father in 1887, and are deserving of mention. One was a gift of \$250,000, the interest of which is to be administered and used by the directors of the other pension funds for the benefit of those who may need pensions, but through some technicalities may not be entitled to them through the regular channels, and secondly, for those whose regular pensions may not be sufficient to prevent want and suffering. The other was a gift of \$125,000 to the city of Essen, to be managed by a board of nine appointed by the mayor of the city, but to include four persons named by the owner of the Krupp Works. The interest of this fund is intended to be used for material and moral improvement, and at present is devoted to building working men's dwellings, that being considered the most pressing necessity. A building association also exists.

Scientific and manual training schools of all kinds have been introduced. Hours of labor have been reduced from 11½ to 10 hours. Such are the main social features.

L.

LABOR, as used in economic science, may be defined as work done by mind or body in producing wealth. (For a discussion of what production is, see PRODUCTION. For a discussion of what wealth is, see WEALTH.) The word is sometimes used to mean the class of manual laborers, as against capital, meaning thereby capitalists, because in the conflict between those who live by labor and those who live by investments, it is manual laborers that are usually considered. Nevertheless, even those who maintain, as did Adam Smith, and as most German socialists and American trade-unionists still do, that labor is the sole source of value, never claim that manual labor is the only kind of productive labor. Every one recognizes the need and value of the labor of management, the labor of the mind, in various ways. Manual labor is principally referred to in such phrases as "the labor movement," not because it is regarded as the only kind, but because it is that kind of labor which those who engage in the movement believe to have been most wronged in the past and most to need having wrongs righted in the present. All socialists, all trade-unionists, all working men recognize at least some kinds of mental labor as necessary factors in production. (For the kinds of labor that some consider unproductive, see PRODUCTION.) Some have limited the word labor to

painful labor. Jevons says (*Political Economy*, v.): "Labor, I should say, is any painful exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to future good." But this is undoubtedly misleading, if the word painful be understood in its ordinary sense, and partakes too much of views now generally condemned which largely put a despoise on manual labor. The labor of an artist, of an inventor, of a teacher, of a carpenter, of a farmer, need by no manner of means be always painful. Better is Ruskin's definition (*Unto this Last*, Essay IV.): "Labor is the contest of the life of man with an opposite; the term life including his intellect, soul, and physical power, contending with question, difficulty, trial, or material force."

Of the importance of the part played by labor in production there is no question and need be no statement. To the problems connected with labor this encyclopedia is devoted. (Concerning the reward of labor, see WAGES. Concerning the statistics of laborers, see OCCUPATIONS. Concerning the condition of laborers, see WAGES; WEALTH. Concerning the history of labor in the past, see SLAVERY; MIDDLE AGES; GUILDS. Concerning the history of the labor movement in modern times, see the different countries; and for the United States, TRADE-UNIONISM; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM, etc.

LABOR BUREAUS. (See LABOR EXCHANGES.)—Labor bureaus, in the modern sense, are a recent development. In the French Revolution of 1843 a department of labor was established (see ATELIERS NATIONAUX), and employment bureaus have existed from early times; but the first modern bureau of labor was the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, established June 23, 1869, as the result of a strong agitation conducted by the Boston Eight-Hour League (see SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT), mainly led by Mr. George E. McNeill (*q.v.*), with the aid of Wendell Phillips and others. The first chief of the bureau was General H. K. Oliver, and with Mr. George E. McNeill as deputy. Pennsylvania was the next State to follow, establishing a bureau in 1872, other States falling into line later, till at the beginning of November, 1892, there were in the United States, including the Federal Government, 28 offices popularly known as bureaus or departments of labor. These offices have various titles, but their duties are similar, and consist almost solely in gathering statistics of various kinds that bear in one way upon the condition or the interests of labor. The work they do is of varying value, according to the character of the men in charge, and according to the amount of money placed by the State at their disposal for the collecting of statistics. The statistics collected by some of them will scarcely bear any scientific analysis, while those of even the best of them—a place often accorded to the Massachusetts Bureau—are often open to sharp criticism. (For an illustration of this, as to the Massachusetts Bureau, see PROFITS, NET.) Nevertheless, the good they have done in collecting information can scarcely be exaggerated, and most of them will compare favorably with similar bureaus in any other country.

The National Bureau of Labor at Washington, D. C., was created as an office in the Department of the Interior by act of Congress, approved June 27, 1884, and organized January 22, 1885, by the appointment of Carroll D. Wright, of Massachusetts, as commissioner. The functions of this bureau ceased June 13, 1888, at which date the act of Congress creating its successor, the Department of Labor, was approved. This act was the result of a demand on the part of the Knights of Labor and other labor organizations. The Department of Labor is independent of the Department of the Interior and of all other departments, and hence deals directly with Congress and the President. The term of office of the commissioner is four years; at the expiration of this period a reappointment or a new appointment is made. The term of other employees is not so limited. The regular appropriations made by Congress have risen from \$25,000 in 1884-85 to over \$175,000 in 1891-92. Congress occasionally directs special investigations to be made, and appropriates money for the purpose, as in the case of an inquiry into the statistics of marriage and divorce and into the industrial and technical school systems. It also provides by special acts for the printing and binding of the annual reports. These are usually sent free of cost to all persons in the United States who apply for them if the

supply admits. They are also sent in exchange to all Government officials or other persons in foreign countries who have rendered the department a service by forwarding to it their own publications. If the supply is not exhausted, they are sent to other distinguished foreigners who express a wish for them. The reports hitherto issued deal with industrial depressions, convict labor, strikes and lockouts, working women in large cities, railroad labor, the cost of production in the case of iron, steel, coal, with industrial education, building and loan associations, strikes, lockouts, compulsory insurance, marriage and divorce, the Gothenburg system of liquor traffic, slums, the housing of the working people, labor law, etc. The object of the department, as expressed in the act which constituted it, is the "acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor in the most general and comprehensive sense of the word, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labor, the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."

November, 1895, the department commenced issuing a *Bulletin* of about 100 pages every other month.

In Germany, a commission for labor statistics was appointed in 1892, and consists of 13 members. The chief and one other member are appointed by the Chancellor; the Reichstag appoints six members, and the Bundesrath, five. It meets, however, only when called by the Chancellor—an arrangement which, with its constitution, gives great dissatisfaction to German working men.

England has a Board of Trade with a labor department which, in 1893, commenced publishing a labor gazette.

In France there is an Office du Travail, or Labor Bureau, established by a decree of August 19, 1891. Its purpose is the collection of statistics, and the prosecution of any investigation that may be assigned to it. It is a distinct department, under the authority of the Minister of Commerce, Industry, and Colonies, having a director with a salary of \$3000, and 17 assistants. The Director is appointed by the President on the nomination of the Minister. (See LABOR EXCHANGES.)

In Switzerland, the work of a labor bureau is performed by a Secretary of Laborers, and working in connection with the Confederation of Laborers, and yet a member of the Central Government. (See SWITZERLAND.) The office was created in 1887.

A Bureau of Industries was established by the New Zealand Government in June, 1891, under the direction of the Hon. W. R. Reeves, Minister of Education and Justice. The objects desired by the Government were the compilation of statistics concerning the condition of labor generally; the establishment of agencies for reporting the scarcity or overplus of workers in particular districts; the transfer of such workers from overcrowded localities to places needing labor; and, generally, the control of all industries for the physical and moral benefit of those engaged therein. (For the activities of

the Bureau in aiding the employment of the unemployed, see UNEMPLOYMENT.)

References: For the statistical publications of the various countries on the subject of labor, see Appendix.

LABOR CHECKS.—Many socialists, tho not all, believe that under a socialistic *régime* so-called *labor checks* will be used in place of money. Every one, according to this idea, will work for the common good, and will be paid checks stating that he has labored so many hours, these checks to be good for purchases at the various stores of the commonwealth. Says Lawrence Gronlund, in describing their use (*The Cooperative Commonwealth*, revised ed., chap. vi.):

"As the products were received, or as services were rendered, labor checks will have been issued (or perhaps such money as we use now, which then, however, will have no other function than the checks—that of being tickets, tokens), each check will represent so many normal days of common labor, and there will, during each fiscal year, have been exactly as many checks issued as will correspond to the days of labor, productive or unproductive, actually performed.

"The outgoings will be distributed at the various depots or bazaars of the commonwealth to the holders of these checks; 'sold' there, in other words. These check-holders may be those to whom they were originally issued, or strangers visiting the country, or citizens who have parted with something valuable for them. These bazaars will be one-price establishments. The wares will have their value—real, 'natural' value, as Ricardo termed it, which is, as we saw in Chapter I, the amount of human labor embodied in them; that determines their value now, has always done it, and will determine it under the new order. The wares will be sold for a price equal to that value, with possibly a percentage added.

"For it will be noted that the checks issued represent and call for more days' labor than are contained in the products destined for distribution. There are, first, the checks issued to those citizens who have performed unproductive labor—physicians, judges, teachers, clerks, domestic helpers, etc.; and next, checks for the labor contained in what is set aside as capital. There are thus a good many legitimate claims which must be extraordinarily provided for."

By no means, however, do all socialists agree with this idea. Most English Fabian socialists reject and laugh at the whole idea. A still larger number neither reject nor accept the idea, believing that socialism, as distinctly evolutionary, will work its way step by step, and leave such details as labor checks to be devolved when the time comes, if it then seem wise. (See SOCIALISM.)

LABOR CHURCH, THE.—The Labor Church originated in the conviction in the mind of the writer of this article that the labor movement, far from being the mischievous and godless thing it was commonly supposed to be, was really the most advanced point at which the Divine energy was operating in the higher evolution of man. Behind this conviction lay another, which preceded it and made it possible—namely, that God was not to be found in the traditions of the historic churches, but in the individual soul and in the progressive development of life in our own time. And the relation of the historic churches to the Labor Church, as I understand it, is this: that the former indicates where God has been in past ages, while the latter attempts to indicate where God is to be found to-day; and that, therefore, the former seeks to bring the labor movement round to their relig-

ion (so far as they have any real interest in it), while the latter attempts to develop into self-consciousness the religion already present in the labor movement itself. The historic churches say, when sympathetic, "Add Christianity to your labor movement;" the Labor Church says: "Go on with your work in the labor movement, and find God's service and God's presence where you are."

The first Labor Church service was held in the Charlton Town Hall, Manchester, on Sunday, October 4, 1891. My idea was to speak myself every alternate Sunday, and on other Sundays to invite the most prominent socialists or labor leaders to give the address. On the first Sunday, therefore, I spoke

Origin.

on *The Program of the Labor Church*; on the second Sunday, Robert Blatchford, editor of *The Clarion*, gave an address on *Sunshine and Shadow*; on the third Sunday I spoke on *God in the Labor Movement*; on the fourth Sunday, Ben Tillett took for his subject *The Ethics of Government*. The service consisted of hymns, solos, reading, and prayer, as at any popular service, but with this difference—that the hymns were distinctly socialistic as well as religious. Readings have been taken from Lowell, Whittier, Gerald Massey, Ruskin, Carlyle, Whitman, William Morris, and other modern writers; and the prayers were short and unconventional, and entirely free from the traditional phraseology.

On the second Sunday, such large numbers were unable to gain admission to hear Robert Blatchford that we had to leave the Charlton Town Hall and take the People's Concert Hall, an old music hall with seats for 1600 people. From the first the movement has been a marked success; indeed, the real danger to it consists of the fact that it has spread almost too rapidly. Before starting, I imagined myself preaching for years to a few people who would gradually come to understand my message and then spread it among their fellows. After three years the problem is how to deepen the religious sense in the midst of a movement which in so short a time has covered so wide an area.

By the end of the first month many of the people who came to our Sunday services wanted to organize themselves into a Labor Church. A week-night meeting was therefore called for the purpose of organizing a church, and the following principles were presented and accepted as our basis after they had been discussed freely:

Organization.

1. That the labor movement is a religious movement.
2. That the religion of the labor movement is not a class religion, but unites members of all classes in working for the abolition of commercial slavery.
3. That the religion of the labor movement is not sectarian or dogmatic, but free religion, leaving each man free to develop his own relations with the power that brought him into being.
4. That the emancipation of labor can only be realized so far as men learn both the economic and moral laws of God, and heartily endeavor to obey them.
5. That the development of personal character and the improvement of social conditions are both essential to man's emancipation from moral and social bondage.

In January, 1892, the *Labor Prophet* was started as the organ of the movement, being

published monthly at a penny. A Labor Church hymn-book followed, and more recently a tune-book has been issued. Labor Church tracts have also been published for propagandist purposes, and many thousands of handbills explaining our aims and principles.

In July, 1892, a Labor Church was opened in Bradford. The immediate cause of the formation of a Labor Church in that town was the public opposition of the Nonconformist ministers to the parliamentary candidate of the Labor Party, Mr. Ben Tillett, the celebrated dockers' secretary. In the interests of disestablishment they supported an employer of labor who had made himself especially obnoxious to the working classes, and who, singularly enough, has since severed himself from the Liberal Party because of its having partly adopted an eight-hour policy.

During the winter of 1892-93 several more churches were formed, in each case the demand being entirely local and spontaneous. No attempt has been made to organize the spread of the movement from headquarters. It has been left entirely to its own natural development.

In July, 1893, a conference of Labor Church delegates was called for the purpose of forming a Labor Church Union. This step was rendered necessary through the breakdown of my health, and the development of difficulties which could only be satisfactorily dealt with by a properly constituted authority. At this conference 10 churches were represented. A constitution was formulated, to be confirmed by a succeeding conference; and a council was appointed to carry on the work of the Union. Mr. Fred Brocklehurst, B.A., was appointed general secretary, having already acted for some time practically in the same capacity.

At the time of writing (November 1, 1894) there are nominally some 24 labor churches in existence, reaching from Dundee, in Scotland, to Plymouth, on the south coast; and we hear of several places in which Labor Church services are about to be commenced. Only in a dozen towns is the Labor Church fully organized, with an enrolled membership and properly appointed officers. In other cases the Labor Church is little more than the Sunday meeting of the local branch of the Labor Party, conducted on Labor Church lines, often with the prayer omitted. This is chiefly the case in the smaller towns, where there are neither the men nor the means at present to run two organizations successfully.

The real need of the movement now is a body of eloquent speakers to deliver the distinctly religious message conveyed in our principles, and to evolve what is there formally presented into the energy and inspiration of a new religious faith. At present the speakers of the Labor Church are almost exclusively the speakers of the Labor Party over again, and they usually confine themselves to politics and socialism.

The difficulty of the Labor Church is the difficulty that lies in the way of all progress—that men and movements can seldom work out two ideas at the same time. And yet to secure real progress this is what is always demanded.

On the one hand, the historic churches have

been preaching that the salvation of the individual is the road to the salvation of society; on the other hand, the socialists have been preaching that the reform of society is the road to the reform of the individual. The Labor Church was founded to run these two conceptions side by side, as each equally important.

Carrying this idea further, the Labor Church was founded to stand both for social reform and for religious reform, and to make of social reform the practical work of the religious life. But social reform is so absorbing a matter in England to-day that those upon whom it seizes seldom seem to think of any other reform being needed; while many abandon all sense of the need of any religion at all. This is far nobler than the otherworldliness from which it is a reaction; but still it is a reaction, and has in it all the needless limitations of a reaction, and does not bind together the two strands of the outward and the inward life.

And carrying this idea further still, the Labor Church was founded to stand both for the kingdom of God in the world and the kingdom of God in the heart—to emphasize the Divine operation in the continual development of life, and man's call to cooperate with God in this work; and equally to emphasize the Divine operation in the individual soul, and to establish a living temple of God in the human heart.

It is needless to say that the labor churches do not to-day signify all this; and it would be foolish to complain because they do not. We are transplanting religion to a richer and more fruitful soil; but it withers somewhat in the process; and if the labor churches say little about the service of God, I am

sure they are heartily engaged in it. Considering how long religion has been enslaved by tradition, how terribly the religious persecutions and conflicts have burned into sensitive consciences, how the natural religious instincts of the human heart have been for centuries distrusted and the natural virtues of human nature persistently discredited, it is rather a wonder that socialists, and especially working men socialists, should respond to any plea in the name of religion at all, or be willing to associate themselves together in any organization calling itself a church.

As a matter of fact, I know that all through the labor movement there is a vast demand for a new religious message such as the Labor Church was intended to deliver. Human hearts everywhere are waiting for the appearance of men and women of the new knowledge and the new ideals, but also of the old prophetic type—men who have lived resolutely, and in their living have somewhere met with God. Such men are of the very rarest, and yet such are the men for which the labor churches everywhere wait.

Meanwhile, the labor churches are quite justifying their existence. At the very lowest estimate they are the labor movement at its best; and I know that throughout them there lives an earnest though mostly dumb desire to reach to something higher. This shows itself in practical ways. An effort, for instance, is being made to

Aims.

Results.

**Labor
Church
Union.**

establish Sunday-schools in connection with the churches, and already in several of them the poorest children in their neighborhood have been systematically en-

Work. entertained and fed in the winter and taken into the country in the summer. Adult classes are held, and social gatherings are successfully organized through the winter months. The hearty singing at the services of our Labor Church hymns is also an element of help and strength. Moreover, the churches, tho poor enough, are all self-supporting, and ready for any amount of energetic work. If their religion is somewhat dumb, it does a deal of work, and I am sure that God underlies.

In conclusion, the Labor Church must not be confounded with the attempts which are everywhere being made to induce the working classes to come to church. It means the setting up of a church right in the heart of the greatest movement in modern times. Neither must it be regarded as the church of a class. It is the church of all those, whatever their class, who desire to serve God through the advance of the labor movement; and to serve Him, not in the bondage of the old tradition, but in the spirit of the new life.

This article would be incomplete without a reference to the Labor Church in America.

In the early part of this year (1894) Herbert N. Casson commenced Labor Church services in Lynn, Mass. Mr. Casson is working out the original conception in his own way, and brings a large store of energy, ability, and insight to the great task he has undertaken. He has recently been joined by his brother, Charles W. Casson, who is working with a Labor Church which was started in Providence, R. I. Both have come from the Methodist ministry, and bring to their new undertaking all the religious enthusiasm of that great section of the Christian Church. They are of those who know how to cast off the traditional form of religion without losing hold on the realities of religious service and life.

The difficulties of the work will be very different in America from what they are here, and in some respects much more serious. Here the socialist movement is very much of the nature of a fair-weather demonstration, tho it can hardly be supposed that this will be allowed to last. On half holidays and Sundays young men ride out on their bicycles, and find in making converts to their doctrines most easy and delightful sport. In America the work will be far sterner than this, as it probably will be with us before long.

JOHN TREVOR.

LABOR COLONIES for the provision of work for the unemployed have assumed considerable dimensions in Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France. They have been established with the view of organizing the labor of the able-bodied unemployed, either temporarily, as in Germany, or permanently, as in Holland.

HOLLAND.

The Dutch colonies are the oldest. They have not been elaborated out of speculation,

but forged into their present organic form under the fire of criticism.

General van den Bosch, very soon after the devastating war which was terminated by the battle of Waterloo, saw in Holland thousands of families reduced to helplessness and poverty.

Through his influence there was organized, in 1818, the Society of Beneficence (*Maatschappij van Veldadigheid*), and the society purchased a large tract of barren, uncultivated heath, which, with additions, now contains 5100 acres. It is situated near the center of the kingdom, northeast of the Zuyder Zee, about five miles from the town of Steenwyk.

With the motto, "Help the people and improve the land," enthusiasm was aroused, and in a short time there was enrolled a membership paying annually into the treasury of the society \$22,000. The organization was in such a prosperous condition, and it was able to do so much for its beneficiaries, that it attracted the attention of the State. The proposition was soon made that the society take charge of the wards of the Government—that is, the beggars, foundlings, and orphans. The conditions offered were so favorable that the society accepted them.

It seemed unwise to put those declared incapable of self-support by the side of others able to become independent. Consequently the organization secured land and established two separate beggar colonies. These were considered by some to encourage begging, and were confused with the other colony, till all three fell into disrepute, and the society found itself in debt.

A complete reorganization followed. The "beggar" colonies became government property, and a complete disunion of the beggar and the free colonies took place.

The organization as at present constituted dates from September 15, 1859.

The underlying principle of the free colony in the revised scheme seems plainly to be to assist the destitute in meeting his wants, and the wants of all who depend upon him, without suggesting a feeling of dependence and without disturbing the family relations. The colony is conducted on the following plan:

When a new family arrives a house is provided and the immediate wants of the household attended to—not in the shape of gifts, but advances, which must be paid for in instalments according to conditions previously made known to the newcomer. He is also supplied with a sheep (ewe), which can be pastured on the society's farm for a small sum. On this he makes weekly payments. The purchaser is advised to insure this animal in the general funds of the society, so that in case of death it can be replaced without loss to the owner. At the very beginning a man is invested with the feeling of ownership, and a way is provided by which, with due economy, he may meet his obligations.

All the wage-earning members of this newly arrived family are at once put to work on one of the society's farms or in some of the shops or factories operated by it. Idleness is not tolerated. The children must either be learning a trade or be at school.

Wages, such as are current in the vicinity of the colony, are paid weekly, after having deducted the instalment on the debt incurred upon arrival; house rent, not exceeding 20 cents; 1 cent infirmity fee for each person; 4 cents for the clothing fund; and a reserve for the family emergency fund, equivalent to 10 per cent. of the gross earnings.

After two years of probation, if the head of the family has given evidence of industrious habits and a commendable desire to pay his debts, he is promoted

to citizenship, and is called a "vrijboer," or "free farmer." If there is a place available he is put on it—a farm of 7.7 acres—apparently a small one, but it is so fertile that it will readily support an ordinary family. Rents vary with the condition of the house and the fertility of the land, but the average annual rent is \$20. The payment on his indebtedness is only \$4 a year. In addition to this, he must each year put on the land \$14 worth of manure, but this item is remitted in case he owns a cow and is duly saving of all manure.

A man ordinarily cannot remain in the colony as a laborer more than two years. If he fails in this time to give evidence of the possession of those qualities demanded of a farmer he must leave. But once admitted to the farmer class he may remain so during good behavior.

One of the Government agricultural experiment stations is located in the colony.

In addition, schools of agriculture, of horticulture, and of forestry have been erected. The society is absolutely free from religious bias. It has within the colony a Protestant and a Catholic church, and provides for the maintenance of both.

In July, 1895, there were 1826 people in the colony. They were grouped as follows: Farmers, 199 families; laborers on probation, 85 families; individual laborers, not belonging to the foregoing, 165 persons.

The last balance sheet (1893) shows that the receipts and expenses were as follows:

RECEIPTS.	
From members	\$5,418.40
From special gifts ..	3,931.20
From rent of land and farm products.....	3,128.52
From forest	615.02
Profit on laborers' and apprentices' work....	733.44
Total	\$13,826.58
EXPENSES.	
Deficit for the preceding year	\$745.94
Interest on debt.....	1,381.91
General expenses of administration.....	4,790.32
Religious services and special instruction....	1,097.32
Ditching, road-making, unproductive work, and losses in the various factories.....	8,092.00
Advances to colonists over and above returns	538.29
Total.....	\$16,645.78

That is a deficit for the year of \$2819.20, or \$1.54 for each inhabitant, but the estimated value of the property is \$533,274, and the indebtedness, \$43,380.

The "beggar" colonies are conducted on a somewhat different system, with little permanency of inmates.

There are about 2700 persons in three districts. They are employed in forestry, agriculture, and gardening, and have an allowance for wages besides support.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian labor colonies were originally founded in 1810. When the independent kingdom of Belgium was constituted there existed six provincial *Depôts de mendicité*, besides two colonies which had been established by the *Société de Bienfaisance*.

The colonies were suppressed in 1841 on the expiry of the contract between the Government of the Netherlands and the *Société de Bienfaisance*, in 1823, and of the *depôts* three were suppressed, two were changed into homes for poor boys and for girls and women; one was left unchanged.

In 1870, and further in 1881, the Belgian Government acquired the former Dutch *Colonies de Bienfaisance* of Merxplas and Wortel and reunited them under the denomination of the *Colonies agricoles de Bienfaisance*.

At present these colonies occupy about 2964 acres.

The colony of Merxplas is by far the largest and most important colony of the kind. It is exclusively intended as a penal colony for beggars and vagrants. The men work in gangs in the fields under the supervision of an officer, who is accompanied by a soldier with loaded musket. The following is a list of the employments of 2853 colonists:

Agricultural laborers.....	2,000
Farmyard workers.....	137
Gardeners	61
Masons, bricklayers, etc.....	189
Forgemen.....	121
Carpenters.....	139
Tailors.....	88
Painters.....	24
Rope-makers.....	17
Bakers.....	21
Gas-workers.....	6
Other industries.....	38
Kitchen.....	12

In addition to this large body of men who work for the colony under the superintendence of the officials, about 700 colonists are employed by a private company under contract with the Government. These men work under precisely the same conditions as the others.

The wages paid by this contracting company are 12, 18, and 21 centimes per day. Wages are at present paid almost wholly by time, but piece-work is being introduced.

At Wortel there are some 1800 persons, including 38 voluntary colonists, who are engaged in forestry and agriculture under less stringent conditions than those under which the forced labor of Merxplas is carried on.

It is very questionable whether or not such an institution can be regarded as reformatory in any real sense. The Belgian institution seems to be simply punitive.

GERMANY.

The first German labor colony was that of Wilhelmsdorf, near Bielefeld, in Westphalia. This colony was founded by the enthusiasm of Pastor von Bodelschwing, who has during the past 15 or 16 years made Bielefeld famous as a place for the treatment of epileptic and anemic patients, and also as the scene of a considerable experiment in the provision of workmen's houses. The Wilhelmsdorf colony was established in March, 1882, and in the succeeding year was followed by Kästorf, Rickling, Friedrichswille, Dornahof, and Seyda. In 1884 five colonies were founded; in 1885, two; in 1886, four; in 1888, four; in 1889, one; in 1891, two, and in 1892, two. The total number of colonies in 1893 was 26, three of these being Roman Catholic and the remainder Protestant.

The system is under the control of the German Labor Colony Central Board (*Centralvorstand deutscher Arbeiter-Kolonien*), founded in October, 1883. The policy of the board is thus described:

1. The colonies are institutions of Christian charity, in which any one who has suffered inward or outward shipwreck, or who stands in danger of so suffering, may be received and raised again. Colonists have no legal claim to the benefits of the institution.
2. All able-bodied men who are willing to work are admitted without distinction of character or religion so long as there is room.

3. Dipsomaniacs are not admitted, or, if admitted, may be expelled.
4. The special aim of the colonies is to secure the permanent moral elevation of the colonists.
5. The house regulations of the colonies are the same throughout.
6. Board and lodging must not be in excess of the strictest requirements.
7. The scale of pay (board, lodging, and payment in cash or clothes, etc.) must be lower than the daily wage prevailing in the locality.
8. Dismissal is the only form of punishment.
9. Colonists dismissed for ill-behavior shall not be admitted into another colony without the consent of the colony which discharged them.

The funds for the support of the colonies are obtained (a) from grants by the provincial governments; (b) from grants by the municipalities; (c) from donations and subscriptions by members of the provincial societies; (d) from collections in the churches; (e) from house-to-house collections.

The system is made up of several separate organizations working hand in hand. There are the *Verpflegungs-Stationen*, or relief stations; the *Herbergen zur Heimat*, or workmen's lodging-houses; *Arbeiter Kolonien*, or labor colonies; and the *Arbeitsnachweis-Anstalten*, or labor bureaus. There are, besides, the branch colonies, and a further development of labor colonies for permanent residence, and still further a system of training the superintendents.

The total number of persons who have entered the colonies from the foundation of the first until June 30, 1893, was 63,394, and the total number discharged was 61,334. The number of places in the colonies at that time was 3044.

From the foundation of the first colony until March, 1891, there were 44,807 intrants; 57.7 per cent. of the colonists were in the prime of life—viz., of 25 and under 45 years of age; while 16.1 per cent. were under 25 years of age, and not more than 3.2 per cent. fairly entitled to be regarded as aged.

A general regulation exists among the colonies to the effect that prolonged residence should be discouraged, and in no case should a colonist be allowed to remain longer than two years. The object of this regulation is to prevent the colonist from acquiring under the German law of settlement a domicile in the colony, which would render the commune in which the colony is situated liable for his maintenance as a pauper, should he ultimately come upon the poor roll. Altho this regulation is necessarily observed in the letter, some of the colonists are nevertheless practically permanent residents.

Of 2623 who obtained situations, 814 returned to the colonies; and of 8564 who left at their own desire, 3117 came back within two years of their discharge.

This shows that the colonies have largely become the resort of the homeless, 62 per cent. of those admitted being so described. Since, however, 76 per cent. of the colonists have been in prison, there can be little doubt that the immediate cause of resort to the colonies of three fourths of those who go there is inability to obtain employment owing to their having been in prison.

In 1880, before the colonies were founded, the number of individuals prosecuted for vagabondage in Germany was 23,093. In 1890, when the

colonies had been in existence for eight years, this number had fallen to 13,583. This may be regarded as suggesting that the colonies and the subsidiary institutions connected with them are dealing effectively with the problem of vagrancy and begging, but it would be unsafe to attribute the diminution wholly to the influence of the colonies.

Taking the figures for the 22 colonies in 1889-91, it is found that 53.7 per cent. of the total number had been in the colonies only once, and 46.3 per cent. more than once.

The repeated admissions into the German colonies as disclosed by the statistics, together with such knowledge as one can obtain of the types of men that make up the ranks of the 8000 who pass through colonies annually, show that the colonies are dealing with a body of at least 4000 men, who are for various

Nature.

reasons unable to regulate their own lives on an independent basis, or who are unable to get or to keep employment under customary conditions. Altho the colonists are set free to go from or to stay in the colonies, when they elect to stay they must conform to the discipline imposed upon them. There thus appears to be a certain class, amounting to one half of the cases dealt with, who are willing, or who feel themselves forced, to exchange the freedom of ordinary industry without guarantee of subsistence, for the practical, tho mild, slavery of the colonies with guaranty of subsistence.

The percentage of "discharges to situations," never great since the development of the colony system really began, has been steadily decreasing.

The question of the influence of the operations of the labor colonies on the rate of wages is one to which a positive answer is difficult to give.

Two kinds of influence might be alleged: (1) That they reduce the rate of wages by the competition of their products in the outside market, and by the low minimum wage fixed in the colonies; or (2) that they raise it by drawing off from the labor market a number of workers whose standard of subsistence is extremely low.

Those best qualified to judge of the economic effects of the German colonies are unanimously of opinion that they have had no influence upon the rates of wages.

It is to be observed, however, that the colonies do not interfere with the labor market, because they do not deal with the problem of the want of employment of the respectable workman. It is because the colonist is non-efficient that he does not compete in the labor market.

In nearly all of the agricultural colonies in Germany the labor of the colonists is devoted to the reclamation of land.

For the first 14 days after his arrival the colonist receives his maintenance, but is credited with no wages in addition. Should he be in need of clothes, as he generally is, he is supplied with these on credit. After the first fortnight the colonist is credited with wages at the rate of from 20 pf. to 30 pf. (2½d. to 3½d.) per day in addition to his board and lodging.

The rate of wages is not uniform. Two of the cattlemen who have been for a considerable

time in the colony have 50 pf. (6*d.*) per day ; two others have 40 pf. each, a few have 30 pf. per day ; the bulk have 25 pf., a few old colonists have 20 pf., and a very few 10 pf. (about 1½*d.*) per day. The rate is wholly at the discretion of the director of the colony. The bulk of the colonists have 25 pf. per day ; but this applies only to the nine months during which it is possible to work out of doors for a full day.

The amount due to the colonist as wages is not paid in cash until he leaves the colony, and then he receives an order upon the Bielefeld institution for the money. But in many cases the colonist leaves the colony in debt. The cost of his clothes and his tobacco has more than swallowed up his surplus earnings.

Of the 104 persons who entered Wilhelmsdorf during the three months ending March 31, 1893, 91 had left the colony on August 6.

	Marks.	Pfen- nig.
Of these 91, 35 left in debt, the aggregate amount being.....	223	12
(An average of 6 marks 37 pfennig per head).....		
Of these 35, eight repaid their debts, amounting to.....	49	10

On account of these results it was proposed that those who have been imprisoned twice or more be placed in improvement colonies and compelled to remain at least three months, while those willing to improve, but needing permanent organization for their labor, should be sent to home colonies on the Dutch model. (See above.) A home colony was opened at Friedrichwilhelmsdorf in 1886, and has an average of about 35 colonists ; 12 families have cottages.

FRANCE.

The city of Paris established a labor agricultural colony at La Chalmelle in 1892, leased by the city to *l'Assistance Publique*, the branch of municipal administration having charge of executive details of this kind, the city paying to *l'Assistance Publique* interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum upon the capital employed. The area of the farm is 316 acres.

The total cost of the colony for the year 1892-93 was 32,000 frs., the receipts from the sale of produce were 17,000 frs., and the net cost of the colony for the year was 15,000 frs.

Wages are paid at the rate of 50 c. per day.

Clothes are supplied free on entrance, but subsequent requirements are debited to the colonists.

Admission into the colony is reserved for those who are recommended by the directors of the night refuges in Paris. In this respect the system resembles that adopted by the Salvation Army in London.

The type of men in this colony is on the whole superior to that of the German colonies. Here there are no ex-convicts. The causes of resort to the colony, unless the authorities take too lenient a view, are quite different from those which send the German colonist to his colonies. "Family misfortune," "disgust with the life of

Paris," and similar causes are given. The men are, however, picked, and both in Paris and in the colony are the objects of individual care. Theoretically, at all events, much attention is paid to individual needs and peculiarities.

ENGLAND.

In England, the experiment of the Home Colonization Society, in Westmoreland, is the most direct attempt to establish in England a labor colony by voluntary effort on similar lines to those adopted in Holland.

The object of the society is to provide work in English "industrial villages" for the able-bodied poor.

The proposal was to plant a body of able-bodied unemployed men and women in some rural district and hand over to them some 300 or 400 acres to enable them to supply their own wants by their own work. They were to make one another's bread, weave one another's clothes, consume one another's produce, and thus avoid buying in an outside market. A home, food, education, and medicine were to be offered in return for obedient service. Part of the land was to be put aside and its produce sold in the ordinary markets to defray the expenses of management. The sales of surplus produce and purchases in the open market were to be confined to articles now imported into England from abroad.

With these aims in view four acres of land were purchased in April, 1892, another acre in the following July, and 126 acres in November. Operations were begun with two colonists, and there have been as many as 30. The average number has been 15 persons who are stated to have been maintained at a total cost, from the commencement to May 15, 1893, of £385 9*s.* 6*d.*, or about 10*s.* per week each, exclusive of cases where shelter and food have been given to tramps for work done. The labor of the colonists has been supplemented by the services of one or two skilled agriculturists.

The society aims at the permanent settlement of the colonists on the land and not at drafting them off to ordinary farms, but it must necessarily take time for the casual colonist to be replaced by those caring to stay permanently. Up to September, 1893, 52 persons passed through the colony, of whom 22 are now resident.

The progress of the colony has been seriously impeded by internal dissensions turning chiefly on the mode of government of the village. Some of the first colonists appear not to have belonged to the ordinary unemployed class, but to have been attracted to the colony by the expectation of taking part in a communal experiment. As a consequence of these difficulties and misunderstandings, 14 members were expelled from the colony. (For an account of the farm colonies of the Salvation Army, see SALVATION ARMY. For various cooperative agricultural experiments, see COOPERATION.)

OTHER COUNTRIES.

Switzerland possesses one institution, the Tannenhof Arbeiterheim, with aims similar to those of the German labor colonies. This es-

tablishment or "workman's home," founded April 1, 1889, covers about 107 acres, and is carried on by a society registered as a limited liability company, the by-laws of which describe its aims as follows:

"By farming an estate to provide a temporary home for those in search of work, as well as for unemployed persons discharged from the prisons of Berne; board, lodging, and wages being provided in return for agricultural labor until permanent work be secured elsewhere."

New Zealand has commenced experiments on this line, the Government undertaking to provide government farms of about 1000 acres fit for agriculture, and on them to organize cooperative communities. The system, however, has been too recently organized to show results. (See NEW ZEALAND.) In the United States, no labor colonies of this sort exist. Those that come nearest to it are the experiments of the so-called Detroit Plan (*q.v.*). (See COOPERATIVE COLONIES. For a discussion of labor colonies and for references, see UNEMPLOYMENT.)

LABOR DAY is a holiday in the United States for working men on the first Monday of September, usually celebrated by parades of labor organizations, addresses, picnics, etc. It was first held in a few States in 1887, and is now a legal holiday in about half the States. In Europe, May 1 is usually celebrated as a labor festival, and has been taken advantage of by socialists for gigantic demonstrations. In some countries disturbances on this day have caused the governments to forbid its celebration.

LABOR EXCHANGE, THE. (See LABOR EXCHANGES.)—In March, 1890, there was organized a labor exchange, with headquarters at Independence, Mo. It is planned on a system invented by G. B. DeBernardi, and described in his book, *Trials and Triumphs of Labor*.

The Exchange has an organ devoted to its interests, published at Olathe, Kan., and known as *Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity*. It is edited by E. Z. Ernst, who is also general organizer of the Exchange. In the beginning of 1896 about 80 local branches were claimed, mainly in the South and West.

The essential features of the scheme are these: A local exchange having been established by 15 or more members, who pay \$1 each for a life membership and \$2.50 for a branch charter, a warehouse is secured and placed in charge of one of the members. Unused products of the labor of the members are then deposited in the warehouse and certificates issued in exchange at the wholesale value of the goods deposited. These certificates circulate among the members of the local exchange, and are presented at the warehouse in exchange for any needed goods found therein. All goods that are sold are sold at the regular retail market price. The profit between wholesale and retail price, less cost of handling, goes to the first depositor of the goods.

If, instead of depositing goods, a member wishes to give a chattel mortgage on marketable property to remain in his possession, the exchange will issue to him certificates upon

which he will be required to pay at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, with no foreclosure so long as he keeps up the interest.

The circulation of certificates is insured among the members by the agreement they make on entering the exchange. Being exchangeable for products of commercial value at the regular prices current in the community and representing actual goods, they will be accepted, it is reasoned, in the same way that ordinary business checks pass current. The certificate has the indorsement of the person to whom it is first issued, making him personally responsible.

It is not believed that the certificates will be counterfeited, since the penalty is the same as for counterfeiting any business paper, and since no two will be alike in name or amount. A further protection is in the fact that they have only a local circulation. The back of the certificate reads as follows:

"This certificate of deposit is not redeemable in legal tender, but receivable by the Labor Exchange Association in payment for merchandise, for all services, and for all debts and dues to the same, and it is based upon and secured by the real and personal property in the keeping of the Association.

"The property held for the redemption of this certificate cannot, as per charter, be mortgaged nor pledged for debts, nor can it be withdrawn, but may be exchanged by the Association for other property of equal value."

LABOR EXCHANGES. (See LABOR EXCHANGE, THE.)—Labor exchanges are being established by the governments (municipal or State) of some countries, and particularly of France and Italy. The demand in France for a labor exchange (*Bourse de Travail*), hinted at by M. de Malmain in 1846 and developed in the Revolution of 1848, led under the Third Empire to the opening of a general registry for workmen. This, however, they did not patronize, and it came to nothing. In 1887, however, the Paris *Bourse de Travail* was founded and was given an annual subsidy of 150,000 francs, and an old building in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau. In 1892 a fine new building was provided in the Rue Château d'Eau, at a cost of 3,000,000 francs. Lit by electricity, heated and commodious, it became the headquarters of over 200 unions, but was finally closed by the Government in 1894, owing to its having become a headquarters for socialism. In different parts of France these labor exchanges are reported to have been established. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

Italy has done as much.

"The agitation," writes Sir Dominic Colnaghi in his report upon Italy for 1893, "which began nearly four years ago, in favor of the establishment of labor chambers or exchanges in Italy, has been so far successful that chambers have been provided at Milan, Turin, Piacenza, Micerata, Venice, and Bologna; while at Rome, Genoa, Florence, Verona, Brescia, Pavia, Spezia, and Como active steps are being taken toward their organization, with, however, varying success. In other centers, also, preparatory committees are stated to have been formed to study and promote the same object." The report of the Central Committee of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* to the Zurich International Congress mentions further that labor chambers have been started at Parma, Cremona, and Padua, while efforts are being made to found others at Naples and at Bergamo.

The chambers aim at—

1. The organization of the working classes in sections according to their different trades.

2. The promotion of the technical and general education of the operatives.

3. The formation of committees of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed.

They also act as labor registries, and procure work for the unemployed. At present they confine themselves to industrial functions, and do not concern themselves with political questions. "But if, with the advance of the labor movement, greater power should be thrown into their hands, it may become doubtful how long this position of political neutrality will, or perhaps can, be maintained." Indeed, the program of the *Partito dei Lavoratori* shows that they are already beginning to desire political power.

The labor chamber of Milan is by far the most important of those already established. In March and April, 1890, the various working men's associations of Milan discussed and approved the statutes of a proposed labor exchange, to be composed of all the Milanese societies that gave in their adhesion, formed in separate sections of crafts and trades. The matter was referred to a committee, and, among other points, the question was discussed whether it would be advisable for the Municipal Council of Milan to encourage the foundation of a labor exchange in the city. The committee viewed the establishment of the exchange with favor. On their proposal the municipality granted a subsidy of 15,000 lire, to be voted annually, and placed at the disposal of the exchange a wing of the castle, containing about 80 rooms and a large hall.

The proposed labor chamber was actually started at Milan toward the end of September, 1891.

LABOR LEGISLATION.—(For a discussion of the principles involved, and for an outline of English labor legislation, see **FACTORY LAWS**, as such legislation is usually termed in England; for special departments of labor legislation, see **CONSPIRACY LAWS**; **SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT**; **STRIKES**, etc.) We consider here in brief labor legislation in the United States. It seems to have begun in Massachusetts, when, in 1836, a bill was passed regulating the education of youths in factories. Agitation for short-hour legislation had preceded, but no general legislation was enacted in Massachusetts till 1874 (see **SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT**), tho in 1842, due to the efforts of Horace Mann (*q. v.*), the hours of children under 12 were limited to 10. In 1866 commenced the agitation in Massachusetts for a Labor Bureau (*q. v.*). Other States have slowly followed. Mr. Carroll D. Wright (*Industrial Evolution of the United States*, pp. 291, 292) says:

"Looking broadly now to the labor legislation as it has occurred in this country, it may be well to sum up its general features. Such legislation has fixed the hours of labor for women and certain minors in manufacturing establishments; it has adjusted the contracts of labor; it has protected employees by insisting that all dangerous machinery, hoistways, etc., shall be guarded; it has prescribed that fire-escapes in factories and tenement-houses shall be erected; it has prohibited unsafe elevators; it has created boards of factory inspectors, whose powers and duties have added much to the health and safety of operatives; it has in many instances provided for weekly payments, not only by municipalities, but by corporations; it has guarded the health of women employed in manufacturing, mechanical, and mercantile establishments by requiring seats for their use; it has regulated the employment of prisoners; protected the employment of children; exempted the wages of wife and minor children from attachment; established bureaus of statistics of labor; provided for the ventilation of factories and workshops; established industrial schools and evening schools; provided special transportation by railroads for working men; modified the common-law rules relative to the liability of employers for injuries to their employees; fixed the compensation of rail-

road corporations for negligently causing the death of employees, and has provided for their protection against accident and death. Under it factory doors cannot be locked during working hours; it has established boards of arbitration: it has regulated, with more or less success, the pernicious custom of truck stores, and it has prohibited the employment of women and minors in manufacturing establishments between the hours of ten o'clock at night and six o'clock in the morning. All these provisions are not found in the statutes of all the States, but they are so general as to entitle them to be considered in the body of labor legislation."

References: See Appendix.

LAFARGUE, PAUL, was born at Santiago, Cuba, in 1842. Studying medicine in Paris, he took part in the Commune of 1871, and then fled to Spain and England, where he married a daughter of Karl Marx. In 1880, with Guesde (*q. v.*), he organized Marxist socialism in France, since which date Socialism of this type has steadily grown in France. (See **FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM**.) Lafargue was imprisoned in 1883 and again in 1891, but was liberated on being elected to the Assembly from Lille, tho in the next election defeated. He has written *Le matérialisme économique de Karl Marx* (1884); *Le Droit à la Paresse* (1887); *The Evolution of Property* (1891); *Le Socialisme utopique* (1892).

LAMENNAIS, HUGUES FÉLICITÉ ROBERT, ABBÉ DE, was born in 1782 at St. Malo, France, the son of a ship-builder. At first skeptical, the materialism of France drove him to the Church, and he received the tonsure in 1811 and the priesthood in 1817. He became a teacher at St. Malo. Supporting monarchy, he attacked Napoleon, and was compelled to flee to England. Returning to France, he published his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, 4 vols., 1817-20, and other works. In 1830 he founded the journal *L'Avenir*, with the motto, "God and liberty, the Pope and the people." He had many disciples, among them Lacordaire and Montalembert. Denounced at Rome, in 1831 he went to Rome and waited seven months in vain for an audience with the Pope. His faith shaken by what he saw, he hovered between Romanism and democracy. On August 15, 1832, a papal encyclical indirectly condemned *L'Avenir*, and drove Lamennais from the Church. After living for a while in silence, he startled the world in 1834 by his burning *Les paroles d'un croyant* (The Words of a Believer). In this he declares Christianity to be love and service, and the French Church to be opposed to this. The Pope condemned this, and Lamennais answered in his *Affairs de Rome* (1836). In his *Le Livre du Peuple* (1837); *Esquisse d'une Philosophie* (3 vols., 1841-43); *De la Religion* (1841); *Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple* (1842), he appeared as "the prophet of democracy," and of the alliance of Christianity and socialism. In 1839 he published a pamphlet, for which he was imprisoned 12 months. In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly, but after the *coup d'état* he withdrew from public life and died in 1854, rejecting to the last all overtures of the Church, and was buried, in accordance with his will, in a nameless grave at Père la Chaise. His passionate belief was that religion is the root of all true progress in all as-

pects of life—in manners, politics, art, science, philosophy. He, like Mazzini, laid emphasis upon duties rather than rights. He asks why it is that the people have not conquered their rights and held them fast, seeing that the privileged classes are so inferior in numbers; and the reason he assigns is that while the people have in their hands that which overthrows, they have not had in their hearts that which builds up. He believes in violence no more than Tolstoi. "Do good," he writes, "by good means. Do not confound the strength wielded by justice and charity with the brute force of ferocity and violence. When fraternity shall be in the hearts of the people, it will not be long before it finds its way into their laws."

LAND.—We consider in this article the land problem as it presents itself to-day in civilized countries, considering (1) the development of modern forms of land tenure out of the past; (2) the actual facts of the ownership of the soil to-day; (3) the results of these conditions on social life, industrial, political, and moral; (4) the question of how far land reform can be conducted without radical change in existing systems of land ownership; (5) the various propositions for radical change. (For fuller consideration of subsidiary points in the history of the past and the facts of the present, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY; MARK; MANOR; MIR; COMMUNISM; FEUDALISM; MIDDLE AGES; METAYER; AGRICULTURE; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; SLUMS; TENEMENTS; MORTGAGES; WEALTH. For a discussion of the economic principles entering into the land question, see RENT; WAGES. For fuller development of the various proposals for reform on the land questions, see ANARCHISM; COMMUNISM; COOPERATIVE FARMING; LABOR COLONIES; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.)

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CONDITIONS.

Land at the beginning of human history was wholly unappropriated. It was owned neither individually nor communally; it was not owned at all. Men roamed over its surface obtaining a precarious living from berries, nuts and roots, hunting and fishing. Each man helped himself to what he would and what he could. The world was a No Man's Land. But the preservation of life compelled the weak to seek protection by placing themselves under some strong leader. Leaders were glad to protect those who would slave for them; the rearing of the young compelled some sort of a more or less permanent habitation and defense from attack of man and of beast. Consciousness of kin and of kind drew men together; struggle to live led men to hunt in bands, and later to till the soil; gradually property arose. Then land became appropriated, but under what forms is a matter of debate. One school of thought—led notably by Laveleye (*q.v.*)—has found in the forms of modern savage life, in the remnants and traditions of the Russian *mir*, the Javan *desa*, the Indian communal village, the Slavic communal families, the German *mark*, the Swiss *allmend*, the English *manor*, the Greek and Roman public feasts, the family com-

munities of various out-of-the-way sections of Western Europe, evidence of a primitive communal holding of land, where little groups of men and women, perhaps patriarchal families, appropriated land collectively and tilled it for the common good. This view has been sharply criticised, notably by Fusté de Coulanges (*q.v.*). It is argued that the evidence does not prove a primitive communism, but rather a primitive slavery, land being held, perhaps by tribes, but not by communal tribes; rather by despots, tyrants, bullies, who, with the aid of their minions, would seize and defend and till certain portions of the soil. Perhaps the true view is midway between these two extremes. The horde or the patriarchal family (*q.v.*) was undoubtedly the first unit that owned land; but this was probably anything but a democratic unit or a communal colony. Slave labor, the wife or wives perhaps being the first slaves, undoubtedly first tilled the soil in large and permanent ways. Babylon, Egypt, Persia, rested on slave labor, toiling for lords of the soil, who in turn followed despotic kings defended by slave armies. Out of this condition in Japan, China, and through Asia generally, a serfdom gradually developed, following in a rude way the feudal forms we best study in Europe. Japan (*q.v.*) has only very recently thrown off feudalism. Outside of civilized countries the land is yet held to-day by savage tribes, by feudal lords or by men under despots, as in Mohammedan countries, despised and tyrannized cultivators of the soil.

It is in Greece and Rome that we find the real beginnings of individual ownership of land. In Greece, the city-State was supreme. It conquered the land and parceled out the territory among the free citizens, the assignments being tilled by slaves. Mines and some lands were held by the State, however, and worked for the State by slaves. Rome began in the same way. Two *jugera* (1½ acres) were originally assigned to each household. Households were combined in *gentes* and the *gentes* in the State. The State, however, held some land, and perhaps rented some of it.

Cicero (*De Rep.*, ii., XIV.) says that Numa was the first who divided the conquered lands into private shares, but it is certain that the example was only partially followed. But by the time of Servius Tullius the original private portion of many households must have been greatly but unequally enlarged, for his new military organization was based on the obligation of service imposed on the freeholders (*assidui*) as distinguished from the mere laborers and breeders of children (*proletarii*).

Class distinctions based on land ownership thus early began. The wealthy had their lands tilled by slaves. The poor land-owners, unable to sustain themselves, hired themselves as laborers or sold themselves or their children into slavery. The taxes were farmed out, and the system admitted of great extortion. Finally the poorer citizens rebelled; they assembled on the Mons Sacer and threatened Rome. It was the commencement of the long struggle over agrarian laws.

The object of these laws is well illustrated in the Licinian law (387 A. U. C.). It enacted that

Primitive Property. found in the forms of modern savage life, in the remnants and traditions of the Russian *mir*, the Javan *desa*, the Indian communal village, the Slavic communal families, the German *mark*, the Swiss *allmend*, the English *manor*, the Greek and Roman public feasts, the family com-

no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* of the public lands; that no one should graze more than 100 oxen and 500 sheep on the common lands; and that every land-owner should be obliged to employ a number of free laborers proportioned to that of his slaves.

Such laws pacified the people for the time, but had little permanent effect.

Successful wars gave a temporary outlet to labor in the formation of agricultural colonies, but at the same time immensely increased the number of slaves, who were treated as mere beasts of toil, to be worked out or sold off when no longer profitable.

Great estates tilled by slaves grew. The Gracchi demanded a distribution of the State lands among the people, but the demand was stifled in blood. Later, Julius Cæsar to an extent yielded; but it was too late. Great estates created an aristocracy. The aristocracy culminated in imperialism.

Rome.

The Roman Empire grew corrupt with a few great owners of the soil in power and luxury, and the mass of the people enslaved and poor. Pliny's famous utterance sums it up: "*Latifundia perdidere Italianam*" (*Natural History*, 18. 6. 7. § 35. "Great estates overthrew Italy!"). Then the Goth came.

The exact connection between the Roman system and feudalism is not fully clear. The origins of feudalism itself are disputed (see FEUDALISM); but the great Roman villas, tilled by poor freedmen dependent on their lords, as well as by slaves, undoubtedly contributed at least somewhat to feudalism. Gradually under feudalism, and partly due to the Christian Church, (see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM) chattel slavery disappeared in Europe, but the slaves and poor freedmen became serfs of the soil, entitled to some rights, but tied to the villa or manor, and compelled to render service to the lord of the soil. The *mark* (*q.v.*) had been previously the typical organization in German land tenure. It is disputed just how it was organized, but it was probably in general a tribal organization under its most democratic form. Cicero says (*De Bell. Gall.*, vi.) of the Germans of his time:

"They are not much given to agriculture, but live chiefly on milk, cheese, and flesh. No one has a fixed quantity of land or boundaries of his property, but the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to the communities and families who live together as much land and in such spots as they think suitable, and require them in the following year to remove to another allotment. Many reasons for this custom are suggested; one is that they should not be led by permanence of residence to renounce the pursuits of war for agriculture, another that the desire of extensive possession should not induce the more powerful to seize the land of the weaker, another that they should not construct their houses with greater care to keep out heat and cold, another that the love of money should not create parties and disputes, and lastly that the mass of the people might remain contented with the justice of an arrangement under which every one saw his position as comfortable as that of the most powerful. As to the tribes themselves, their chief glory is to have their territory surrounded with as wide a belt as possible of desolated waste. They deem it not only a special mark of valor that every neighboring tribe should be driven to a distance, and no stranger should dare to reside in their vicinity, but at the same time they view it as a measure of precaution against the risk of sudden attacks."

Tacitus describes it later in the same general way. Perhaps out of this organization, blending

with the Roman system, came feudalism. As the Carolingian Empire arose and then dissolved, the various kings would assign different portions of their kingdom to the great barons to rule over and defend. They would similarly subdivide their territories, and this would produce feudalism. The system seems to have first arisen in Germany; but in England it is best studied, particularly in tracing its development into modern conditions, because in Germany various systems, as we shall see, existed side by side, while in England the development is clearer.

Alfred Russel Wallace (*Land Nationalization*, pp. 22-25) has summed up in a few lines the essence of feudalism as far as land tenure is concerned, and its development into modern English landlordism. He says:

"The actual system of land tenure and all existing rights of property in land of this country may be said to have originated at the Norman Conquest, when the whole land of the kingdom became vested in the crown. All the great landed estates were then granted as fiefs by the sovereign, and their holders were obliged to render military and other service proportionate to the extent and population of their lands. These estates were also subject to various fines, on marriage or on transmission to an heir; they were not allowed to be sold or alienated without the permission of the sovereign; and on the death of the owner without heirs the whole reverted to the crown. Any breach of fealty or the commission of any act of felony also entailed the loss of the estate. The great vassals were usually endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their estates, and were altogether more in the position of subordinate rulers than mere landlords in the modern sense of the term.

Feudalism.

"These immediate vassals of the crown again granted lands in fief, on various payments or services, and in process of time these fiefs were allowed to be divided or sold, and the payment or service to be commuted for fixed sums of money. . . .

"The lords of the soil were the chiefs and protectors of the community which lived on their estates, while every individual, down to the villein and serf, possessed definite rights and privileges in connection with the land, which, though they might be infringed by force or rapine, were fully recognized by custom and law.

"But as time rolled on this system became modified in a variety of ways, the always for the benefit of the lord and to the injury of the inferior landholder. As the king obtained more power and the attractions of court life became greater, the nobles and great land-owners came to look upon their estates chiefly as sources of revenue to be spent in the capital or in foreign lands. The employment of foreign mercenaries and the rise of standing armies enabled the king to dispense with the military service of his vassals, and by self-made laws this and other burdens on the land were gradually thrown off, and were replaced to a great extent by taxes on the mercantile and landless classes. The ingenuity of lawyers and direct landlord legislation steadily increased the powers of great landowners and encroached upon the rights of the people, till at length the monstrous doctrine arose that a landless Englishman has no right whatever to the enjoyment even of the unenclosed commons and heaths and the mountain and forest wastes of his native country, but is everywhere, in the eye of the law, a trespasser whenever he ventures off a public road or pathway. The lord of the manor is said to be the owner of the soil, and the surrounding freeholders and copyholders have certain rights of pasture, fern or turf cutting; but the dwellers in the adjacent towns and villages, and all who are mere Englishmen, have no rights whatever, so that if the two former classes agree the common can be (as hundreds of commons have been) enclosed, and divided among them. It has thus come to pass that at the present day the owners of land, whether acquired by inheritance or purchase, treat it solely as so much property to be made the most of, quite irrespective of any rights in the people who live upon it. They now claim a power which no government, however despotic, has ever openly claimed—that of treating the land exclusively as a

source of personal wealth, to which they have an inalienable right, even at the sacrifice of all that the people who live upon the land hold most dear."

This, however, is too general to show all the injustice of the process.

Mr. S. W. Thackeray, in his *The Land and the Community*, brings this out more clearly by tracing the legal development. He says:

"Let us suppose ourselves, then, living in the time of one of our Norman kings, when the feudal system has been established and the land has been parceled out in great estates to tenants in capite holding their fiefs directly from the king. The first thing which such a tenant does on taking possession of his fee, is to divide or cut up his estate into portions, each one embracing a considerable area, and including, perhaps, many separate villages and townships, and these he sub-infeudates, as it was called, to his followers on similar conditions of tenure and service to those he is himself under obligation to the king. Such a portion of an estate became known as a 'manor,' and the owner was styled 'lord of the manor.' . . . What kind of system, we may ask, then, did the lord of the manor find in vogue among the people who became his dependents, and who formed one of these village communities? It has been thus described:

"The 'mark' or territory occupied by the community was divided into the following parts:

"1. The township, where were the houses held by heads of families in severalty.

"2. The arable land divided into several plots, but subject to regulations as to common cultivation—the most usual of which is the three-field system; the land was to lie fallow every third year, and the whole community had rights of pasturage on the fallow portion, and on the stubble of the fields under crop at certain portions of the year between harvest and the following seed-time.

"3. The meadow-land, which in like manner was common for a period after the hay harvest, and was afterward fenced off in separate allotments for the new crop.

"4. The common or waste land not appropriated for cultivation, and over which every member of the community had rights of pasturage, wood-cutting, etc.

"On some such system as thus described the lord of the manor engrafted his new arrangements. Out of the lands which had been granted to him, the lord would grant certain portions to free tenants on condition of certain rents and services, and these are called the *freeholders* of the manor. The lord's own portion would be cultivated by villeins or serfs attached to the soil, and these ultimately developed into the important class of *copyholders*. There would remain in addition the uncultivated and unappropriated land, over which the freeholders had certain rights of common, supposed to be incident to their original grant."

The most important right of common is common of pasture. Some lands were subject to this common of pasture during certain portions of the year only—*e.g.*, in the case of Lammass-lands from the 1st of August for eight months, after which they are held in severalty. Such lands are said to be *commonable*. Then there is common of piscary or the right of fishing in a particular stream; common of estovers is the right of cutting wood on another's estate; common of turbary is the right of cutting turf. In some manors there was also a right of digging and taking coals, minerals, etc.

"These rights of common needed for purposes of law to be further defined. They were *appurtenant* when inseparably annexed to the land; *appurtenant* when they belonged to it, but not of necessity. It was common *in gross* when the right was annexed to the person of an individual and not attached to the land; and it was *common of vicinage* when it existed between the inhabitants of two adjacent townships. Subject to all these rights of common, everything belonged to the lord of the manor.

"This unaccustomed view as to the origin and extent of their common rights, as it was officially and judicially expounded to them by the lord of the manor in his court baron, could scarcely have been altogether acceptable to the common people. But the Statute of Merton passed in 1235 gave full legal sanction to what had previously been regarded as an encroachment on the rights of the commoners. . . . The thirteenth century was marked by very much important legislation in reference to land. During the first three quarters of it the crown was held by the feeble hands

of John and his son, Henry III., and the course of legislation showed a marked tendency in favor of the landowners gaining the upper hand. But on the accession of Edward I., in 1272, a great reaction took place. There was a very visible retightening of the grasp of the feudal system over the nobles, in striking contrast to the relaxing hold of the crown as exhibited in the hands of his two predecessors.

"In 1215 Magna Charta decreed that no freeman should be deprived of his life, liberty, or property, except by the law of the land and the judgment of his peers. In 1225 it was enacted that no land shall be aliened so that the lord shall thereby lose any service due him. In 1235 the Statute of Merton opened the door to the encroachments of the landowners on the common wastes, and in 1285 it was opened still wider by the Statute of Westminster the Second.

"But in the last quarter of the century the new era of reactionary legislation was entered.

"Besides several acts of less importance, there was in 1279 the second Statute of Mortmain, which prohibited the conveyance of land to religious houses. Then in 1285 the famous Statute 'De Donis conditionalibus' (13 Edw. I., c. 1) originated estates tail, compelling the donee to carry out the will of the donor, and forbidding him to alien the estate after an heir had been born to him, and it also secured the ultimate reversion of the estate to the donor on the failure of issue to the donee. Entails made under this Statute 'De Donis' created a perpetual series of life estates, and initiated a policy which was afterward seen to produce very bad effects. In 1290, five years later, in pursuance of the same general policy as in De Donis, another famous statute, 'Quia Emptores,' was passed to check the growing practice of sub-infeudation. This was in the nature somewhat of a compromise. For whereas previously the alienation of lands without the lord's consent had been only connived at, it was now legally permitted for feudal tenants to alien their lands without their lord's consent; but it required the assignees to hold immediately from the lord and not mediately through the tenant, and so the lord's rights were saved from being prejudiced. In 1326 the same right of alienation was extended to tenants in capite on payment of a 'fine.'

"The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were too much disturbed by foreign wars and by the civil wars of the Roses to have left much opportunity for attention to legislative matters. . . . Previous to the time of Henry VIII., a simple gift of land to a person and his heirs, accompanied by livery of seisin, gave to that person an estate in fee simple. As early as the time of Henry III. Statutes of Mortmain were enacted prohibiting land from being given to the religious houses. In order to avoid the effect of this statute, a feoffment was made to one person to hold the land to the use of another. The Courts of Chancery held that the feoffee was, in such a case, bound in conscience to hold the land simply for the benefit of the third person. This estate to use was not recognized in law, but only in equity. The original feoffee was, in the eyes of the law, the real owner. There were thus two estates, a legal and an equitable, in the same property cognizable in two different courts. By this device, many of the rules of property were defeated. In law, only the legal owner could be reached. Clergy could hold land in spite of the Statutes of Mortmain. A refractory lord, holding his property only as equitable owner, could commit treason with impunity and without the forfeiture of his estate, and persons could also dispose of their land by will. The land itself could not be devised, but the use of it was, and the legal owner was bound in equity to observe such use. Down to the time of Henry VIII. this practice had so increased that by its means a considerable part of the kingdom had contrived to get rid of some of the worst inconveniences of feudal tenure.

"In order to remedy this state of things, Henry VIII. caused the Statute of Uses to be enacted in 1535. It decreed that any person for whom a use was held should be deemed the legal owner of the estate to the extent of that use. The equitable was thus converted into a legal estate, and was made subject to all the incidents of legal ownership. Thus once again apparently had the crown succeeded in reestablishing its feudal fetters upon the land. Its triumph was destined, however, to be of short duration. The feudal system was no longer suited to the changed character of the times, and the growing spirit of freedom could no longer be curbed by its restraints. And therefore again the ingenuity of landowners and churchmen was stimulated, and, aided by the lawyers, they succeeded in finding means for another fraudulent eva-

Feudal Times.

lution in reference to land. During the first three quarters of it the crown was held by the feeble hands

sion of the law. And the Court of Equity was again successfully invoked to their aid in giving validity to their legal fictions.

"So, strange to say, by narrow construction of the words of the Statute of Uses the purpose of the enactment was completely foiled. An estate was now limited to A and his heirs, to the use of B and his heirs, to the use of C and his heirs. The court held that the first use was executed by the statute and B was the legal owner, but then at this point the power of the statute was exhausted. Thus C remained the equitable owner, as B would have been before the statute was passed. Such an unexecuted use is now termed a trust. One very important effect, however, the Statute of Uses had which renders it noteworthy. The machinery that had been employed in the creation of the use, thus legalized, was adopted for the transfer of land by deed without publicity or registration; and this remarkable result has continued even down to the present day.

"The last great blow, which may be said to have been almost the finishing stroke, to the feudal system was the passing of the Statute of Wills. This was enacted in 1530, only five years after the Statute of Uses. This act is commonly said to have given, but it in truth only *restored* the power to devise lands by will. This had existed before the Norman rule, and had been extinguished only by the practice of primogenitary descent, with which it was of course incompatible.

"The feudal system was swept away by an act of the Long Parliament passed in 1656, and solemnly reenacted after the restoration in 1660. The famous statute (12 Chas. II., c. xxiv.) operating retrospectively turned all military tenures into 'free and common socage' from February 14, 1645. Thenceforth freehold tenancy has been virtually equivalent to ownership, and the only restrictions to which it is subject are those which may be created by will or deed. . . .

"Now, however, feudal tenures being finally abolished, we see the class of great landowners proceeding to introduce a new mode of settling estates, which depends not on any single statute or law, but on custom mainly, which takes advantage of legal forms already existing, and ingeniously proceeds to twist them about to serve other and quite different purposes than those for which they were originally intended. . . . There was, unobserved and but little noticed by the many, a marked change which took place in the policy of the great landowners, at this period, and the fact that this change was not shared in, to any considerable extent, by the owners of the smaller estates in land, the class of small freeholders and copyholders, is very suggestive, and full of a grim significance.

"For, notwithstanding this change, there was not lacking a very clear and distinct connection between the new and the old policies. There was an unmistakable unity of aim and purpose, which was not at once revealed, we may readily believe, even to the landowners themselves, but which gradually took shape as events favored its development. It would be unfair, perhaps, to suggest that the landowners having now entirely freed themselves from the thralldom of the feudal system, and emancipated themselves from the power and control of the sovereign, perceived that they had at the same time given a death-blow also to the rights of the community in the land, which had already gradually ceased to be represented, except in theory only, in the person of the king, as the representative of the State. And thus having now acquired the absolute and exclusive right of ownership over whatever lands they possessed, while, on the one hand, they took careful measures to prevent their own estates from dispersion or encroachment, they were now ready on the other hand to use their newly enfranchised power and undistracted opportunities to search for means whereby they might gratify a spirit of insatiable greed by swallowing up whatever other lands of smaller estates or of common lands not yet enclosed which the wheel of fortune might at any time bring within their grasp. It would not be fair, we say, to suggest that this was their deliberate aim, but if such a theory were put forward, it would not be difficult to find many facts in subsequent history which would tinge it with some color of truth.

"It is not, perhaps, necessary to enter into the details of the system of family settlements. By it the property in land was divided out to several persons with 'estates for life' and 'in remainder,' so as to prevent the possibility of alienation until not only the whole of the lives existing at the time of making the settlement or will had ended, but until the unborn child of one who was then an infant had attained 21 years of age; so in fact as to extend entail ordinarily for 50, but pos-

sibly for 80 or 90 years. In common parlance, estates in land may be settled upon any number of lives in being, and 21 years afterward.

"In this way each son when he succeeds finds himself merely a tenant for life, and as such possessed of no power to prevent his own son from becoming owner in fee simple, with full power to deal with the estate when he in turn shall succeed. But a father so situated is little inclined to leave to his son powers of which he himself is deprived, while his son is generally willing to barter his future liberty for a present liberal allowance. Thus father and son strike a bargain; the father buys the son's surrender of his future right, and the son, for a price, agrees to submit himself to the restraints of being merely tenant for life instead of in fee simple when his father shall die. The process repeated from generation to generation has reestablished in practice the system of entails which the courts had formally abrogated as contrary to public policy, and which every writer has denounced as hurtful to the nation.

"While these successful means were being continuously taken for the preservation of the large estates in a few families, let us now see what was going on in those smaller estates which had thus far escaped absorption, and in those common lands which formed the remainder of the estate that was left to the community at large.

Entail.

"The system of entails, or of creation of estates for life only, which has now prevailed for six centuries in England, is sufficient to account for the fact that the large estates have continually augmented in size and number, by corresponding absorption of the small properties of yeomen. The small properties are seldom subjected to strict settlement. The owners occasionally fall into difficulties, and then their land is sold to pay their debts. They are frequently moved by natural affection either to divide their estates among all their children or to subject them to charges for children other than the heir, and this also tends to bring them into the market for sale. The large properties therefore continue undiminished; and when a small adjoining freehold comes into the market, it is seldom that the owner of the larger estate cannot find the money to effect its purchase. Once obtained it is included in the next settlement of the larger estate, and thus permanently withdrawn from the operation of natural processes of disintegration.

"On the whole, it follows that large estates tend to grow, and in precisely the same proportion small ones tend to disappear. The peers, in number about 600, hold rather more than one fifth of all the land in the kingdom. One half of the whole territory is in the hands of only 7400 individuals; the other half is divided among 312,500 individuals. Barely one person in 100 owns more than an acre of soil."

But even the legal aspect does not bring out the whole situation. When the custom grew up of the baron's making a money payment to the king in place of service, it involved more than first appears. The king welcomed the arrangement because it enabled him to hire a *standing army* rather than depend upon turbulent barons. The barons preferred it because they in turn could get money in place of service from their dependents, and so could go live where they would, *escaping duties, tho maintaining income*. But this was not all. The king, wanting more money, some one suggested that he get money not only from the barons, but from their dependents. It was overlooked or ignored that the dependents were already paying the king *through the barons*, and that the barons were only entitled to payment from their dependents *as representatives of the king*. The dependents thus found themselves now called upon to pay both the king and the barons. Even this was not all. When the barons found their dependents paying the king, they said, "This money is the king's; what money comes to us is ours." The king's payment they called *tax*; their payment they called *rent*—in other words, they set up the claim to own as properties, from

which they could collect rent, the lands they had been given simply to rule over for the king. In this process, disguised, often unconscious to the barons themselves, lies the genesis of the land ownership of modern England. Nor is even this all. Wars in the Middle Ages were fought by the nobility. But gradually the barons grew impoverished and needed money. The development of the Flemish wool market gave them an opportunity. Claiming to own the land, they began to enclose the commons, to evict the peasantry, and turn the land into sheep walks.

Eden, in his *History of the Poor*, gives a quotation from *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certain Complaints*, published in 1581, which would be humorous were it not pathetic. "Yea," it says, "these sheep is the cause of all these mischiefs, for they have driven husbandry out of the country, by the which was increased before all kinds of victuals, and now altogether sheep, sheep, sheep."

The landless class was also swollen by the evicted monks and nuns from the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII. How many of these there were can be seen when it is remembered that good authority estimates one third of the whole of England at this time to have been church land.

Nor is the enclosure of commons by any means a practice of the past alone. It ended in that form, but later took the form of reclaiming waste land. Under the Georges, enclosure became a settled policy. Some 2000 enclosure bills were passed before the General Enclosure Act of 1801, and about 2000 more before the act of 1845. Lawrence's *New System of Agriculture*, published in 1726, states that "it is believed that one half part of the kingdom are commons, and a third of all of the kingdom is what we call common fields." In 1879 only 264,000 acres were common out of 32,597,398 acres.

Says Mr. Thackeray (*idem*, p. 47):

"The annual report of the Enclosure Commissioners for 1867 shows that during the 150 years previous no less than 7,660,413 acres were added to the cultivated area; that is, about one third of the total of 25,457,626 acres in cultivation in that year. The commissioners remark that such enclosures, being often made without any compensation to the smaller commoners, have deprived agricultural laborers of ancient rights over the waste, and disabled the occupants of new cottages from acquiring new rights.

"Nor must it be supposed that the number of landed proprietors was in any way increased by this process of enclosure. The area enclosed was divided among those, and those only, who already possessed common rights by virtue of their holding freeholds or copyholds, and the very idea of recognizing in law any public interest in open wastes or forests is entirely modern. The lion's share was always reserved for the lord of the manor, and immense accessions of territory were thus secured by powerful landowners in days when the landed interest was paramount in the Legislature no less than in local administration. The chief sufferers at the time were poor laborers, holding cottages at will of their landlords, who lost the privilege of turning out pigs, geese, and fowls on the common, and for whom, of course, no compensation was provided, or even thought of."

Such is the way that English land property has been developed by encroachments on the rights of the people. Not even yet does the law recognize full private property in English land, but in practice it is only too real.

Sir Frederick Pollock says in *English Land Laws*:

"It is commonly supposed that land belongs to its owner in the same sense as money or a watch; this is not the theory of English law since the Norman Conquest, nor has it been so in its full significance at any time. No absolute ownership of land is recognized by our law books, except in the crown. All lands are supposed to be held immediately or mediately of the crown, the no rent or services may be payable and no grant from the crown on record."

Williams says (*Real Property*):

"The first thing the student has to do is to get rid of the idea of absolute ownership [of land]. Such an idea is quite unknown to the English law. No man is in law the absolute owner of lands (p. 16).

"All landowners are merely tenants in the eye of the law" (p. 55).

Public sentiment, however, is alive on this question.

Says Mr. Thackeray:

"The first sign of an awakening of the public mind to a consciousness of the true meaning of what was going on was in 1836, when in an enclosure act of that year it was stipulated that no enclosures should be made within 10 miles of London or within corresponding distances of smaller towns. Next, in 1845, when the General Enclosure Act was passed, which applied to all 'common lands,' it was enacted that manorial wastes must not be enclosed without the previous sanction of Parliament. In 1852, a later act made the consent of Parliament necessary in all cases under the Enclosure Act.

"Under these various acts, however, in spite of these restrictions, the enclosures which were still permissible proceeded apace, and the commissioners have been not undeservedly accused of unduly favoring enclosure and neglecting the powers with which they were entrusted for the protection of the public. There seems to have been very good ground for this charge. For the Home Secretary in 1876 stated that out of 474,000 acres which had been enclosed under the act of 1845, less than 4000 had been dedicated to purposes of recreation and exercise; and he admitted that whereas enclosures had formerly been treated as a private estate, improvement to which the owner was entitled, a great change of opinion had taken place as to the rights of the public."

This brings us to the present. The development of land property in other countries, so far as it differs from the English development, we consider in speaking of each country. The English theory has been copied in the main in the United States and Australasia. Wherever Englishmen have discovered land they have claimed it for the Crown, and the Crown has assigned it for the most part in fee simple to companies or to individual proprietors. Titles in the older States of the United States originated in this way. William Penn purchased land from the Indians, but it was assigned to proprietors by the Crown, and Pennsylvania became a proprietary colony. In most of the colonies charters were given to companies, and these companies gave land to individuals. Since the Revolution, the Federal Government has been the owner of all land not already owned by individuals, but has sold it to settlers, under the Homestead Act, for a song, or has given it to towns, States, or railroads. In English colonies all land is held from the Crown. We come now to consider

II. THE PRESENT CONDITION OF LAND OWNERSHIP.

In Great Britain to-day ten elevenths of the area of the United Kingdom is owned by one two hundredths part of the population (Mullhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 266). According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "By the

Doomsday Book of 1875 it appeared that one fourth of the total acreage (excluding plots under one acre) is held by 1200 owners, at an average for each of 16,200 acres; another fourth by 6200 persons, at an average of 3150 acres; another fourth is held by 50,770 persons, averaging 380 acres each; and the remaining fourth by 261,830 persons, averaging 70 acres each (Caird). Peers, in number about 600, hold rather more than one fifth of all the land in the kingdom. Thus one half of the whole territory is in the hands of only 7400 individuals; the other half is divided among 312,500 individuals."

This means that not one man in a hundred in Great Britain owns an acre of land; and let us see what this means. We quote from *Land Nationalization*, by the celebrated scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, whose authority and fairness none can question. He says (chap. v.):

"In England pure landlordism is seen at its best. Its characteristics have been determined by the great and popular class of country squires and by numerous wealthy peers owning large ancestral estates, who have usually lived among their tenants, have been accustomed to treat them liberally, and have had sympathy with their pursuits and a desire for their prosperity. The tenant-farmers, too, are usually men of some capital, of good education, and of independent spirit, who are able to understand their position and maintain their rights, and whose occupancy of the land is the result of a more or less free contract with the owner. It is impossible to imagine more favorable conditions for the trial of our actual land system; and we may safely assume that whatever evils we find to result from it here ought not to be imputed to the misconduct of individuals, but to the essential features of the system itself. There are, no doubt, certain remediable evils due to the laws of inheritance and the power of entail. These will probably soon be cured; but their removal will have little influence on those wider and more deeply seated effects of the system to which I shall here call attention."

Despotic Power of Landlords.—The Hon. George C. Brodrick, in his valuable and impartial work, *English Land and English Landlords*, speaks of the large resident landowner of a parish or district as being "invested with an authority over its inhabitants which neither the Saxon chief nor the Norman lord, in the fulness of his power, ever had the right of exercising." The clergyman is usually his nominee, and often his kinsman. The farmers, who are almost the only employers of labor besides himself, are his tenants-at-will, and, possibly, his debtors. The tradespeople of the village rent under him, and, even if they do not, could be ruined by his disfavor. The laborers live in his cottages, and are absolutely at his mercy for the privilege of hiring allotments, generally of inadequate size, and at an exorbitant rent as compared with the same land occupied by farmers, and they are also dependent upon him for work in winter. He is usually a magistrate, and thus has the power of the law in his hands to carry out his orders and enhance his authority. Except by his permission, merely to live upon his estate is impossible, while most of the inhabitants may have their lives rendered miserable or may be actually ruined by his displeasure.

"A great landowner exercises despotic power over individuals, such as we are accustomed to look upon with horror when occurring in the Turkish or Russian Empires. One or two illustrative examples only can be here given, but a little research through the columns of the daily press would enable any one to fill a volume with similar cases. Let us first choose an example of interference with religious freedom—a matter on which we more especially pride ourselves. In April, 1870, there appeared in the *Daily News* a correspondence between Samuel McAulay, a Wesleyan minister, and Langhorne Burton, a Lincolnshire landowner. The former asked that religious services which had been conducted for 30 years in the village of Bag-Enderby, and which the said landlord had interdicted, might be resumed, the writer urging his case forcibly, but in very respectful terms. The answer was [in part] as follows:

"The result of such a step on your part would probably be the removal from Bag-Enderby of all the members of your body, who are of little value to me as

tenants. I wish to have as tenants none (these italics are his own) but through church people, and consider myself quite at liberty to choose such as I like, without being dictated to by anybody. Reasons apart from this for my interdict of your meetings in Bag-Enderby I do not feel called upon to enter into with you. I also forbear to remark upon your seeming disposition to dictate to me my duty as a landlord."

England.

Eviction of the Inhabitants of an Entire Village.—In the following case, given on the authority of Mr. Froude, no offense whatever appears to have been alleged against the unfortunate tenants. He says: "Not a mile from the place where I am now writing, an estate on the coast of Devonshire came into the hands of an English duke. There was a primitive village upon it, occupied by sailors, pilots, and fishermen, which is described in *Domesday Book*, and was inhabited at the Conquest by the actual forefathers of the late tenants, whose names may be read there. The houses were out of repair. The duke's predecessors had laid out nothing upon them for a century, and had been contented with exacting the rents. When the present owner entered into possession it was represented to him that if the village was to continue it must be rebuilt, but that to rebuild it would be a needless expense, for the people, living as they did on their wages as fishermen and seamen, would not cultivate his land, and were useless to him. The houses were therefore simply torn down, and nearly half the population was driven out into the world to find new homes."

"Another mode in which private property in land operates to the serious injury of the public at large is the power which landlords possess, and very often use, of demanding enormous sums for the land required for public improvements. Whether it is the formation of new streets in the metropolis, or the construction of railways or docks, or the securing of land for public recreation, the claims of landlords invariably stand in the way, sometimes preventing the desired improvements from being carried into effect, sometimes burdening them with a heavy load of debt, and so diminishing their usefulness. Instances of this will occur to every one who takes note of passing events. I will only here quote the following statement of Mr. Brodrick:

"The landed interest of England is estimated to have received a sum exceeding the national revenue from railway companies alone over and above the market price of the land thus sold." The italics are mine, to call attention to the fact that this sum of 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 paid to the landlords is a permanent injury to the community, by increasing to that extent the unproductive capital expenditure of the railway companies of the kingdom; while no class has received so much benefit from railways as the landlords, in the enormous increase given thereby to the value of their estates, so that if they had freely given the land required to construct the lines, they would still have been gainers. As another example: "One nobleman is known to have received three quarters of a million sterling for the mere sites of docks constructed by the enterprise of others." Here again no doubt his other land in the neighborhood would be greatly increased in value by these very docks, and, equitably, all this increase of value should go to those whose expenditure caused it, or at least to the community at large. But the public and the Government are alike powerless, and must submit to pay whatever landlords choose to demand for permission to make public improvements."

If any one fancies that the day of such things has passed, let him still consult almost any English daily. He will find to-day men evicted for their political and other views. For an interesting case, see the *English Labor Annual* for 1896.

Landlordism in Ireland has not been worse, tho its worst developments have been till recently more common. To-day in Ireland (*q.v.*) the tenant is better defended than in England, Scotland, or the United States. Of the past Mr. Wallace says (chap. xiii.):

"Mr. T. P. O. Connor tells us that in the four years 1840-52 there were 221,845 evictions; whole townlands being depopulated, and their human inhabitants driven

out to make room for cattle and sheep, as being more profitable to the landlords. These poor people were often forced away from their homes, even tho' all rent due had been fully paid. The houses, which had been built by their own labor (or purchased from those who had built them), were pulled down; and when the houseless families, having nowhere to go, lighted fires in the ditches to cook some food, the fires were extinguished in order to drive them off the land. A report to the Poor Law Commissioners states that many occupiers were forced out of their homes at night in winter, even sick women and children not being allowed to stay in the houses till morning!

"And the power to do all this, be it remembered, is a necessary consequence of unrestricted private property in land. The following account of an eye-witness is taken from a published Pastoral Letter of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath:

"The horrid scenes that I then witnessed I must remember all my life long. The wailing of women; the screams, the terror, the consternation of children; the speechless agony of honest, industrious men, wrung tears of grief from all who saw them. I saw the officers and men of a large police force, who were obliged to attend on the occasion, cry like children at beholding the cruel sufferings of the very people whom they would be obliged to butcher, had they offered the least resistance. The heavy rains that usually attend the autumnal equinoxes descended in cold, copious torrents throughout the night, and at once revealed to those houseless sufferers the awful realities of their condition. I visited them next morning, and rode from place to place administering to them all the comfort and consolation I could. The appearance of men, women, and children, as they emerged from the ruins of their former homes—saturated with rain, blackened and besmeared with soot, shivering in every member from cold and misery—presented positively the most appalling spectacle I ever looked at. The landed proprietors in a circle all round—and for many miles in every direction—warned their tenants, with threats of direct vengeance, against the humanity of extending to any of them the hospitality of a single night's shelter. Many of these poor people were unable to emigrate with their families; while at home the hand of every man was thus raised against them. They were driven from the land on which Providence had placed them; and, in the state of society surrounding them, every other walk of life was rigidly closed against them. What was the result? After battling in vain with privation and pestilence, they at last graduated from the workhouse to the tomb, and in little more than three years nearly a fourth of them lay quietly in their graves."

Ireland.

Perhaps the worst landlordism has been in Scotland. Says Mr. Wallace (chap. iv.):

"Under the old system the Highland chief was a petty sovereign, who retained civil and criminal jurisdiction over his clansmen and the power of making war on other chiefs and clans. But these clansmen were never either serfs or vassals, but free men; and the clan was really a great family, all the members of which were supposed to be, and often actually were, of one blood. It was a true patriarchal system, totally distinct from the feudal system of Europe; and tho' every clansman owed fealty and military service, as well as certain dues or payments to his chief, these were given through love and duty rather than through fear, and every petty clansman held his land and his rights to pasture and wood and turf, and to hunt and fish over the mountains and lakes, by the same title as the chieftain held his more extensive lands and privileges. As well expressed by an able writer in the *Westminster Review*—'No error could be grosser than that of viewing the chiefs as unlimited proprietors, not only of the arable land, but of the whole territory of the mountain, lake, river, and seashore, held and won during hundreds of years by the broadsword of the clansmen. Could any MacLean admit, even in a dream, that his chief could clear Mull of all the MacLeans and replace them with Campbells; or the MacIntosh people his lands with MacDonalds, and drive away his own race, any more than Louis Napoleon could evict all the population of France and supply their place with English and German colonists?' Yet this very power and right the English Government, in its aristocratic selfishness, bestowed upon the chiefs, when, after the great rebellion of 1745, it took away their privileges of war and criminal jurisdiction, and endeavored to assimilate them to the nobles and great landowners of England. The rights of the clansmen

were entirely left out of consideration. . . . The full rights of possession given by the English law were now insisted on. The pasture of the hilltops, the game on the moors, the wood and the peat of the forests, the salmon in the rivers, and even the very shellfish and seaweed on the wild seashore, were declared the sole and exclusive property of the landlords. Then began the clearances and evictions dignified by the name of 'improvements.' By hundreds and thousands at a time the occupiers of the soil were driven from their homes, and were many of them forced to leave the country which they had so bravely defended on many a hard-won battle-field. . . .

"As to the nature and extent of this extermination Dr. Macdonald writes in the strongest manner. He says:

"The extermination of the Highlanders has been carried on for many years as systematically and relentlessly as of the North American Indians. . . . Who can withhold sympathy as whole families have turned to take a last look at the heavens red with their burning houses? The poor people shed no tears, for there was in their hearts that which stifled such signs of emotion; they were absorbed in despair. They were forced away from that which was near and dear to their hearts, and their patriotism was treated with contemptuous mockery."

"Again: I know a glen, now inhabited by two shepherds and two gamekeepers, which at one time sent out its thousand fighting men. And this is but one out of many that might be cited to show how the Highlands have been depopulated. Loyal, peaceable, and high-spirited peasantry have been driven from their native land—as the Jews were expelled from Spain, or the Huguenots from France—to make room for grouse, sheep, and deer. . . .

"Let us turn from this picture of what unrestricted landlordism has effected in the Highlands to that part of the country which is its pride and glory—the Lowlands. For here are the highest agricultural rents and the best farming in Great Britain. Here the landlords are wealthy and the farmers are thriving. Here everything is neat, thrifty, and elegant; the rude husbandry of the Highlands has been left more than a thousand years behind; the furrows are straight as an arrow, the fences closely dressed, the farmhouses commodious, and the gentlemen's seats bear all the evidences of taste, luxury, and refinement. Such being the case, we should naturally expect that some portion of this prosperity would have descended to the laborers, and we should look for neat and roomy cottages, with ample gardens, so essential to the well-being of the poor."

Instead, Mr. Wallace reports that, in spite of some recent improvements,

"pauperism, tho' not so prevalent as in the depopulated Highlands, still abounds even in the fertile and highly farmed Lowlands, where about 1 in 40 of the population are returned as paupers or dependents. . . . It appears, then, that both in the barren Highlands and the fertile Lowlands, among the peaceable and contented Celts, as well as among the more restless and energetic Saxons, we find the same increase in the wealth and luxury of the landlord and the capitalist, accompanied by the misery, discontent, and chronic pauperism of the laboring classes. In both districts landlordism has had its own way, and has flourished; in both it carries in its train the physical, social, and moral degradation of those by whom its wealth is created. It is not that landlords are worse than other men; perhaps it may justly be said that they are somewhat better than the average; but no amount of good intentions or good administration will suffice when the system which is administered is fundamentally wrong. No system ever had a fairer trial than pure landlordism has had in Scotland during the present century. It has had the freest liberty of action under various conditions, a peaceful, honest, and contented body of laborers, a constantly increasing growth of wealth, and all the means and appliances of modern science at its command. Yet here, as always and everywhere, it has lamentably failed to produce either prosperity or contentment."

Such is a brief review from unimpeachable sources of landlordism in Great Britain, where nineteen twentieths of the people have scarcely any land, and one twentieth have houses and lands valued at \$1,150,000,000 (see below). To

be more exact, in England only 1 person in 20 is an owner of land; in Scotland, 1 in 25; in Ireland, 1 in 79; and the great majority of landholders in Great Britain own less than one acre each. One man rides in a straight line 100 miles on his own estate. Another owns a county extending across Scotland. A gentleman in Scotland a few years since appropriated 300 square miles of land, extending from sea to sea, to form a deer forest, evicting many families to make room for the deer.

FRANCE.

In France, land is very much more subdivided than in England.

According to *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. xvii., p. 1006, the number of land holdings in 1891 was about 14,000,000, owned by about 8,000,000 persons, of which about 5,000,000 own agricultural holdings.

According to Mulhall (*Dictionary of Statistics*), the official summary of 1885 gave 50,500,000 acres as tilled by owners; 22,800,000 acres as tilled by tenants; 11,100,100 acres as tilled by *metayers*.

The small holdings are mainly in the departments of the Seine, the Rhone, Belfort, the North, Puy-de-Dôme, Haute-Garonne, Gard.

For a discussion, however, of how far small peasant holdings under modern conditions of taxation, etc., are advantageous, see below, Sec. 4.

The wretched condition of the French poor as late as the eighteenth century, their inhuman treatment by absentee landlords, who had ceased to give feudal protection, but extorted more than feudal service, is graphically described in M. Taine's *Ancien Régime*. These oppressions, however, had not been suffered tamely. The terrible insurrection of the *Jacquerie* in 1358 was an uprising of the peasants. Their fierceness gave the powerful an excuse for keeping them deprived of rights, and brought them to look on their dependents as little more than beasts of burden, valuable only for the profit that might be made of them. The feeling engendered on the other side broke out in the Revolution. The country estates, from which the *émigrés* had fled, were sold in portions, and in many cases bought in fee simple for a trifle by the former tenants of the farms. The law of equal division among children continued the process of subdivision. It proceeds in an augmenting ratio, and few large properties still subsist. The land, however, held in small properties, is not universally cultivated by the owner. There is a large proportion of tenants, holding generally under leases not exceeding nine years; and there is no doubt that the shortness of the term impairs production. Another evil is the *mercellement* caused by the law of compulsory division on inheritance, objected to in France chiefly on the ground that through successive family divisions each man's total property consists of a number of small plots scattered up and down. Nor must it be forgotten that this peasant proprietorship still leaves millions in cities, towns, and villages without any land.

GERMANY.

In different parts of Germany very different forms of tenure exist. Altho feudalism was fully developed, here too, as a legal system and as the foundation of the aristocracy, it did not succeed in extirpating entirely the ancient rights of the people. A large portion of the land was held always as peasant properties, entirely free from any dues of service. Among these, in certain districts, there survived an organization essentially identical with that described by Tacitus. The village had its domain or mark (*g. v.*), subdivided into the arable, the pasture, and the forest. In some cases the first of these was partitioned into individual and permanent properties, but in all the pasture and forest remained the joint property of the village. Instances, however, were not wanting where the arable portion was subject to annual or less frequent repartition, and to apportionment by lot to each cultivator for the time which custom ordained.

But more common was feudalism. None who were not noble could as a rule purchase land. On the lands of the nobles the tenants were bound to give to their lord a portion of their time in gratuitous labor. They held, however, their farms under conditions of permanency, subject to this tax of labor, and to a variety of small and irregular exactions of the nature of rent.

These conditions endured to the beginning of this century. Stein's edict of 1807 abolished serfdom and obliterated the legal distinction of classes by establishing freedom of exchange in land and free choice of occupation. In 1810, Hardenberg, with a precipitancy which Stein would scarcely have approved, continued the reform in the condition of the peasants by making them absolute owners of part of their holdings, the landlords obtaining the rest as an indemnity for their lost dues.

These reforms have converted large parts of Germany into the property of small owners residing on and tilling their own land, free from obligation to any other person. (For details of German tenure, as applied in agriculture, see AGRICULTURE.)

According to the returns for 1887, 2,953,000 acres were tilled by their owners; 829,000 acres were tilled by tenants; 1,494,000 acres were tilled under mixed forms of partial ownership.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Switzerland is, in the main, a country of small holdings. By far the larger proportion of the land is held in small farms of from two to five hectares. In a few of the cantons considerable land, tho mainly on the mountains, is still held in common as *allmends*. (See SWITZERLAND.) In Italy, the *metayer* system prevails. (See METAYER; AGRICULTURE, section "Italy.") In Austria, small holdings prevail in most of the empire; but in Bohemia, large manorial landed estates are still found. All through the empire, however, the peasant proprietaries seem to be disappearing. (See AGRICULTURE, section "Austria.") Belgium is preeminently a land of small holdings. With an area less than one fifth that of England and Wales, she has over 1,000,000 owners of land.

The cultivated land of Belgium amounts to 2,663,753 hectares, or 6,582,123 acres, of which 1,339,795 hectares are in the hands of the proprietors, and 1,323,958 are let to tenants. The land is divided into nearly 600,000 patches. Of these, 43 per cent. do not exceed 50 acres; there are 12 per cent. not exceeding 1 hectare, or 2½ acres; 29 per cent. not exceeding 5 hectares; 7½ per cent. not exceeding 10 hectares; and less than 8 per cent. of greater extent.

Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden all have small holdings. Russia, by the abolition of serfdom, nominally gave land to all her people, but gave the peasants each so little that it was impossible to live, and they have been compelled to sell them to the nobility, and often to flee to the cities to compete for trade, producing the greatest want, suffering, and misery. (See RUSSIA.)

AUSTRALASIA.

For Australasia we give the most recent conditions. Says the English *Labor Annual* for 1896:

"The population of the Australasian colonies is not yet 5,000,000; nevertheless, one finds to-day in Australasia—a land capable of supporting in ease and comfort at least 100,000,000 of people—the same industrial depression, the same unemployed problem, and the same poverty among the masses that are in the Old World attributed to over-population. The cause of this, however, is not far to seek. In New South Wales, for instance, the official returns show that some 600 individuals 'own' more than half of the land alienated from the crown; in South Australia it is estimated that 703 persons 'own' half the land values of the colony; in New Zealand, out of the 10,000,000 acres alienated from the crown, upward of 17,000,000 acres are controlled by 1600 persons only, four of whom 'own' 600,000 acres between them, while 17,000 families, numbering about 80,000 souls, have to grub along as best they may on a paltry 300,000 acres. In the other colonies the position is much the same. With a view to improving this state of affairs, Sir George Grey introduced in New Zealand, in 1878, a tax on land values of ½*d.* in the pound. At the ensuing election, however, Major Atkinson became Premier, and the tax was abolished. But the principle has since made great strides. In South Australia a tax of ¼*d.* in the pound has for some nine years past been imposed on land values, and in 1893 a bill passed both houses of the Legislature empowering local bodies to rate the unimproved value of the land; but a bill passed in 1894 by the Lower House, increasing the tax on land values, and graduating it heavily against absentees, was rejected by the Upper House. In New Zealand a tax of 1*d.* in the pound, steeply graduated against large estates, was imposed in 1892; but a bill to empower local bodies to rate land values was passed by the Lower House in 1893, only to be rejected by the 'Lords.' The bill was again passed by the Lower House last year, but was thrown out by the Non-Representative Chamber by 14 votes to 12.* The Tasmanian House of Representatives also passed in 1893 a bill taxing land values up to £500 at ¼*d.* in the pound, and over that amount at 1*d.* in the pound, but the 'Lords' threw it out. A similar bill was again introduced in the Tasmanian House of Representatives on August 16 last, but it was again rejected by the 'Lords.' In Victoria, again, the Lower House passed, in 1894, a land tax bill on the New Zealand model, but the Upper House rejected it. In Queensland, in 1893, a bill was passed by both Houses adopting the land-value system of taxation for municipalities, and fixing the amount of the tax at 2*d.* in the pound. This has been found ample for all local requirements; there is now no local taxation on improvements in Queensland, and in the country districts the tax has been found to considerably lighten the burdens of the users of land. In May last the New South Wales House of Representatives passed a Land

and Income Tax Bill on the New Zealand model by a two-to-one majority, but the Upper House rejected it. The Premier at once appealed to the country, and his policy being vindicated at the polls, the bill was again passed by the Lower House on September 17 by 54 votes to 24."

Of some Australian farms or stations a newspaper correspondent writes:

"One James Tyson has about 2,000,000 acres, or a territory nearly as large as three States like Rhode Island, one and one-half Delawares, or even one third the size of Vermont, or one seventeenth the size of Iowa. He has nearly 1,000,000 sheep or the equivalent in cattle. One Mr. McCaughey has one station of 1,214,877 acres, with some 500,000 sheep. James Wilson has 640,000 acres, or just 1000 square miles, in one station, and over 400,000 sheep. I have a friend in the interior, whom I visited recently, who has 800,000 acres and 300,000 sheep. One can drive 100 miles on a straight line on his estate. Of this 500,000 acres, 70,000 are in hold, and the rest is leased from the Government of New South Wales on long time, for a definite annual rental. I have another friend, a member of the New South Wales Parliament, who holds 240,000 acres in Queensland on long lease, at an annual rental of one farthing, or one half cent per acre."

THE UNITED STATES.

The United States would seem to be the last country in the world to look for land monopolization. A country comparatively new, with a domain stretching across a continent, capable of sustaining a population vastly larger than it does (see FOOD SUPPLY), with laws carefully framed to aid the settler in gaining a home (see HOMESTEAD LAW), one would not look for land monopoly in such a country. What are the facts? According to the Census of 1890, only 65.92 per cent. of the families occupying farms owned their farms, and of these 28.22 per cent. owned their farms subject to a mortgage, leaving only 47 per cent. of the farm families of the United States owning their farms without incumbrance. In the cities a greater monopoly of land exists. From 1880–90 the value of farms increased only a little over \$2,000,000, or about 20 per cent.; but the value of residence and business real estate increased over \$14,000,000, or more than 100 per cent. Yet this enormous value is in few hands. In Boston, 57 per cent. of the population do not own the houses they live in; in New York City, 80 per cent. live in tenements. Taking all the country through, in town and city, on farm and in village, only 35 per cent. of the families of the land own an unincumbered home. Not every mortgage, it is true, indicates financial distress. People often mortgage lands and houses in order to make future gain; but if every single mortgage was paid off, still only 48 per cent. of the families of the United States would own their homes, while it is notorious that hundreds of thousands of mortgages are foreclosed. Farm after farm in the West is passing into the hands of Eastern investors or land syndicates. Millionaires are buying extensive country seats and stretches of territory in all the most beautiful sections of the country. Railroads own an ever-increasing proportion of our mines and other natural opportunities. Many new small farms were opened up between 1880 and 1890, yet farms of between 50 and 100 acres increased only 8.58 per cent., while farms of from 500 to 1000 acres increased 11.09 per cent., and farms over 1000 acres increased 10.39 per cent. The

* The bill was once more passed (on October 3, 1895) by the Lower House by 41 votes to 7. The "Lords" will hardly dare again to throw it out.

land of the country is steadily passing from the ownership of the people. For further information on this see the next section.

III. THE RESULTS OF LAND OWNERSHIP.

We have seen that in Great Britain only one man in a hundred owns more than an acre; that in the United States scarcely one family in three owns a home; that if in Russia, and to a less extent elsewhere in Continental Europe, peasant proprietorship largely prevails, the peasants each own so little land as scarcely to be able to live on it, while millions crowd into the great cities. What does this mean? To realize the meaning, one must first remember what land means to man.

Man is "a land animal." He cannot produce; he cannot propagate his kind; he cannot live without land. This is, of course, patent to all. Yet it is frequently forgotten in economic discussions. Men interest themselves in this and that so-called "practical question," and overlook the fundamental fact and necessity of human life. Yet no man ever denied or can deny the absolute necessity of land to human life. John Stuart Mill begins his *Principles of Political Economy* with the words: "The requisites of production are two, labor and appropriate natural objects"—i.e., land. Says Cardinal Manning:

"The land question means hunger, thirst, nakedness, notice to quit, labor spent in vain, the toil of years seized upon, the breaking up of homes, the misery, sicknesses, death of parents, children, wives, the despair and wildness which spring up in the hearts of the poor when legal force, like a sharp harrow, goes over the most sensitive and vital right of mankind. All this is contained in the land question."

The only possible misunderstanding on this point can come from a failure to realize what is meant in economic discussion by the word *land*.

It means not only the earth surface of the world; it means the surface of the whole world, earth and water, all that is in the earth and in the water except man and the

labor of man. Says Jevons (*Political Economy Primer*, p. 26): "When we speak of land we really mean any source of materials, any natural agent." Economists thus use the word *land* because among all natural agents land is so far the most important that it can be used to represent all the rest. Air is equally necessary to life, but under ordinary circumstances air cannot be appropriated, and hence has no exchange or commercial value. Under those few circumstances, as in a crowded city, where air cannot be freely obtained, it has a commercial value, but it for the most part goes with the land, and may be economically considered as a part of land. Remembering, then, what is meant by land, there can be no question of the fundamental importance of land to human life, and what results must be involved in its monopolization. But before we analyze this, notice one other point. We stand to-day on the land question at a crisis in the world's history. For the first time in the history of the world all the land in the northern temperate, and, indeed, almost all in the lower temperate zone, has been appropriated. Now the northern temperate zone has been thus far the only zone which has produced

the great controlling civilizations of the world. Down to the present time any persons or companies of persons desiring more land could move somewhere in the north temperate zone and find good land wholly or very nearly wholly unappropriated. From the fields and vales of Asia, early in the history of the world, gigantic nomadic tribes and hordes poured westward, to find new grazing fields in Eastern Europe; later they overran Europe, founding the Greek and Roman civilizations, the early Celtic races. Still later, in the migration of the Goths were planted the civilizations we know to-day. When this migration was substantially completed, Columbus discovered a new world, and Europe overflowed to the Atlantic coast of the American continent. Since then civilization has spread across the continent, till at last, in our day, population has reached the Pacific coast, filled all spaces, and completed the belt of the world. By irrigation and other processes some land now worthless may be reclaimed; here and there small tracts of land may yet be had almost for the asking; population in many sections is scarce; but, roughly speaking, all the land is appropriated; the United States public domain nearly all sold; the best land all occupied. What is left is either inferior soil or to be made useful only at unusual cost. The significance of this condition in the world's history cannot be overestimated.

Let us, then, now examine some of the chief results of land monopolization. Among the first results must be the dependence in all civilized countries of those who have not land upon those who have. If, as we have seen, land is necessary to production and to life, the masses in all countries must be dependent on those who own the soil. Alike under the Czar and in "free" America, plutocracy reigns and must reign, while the people are dependent on the few for the first necessities of existence. Says an old Saxon proverb: "The landless man is an unfree man." Mr. George has abundantly shown this. He says (*Social Problems*, chap. xv.):

"That a people can be enslaved just as effectually by making property of their lands as by making property of their bodies is a truth that conquerors in all ages have recognized, and that as society developed the strong and unscrupulous who desired to live off the labor of others have been prompt to see. The coarser form of slavery, in which each particular slave is the property of a particular owner, is only fitted for a rude state of society, and with social development entails more and more care, trouble, and expense upon the owner. But by making property of the land instead of the person, much care, supervision, and expense are saved the proprietors; and the no particular slave is owned by a particular master, yet the one class still appropriates the labor of the other class as before. . . .

Slavery.

"We have abolished negro slavery in the United States. But how small is the real benefit to the slave! George M. Jackson writes me from St. Louis under date of August 15, 1883:

"During the war I served in a Kentucky regiment in the Federal army. When the war broke out my father owned 60 slaves. I had not been back to my old Kentucky home for years until a short time ago, when I was met by one of my father's old negroes, who said to me: 'Mas' George, you say you sot us free; but 'fore God, I'm wus off than when I belonged to your father.' The planters, on the other hand, are contented with the change. They say: 'How foolish it was in us to go to war for slavery! We get labor cheaper now than when we owned the slaves.' How do they get it cheaper? Why, in the shape of rents they take more of the labor of the negro than they

could under slavery, for then they were compelled to return him sufficient food, clothing, and medical attendance to keep him well, and were compelled by conscience and public opinion, as well as by law, to keep him when he could no longer work. Now their interest and responsibility cease when they have got all the work out of him they can."

But what comes of this land slavery? First the horrors of the overcrowded city. Unable to obtain land in the country on which they can get a living, the landless, or the peasants, as in Russia, from allotments too small to support life, crowd into the great cities and produce the slums. What that means is well known. (See SLUMS.) But it has its effects on the country also. Says Mr. George (*idem*, chap. xxi.):

"As the cities grow, unwholesomely crowding people together till they are packed in tiers, family above family, so are they unwholesomely separated in the country. The tendency, everywhere that this process of urban concentration is going on, is to make the life of the country poor and hard, and to rob it of the social stimulus and social gratifications that are so necessary to human beings. The old healthy social life of village and town-land is everywhere disappearing. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, the thinning out of population in the agricultural districts is as marked as is its concentration in cities and large towns. In Ireland, as you ride along the roads, your car-driver, if he be an old man, will point out to you spot after spot which, when he was a boy, were the sites of populous hamlets, echoing in the summer evenings with the laughter of children and the joyous sports of young people; but now utterly desolate, showing, as the only evidences of human occupation, the isolated cabins of miserable herds. In Scotland, where in such cities as Glasgow human beings are so crowded together that two thirds of the families live in a single room, where if you go through the streets of a Saturday night you will think, if you have ever seen the Terra del Fuegians, that these poor creatures might envy them; there are wide tracts once populous now given up to cattle, to grouse, and to deer—glens that once sent out their thousand fighting men now tenanted by a couple of gamekeepers. So across the Tweed, while London, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Nottingham have grown, the village life of 'merrie England' is all but extinct. . . .

Poverty.

"So in the agricultural districts of our older States the same tendency may be beheld; but it is in the newer States that its fullest expression is to be found—in ranches measured by square miles, where half savage cowboys, whose social life is confined to the excitement of the 'round up' or a periodical 'drunk' in a railroad town are the only diversions; and in bonanza farms, where in the spring the eye wearsies of seas of waving grain before resting on a single home—farms where the cultivators are lodged in barracks, and only the superintendent enjoys the luxury of a wife."

But out of this condition spring not only the horrors of the slums, but low wages for all wage workers. The wage of the man at work is lowered by the competition of the man out of work. If the worker complain of low wages, there are two men waiting for his job. The boy comes up from the mortgaged farm to try and earn money in the city to stave off foreclosure for his parents; his competition—for he is desperate, and will work "cheap"—drives some city workman out of work and so out of a home. Skilled workmen have some security of occupation, but invention and machinery often enable the unskilled from the country to take even their places. Trade-unions force up and keep up wages for a few; but a crisis comes, and in the majority of trades the workman, having no land to live on to tide himself over a hard day, is unable to keep up his dues, and the trade-union is broken up. In the majority of

trades, organization is all but impossible because of the unemployed, who will and must compete at any price. In the United States organized labor includes only 7 per cent. of the persons in the United States engaged in gainful occupations. The main occasion of competition is the lack of opportunity upon the soil.

But the monopolization of land produces not only the extremely poor but the extremely rich. Men acquire a little money by work; but the great fortunes are made by investment, and often by speculation. The great sphere for investment and speculation is land. Men invest in Western mortgages, in mines, above all in city and sub-urban real estate. They do nothing, but their money grows. The result is *unearned increment*. Land in cities is valuable simply because it is in the midst of population. A store in New York City is worth more than a store in the country, because it has more purchasers; more people pass its windows. As the city grows in size the land rises in value. The owner of the land does nothing. He may sleep, live in luxury, gamble, idle, be an angel or a voluptuary; it matters not what he is or what he does; so long as he is a land-owner his land may rise in value. Such rise in rent is *unearned increment*. It is produced, not by him, but by the community which gives the land its value. Land to-day in portions of New York City has been sold at \$331 per square foot. (See *Real Estate Record and Guide* for September 14, 1895.) In 1890, the whole real estate of the city of New York was valued at \$2,627,000,000. In 1624 the Dutch purchased Manhattan Island for \$24. On the present site of Chicago in 1816 there was not a white person, and the land was practically valueless; the Census of 1890 estimates the real estate value of the city at \$1,330,000,000.

The Unearned Increment.

"The Illinois Labor Bureau in 1895 (*Eighth Annual Report*, pp. 104-253) made a careful investigation of land values in the city of Chicago. The most valuable section is known as the 'South Side,' and its boundaries are the Chicago River on the north and west, Twelfth Street on the south, and Lake Michigan on the east. Exclusive of streets it contains 351.42 acres. All the great stores, wholesale and retail, the high office buildings, and the great banking institutions are found within this area. Deducting 30 acres of public land owned by the nation, State, county, and cities, and 55.13 acres owned and used by the railroads, there remain 266.29 acres belonging to individuals and private corporations. This the bureau estimates to be worth \$310,000,000 for the land alone, without reckoning the improvements, worth as much more. Of this the largest holder, Marshall Field, owns \$11,000,000, and the next largest holder, Levi Z. Leiter, \$10,500,000. There are in all 1178 owners of this 310,000,000, of whom 18, or 1½ per cent., own 65,000,000, or over 20 per cent. of the total. Eighty-eight persons own 136,000,000, which is nearly one half of the business center of the city of Chicago (*Report*, p. 247).

"According to this same report (p. 370), one quarter acre in Chicago in 1830 was worth \$20; in 1840, \$1500; in 1850, \$17,500; in 1860, \$28,000; in 1870, \$120,000; in 1880, \$130,000; in 1890, \$900,000; in 1894, \$1,250,000."

It is by such leaps that those who bought land 50, 30, 20, even 10 years ago, have made fortunes without doing themselves any economically productive work. Nor does this process go on only in the great cities. Said Mr. Mulhall, in the *North American Review* for June, 1895:

"If we would classify the whole wealth of the Union

under two heads, urban and rural, the result at different dates would be as follows :

URBAN AND RURAL WEALTH OF THE NATION.

YEARS.	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1850.....	3,169	3,967	7,136	44.4	55.6
1860.....	8,180	7,980	16,160	50.6	49.4
1870.....	15,155	8,900	24,055	63.0	37.0
1880.....	31,538	12,104	43,642	72.2	27.8
1890.....	49,055	15,982	65,037	75.4	24.6

"In the above table rural wealth is the aggregate of the value of lands, cattle, and implements at each census; the rest is urban. We find that rural or agricultural wealth has only quadrupled in 40 years, while urban has multiplied sixteenfold."

In London (*q. v.*) the ground rent is \$75,000,000, and is increasing at the rate of over \$1,500,000 annually. The "gross annual value" of real estate of all kinds in the United Kingdom, ten elevenths of it being owned by one two hundredths part of the people, is \$1,150,000,000. (For authorities for these statements, see WEALTH.) Land is the basis of the plutocracy of the world.

Present conditions as to land, too, are the potent cause of innumerable moral ills. People are shocked to-day at the growing tide of prostitution, social immorality, licentiousness among the wealthy, lax-

Moral Evils. ity among the poor. When the poor cannot get work, when they are crowded into rotting tenements,

where privacy is impossible, where modesty can scarcely be, where children are compelled to grow up amid ribaldry and drunkenness, prostitution, the sale of girls for money, is all but inevitable. It becomes still more inevitable when thousands of idle young men from the luxurious classes set the example of profligacy to still more thousands of young men of the lower and middle classes. Take thousands of underpaid, underfed young women, and throw them in stores, on the street, and in type-writing offices, with thousands of overpaid, overfed young men, and there can be only one result. Let the Christian Church be identified, too, in the public mind with the luxurious classes; let there be a divorce between the teachings of Christ and the lives of prominent church people, and the masses of intelligent young men and women will grow skeptical of moral living, which is a thousand times worse than skepticism of God; gross immorality must result. Temperance workers speak of the evil of the saloon; but facts are proving (see POVERTY) that at least a large part of intemperance is due to the voluptuous idleness of the rich and the terrible environment of the poor. The relation of the land problem to intemperance can scarcely be conceived too close. Other moral evils arise. The opportunities to make wealth by land investment develop the love of speculation, and in unexpected circles, even among women. Honest labor becomes despised. Life in the great cities becomes among the poor a desperate scramble for existence; among the wealthy a

debasing struggle to grow more wealthy without work.

From these moral evils result political evils. When the many are poor and the few are rich; when the corporations need votes and the professional politicians need money, political purity becomes scarce. The greatest steals, too, from the national Government have been land steals on the part of railroads through land grants on conditions never fulfilled; land steals on the part of great syndicates under the cover of Homestead Laws. Great estates and great fortunes are slaying democracy in America. (See PLUTOCRACY.) Such are some of the results of the present conditions of land monopoly among all civilized peoples.

IV. HOW FAR REFORM CAN BE REACHED WITHOUT RADICAL CHANGES IN LAND TENURE.

Among those who look for reform in the land question without radical changes in the forms of land ownership, there are two main views. One view would seek reform by increasing the number who own small land holdings. The classic argument for this view is John Stuart Mill's. In his *Principles of Political Economy* he devotes many pages to collecting testimony to show the advantages of peasant proprietorship. Among many other workers, he quotes Sismondi as saying (*Studies in Political Economy*, Essay III.):

Small Holdings.

"Wherever we find peasant proprietors, we also find the comfort, security, confidence in the future, and independence, which assure at once happiness and virtue. The peasant who with his children does all the work of his little inheritance, who pays no rent to any one above him, nor wages to any one below, who regulates his production by his consumption, who eats his own corn, drinks his own wine, is clothed in his own hemp and wool, cares little for the prices of the market; for he has little to sell and little to buy, and is never ruined by revulsions of trade. . . . The peasant proprietor is of all cultivators the one who gets most from the soil, for he is the one who thinks most of the future, and who has been most instructed by experience. He is also the one who employs the human powers to most advantage, because dividing his occupations among all the members of his family, he reserves some for every day of the year, so that nobody is ever out of work. Of all cultivators he is the happiest, and at the same time the land nowhere occupies, and feeds amply without becoming exhausted, so many inhabitants as where they are proprietors. Finally, of all cultivators the peasant proprietor is the one who gives most encouragement to commerce and manufactures, because he is the richest."

Arthur Young is quoted as saying (*Travels in France, 1787-89*, vol. i., p. 88, and vol. ii., p. 51):

"M. le Brun has an improvement on the Dunes, which he very obligingly showed me. Between the town and that place is a great number of neat little houses, built each with its garden, and one or two fields enclosed, of most wretched blowing *dune* sand, naturally as white as snow, but improved by industry. The magic of *property* turns sand to gold.' And again: 'Going out of Grange, I was surprised to find by far the greatest exertion in irrigation which I had yet seen in France; and then passed by some steep mountains, highly cultivated in terraces. Much watering at St. Lawrence. The scenery very interesting to a farmer. From Grange to the mountain of rough ground which I crossed the ride has been the most interesting which I have taken in France; the efforts of industry the most vigorous; the animation the most lively. An activity has been here that has swept away all difficulties before it, and has clothed the very rocks with verdure. It would be a disgrace to common sense to

ask the cause: the enjoyment of property *must* have done it. Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert."

Considerations such as these have induced many European economists, except perhaps in England, to believe that in peasant proprietorship or the owning of the land in small holdings lies the solution of the land question.

Professor Marshall, whom some consider the leading living English-speaking economist of the world, says (*Economics of Industry*, Book I., chap. ix.):

"The desire for the ownership of land as an end in itself is still strong everywhere, and is gaining a new force among the English working classes. It is to be hoped that ere long there may be a great increase in the number of those who own small plots which they may cultivate with their spade, or on which they may feed a cow or a horse. A movement is being made with the purpose of grouping together a number of small holdings, so that they may share the use of expensive machinery. . . . It is to be hoped that a speedy reform of the law, aided by a good land register, will promote the formation of small properties. In a few cases it may perhaps lead to their extinction, but it will probably largely increase their number where they are most wanted."

Those who would meet the land problem in this way look for reform to the abolition of all laws or customs, as in England, of entail, or any expedient for keeping large estates in one family. They seek laws facilitating land transfer (*q.v.*); they hope for cooperative agriculture (*q.v.*). In the cities and industrial communities their main reliance is building associations (*q.v.*), enabling the workman to buy a home.

The objections to this view are very great. No one who knows the present condition of the peasant proprietors in continental Europe believes them much if any more prosperous than the agricultural classes of England under a system of landlordism. In Russia, the peasant proprietors cannot live. So much is this the case that the majority of English economists have preferred the system of the ownership of the soil in large properties and the renting of it to tenants, protected, however, by laws of tenant-right, etc. The small owner cannot apply capital to land. Small farming is uneconomic farming. If this was so in the past, it is particularly so to-day. Even Marshall says (*Economics of Industry*, Book I., chap. ix.):

"Recent events (1885) have again increased the difficulties against which peasant proprietors have had to contend. Great importations of grain and meat from new countries have lowered prices, but the burden of the fall has been borne in England chiefly by the landlords and farmers. The laborers have on the average at least as much of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life as at any previous time; and this in spite of the fact that many of the ablest and strongest of them have migrated to the towns or to new countries. But the peasant proprietors, particularly of arable land, have nothing to shield them from the full effects of the fall in prices. Many of them have lost nearly all their little margin of savings, and not a few are in debt. Even those who are in outward appearance prosperous frequently work harder and live more sparsely than the English laborers."

Mr. D. A. Wells says (*Recent Economic Changes*, p. 461) "that the only possible future for agriculture, prosecuted for the sake of producing the great staples of food, is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system, it is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities, both in the United States and Europe."

Mr. Wells adds in a note:

"An American practical farmer, the owner and manager of 7000 acres (Mr. H. H—, of Nebraska), to whom the writer is indebted for many items of information, communicates the following additional review of this subject from the American (Western) standpoint: 'The average Western farm is now recklessly managed, but capital will come in greater volume and set up processes which will displace these wasteful methods. The revolution is certain, even if the exact steps cannot now be precisely indicated.'"

The day of the small farmer under the present industrial system seems over. He cannot compete with bonanza farms tilled and worked with expensive machinery, well stocked, etc. Under the present system of land ownership the future means large farms owned by capitalists, with the mass of the people as their tenants. This is the ideal of the second class of those who look for reform without radical change. They say, let the world copy England. Let there be large estates owned by rich capitalists, perhaps by syndicates; let them be worked by tenants, protected by the law, well paid, and prosperous.

Large Holdings.

But this view will not endure. For better or for worse, democracy has the future. Even in England to-day, where this system has been carried farthest, where the landed aristocracy furnishes undoubtedly the best landlords of the world—even in England, step by step, democracy is replacing the landlord's power. Above all, as we shall in a moment see, is the sense of justice demanding to-day that the land be for all, and not be monopolized by the few. We come, therefore, to consider

V. RADICAL PROPOSALS FOR LAND REFORM.

These proposals are of several kinds. Undoubtedly most distinctively land reformers advocate the plan of the *single tax*, first prominently advocated in Mr. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. For a full consideration of this proposition, see **The Single Tax.** SINGLE TAX; we simply outline it here. It proposes that an annual tax should be put on all land equal to the full rental value of the land *apart from improvements*. This would leave in the landowner's hand, untaxed, all the improvements or labor he has put on the land, but tax away from him into the hands of the State for the equitable good of the community all natural land value. No titles need be changed in this way; no labor would be discouraged; the results of no labor would be taken, but the value of the land itself, which no individual has created, and which equity demands should belong to all, would be taken for all. Especially in cities, where enormous values have been created by the presence of the community, would the value of the land be taken for the community which created it. The results of this plan would be to kill landlordism without discouraging honest labor. This would be the case because land, being taxed its full rental value, only those would hold land who got something out of it more than its rental value, and this could only be done by putting value into it. The landlord would be taxed out of existence; those who by useful labor put

value into the land could alone be its owners. And this would practically include all who desired land, because it has been proven over and over again that were it not for the large estates of landlords, there is plenty of land for all. In crowded England, for example, there are, according to Hoyle's *Sources of Wealth*, 50,000,000 acres of good land, and her population in 1891 was 27,483,490—equal to some 7,000,000 families. This could give every single family seven acres if they wished. But millions of families would not use seven acres. They would prefer to pay, perhaps, for not more than one half an acre, and make their living, not by tilling the soil, but by art, manufacturing, commerce, etc. There would thus be abundant land for all who wanted, if no one could afford to hold more land than he actually used. The tax would kill the rent value of land.

Nor would it need a sudden revolution to bring in the system. It is one of the best features of the system, that it could be brought in gradually by simply raising the rate of land taxes every few years, till finally they equal the whole rental value. This process is now actually going on in Australasia.

Nor would the system bring hardship on small farmers and the holders of small lots, because it would bring so much money into the State that there would need to be no other tax; it would be a *single tax*. It would abolish all the direct and indirect taxes which to-day press upon the consumers of the land. In free-trade countries it would make unnecessary all other direct taxes, and in protective countries it would do away with all those protective tariffs which raise the price of all the commodities the poor have to buy. (For a full discussion of this, see *SINGLE TAX*.)

Nor would it, too, necessitate the socialistic expansion of the State. Placing one tax, and that the easiest to collect, in place of all, and opening up land so that every man could have opportunity to work, it could largely reduce the machinery of the State, giving democratic freedom and opportunity to all.

The supreme argument, however, for the proposition is that it would conform to the strictest justice by placing all on an exact natural equality in all but their own abilities. Those who held the best land would have to pay for it the exact amount of its superiority to other land, because all would pay the whole rental value. Each man would then get exactly according to his ability. Such is the argument.

We come next to consider a proposition akin to this and yet very different—that of the anarchists, or extreme individualists, who would do away with all government and all taxation, establishing a so-called system of "free land," or land to belong to those who can use it and defend it, either by personal defense or by cooperating to defend each other's land. (For a discussion of this, see *ANARCHISM*.)

At the opposite extremes from this lie the various proposals of communists, nationalists, socialists, land nationalizers, who would vest all title in the community and have the land owned and operated by cooperative commonwealths. This would mean, of course, socialism, with all that that entails. It is utterly different from

the proposition of the single tax. The single tax would diminish the sphere of the State; socialism would exalt the State. (For a discussion of this, however, see *SOCIALISM*.) We here only state the various propositions, leaving them to be discussed under their various heads. **Other Propositions.**

We now notice the arguments raised against these various radical reforms on behalf of the private ownership of the soil.

The argument for private ownership of the land may be divided into two: the argument from expediency and the argument from justice. Most economists to-day argue from expediency. They maintain that the argument from justice is so uncertain and the theory of natural rights so open to debate that it can settle nothing. One man declares this to be just, another that; the argument from expediency they consider the only one we can appeal to; and this the opponents of land nationalization, or of the single tax, declare to be strongly in favor of the private ownership of land. **Arguments for Private Ownership.**

The argument from expediency they consider the only one we can appeal to; and this the opponents of land nationalization, or of the single tax, declare to be strongly in favor of the private ownership of land. John Stuart Mill, who later converted to a theory of land nationalization coupled with a scheme for compensating landlords, and still later (see *MILL*) converted to the belief that the single tax was the best way in which to realize the equal right in the value of his soil, in his earlier works made a strong plea from expediency for individual ownership of the soil. He showed (see above) what peasant proprietorship and small holdings of the soil had done. Of the question whether the results justify private ownership, he says (*Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. v.):

"The general verdict of civilized nations has hitherto been that this justification does exist. The private appropriation of land has been deemed to be beneficial to those who do not, as well as to those who do, obtain a share. And in what manner beneficial? Let us take particular note of this beneficial, because the strongest interest which the community and the human race have in the land is that it should yield the largest amount of food, and other necessary or useful things, required by the community. Now, tho the land itself is not the work of human beings, its produce is; and to obtain enough of that produce, somebody must exert much labor; and in order that this labor may be supported, must expend a considerable amount of the savings of previous labor. Now we have been taught by experience that the great majority of mankind will work much harder and make much greater pecuniary sacrifices for themselves and their immediate descendants than for the public. In order, therefore, to give the greatest encouragement to production, it has been thought right that individuals should have an exclusive property in land, so that they may have the most possible to gain by making the land as productive as they can, and may be in no danger of being hindered from doing so by the interference of any one else. This is the reason usually assigned for allowing the land to be private property, and it is the best reason that can be given."

Later economists, arguing from expediency, dwell on the claim that any radical change in land tenures could not safely, if it could justly, be enacted without compensation, and that with compensation the change would be of doubtful worth to the community.

Professor Hadley (*Economics*, 1896, p. 472) may be perhaps quoted as the latest representative of this view. He says:

"The principle that private property must not be

taken without compensation is no mere accidental phrase let fall by courts or constitution makers. It is an axiom of political science. If the progress of society renders the abolition of an institution necessary, compensation follows as a matter of course. This is the critical weakness in land nationalization plans, like that with which John Stuart Mill's name was identified. The advocates of this plan proposed that England should buy out the landowners and appropriate the future gain in value. No fault could be found with the equity of this proposal. But as a fiscal measure it was radically defective. Leaving out of account the inevitable losses due to a scheme of quasi-compulsory purchase, the scheme must have ended in disaster, because the lands which it was proposed to buy have fallen in value instead of rising. These arguments do not militate against reforms in taxation, which shall carry us in the general direction indicated by the single tax theory. Wagner, after an investigation of the subject whose thoroughness is worthy of the highest praise whether we can accept his conclusions or not, is inclined to look with favor on public appropriation of future increments in the value of city real estate as distinct from agricultural land. Without going so far as Wagner, most economists would be willing to agree that more taxes should be assessed upon economic rent and less upon improvements."

Professor Sidgwick, writing from the standpoint of "utilitarian individualism," puts substantially the same view in other words when he says (*Elements of Politics*, chap. v.) :

"If it is granted, as I should grant, that the landless members of the community have a legitimate claim to the compensation for the opportunities of applying labor to land from which they are excluded by its appropriation, then the question as to the manner in which this compensation is to be taken can only be decided, I conceive, by a careful balance of expediencies. On the one hand, it is for the general good that the individual cultivator's energy and enterprise should be encouraged as much as possible, and complete ownership is the most simple and effective way of encouraging it; on the other hand, it seems probable that the prospective increase of value, accruing independently of the owner's energy and enterprise, will not be adequately represented in the sum received for the land, so that the compensation thus directly secured to future generations for the opportunities from which they are excluded is not likely to be adequate. In practically deciding the question we have to take into account considerations that do not fall within the scope of the present discussion, since we cannot but be partly influenced by the moral and intellectual qualities likely to be possessed by the government that, if the system of leases be adopted, would have the delicate task of artificially providing for the lessee that encouragement of industry and thrift which the system of private ownership gives him naturally."

This is the view probably held by most professorial economists to-day. The more popular argument from expediency claims that the whole history of the world shows that civilization, prosperity, and progress have gone with private property in land, and that to subvert this institution would be to revert to barbarism and discourage thrift and industry. This argument is undoubtedly the main popular argument on this side. It is repeated by its supporters over and over again, and in a thousand forms. Mr. J. C. Spence, in a tract on *Property in Land*, published by the Liberty and Property Defense League, says :

"The whole history of agriculture might be claimed as evidence that land held in common by a tribe or a people can never be put to its best uses; that fixity of tenure is essential to improvement, and that no tenure is so perfect as absolute ownership. The fact that manufactures and commerce prosper best where least hampered by State interference indicates that the proper treatment of the land question is the abolition of all artificial restrictions on its absolute ownership."

But the supporters of private property in land do not only argue from expediency, they also

argue from justice. Mr. Herbert Spencer, who, in his *Social Statics*, written in 1851, declared that equity "does not permit property in land," in his *Justice* (1891) says that tho this be true, nevertheless the State, having long allowed the claims of the land-owners, to tax away or to legislate away the value of their lands would be unjust, while to compensate them would cost more than it is worth; and that even if titles to land do ultimately rest on robbery and injustice in the original ownership, the landless to-day cannot be shown to represent those from whom the land was originally taken. Another form of the argument that land nationalization or even the system of the single tax would be unjust is the claim that the value of land to-day, even in the cities, does not come from the mere natural sources or even from the mere growth of the community, but to a very large extent at least from the labor, the industry, the wit and invention of land-owners, and that hence to legislate or tax away land values would rob the land-owners of the results of their labors and their fathers', and hence both be unjust and inexpedient in discouraging industry and progress. In the *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi., pp. 625-634) Mr. C. B. Spahr argues that land in New York City is worth *per family* \$4000; in Ohio, \$2000; and in Mississippi, \$400; and that therefore the value of the land cannot be measured merely by the number of people on it, but does depend very largely on the improvement of the land. The pouring of Hungarians and Italians into certain portions of New York City does not raise, but lowers the value of land in that vicinity. Therefore land values come not merely from population or economic rent, but from the use made of the soil, from the activities of the city; to tax land values to the full would therefore tax and discourage those whose energy and improvements have largely, tho it is admitted not wholly, made land valuable to-day. Mr. Edward Atkinson follows the same line of argument (Single Tax discussion before the American Social Association, September 5, 1890) when he says :

"Put two men of different capacity on land of the same quality, and on the same crop one will get a large rent, the other will barely get a subsistence. Deal with two lots of land in the same city; put a good building on one and a poor building on the other; one will yield a large rent, the other no rent at all. It is neither the quality of the land nor the possession of the land which governs the income; it is the labor and capital applied to the land, and, more than all, the mental capacity (*i.e.*, the mental faculty), which is the prime factor in all production. Land itself possesses no value. The price paid for it is paid for the choice of lots.

"Economic rent is a mere hypothesis, based on the supposed action of an economic man, like whom no man ever existed. It is not a working theory, and may be safely disregarded in the consideration of the subject with which we are now attempting to deal."

This argument thus claims that the value of the land of old countries like England, great centers like New York City, rich farming communities like Ohio, depends not primarily on growth of population or fertility of soil, but on what the owners of the soil have done and are doing, so that to take the value would be unjust and unwise. Such are the main arguments against all forms of land nationalization or a single tax.

To this it must be answered, first, that few if any radical land reformers propose to-day to compensate taxed land-owners. They argue

**Arguments
against
Private
Ownership.**

that if it be true that equity does not permit property in land, injustice does not become justice by lapse of time, and that therefore the land-owners have no equity in the land. They ask with Mr. Spencer himself, against his own later views: "How long does it take

for what was originally a wrong to grow into a right?" Land reformers, however, do not propose suddenly to tax or legislate away landed property. They propose to do it gradually and with full warning by gradually raising the tax slightly every few years, so giving present proprietors full warning to prepare for the new conditions. This does away with the whole argument that land nationalization with compensation would not pay. Even the economists quoted above favor increased taxation of land values.

As for the argument from expediency, land reformers quote all the evils we have shown above to prove the inexpediency of private property in land. A single tax would preserve all the good points in the present system and do away only with its wrongs. The real user of the soil, so long as he used it productively, would, under the single tax—and the socialists claim under socialism—have security of tenure. It would give all the spur to honest labor now given by private capital. It is rent only that would be destroyed.

The main argument against private land ownership is its absolute injustice, as declared by Mr. Spencer himself, and by an overwhelming consensus of the deepest thinkers of all ages. Granted that the owners of the soil have contributed to human advance, they have had vastly more opportunity to do so. Put the children of the slums, *from their birth*, under the conditions of the land aristocracy of England, and who will say whether they might not have done at least as much. (See HEREDITY; ENVIRONMENT.) As it is, the poor, the landless, have at least equaled the land class in making the inventions and progress of the world. All that justice asks is equal opportunity for all, and it is absolutely certain that this cannot possibly be where millions are deferred from access to the land. We close this article by quoting the opinions of some thinkers whose weight and honesty of utterance are beyond question:

Herbert Spencer: "Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, held for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then other portions of its surface may be so held, and our planet must then lapse into private hands. It follows that if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners have no right at all to its surface" (*Social Statics*).

"Briefly reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination, all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid; those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth among its present inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find that if pushed to its ultimate consequences a claim to exclusive possession of the

soil involves a land-owning despotism. We further find that such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find, lastly, that the theory of the coheirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done" (*Social Statics*).

"There is reason to suspect that the inhabited area, which cannot be produced by labor, will eventually be distinguished as something which may not be privately possessed" (*Letter to the Times*, November 7, 1886).

Emile de Laveleye (*Primitive Property*): "The general principles of jurists commend the universal custom of primitive nations, which reserved to the tribe the collective ownership of the soil."

Bishop Nulty: "The land of every country is the common property of the people of that country."

Richard Cobden: "I warn ministers, and I warn landowners and the aristocracy of this country, against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrial classes the subject of taxation. For great as I believe the grievance of the protective system, mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the corn laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last 150 years, you will find as black a record against the landowners as even in the corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another league at the death of this one, if they want another organization and a motive, then let them force the middle and industrial classes to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled."

Grant Allen (*Contemporary Review*, May, 1886): "Not one solitary square inch of English soil remains unclaimed on which the landless citizen can legally lay his head, without paying tax and toll to somebody; in other words, without giving a part of his own labor, or the product of his labor, to one of the squatting and tabooing class (the landlords), in exchange for their permission (which they can withhold if they choose) merely to go on existing upon the ground which was originally common to all alike, and has been unjustly seized upon (through what particular process matters little) by the ancestors or predecessors of the present monopolists."

Mr. Gladstone (*Speech at West Calder*, November 27, 1879): "Those persons who possess large portions of the earth's space are not altogether in the same position as the possessors of mere personality. Personality does not impose limitations on the action and industry of man and the well-being of the community as possession of land does, and therefore I freely own that compulsory expropriation is a thing which is admissible, and even sound in principle."

(*Speech at Hawarden*, October, 1836): "I fully admit this—I stated it long ago in Midlothian, and I say it now without the slightest doubt—that if the time came when the British nation found that the land should be nationalized, and it would be wise to do it, they have a perfect right to do it."

Thomas Carlyle: "The notion of selling for certain bits of metal the Iliad of Homer, how much more the land of the world Creator, is a ridiculous impossibility."

J. A. Froude: "Under the feudal system the proprietor was the crown, as representing the nation; while the subordinate tenures were held with duties attached to them, and were liable, on non-fulfilment, to forfeiture."

"Land never was private property in that personal sense in which we speak of a thing as our own, with which we may do as we please."

"Land, properly speaking, cannot be owned by any man; it belongs to all the human race."

Frederic Harrison (*Lecture to the Edinburgh Philosophic Institution*, January, 1884): "They must be ready to act on the ancient principle of the English law, that the nation was the ultimate owner of the soil."

Rousseau (*Discours sur l'Origine de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, 1753): "The first man who, having enclosed a plot of ground, took upon himself to say, 'This is mine, and found people silly enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, how many wars, how many murders, how much misery and horror, would have been spared the human race if some one, tearing up the fence and filling in the ditch, had cried out to his fellows: 'Give no heed to this impostor; you are lost if you forget that the produce belongs to all, the land to none.'"

Professor F. W. Newman: "The history of the gradual, stealthy, but really nefarious revolution, in which landlords, by their own legislative power and their

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influence over lawyers, changed themselves into land-owners needs to be popularized."

Sir Henry Maine (*Village Communities*): "The terrible problem of pauperism began to press on English statesmen as soon as the old English cultivating groups (in which land was collectively, and not privately, owned) began distinctly to fall to pieces."

John Ruskin (*Time and Tide*): "Bodies of men, land, water, and air are the principle of those things which are not, and which it is criminal to consider as, personal or exchangeable property."

The Right Honorable John Morley (*Interview at Newcastle*, November, 1889): "I have always thought our forefathers made a great mistake when they did not reserve the minerals to the nation."

(*Speech in the House of Commons*, May 6, 1890): "The question of the unearned increment will have to be faced. It is unendurable that great increments which have been formed by the industry of others should be absorbed by people who have contributed nothing to that increase."

Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries*): "Accurately and strictly speaking, there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words on parchment should convey the dominion of land."

Ralph Waldo Emerson: "While another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated."

Judge Hughes (*Speech at Church Congress*, 1888): "The first thing which the democracy will write upon the slate will be the nationalization of the land."

Alfred Russel Wallace (*Malay Archipelago*, 1868): "We permit absolute possession of the soil of our country with no legal rights of existence on the soil to the vast majority who do not possess it. A great landholder may legally convert his whole property into a forest or hunting ground, and expel every human being who has hitherto lived upon it. In a thickly populated country like England, where almost every acre has its owner and occupier, this is a power of legally destroying his fellow-creatures; and that such a power should exist, and be exercised by individuals, in however small a degree, indicates that as regards true social science we are still in a state of barbarism."

Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations*): "The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportional to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give."

John Stuart Mill (*Principles of Political Economy*): "The essential principle of property being to assure to persons what they have produced by their labor and accumulated by their abstinence, this principle cannot apply to what is not the produce of labor, the raw material of the earth." "No man made the land; it is the original inheritance of the whole species." "The land of every country belongs to the people of that country."

General Francis Walker (*First Lessons in Political Economy*): "It certainly is true that any increase in the rental value or selling value of land is due not to the exertions and sacrifices of the owners of the land, but to the exertions and sacrifices of the community. It is certainly true that economic rent tends to increase with the growth of wealth and population, and that thus a larger and larger share of the product of industry tends to pass into the hands of the owners of land, not because they have done more for society, but because society has greater need of that which they control."

Professor Alfred Marshall (*Principles of Economics*): "All writers on economics are compelled to make a distinction between land and other things."

References: For the history of land tenures, see De Laveleye's *Primitive Property*; Maine's *Early History of Institutions*; Fustil de Coulange's *Origin of Property in Land* (tr.); S. W. Thackeray's *The Land and the Community*; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* (chaps. on land). For the various views to-day as to land, see F. A. Walker's *Property in Land*; Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and other writings; A. R. Wallace's *Land Nationalization*

LAND BANKS. See COOPERATIVE BANKS; BANKS AND BANKING.

LAND NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY, THE.—The English Land Nationalization Society was established in March, 1881. It was the result of an article written by Dr. Alfred

Russel Wallace in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1880, under the title of *How to Nationalize the Land. A Radical Solution of the Irish Land Question*. Among the first members of the society were Miss Helen Taylor, stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill; Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell; Alfred Russel Wallace; A. C. Swinton, who suggested the formation of the society; Emeritus Professor Francis Newman, the brother of Cardinal Newman; E. T. Craig, the founder of the Ralahine Colony; and Herbert Burrows. The society has been continuously active in its propaganda, and especially so during the last six years. Its income has also increased now that its principles have become better known. In 1888 one of its Scottish members gave a donation of £500 which enabled the society to organize an extensive series of meetings in the winter of 1888 and 1889. In November, 1889, it founded its monthly newspaper, called *Land and Labor*. In the following summer the society pioneered the open-air agrarian mission work which has since become so well known in connection with the yellow vans of the society and the red vans of the English Land Restoration League (*q.v.*). This work was suggested by a successful experiment with the *Land and Labor* cart which worked in charge of Joseph Hyder, the secretary of the society, in 1890. The following year saw the advent of the yellow and red vans. The van lecturers are best known in the north of the country and in Scotland, they having given especial attention to the mining villages and towns. While favoring the taxation of land values, the society lays most stress upon the actual compulsory acquisition of the land by public authorities. It proposes to gradually "take the land," as distinguished from Henry George's proposal to gradually "tax the rent."

LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE, THE ENGLISH.—In 1883, a few friends who had been meeting at each other's houses for the study of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, decided to form a society "to advance the principles laid down by Henry George for the restitution of the land to the people." Among the earliest members of the "Land Reform Union" thus established were Miss Helen Taylor, the Rev. Stewart Headlam, William Saunders, J. L. Joynes (late one of the masters in Eton College), Professor Symes (Nottingham), Minor-Canon Shuttleworth, G. B. Shaw, S. Olivier, Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, etc. From the first the new society entered on its campaign with marked vigor and success. A number of leaflets were issued, including a summary of the argument of Herbert Spencer's famous ninth chapter of *Social Statics*, the accuracy of which, after more than 10 years of uninterrupted publication, has lately been violently impugned by Mr. Spencer and vigorously and successfully defended by the League in the public press. A monthly paper, *The Christian Socialist*, was founded by members of the committee of the new society, and a guarantee fund raised for an extended "Henry George campaign." Mr. George visited England and addressed large meetings in London and the principal provincial towns. At the first annual meeting (May,

1884) the name of the society was changed to "English Land Restoration League." A manifesto drafted by Henry George was issued, and the League settled down to its long siege of the citadel of landlordism. The history of the next few years is an unbroken record of great activity—lectures without number in the London clubs, meetings in town halls, open-air meetings in the parks and open spaces, conferences on the land question, newspaper correspondence, a voluminous output of leaflets and pamphlets, an occasional "Henry George campaign." The only demonstration ever held on the open space in front of the Royal Exchange, in the very heart of the city of London, when Mr. George pointed the moral of the inscription over the portals of that building ("The earth is the Lord's," etc.), was organized by the League in January, 1885. Shortly afterward, at the general election, two members (J. C. Durant and W. Saunders) were returned to the short-lived Home Rule Parliament. In March, 1886, Mr. Saunders moved the resolution in the House of Commons which referred to the Town Holdings Committee the question of the taxation of ground values. The League has taken an active part in all the recent parliamentary and municipal elections. Just before the general election of 1892 about 40,000 circulars, with a printed paper of questions for candidates, were posted to the members and friends of the League, and a fairly complete record was obtained of the pledges of candidates—in spite of the protest of one Liberal candidate against this method of securing written promises "which might be used against the candidate if he should be elected!" Every proposal for "land purchase" has been strenuously resisted by the League, which has protested from the first against "every proposal for buying out Irish or other landlords at the expense or under the guarantee of the taxpayers, or for creating a new class of landlords under the name of 'peasant proprietors.'" It was owing to the persistence of its treasurer in Parliament that the alternative of compulsory hiring was inserted in the compulsory purchase (land) clauses of the Parish Councils Bill. Till the end of 1890 the active work of the League was almost entirely confined to the towns. In 1891 a special fund was raised for village propaganda. A "red van" was fitted out, and a successful campaign was carried on from April 17 to October 22 in the villages of Suffolk. The objects which the red van were intended to serve were (1) the propagation of land restoration principles; (2) the organization of the agricultural laborers; (3) the collection of full and accurate information as to the social condition of the villages. In 1892 five red vans were sent out. During 1894, 531 red van meetings were held. In every case the red van meetings are held in cooperation with a local, self-governing, and independent laborers' union, registered under the Trade-Union Acts.

This article is abridged from an article in the English *Labor Annual* for 1895 by Frederick Verinder.

LAND TRANSFER REFORM.—Under the ordinary forms of proving title to land great

expense is always involved, especially if the land has been transferred a number of times. Indeed, this expense of securing an abstract in such cases and having the title properly examined by a competent lawyer reduces by a heavy percentage the amount received by the seller.

Again, there is frequently great difficulty in securing any clear title to land. An abstract cannot show a clear title; even the careful opinion of a well-trained real estate lawyer is only a ground for a presumptive opinion. If the land has been sold and bought several times, especially if some years have elapsed since such transfer, no one can be sure of his title. Court records show many an instance of innocent purchasers losing land fairly paid for through the defects of the present system of proving titles.

The Torrens system of land transfer, originating in Australia and applied in Manitoba, British Columbia, and Ontario, where the system has been in use for many years and with universal success, has been invented to meet this evil.

The system provides that any land-owner may take his evidence of title to the land transfer office provided by law, and upon proving his title to the satisfaction of the registrar, who acts in behalf of the State, may have his land registered to him as owner, and may receive from the office a certificate to this effect. This registration gives him an indefeasible title; and if he wishes to sell, it is not necessary for him to trace his title beyond the one registration in the land transfer office. The Government guarantees that title. In case of sale, he fills out a simple memorandum of the transfer; this, with his certificate, is taken to the registrar. The transfer is then entered upon the registrar's book and upon the certificate, and the transfer is accomplished. The purchaser has now the indefeasible title with the Government guarantee. It is the *registration* that transfers the title—not the filling out of the memorandum of transfer, nor signing any certificate.

LASSALLE, FERDINAND, was born in 1825 at Breslau, Germany, of wealthy Jewish parentage. He studied at the universities of Breslau and Berlin, devoting himself to philosophy. Humboldt called him "Das Wunderkind." Savigny called his *Das System der erworbenen Rechte* (1861) "the ablest legal book since the sixteenth century." At Berlin, Lassalle, becoming a great favorite, in 1845 met the Countess Hatzfeldt, and for some eight years defended her cause before 36 tribunals on a question of property. In the Revolution of 1848 he was an ardent republican, was indicted for conspiracy and treason at Düsseldorf, and imprisoned six months. On coming out of prison, Lassalle devoted himself to literary and philosophical work, living, however, completely as a man of the world. In 1854 the Hatzfeldt affair was settled, and Lassalle gave himself to the completion of his *Die Philosophie Herakleitos des Dunkeln von Ephesus*, which he published in 1858. He was now to enter on his socialist career. Having lectured on constitutional themes, Lassalle was invited to lecture, on April 12, 1862, before an Artisans' Association in Berlin. It has been called the birthday of

German socialism. In a philosophical and historical way he traced the development of the State and of society, and argued that as the French Revolution freed the third estate, so the Revolution of '48 meant the freedom of the fourth estate. When the lecture was printed, the whole edition of 3000 copies was seized, and Lassalle prosecuted for incendiary utterances. He defended himself, appealing to science as the excuse for his words, but was condemned to pay a fine. Lassalle threw himself into social agitation of every kind. He corresponded with Rodbertus (*q. v.*), but could not draw that philosopher from his books. In 1863 the Leipsic Working Man's Association was undecided whether to follow the cooperative movement of Schulze-Delitzsch (see COÖPERATIVE BANKS) or a more radical social policy. It now wrote Lassalle, calling on him to outline a policy; and he did so in an *Open Letter*, which has been called the charter of German socialism. Lassalle advocated in it the formation of cooperative societies with State aid. He was next invited to appear, together with Schulze-Delitzsch, before the Leipsic workmen, to advocate their respective plans. Schulze-Delitzsch did not appear, but Lassalle did; 1300 delegates were present. Lassalle delivered two addresses, and after 40 delegates had left the hall cheering for Schulze-Delitzsch, the rest voted for Lassalle, 400 to 1. This led to the organization May 23, 1863, in Leipsic, of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein* (Universal German Working Man's Association), which was destined to grow into the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Into this movement Lassalle now put all his energy. The apathy of the working men was his chief obstacle, but he succeeded in rousing them. He made speech after speech, wrote tract after tract, held meeting after meeting. All the time he was fighting in the courts prosecution after prosecution, defending himself, and usually winning. Berlin, Leipsic, Frankfurt, and the industrial centers on the Rhine were the chief scenes of his activity. His greatest success was on the Rhine, where, in the summer of 1863 and 1864, his travels as missionary of the new gospel resembled a triumphal procession. He claimed that he had converted the king, Bismarck, and Bishop Von Ketteler, of Mayence (*q. v.*). Bismarck certainly received this remarkable man into his friendship, a friendship which may be regarded as historic because of its political results. (See BISMARCK; GERMANY.)

Socialistic Activity.

The task of winning Berlin over seemed an impossible one; but Lassalle loved difficulties. "Berlin *must* be mine," he wrote, "before six months are passed. I will invest it. Let me only have 200 working men and I shall have 2000, and soon the whole of them." Already he had prepared the way for operations by the circulation of 16,000 copies of an *Address to the Working Men of Berlin*, in which he endeavored to show that the Progressists were unmanaging the artisan, and also sought support for his Productive Associations. Two principal factors played against Lassalle's prospects of success in Berlin. The one was the predominance of the Progressist Party, which controlled the

press, and the other was the hostility of the police. It is not a little singular that Lassalle was perpetually being denounced as a tool of the reaction, while at the same time the emissaries of the law were ever dogging his steps and serving him with indictments for high treason.

At the end of June Lassalle was compelled to recruit his strength in Switzerland, and he remained absent from the scene of agitation until September.

The Association did not make the progress which Lassalle had expected. In August, when it had existed a quarter of a year, the members only numbered between 900 and 1000, Hamburg and Harburg having together 230; Elberfeld, 223; and Leipsic 150, while Berlin had only 20. Lassalle had already shown that he was discouraged, but he urged his followers to fresh energy. During the winter of 1863-64 Lassalle's time was divided between the work of his association and an extensive series of disputes with law courts and official bodies. In January, 1864, he produced a volume of nearly 300 pages against Schulze-Delitzsch, in tone undignified, sometimes coarse, yet always strong. But Lassalle's main work was for the Association. In August, 1864, however, he went for a vacation to Switzerland, and found there a Fräulein von Donnegis, whom he had met previously; they became betrothed. As she was induced by her parents to reject him, he fought a duel over her and was wounded, and died the night of August 30-31. He was buried, amid the universal lamentations of the working men, in the Jewish cemetery at Breslau. The Countess Hatzfeldt was at his side when he died, and continued to aid the Association after his death. There was some division, but the Association grew till it joined the movement organized by Marx, and with it formed the Social Democratic Party of modern Germany.

But his death in itself worked for socialism. It created the greatest interest. Heine called him the Messiah of the nineteenth century. The people called him the Father of Social Democracy. Until Lassalle entered public life the working classes had been without organization, and had wandered about like sheep without a shepherd. Thus the more advanced organizations which followed the Universal Association owe their existence and success largely to his almost unaided exertions.

Lassalle did not lay claim to any special originality as a socialistic thinker, nor did he publish any systematic statement of his views.

His aim was not scientific or theoretic completeness, but the practical one of organizing and emancipating the working classes; and his plans were promulgated in occasional speeches and pamphlets, as the crises of his agitation seemed to demand. Yet his leading ideas are sufficiently clear and simple. Like a true Hegelian, he saw three stages in the development of labor: the ancient and feudal period, which, through the subjection of the laborer, sought solidarity without freedom; the reign of capital and the middle classes, established in 1789, which sought freedom by destroying solidarity; and the new era, beginning in 1848, which would reconcile solidarity with free-

His Views.

dom by introducing the principle of association.

His chief insistence was on what he called and has since been called (*q. v.*) "the iron law of wages," a simple development of Ricardo's teaching. He argues:

"The simple working man who has only his two hands possesses nothing unless he is able to sell his labor to others. He may sell it cheap or dear, but the price, more or less high, does not depend on himself alone; it is the result of the bargain he makes with his employer. This latter pays as little as he possibly can, and since he can choose from among a vast number of laborers, he prefers the one who will work at the lowest rate. The laborers are thus obliged to lower their prices in competition with one another. In every kind of labor it must therefore result—and such is actually the case—that the wages of the laborer are limited to the exact amount necessary to keep him alive."

He was not a force revolutionist, and hence his immunity in the courts.

Reference: W. H. Dawson's *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888).

LATIN UNION. See BIMETALLISM.

LAUGHLIN, JAMES LAURENCE, was born at Deerfield, O., in 1850. He was educated at Harvard University, and appointed instructor in Political Economy in that University in 1878, becoming assistant professor in 1883. From 1888-90 he was President of the Philadelphia Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company. In 1890 he became Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Cornell, and in 1892 head professor of Political Economy at the University of Chicago. He has published *Saxon Legal Procedure* (1871), *The Study of Political Economy* (1885), *The History of Bimetallism in the United States* (1885), *The Elements of Political Economy* (1887). He is known as an advocate of gold monometallism, and as a leader among the more conservative economists of the United States.

LAVATORIES.—The following article is abridged from the Report of the Sub-Committee on Baths and Lavatories of the New York Committee of Seventy.

A lavatory is the euphemism for the convenience of water-closets and urinals, altho, strictly speaking, the lavatory is that part of the convenience provided with set bowls, soap, and towels. In some cases a small fee is charged for the use of these conveniences, while in others they are free; frequently those charging the fee are self-supporting. Paris and other continental cities provide urinals on the sidewalk or in small buildings. In the congested part of London, these accommodations must be underground.

It is surprising to find the almost universal lack of these provisions for public convenience in our American cities, and it is startling that a community so intelligent as that of New York should be so far behind Europe in those matters so essential to the health of the city. Especially is this to be noticed in our railroad stations, ferry-houses, docks, and public buildings. At the beginning of 1895 Boston had 21 public urinals; Brooklyn, none except in parks; Chicago, none; New York, none except in parks; Philadelphia, 7; St. Louis, none except in

parks; Birmingham, England, had 96; Liverpool, 222. The system is, however, just beginning in England, and many English cities have none.

Many of the conveniences in London are underground because the surface of the ground is already occupied. An ornamental iron railing, an inscription tablet and a lamp are the indications of the convenience. That in Piccadilly Circus, in front of the "Criterion," is one of the largest. The estimated number of people using this convenience in one year was 5,000,000; \$9692 were taken at the convenience. The initial cost was about \$17,500. The fee is generally a penny.

To avoid any hesitancy in visiting a public convenience, designs have been recently submitted in London for what are called *ladies' châlets*. These are to be built in open sites in the parks or at the junctions of streets. It is also a part of the scheme that they shall be self-supporting.

This kind of a convenience is divided into two parts—a shop for the sale of millinery or small notions and the lavatory, the entrance to which is through the shop. It was found that the accommodations for men were much more ample than for the women, hence it was hoped that the *châlets* would obviate that difficulty. The estimated expense of these conveniences is about \$2000, and it is calculated that each will yield a rental of \$60, which amount would defray the interest on the cost, while the income from the lavatory will meet the operating expenses with a possible margin of profit, dependent on the location. A parcel room is an additional adjunct of this system.

In New York City, the saloons supply what the city fails to provide. This is done to attract customers. The lavatory accommodations are as ample and as clean as it is possible for them to be built, and many of them will compare very favorably with those in the finest-appointed hotels. A writer speaks from personal experience of a first glass of liquor drank for no other reason but as a means of compensating the saloon-keeper for the use of his closet, but which was the direct cause of subsequent humiliation and misery.

Lavatories are specially needed in the tenement district. In very few tenements are there water-closets on each floor. The usual accommodations are a row of water-closets in the court-yard and a urinal in one corner. The conditions are again complicated by the fact that the court-yard is also the passage-way for the occupants of a rear tenement. Under the very best conditions such arrangements are unsanitary, especially when used by ignorant or careless people. But apart from any considerations like these, such accommodations are a constant obstacle to modesty and refinement. All through the tenement-house district are shoals of children; hence the more reason why the community should interest itself in insisting that every precaution conducive to morality and purity should be taken in behalf of its growing citizenship. As a result of this report, steps in this direction are already being taken in New York City, and are being proposed elsewhere. (See BATHS.)

LAVELEYE, ÉMILE LOUIS VICTOR DE, was born in Bruges in 1822. He studied at Bruges, the Collège Stanislas in Paris, and the University of Ghent. In 1865 he became Professor of Political Economy at Liège University. In politics he was a Liberal, in religion a liberal Roman Catholic. He was a constant contributor to the *Revue de deux mondes*, and a voluminous writer. Among his best-known books are his works on agricultural economics and on bimetallism—*e.g.*, *La Question d'or* (1860); *De la propriété et de ses formes primitives* (1874), translated into English by G. S. Mar; *Socialisme contemporaine* (1881, new ed. 1893). He died January 3, 1892. Laveleye was often considered a liberal academic socialist.

LAW, JOHN. See MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

LAW AND ORDER LEAGUES are leagues organized for the enforcement of law. The Law and Order League of Massachusetts was organized May 31, 1882, especially for the enforcement of the restrictive features of existing legislation regulating the liquor traffic. The idea grew, and on February 22, 1883, representatives of 27 Law and Order Leagues, located in eight States, met in Tremont Temple, Boston, and formed the "Citizens' Law and Order League of the United States," to be a "bond of union and a means of communication between the several leagues throughout the country." The organization holds annual meetings. At Toronto, Canada, in 1889, the name was changed to "The International Law and Order League."

The following is from the constitution :

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

"The object of this League shall be to maintain the principle that the enforcement of law is essential to the perpetuity of good government, and by promoting the formation of State and local leagues having the same object in view, between which it shall be a bond of union and means of communication, to secure in all proper ways the enforcement of existing laws relating to the liquor traffic, and all offenses against morals and the peace and good order of society, and to encourage and assist the authorities in maintaining and enforcing the same.

ARTICLE III.—MEMBERSHIP.

"Those persons shall be members of the League who are approved by the executive committee, and, being in sympathy with its object, contribute the sum of \$5 annually for support."

Law and order leagues work usually by disseminating literature, holding public meetings, prosecuting offenders against the law, investigating evils, etc. The organ of the League is *Lend a Hand* (Boston).

LAWSON, SIR WILFRID, of Aspatria, Cumberland, was born September 4, 1829, and succeeded to the title and estates of his father, who died in 1867. A lifelong advocate and supporter of the temperance movement, he became its chief representative in Parliament, being elected for Carlisle in 1859. In March, 1864, he first moved for leave to introduce the measure known as the Permissive Bill, the main principle of which is the giving to two thirds of the inhabitants of any parish or township an absolute veto upon all licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors granted within their districts.

The bill was supported by 40 members. Mr. Lawson was displaced at the general election of 1865; but in that of 1868, on appealing to the enlarged constituency as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, he was again returned to Parliament. He succeeded, on June 18, 1880, in carrying his "Local Option" resolution by a majority of 26. In 1885 he stood for the new Cocker mouth division of Cumberland, but was defeated by a Conservative majority of 10. In 1886, as a Gladstonian Liberal, he gained the seat by a large majority. Sir Wilfrid is in favor of the disestablishment of the Church and the abolition of the House of Lords, and standing armies.

LECLAIRE, EDMÉ JEAN, was born in 1801, and at the age of 17 he arrived penniless in Paris. He became a journeyman house painter. In 1827 he set up on his own account, and was successful. By 1834 he was chosen to paint the Bank of France and other large buildings. He worked, however, not only for himself. By a series of experiments he learned how to avoid the use of poisonous white lead. On February 15, 1842, Leclaire announced his intention of introducing a system of profit sharing among his men. He was laughed at and suspected by his men; but when he divided 11,866 frs. among them—\$50 on an average to a man—they ceased to laugh. From 1842-47 an average of \$3750 was divided among about 80 men. In 1838 he established a mutual aid society among his men. In 1853 he organized a complete system of profit sharing, and in 1860 established a system of old age pensions. In 1864 the society became incorporated as the Mutual Aid Society. In 1865 Leclaire retired and became *maire* of Herblay, where he died July 10, 1872. The month before his death the Maison Leclaire divided \$10,000 between about 600 men. The society still lives. (See PROFIT SHARING.)

As was the case with many of those who have applied genius to philanthropy, the fountain of Leclaire's enthusiasm was essentially religious, tho of a kind unconnected with the special dogmas of any particular Christian body. How intensely he held the "great commandment" of Christian morality appears from the following words written in sight of death, when he felt "sincerity" to be "more than ever a duty" :

"I believe in the God who has written in our hearts the law of duty, the law of progress, the law of the sacrifice of one's self for others. I submit myself to His will, I bow before the mysteries of His power and of our destiny. I am the humble disciple of Him who has told us to do to others what we would have others do to us, and to love our neighbor as ourselves; it is in this sense that I desire to remain a Christian until my last breath."

LECLAIRE, ILL., is the home of the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Co.'s works, where Mr. N. O. Nelson (the founder of the firm) is developing a cooperative manufactory and village. The company, which is engaged in manufacturing plumbers' supplies, and has its office in St. Louis, Mo., commenced in 1886 a profit-sharing system, and still continues it.

After paying regular wages and 6 per cent. interest on capital, it sets aside 10 per cent. of the profits for a reserve fund to meet losses, 5

per cent. of the profits for a provident fund to care for the sick and the families of deceased employees, and then divides the remainder at the rate of 2 per cent. on wages to 1 per cent. on capital. The dividends on wages have in seven years amounted to 54 per cent. The provident fund is managed by a committee of employees elected by themselves. The working day has been reduced to nine hours a day at regular 10 hours' pay, without any apparent diminution in product. Later, the company acquired its present tract of 125 acres of land 18 miles from St. Louis, with the purpose of erecting factories and building homes for its men. The village was called Leclair in honor of the founder of profit sharing. It now contains a half dozen brick factory buildings, heated by steam and lighted by electricity, water-works, a cooperative store owned and conducted by the men, a bowling-alley and billiard-room, a lecture hall and library. A kindergarten and school, a band, and a literary society have been organized. The streets are not run at right angles, but, in the manner of park roads, are paved with cinders, and skirted by four-foot sidewalks and lines of trees. Cottages of good architectural design are built for employees on plans adopted by themselves, and are paid for in monthly instalments slightly in excess of the city rents. These houses are built on lots of about one third of an acre, with a building-line of not less than 40 feet, are supplied with water and electric light, water being free and the lights 25 cents a month. The streets are sprinkled and lighted by electricity free of charge. By common consent no vegetable gardens are made about the premises, the grounds being devoted to grass, shrubbery, fruit trees, and small fruits. A neighboring coal mine supplies coal slack for the factories at \$1 a carload and lump coal at 70 cents a ton, which the cooperative store buys and retails to its members at the local retail rate. Once in two weeks a lecture is given by university professors from St. Louis, by professional men, and by other capable lecturers. The lectures are always given to large and attentive audiences. Every other week the literary society has an essay or a discussion, singing and reading. The kindergarten has more than anything else enlisted the enthusiasm of the residents in Leclair, and has drawn a number of children from the adjoining town of Edwardsville. The educational plan contemplates successive steps through the kindergarten, manual training in connection with the shops for boys, and domestic training for girls, so that at the age of 18 or 20 a good school education shall be accompanied by skill and experience in work, and with a regular occupation awaiting each graduate. It is hoped to develop the cooperative features till the factory and the whole village can be made completely cooperative.

LE PLAY, PIERRE GUILLAUME FREDERIC, was born at La Ravière, Saint Sauveur, in 1806. Deeply impressed with the sorrows of the poor around his early home, he came to Paris to study in the Ecole Polytechnique. Graduating with honors, he started, in 1829, with Reynaud, and traveled for many years through all Europe studying social facts.

In 1840 he was appointed to the Chair of Metallurgy in the School of Mines, and later was Inspector-General of Mines. Coming under the notice of the emperor, he was repeatedly appointed at the head of various scientific expeditions, particularly that of 1867. In 1855 he published his *Les ouvriers européens*. In 1856 he founded *La société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale*. In 1864 he published *La réforme sociale en France déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens*; in 1870, *L'organisation du travail*. In 1872 he founded *Les unions de la paix sociale*, which, in 1890, had 3000 members. In 1881 was commenced *La réforme sociale*, the organ of these unions. In its first number it declared that France, in the present century, had had 11 revolutions and 19 successive constitutions, as the result of utter chaos in social ideas. Hence it argued the need for conclusions drawn from the patient study of facts. Le Play is often called a Liberal Christian Socialist; yet, tho a Roman Catholic, he does not emphasize religion, and is as opposed to socialism as to *laissez faire*. He simply desired truth drawn from facts, and set himself and his followers to collecting these. His remedy for social ills is a rehabilitation of the powers once vested in the father of a family and in the conductor of a workshop. The family organization is not to be patriarchal, but what he calls the *famille souche*, with a restoration of the now limited freedom of bequest. H. Higgs has written the best English account of Le Play in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Boston, July, 1890.

LEROY-BEAULIEU, PIERRE PAUL, was born December 9, 1843, at Saumur; studying in Paris, Bonn, and Berlin, he traveled extensively in England and on the Continent, and held editorial positions upon the staff of several prominent journals and magazines; he was Professor of Finance in the School of Political Science. In 1880 he succeeded Michel Chevalier at the College de France. Leroy-Beaulieu is an adherent of the old liberal school. His chief work is his *Traité des sciences des finances* (4th ed., 1888), the best French work on the subject, and full of learning and research. He is also well known for his *Le Collectivisme* (1885); *La répartition des richesses* (1888); *L'état moderne et ses fonctions* (1890).

LESLIE, THOMAS EDWARD CLIFFE, was born in Ireland in 1837. He was called to the English bar, but turned his attention to literature, and contributed to the quarterly magazines. He was Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Belfast, for 25 years. He died in 1882. Cossa says of him in his *Introduction to Political Economy*:

"His learned and eminently readable tracts on applied economics all take up questions of reform, and he is especially pointed in his arguments against indirect taxation, and in favor of emancipating land tenure from the last remnants of feudal bondage. His schooling was partly under Sir Henry Maine and partly acquired by his own frequent and extended travels. By this means he acquired convictions regarding the historical development of economics which led him to take a position unique in Great Britain, where he was for a long time the solitary and always the most enthusiastic adherent of views which

Roscher and Knies defended in Germany. The manuscript of his most extensive work was lost in 1872, so that all that we now have to represent him is scattered through various reviews in the shape of essays. . . . He rejects in so many words the fundamental principle of the classical schools—their conception of the desire for wealth upon which all their deductions depend—because it is at one and the same time too vague and too one-sided."

LEXOW COMMITTEE.—This was a committee appointed January 30, 1894, by the Senate of New York State, to investigate the Police Department of New York City. The appointment of the committee was the result of the charges of the Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst (*q. v.*), President of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. Dr. Parkhurst had made careful and even personal investigations of disreputable resorts, and accumulated much evidence of violations of the law and of complicity of the police. His charges stirred up great excitement, and he was vehemently opposed by the city officials. The agents of his society were persecuted, and one of them was charged with crime and convicted, tho, as the society claimed, innocent. The existence of corruption in the Police Department had, however, now become so evident that the New York newspapers took the matter up and supported Dr. Parkhurst. Their demands doubtless secured the appointment of the Senate Committee. The sessions of the committee lasted from February till the end of the year, a recess being taken during the summer. John W. Goff was the counsel. The committee could only expose, but not convict. The result of the investigation was that 67 men in the Police Department were shown to be guilty of crime, among whom were 4 commissioners or ex-commissioners, 4 inspectors or ex-inspectors, and 22 captains or ex-captains. Most of these men were afterward regularly indicted as a consequence of the testimony against them before the committee. Dr. Parkhurst's course was thus completely vindicated, and he received many tokens of popular approval. An anti-Tammany reform ticket was triumphantly elected in the fall of 1894.

It is, however, true that the final results of the Lexow Committee's work have not been satisfactory to the public. It is stated that the results obtained in 1894 and 1895 cost the State of New York \$76,534. Yet on January 1, 1896, not a single person who was exposed by the Lexow Committee had begun to serve a term of imprisonment. There were 40 indictments dismissed, 35 indictments, at the above date, not yet tried, appeals, disagreements of jury, and reversal of conviction, in one case, by the Supreme Court.

LIBERALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

—Historically, English liberalism has been a middle-class movement, having its origin among the Puritans. The decay of feudalism, the growth of the towns, the expansion of trade, had all combined to render the English middle class the strongest power in the State by the middle of the seventeenth century. That power was tested by the overthrow of monarchy and the rise of a middle-class House of Commons to supremacy. The attempted reaction by the later Stuarts failed, and the so-called "Glorious Revo-

lution" of 1688 was made by the junction of the middle class with the Whig aristocracy. The financial and commercial policy adopted, including the founding of the Bank of England and the national debt and the high tariff, was conceived in the interests of the commercial class. The policy thus founded by a commercial Puritanism was reinforced by a body of ethical and economic philosophy contained in the writings of Locke, Adam Smith, Priestley, Franklin, and others. These writings furnished the English middle classes with a rational body of doctrine, which may, perhaps, be summed up in the word "liberty." It was necessary to remove the old feudal restraints, the old political restraints, and the old restraints imposed on liberty of speech, publication, and worship. Above all, according to the doctrine of liberty and enlightened self-interest, it was essential to remove restrictions on the power of accumulation, for the liberty to accumulate, and so enlarge trade and employ labor, was assumed to be the foundation of material prosperity. To this doctrine of liberty there were, however, two exceptions, both dictated by class interest. Commerce and manufactures were "protected" by a high tariff through the whole of the eighteenth century, and the first quarter of the present century in order to secure an English monopoly. That tariff was only abolished when it was no longer needed by capitalist interests. The second exception lay in the denial of the right of combination to workmen, who in its absence were unable to meet the capitalist on equal terms. This right was not conceded until 1824. Thus far the liberal movement in England (which, by the way, did not receive that name until after the French Revolution of 1830) appears as a purely *laissez-faire* movement, and such it fundamentally was. But there also existed with it, side by side, a genuinely democratic movement, which at times flamed out into activity. The "Levelers" and the "Fifth Monarchy" men represented this movement in the time of the Commonwealth; Thomas Paine was its most conspicuous figure at the end of the last century, while the tradition became deposited in the first half of this century in the Chartist Party. The Radicals (heirs of the "root and branch" men of the Commonwealth), as they came to be called, kept up their own organization and agitation, but they united with the more progressive section of the Whigs in a resistance to the reactionary policy of Pitt's cabinet, and afterward to the similar policy of Addington, Percival, Lord Liverpool, and Wellington. This progressive section of the Whigs, led by Charles James Fox, separated itself from the moderate body, inspired by Burke, on the subject of the French Revolution. The ethico-philosophic tradition derived from Locke was continued in our century by the so-called "Philosophic Radicals," of whom James Mill and George Grote were the chiefs; who, while acting largely with the Liberals, yet held on their own way, content to permeate the party as a whole with their spirit and ideas.

Having thus traced the genesis and growth of liberalism, we are able to see, on the one hand, its leading aim—liberty—and on the

other its somewhat complex construction, arising from the varied elements which entered into its composition. For it not only had its right and left wings, but different economic interests played upon it. In the main the Tory Party was the party of the old landlord interests, the Liberal that of industrial interests, altho during the reaction of Pitt capitalist as well as landlord supported the Government of the day. It is not until the scare produced by the French Revolution has died away that we are able to see with

any clearness the inherent tendencies of the parties. The great revolt against toryism which resulted in the reform ministry of 1830 and the Reform Bill of 1832 was brought about by a combination of the middle-class Liberals with the working class Radicals. The former held

the economic doctrines which we associate with the names of Ricardo, Senior, and Bastiat, and which were, in the main, derived from the *Wealth of Nations*. These doctrines assumed "freedom of contract not only as a sound theory, but as an actual fact, from which was to be deduced the dogma of *laissez faire*. The Radicals, perhaps, held to the same doctrines, which were dear to the older school of trade-unionists, to whom the State meant the old tyrannical class state of pre-reform days. What the Radicals hoped was that equality of political rights would favor a really free competition, with the result of economic advantage for all. What happened after reform was that the middle-class Liberals passed middle-class legislation and alienated their Radical allies, who, finding that reform had not produced the benefits which were expected, revolted against liberalism and initiated the Chartist movement. The six "points" of the Charter, though entirely political, were, nevertheless, intended to bring about social and economic results by constitutional means, the political movement being aided by an economic revolt against machinery as the cause of industrial dislocation and by the new movement of socialism, led by Robert Owen, and which found many friends among the Chartist leaders. The application of a rigid *laissez-faire* policy to industry had resulted in frightful horrors, which intensified the misery arising out of lack of employment, as machines took the place of men. The troubles of the time are best pictured in Carlyle's *Past and Present*, tho the whole literature of the period is penetrated with the sense of social wrong and insecurity. What was to be the attitude of liberalism to this state of things? The leadership of the party had drifted completely into the hands of the Whig aristocracy, but they were without a policy. The success of Chartism or the backward movement toward Tory reaction would have been certain had it not been for the rise of the free trade movement. This movement diverted the great stream of liberalism into one narrow channel, and kept it within these confines for over a generation. The free trade leaders were the bitter opponents of all the factory and mining legislation, due to the energy of Owen, Sadler, Shaftesbury, and others, but they had the advantage of knowing their economics and of having a direct simple program of re-

form which was merely a development of the doctrine of liberty already implicitly contained in liberalism. Their object was to remove the last vestiges of aristocratic rule and to render the middle class absolutely supreme in name and fact, with abundance of free raw material and cheap labor, and with the ownership of the land, which, it was assumed, could be gradually acquired by the middle class through the abolition of entail, primogeniture, and settlements. The aim is stated in a letter addressed by Cobden to Bright, October 1, 1849: "The citadel of privilege in this country (*i.e.*, landlord privilege) is so terribly strong, owing to the concentrated masses of property in the hands of the comparatively few, that we cannot hope to assail it with success unless with the help of the propertied classes in the middle ranks of society, and by raising up a portion of the working class to become members of a propertied order." The free-trade movement, while destroying the old tariff, had no effect on the land system of England, so that it produced no fundamental economic change, and for a considerable time there can be no doubt that, apart from a little tinkering at factory legislation, liberal politicians believed economic finality had been attained and that "natural forces" would, in time, solve those problems of pauperism which still stared them in the face. English commercial supremacy was unchallenged, and English trade was, on the whole, brisk and sound. This condition of things, roughly speaking, obtained from the abolition of the Corn Laws till the end of Mr. Gladstone's first premiership.

Then came a change. The consolidation of Germany had led to a great industrial expansion in that country, while the wave of protectionism which has engulfed the whole world brought about high tariff legislation, thus cutting off many former English markets. A series of bad seasons, aided by the growing importations of American wheat, brought about the decline of agriculture. The formidable signs of the grave discontent which had arisen made themselves felt first in Ireland in the famous movement of the Land League. On the other hand, a great change had taken place in the structure of society. Commercial magnates, enriched by free trade, had become conservative, and had in many cases allied themselves by marriage to the aristocracy, while some sections of the working classes, disappointed at the results of liberalism, had become Conservative also, tho the great body remained Radical, but without any serious reason beyond a vague dislike of privilege, costly royal grants and pensions, etc. Thus parties stood at the beginning of Mr. Gladstone's second premiership, neither standing on any genuine platform of principle in the economic sphere. It was reserved for the Irish to begin the new movement. Tho as a party the Irish Nationalists had no genuine economic doctrine, and were divided among themselves into advocates of land nationalization and individual peasant ownership, yet the movement which they initiated, aided by the powerful effect produced by Mr. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, dealt a tremendous and probably fatal blow at the old theory of land ownership as held by the old Liberal Party.

The legislation which the Irish compelled was of course a compromise, but it put an end to the dogma of "freedom of contract,"

The New Socialist Movement.

and asserted the paramount rights of humanity over mere vested interests. At this time, however, a new and more powerful force than that of the Irish began to affect England—the new socialist movement. We have seen that socialism in England began with Robert Owen, but the times were not then ripe, the capitalist system of industry not having developed its own inherent contradictions. Consequently the social movement slept for over a generation, during which time, however, the adoption of a national system of education (in 1870) had stimulated both intelligence and discontent. The appearance of modern socialism in England dates from 1881, but the movement did not become formally and consciously socialist until 1883. At first it was of the crude revolutionary character, but it has since become more practical and parliamentary in its methods and aims. The internal quarrels within the ranks of socialism prevented it from exerting much influence as an electoral factor until the formation of the Independent Labor Party in January, 1893. But tho it was not securing votes, the new socialist influence was being felt, especially by the Liberal Party, which had exhausted its old program of "liberty." People had all the "liberty" they needed, and many had more than they knew what to do with; it was social opportunity that was now demanded. The Liberal rather than the Conservative Party was affected because it had been the party of the intelligent working classes and the reformers of greater moral earnestness. For some time, however, no response was made. The Liberal leaders were absorbed in Irish Home Rule to the exclusion of almost every other question. The program adopted by the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham in 1887 was so barren as to call forth loud remonstrances from those eager for the alliance of liberalism and labor. The agitation which arose led ultimately to the adoption in 1891 of the so-called "Newcastle Program," drawn up and accepted by the delegates of the National Liberal Federation at the Newcastle meeting of that year. That program is a political *pot-pourri*, containing sops to the various sections of the Liberal Party and its Irish allies, such as disestablishment for the Welsh, "local option" for the temperance vote, village councils for the agricultural laborer, together with a socialistic and democratic infusion, including the taxation of land values and incomes, advanced factory legislation, payment of members of Parliament, and the second ballot. It was on this program that the Liberals and Irish won the general election of 1892. The chief measures passed by the party during the period which has elapsed are the Local Government Act, by which it is expected that villagers will be able to gradually wrest both rural administration and the ownership of land from class domination; and the Budget of 1894, by which the principle of progressive taxation of income and heavy death duties on real and personal property was definitively established. Thus it is claimed for the

Liberal Party that it is now almost abreast of the new socialistic thought of the period; the newer tendencies of the party being generally described as the "new radicalism." The chief cause of friction, however, inside the party centers about the legislation for regulating by law adult labor. The issue has been the Miners' Eight-Hours Bill, which is strenuously opposed by a minority of the party, including so prominent a man as Mr. John Morley. It may be expected that the closing years of the century will witness an attempt at the completion of the evolution of modern liberalism by shedding altogether the "moderate" or individualist wing, which is visibly declining and must tend to disappear. The new party of progress in England can scarcely avoid being largely collectivist, since it will probably be the outcome of a union of radicalism with the labor movement, nearly all the rich and socially influential classes gravitating steadily to the Conservative Party. But before this consummation is reached liberalism is likely to undergo defeat.

The evolution of liberalism from the last century has thus been traced from a movement of "liberty" to one of "opportunity." It is a characteristic of England that her life does not admit of the development of extreme forms either of progress or reaction. In Germany and France we see extreme reactionary views confronted with extreme revolutionary ideas; we see absolute collectivism face to face with rigid *laissez faire*. Had the Liberal Party been converted to extreme *laissez-faire* theories like the German Liberals or the French moderate Republicans, England would have been the scene of a great separate socialist party, like France and Germany. The extreme Manchester school would have probably brought about this result had not the timely enfranchisement of the working classes modified this tendency and brought liberalism from the narrow channel of mere free trade into the wider stream of modern social thought. Perhaps the newer tendency of liberalism (if we are still to use this word for a great progressive movement) may be best described in the words of Mr. John Morley, taken from a passage in his *Voltaire*, p. 78: "Political liberty, however, has not only a meaning of abstention, but a meaning of participation. If in one sense it is a sheer negative and a doctrine of rights, in another sense it is thoroughly positive and a gospel of duties." The success or failure of liberalism in the transition period in which we are living will mainly depend on whether its adherents can carry out the idea thus expressed. (See also ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

WILLIAM CLARKE.

LIBERTY.—Few words in the English language are more used in the literature of social reform than the word *liberty*, yet few words have been less carefully defined. What definitions have been given have been often contradictory and often utterly unphilosophical. Cicero says: "The essence of liberty is to live just as you choose" (*potestas vivendi ut velis*) (*De Officiis*, Book I., chap. xx.). This is perhaps to-day both the popular and the abstract

conception of liberty; but all science, philosophy, and experience agree to-day in declaring that no such liberty is possible to a finite being. The following quotations will show to what an extent modern science denies that there is any freedom of the will:

"I know of no writer not a theologian pure and simple that goes the length of claiming this for the will" (George Lacy, in *Liberty and Law*, p. 53). "The terms have no application to the subject" (Bain's *Emotion and Will*, chap. xi.). "Man's volitions are not self-caused, but determined by spiritual antecedents, in such sorts that when the antecedents are the same, the volitions will always be the same" (Mill on Hamilton, pp. 492-3). "There is nothing existing in the world which is absolutely alone—entirely free from inseparable relationship to some other thing or things. Freedom, therefore, is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some kind of restraint" (Argyle, *Reign of Law*, chap. vi.). "The will of the animal, as well as that of man, is never free" (E. Haeckel, *History of Creation*, vol. i., p. 237). "The feelings in my consciousness in the moment of voluntary choice have been preceded by facts out of my consciousness, which are related to them in a uniform manner, so that if the previous facts had been accurately known, the voluntary choice might have been predicted" (W. K. Clifford, *Right and Wrong*, p. 162). "Psychical changes either conform to law or they do not. If they do not conform to law, no science of psychology is possible. If they do conform to law, there cannot be any such thing as free will" (H. Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, Part IV., § 20).

Many theologians and some philosophers assert the freedom of the will, but even they usually maintain that the will is only free within the limits of its own moral nature.

Says T. D. Woolsey:

"For a finite being, moral excellence, united with the greatest perfection of intellect pertaining to human nature, will make the best course of action certain within his sphere of existence (Johnson's *Cyclopedia*, art. 'Liberty')."

It follows that moral deficiencies and lower grades of intellect make lower causes of action equally necessary. As for experience, from the child who cries for the moon to the absolute monarch or the beggar, who both have their wills continually crossed, all life shows that no man can do whatever he will. Scientifically, philosophically, experimentally, absolute freedom for finite beings is an impossibility.

Says F. J. Stephens (*Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*, p. 13):

"Freedom is only intelligible as meaning the being free from some particular kind of restraint; therefore, in political science, when one speaks of political, economic, or other liberty, one should explain from what kind of restraints freedom is meant."

"From excessive liberty tyranny springs as certainly as a tree from its roots" (Plato's *Republic*).

Economic freedom may not mean liberty, because one may still be the slave of social laws. Hence, in considerations of liberty, freedom must be balanced with freedom, and the greatest amount of freedom chosen. Thus, moved by various considerations and influenced by various social, political and industrial environments, liberty has been very variously conceived, as the following definitions will show:

"Liberty consists in the safe and sacred possession of a man's property" (Fox, quoted by W. Roscher, vol. i., p. 236). "Political liberty consists in security, or, at all events, in the opinion that we enjoy security" (Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, book 12, chap. ii.). "Liberty is the freedom to do what the law permits" (Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, book 2, chap. iii.).

Bentham makes liberty to consist in the freedom to follow 14 specific sources of pleasure, which he names (*Principles of Morals*, vol. i., chap. v.). Mill says that liberty "is the principle that the sole end for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection" (on *Liberty*, p. 6, People's Edition). According to Sheldon Amos, "Liberty on its positive side denotes the fulness of individual existence. On its negative side it denotes the necessary restraint on all which is needed to promote the greatest possible amount of liberty for each" (*Science of Law*, p. 90).

For other conceptions of liberty and a discussion of the ways by which it is proposed to secure to-day the highest amount of liberty, see ANARCHISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM; SPENCER.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENSE LEAGUE, THE.—Founded for the purpose of maintaining freedom of contract, upholding proprietary rights, and resisting socialistic legislation, the Liberty and Property Defense League has from its inception, in 1882, occupied a unique position in English politics. Associated with neither of the two great political parties in the State, it has consistently opposed the tendency toward socialism which during each succeeding year of the last quarter of a century has become more and more marked in the legislation of the British Parliament. The League opposes all attempts to introduce the State as competitor or regulator into the various departments of social activity and industry, which would otherwise be spontaneously and adequately conducted by private enterprise. Questions of the structure or constitution of the State and those of foreign policy do not come within the scope of the League. It is exclusively concerned with the internal functions or duties of the State. During the last 15 years all industries in the country have successively suffered at the hands of the State an increasing loss of their self-government. These apparently disconnected invasions of individual freedom of action by the central authority are in reality so many instances of a general movement toward State socialism, the deadening effect of which on all branches of industry and originality the working classes will be the first to feel. Each industry conducting its self-defense without any reference to the others has on every occasion hitherto failed to oppose successfully the full force of this movement concentrated in turn against itself by the permanent officials and the government in power for the time being. The League resists every particular case of this common evil by securing the cooperation of all persons individually opposed to the principle of State socialism in all or *any one* of its instances; and by concentrating into a system of mutual defense the forces of the "defense associations" of the various industries of the country, and of independent companies and corporate societies.

Federated with the League are 160 defense and protection societies, representing railways, shipping, tramways, water companies, manufactures, land and house property, liquor, mining, and the other industries, and the representatives of these bodies form a powerful committee for the purpose of watching the progress of bills through Parliament, and taking steps to

oppose or amend such bills. Strictly speaking, the League is a parliamentary agency for these industries; but while in the main its efforts are directed to opposing or amending socialistic legislation, the League does not neglect the important work of propagating its views. In the press and on the platform, and by the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, the officials of the League carry on a vigorous propaganda in defense of individual liberty and proprietary rights, and through the medium of such journals as the *Liberty Review* everything is done that can be done to spread and popularize the principles which the League has been established to defend. Among the books and pamphlets which the League publishes and circulates are works by Lord Bramwell, Herbert Spencer, Earl Wemyss, Léon Say, Earl Fortescue, Auberon Herbert, Goldwin Smith, Dudley Field, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, and other well-known writers. As a collection of individualist and anti-socialist literature the list published by the League may be said to be the most complete in existence. At the Universal Exhibition, Paris, 1889, the League was awarded the grand prize for its publications.

That the Liberty and Property Defense League will find plenty of work to do in the future goes without saying. Every succeeding year witnesses an increase in the number of socialistic measures introduced into the British Parliament. From the last annual report of the League it appears that in the list of bills which the League and its federated societies opposed in Parliament during the session of 1893 there were no less than a score relating to property in houses and land; 8 relating to mines, railways, and shipping; 9 relating to textile and other trades and manufactures; and 16 relating to trade in alcohol. According to the League, every one of these measures was of a more or less socialistic character, and contained proposals of an oppressive and predatory kind. In the majority of cases the League's opposition to these measures was successful; and there can be no doubt that, looked at from the capitalist's standpoint, the League has done a large amount of useful work in resisting legislation which aims at restricting individual freedom and hampering private enterprise.

The central offices of the Liberty and Property Defense League are at Westminster Chambers, 7 Victoria Street, London. Branches of the League are in existence in all the large industrial centers in Great Britain, and in France, Germany, Italy, Australia, and New Zealand.

W. C. CROFTS.

LIBERTY PARTY.—The abolitionists (*q. v.*) at Warsaw, N. Y., having informally nominated, in 1839, James G. Birney for President and Francis J. Lemoine for Vice-President, the nominations were confirmed by a convention, ostensibly national, that met at Albany, April 1, 1840, and adopted the name "Liberty Party." Its platform was the abolition of slavery. The candidates received 7059 votes in spite of their having declined the nominations. On August 30, 1844, the national convention of the party met. The topic of greatest interest at that time was the annexation of Texas, and the con-

sequent increase in slave territory. Birney and Thomas Morris, of Ohio, were nominated. The total vote for Birney was 62,263. Had the electoral vote of New York gone to Clay, it would have elected him. In that State the popular vote stood: Polk; 237,588; Clay, 232,482; Birney, 15,812. Had Birney not been nominated, it is probable that enough of his vote to elect Clay would have been so cast—certainly none of it would have gone to Polk. This lesson was not forgotten, and the party did not again name its own candidates. In 1848 and 1852 it supported the Free Soil Party, and thereafter the Republican Party (*q. v.*).

LIBRARIES, PUBLIC.—The oldest libraries known are the Babylonish tablets, found in the mounds of Mesopotamia, and supposed to have been prepared for public instruction about 650 B. C. Pisistratus is said to have founded a library at Athens 537 B. C., but this is not clear. Strabo says that Aristotle was the first collector of a library, and that his library descended to the Romans. The story of the great Alexandrian library founded by Ptolemy Soter, with from 100,000 to 700,000 manuscripts (according to different authors), and burned by the Caliph Omar, is now considered to be a myth, at least as to its size. Many Romans collected libraries. Plutarch says the library of Lucullus was open to all. Pliny says the library of Pollio was the first public library in Rome. St. Jerome says that St. Pamphilus, of Cesarea, in 309, collected 30,000 volumes, chiefly religious, to be lent; if this be true, it was probably the first lending library. The libraries of the Middle Ages were small. The still existing library of the Swiss abbey of St. Gall was one of the first, and claims an antiquity of 1000 years. The first library in England is said to have consisted of nine manuscripts brought by Augustine in 596. As late as Henry VIII. the royal library had only 329 volumes. Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, had, in 1490, 50,000 volumes, destroyed by the Turks in 1530. Lorenzo de' Medici, in Florence, established the great Laurentian Library. In 1556 the Royal Library of France, then containing 2000 volumes, received by royal ordinance the privilege of obtaining a copy of every book printed in France. By 1789 it had 200,000 volumes, and is to-day the largest library in the world. Germany has the greatest number of important libraries of any country. The library of the British Museum was founded in 1753. The first library in the United States was that of Harvard College, begun in 1638.

Benjamin Franklin, after considerable effort, founded, in 1732, the Philadelphia Library Company, the "mother," as he himself calls it, "of all the subscription libraries in North America."

In Scotland, in 1816, Samuel Brown, of Haddington, following in part the methods of London booksellers, established a system of free itinerating libraries, loaning without cost selections of 50 books in each package to villages and neighborhoods.

This system was copied in this country in the school district libraries which were started in the State of New York in 1835, and a few years

afterward were in successful operation in Massachusetts and other New England States, and in Michigan and Ohio at least, among States further West.

MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES.

The first free town library in America, or the world, supported by municipal taxation, was established by the efforts of Abel Abbot, D.D., in Peterboro, N. H., in 1833.

Massachusetts in 1847 granted to Boston the right to establish the first large municipal free library. There are in Massachusetts now over 300 free libraries (according to the returns of the Public Library Commission for 1894), or 1233 volumes for every 1000 of population; in New Hampshire something over 100 (in 1894), or 464 volumes per 1000 of inhabitants.*

Professor H. H. Barber says (*American Magazine of Civics*, May, 1895):

"Massachusetts, in 1890, appropriated \$100 to any town that would raise by taxation, or appropriate from the dog tax, or otherwise raise, at least \$50 (or if its valuation was less than \$1,000,000 it should raise \$25, or if less than \$250,000 it should raise at least \$15), and should agree to take care of the books, and furnish the agency of distribution. The sums granted by the State are in the hands of a board of commissioners appointed by the governor (with the advice and consent of the council); and so far these commissioners—librarians and others—have been eminent citizens, serving without salaries, and having only \$500 in their hands annually for clerk hire and traveling expenses. The commission is also required to give advice and information to librarians and others concerning selection of books, cataloging, and administration; and to select and forward the books granted by the State.

"Now for results. The commission has thus aided in establishing, in four years, more than 60 free public libraries in small towns (out of 104 not thus supplied), and its action has shamed a few larger towns into establishing them; so that now only two and three fourths per cent. of the population of the State, in 44 small towns, were in January, 1894, without their advantages. And this has been accomplished with an entire expense to the commonwealth of less than \$100,000. *Per contra*, more than \$500,000 were given by individuals in a single year for similar purposes within the State. . . .

"In 1892, a law was passed authorizing the Regents of the University of New York to lend for a limited time—usually six months—selections of books. . . . At the end of 20 months 125 of these free loan libraries had been sent out by the New York Board of Regents, of which nearly one half (44) went to communities without public libraries, the remainder going to libraries already established (22), to university extension centers (18), and to academy libraries open to the public (22). Eleven thousand nine hundred volumes were thus made accessible to the public, with a total circulation of not far from 25,000 volumes and 9000 readers. This system, which seems even more economical than the Massachusetts one, has greatly promoted interest in good reading, and led to the establishment of several local public libraries."

In 1892 the public libraries in the United States of 1000 volumes or upward numbered 3804 collections, aggregating about 27,000,000. The free library movement is spreading also in Great Britain, Germany, and Australasia. The following are the larger libraries of the world:

	Volumes.
Paris National Library	2,600,000
London British Museum	1,650,000
St. Petersburg Imperial	1,078,000
Munich Royal (including pamphlets)	940,000
Berlin Royal	850,000
Strasbourg University	700,000
Washington Congressional	659,843
Boston Public	597,000
Vienna Imperial Public	570,000
Oxford University	530,000
Hamburg City	505,000
Leipzig University	504,000
Cambridge (Eng.) University	500,000
Copenhagen Royal	500,000
Stuttgart Royal Public	500,000

Of the value of public libraries, Professor Barber says (see above):

"It would hardly seem necessary to dwell upon the arguments in behalf of the free public library. 'There is probably no mode of expending public money,' says Stanley Jevons, 'which gives a more extraordinary and immediate return in utility and innocent enjoyment.' . . . The cost of the two war vessels just voted by Congress might be abundantly sufficient to insure the organization on the Massachusetts plan of a free library in every village and county town of the United States, not now accessible to such a library.

"In the year 1817 George Ticknor, the distinguished author of the *History of Spanish Literature* and a benefactor of the Boston Public Library, wrote to Edward Everett: 'I would establish a library which differs from all free libraries yet attempted; I mean one in which any popular books tending to moral and intellectual improvement shall be furnished in such numbers that many persons can be reading the same book at the same time; in short, that not only the best books of all sorts, but the pleasant literature of the day, shall be made accessible to the whole people when they most care for it—that is, when it is fresh and new.' . . . Mr. Herbert Spencer and the individualists oppose to the public library, supported by taxation, their well-worn declamation about the injustice of making one man pay for another man's culture and amusement; and urge the dictum of *laissez faire* in civilization and government. But as the post-office and the public school have survived their onslaughts we may not feel compelled to surrender the advantages of the free library. For, as with the school, it is easy to show that mental health and light are as primary interests of the community as material; and that it is precisely because those most deficient are least sensible of their defect that society must seek to remedy it. Mr. Spencer's analogy between hunger for food and hunger for knowledge is utterly fallacious. The physical appetite may be trusted to seek vigorously its own supply; the intellectual appetite has most to be aroused where intellectual starvation is most imminent; and it grows only by what it feeds on. Men usually value most, indeed, what they work or pay for; but it is precisely those who do not value good books at all who need to be tempted and trained to their appreciation. And it is just the children of those whose parents will not, or cannot, provide them wholesome reading, that society cannot afford to let go wholly unprovided.

Objections.

"The smallest fee here proves an effective bar, as the experience of all subscription libraries proves. When the Springfield (Mass.) library was made free, its circulation was trebled the first year, tho the fee had been only \$1. . . . It is sometimes objected that the records of all public libraries show that the lightest literature is most read; that fiction constitutes one half or three fourths of the books circulated. But besides the obvious consideration that only wholesome fiction finds place in all well-appointed public libraries, Horace Greeley's view has much to commend it—viz., that all pure reading, however light, tends to develop a taste for more vigorous and instructive literature. Besides, it may well be urged that fiction is not only the current form of literary art, but also the effective vehicle of current social theories, philanthropies, and reforms; and that much of the most earnest thinking and serious moral purpose of this age is embodied in it. Under such intelligent and careful selection as the public opinion of the community may provide for, the public library will furnish a healthful substitute and corrective for the unappointed and vagrant reading of that large section of young people most in need of guidance."

* Fletcher's *Public Libraries in America* gives the following list of free libraries in the other States: Illinois, 42; Michigan, 38; Rhode Island, 26; New York, 24; Indiana, 23; Connecticut, 23; California, 21; Ohio, 21; Iowa, 15; Vermont, 15; Maine, 14; Wisconsin, 9; Kansas, 9; New Jersey, 9; Minnesota, 8; Pennsylvania, 7; Missouri, 4; Colorado, 3. It should be remembered that these are minimum figures, the returns from some States being very imperfect. On the other hand, some of those returned in all the States, and all of those in some States—as in Pennsylvania—are supported otherwise than by public taxation.

LICENSE. See HIGH LICENSE, also PROSTITUTION.

LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM, was born in 1826, at Leipzig, of poor parentage; he studied at Giessen, Berlin, and Marburg. In the Revolution of 1848 he took part in Baden, and was imprisoned from September to May. He fled to Switzerland and then to England, where he remained till 1862. He was much with Marx, and earnestly espoused his views. In August, 1862, he returned to Germany, and edited the *North German Gazette* till it became a Bismarckian organ, when Liebknecht joined Lassalle's agitation. He became the leader of the International Party in Germany, won Bebel to socialism, and with him worked for the amalgamation of the movements started by Lassalle and Marx, thus forming the Social Democratic Party, of which he and Bebel are still the main leaders. In 1865 he was ordered to quit Prussia. He went to Leipzig and edited a democratic journal till it was suppressed in 1866. Returning to Berlin, he was imprisoned three months. In 1867 he was returned to the North German Diet by a Saxon constituency, and has been in

the Legislature ever since. He was imprisoned in 1870, and for two years beginning in 1872. In 1881 he was expelled from Leipzig under the socialist law. He is not an original thinker, but of high intellectual attainments and a good writer; his *Zur Grund und Bodenfrage* (1874), a work on the land question, being among his best publications.

LIFE-SAVING SERVICE, THE, of the United States commenced in 1849 with an appropriation of \$20,000 by Congress. Previous to this the only organized attempts in this direction were of humane societies like that of Massachusetts, established in 1789. To-day the ocean and lake coasts of the United States are picketed with the stations of the life-saving service attached to the United States Treasury Department.

At the close of the last fiscal year the life-saving establishment embraced 251 stations, 184 being on the Atlantic coast, 53 on the lakes, 13 on the Pacific coast, and 1 at the falls of the Ohio, Louisville, Ky.

The following table gives the results :

	Year ending June 30, 1895.	Since Introduction of Life-Saving System in 1871, to June 30, 1895.
Number of disasters.....	483	8,302
Value of property involved.....	\$10,647,235	\$133,641,974
Value of property saved.....	9,145,085	102,342,047
Value of property lost.....	1,502,150	31,299,927
Number of persons involved.....	51,402	67,258
Number of persons lost.....	20	750
Number of shipwrecked persons succored at stations.....	803	12,013
Number of days' succor afforded.....	2,232	31,353
Number of vessels totally lost on the United States coasts.....	73	.....

LIGHT RAILWAYS.—In Great Britain there has been some effort to get light railways, or railways of comparatively cheap production, and working such as exist in some parts of the Continent, and benefit, it is contended, poor districts and agricultural. The Board of Trade has had power to construct such roads since 1868, but has not yet relaxed its conditions sufficiently to allow them.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC. (See INTEMPERANCE; TEMPERANCE.)—We simply give here statistics of the liquor traffic.

The returns of the Internal Revenue Department furnish a means of very accurately measuring the liquor traffic from year to year. Dur-

ing the last fiscal year, which closed June 30, 1895, there were registered 1949 distilleries of grain, 12 of molasses, and 920 of fruit. There were in actual operation during the year 1621, 11, and 797 respectively. The number of gallons of spirits placed in warehouse during the year is substantially the production of the year. The revenue is paid on spirits when withdrawn for consumption. Beer does not go into bonded warehouses, but the tax is paid at the brewery on the amount produced. The distillery operations are shown by the following statistics of distilled spirits for the years ending June 30, 1894 and 1895, compiled from the Internal Revenue Report for 1895 :

	Gallons.	Gallons.
In warehouse at beginning of year.....	147,894,694	137,993,078
Put in warehouse during the year.....	89,205,491	79,949,595
Total in warehouse.....	237,000,186	217,942,673
Withdrawn from warehouse for export.....	6,114,117	1,312,006
Withdrawn for consumption.....	87,346,834	74,453,039
Withdrawn for scientific purposes.....	74,697	86,100
Withdrawn for transfer, leakage, etc.....	5,471,160	5,694,976
Total withdrawn.....	99,007,108	81,546,121
In warehouse at end of year.....	137,993,078	136,402,552

LIQUEUR-DEALERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1895.

(Report of the Commissioners of Internal Revenue.)

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	DEALERS IN DISTILLED LIQUORS.			DEALERS IN FERMENTED LIQUORS.			Total Dealers.	Population to One Dealer.	Votes to One Dealer.
	Rectifiers.	Wholesale.	Retail.	Brewers.	Wholesale.	Retail.			
Alabama*	3	37	894	4	21	135	1,094	1,465	215
Alaska†	..	..	73	7	..	4	84	..	..
Arizona.	..	7	635	4	18	8	672	97	..
Arkansas*	..	45	633	..	21	39	738	1,605	200
California.	13	382	12,752	122	145	206	13,620	99	20
Colorado.	..	47	2,419	..	63	144	2,673	190	35
Connecticut.	..	18	3,206	21	154	190	3,655	221	45
Delaware.	..	5	397	4	8	12	432	410	86
District of Columbia.	..	22	1,210	5	21	48	1,304	217	..
Florida*	..	12	445	..	19	25	501	910	71
Georgia*.	10	41	1,454	5	30	138	1,678	1,155	133
Idaho.	..	8	619	20	18	15	680	172	29
Illinois.	147	320	17,833	100	333	1,138	19,871	209	44
Indiana.	21	78	7,875	49	254	464	8,741	260	63
Indian Territory†.	..	..	7	..	..	13	20	9,900	..
Iowa.	10	76	4,631	418	318	160	5,213	384	85
Kansas†.	1	13	2,225	2	59	270	2,570	604	126
Kentucky.	61	237	3,970	25	79	214	4,586	426	74
Louisiana.	25	111	4,216	7	45	77	4,481	262	26
Maine†.	..	9	990	..	13	136	1,148	579	101
Maryland.	64	94	4,164	33	74	149	4,578	236	47
Massachusetts.	78	201	4,506	37	248	191	5,261	489	74
Michigan.	6	57	6,864	99	190	328	7,544	394	61
Minnesota.	27	79	3,890	102	242	320	4,660	339	57
Mississippi*	..	9	307	..	13	48	377	3,554	140
Missouri.	68	210	7,639	50	262	268	8,497	342	64
Montana.	..	37	1,704	17	42	39	1,889	108	24
Nebraska.	4	39	2,041	24	217	67	2,392	586	84
Nevada.	..	6	581	11	13	4	615	75	18
New Hampshire.	..	9	1,579	7	71	150	1,816	214	49
New Jersey.	35	85	8,459	47	246	270	9,142	175	37
New Mexico.	2	12	469	4	27	15	529	319	..
New York.	354	975	41,176	289	676	1,587	45,057	143	30
North Carolina*.	15	30	1,251	..	22	44	1,362	1,233	206
North Dakota†.	..	..	509	1	8	189	707	403	51
Ohio.	108	359	15,817	127	382	301	17,094	225	50
Oklahoma.	..	7	495	1	38	44	585	241	..
Oregon.	14	40	1,382	29	13	31	1,509	243	52
Pennsylvania.	223	437	14,113	251	505	494	16,023	357	63
Rhode Island.	9	45	1,746	5	43	30	1,878	200	28
South Carolina.	..	10	800	2	7	11	830	1,433	85
South Dakota†.	..	9	1,107	6	41	81	1,244	383	57
Tennessee*.	19	44	1,923	5	25	64	2,080	891	128
Texas.	17	60	3,937	14	304	1,574	5,906	407	72
Utah.	3	12	392	8	12	19	446	542	..
Vermont†.	..	..	580	..	25	176	781	426	71
Virginia.	17	34	2,552	1	30	61	2,695	634	108
Washington.	1	21	1,283	26	19	33	1,383	390	63
West Virginia.	3	6	1,277	8	21	58	1,373	596	125
Wisconsin.	51	115	8,886	174	200	476	9,912	190	37
Wyoming.	..	5	385	..	20	9	419	203	40
Totals.	1,440	4,555	208,388	1,771	5,655	19,486	232,295	295	52

* States largely under Prohibition by Local Option.

† Prohibition States and territories.

According to the Internal Revenue Report for 1895, pp. 53, 54, there was consumed in the production of spirits, 17,499,711 bush. of grain and 5,802,811 gals. of molasses. This grain produced 79,949,594 gals. of spirits, which is 4.32 gals. of spirits to each bushel of grain, and eight tenths of a gallon of spirits for each gallon of molasses.

In addition, there was produced 33,561,411 bbls. of beer, which, according to Professor Francis Wyatt, director of the National Brewers' Academy of New York City, requires 2 bush. of malt per barrel to manufacture. This, at eighty-four hundredths of a bushel of barley to one bushel of malt, required 56,383,171 bush.

of barley. The total weight of grain used in producing spirits was 948,000,000 lbs.; the barley used for beer weighed 2,706,000,000 lbs., making in all 3,654,000,000 lbs. If this grain were ground into flour and then made into bread, the waste of grinding would be compensated for in the added water for the bread, and a pound of grain would make a pound of bread. This 3,654,000,000 lbs. of grain would, therefore, make an equal number of pounds of bread, or a pound loaf every day in the year to 10,000,000 people, one seventh of the total population of the country. All the statistics in this article are compiled from official and authoritative facts, most of them from Government reports.

SALES OF BEER IN TWENTY-TWO LEADING CITIES.

CITIES.	1885.*	1890.*	1892.†	1893.†	1894.†	1895.†
	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>
Albany, N. Y.....	364,112	393,707	302,473	313,499	249,365	304,821
Baltimore, Md.....	353,704	537,993	559,401	507,711	532,865	535,574
Boston, Mass.....	784,408	833,278	987,361	922,970	1,038,728	1,092,379
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	976,878	1,508,144	1,788,285	1,827,222	1,825,935	1,814,553
Buffalo, N. Y.....	318,981	492,873	602,310	662,667	642,294	627,987
Chicago, Ill.....	809,410	1,673,685	2,634,860	2,761,714	2,700,322	2,648,335
Cincinnati, O.....	867,715	1,115,053	1,222,905	1,310,782	1,217,794	1,224,372
Cleveland, O.....	263,658	356,284	443,985	521,870	446,504	443,042
Detroit, Mich.....	204,185	278,953	326,813	385,423	352,090	359,027
Louisville, Ky.....	.....	200,916	214,233	360,130	219,017	222,076
Milwaukee, Wis.....	1,090,448	1,527,032	2,066,592	2,153,006	2,142,625	2,037,024
Newark, N. J.....	654,380	1,003,524	1,103,840	1,161,049	1,144,590	1,126,319
New Orleans, La.....	.....	206,121	257,418	286,909	262,864	249,564
New York City.....	3,526,782	4,257,978	4,573,019	4,838,960	4,626,262	4,601,464
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,247,819	1,458,846	1,658,529	1,759,922	1,749,005	1,810,113
Pittsburg, Pa.....	194,682	338,387	429,452	583,499	432,458	441,750
Rochester, N. Y.....	284,348	427,533	563,071	591,158	605,394	559,835
San Francisco, Cal.....	358,647	479,217	569,976	511,937	485,141	494,148
St. Louis, Mo.....	1,058,056	1,613,215	1,849,282	2,042,300	1,994,541	1,912,869
Syracuse, N. Y.....	.....	202,870	231,011	248,089	245,693	255,461
Tolledo, O.....	207,125	246,488	273,349	290,261	254,068	253,615
Troy, N. Y.....	.....	194,447	183,933	187,770	195,157	218,261

* For 1885 and 1890, year ending April 30.

† For 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1895, year ending June 30.

The following table contains comparisons for a number of the leading industries based on the census of 1890 :

RELATION OF CAPITAL TO EMPLOYEES AND WAGES IN LIQUOR AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

MECHANICAL AND MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.	Capital.	Number of Employees.	Total Wages.	FOR \$10,000 CAPITAL.	
				Average Number of Employees.	Yearly Wages Paid.
Liquors, distilled	\$31,006,176	5,343	\$2,814,889	1.72	\$980
Liquors, malt.....	232,471,290	34,800	28,382,544	1.50	1,221
Liquors, total.....	\$263,477,466	40,143	\$31,197,433	1.53	\$1,184
Boots and shoes, factory product.....	\$95,282,311	139,333	\$66,375,076	14.62	6,966
Bread and other bakery products.....	45,758,480	52,762	28,780,047	11.53	6,292
Clothing, men's.....	182,552,938	243,857	111,380,672	13.36	6,117
Cotton goods.....	354,020,843	221,585	69,486,272	6.26	1,963
Flouring and grist-mill products.....	208,473,500	63,481	27,935,742	3.04	1,297
Iron and steel.....	373,478,018	152,535	84,665,506	4.08	2,267
Lumber, planing-mill products.....	120,271,440	86,888	48,970,080	7.22	4,072
Printing and publishing.....	195,232,535	164,935	104,924,475	8.45	5,374

HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY.

Foreign missions.....	\$5,000,000
Potatoes.....	110,000,000
Churches.....	125,000,000
Public education.....	165,000,000
Furniture.....	175,000,000
Sugar and molasses.....	225,000,000
Woolen goods.....	250,000,000
Boots and shoes.....	335,000,000
Flour.....	345,000,000
Printing and publishing.....	370,000,000
Cotton goods.....	380,000,000
Tobacco.....	515,000,000
Iron and steel.....	560,000,000
Meat.....	870,000,000
Liquors.....	1,080,000,000

GOVERNMENT TAXES ON LIQUORS.

The United States laid an internal revenue tax on liquors for the first time in 1791. A tax of 11 cents was laid on spirits distilled from foreign imported materials, and of 9 cents on spirits distilled from domestic products. Alex-

ander Hamilton estimated the annual production of the country at that time to be 6,500,000 proof gals., of which 3,500,000 gals. were from foreign materials. This tax was the occasion of the famous Whisky Rebellion of 1794. The act was repealed in 1802.

Liquor was again taxed in 1813 to meet the necessities of the War of 1812 with England. This time a tax was laid on distilleries. This tax was repealed in 1818 and no further tax imposed until 1862.

The act of July 1, 1862, created the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The law, which went into effect September 1, 1862, imposed a tax of 20 cents a gallon on spirits. This was raised to 60 cents by the act of March 7, 1864. By the act of June 30, 1864, a tax of \$1.50 a gallon was levied on all spirits, except those made from grapes, which were taxed at 25 cents a gallon. By the provisions of the act the tax was in-

creased to \$2 after February 1, 1865. There was some shifting of rates after this time, until by the act of March 3, 1875, the rate was fixed at 90 cents, at which it remained for 20 years.

The tax on beer has been \$1 per barrel of 31 gals. since September 1, 1862, except for the period from March 3, 1863, to March 31, 1864, when it was 60 cents.

PRESENT TAXES.

The present Government taxes on liquors are \$1.10 per gallon on spirits and \$1 per barrel on fermented liquors. The Treasury collects each year from each dealer in spirits at retail, \$25; at wholesale, \$100; from each dealer in fer-

mented liquors at retail, \$20; at wholesale, \$50; from rectifiers and from brewers of less than 500 bbls. per year, \$50; of 500 bbls. or more, \$100; from manufacturers of stills, \$50; from each still manufactured, \$20.

Previously to August 28, 1894, the tax on spirits was 90 cents a gallon. The period during which liquors could be stored in Government bonded warehouses without payment of tax until liquors are withdrawn was extended from three years to eight years, in the interests of the distillers.

STATE RECEIPTS.

The following table is compiled from the cen-

EXPENDITURES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, LARGELY DUE TO DRINK, AND THE RECEIPTS FOR LIQUOR LICENSES, 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	EXPENDITURES STATE AND LOCAL LARGELY DUE TO THE DRINK TRAFFIC.					Receipts from Liquor Licenses, State and Local.
	Judicial.*	Penal and Reformatory.†	Police.	Charitable.	Total.	
Alabama.....	\$330,858	\$132,649	\$149,835	\$233,419	\$846,761	\$424,189
Arizona.....	249,435	13,522	4,711	8,194	266,862	103,025
Arkansas.....	484,986	61,065	66,632	223,801	837,384	223,896
California.....	520,602	510,420	660,640	2,223,533	3,915,195	774,687
Colorado.....	414,766	63,343	37,400	312,664	828,173	565,249
Connecticut.....	315,265	334,657	275,261	660,390	1,585,581	478,101
Delaware.....	30,437	660	44,498	35,649	111,244	28
District of Columbia..	18,796	74,079	460,969	248,583	803,327	95,470
Florida.....	263,077	42,110	42,110	130,450	477,756	48,659
Georgia.....	141,212	323,975	332,797	637,234	1,435,218	343,482
Idaho.....	42,298	41,333	..	53,653	137,284	21,334
Illinois.....	775,690	445,643	1,722,118	2,138,552	5,082,003	2,893,378
Indiana.....	723,675	212,290	188,809	1,455,685	2,580,549	359,815
Iowa.....	804,860	209,260	179,237	1,250,046	2,444,393	31
Kansas.....	429,885	191,614	123,627	569,926	1,315,552	39,669
Kentucky.....	982,432	231,711	280,163	938,277	2,432,373	145,199
Louisiana.....	550,667	42,166	172,650	210,850	976,333	31,039
Maine.....	194,206	122,042	100,621	358,552	775,421	..
Maryland.....	273,076	121,764	790,088	553,423	1,738,351	249,925
Massachusetts.....	695,432	821,992	2,356,045	3,017,276	7,790,745	2,502,226
Michigan.....	330,229	417,416	531,846	1,113,811	2,393,332	1,553,112
Minnesota.....	403,101	189,315	439,816	863,557	1,895,879	830,980
Mississippi.....	116,058	102,044	26,858	247,733	493,593	237,275
Missouri.....	886,879	147,863	921,562	1,006,023	2,962,327	1,794,223
Montana.....	134,930	67,203	39,640	193,414	435,187	425,532
Nebraska.....	202,698	80,758	117,077	209,267	609,800	330,500
Nevada.....	53,015	50,069	..	124,495	227,579	51,953
New Hampshire.....	105,780	42,386	94,059	520,185	762,419	..
New Jersey.....	582,398	365,374	899,616	1,055,955	2,993,343	872,873
New Mexico.....	28,288	63,062	..	15,527	106,877	20,024
New York.....	1,240,886	982,375	7,200,617	7,593,631	16,927,509	2,566,627
North Carolina.....	106,651	57,481	38,944	372,285	665,861	76,887
North Dakota.....	126,682	48,444	11,352	252,140	438,618	27,652
Ohio.....	1,152,376	335,478	1,289,249	3,312,657	6,089,760	2,299,742
Oregon.....	77,916	53,390	61,882	134,804	430,992	77,382
Pennsylvania.....	1,302,271	888,330	2,545,114	2,666,431	7,402,146	1,703,373
Rhode Island.....	113,877	158,471	363,833	128,453	764,634	444,849
South Carolina.....	227,220	74,989	84,161	282,995	660,353	68,341
South Dakota.....	61,702	67,068	4,020	131,937	264,817	37,109
Tennessee.....	772,351	222,923	147,763	437,810	1,334,901	345,474
Texas.....	768,936	386,987	241,035	657,694	2,054,652	160,681
Utah.....	96,813	52,180	78,369	87,400	314,762	213,104
Vermont.....	104,082	28,562	8,607	152,190	293,531	977
Virginia.....	365,367	51,685	254,019	607,319	1,278,390	323,306
Washington.....	343,696	127,202	170,543	261,936	993,377	219,848
West Virginia.....	138,247	138,522	31,103	261,378	569,250	110,585
Wisconsin.....	407,183	241,434	339,200	1,062,988	2,050,805	640,619
Wyoming.....	49,919	32,736	2,800	43,056	128,511	27,075
	\$18,721,383	\$9,226,905	\$23,934,376	\$39,958,816	\$91,841,480	\$24,786,496

* Including county courts, inquiries and inquests.
 † Less receipts from the same.
 ‡ Tennessee makes \$22,923 profit on its penal and reformatory institutions.

sus of 1890, and shows the receipts of State and local governments for liquor licenses during 1890 and the amounts expended to sustain the courts, jails, police, and almshouses, the necessity for whose existence is largely due to the traffic which the licenses legalize. The State and local governments received \$24,786,496 from the liquor traffic, but paid out \$91,841,480, or \$100 for every \$27 received, in caring for crime and poverty, a large part of which came from the saloon. It is well within limits to say that very much of this expense might have been saved were the saloons wiped out. That high license cannot be made to pay the bill is shown by the results in Illinois, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, where saloons are taxed the highest, but the expenses due to the presence of the saloon are out of all proportion to the receipts.

In a recent article, Joseph Cook put the case thus: "It has been proven that altho we received \$100,000,000 a year from the liquor traffic, nevertheless \$15 a head is added to our burdens and \$1.60 received. So that the loss to the nation is fifteen to twenty times the income."

THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

The national liquor power is organized upon broad and at the same time compact lines. It has several national organizations, a State organization in nearly every license State, local organizations in all the principal cities of these States, with branches in the various districts, all working together in harmony whenever interests of "the trade" are affected. Among the national liquor organizations are the following:

The United States Brewers' Association is one of the oldest and most powerful of the liquor organizations, having been formed in 1862 for the purpose of influencing congressional legislation in the interests of the brewers. It keeps close watch through its Vigilance Committee of the liquor interests in the various States, especially those affecting the brewers. At its thirty-third annual convention, held in Chicago, June 7, 1893, its board of trustees reported that the United States Association was sending its powerful aid to defeat the Dispensary Law in South Carolina, and to prevent the passage of restrictive liquor laws in the District of Columbia. Associated with the United States Brewers' Association are powerful and compact State brewers' associations in most of the Northern and Western States.

The National Protective Association is a powerful national organization, embracing the principal distillers and wholesale liquor-dealers of the United States. It has branches in several States, with local organizations in the several cities and districts. This association has been largely instrumental in defeating prohibition in several State amendment campaigns, collecting enormous funds from the liquor-dealers and affiliated trades, which it used in subsidizing the press and in securing the local political machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The National Retail Liquor-Dealers' Association was formed some three years ago, and now has State associations in nearly all the States. The headquarters are in Chicago.

Affiliated with these three powerful national organizations and their State and local branches are the numberless German societies of the so-called "Personal Rights Leagues," and the "Turn Vereins" having national headquarters at Chicago. The personal rights degree has affiliations in the principal cities of nearly all States.

The Whisky Trust is another factor in the organization of the liquor power. On May 10, 1887, the leading whisky producers of the country met at Chicago and formed what was known as the Distillers' and Cattle-Feeders' Trust, which within a single year's time became powerful enough to control 85 to 90 per cent. of the spirits produced in the country. Its headquarters are at Peoria, Ill.

The tendency of the liquor interests to still further consolidation is shown by the formation of the English brewery syndicate in 1889. *The Brewers' Journal* of May 1, 1894, published a table showing that the syndicate had purchased 79 breweries, which have been reorganized into 24 new companies, with a capital stock of \$91,202,830, or about two fifths the total capital invested in the brewing business in 1890.

It is a conservative statement to say that these widespread but compact liquor organizations, with their State and local branches, can command at a moment's notice 1,000,000 votes in the United States for the friends and against the enemies of the saloon.

One of the first demands made by the United States Brewers' Association after its organization in 1862 was the abolition of the United States tax on beer, and a committee was sent to Washington to obtain the desired law. So successful was this first effort of the organized liquor power, that at the third brewers' convention held at Cincinnati, October 28, 1863, F. Lauer, of the Agitation Committee, reported "satisfactory interviews with the Congressional Committee on Ways and Means," and the "reduction of the tax on beer from \$1 to 60 cents per barrel."

During the Presidential campaign in 1892 Grover Cleveland was visited by Washington Hering, editor of the *Staats Zeitung*, of Chicago, who informed him that he must, on pain of defeat, insert a declaration "against sumptuary laws" in his letter of acceptance. This Cleveland did, and after his election rewarded this liquor-dealers' agent for his power in throwing the rum vote to the Democracy by his appointment as postmaster at Chicago, with the power to distribute Federal patronage in that city.

The Wine and Spirit Gazette says in its issue of January 29, 1894:

"The liquor vote of this State, a good deal more than 120,000 strong, can, if it will, control all legislation at Albany. It is the balance of power between the two parties. It can make or unmake majorities. Properly led, it can elect any set of men it pleases. It is, therefore, in a position to exercise far greater power and influence than does the Prohibition Party."

In its issue of February 10, 1894, it says:

"There are nearly 200,000 voters in this State who live by the saloon. There are but 30,000 Prohibition voters, all told, in the State. Must the six surrender to the one? But let the one cease its clamor, and the six will consent to take their chances with all citizens, making no effort for special self-protection."

Terence V. Powderly, while General Master-Workman of the Knights of Labor, said :

"If the power lies in you, down in thunder tones the liquor power that debauches the voters. One hogshead of whisky in the city of New York judiciously placed may make or unmake a President. Give out enough glasses of gin in this city and State, and you place the dispenser in the chair of Washington. Where is Tammany's power? Is it not in the gin-mills?"

The New York *Wine and Spirit Gazette*, in its issue of October 12, 1894, thus boasts of the saloon power in electing a Governor and a President :

"The liquor-dealers of the State helped to elect Hill governor in 1885. They strained every nerve in 1888 in his favor, and succeeded in reelecting him Governor and defeating Grover Cleveland. The attitude of the liquor-dealers in the memorable campaign of 1888 has become a matter of political history. In most of the principal cities of the State, Harrison and Hill clubs had been formed which counted among their most active members liquor-dealers. A large sum of money was collected by the liquor trade in this State, and further contributions were obtained from the wholesale trade in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, for the express purpose of defeating Warner Miller and reelecting David B. Hill. The money thus collected was, by Governor Hill's direct orders, turned over to Colonel Judson, who was then Hill's military secretary, with the distinct stipulation that it be used exclusively in Mr. Hill's behalf and not for the benefit of Grover Cleveland. Governor Hill was reelected and Cleveland was defeated."

The power of the saloon upon the voter is forcibly shown by an investigation made by Professor J. J. McCook, published in *The Forum* for September, 1892, in which, from secret lists furnished him by politicians, he constructs tables for 20 towns and one city in Connecticut, showing the number of votes that are known to politicians to be purchasable. He finds that 15.9 per cent. of the whole number of votes is venal. The table which follows shows the relation of drink to the voters who can be purchased in two rural towns and in two city wards. It is a very significant fact that in three of these districts, as shown by the summary, out of the total voting population who are intemperate or drunken, there are 79 per cent. that can be bought.

INTEMPERATE VOTERS CAN BE BOUGHT.

DISTRICT.	VOTERS WHO ARE VENAL.		
	Per Cent. of Total Voters.	Per Cent. of Intemperate or Drunken Voters.	Per Cent. of Temperate Voters.
Rural town, I.....	9.8	85.4	2.5
Rural town, II.....	20.9	63.9	12.0
City ward, I.....	9.3	52.9	4.2
City ward, II.....	....	90.4	9.9
Total of first three dists	11.3	79.0	4.9

THE SALOON POWER IN NEW YORK CITY.

The power of the brewers over the retailers is shown by the large number of mortgages which the brewers hold on fixtures in saloons. An investigation made by Robert Graham, of the Church Temperance Society, into the conditions of New York City, shows that during the year ending in October, 1888, there were 4710 chattel mortgages granted on saloon fixtures, with a total value of \$4,959,578 ; of these 1908, with a value of \$1,702,136, were held by 29 of the leading brewers. No report was made of the number held by other brewers. There were 7808 saloons in New York City in 1888, so that considerably more than one half were under chattel mortgage, "an overwhelming proportion of which was held by brewers."

The control of these powerful liquor associations in politics is shown by another investigation made in New York City by the Church Temperance Society. During the year before the November election of 1884 there were held 1002 political meetings in the 24 assembly districts into which the city was then divided. The connection of these meetings with the saloons is shown by the following table, from which it appears that out of the 1002 primary and other political meetings held, there were 719, or nearly 72 per cent., held in or next door to saloons :

POLITICAL MEETINGS HELD IN OR NEAR SALOONS IN NEW YORK CITY.

POLITICAL PARTIES.	In Liquor Saloons.	Next Door to Saloons.	Neither.	Total.	PER CENT. IN OR NEAR SALOONS.		
					In Saloons.	Next Door.	Total.
Tammany Hall.....	56	....	25	81	69.1	....	69.1
Irving Hall.....	63	10	7	80	78.8	12.5	91.3
County Democracy.....	487	67	215	769	62.0	8.7	70.7
Republican.....	27	9	36	72	37.5	12.5	50.0
Total.....	633	86	283	1,002	63.2	8.6	71.8

The New York City Reform Club, an independent non-partisan body of voters organized to watch legislative interests of that city, publishes each year a record of the assemblymen and senators of the city of New York. In the *Record* for 1889 is described the corrupting power of the saloon in New York City politics in these words :

"There is about one saloon for every 35 voters. Each of these places represents a certain number of votes, the votes of hangers on who, for the privilege of frequenting the saloon and an occasional free drink, are at the command of the proprietor ; and as each saloon serves as a center of political activity as well on election day as for weeks preceding it, the number of votes thus influenced is so increased as to be practically all-powerful. The result appears in the character of the men who are sent to the Legislature. They

are naturally the tools of the saloons because they are chosen by the saloon. . . .

"The further fact that there are 35,000 saloon-keepers in this State avowedly organized for the purpose of securing legislation favorable to themselves, and of preventing legislation which they deem to be unfavorable to their business interests, is too significant to be overlooked or misunderstood, and when it is remembered that each of these saloon-keepers probably controls 10 votes at the very lowest possible estimate, it is not difficult to perceive the danger which threatens the State."

In its *Record* for 1891 the club sounded this warning:

"The City Reform Club is not interested for or against the liquor traffic as such. It is not concerned with the effect of the traffic upon the individual, but only with the influence of the liquor-dealer upon the politics and the government of this city directly and through his influence in State politics. The club observes that that influence is constantly exerted against the interests of the people and on the side of corruption, and it now sees in the liquor-dealers' bill of this year the amazing spectacle of an organized business seeking to subvert for private gain the fundamental principles of our law. The club sees, further, that this business has acquired by constant vigilance, unremitting efforts and large expenditures, enormous power in the politics of this State. In their efforts the liquor-dealers are united without regard to party. They care nothing for political principles. Their united strength is used only for private gain."

HOW THE FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS DIED.

The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald* of March 10, 1895, thus describes the closing scenes of the Fifty-third Congress:

"Those curious students of their kind who have attended a New York French ball will be able to grasp the situation and will understand the picture thrown upon the curtain Sunday night at the Capitol. Women there were galore—lively women, white and black; women who would have looked better, perhaps, in pink tights and impenetrable masks. Among them, going and coming, were the wives and daughters of Senators, and the wives and daughters of American nobility from the various States of the Union.

"I saw an aged Senator pass into the private dining-room with two hilarious 'peaches' on his arms, where a bottle of champagne finished the business possibly begun in a committee-room. At the same moment four colored damsels sat in the public portion of the restaurant, having a good time on their own account. A boy of not more than 15 lay sprawling on the small of his back, too drunk to rise, unheeded of the throng bent on their own amusement or refreshment. Four or five attachés of the Senate were at the next table, drinking hard liquor and talking loudly of their extra pay. Two old men in an advanced stage of inebriety were plying a young girl with liquor—a bright young girl of not more than 16, who kept them laughing with her wit and humor. Two women whose calling was plainly indicated in their faces were sipping beer in the corner and soliciting trade on the sly.

"One member was borne away struggling with his captor friends—fighting drunk. A private secretary playfully pulled a distinguished member's beard and poured beer down his neck—on the outside. Some members were in a state that emboldened the proprietor to refuse them any more liquor.

"It is disgraceful!" exclaimed Mr. Murrey to me, 'and it makes me sick. But you see I can't help myself. It is their place—and, confound them, I'm their barkeeper for 12 hours yet.'

"Hearing songs and laughter issuing from an adjacent committee-room, I peeped in as I went by. A woman with her daintily-booted foot elevated on a committee table and a glass of champagne elevated in her hand was singing a merry song, while a dozen members and their friends sat around smoking and enjoying the society of this lady."

GEORGE B. WALDRON.

For statistics of the world's liquor traffic, see INTemperance.

Reference: see TEMPERANCE.

LIST, FRIEDRICH, was born at Reutlin-

gen, Württemberg, in 1789. Professor of Political Economy at Tübingen in 1817, he resigned in 1819 to devote himself to the development of German industry. Elected to the Diet of Württemberg, he exposed the vices of the administration, and was condemned in 1822 to 10 months' imprisonment. He fled to Switzerland, but returning in 1824, he was imprisoned at Asperg, but later was pardoned and allowed to emigrate to the United States. He settled in Pennsylvania and published here his *Outlines of a New System of Political Economy* (1827), in which he attacked the ideas of Adam Smith, and outlined an economy on a national basis. Having discovered a deposit of anthracite on his grounds, he was able to return to Europe in 1833 with an independent fortune. At first United States Consul at Hamburg and at Leipzig, he settled at Augsburg and devoted himself to an agitation for a suitable system of railway lines and to economic writing. In a fit of despondency he shot himself, November 30, 1846.

Ingram says of him:

"Another element of opposition [to the *laissez faire* school in Germany] was represented by Friedrich List (1798-1846), a man of great intellectual vigor as well as practical energy, and notable as having powerfully contributed by his writings to the formation of the German Zollverein. His principal work is entitled *Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie* (1841; 6th ed., 1877; Eng. trans., 1885). . . . It was particularly against the cosmopolitan principle in the modern economical system that he protested, and against the absolute doctrine of free trade, which was in harmony with that principle. He gave prominence to the *National* idea, and insisted on the special requirements of each nation according to its circumstances and especially to the degree of its development. . . . The nation having a continuous life, its true wealth consists—and this is List's fundamental doctrine—not in the quantity of exchange-values which it possesses, but in the full and many-sided development of its productive powers."

LIVERMORE, MARY ASHTON (*née* RICE), was born in Boston in 1821. She was a pupil and for some time a teacher in the female seminary in Charlestown, Mass. She left here to teach a family school in Virginia, and remained there three years, to return North a radical abolitionist. While teaching at Duxbury, Mass., she met Daniel P. Livermore, a Universalist clergyman, whom she married, devoting herself to aiding him in his work and writing various stories and articles on reform lines, especially on temperance. In 1857 Mr. Livermore became editor and publisher of the *New Covenant*, at Chicago, and for 12 years Mrs. Livermore assisted him in his editorial labors, besides doing outside writing. In 1862 she was appointed one of the agents of the northwestern branch of the United States Sanitary Commission, and during that year she traveled throughout the Northwest, everywhere organizing sanitary aid societies. In the spring of 1863 she was appointed to make a tour of the hospitals and military posts on the Mississippi. At this time sanitary supplies were low, and the most serious results were feared at Vicksburg camps; but by personal appeals, by circulars, and by untiring perseverance and enthusiasm, she secured immediate relief.

Since the war she has labored earnestly in the woman's suffrage and temperance movements. In 1869 she established the *Agitator*, a woman's suffrage paper, but in 1870 became

editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston. In 1872 she resigned to devote herself to the platform, and for years spoke five nights in the week for five months in the year.

She has also written continually for various magazines. Mrs. Livermore is much interested in politics, and was twice sent by the Republicans of her own town as delegate to the Massachusetts State Republican Convention, charged with the presentation of woman suffrage resolutions, which were accepted and incorporated into the party platform. She is identified with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and for 10 years was president of the Massachusetts Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She was president of the Woman's Congress during the first two years of its organization, has served as president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, and has been prominent in various other movements.

In religion she is a Unitarian, but cares more for life and character than for sect or creed. She is a believer in nationalism, and regards socialism, as expounded in America, as "applied Christianity." Notwithstanding her many years of hard service, she still does more public work than most younger women. Happy in her home at Melrose, Mass., and in the society of her husband, children, and grandchildren, she keeps steadily at work with voice and pen and influence.

LLOYD, HENRY D., was born May 1, 1847, in New York City, in or near which city his mother's ancestors had lived for ten generations. His father was a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church and a descendant of Goffe, the regicide. He was brought up in the strictest orthodoxy, and was graduated at Columbia College, where he also studied law, and was admitted to the New York bar in 1869; but he went, in 1872, to Chicago and secured a position on the *Chicago Tribune*, filling almost all positions up to the editorial staff till 1885, when he retired, partly on account of ill health and partly on account of his radical views. He married a daughter of Governor Bross, and lives in a beautiful home near Chicago, where, with his devoted wife, he has welcomed many a worker in social reform who has been in need of a little rest and sympathetic friends. Both he and his wife live for the cause of the sorrowing and the oppressed. He published in 1890 *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners*, a book in which he describes with thrilling power the plot of wealthy mine-owners against the starving miners of Spring Valley. In 1894 appeared his still better known *Wealth vs. Commonwealth*, a startling exposure of the methods of the trusts, especially the Standard Oil monopoly (*q.v.*). He has written besides numerous essays and articles, such as *The New Conscience* and *The Lords of Industry*. His views are, perhaps, nearer to those of Mazzini (*q.v.*) than any other reformer, tho he holds rather to the religious spirit than the formal religious belief of that great leader. His thought is intensely moral, but he can battle with the sternest in the cause of man, his range of acquaintance in journalistic and literary lines, as well as among public men, giving him wide

influence with those of wealth as well as with those oppressed.

LOBBY.—"The lobby" is the name given to persons, not members of a legislature, who undertake to influence its members, and thereby to secure the passing of bills. The term includes both those who, since they hang about the chamber, and make a regular profession of working upon members, are called "lobbyists" and those persons who on any particular occasion may come up to advocate, by argument or solicitation, any particular measure in which they happen to be interested. The name, therefore, does not necessarily impute any improper motive or conduct, tho it is commonly used in an unfavorable sense.

Says Mr. A. R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress, in the *American Cyclopedia of Political Science*, article "Lobby":

"What is known as lobbying by no means implies in all cases the use of money to affect legislation. This corruption is frequently wholly absent in cases where the lobby is most industrious, numerous, persistent, and successful. A measure which it is desired to pass into law, for the benefit of certain interests represented, may be urged upon members of the legislative body in every form of influence except the pecuniary one. By casual interviews, by informal conversation, by formal presentation of facts and arguments, by printed appeals in pamphlet form, by newspaper communications and leading articles, by personal introductions from or through men of supposed influence, by dinners, receptions, and other entertainments, by the arts of social life and the charms of feminine attraction, the public man is beset to look favorably upon the measure which interested parties seek to have enacted. It continually happens that new measures or modifications of old ones are agitated in which vast pecuniary interests are involved. The power of the law, which when faithfully administered is supreme, may make or unmake the fortunes of innumerable corporations, business firms, or individuals. Changes in the tariff duties, in the internal revenue taxes, in the banking system, in the mining statutes, in the land laws, in the extension of patents, in the increase of pensions, in the regulation of mail contracts, in the currency of the country, or proposed appropriations for steamship subsidies, for railway legislation, for war damages, and for experiments in multitudes of other fields of legislation equally or more important, come before Congress. It is inevitable that each class of interests liable to be affected should seek its own advantage in the result. When this is done legitimately, by presentation and proof of facts, by testimony, by arguments, by printed or personal appeals to the reason and sense of justice of members, there can be no objection to it."

Unfortunately, however, the lobby usually degenerates till it is mainly a lobby in the bad sense. This results almost inevitably from the present industrial system coupled with present methods of legislation in the United States. In the United States legislatures all business goes before committees—not only private bills, but public bills—often involving great pecuniary interests. To give a bill a fair chance of passing, the committee must be induced to report in favor of it. The committees have no quasi-judicial rules of procedure, but inquire into the subject, and usually by giving hearings on the subject to interested parties. If the committee can be gained, the bill usually passes. The fate of a bill, therefore, often really lies in the hands of a few men, tho the responsibility can be thrown on the whole legislature. This gives enormous opportunity for corruption. Great corporations are sometimes interested to the extent of millions on the wording of a bill. Under our pres-

ent system (see PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ; ELECTIONS, etc.) politicians of the lowest type are often elected. They can get large bribes from *corrupt* corporations. This all but compels corporations that desire to be pure to bribe likewise. If the corporation that would be pure does not bribe, the corrupt corporation will gain the legislation and the pure corporation be handicapped. As a result, the average corporation that seeks a bill goes to the legislature with money in its hand, and still oftener it goes with money to buy off legislation that would injure, legislation often simply introduced to make the corporation pay for preventing its passage, or legislative blackmail. The corporation often has to spend money to gain a perfectly just and right bill. It is on this all but inevitable result of present industrial and commercial methods that the lobby fattens. Nor does the money always need to be corruptly spent. A sharp lobbyist, who knows the ins and outs of legislative practice, who knows many of the legislators, who knows who is corruptible and who not, who knows how to bring political influence to bear in this way or that, can often obtain or defeat legislation without the use of money. He may sell his influence, and the corporation money go into his pocket without his buying the legislators. It is in such ways that around almost all American legislatures has grown up "a third house," which is sometimes more influential than the other two.

Mr. Spofford says there are at Washington

"Pension lobbyists, tariff lobbyists, steamship subsidy lobbyists, railway lobbyists, Indian ring lobbyists, patent lobbyists, river and harbor lobbyists, mining lobbyists, bank lobbyists, mail-contract lobbyists, war damages lobbyists, back-pay and bounty lobbyists, Isthmus Canal lobbyists, public building lobbyists, State claims lobbyists, cotton-tax lobbyists, and French spoliations lobbyists. Of the office-seeking lobbyists at Washington it may be said that their name is legion. There are even artist lobbyists, bent upon wheedling Congress into buying bad paintings and worse sculptures; and too frequently with success. At times in our history there has been a British lobby, with the most genteel accompaniments, devoted to watching legislation affecting the great importing and shipping interests."

Says Mr. Bryce (Appendix to *American Commonwealth*, vol. i., chap. xvi.):

"A committee whose action can affect the tariff is of course an important one, and employs a large lobby. I remember to have heard an anecdote of a quinine manufacturer, who had kept a lawyer as his agent to 'look after' a committee during a whole session, and prevent them from touching the duty on that drug. On the last day of sitting the agent went home, thinking the danger past. As soon as he had gone, the committee suddenly recommended an alteration of the duty, on the impulse of some one who had been watching all the time for his opportunity. Women are said to be among the most active and successful lobbyists at Washington."

Another dangerous class of lobbyists are lawyers and ex-members.

Efforts have been made to check the practice of lobbying, both in Congress and in State legislatures. Statutes have been passed severely punishing any person who offers any money or value to any member with a view to influence his vote. It has been repeatedly held by the courts that "contracts which have for their object to influence legislation in any other manner than by such open and public presentation of facts, arguments, and appeals to reason as are

recognized as proper and legitimate with all public bodies must be held void.

It has been attempted to lessen lobbying by restricting the legislatures. Massachusetts has enacted a law compelling all lobbyists to be registered, that it may be known who they are and whom they represent, and exacting an account of all money spent in lobbying. (See CORRUPTION ; PLUTOCRACY ; DIRECT LEGISLATION.)

Revised by H. D. LLOYD.

LOCAL OPTION is that legislative mode of dealing with the liquor traffic which permits citizens to determine by vote whether the sale or furnishing of liquors shall be allowed in a given locality during a specified period. Local option is of two kinds: (1) A general statute may be enacted by a legislature, with limitations, penalties, etc., made applicable to counties, townships, municipalities, or other small districts, which territories may avail themselves, by popular vote, of the provisions of this general law; or (2) a special act may be passed for a given locality with restrictions, penalties, etc., applicable to that territory only.

Local option laws differ widely as to scope of restriction and also as to extent of territory. Some prohibit the vending of all liquors, spirituous, malt, or cider; others prohibit only distilled liquors. Some provide for the sale of certain liquors for medicinal or mechanical purposes; others make no such exceptions. Some prescribe penalties for their violation for the special territory concerned; others leave the whole matter of penalty under a general law, as in the case of other criminal offenses.

As early as 1833 the Georgia Legislature extended to the inferior courts of two counties—Liberty and Camden—the right to grant or to withhold retail licenses. As these courts were elected by the people, the law in effect became optional in its application. Prior to 1833, in many parts of the Union the constitutionality of the license system, or, at least, the right of the State to grant license, began to be questioned. Between 1835 and 1840 local control, in some form, of the license-dispensing policy had been acquired in several States. Six counties in Massachusetts, through the action of the county commissioners, elected by popular vote, refused license. In 1838 Rhode Island and New Hampshire left license optional with the towns. Connecticut followed in 1839. Illinois granted to towns and counties power to suppress the traffic upon the petition of a majority of the adult male inhabitants. The rise of the Washingtonians in 1840, and the general acceptance of their moral suasion policy, practically put an end, for several years, to prohibitory effort. After this wildfire had passed, the movement for prohibition revived, but this time was directed generally in favor of State prohibition, since the local acts were usually repealed after one or two years, and the people began to grow disgusted with such instability. In Wisconsin, Iowa, Indiana, Connecticut, and Michigan, a large number of towns had been carried for prohibition; in Iowa, all the counties except Keokuk. Soon Ohio and Michigan made the granting of license unconstitutional.

Most of the local option of this period fell still-born or died in early infancy. After State prohibition had begun to be agitated, little more effort in behalf of local option in the *ante-bellum* period was made. Toward the close of the war Rhode Island engrafted local option upon her license law. Pennsylvania had a local option law from 1872-75; Massachusetts followed in 1881. New Jersey's law was repealed almost without a trial. All the Southern States now have local option in some form.

The advocates of local option claim for it :

1. That it secures and has secured prohibitory laws over much territory where general prohibition, through State enactment, was impossible. Witness the large number of counties, townships, districts, and municipalities all over the land where such local prohibition is in effect to-day.

2. That it does not force prohibitory laws upon local communities not ready for them, and where, if forced upon the community they would not be obeyed, and so would act as a demoralizing element and aid to free liquor.

3. That by the retention of this live issue, popular attention cannot be diverted from the saloon's enormities; the public cannot grow indifferent to the ever-present question, but must be constantly on the alert, for safety can be the reward only of eternal vigilance. So the local option condition may become an important factor in educating a people to the horrors of the traffic and the necessity for its suppression.

4. That the system, by steadily eliminating the traffic, tends gradually toward general prohibition, to which it is, therefore, a kind of stepping-stone.

5. That the option principle accords best with popular ideas of local independence—sentiments everywhere prevalent in our democratic polity.

The opponents of local option claim :

1. That the system ignores the moral element in law. With majority rule set up as the origin of right, and so weakening the stronghold of prohibition, the system is necessarily of a legislative and political character. The very enactment of such a law means that the crime side of the liquor traffic is denied, or, at least, not universally accepted—communities, if they choose, being allowed by the State to license the traffic.

2. That the system may be made so non-partisan that neither of the chief and law-making parties will dare endorse the measure, so that the battle against intemperance is left out of the political contests of the day.

3. That local option, like license, makes revenues local, but expenses general, interesting the local community in gaining the revenue of license, thus engendering local selfishness.

4. Local option, operating in this local, selfish manner, scattering and disintegrating the temperance forces and preventing unity of purpose and of effort, effectually militates against State and national prohibition.

5. Local option impregnably fortifies the traffic from without, while it can be assailed only from within. Forty-four States are powerless against a single hamlet or county. A treaty of non-interference stands with the world outside. Five hundred saloonists may concentrate in a town or county, bid defiance to the nation, and

sell their liquors to debauch the whole country. Only at their own sovereign will can liquors be removed, while they, on the other hand, may have the land for a prey.

6. Local option often leads to a seesaw between license and no license in alternate years, and so brings both systems into disrespect.

7. As a consequence, the enthusiasm of first temperance efforts dies out, and it is next to impossible to preserve or to rearouse it for repeated elections. An abnormal tension—even in religion—cannot be maintained, for enthusiasm is not man's normal state.

8. Local option has to prohibitionists the character of a "suspect" from its correlation and companionship with license. The latter appears always as the alternate or supplement to the former. Both are local in operation; both involve permission to the traffic; the theory of each contemplates the continued existence of the traffic; neither proposes to touch the manufacture or importation of liquors; neither attacks the internal revenue system—the money power of the traffic; neither deals with the State as a whole.

9. The system stands always as a compromise measure. Its basis is temporizing, temporary expediency. It is the commercial method of dealing with the traffic. It is made to stand aside in the interests of parties, cliques, politicians, and schemers. (For other methods of dealing with intemperance, see NORWEGIAN SYSTEM; SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM. See also TEMPERANCE for the movement in England.)

LOCKE, JOHN, was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, Eng., in 1632. His father, a small landowner and attorney at Pensford, was a strict but genial Puritan. "From the time that I knew anything," Locke wrote in 1660, "I found myself in a storm which has continued to this time." He entered Westminster School, and in 1652 went to Oxford. He took his degree of A.B. in 1656, and that of A.M. in 1658; was made tutor of Christ Church in 1660, and lectured in Greek, rhetoric, and philosophy the following year. Locke was particularly attracted to the works of Descartes, which first gave him a taste for philosophical subjects.

In 1666 Lord Ashley, afterward first Earl of Shaftesbury, came to Oxford for his health. Locke met him, and in 1667 became his secretary, and in 1673 became Secretary of the Board of Trade. He now made the acquaintance of many public men, and his powers ripened rapidly.

Among the writings of Locke during this period is an essay on the *Roman Commonwealth*. But the most significant of all is an *Essay Concerning Toleration* (1666).

The fall of Shaftesbury in 1675 enabled Locke to spend four years of quiet in France, at which time at intervals his *Essay on the Human Understanding* was in process of construction, and here he enjoyed the society of distinguished men of letters and science. He returned to London in 1679. Shaftesbury was for a time restored to power, and Locke's old confidential relations with him were resumed; but after Shaftesbury's downfall Locke retired to Hol-

land in voluntary exile. The *Essay* was finished in 1687. He returned to England in 1689, and it was after that time that his fame as an author was established throughout Europe. He declined the embassy to Brandenburg, and accepted instead the modest office of commissioner of appeals. While in London (1689-90) he published his chief works on social polity, the *Epistola de Tolerantia*, addressed to Limborch, and the *Two Treatises on Government*, in defense of the sovereignty of the people; his *Essay on the Human Understanding* appeared in 1690. Locke died October 28, 1704, at Oates, in Essex, where Sir Francis Masham had given him a home for many years. He passed away, as he declared, "in perfect charity with all men, and in sincere communion with the whole Church of Christ, by whatever names Christ's followers call themselves."

Locke is of importance in social reform because he is the intellectual father of the eighteenth century philosophy, which, in France particularly, produced revolutionary ideas. Says Cousin:

"Placed between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he forms the transition from one to the other. In fact, run over all the sensualistic philosophers of the eighteenth century, there is not one who does not invoke the authority of Locke, and I do not speak merely of metaphysicians, but of moralists, publicists, and critics."

The essence of Locke's philosophy is that there are no "innate ideas." He says:

"Let us suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: how comes it to be furnished? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from experience; in that all knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself" (*Essay on the Human Understanding*, Book II.).

From his standpoint materialistic and un-Christian philosophers argued, as Locke did not, an individualistic revolt against the authority both of State and Church. As Locke in his *Civil Government* argued against arbitrary rule, they argued against all rule. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE; NATIONAL LIBERTY.)

LODGING-HOUSES.—In every great city the cheap lodging-house, where the homeless poor can pass a night if they are not yet absolutely destitute or dependent upon charity, are among the most wretched spots to be found, and often centers of vice, if not of crime. In Germany, and to a less extent in the United States and other countries, clean and cheap lodging-houses are frequently being opened by private charity. In England, and to a less extent elsewhere, municipal lodging-houses are being tried.

As long ago as 1853 Huddersfield established a municipal common lodging-house, and 20 years later Glasgow tried the same experiment on a larger scale. Since 1879 the corporation has maintained six lodging-houses for men and one for women, in which beds are let at from 3*d.* to 4*d.* per night. Merely as a commercial experiment this proved a success, and the £87,000 invested has yielded a net return varying from 4½ to 5½ per cent. in the years 1881-88. The result upon the character of the inmates is, however, far more important than any pecu-

niary result. These municipal lodging-houses are admirably managed; there is a comfortable recreation room, in which lectures are delivered, and music produced by an official "harmoniumist," while all possible facilities are provided for washing clothes, cooking, etc. London (*q.v.*) has opened at least one lodging-house, and they are being discussed everywhere.

Reference: Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain*.

LOMBROSO, CESAR, was born in Venice in 1836. He studied medicine at Turin, and entering the army in the campaign of 1859, was soon made surgeon. In 1862 he took a professorship in diseases of the mind at Pavia, and later became director of an establishment for the insane at Pisaro. From here he went to Turin as Professor of Medical Law and of Psychiatry. He has written many works, particularly on criminology (*q.v.*) and criminal anthropology (*q.v.*), on which he is a leading authority.

LONDON.—London is of special interest in social reform because of its size, giving to its social problems an extent which compels attention, and because of its importance, as in a sense the commercial metropolis of the world. "A province covered with houses," it exceeds all Ireland in population; if it were emptied, the whole of the inhabitants of Scotland and Wales together could do no more than refill it; the three next largest cities in the world could be combined without outnumbering its millions.

Originating, it is supposed, in the Celtic *Llyndin* (Lake Fort), Latinized into *Londinium*, Tacitus mentions it in 61 A.D. as a trading center. In 809 it was the capital of the East Saxons, and was made by William the Conqueror (1066) the capital of England and given a special charter. Since then it has steadily grown, and latterly by absorbing whole towns and villages, as will be seen by the following table:

Growth.

YEAR.	Population.	Percentage of England.
1350.....	90,000	3.60
1600.....	180,000	3.27
1700.....	550,000	9.16
1801.....	864,055	9.72
1851.....	2,362,236	13.18
1881.....	3,814,571	14.69
1891.....	4,232,118	....

The "administrative county" of London, with its 58 parliamentary constituencies, measures 16½ miles in extreme length (east and west), and 11¼ miles in extreme breadth (north and south). This area comprises 75,490 acres. Of its population, less than two thirds are native born. In 1891, 66,463 were natives of Ireland, 53,390 of Scotland, 26,920 of Germany, 10,360 of France, 26,742 of Russia and Poland—mainly Jewish, the whole Jewish population being estimated from 60,000 to 70,000; 4903 were natives

of the United States. The death-rate in 1892 was 20.6.

According to statistics (1893-94) printed by the London County Council (*g.v.*):

"The net emigration—the excess of departures over arrivals—in 1881-90, shown by comparing the actual increase of population with the excess of births over deaths, was 117,789, and it is estimated that this was the result of a gross immigration for settlement of 183,015 country-born and 37,830 foreign-born persons, and a gross emigration for settlement of 338,634 London-born persons. These figures are highly conjectural, but probably not far wrong. Many of the emigrants, of course, settled close outside the county boundary in the suburbs, into which the net immigration was about 277,000. In corroboration of the conjecture that the large majority of the emigrants found their homes in outer London, it might have been mentioned that the number of London-born persons in Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex rose from 299,288 in 1881 to 479,747 in 1891. The area ruled by the Council begins to show the symptoms of depletion, and if the general growth of population goes on as at present, the county will soon become nothing but an enlarged copy of the 'old city.'

The demands of the army and navy are mentioned as 'the chief cause' of the fact that the number of women between 20 and 25 is abnormally large in proportion to men of that age. But successive registrars-general imagine themselves to have proved in census reports that the number of women returned as between 20 and 25 is largely swelled by falsehood, and this is probably the chief cause. Another cause in London may be the large number of country-born domestic servants. The proportion of women among the immigrants into London is much larger (1176 women to 1000 men) than among natives of London resident in England (1106 men to 1000 women), and probably a considerable portion of the excess would be found at the age of 20 to 25 if we had ages and birth-places tabulated in conjunction. A reduction of the school-board rate in years to come is, perhaps, foreshadowed by the fact that the number of children of the elementary school class, between the ages of three and five, enumerated by the visitors, fell from 174,741 at Lady Day, 1892, to 168,437 at Lady Day, 1893. The number of births in London has been stationary for so many years."

London is governed in the city proper (only 671 acres, with a population of 37,705) by a corporation consisting of a lord mayor, 26 aldermen, and 206 common councilors.

The lord mayor is the chief magistrate, with a salary of £10,000, an official residence (Mansion House), and is elected annually by the burghers or free citizens of the various city companies, survivals of the old guilds. (See below.) The 26 aldermen are elected in the 26 wards by those who have the parliamentary suffrage. (See ELECTIONS.) The rest of London is governed by the London County Council (*g.v.*), created in 1888, and by the vestries or district councils as organized in 1894.

The greater part of the municipal administration, if we measure it by the annual expenditure, is carried on by these 43 "district councils," known as vestries or district boards of works. Every year the County Council spends nearly £2,000,000. But the 43 vestries and district boards spend annually over £2,500,000.

Until recently it was almost impossible for the ordinary citizen, especially the ordinary workman, to take any real part in or to exercise any effective control over London's local administration. Its members practically elected themselves in so-called parish meetings. But the Local Government Act of 1894 (the Parish Councils Act) has altered the whole position.

A London vestry has now nothing to do with the Church. It is merely the name given to the council elected by the inhabitants of a London parish to manage their local affairs. Most of the public work that would in a borough like Croydon or West Ham be done by the Town Council and in a populous suburb like Tottenham or Ealing by the Local Board (now called an Urban District Council), is carried out in London by the Vestry.

These "district councils" are the local sanitary authorities. This means that the whole business of keeping London healthy falls primarily on them. They have to manage the paving, cleaning, lighting, and watering of the streets. They arrange for the emptying of dust-bins, the removal of all refuse, and the prevention of nuisances. They must provide and maintain the local drains. They are responsible for seeing that no man or woman lives in a house that is overcrowded or so unhealthy as to be unfit for habitation. They have power to insist that all workshops shall be healthy, properly ventilated, not overcrowded, and provided with sufficient water-closets, separate for each sex. They are bound to take care that all bake-houses are kept in a proper sanitary state. They must see that no food or drink exposed for sale within the parish is so adulterated as to defraud the purchaser, or so as to be injurious to health. They can acquire and maintain gardens, playgrounds, and open spaces. It is through them that the parish can get public baths and wash-houses, a free public library (by poll of the parish), a public mortuary and disinfecting station, and a cemetery where the dead can be buried with the least possible expense.

In many parishes, moreover, the Vestry performs the duties of the overseers, and becomes thus responsible for the valuation of all the land and houses within the parish, and for making up the register of parliamentary and county council elections.

The Local Government Act of 1894 also makes important changes in London, as elsewhere, in connection with the boards of Poor Law Guardians. The qualification for electors and candidates will, henceforth, be the same as for the London Vestries, except that registration or residence anywhere within a "union" will qualify a candidate to be elected for any ward of any parish in that union. The 30 poor law unions do not always correspond with the Vestry or District Board districts, but (with one exception) the ward, or actual electoral area, is the same for both elections.

For parliamentary representation London has 27 boroughs represented by 59 members (some of the boroughs being divided—London University has one member). In 1893 there were 466,504 persons in London who would, under the present law, be entitled to vote in parliamentary, County Council, and Vestry elections; 20,302 with the parliamentary, but not the County Council or Vestry vote; 75,641 with the parliamentary and Vestry, but not the County Council vote; and 82,922 with the County Council and Vestry, but not the parliamentary vote.

In 1892 the value of the imports into and ex-

ports from London was £226,749,916. The amount of money passing through the London clearing house in 1893 was £6,478,013,000. There were published in

Statistics. London 5706 separate works; 700 newspapers are published. There are 170 breweries. Hotel-keepers

and publicans number 6688. There are 15,613 bakers and 14,365 butchers. The building and furnishing of houses, employ 600,000 people; machinery, 20,665; millinery and clothing-making, 120,000 women. The cheap clothing trade is enormous. In 1891 the value of "apparel" exported from London was £3,096,152. There are 250,000 women servants.

The following statements as to London economic and social conditions are abridged from a paper by Sydney Webb on *The Reform of London*, published by the "Eighty Club" (1894) or in a few instances from more recent tracts of the English Fabian Society:

"What London most needs is efficient organs of collective life, and, first, an untrammelled county council.

"The 118 elected councilors, with 19 coopted aldermen, form, indeed, the nucleus of an admirable corporate body, but their powers are, at present, rudimentary, and their functions absurdly limited. In any other city of Great Britain local functions are fulfilled by the Vestries and District Boards of Works; others by the national Government; others, again, are left to the tender mercy of private speculators. Above all, there is the division, overlapping, and waste caused by the continued separate existence of the unreformed city corporation in the midst of municipal London.

"As a consequence of this neglect the London of today is plundered and despoiled on every side. Its water supply is in the hands of eight monopolist companies, who charge £1,000,000 a year more for the absolute necessity of life than its distribution costs, the balance going to pay an average of 7 per cent. on the swollen nominal capital of the shareholders. By the quinquennial revaluation of 1891 the ratable value of the metropolis jumped by at least a million sterling, implying a corresponding increase of the water rates, averaging 4 per cent. of nearly a million sterling and in the assumed salable value of the companies' income. This addition is due not to new buildings, but exclusively to the unearned increase of land values during the quinquennial period.

Monopolies.

In 1896 a similar rise will almost certainly be registered, involving a further free gift to the water companies.

"Seven of the eight companies draw their water mainly from the Thames and the Lea, and the growing population of these river valleys constantly increases its impurity. And altho an expert Royal Commission reported in 1893 that Londoners might rely without actual danger on the water of the Thames and the Lea for another 40 years, it is doubtful whether Londoners will be content so long to drink the diluted sewage of the half a million inhabitants of the upper valleys.

"Three colossal gas companies, with a capital of 15,000,000, extort a tribute of over 1,000,000 average net profit from the metropolis, which they pay as 7 per cent. average dividend to their shareholders. This dividend is regulated by a sliding scale under the well-known act of 1876, which prescribes a maximum dividend, varying according to the price charged per 1000 feet. When, therefore, the companies find their margin of profit reduced, they are able to make their customers recoup them by raising the price of gas, as the Gaslight and Coke Company showed us by its 24 per cent. rise in 1890-91.

"The present market price of the London gas capital is about 25,000,000 sterling, on which 1,000,000 is paid annually in dividend. The County Council could purchase this, even at the market price, by issuing stock-bearing interest to the amount of £750,000 only, and so obtain a clear around profit of a quarter of a million.

"Of all the monopolies, however, which oppress the Londoner, none is more scandalous in its origin and disastrous in its operation than that of the markets. The City Corporation provides and controls eight markets, through which passes practically the whole

meat and poultry supply, and nearly all the fish. The 'Trustees of the Borough Market,' appointed by the Vestry of St. Saviour, Southwark, obtain a large income from London's main potato market. The Baroness Burdett-Coutts and Mr. Plimsoil have attempted to provide markets at Bethnal Green and Walworth respectively. But the Duke of Bedford is still allowed to take the tolls of London's chief vegetable, fruit, and flower market at Covent Garden, which was established in 1661, while Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., and the Scott family are the proprietors of Spitalfields Market, established in 1682. These proprietors enjoy legal power to prevent any other market being established within seven miles if it diminishes their profits; and they derive their 'rights' from charters of King Charles II.

"These monopoly rights are derived not from any express charter or enactment, but by an old inference of the common law. What Charles II. gave to the Duke of Bedford's ancestor and Sir Julian Goldsmid's predecessor was merely the permission to hold a market; it is the lawyers who invented the doctrine that such a permission implies the prohibition of competing markets within about six miles and two thirds. (See the case, *Great Eastern Railway vs. Horner*, in which the proposed Shoreditch Market was stopped by the owners and lessee of Spitalfields Market.)

"Out of the total, moreover, the Duke of Bedford draws at least £15,000 a year from Covent Garden flower market, with the adjacent streets fouled for his profit and cleansed at the cost of the rate-payers; Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., gains a clear £5000 a year net rental from his monopoly of the right to hold a market by Spital Church.

"In 1890 the House of Lords refused the County Council the power even to inquire into the market scandal.

"The docks are in private hands. Four great dock companies have expended a capital of over 20,000,000 sterling in providing dock accommodation for our greatest port, but they have so wasted their resources in reckless competition with each other that less than half of this capital can be considered as earning a dividend, and four years ago the East and West India Company, owning over 5,500,000 of capital, had to suspend payment even on their debenture interest. As a result, a joint committee was formed, constituting more than half the dock capital, and this joint committee made a working agreement with the two smaller but more successful companies. As in the cases of gas and water, London gave up all safeguards in order to get competition, and has now failed even to secure competition; one small irresponsible committee settles dock charges, and two small committees determine dock wages for the whole of London.

"Official census statistics give little information on this point; but Mr. Charles Booth, with the aid of a staff of assistants, has, during the last years, been making exhaustive inquiries into the subject, chiefly by minute investigations into the books of the 66 School Board Visitors. His results are presented in detail in his book, *Life and Labor in East London*.

"In his paper read before the Royal Statistical Society (see *Journal*, June, 1888), Mr. Booth extended his statistics hypothetically, so as to include all London. He says:

"Taking the estimated percentages of poverty as given in the tables, and the population of 1881, we get a total of 663,943 poor in London; or, with the population of to-day as our basis, rather more than 1,000,000. This number does not include indoor paupers or other inmates of institutions."

"One out of four of the whole population is computed to be earning—and that irregularly—not more than a guinea a week per family; and over a third of these are receiving much less, and, says Mr. Booth, live in a state of chronic want."

Poverty.

"In London one person in every five will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1887, out of 82,545 deaths in London, 43,587 being over 20, 9399 were in workhouses, 7201 in hospitals, and 400 in lunatic asylums, or altogether 17,000 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1888, C.—5, 138, pp. 2, 73). Considering that comparatively few of these are children, it is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the manual labor class must, of course, be much greater.

"At least 1,000,000 of London's citizens, belonging to at least 200,000 families, are paying from 2s. to 7s. per week for filthy slum tenements, a large proportion of which would be condemned as 'unfit for habitation' by any energetic sanitary inspector, if only

other habitations were available. The census shows that over 375,000 persons are existing in the soul-devouring purgatory of one-room homes, while a total of 492,000 are crowded together at the rate of three persons or more to each room.

"At least 30,000 of London's citizens have no better resting place than a common lodging-house or the casual ward.

"A small beginning of municipal housing, however, has been made, even in London. No vestry ever exercised the powers for 40 years vested in it by act of Parliament, but the City Corporation has erected blocks of dwellings in Farringdon Road and Middlesex Street, and the County Council has followed in the steps of the City Corporation by building cottages at Limehouse and Deptford, rehousing a whole district at Bethnal Green, and starting to cover 10 acres at Millbank with workmen's dwellings.

"The London County Council has built one lodging-house." (For private philanthropies in this line, see TENEMENTS; WEALTH; TAXATION.)

"The annual rental of the metropolis at the valuation made in 1801 was nearly £40,000,000, which, at 15 years' purchase, represents a salable value of £600,000,000. In 1870 the rental was only £22,000,000, equal to a salable value of £330,000,000. The difference between these sums, £270,000,000, is the increase in the value of London in 21 years. Part is due to new buildings or improvements, and fortunately the annual revision of the valuation list enables us to separate this item in four out of every five years, and to estimate it for the fifth. During 21 years the average yearly increase due to this cause was £501,817, and deducting this amount for 21 years from the actual increment of value for that period, we find that the unearned increment, due solely to causes beyond the control of occupants or property owners, amounts to an average rental of £340,706, or a capital value of at least £4,000,000 sterling added every year to the land of London. This enormous yearly grant to the landlords of London is largely free from taxation.

Rents.

The whole charge for municipal government, maintenance of the poor, and for local improvements—even those which, like the Thames embankment, enormously increase the value of adjacent property—falls at present upon the rates, which (except in case of house property of low value) are almost always collected from the occupier.

"This system of rating has been condemned by committees of the House of Commons in 1866 and 1870, and by the House itself in 1886. The objection to it is that, on the one hand, the owner of property, who pays nothing directly, believes that the burden falls wholly upon him, while, on the other hand, every occupier, when he pays the collector, and knows that an increase of rates does not produce a corresponding reduction of rent, is firmly persuaded that the entire burden falls upon himself. For these two sufferings the public exchequer gets but one tax. The truth seems to lie between the two. Theoretically the annual value of a given house is determined by the competition of other houses of more or less equivalent desirableness, and the tenant pays this value, one part in rent, and the other in rates. If the rates be more, the rent must be correspondingly less, and *vice versa*. But this theory is true only in a purely imaginative state of society, where landlords and tenants are equally and perfectly wise, where there are no leases, and where no expense or loss is incurred in moving from one house to another.

"The difference between the ideal and the real is what the economists call 'economic friction,' and the practical man knows its importance when he takes a long lease and the rates go up in an unexpected manner because the Education Act proves costly, or sanitary reform grows urgent. In the opinion of such eminent authorities as Lord Farrer and Mr. Goschen, a large share of the rates actually does fall on the occupier, and his personal objection to an increase in them is so far justified.

"To meet the difficulty it has sometimes been proposed to enact that the occupier shall deduct from his rent one half of the rate he has paid, thus charging it directly to the landlord. An analogous plan has long been in operation in Scotland, and was strongly recommended by Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1866 and 1870. But the complicated circumstances of London tenure make this plan inapplicable to the metropolis. Without overriding existing contracts it would bring small relief. A landlord's rate of 2s. 6d. in the pound, enacted to fall on the landlord, any agreement to the contrary notwithstanding, would absorb merely the average annual increase of

the value of his estate for the future, and leave him with every penny that he at present possesses. Meanwhile the rates are rising.

"Over £10,000,000 sterling are annually collected and spent by London's public authorities. From 1874 to 1884 the rates rose 60 per cent. Says a tract of the Fabian Society:

"If London, like the great provincial cities, itself owned her public services (after paying the shareholders the full cost of the undertakings), it might save at least £1,500,000 every year—enough to cover half the expenditure on the relief of London's poor.

"The mere annual 'unearned increment' of London would, if appropriated to public purposes, enable the whole of London's million poor to be decently housed, with only the delay necessary for the building operations; and the net annual income from only 'fair rents' on this public property would more than suffice to educate all London's children free of charge."

"In any reform of London's government, the equalization of the rates must be borne in mind. At present the expenses of local administration vary from less than 1s. in the pound in the richer parishes, such as St. James's, Piccadilly, up to 4s. in the pound in such poorer districts as Bromley-by-Bow. This difference is not due to local extravagance, but to the difference in local resources. The City of London (650 acres) and the district of Bermondsey (627 acres) have presumably the same area of streets to keep clean, paved, and lighted; but in the city the cost is spread over property producing over £4,000,000 a year, while it has to be borne in Bermondsey by property worth only one tenth of that sum. Kensington and Poplar each has to watch over the sanitation of about 20,000 houses, and each employs five sanitary inspectors for the work; but the cost of this municipal function is borne, in Kensington, by property worth £2,000,000 a year, and in Poplar by property worth only a third of this amount. This comparison does not bring out the full inequality of the burden, because the poorer sections need much more municipal attention than the rich.

"The city guilds are another unjust institution. These 73 companies are almost the sole survivors of the network of guilds which covered medieval England. Their property, worth about £20,000,000 sterling, is absolutely controlled by the 1500 members of the self-elected Courts of Assistants. The 8000 liverymen are entitled only to a few dinners and the anomalous right to elect the Lord Mayor and Parliamentary representatives for the city. This latter right is the most dangerous possession of the companies; for no radical government can long tolerate so monstrous a privilege, and when once the hand of the reformer has begun to touch the rotten fabric, it cannot easily be stayed. In 1884, a Royal Commission, which included the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Derby, and Lord Sherbrooke, reported that the income of the companies was public property, and recommended that Parliament should intervene to prevent the alienation of the property of the companies, to divert the corporate income to useful purposes, to modernize the trusts, to abolish the livery franchise, and generally to reorganize the companies. But nothing has been done, and the some of the larger companies have greatly increased the proportion of their income devoted to educational purposes, secret and irresponsible management of essentially public funds still continues.

"In 1870-80, the latest year for which figures are obtainable, their property was returned as follows:

	Corporate Income.	Trust Income.	Total.
73 companies.....	£480,837	£188,148	£668,985
Value of halls, etc., about	100,000	.....	100,000
Probable increase in income in 14 years....	100,000	50,000	150,000
Probable total in 1894.	£680,837	£238,148	£918,985

"The trust funds are those which are admittedly subject to special trusts, and it is mainly out of these that the companies maintain their schools and almshouses, their pensions and doles, about which we hear so much from city defenders. But of these funds over £100,000 was, in 1870-80, spent in dinners; £150,000 was being squandered in management expenses, and

over £40,000 was paid away in fees to the members themselves. This enormous income is drawn from vast estates in London and the country, and from investments. The 12 great companies share among them the administration of the Ulster estates of the 'Irish Society,' and nearly all of them possess valuable halls in the city, and magnificent plate. Of this wealth no accounts are published, and the public services rendered for it are ludicrously insignificant."

REFORMS.

If London social problems are large, her charities are also large, and her reform progress is now rapid. The annual revenue of the private charities of London is reckoned at £5,000,000. (For notices of some of these, see CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS; POOR LAWS; SALVATION ARMY; TENEMENTS; UNEMPLOYMENT.) Quite as marked is London's progress in municipal reforms. Her administrative reforms have been already noticed. (See LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.) In 1893, 21 of her parishes had public libraries and 21 public baths. Many of her vestries are dealing energetically with sanitary reforms, and commencing to directly employ workmen without contractors and under trade-union conditions. (For other points bearing on London, see CITY; FIRE DEPARTMENT; POLICE; PROSTITUTION.)

The tramway monopoly has already been broken, and the people of London are in a fair way to become possessors of four miles of their own tramway lines. Up to the present the 126 miles of London tramways have been owned and worked by 11 companies, which earned in 1889-90 a profit of nearly a quarter of a million on a capital of about 3,500,000, and paid therefore an average dividend of more than 6½ per cent. The concessions of the companies last only for 21 years, upon the expiration of which the County Council has power to purchase at the actual value of the stock and plant. The resolution to make this purchase as regards the first concession has been already adopted, and it may be hoped that London will now insist that the whole of the lines shall be in this manner gradually taken over. In 1892 the concession for 19 miles of the North Metropolitan Company's system expired, and the Council has decided to purchase the line as soon as the courts of law can decide what Parliament meant by the Act of 1871. The tramway companies have shown themselves unwilling to administer their trust in a manner consistent with the common weal. Their 5000 drivers, conductors, and horse-keepers are among the most cruelly treated and worst paid of London wage slaves. Sixteen hours' work for 4s. pay is no uncommon record, and all efforts of philanthropists and the press have proved fruitless in effecting any improvement. Trade-unionism has also failed in occupations requiring little skill.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL, THE, was constituted under the Local Government Act of 1888 (England and Wales). It inherited the powers, duties, and liabilities of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the county justices. The Council consists of 118 elected councilors, who hold office for three years; and of 19 aldermen chosen by the council, who hold office for six years, one half retiring every three years. Of the councilors, four are elected by the city of London, while the remaining 57 electoral di-

visions of the metropolis elect two members each. County electors consist of the householders, men or women, whose names are on the printed register. Lodgers, service occupiers, and freeholders cannot vote at a county council election.

The Council elects its own chairman, vice-chairman, and deputy-chairman. The last receives a salary of £1500, and is the official head of the clerical establishment.

The detailed work of the Council devolves on 21 committees, five special committees, and the Technical Education Board. The committees vary in size from 5 to 50 members.

The Council has nothing to do with paving, cleansing, or lighting the streets; does not control the water-works, gas-works, markets, and police; is almost powerless in valuation and assessment; does not collect its own rates; is neither the sanitary nor the burial authority; is inadequately represented on the Thames and Lea Conservancy Boards; and cannot even prepare or supervise the registration of the voters who elect it.

ITS WORK

Notwithstanding this degradation of the chief municipality of the kingdom below the meanest provincial borough incorporated under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the powers and duties of the London County Council are extremely multifarious. Its Public Health and Housing Committee is not the sanitary authority for the whole of London, but it supervises the administration of the Public Health Act (London), 1891, by the local authorities, with a view to secure an adequate sanitary staff in each district, and as far as possible the enforcement of the law. This committee also administers the Artisans' and Laborers' Dwellings Improvements Act, 1875, and the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, under which insanitary areas and houses all over London are investigated, clearances are made, and new buildings erected in the place of slum dwellings.

The Council has, from the first, built either separate cottages, or, where this has been impossible, dwellings on the self-contained tenement system, which provides for separate sink and lavatory accommodation, and secures for the working-class tenant a distinct and complete little home of his own. The internal fittings and arrangements are made as neat and convenient as possible, an adequate system of ventilation, and a certain cubical capacity for every room, sleeping and living alike, are insisted upon; and, notwithstanding the better accommodation provided, the rents charged are based on those prevailing in the immediate neighborhood.

Through the Building Act Committee the Council has organized a definite attack on the jerry-builder and house-farmer, and has begun to repair the neglect of past years in the clearing away of London's slums and rookeries, with all their evil outcome of intemperance, disease, and crime.

During the first six years of the Council's existence, one new open space was secured for London, on an average, every two months. Every week it adds on an average between three

and four acres to London's breathing grounds and playing fields. In 1888 there were 43 separate open spaces, with an area of 2578 acres, under the Council's control and management; in December, 1894, their number had increased to 75, covering 3647 acres. But the Council's work is not confined to increasing the number and area of these open spaces. It organizes them in such a way as to make the most liberal provision of cricket pitches, football grounds, tennis courts, and gymnasia for both sexes. It supplies lavatories and free public conveniences. It regulates the refreshment tariffs. And, finally, it makes provision for a plentiful supply of music during the summer months by its own uniformed bands.

The main sewers of London (but not the local drains) are under the management of the Council, in whose sludge vessels 2,102,000 tons of sludge were, during 1894, sent to sea. The whole body of sewage used to flow into a vast underground reservoir, in which it was penned by the rising tide, and allowed to flow away with the falling water. The Thames used therefore to receive every day some 200,000,000 gals. of unpurified sewage. Under the improved methods which have been put into operation by the Council, the sewage is subjected to scientific processes, and is passed into the river as an inodorous, innocuous liquid. In consequence, the water in the Thames has been so purified as to make it possible for shrimps, whitebait, dace, and other fish to live where they could not before (even as high up as Woolwich), and the black mud banks have disappeared, and given place to clean shores of gravel, clay, or river sand.

THE PUBLIC.

The Council's work touches on education at two points. It has the management of the industrial and reformatory schools at Feltham and Mayford in its hands. These schools contain boys. In connection with the technical education grants, the Council has organized a Technical Education Board for London. (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

The County Council took over from the county justices the licensing of London's theaters, music halls, and dancing saloons; and, whatever mistakes they may have made in the opinion of some people, no one who knows the facts can deny that their work has increased the safety alike of the playgoer and the performer, and has raised the tone of the performances. Its action has wiped out some places which, under the guise of providing public amusement, were hotbeds of debauchery and vice.

The Council has used all its powers to make it possible for people to live a little way out of London by improving the means of communication. Its policy of establishing free ferries, of buying up the tramways, and exerting all its influence on the railway companies, the Board of Trade, and on Parliament to increase the number of workmen's trains and to reduce the fares, both in the case of existing as well as of all newly projected railways, has already resulted in very appreciable advantages to the community, and will be still more fruitful in the near future.

It is now the settled policy of the Council to pay its employees in each trade the recognized trade-union rate of wages, and in no case less than 6*d.* an hour, or 24*s.* a week, to men; or 18*s.* a week to women. Seeing that Mr. Charles Booth places the actual "poverty line" in London at regular earnings of 21*s.* a week, it cannot be said that the Council's "moral minimum" errs on the side of luxury or extravagance. But, unlike the Council's wage for skilled workmen, it is more than is actually paid by many employers; and it is undoubtedly above the rate at which the Council could obtain similar labor if it chose to **Its Employees.** disregard all other considerations.

It is noteworthy that this policy has not led to any ruinous increase in the labor bill. In 1889 the average pay of the wage-staff taken over from the Metropolitan Board of Works was £75 per annum. In 1894, after five years, this average has risen to £78, or exactly 4 per cent.

Wherever possible the Council dispenses with the contractor, and executes its work by engaging a staff of workmen under the supervision of its own salaried officers. The first trial of this experiment was that of watering and cleaning the bridges over the Thames. The new system has now been tried for three years, with the result that whereas the contractor charged 4*s.* 7*d.* to 4*s.* 10*d.* per square yard, the work is now done at an average cost of 3*s.* 2*d.* a square yard, everything included. This, however, was a mere matter of hiring labor, no constructive work being involved. The first piece of actual building executed by the Council was the schoolhouse at Crossness. The architect's estimate was for £1800. The lowest tender was for £2300. The work was completed by the Main Drainage Committee, under its own officers, at a cost of £1764, or £536 under the lowest tender, and £36 under the architect's estimate. But the case that finally convinced the Council was the York Road Sewer. The engineer's estimate was for £7000. Two tenders only were sent in, for £11,588, and £11,608. The work was done by the Council itself, with the result that a net saving of £4477 was made by having the work done without a contractor.

The outcome was the establishment in the spring of 1893 of a Works Committee to execute works required by the other committees. The Works Committee has an entirely distinct staff, and keeps its own separate accounts. Up to the present it has completed and rendered accounts for 29 separate jobs, varying from £100 to £18,785. Sometimes the expenditure works out below the estimate, sometimes above, but, in the aggregate, the total cost of these 29 works—undertaken at the very outset of a new business, with insufficient plant and under manifold disadvantages—comes to £63,061, against the architect's and engineer's detailed and independent prior estimates amounting to £66,061 1*s.* 2*d.* (See CONTRACT LABOR.)

The Council decided in 1891 that contracts for the supply of stores should be entered into for one year only, and in June, 1893, a special committee was appointed. The stores are supplied by 99 firms, and comprise 1817 items, which are classified under 24 headings, the most im-

portant of which are boots, brass fittings, brushes, baskets and matting, clothing, disinfectants, engineers' goods, firewood, fodder, glass, hats and caps, india-rubber and water-proof goods, ironmongery, leather, oilman's sundries, oils, paints and varnishes, rope and canvas, tools, and wrought

Its Finances. and cast iron. The "fair wages" clause is inserted in all the clothing and boots contracts, and the work must be done in the contractors' own factories. The question of establishing a factory of its own, for making boots and clothing, is now under the consideration of the committee.

The ratable value of London is £33,913,707, and the amount raised in 1893-94 was £1,782,509, which is equivalent to 8s. 5½d. per head of the population. Each penny in the rate represents 7½d. per head.

London's finance is complicated by the fact that the Council is not only a borrower, but also a lender. It lends money to local authorities, and receives interest from them. It receives contributions from various local authorities, and from the Government, and thus its receipts are swelled. In 1893-94 the gross debts were over £33,000,000, and the net debts under £19,000,000, having increased by £1,200,000 since the Council came into existence.

The Council's precept for 1894-95 has been for 14d. in the pound, while the last precept of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1888-89 was only for 10½d. But these figures can no more be fairly placed in comparison than the budget of a lone widow with that of the mother of a large and growing family. The Council's precept includes not only the old charges of the Metropolitan Board of Works, but also several other rates which used to be formerly levied in other ways. The result is, that as regards the majority of parishes, the net demand of the central municipal authority has positively decreased during the six years of the Council's existence.

Apart from these financial complications, which affect rather the distribution of the burden than its total amount, the Council's net demand on the London rate-payer has, in the six years, risen by 1½d. in the pound, everything included. A half penny each for the Parks Committee and the Technical Education Board, a farthing for the Fire Brigade, and another farthing for the growing activities of the Public Health, Asylums, Main Drainage, and other committees—this is the price which London as a whole is asked to pay for the abolition of its old corrupt government, and the substitution of a body which has carried out a beneficent revolution in every department of its municipal life. The net increase of charge upon each Londoner, after six years of the Council's rule, is less than 1d. per month, everything included.

Reference: *The London County Council: What it is and what it Does*, a Fabian tract (1895).

LORIA, ACHILLE, was born at Mantua, Italy, in 1857. He held a professorship first at Sienna, and since then has been at Padua. Cossa places him among the ablest of Italian economists, and says of his views: "In criticising the established order of things economic he goes with the socialists, lavishing upon them

expressions of attachment with a profusion which is quite out of place, and yet he will none of their schemes and remedies, and abides steadfastly in the expectation that the course of nature will heal social wounds by a simple process which is already at work and consists in the 'diffusion' of property and the 'elision' of rent." Among his writings are: *La rendita fondiaria e la sua elisione naturale* (1880); *La legge di popolazione ed il sistema sociale* (1882); *Carlo Darwin e l' economia politica* (1884); *Analisi della proprietà capitalista* (1889, 2 vols.).

LOTTERIES are schemes for the distribution of prizes by lot or chance, usually in return for a consideration.

Lotteries are of Italian origin, the first one being in Florence in 1530. France legalized them in 1539. The first lottery for money was in 1630. The revolutionary governments of France passed laws against them in 1793 and 1830; but they were restored by the Bourbons, and in 1879 12,000,000 national lottery tickets of 1 fr. each were sold in Paris to pay for the Exposition of 1878. Lottery bonds were allowed to be issued in the Panama scandal. In England, the first lottery was one of 40,000 "lots," at 10s. each, in 1569, which was drawn at the west door of St. Paul's Cathedral, the profits of which went for the repairing of the harbor. In 1611-12, in the third charter of Virginia by King James, was a grant to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia," of one or more lotteries to run for one year. In England, lotteries were annually licensed from 1709-1823, when they were suppressed.

Sentiment in Europe is, however, against them. J. B. Say declared that the legislators who sanctioned them "vote a certain number of thefts and suicides every year." Yet Prussia, in 1894, realized 10,000,000 thalers from lotteries; Austria,

History. 40,800,000 crowns; Italy, 75,300,000 lire; Spain, 75,000,000 pesetas. In the United States, lotteries were once frequent, and used for raising money, for improving trade, building public edifices, enlarging libraries and colleges (Harvard, Yale, Columbia). They were attacked, however, by Boston clergymen in 1699. They were abolished in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania in 1833 and then in other States. The *Outlook* for March, 1895, gives the following account of the great Louisiana Lottery and its recent defeat:

"It was in 1868 that the company obtained its charter from one of the corrupt carpet-bag legislatures in Louisiana. In 1876, when the white people regained control of the State, they framed a constitution prohibiting lotteries, but United States District Judge Billings promptly ruled that the charter of the lottery company was an inviolable contract, and gave the company the opportunity to negotiate for peace before the Supreme Court had overthrown his infamous decision by declaring that the public morality could not be bartered away by a legislature. At the time of these negotiations the lottery company agreed to retire from the business if allowed to complete the 25-year term fixed by its original charter, and this agreement was accepted. Long before this period expired, however, the lottery had become a great financial institution. It had retained Major-Generals Beauregard and Early to inspect its drawings, and become incom-

parably the most corrupting lottery the country had ever known, because it was the least corrupt. Everybody in the nation had confidence that it conducted its gambling business as it professed to, and the business grew upon a most stupendous scale. Each month it came to issue 28,000,000 tickets at the price of \$1 each, and all that it professed to do was to return to the investors \$14,300,000 of the \$28,000,000 they sent it. . . . It not only contributed generously to campaign funds of parties and individuals, but became incomparably the most philanthropic of all the corporations in Louisiana.

Louisiana Lottery.

When in 1890 it announced to the public its repudiation of its agreement to abandon the business with the expiration of its charter, its philanthropy suddenly increased. At first it offered to raise its contributions to Louisiana taxes from \$40,000 a year to \$500,000, and when the opposition of Governor Nichols made a two-thirds vote necessary, the lottery raised its offer to \$1,250,000 a year, or \$37,000,000 for a new 25-year charter. This bribe was equivalent to \$125 for every voter in the State, yet, as our readers will remember, the patriotism and conscience of Louisiana were so great that the State rejected the offer.

"When, at the end of 1893, the lottery removed its headquarters from New Orleans to Port Tampa, Fla., and Honduras, Central America, it became apparent to all thinking people that the anti-lottery law must be amended. . . ."

"Senator Hoar reported from the Judiciary Committee a new bill for the repression of the lottery traffic. The importation of lottery matter within the United States, and its transportation from State to State by any means whatever, was prohibited by carefully drawn provisions. Meanwhile, . . . the expulsion of the company from Louisiana had little effect. Paul Conrad, the old president of the Louisiana Lottery Company, and also of the Gulf Coast Ice Company, promptly removed his business from New Orleans to Honduras, and continued to advertise to the people of Maine and Manitoba that ice and 'other supplies' could be furnished them from the regions of the equator. When death removed him from his activities in the ice business, another official was promptly secured to take his place, and the programs of so prominent and reputable an institution as the Madison Square Garden, in New York City, were prominently advertising his address and instructing readers to send their orders to him 'by express' in care of — Co., Port Tampa, Fla. There was no legal way in which the business could be checked. . . . Mainly through the efforts of Professor S. H. Woodbridge, of the Boston Institute of Technology, Congress was bombarded with petitions and letters and, finally, telegrams, until the bill which Senator Hoar had safely conducted through the Senate nearly a year ago was, through the vigorous work of Mr. Broderick, of Kansas, accepted by the House of Representatives, two days before adjournment. On the day following it was returned to the Senate for concurrence in certain trivial amendments, and narrowly escaped being throttled by the lottery forces, despite the overwhelming majority professedly in favor of it. . . ."

"Messrs. Brice and Gorman were almost the only men in the Senate who could be brought to the infamy of publicly supporting it. But so shrewdly was this trickery planned and so dexterously was it executed that it failed of success only by a hair's-breadth."

LOVEJOY, ELIJAH PARISH, was born at Albion, Me., in 1802. After studying theology at Princeton, he was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1833, and became editor of the *St. Louis Observer*, a religious paper. While disclaiming any connection with the abolitionists, he nevertheless wrote sympathetically of the anti-slavery agitation, which was then beginning. This greatly offended many of the citizens, and the feeling against him increased in bitterness, until finally the office of the *Observer* was destroyed by a mob. He then resolved to remove his paper to Alton, Ill., but as soon as his press was brought there a mob broke it into fragments. The town reimbursed him for his loss, and another press was procured, only to be destroyed by the mob. He bought

a third press, but it met the same fate. By this time the question had become serious. A convention comprising many of the noblest men in Illinois was held at Upper Alton. It supported him and bought another press, which arrived November 7, 1837. At midnight a mob of 30 or 40 men came from the neighboring drink-shops and commenced to throw stones at the warehouse, to fire shots, and at last attempted to burn it. The roof being set on fire, Mr. Lovejoy and several others stepped out and were fired upon by the rioters. One of the bullets struck Mr. Lovejoy, who only lived long enough to return to the warehouse.

LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.—The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty is an organization of Christian women having for their special work the exercise of their influence, by lectures and otherwise, as opportunity offers, toward urging legislation to a limitation of immigration, the absolute separation of Church and State in all matters pertaining to taxation and education, compulsory education, and retention of the Bible in public schools. The motto of the order is "For God and American Liberty." Any woman who will promise to work for the increase of God's kingdom and for the furtherance of American liberties may become a member.

LUDLOW, JOHN MALCOLM, was an English lawyer associated with Maurice and Kingsley in their Christian Socialism, and to a degree the originator of the movement. A letter of his to Maurice, written from Paris in 1848, and describing the French socialist movement of that period, seems first to have directly turned Maurice's thoughts in the direction of Christian Socialism. Ludlow was associated with Maurice and Kingsley in the weekly paper, *Politics for the People*, and in 1850 he became editor of the *Christian Socialist*, which became in 1851 the *Journal of Association*. He also wrote for the series *Tracts by Christian Socialists*. Among those who started in 1850 the first association of cooperative working tailors Ludlow was prominent, and he was one of the convening committee of the first cooperative congress in London, in 1860, together with Kingsley, Hughes, and Neale. He has since that date taken little prominent part in social reform, but has written able articles on the early Christian Socialists in the *Economic Review* (October, 1893) and the *Atlantic Monthly* (January, 1896).

LUXURY, says Professor Émile de Laveleye, "consists in the consumption of what has cost great labor to produce, for the satisfaction of spurious needs." So defining it, he condemns it, and says: "Luxury is pernicious to the individual and fatal to society. Primitive Christianity reprobated it in the name of charity and humility; political economy condemns it in the name of utility, and justice condemns it in the name of equity."

Professor R. T. Ely writes in a symposium on *Luxury* in the *Kingdom* (June 5, 1896):

"A newspaper writer, speaking of certain extravagant social events which occurred a few years since, used these words: 'Murmurs against luxury may be

heard among people in straitened circumstances when the lavish expenditures and sumptuous pleasures of great society entertainments are discussed. But such persons are prone to forget that these expenditures that seem so prodigal go in large part to benefit the working people. We cannot consider now all the economic fallacies involved in arguments of this kind. They have been exposed over and over again by able men. It may, however, simply be pointed out that the same expenditure made in behalf of others would give equal employment to labor. Let us take the case of a man who contributes \$1,000,000 for a public building, and contrast it with the case of a man who spends \$1,000,000 on his own private house. Labor has equal employment in both cases, but the benefit of the toil accrues to the public in the one case and in the other to the selfish enjoyment of an individual. Another comparison: Contrast the expenditure of \$10,000 for an evening's entertainment with an expenditure of \$10,000 for books for a public library. Labor is alike employed in both cases, but in the second case the enjoyment is more widely diffused and is of a far more enduring character. This attempted justification is precisely on a line with that which people advance for the maintenance of gambling dens and the support of the traffic in intoxicating beverages."

LYNCHING.—The word is derived from the phrase Lynch's law, Charles Lynch (1736-96) being a Virginia planter and originally a Quaker, who in the early days of the American Revolution undertook to protect society and support the revolutionary government by punishing with stripes or banishment (not death) accused enemies of the public. The word is used today of summary punishment, and especially of death, without legal authority. According to a table kept by the Chicago *Tribune*, there were in the United States from 1886 to November, 1895, 1030 legal executions and 1655 lynchings, mainly in the South. In South Carolina, in case of lynching to death, the county has recently been made liable for \$2000, with a remedy over against the parties concerned and the dismissal of faulty officers. (See **HOMICIDES.**)

M.

MABLY, GABRIEL BONNOT DE, was born at Grenoble in 1709. After having pursued his studies with the Jesuits of Lyons, he entered the seminary of St. Sulpice, but later became secretary to his relative, the cardinal of Teucin, minister of foreign affairs. The true minister was Mably. At last, however, a misunderstanding arose between the minister and his secretary, and Mably withdrew to devote himself to political science. Already in 1742 his *Parallèle des Romains et des Français par rapport au gouvernement* had established his fame. In 1748 appeared the *Droit public de l'Europe fondé sur les traités*; afterward the *Entretiens de Phocion sur le rapport de la morale avec la politique* (1763); *Doutes proposés aux philosophes économistes sur l'ordre naturel des sociétés* (1768); *De la législation, ou Principes des lois* (1770); *Observations sur le gouvernement et les lois des États-Unis d'Amérique* (1784)—a curious work, in which he predicts the approaching downfall of the new republic "unless it turn away from the line of commercialism in which it is involved." Invited by the Polish Diet to prepare a code of laws for Poland, his *Gouvernement de Pologne* appeared in 1781.

Mably died in 1785, not without foreseeing the Revolution which would be accomplished. Besides the works already mentioned, he was the author of numerous historical and philosophical books; several posthumous works were also published, among them *Les Droits et les Devoirs du Citoyen*.

The economic ideas of Mably are scattered through all his works; they form a complete system and make him one of the first thinkers of his age. In early life he professed views which he later outgrew. In his *Parallèle des Romains et des Français* (which he afterward repented having written) he stoutly defended an absolute monarchy; he extolled luxury, and considered the arts, industry, and commerce as actual benefits to men.

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ DI BERNARDO, was born in Florence in 1469, of middle-class parentage. A man of affairs rather than a student, he grew up in the brilliant court of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and after the reestablishment of the republic in 1498 he was, till the return of the Medici in 1512, chancellor or secretary of the second chancery in Florence, thrown intimately with public men, and sent on repeated embassies to Cesare Borgia, Pope Julius II., the Emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. of France, and the various Italian States. The return of the Medici ended his public career, tho he sought favor with them, and in 1521 was commissioned by them to write a history of Florence; but in 1527 the Medici were again driven from Florence, and Machiavelli died in disappointment the same year. His fame rests upon his writings. He wrote a few comedies and some verse, all poor except *La Mandragola*, an immoral play, but by some considered a masterpiece. His prose, however, was as good as his verse was bad. Some consider him the greatest writer of Italian prose. He throws aside the traditions of style and thoughts both of the classic age and the Middle Ages which he despised, and writes as a man of the world.

His political writings have made his reputation. *Dell'arte della guerra* (1520) advocates the present system of standing armies instead of the Middle Age use of mercenaries. His *Lettere familiari* and *Istorie Fiorentine* (1525) give unrivaled insight into his times. His *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* gives his ideas of republican government; but his great work is *Il Principe*, in which he considers absolute monarchy, and has made the word *machiavellism* a synonym for evil. There has been interminable discussion whether Machiavelli wrote this book satirically, cynically, immorally, or honestly. It is a remorseless and scientific examination of the principles and methods an absolute monarch as a matter of fact follows and seemingly must follow in order

to succeed. All factors of rights and morals are eliminated. Every point is proved and illustrated from contemporary history. Some of his principles need a Cesare Borgia to execute. Like the *Discorsi*, it was published after his death in 1532. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE.) Machiavelli was undoubtedly a man of the world, but he always seems to have been true to Florence, and to have had a true, devoted wife in Marietta Corsini.

MACHINERY.—The importance of machinery in production can scarcely be overestimated. The part that it has played in the development of the modern labor problem can scarcely be put too strong. We shall consider, I. The Facts of Machine Production; II. Social Results; III. The Right Use of Machinery.

I. THE FACTS OF MACHINE PRODUCTION.

Tools and machinery are not identical; a tool is an instrument, usually simple, tho, as in the case of the lathe and potter's wheel, sometimes complex, which is guided and directed by the skill of the craftsman. When the tool grows complex, and is not guided by the individual skill of the craftsman, but by a mechanism which governs its action, it is called a machine. Machinery usually includes motor mechanism transmitting mechanism and working or tool mechanism.

Machinery increases man's productivity in two ways. It enables him, as with the steam hammer, to concentrate enormous power upon a fixed point, and to make motion regular and continuous. Says Mr. J. A. Hobson (*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 51, 52):

"Machinery can increase the scope of man's productive ability in two ways: The difficulty of concentrating a large mass of human force upon a given point at the same time provides certain quantitative limits to the productive efficiency of the human body. The steam-hammer can perform certain work which is quantitatively outside the limit of the physical power of any number of men working with simple tools and drawing their motor power from their own bodies. The other limit to the productive power of man arises from the imperfect continuity of human effort and the imperfect command of its direction. . . . Machinery can also do work which is too fine or delicate for human fingers, or which would require abnormal skill if executed by hand. . . ."

Use.

"The continuity and regularity of machine work are also reflected in certain economies of measurement. The faculty of self-registering, which belongs potentially to all machinery, and which is more utilized every day, performs several services which may be summed up by saying that they enable us to know exactly what is going on. When to self-registration is applied the faculty of self-regulation, within certain limits a new economy of force and knowledge is added. But machinery can also register and regulate the expenditure of human power. Babbage well says: 'One of the most singular advantages we derive from machinery is in the check which it affords against the inattention, the idleness, or the knavery of human agents.' . . ."

"These are the sources of all the improvements of economies imputed to machine production. All improvements in machinery, as applied to industrial arts, take therefore one of the following forms:

"(1) Rearrangement or improvement of machinery so as to utilize more fully the productive power of nature or man. Improvements enabling one man to tend more spindles, or enabling the same engine at the same boiler pressure to turn more wheels, belong to this order of improvement.

"(2) Economies in the source of power. These will fall under four heads: 1. Substitution of cheaper for dearer kinds of human power. Displacement of men's

labor by women's or children's. 2. Substitution of mechanical power for human power. Most great improvements in the 'labor-saving' character of machinery properly come under this head. 3. Economies in fuel or in steam. The most momentous illustration is the adoption of the hot blast and the substitution of raw coal for coke in the iron trade. 4. The substitution of a new mechanical motor for an old one derived from the same or from different stores of energy—*e.g.*, steam for water power, natural gas for steam.

"(3) Extended application of machinery. New industrial arts owing their origin to scientific inventions and their practice to machinery arise for utilizing waste products. Under 'waste products' we may include (a) natural materials, the services of which were not recognized or could not be utilized without machinery—*e.g.*, nitrates and other 'waste' products of the soil; (b) the refuse of manufacturing processes which figured as 'waste' until some unsuspected use was found for it."

The development of machinery may be divided into four periods:

1. The period of the earlier mechanical inventions, marking the displacement of domestic by factory industry (1764-85).

2. The period of application of steam to manufacturing (1785-1814).

3. The period of steam locomotion, with its bearing on industry (1814-56).

4. The period of the construction of machinery by machinery (1856-66).

Important dates in the development of machinery are the invention of Hargreave's spinning jenny (1764), Arkwright's mill (1771), Crompton's mule (1779), Cartwright's power loom and Watt's engine for cotton mills (1785), Whitney's cotton gin (1792), Stephenson's locomotive (1814), the opening of the first railway (1822), the hot blast (1829), ring spinning (1841). The revolution in the industrial world created by machinery has been often dwelt upon. The following facts are taken from the first annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics in Washington for 1886:

The commissioner, inquiring into the industrial crisis, finds that it is mainly due to the immense development of machine industry under the joint-stock system; and he takes up various trades one after another to show how labor has been displaced by machinery. In the timber business, he says, 12 laborers with a Bucker machine will dress 22,000 staves. The same number of men by hand labor would have dressed in the same time only 2500. In the manufacture of paper a machine now used for drying and cutting, run by four men and six girls, will do the work formerly done by 100 persons, and do it much better. In the manufacture of wall-paper the best evidence puts the displacement in the proportion of 100 to 1. In a phosphate mine in South Carolina 10 men accomplish with machinery what 100 men handle without it in the same time. There has been a displacement of 50 per cent. in the manufacture of rubber boots and shoes. In South Carolina pottery the product is ten times greater by machine processes than by muscular labor. In the manufacture of saws, experienced men consider that there has been a displacement of three men out of five. In the weaving of silk the displacement has been 35 per cent., and in the winding of silk 90 per cent. A large soap manufacturing concern carefully estimates the displacement of labor in its works at 50 per cent. In making wine in California a crushing machine has been introduced with which one man can crush and stem 80 tons of grapes in a day, representing an amount of work formerly requiring eight men. In woollen goods modern machinery has reduced muscular labor 33 per cent. in the carding department, 50 per cent. in the spinning, and 25 per cent. in the weaving. In some kinds of spinning 100 to 1 represents the displacement. In the whole United States in 1886 the machinery was equal to 3,500,000 horse-power. If men only had been employed, it would have required 21,000,000 to turn out the actual total product; the real number was 4,000,000. To do the work accomplished in 1886 in the United States by

power machinery and on the railways would have required men representing a population of 172,500,000. The actual population of the United States in 1886 was something under 60,000,000, or a little more than one third.

"Commenting on these very remarkable statistics, the Labor Commissioner says: 'The apparent evils resulting from the introduction of machinery and the consequent subdivision of labor have to a large extent, of course, been offset by advantages gained; but it must stand as a positive statement, which cannot be successfully controverted, that this wonderful introduction and extension of power machinery is one of the prime causes, if not the prime cause of the novel industrial condition in which the manufacturing nations find themselves.'"

Machinery, too, has revolutionized agriculture. Mr. D. A. Wells considers it to have made greater changes here than in any other occupation. He says (*Recent Economic Changes*):

"In respect to no other one article has change in the conditions of production and distribution been productive of such momentous consequences as in the case of wheat. On the great wheat fields of the State of Dakota, where machinery is applied to agriculture to such an extent that the requirement for manual labor has been reduced to a minimum, the annual product of one man's labor, working to the best advantage, is understood to be now equivalent to the production of 5500 bush. of wheat. In the great mills of Minnesota, the labor of another one man for a year, under similar conditions as regards machinery, is in like manner equivalent to the conversion of this unit of 5500 bush. of wheat into 1000 bbls. of flour, leaving 500 bush. for seed purposes; and altho the conditions for analysis

Agriculture. of the next step in the way of results are more difficult, it is reasonably certain that the year's labor of one and a half men more—or, at the most, two men—employed in railroad transportation, is equivalent to putting this 1000 barrels of flour on a dock in New York ready for exportation, where the addition of a fraction of a cent a pound to the price will further transport and deliver it at almost any port of Europe.

"Here, then, we have the labor of three men for one year, working with machinery, resulting in the producing all the flour that 1000 other men ordinarily eat in a year, allowing one barrel of flour for the average consumption of each adult. Before such a result the question of wages paid in the different branches of flour production and transportation becomes an insignificant factor in determining a market; and, accordingly, American flour grown in Dakota and ground in Minneapolis, from 1000 to 1500 miles from the nearest seaboard, and under the auspices of men paid from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day for their labor, is sold in European markets at rates which are determinative of the prices which Russian peasants, Egyptian 'fellahs,' and Indian 'ryots,' can obtain in the same markets for similar grain." (See AGRICULTURE.)

Mr. Hobson says (as above):

"It must not be forgotten that by far the most important factor in the decline of English agricultural employment is the transport machinery which has brought the produce of distant countries into direct competition with English agricultural produce."

Of England, Mr. William Clarke, in the *Fabian Essays*, says:

"A cotton-mill in one of the dismal 'hell-holes' called towns in Lancashire is a wonderful place, full of bewildering machines. Here is a machine called an 'opener,' by which 15,000 lbs. of cotton can be opened in 56 hours. There is a throstle, the spindles of which make from 6000 to 7000 revolutions per minute. Here is a man who, with the aid of two pieces to take up and join the broken ends, can work 2000 spindles. Among the distinct separate machines used are opener, scutcher, and lap machine, drawing frame, stubbing frame, intermediate frame, roving frame, throstle, self-acting mule and hand mule, doubling frame, and mule doublers or twiners. By means of these appliances the following results have been attained. Within eight years, from 1792 to 1800, the quantity of cotton exported from the United States to Lancashire had increased from 138,000 lbs. to 18,000,000 lbs. In 1801 Lancashire

took 84,000 bales of cotton from the United States; in 1876 she took 2,075,000 bales; and whereas in the former year only 14,000 bales came from India, in 1876 from that country came 775,000 bales, besides a great increase in Brazilian cotton and a new import of 332,000 bales from England.

In 1805, 1,000,000 pieces of calico were sold in the Blackburn market during the whole year; and that was considered a very large sale. In 1884, according to Ellison's *Annual Review of the Cotton Trade*, there were exported 4,417,000 yards of piece goods, besides the vast quantity produced for home consumption. In 1875, in place of the little cottages with their hand-looms of a century before, Lancashire contained 2655 cotton factories with 37,515,772 spinning spindles and 463,118 power looms; and she produced yarn and piece goods to the weight of 1,088,890,000 lbs., and of the value of £95,447,000. See too how through the use of machinery the cost of production had been lowered. In 1790 the price of spinning the yarn known technically as No. 100 was 4s. per lb.; in 1826 it had been reduced to 63d. The sale price of yarn No. 100 in 1786 was 38s.; in 1793 it was reduced to 25s. 1d.; in 1802 to 8s. 4d.; in 1876 to 28s. 6d. The decreased cost in each case followed on economy in production, itself dependent on increased differentiation in machinery; that in turn involving larger and larger capital; and that again necessitating aggregation and the crushing out of small concerns which could not command machinery or sell at a profit in competition with it."

And this process is by no means an ended one. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chap. xxvii., gives some instances of very recent improvements in machinery. He says (abridged):

"One of the latest sextuple stereotype perfecting presses manufactured by R. Hoe & Co., of New York, has an aggregate running capacity of 72,000 eight-page papers per hour; that is to say, one of these perfected presses, run by one pressman and four skilled laborers, will print, cut at the top, fold, paste, and count (with supplement inserted if desired) 72,000 eight-page papers in one hour. To do the press-work alone for this number of papers would take, on the old plan, a man and a boy, working 10 hours per day, 100 days. By the use of Goodyear's sewing-machine for turned shoes one man will sew 250 pairs in one day. It would require eight men, working by hand, to sew the same number in the same time. By the use of a heel-shaver or trimmer one man will trim 300 pairs of shoes a day, while formerly three men would have been required to do the same work; and with the McKay machine one operator will handle 300 pairs of shoes in one day, while without the machine he could handle but five pairs in the same time. So, in nailing on heels, one man, with the aid of machinery, can heel 300 pairs of shoes per day. In the days of the single-spindle hand-wheel, one spinner, working 56 hours continuously, could spin five hanks of No. 32 twist. At the present time, with one pair of self-acting mule-spinning machines, having 2124 spindles, one spinner, with the assistance of two small boys, can produce 55,008 hanks of No. 32 twist in the same time. . . . Even in power machinery, a weaver formerly tended but one loom. Now one weaver minds all the way from 2 to 10 looms according to the grade of goods. . . . In a large establishment in New Hampshire, improved machinery, even within 10 years, has reduced muscular labor 50 per cent in the production of the same quality of goods. In weaving, in the olden time, in this country, a fair adult hand-loom weaver wove from 42 to 48 yards of common shirting per week. Now a weaver, tending six power-looms in a cotton factory, will produce 1500 yards and over in a single week; and now a recent invention will enable a weaver to double this product."

In many lines of manufactures new machinery has to be put in every few years to keep up with the competition. Steamers 10 years old are usually worthless for fast voyages.

In his *Recent Economic Changes*, chap. ii., Mr. D. A. Wells says:

"The power capable of being exerted by the steam-engines of the world in existence and working in the year 1887 has been estimated by the Bureau of Statistics at Berlin as equivalent to that of 200,000,000

horses, representing approximately 1,000,000,000 men; or at least three times the working population of the earth, whose total number of inhabitants is probably about 1,460,000,000. The application and use of steam alone up to date (1889) has accordingly more than trebled man's working power, and by enabling him to economize his physical strength has given him greater leisure, comfort, and abundance, and also greater opportunity for that mental training which is essential to a higher development. And yet it is certain that four fifths of the steam-engines now working in the world have been constructed during the last quarter of a century, or since 1865."

But the present steam-engine will probably be discarded. Says Mr. Wells:

"Notwithstanding the immense service which the steam-engine has rendered to humanity, and its present continuing necessity as a prime factor in all civilization, it is at the same time certain that as a machine it is most imperfect, inasmuch as the very best steam-engines only utilize about one sixth of the power (work) which resides in the fuel which is consumed in the generation of steam. The entire displacement of the steam engine as it now exists is, therefore, not only essential to further great material progress, but is confidently expected to happen at no very distant period by those eminently qualified to express an opinion on this subject. Thus, at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888, the president, Sir Frederick Bramwell, after expressing his belief that the days of the steam-engine for small powers were already numbered, further predicted that those who should attend the centenary of the Association in 1931 'would see the present steam-engines in museums, treated as things to be respected and of antiquarian interest, by the engineers of those days, such as are the open-topped steam cylinders of Newcomen and of Smeaton to ourselves, and that the heat-engine of the future will probably be one independent of the vapor of water.' Indeed, 'the working of heat-engines, without the intervention of the vapor of water by the combustion of the gases arising from coal, or from coal and from water,' he continued, 'is now not merely an established fact, but a recognized and undoubted commercially economical means of obtaining motive power. Such engines, developing from 1 to 40 horse-power, and worked by ordinary gas supplied by gas-mains, are in most extensive use in printing works, hotels, clubs, theaters, and even in large private houses, for the working of dynamos to supply electric light. But looking at the wonderful petroleum industry, and at the multifarious products which are obtained from the crude material, is it too much to say that there is a future for motor-engines worked by the vapor of some of the more highly volatile of these products—true vapor—not a gas, but a condensable body capable of being worked over and over again? Numbers of such engines, some of as much as four horse-power, are now running, and are apparently giving good results—certainly excellent results as regards the compactness and lightness of the machinery."

The Future.

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Many believe that the use of electricity as a motor power will still more revolutionize industry. (See ELECTRICITY. For further illustrations of the productive power of machinery, see PRODUCTIVITY.)

II. SOCIAL RESULTS.

In his *Political Economy*, Book IV., chap. vi., John Stuart Mill wrote his oft-quoted words: "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lengthened the day's toil of any human being." This is considered by many an exaggeration. If hours of labor were at first lengthened by the introduction of machinery, they are to-day steadily being lessened. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) If machinery has developed the factory system, that to-day is by no means what it was. (See FACTORY SYSTEM.) The most evil results of machinery are thus temporary, its good results per-

manent. Realizing what machinery means in the way of cheapened production and how it makes it possible that wage-owners should own a hundred commodities that the wealthy could not have a hundred years ago, most economists believe that machinery has been to the vast benefit of working men as of all classes. There are, however, two sides to this. The most serious discussion has been on the question of how far machinery has permanently displaced labor. Writers like Mr. Carroll D. Wright claim that if machinery has displaced labor in one direction it has created more employment for them in others. Mr. Wright shows, e.g., in his *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, chap. xxviii., that the per capita of cotton consumption of cotton in this country was 5.9 lbs. in 1830, 13.91 lbs. in 1880, and 19 lbs. in 1890, which figures he says "clearly and positively indicate that the labor necessary for such consumption has been kept up to the standard, if not beyond the standard, of the olden time—that is, as to the number of people employed." In iron he says the increase has been as great proportionally: 105.64 lbs. in 1870, 204.90 lbs. in 1880, and 283.38 lbs. in 1890. In steel it was 46 lbs. in 1880 and 144 in 1890. Many occupations have been created. He says (we abridge his words):

"If we could examine scientifically the number of created occupations, the claim that inventions have displaced labor on the whole would be conclusively and emphatically refuted. In telegraphy thousands and thousands of people are employed where no one has ever been displaced. Electroplating, a modern device, has not only added wonderfully to the employed list by its direct influence, but indirectly by the introduction of a class of goods which can be secured by all persons.

"The railroads offer another grand illustration of the expansion of labor. It now requires more than three quarters of a million of people to operate our railroads, and this means a population of nearly four millions, or one sixteenth of the whole population of the country. The displacement of the stage-coach and the stage-driver was nothing compared to the expansion of labor which the railroad systems of the country have created. As a means of expansion of labor the sewing machine is a striking illustration. It has displaced no one; it has increased demand, and it has been the means of establishing great workshops to supply the thousands of machines that are sold throughout the world.

"The expansion of values as the result of the influence of machinery has been quite as marvelous as in any other direction, for educated labor, supplemented by machinery, has developed small quantities of inexpensive material into products of great value. This truth is illustrated by taking cotton and iron ore as the starting-point. A pound of cotton, costing at the time this calculation was made but 13 cents, has been developed into muslin which sold in the market for 80 cents, and into chintz which sold for \$4. Seventy-five cents' worth of common iron ore has been developed into \$5 worth of bar iron, or into \$10 worth of horseshoes, or into \$180 worth of table knives, or into \$6800 worth of fine needles, or into \$29,480 worth of shirt-buttons, or \$200,000 worth of watch-springs, or \$400,000 worth of hair-springs, and the same quantity of common iron ore can be made into \$2,500,000 worth of pallet arbors.

"The illustrations given, both of the expansion of labor and the expansion of values, are sufficiently suggestive of a line of study which, carried in any direction, will show that machinery is the friend and not the enemy of man, especially when man is considered as a part of society and not as an individual."

Mr. Hobson, however, who has made a more minute analysis, comes to less pronounced results. He says (as above, pp. 234, 235):

"Facts and figures seem to support the following conclusions:

Creates Work.

"1. That along with the increased application of machinery to the textile and other staple manufactures there has been in these industries a decrease of employment relative to the growth of the working population.

"2. That in the transport industries the increase of employment is in inverse proportion to the introduction of machinery into the several branches as a dominating factor.

"3. That the considerable diminution of agricultural employment is not compensated by any proportionate increase of manufacturing employment, but that the displaced agricultural labor finds employment in such branches of the transport and distributive trade as are less subject to machinery. . . .

"So far, therefore, as the statistics of employments present a just register of the influence of machinery upon demand for labor, we are driven to conclude that the net influence of machinery is to diminish employment so far as those industries are concerned into which

Effect on Employment. machinery directly enters, and to increase the demand in those industries which machinery affects but slightly or indirectly. If this is true of England, which, having the start in the development of the factory system, has to a larger extent than any other country specialized in the arts of manufacture, it is probable that the net effect of machinery upon the demand for labor throughout the industrial world has been to throw a larger proportion of the population into industries where machinery does not directly enter."

Machinery has, too, Mr. Hobson argues, a greater effect in increasing the irregularity of employment. He says :

"While it is the interest of each producer of machine-made goods to give regular employment, some wider industrial force compels him to irregularity. What is this force? It is uncontrolled machinery. In the several units of machine production, the individual factories or mills, we have admirable order and accurate adjustment of parts ; in the aggregate of machine production we have no organization, but a chaos of haphazard speculation. 'Industry has not yet adapted itself to the changes in the environment produced by machinery.' That is all. . . .

"When production was slower, markets narrower, credit less developed, there was less danger of this big miscalculation, and the corrective forces of industry were more speedily effective. But modern machinery has enormously expanded the size of markets, the scale of competition, the complexity of demand, and production is no longer for a small, local, present demand, but for a large, world, future demand. Hence machinery is the direct material cause of these great fluctuations which bring, as their most evil consequence, irregularity of wages and employment.

"How far does this tend to right itself? Professor Nicholson believes that time will compel a better adjustment between machinery and its environment.

"The enormous development of steam communication and the spread of the telegraph over the whole globe have caused modern industry to develop from a gigantic star-fish, any of whose members might be destroyed without affecting the rest, into a μέγα ζώον which is convulsed in agony by a slight injury in one part. A depression of trade is now felt as keenly in America and even in our colonies as it is here. Still, in the process of time, with the increase of organization and decrease of unsound speculation, this extension of the market must lead to greater stability of prices ; but at present the disturbing forces often outweigh altogether the supposed principal elements."

"The organization of capital under the pressure of these forces is doubtless proceeding, and such organization, when it has proceeded far enough, will indisputably lead to a decrease of unsound speculation. But these steps in organization have been taken precisely in those industries which employ large quantities of fixed capital, and the admitted fact that severe fluctuations still take place in these industries is proof that the steadying influences of such organization have not yet had time to assert themselves to much purpose. The competition of larger and larger masses of organized capital seems to induce heavier speculation and larger fluctuations. Not until a whole species of capital is organized into some form or degree of 'combination' is the steadying influence of organization able to predominate.

"But there is also another force which, in England, at any rate, under the increased application of machinery, makes for an increase rather than a diminution of

speculative production. It has been seen that the proportion of workers engaged in producing comforts and luxuries is growing, while the proportion of those producing the prime necessities of life is declining. How far the operation of the law of diminishing returns will allow this tendency to proceed we cannot here discuss. But statistics show that this is the present tendency both in England and in the United States. . . .

"So long, then, as a community grows in numbers, so long as individuals desire to satisfy more fully their present wants and continue to develop new wants, forming a higher or more intricate standard of consumption, there is no evidence to justify the conclusion that machinery has the effect of causing a net diminution in demand for labor, tho it tends to diminish the proportion of employment in the 'manufacturing' industries ; but there is strong reason to believe that it tends to make employment more unstable, more precarious of tenure, and more fluctuating in market value."

See also OCCUPATIONS ; UNEMPLOYMENT.

Less discussed but perhaps more important is the effect of machinery upon the *quality* of labor. Some believe that machinery improves labor, taking it out of tenements and rude huts into factories, which are now usually comparatively hygienic (for proof see article, SWEATING, where it is shown how terrible are the conditions in trades not using machinery). Others argue, too, that machinery replaces muscular labor by higher forms of labor. Professor Marshall inclines to this view (*Principles of Economics*, 2d ed., pp. 314, 322). Others dwell upon the educative effect of machinery, teaching inventiveness, love of order, cooperation, etc. But there is another side to the question. Says Mr. Hobson (as above, chap. ix.) :

"As regards those workers who pass from ordinary manual work to the tending of machinery, there is a good deal of evidence to show that, in the typical machine industries, their new work taxes their physical vigor quite as severely as the old work. Professor Shield Nicholson quotes the following striking statement from the *Cotton Factory Times*: 'It is quite a common occurrence to hear young men who are on the best side of 30 years of age declare they are so worked up with the long mules, coarse counts, quick speeds, and inferior material, that they are fit for nothing at night, only going to bed and taking as much rest as circumstances will allow. There are few people who will credit such statements; nevertheless they are true, and can be verified any day in the great majority of the mills in the spinning districts.'

"Schulze-Gaevernitz shows that the tendency in modern cotton-spinning and weaving, especially in England, has been both to increase the number of spindles and looms which an operative is called upon to tend, and to increase the speed of spinning. 'A worker tends to-day more than twice or nearly three times as much machinery as his father did ; the number of machines in use has increased more than fivefold since that time, while the workers have not quite doubled their numbers.' With regard to speed, 'since the beginning of the seventies the speed of the spinning machines alone has increased about 15 per cent.' (*Der Grossbetrieb*, pp. 120-157) 'There is a temptation,' as Mr. Cunningham says, 'to treat the machine as the main element in production, and to make it the measure of what a man ought to do, instead of regarding the man as the first consideration, and the machine as the instrument which helps him ; the machine may be made the primary consideration, and the man may be treated as a mere slave who tends it' (*Uses and Abuses of Money*, p. 111)

"The factory is organized with military precision, the individual's work is definitely fixed for him ; he has nothing to say as to the plan of his work or its final completion or its ultimate use. 'The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employee to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost' (*Contemporary Review*, 1889, p. 392).

"Dr. Arlidge expresses a decided opinion : 'Generally speaking, it may be asserted of machinery that it calls for little or no brain exertion on the part of those connected with its operations ; it arouses no interest,

and has nothing in it to quicken or brighten the intelligence, tho it may sharpen the sight and stimulate muscular activity in some one limited direction' (*Diseases of Occupations*, pp. 25, 26).

"A locomotive superintendent of a railway was recently questioned as to the quality of engine-driving. 'After 20 years' experience he declared emphatically that the very best engine-drivers were those who were most mechanical and unintelligent in their work, who cared least about the internal mechanism of the engine.' Yet engine-driving is far less mechanical and monotonous than ordinary tending of machinery."

Effect on Character.

Mr. Hobson concludes :

"The net influence of machinery upon the quality of labor, then, is found to differ widely according to the relation which subsists between the worker and the machine. Its educative influence, intellectual and moral, upon those concerned with the invention, management, and direction of machine industry, and upon all whose work is about machinery, but who are not detailed machine-tenders, is of a distinctly elevating character. Its effect, however, upon machine-tenders in cases where, by the duration of the working day or the intensity of the physical effort, it exhausts the productive energy of the worker, is to depress vitality and lower him in the scale of humanity by an excessive habit of conformity to the automatic movements of a non-human motor. This human injury is not adequately compensated by the education in routine and regularity which it confers, or by the slight understanding of the large co-operative purposes and methods of machine industry which his position enables him to acquire."

Machinery is, too, the creator of the factory system and the factory town. (See FACTORY SYSTEM.) It is this, perhaps, which makes it most unpopular with the worker. Says Mr. Robert Blatchford (*Merrie England*, chap. iii.) :

"My reasons for attacking the factory system are :

- "1. Because it is ugly, disagreeable, and mechanical.
- "2. Because it is injurious to public health.
- "3. Because it is unnecessary.
- "4. Because it is a danger to the national existence.

"The Manchester school will tell you that the destiny of this country is to become 'the workshop of the world.'"

"I say that is not true; and that it would be a thing to deplore if it were true. The idea that this country is to be the 'work-shop of the world' is a wilder dream than any that the wildest socialist ever cherished. But if this country did become the 'work-shop of the world,' it would at the same time become the most horrible and the most miserable country the world has ever known.

"Let us be practical, and look at the facts.

"First, as to the question of beauty and pleasantness. You know the factory districts of Lancashire. I ask you is it not true that they are ugly, and dirty, and smoky, and disagreeable? Compare the busy towns of Lancashire, of Staffordshire, of Durham, and of South Wales, with the country towns of Surrey, Suffolk, and Hants. . . .

"I know that the Manchester school will tell you that this is mere 'sentiment.' But compare their actions with their words: . . .

"To make wealth for themselves they destroy the beauty and the health of your dwelling-places; and then they sit in their suburban villas, or on the hills and terraces of the lovely southern countries, and sneer at the 'sentimentality' of the men who ask you to cherish beauty and to prize health.

"Or they point out to you the value of the 'wages' which the factory system brings you, reminding you that you have carpets on your floors, and pianos in your parlors, and a week's holiday at Blackpool once a year.

"But how much health or pleasure can you get out of a cheap and vulgar carpet? And what is the use of a piano if you have neither leisure nor means to learn to play it? And why should you prize that one week in the crowded, noisy watering-place, if health and fresh air and the great salt sea are mere sentimental follies?"

III. THE RIGHT USE OF MACHINERY.

Some writers, like John Ruskin, imply, if they do not state, that there is no right use of

machinery. They say that it must destroy art and life and beauty. (See ART.) Ruskin says in *Fors Clavigera* :

"A man and a woman, with their children, properly trained, are able easily to cultivate as much ground as will feed them; to build as much wall and roof as will lodge them, and to spin and weave as much cloth as will clothe them. They can all be perfectly happy and healthy in doing this. Supposing that they invent machinery which will build, plow, thresh, cook, and weave, and that they have none of these things any more to do, but may read, or cricket, all day long, I believe myself that they will neither be so good nor so happy as without the machines. . . . No machines will increase the possibilities of idleness. They only increase the possibilities of idleness. . . . There was a rocky valley between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, divine as the Vale of Tempe; you might have seen the gods there morning and evening—Apollo and all the sweet muses of the Light—walking in fair procession on the lawns of it, and to and fro among the pinnacles of its crags. You cared neither for gods nor grass, but for cash (which you did not know the way to get); you thought you could get it by what the *Times* calls 'Railroad Enterprise.' You enterprised a railroad through the valley—you blasted its rocks away, heaped thousands of tons of shale into its lovely stream. The valley is gone, and the gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half an hour, and every fool in Bakewell at Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange."

Wiser, however, seems the position of those who believe that machinery should be largely used, but used to increase the simplicity of life, not its complexity. Mr. Blatchford, whom we have quoted above as opposed to the factory system, would make English life more agricultural and less manufacturing, but he would have machines do even more than they do today, only as the servant of the whole community, not as the property of capitalists for whom wage-workers slave. He says :

"I propose to make our material lives simple; to spend as little time and labor as possible upon the production of food, clothing, houses, and fuel, in order that we may have more leisure. And I propose to employ that leisure in the enjoyment of life and the acquirement of knowledge. . . . Let us go back to our Manchester street of 100 working class families. Suppose, instead of keeping up the wasteful system I described, we abolish all those miserable and imperfect drying-grounds, wringing-machines, wash-kitchens, and kitchen-ranges, and arrange the street on communal lines.

"We set up one laundry, with all the best machinery; we set up one big drying-field; we set up one great kitchen, one general dining-hall, and one pleasant tea-garden. Then we buy all the provisions and other things in large quantities, and we appoint certain wives as cooks and laundresses, or, as is the case with many military duties, we let the wives take the duties in turn. . . .

"So with the housework when we had simple houses and furniture. Imagine the difference between the cleaning of all the knives by a rapid knife machine turned by an engine, and the drudgery of 100 wives scrubbing at 100 clumsy knife-boards."

Says another socialistic writer :

"At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions machinery will serve man. There is no doubt at all that this is the future of machinery; and just as trees grow while the country gentleman is asleep, so while humanity will be amusing itself, or enjoying cultivated leisure—which, and not labor, is the aim of man—or making beautiful things, or reading beautiful things, or simply contemplating the world with admiration and delight, machinery will be doing all the necessary and unpleasant work. The fact is that civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become almost impossible. Human slavery is wrong, insecure, and demoralizing. On mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. . . . A great deal of nonsense is being written and talked

nowadays about the dignity of manual labor. There is nothing necessarily dignified about manual labor at all, and most of it is absolutely degrading. It is mentally and morally injurious to man to do anything in which he does not find pleasure, and many forms of labor are quite pleasureless activities, and should be regarded as such. To sweep a slushy crossing for eight hours on a day when the east wind is blowing is a disgusting occupation. To sweep it with mental, moral, or physical dignity seems to me to be impossible. To sweep it with joy would be appalling. Man is made for something better than disturbing dirt. All work of that kind should be done by a machine.

"And I have no doubt that it will be so. Up to the present, man has been, to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine to do his work he began to starve. This, however, is, of course, the result of our property system and our system of competition. One man owns a machine which does the work of 500 men. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and, having no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving. The one man secures the produce of the machine and keeps it, and has 500 times as much as he should have, and probably, which is of much more importance, a great deal more than he really wants. Were that machine the property of all, every one would benefit by it. It would be an immense advantage to the community. All unintellectual labor; all monotonous, dull labor; all labor that deals with dreadful things, and involves unpleasant conditions, must be done by machinery. Machinery must work for us in coal mines, and do all sanitary services, and be the stoker of steamers, and clean the streets, and run messages on wet days, and do anything that is tedious or distressing."

References: J. A. Hobson's *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*; J. S. Nicholson's *Effect of Machinery on Wages*; Cooke Taylor's *The Modern Factory System*.

MAGNA CHARTA ("great charter") was an instrument signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, by King John of England, forced thereto by the barons of the kingdom, led by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Besides restraining certain royal prerogatives that had been abused, and introducing various improvements into the law, it provided for the protection of every freeman from loss of life, liberty, or property, except by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land, while the king was compelled to say, "We will sell to no man; we will not deny or delay to any man right or justice." Magna Charta was the foundation of English liberties, and its chief protective provisions have been incorporated in the Constitution of this country and the separate States. (See **JURY**)

MAINE, SIR HENRY JAMES SUMNER, LL.D., was born in England in 1822, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and was afterward a tutor in Trinity College. In 1847 he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law in the university, but resigned in 1854 to become reader on jurisprudence at the Middle Temple. From 1862-69 he resided in India as law member of the supreme government. On his return to England he was elected Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, and the next year was made a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India, and was knighted. In 1875 he published as a pamphlet a lecture delivered at Cambridge on *The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought*. In 1877 he was elected master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and in 1887 Professor of International Law. He died at Cannes in 1888. Among his numerous works are *Roman*

Law and Legal Education (1856); *Ancient Law* (1861); *Village Communities* (1871); *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (1875); *Early Law and Custom* (1883); *Popular Government* (1885); *International Law* (1888).

MAINE LAW, THE.—Maine was the first of the United States to pass a vigorous prohibitory act. It was first outlined by General James Appleton, but perhaps owes most to Neal Dow (*q.v.*). A crude prohibitory law was passed in 1846, but in June, 1851, the law that has since been known as the Maine Law was enacted. (See **PROHIBITION**.)

MALON, BENOIT, was born at St. Étienne, France, in 1841. He was the son of a peasant and received only elementary instruction. Going to Paris, he worked at various trades. In the last years of the empire he had charge of a grocery established at Puteaux by a cooperative society. In 1868 he became a member of the International (*q.v.*), and for this suffered three months' imprisonment. He became one of the organizers of the federation of *sociétés ouvrières*. He was at the Congress of Basle in 1869. Soon after he became one of the editors of the *Marseillaise*. He was again put in prison in 1870 as a member of the International, but the downfall of the empire set him free. He opposed the government of the national defense in its conduct of affairs. In February, 1871, he was elected a member of the National Assembly, but soon after resigned, at the same time as Rochefort. He was chosen a member of the Commune, but belonged to its moderate minority. He ceased from the first days of May to attend the sessions of the Commune. After the taking of Paris by the Versailles Government, Malon succeeded in escaping to Switzerland, and soon after founded at Geneva the newspaper *La Revanche*. This was suppressed later on by the Swiss Government. He joined Bakunin's Alliance in Switzerland, but soon after went to Italy and settled at Lugano, where he published for a short time a weekly, *Le socialisme progressif*. On being granted amnesty in 1880, he returned to France. He published the *Emancipation* at Lyons, and allied himself for a time with Brousse. In the latter years of his life he devoted himself chiefly to literature, and published the *Revue Socialiste*, which he conducted up to the time of his death, in 1893. Some of his works are: *L'Internationale, son histoire et ses principes* (1872); *Le parti ouvrier en France* (1882); *Histoire du socialisme et des prolétaires* (1881-84, 5 vols.); *Le socialisme réformiste* (1885); *Le socialisme intégral* (1890-91).

MALTHUS, THOMAS ROBERT (see **MALTHUSIANISM**), was born in Albury, Surrey, Eng., in 1766. He was graduated with honors at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1788, and in 1797 became a fellow of the college. He entered holy orders and divided his time between the university and a small parish in Surrey. In 1798 he published the first edition of his great work under the title *An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Im-*

provement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers. The book grew out of some discussions which Malthus had with his father respecting the perfectibility of society. Malthus had argued that society must always be hindered by the miseries consequent on the tendency of population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. His father, struck by the weight and originality of his views, asked him to put them in writing, and then recommended publication. The book aroused very general interest and discussion, and Mr. Malthus went abroad and traveled in Sweden, Norway, France, and portions of Russia, collecting material for a new edition, which appeared in 1803, and was, in his own words, "a new book." He had found, upon investigating the subject, that "much more had been done" upon it "than he had been aware of." It had "been treated in such a manner by some of the French economists, occasionally by Montesquieu, and, among our own writers, by Dr. Franklin, Sir James Steuart, Mr. Arthur Young, and Mr. Townsend, as to create a natural surprise that it had not excited more of the public attention." "Much, however," he thought, "remained yet to be done. The comparison between the increase of population and food had not, perhaps, been stated with sufficient force and precision," and "few inquiries had been made into the various modes by which the level" between population and the means of subsistence "is effected." The first desideratum here mentioned—the want, namely, of an accurate statement of the relation between the increase of population and food—Malthus supposed he supplied by the celebrated proposition that "population increases in a geometrical, food in an arithmetical ratio."

This exact mathematical proposition, however, he introduced but incidentally, and omitted in later editions, contenting himself with the general proposition that population, unless checked by war, poverty, etc., tended to increase faster than sustenance. His book ran through various editions, the last of which during his lifetime appeared in 1826 and bore the modified title, *An Essay on the Principles of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness, with an Inquiry into the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it Occasions.*

In 1805 Malthus married happily, and was appointed Professor of Modern History and Political Economy in the East India Company's College at Haileybury. This situation he retained till his death in 1834.

Besides his great work, Malthus wrote *Observations on the Effect of the Corn Laws* (1815); *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815); *Principles of Political Economy* (1820); and *Definitions in Political Economy* (1827). His views on rent were of especial importance, and are believed by some to be the origin of the famous Ricardian law of rent. (See RICARDO; POLITICAL ECONOMY.) The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of Malthus:

beauty of his character. He bore the popular abuse and misrepresentation without the slightest murmur or sourness of temper. The aim of his inquiries was to promote the happiness of mankind, which could be better accomplished by pointing out the real possibilities of progress than by indulging in vague dreams of perfectibility apart from the actual facts which condition human life."

The only checks on population advocated by Malthus are the moral checks of abstinence from marriage and sexual intercourse. Other checks like war come in as merely natural checks.

MALTHUSIANISM (see MALTHUS) may be defined in brief as the theory first popularized tho not first taught by Malthus, that population has a tendency to multiply faster than subsistence, and that some people must necessarily, therefore, fail to have food unless the race as a whole adopts some measures to prevent the natural increase of its numbers. This is undoubtedly one of the most contested and yet most important questions in social science. Upon the answer to this question depends the right attitude in all problems affecting society's treatment of the poor.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd says (*Social Evolution*, chap. viii.), "Underneath all socialist ideals there yawns the problem of population." Individualism (*q.v.*) rests one of its main arguments upon Malthusianism.

There are two strongly contested views or sets of views upon the subject, but before we can notice these we must see a little more exactly what is meant to-day by Malthusianism. The doctrine as now held by its advocates is not exactly the view advocated by Malthus. Malthus himself, in the first place, somewhat modified his views in the successive editions of his book. (See MALTHUS.) He omitted from the later editions any exact mathematical statement of the relation between population and sustenance. Secondly, Malthus and the earlier Malthusians based their theory on an asserted general tendency in all animate creation to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it, as evidenced in the vegetable and animal worlds, in the savage and semi-savage civilizations, and even in civilized communities.

Modern Malthusianism, as illustrated, for example, in Professor A. T. Hadley's *Economics* (1896, pp. 41-51), takes a more scientific form. It carefully analyzes the difference between the birth-rate and death-rate of various countries; it finds **Statement.** in agriculture a law of diminishing returns (*q.v.*); it argues that the pressure of population and consequent family responsibility has largely produced the present surplus of food in civilized countries, so that the removal of this pressure would diminish the supply; above all it connects itself with the evolutionary principle of the necessity of natural selection to progress (see EVOLUTION), and that therefore a removal of the pressure of population would mean biological degeneration.

The correctness of this view is both asserted and denied. Most individualists and some socialists accept the theory at least far enough to admit that there is a tendency for population to outstrip sustenance. The individualists usually assert it to be a necessary principle, and that it

"Malthus was one of the most amiable, candid, and cultured of men. In all his private relations he was not only without reproach, but distinguished for the

cannot be prevented without interfering with social progress. Says Professor Hadley (as above, p. 41): "If poverty is inevitable and simply represents a sacrifice of individuals for the sake of the progress of the race, we may and must view with resignation a number of evils which can only be made worse by attempting to eradicate them." Socialist Malthusians, however, while admitting that population does tend to outstrip population, argue that competition is not the only path to progress, and that there may and should be found some way of limiting population to the means

of sustenance. They urge that not enough attention has been given to the biological principle of progress by functional adaptation and by cooperation of organisms. John Stuart Mill, accepting the Malthusian doctrine, argues that socialism is the state of society most favorable to limiting population to means of sustenance. He says (*Political Economy*, Book II., chap. i.):

"Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint, equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-population, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil."

Many, however, deny the correctness of the Malthusian theory. Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, p. 31) says:

"Malthus' statements with regard to the misery that has existed in past ages have been confirmed by more recent historians; but the practical conclusions that he deduced from them are more liable to be disputed. For he could not foresee the inventions and discoveries which were just about to be made when he wrote. He could not foresee how the growth of steam traffic would enable England, on the one hand, to import food from countries where there was a scanty population; and, on the other, to send out her surplus population to cultivate new soils, and to spread the energy and genius of the English people over the earth."

Professor Symes says (*Political Economy*, pp. 10, 11):

"There seems no sufficient ground for the assertion that population tends to increase more rapidly than production. In England it is certain that production has increased far more rapidly than population during the past century, and

Objection. It may fairly be questioned whether the density of the population has not been one of the causes of the high average productiveness of English laborers. These not only support themselves, but produce enough to support a large class in idle luxury, a large class in pauperism, a large class who live by crime, and many classes who

labor with more or less advantage to the community, but not at work which is directly productive of material wealth. The idle rich and the idle poor, clergymen, schoolmasters, actors, musicians, thieves, domestic servants, and others, have to live on what the directly productive classes produce; and tho in all communities there must be a certain proportion of non-producers, it is doubtful whether a thinly populated country could possibly support so large a proportion as England does at the present day.

"On the whole, then, we conclude that every increase of population opens up opportunities for fresh and superior ways of applying labor, and that if the community avails itself of these, the produce of its labor will, in most cases, be more than proportionately increased."

Many seem to forget, too, the enormously increased power of providing food made potent by modern science. Says Mr. D. A. Wells (*Recent Economic Changes*):

"Forty years ago a deficient harvest in any one of the countries of Europe entailed a vast amount of suffering and starvation on their population. To-day the deficiency of any local crop of wheat is comparatively of little consequence, for the prices of cereals in every country readily accessible by railroad and steamships are now regulated not by any local conditions, but by the combined production and consumption of the world; and the day of famines for the people of all such countries has passed forever. The extent to which all local advantages in respect to the supply and prices of food have been equalized in recent years through the railway service of the United States is demonstrated by the fact that a full year's requirement of meat and bread for an adult person can now be moved from the points of their most abundant and cheapest production, 1000 miles, for a cost not in excess of the single day's wages of an average American mechanic or artisan.

"Great improvements have been made during the last 10 or 20 years in the breeding of live stock and its economical management, whereby a greatly increased product of animal food can be obtained from a given number with comparatively little increased labor or expense. In the matter of dairy produce, recognized authorities in England estimate that the average increase in the yield of milk per cow in that country has been at least 40 gals. per annum since 1878; and this for the 3,500,000 cows in milk, owned by British farmers, means 140,000,000 extra gallons of milk over and above what the same animals yielded in 1878; and at 62. per gal. would amount to an extra return of no less than £3,500,000 for the United Kingdom, or £1 per cow. . . ."

"Furthermore, not only has the supply of food increased, but the variety of food available to the masses has become greater. Nearly all tropical fruits that will bear transportation have become as cheap in non-tropical countries as the domestic fruits of the latter, and even cheaper. . . . Thirty or forty years ago fish in its most acceptable form—*viz.*, fresh—was only available to consumers living in close proximity to the ocean; but now fish caught on the waters of the North Pacific, and transported more than 2000 miles, are daily supplied to the markets of the Atlantic slope of the United States; and sea products of the coast of the latter, transported 2000 miles, are regularly furnished in a fresh condition to British markets. To this it should be added that on the very possibility of propagation which Malthus says applied to the animal and vegetable world, the supply of vegetable and animal (including fish) food can be, under proper care, almost indefinitely multiplied. What can be done is shown in part in Japan. Recent investigations by Professor Rein, of the University of Bonn, Germany, show that with an area about the same as the State of California (157,000 square miles), and with only one tenth of such area practically available for cultivation, Japan supports a population of 36,000,000 almost entirely from her own product. Making due allowance for what may be eked out of the nine tenths taken up by forest, desert, and mountain, it appears that the incredible number of 2560 inhabitants are supported from each square mile of cultivated land, or four to the acre. It is well known that this can be done on a small scale, but its application to a nation is marvelous. Nothing is wasted in Japan; everything is utilized, and all arable land has been brought to the highest state of cultivation."

**Marvelous
Increase of
Food Supply.**

There is thus, however, to say the least, no very pressing fear of the world's being unable to sustain its population from lack of food. In the United States, to ignore all the rest of the world, if our population were as dense as that of France, we should have, this side of Alaska, 555,000,000; if as dense as that of Germany, 658,000,000; if as dense as that of England and Wales, 1,452,000,000; if as dense as that of Belgium, 1,574,000,000, or more than the present estimated population of the globe. (See *FOOD SUPPLY*.)

Many opponents of Malthusianism also argue that with increasing civilization and popular education fecundity will, on biological principles, decrease.

The American Cary argued the physiological theory that the total sum of nutriment received by an organized body directs itself, in largest proportion, to the parts of the system which are most used, and that this meant a diminution in the fecundity of human beings, in spite of more abundant feeding, through the greater use of their brains incident to an advanced civilization.

Nevertheless, there is strong evidence claimed for Malthusianism. The possible natural productivity of the human race is undoubtedly very large. It has been calculated by some that population may double itself in 13 years. Malthus considered it safer to argue that it could at least double itself in 25 years. Mill says on this point (*Political Economy*, Book I., chap. x., sec. 2):

"The power of multiplication inherent in all organic life may be regarded as infinite. There is no one species of vegetable or animal which, if the earth were entirely abandoned to it and to the things on which it feeds, would not in a small number of years overspread every region of the globe of which the climate was compatible with its existence. . . .

Evidence for Malthusianism.

It is but a moderate case of fecundity in animals to be capable of quadrupling their numbers in a single year; if they only do as much in half a century, 10,000 will have swelled within two centuries to upward of 2,500,000. The capacity of increase is necessarily in a geometrical progression: the numerical ratio alone is different.

"To this property of organized beings the human species forms no exception. Its power of increase is indefinite, and the actual multiplication would be extraordinarily rapid if the power were exercised to the utmost. It never is exercised to the utmost, and yet in the most favorable circumstances known to exist, which are those of a fertile region colonized from an industrious and civilized community, population has continued for several generations, independently of fresh immigration, to double itself in not much more than 20 years. That the capacity of multiplication in the human species exceeds even this is evident if we consider how great is the ordinary number of children to a family where the climate is good and early marriages usual, and how small a proportion of them die before the age of maturity in the present state of hygienic knowledge where the locality is healthy and the family adequately provided with the means of living. It is a very low estimate of the capacity of increase, if we only assume that in a good sanitary condition of the people each generation may be double the number of the generation which preceded it."

Professor A. T. Hadley (as above, p. 42) says:

"The physiological possibilities of the birth-rate in the human race, when not restrained by intellectual, social, or moral conditions, are thought to be as high as 60 per 1000, tho no statistics show a birth-rate as large as this over any considerable extent of space or time. . . . The difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate in any one year represents the rate of increase

of population for that year. If the birth-rate is 45 per 1000 and the death-rate 25 per 1000, the increase of population is 20 per 1000, or 2 per cent." (For the facts as to birth-rates and death-rates, see *BIRTH AND DEATH-RATE*.)

As to the fact that modern civilizations have an oversupply of food, Professor Hadley argues (*idem*, pp. 47-51) that this is due to competitive and individualistic family responsibility, and under socialistic conditions would disappear. In uncivilized countries he says there is no surplus of food. The history of the English poor law, he argues, shows that natural selection has not done its work. Criminals and paupers habitually defy the principle that every man should earn a living for himself and his family. As to the assertion that fecundity necessarily tends to decrease with civilization, Professor Hadley denies that we have any reason for believing this. He says (p. 48):

"It is true that as society exists at present high comfort and low birth-rate are commonly associated, because comfort is made to depend upon prudence. Let the comfort be made independent of prudence, as in the case of the pauper or criminal, and the birth-rate tends to increase rather than diminish. It may not be exactly true, as some Malthusians would have us believe, that the low birth-rate is the cause of the comfort; but it is much farther from the truth to assert that the comfort is the cause of the low birth-rate. Both are the results of a common cause, the exercise of prudence, which gives high comfort and low birth-rate to those who are capable of practising it."

Finally, as to the future, Professor Hadley argues (p. 43) that the improvements in the arts of producing and utilizing food may increase the power of the world's sustenance, "it is a fact thoroughly established by observation that in any given stage of the arts there is a certain point beyond which increased application of labor and capital does not obtain correspondingly increased supplies of food from a given area."

The views thus quoted present, perhaps, a fair statement of the present condition of the problem. We have quoted Professor Hadley on the Malthusian side rather than any biologist, because Professor Hadley is among the latest economists **Controversy**, to treat the subject, and because the question is practically to-day economic or psychologic rather than biologic. All authorities are agreed that as a matter of fact in civilized countries to-day there is abundance of food if it were rightly distributed, and that science can at least increase this supply for a considerable time under modern social conditions.

The only question is, what has produced this condition in modern countries? Professor Hadley, *e.g.*, says that "no amount of facts such as are accumulated by writers like Nitti will prove anything against the Malthusian theory. Statistics show that high comfort and low birth-rate go hand in hand. They are absolutely incapable of showing which is cause and which is effect." Individualists say it is individual responsibility and pressure of existence that causes a low birth rate, so that under socialist conditions, removing pressure, you would not have the present supply of food. Socialists claim that under socialism you would increase supply and not increase the rate of human fecundi-

ty; and this is mainly a psychologic problem. (See INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.) As for the problem which is purely biologic, how far progress depends on the struggle for existence and natural selection, see EVOLUTION; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY.

One other view, however, must be here noticed. Many writers and workers for social reform accept the Malthusian theory as to the tendency

to overpopulation, and argue that it is moral and necessary and humane

Neo-Malthusianism. to check population, especially among the poor, by physical means.

This view is sometimes called *Neo-Malthusianism*, and is earnestly defended on moral and humanitarian grounds. Richard Carlisle, Dr. Charles Knowlton, R. D. Owen, James Watson, and later Austin Holyoake, Charles Bradlaugh, and Mrs. Annie Besant (who has since, we believe, given up belief in Malthusianism) were the most active in popularizing this theory among the poor, and in spite of misrepresentation, abuse, persecution, and prosecution in the courts, continued the propaganda, supported by such men as John Stuart Mill, George J. Holyoake, Robert Dale Owen, and a long list of physicians. Knowing well and horrified by the conditions of life in the slums, seeing the suffering involved in large families, feeling that under conditions where modesty and privacy were all but impossible (see SLUMS), and hope equally faint, late marriages inevitably mean early prostitution, they argued that Neo-Malthusianism was the most moral course. Women, they said, in the slums were but slaves, sometimes of drunken husbands, at best of foul surroundings. Neo-Malthusianism, they said, was the only practical escape from overpopulation and wretched demoralization. Boldly, therefore, they preached as right what they said the wealthy denounced but practised.

References: For further consideration of this question, and for the modern literature of the question, see BIRTH AND DEATH-RATE; also SOCIOLOGY.

MANIFESTOES.—We reprint here two socialist manifestoes. In January, 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels prepared a "manifesto" for the communist, or, as it is now called, the socialist movement. It has to some extent been supplanted by more recent statements; but as the first official statement of this movement we give it in full, as recently edited by Mr. Engels.

As a recent statement of socialism, we reprint a manifesto agreed upon in 1893 by representatives of all the leading socialist societies of England.

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS (1848).

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exercise this spectre—Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been derided as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of communism against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact:

1. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.

2. It is high time that communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish, and Danish languages.

1. BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these bourgeois the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry an impulse never before known, and thereby to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime, the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, modern industry, the place of the industrial middle class by industrious millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune, here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterward, in the period of manufac-

ture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of Philistine sentimentalism in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—free trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science into its paid wage-laborers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established

Bourgeoisie. national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facili-

tated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst—i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier, and one customs tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce 100 years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see, then, the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange, and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois

society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand, by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i. e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed, a class of laborers who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only

Proletariat.

the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increase, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army, they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overseer, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful, and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer, so far as an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie—the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the work-people of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the middle ages.

At this stage the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is, moreover, yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (trades unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the Ten Hours' Bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle—at first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education; in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class—the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular a portion of the bourgeois idealists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie to-day, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for and insurances of individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

The Struggle.

The not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an overriding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry,

whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under their feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II. PROLETARIANS AND COMMUNISTS.

In what relation do the communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement.

The communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The communists, therefore, are, on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented or discovered by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favor of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labor, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity, and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labor create any property for the laborer? Not a bit. It creates capital—*i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage-labor, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labor for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage-labor. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character. Let us now take wage-labor.

The average price of wage-labor is the minimum wage—*i. e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the laborer in

bare existence as a laborer. What, therefore, the wage-laborer appropriates by means of his labor merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence.

Capital and Labor.

We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labor, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labor of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the laborer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labor is but a means to increase accumulated labor. In communist society, accumulated labor is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the laborer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappear, free selling and buying disappear also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, *i. e.* from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society: all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labor when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products have, in the same way, been urged against the communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is

to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is for the enormous majority a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply to our intended abolition of bourgeois property the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social and determined by the social conditions under which you educate by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc.?

The communists have not invented **The Family.**

They do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

But you communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the communists. The communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and thus, at the most, what the communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system—*i. e.*, of prostitution both public and private.

The communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, tho' not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action of the leading civilized countries at least is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions—in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations, and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical, and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law constantly survived this change."

"There are besides eternal truths, such as freedom, justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages—*viz.*, the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to communism.

We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State—*i.e.*, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically unjust and untenable, but which in the course of the movement outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

Communism. These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless, in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State: the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

III. SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE.

1. Reactionary Socialism.

a. Feudal Socialism.

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July, 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period* had become impossible.

In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests, and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose feudal socialism: half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty, and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core, but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front of a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats-of-arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists and "Young England" exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that under their rule the

* Not the English Restoration, 1660-89, but the French Restoration, 1814-30.

proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism, that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this: that under the bourgeois *régime* a class is being developed which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat as that it creates a *revolutionary* proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their highfalutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love, and honor for traffic in wool, beet-root sugar, and potato spirit.*

Feudalism.

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has clerical socialism with feudal socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and mother Church? Christian socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat.

b. Petty Bourgeois Socialism.

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The medieval bourgeois and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed industrially and commercially these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilization has become fully developed a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and as modern industry develops they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture, and commerce by overlookers, bailiffs, and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie should use in their criticism of the bourgeois *régime* the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty bourgeois socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France, but also in England.

This school of socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved incontrovertibly the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations, the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the

* This applies chiefly to Germany where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beet-root sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are as yet rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

framework of the old property relations that have been and were bound to be exploded by those means. In either case it is both reactionary and utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

German or "True" Socialism.

The socialist and communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie in that country had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and *beaux esprits* eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the eighteenth century the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "practical reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure will, of will as it was bound to be, of true human will generally.

The work of the German *literati* consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated—*viz.*, by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic saints *over* the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German *literati* reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French socialist and communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing not true requirements, but the requirements of truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of human nature, of man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German socialism, which took its schoolboy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German and, especially, of the Prussian bourgeoisie against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this the long wished-for opportunity was offered to "true socialism" of confronting the political movement with the socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by this bourgeois movement. German socialism forgot in the nick of time that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires, and officials, it

served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working-class risings.

While thus "true" socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the *petty bourgeois* class, a *relique* of the sixteenth century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths" all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods among such a public.

And on its part German socialism recognized more and more its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called socialist and communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

2. Conservative or Bourgeois Socialism.

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of soperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misere* as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary geosie without a proletariat. They wish for a bourgeoisie conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the bourgeoisie socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into that the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labor, but at the best lessen the cost and simplify the administrative work of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois socialism attains adequate expression when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade; for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties; for the benefit of the working class. Prison reform; for the benefit of the working class.

This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois for the benefit of the working class.

3. Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism.

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat: such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, for the time being necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social leveling in its crudest form.

The socialist and communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, and others, sprang into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie. (See Section I. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.)

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing proletariat in the prevailing form of society. But the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself in their eyes into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favored. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such fantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state, and has but a fantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these socialist and communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them, such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production—all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognized under their earliest, indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely utopian character.

The significance of critical-utopian socialism and communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, altho the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavor, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realization of their social utopias, of founding isolated "phalanstères," of establishing "home colonies," of setting up a "little Icaria"—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem, and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England and the Fourierists in France respectively oppose the Chartists and the "Réformistes."

IV. POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING OPPOSITION PARTIES.

Section II. has made clear the relations of the communists to the existing working class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the agrarian reformers in America.

The communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the communists ally themselves with the social-democrats,* against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of democratic socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution, as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.

But they never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

*The party then represented in Parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by the *Réforme*. The name of social democracy signified, with these its inventors, a section of the democratic or republican party more or less tinged with socialism.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries, unite!

As the preceding manifesto is the classical exposition of socialism or communism as it was held in the middle of the century, so the following manifesto may be taken as an authoritative representation of modern socialism, signed as it is by the leaders of societies representing all the phases of socialism held in England or indeed elsewhere, with the exception of Christian Socialism, for which see that article.

MANIFESTO OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST BODIES (1893).

There is a growing feeling at the present time that, in view of the increasing number of socialists in Great Britain, an effort should be made to show that, whatever differences may have arisen between them in the past, all who can fairly be called socialists are agreed in their main principles of thought and action.

This is the more hopeful since, tho much has been made of those differences by the opponents of socialism, it is safe to say that they have been rather of less than more importance than similar disputes of the early days of great movements which have afterward become solid and irresistible. There has indeed been constant cooperation in propagandist work between the individual members of different organizations, and occasional cooperation between the organizations in political emergencies; but more than this is now needed if we are to make a serious advance in the work of gathering together and directing the great body of thought and feeling which is setting toward socialism.

Meanwhile, the necessity for the development of a new social order is getting more obvious to all thinking people, and without the growing aspirations toward socialism the outlook of modern civilization would be hopeless.

The vigorous propaganda which has been carried on for the last 12 years, and the complete change in the attitude of the working classes and the public generally toward socialism, could not but attract the notice, and perhaps excite the anxiety, of the politicians of the possessing classes; but they have shown hitherto that they have lacked both the will and the power to do anything effective toward meeting the evils engendered by our present system. In spite of factory acts and factory inspectors, in spite of sanitary legislation and royal commissions, the condition of the working people is, relatively to the increased wealth of the country, worse than it was 20 years ago. Children are still growing up among such surroundings and so insufficiently nourished that health and strength are for them an impossibility; dangerous and unwholesome trades, inflicting hideous diseases on those who work at them, are still carried on by the capitalists with impunity; overcrowding, accompanied by increasing rents, is the rule rather than the exception in all our great cities.

At the same time, the great and growing depression in the most vital of industries, agriculture, tends to drive the people more and more from the country into the towns, while it so narrows the field from which healthy and vigorous industrial recruits have been drawn in the past that the physical deterioration of our city population is more severely felt than ever before.

Moreover, the question of the unemployed is more pressing to-day than at any recent period. The incapacity of the capitalist class to handle the machinery of production without injury to the community has been demonstrated afresh by the crisis of 1890, itself following upon a very short period of inflation, since which time every department of trade and industry

The Situation.

has suffered from lack of initiative and want of confidence and ability among these "organizers of labor." As a result the numbers of the unemployed have increased rapidly; the prospect of any improvement is still remote; and the stereotyped official assurance that there is no exceptional distress only emphasizes the fact that it is prosperity, not distress, which is exceptional. Indeed, the greatest "prosperity" possible under the present system could only lessen the mass of those without occupation, and bring them down to a number manageable by the employers. Meantime, small improvements made in deference to the ill-formulated demands of the workers, tho for a time they seem almost a social revolution to men ignorant of their own resources and of their capacity for enjoyment, will not really raise the condition of the whole people.

In short, the capitalist system, by which we mean the established plan of farming out our national industries in private property lots, and trusting to the greed of the owners and

Capitalism. the competition between them to ensure their productive use, is the only arrangement possible in a society not organized enough to administer its own industry as a national concern. This shiftless method has indeed kept the shop open, so to speak, but at a frightful cost in human degradation, as might have been expected from its basis. All the investigations undertaken with a view to convicting socialists of exaggeration and one-sidedness in their attacks upon it have shown that the facts are worse than any socialist dared to surmise, and that half a century of ameliorative regulation by means of factory legislation and the like has failed to weaken the force of former exposures of capitalism.

Among recent anti-socialist statisticians Mr. Robert Giffen has been led by his own counterblast to socialism into the exclamation, "That no one can contemplate the present condition of the masses without desiring something like a revolution for the better." And the facts as to London poverty, laid bare by Mr. Charles Booth, dispose of the possibility of leaving things as they are; altho Mr. Booth, who is a conservative in politics, undertook his great inquiry expressly to confute what he then thought to be socialist overstatements. The horrible revelations concerning English home life made by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have effectually dispelled the illusion that the cruelty and selfishness of the factory and mine have not infected the household, or that society can safely abandon its children to irresponsible private ownership any more than its land and capital.

Under these circumstances of a continued degradation of the really useful part of the population—a consequence as inherent in the present system of ownership as it was in the system of chattel slavery—the need for a new social order is obvious. Some constructive social theory is asked for, and none are offered except the feudal or Tory theory, which is incompatible with democracy; the Manchester or Whig theory, which has broken down in practice, and the socialist theory. It is, therefore, opportune to remind the public once more of what socialism means to those who are working for the transformation of our present un-socialist state into a collectivist republic, and who are entirely free from the illusion that the amelioration or "moralization" of the conditions of capitalist private property can do away with the necessity for abolishing it. Even those readjustments of industry and administration which are socialist in form will not be permanently useful unless the whole state is merged into an organized commonwealth. Municipalization, for instance, can only be accepted as socialism on the condition of its forming a part of national and at last of international socialism, in which the workers of all nations, while adopting within the borders of their own countries those methods which are rendered necessary by their historic development, can federate upon a common basis of the collective ownership of the great means and instruments of the creation and distribution of wealth, and thus break down national animosities by the solidarity of human interests throughout the civilized world.

On this point all socialists agree. Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end forever to the wage-system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international communism on a sound basis.

To this end it is imperative on all members of the socialist party to gather together their forces in order

to formulate a definite policy and force on its general acceptance.

But here we must repudiate both the doctrines and tactics of anarchism. As socialists we believe that those doctrines and the tactics necessarily resulting from them, tho advocated as revolutionary by men who are honest and single-minded, are really reactionary both in theory and practice, and tend to check the advance of our cause. Indeed, so far from hampering the freedom of the individual, as anarchists hold it will, socialism will foster that full freedom which anarchism would inevitably destroy.

As to the means for the attainment of our end, in the first place we socialists look for our success to the increasing and energetic promulgation of our views among the whole people, and next to the capture and transformation of the great social machinery. In any case the people have increasingly at hand the power of dominating and controlling the whole political, and through the political, the social forces of the empire.

The first step toward transformation and reorganization must necessarily be in the direction of the limitation of class robbery, and the consequent raising of the standard of life for the individual.

In this direction certain measures have been brought within the scope of practical politics; and we name them as having been urged and supported originally and chiefly by socialists, and advocated by them still, not, as above said, as solutions of social wrongs, but as tending to lessen the evils of the existing régime: so that individuals of the useful classes, having more leisure and less anxiety, may be able to turn their attention to the only real remedy for their position of inferiority—to wit, the supplanting of the present state by a society of equality of condition. When this great change is completely carried out the genuine liberty of all will be secured by the free play of social forces with much less coercive interference than the present system entails.

The following are some of the measures spoken of above: An eight-hour law; prohibition of child labor for wages; free maintenance of all necessitous children; equal payment of men and women for equal work; an adequate minimum wage for all adults employed in the Government and Municipal services, or in any monopolies, such as railways, enjoying State privileges; suppression of all sub-contracting and sweating; universal suffrage for all adults, men and women alike; public payment for all public service.

The inevitable economic development points to the direct absorption by the State, as an organized democracy, of monopolies which have been granted to or constituted by companies, and their immediate conversion into public services. But the railway system is of all the monopolies that which could be most easily and conveniently so converted. It is certain that no attempt to reorganize industry on the land can be successful so long as the railways are in private hands, and excessive rates of carriage are charged. Recent events have hastened on the socialist solution of this particular question, and the disinclination of boards of directors to adopt improvements which would cheapen freight prove that in this, as in other cases, English capitalists, far from being enlightened by competition, are blinded by it even to their own interests.

In other directions the growth of combination, as with banks, shipping companies, and huge limited liability concerns, organized both for production and distribution, show that the time is ripe for socialist organization. The economic development in this direction is already so far advanced that the socialization of production and distribution on the economic side of things can easily and at once begin, when the people have made up their minds to overthrow privilege and monopoly. In order to effect the change from capitalism to cooperation, from unconscious revolt to conscious reorganization, it is necessary that we socialists should constitute ourselves into a distinct political party with definite aims, marching steadily along our own highway without reference to the convenience of political factions.

We have thus stated the main principles and the broad strategy on which, as we believe, all socialists may combine to act with vigor. The opportunity for deliberate and determined action is now always with us, and local autonomy in all local matters will still leave the fullest outlet for national and international socialism. We therefore confidently appeal to all socialists to sink their individual crotchets in a business-like endeavor to realize in our own day that complete communization of industry for which the economic

Program.

forms are ready and the minds of the people are almost prepared.

ALFRED BEASLEY,
SAMUEL BULLOCK,
J. E. DOBSON,
W. S. DE MATTOS,
W. H. GRANT,
H. M. HYNDMAN,
WILLIAM MORRIS,
SYDNEY OLIVIER,
TOUZRAU PARRIS,
HARRY QUELCH,
H. B. ROGERS,
GEO. BERNARD SHAW,
WILLIAM UTLEY,
SIDNEY WEBB,
ERNEST E. WILLIAMS,

The Joint Committee of the Social-Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, and the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

Signed on behalf of the undermentioned bodies :
H. W. LEE, Secretary Social-Democratic Federation.
EDWARD R. PEASE, Secretary Fabian Society.
EMERY WALKER, Secretary Hammersmith Socialist Society.

MANN, HORACE, was born in 1796 in Franklin, Mass His father was a farmer in limited circumstances, and the son was early taught self-reliance and independence by a severe and frugal life. He graduated at Brown University in 1819. He was admitted to the bar in 1823, elected to the Legislature in 1827, and in that body was active in the interests of education, public charities, and laws for the suppression of lotteries and intemperance. In the practice of his profession he adopted the principle never to take the unjust side of any case, and he is said to have gained four fifths of the cases entrusted to him, as all juries felt perfect confidence in the honesty of his purpose. From 1837-48 he was Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. He introduced a thorough reform into the school system of the State, establishing normal schools, and instituting county educational conventions. He opposed corporal punishment in school discipline. He visited Europe, investigated the condition of the schools, and embodied his observations in a published report. By his lectures and writings he awakened an interest in the cause of education that had never been so strongly felt before. For 11 years he labored 15 hours a day in the interests of a completer education. In 1848 he was elected to Congress. His first speech, in that body was in advocacy of its right and duty to exclude slavery from the territories. "I consider no evil as great as slavery," he said. Opposing Webster on this question, he was defeated by one vote ; but on appealing to the people as an independent anti-slavery candidate, he was re-elected and served till 1853. He was nominated for Governor of Massachusetts by the Free Soil Party, but was unsuccessful. He was chosen President of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O., accepted the office, and continued in it until his death in 1859.

MANN, TOM, was born at Foleshill, Warwickshire, April 15, 1856, the son of a colliery clerk. At the early age of nine he worked in coal mines, dragging on his hands and knees heavy trollies through low, dark passages. Gradually, however, he worked his way up, coming to serve an apprenticeship as machinist in Birmingham, and in 1877 going to London as an engineer. He also had a short experience

of work in the United States. He early became interested in social movements, and manifested a religious bent. Brought up in the Church of England, he left it for a while to try other churches. At Birmingham he was connected with the Quakers, and attended one of their Bible classes, as well as night schools of science and art. When he came to London he took a Sunday-school class at St. Stephen's, Westminster, but left it for Mr. Voysey's church, and later for the Swedenborgians at Argyle Square, where he was married to his devoted wife. He became an ardent teetotaler at Birmingham, and started "A Mutual Improvement Society." He read Spencer and Ruskin, and gave lectures to working men on astronomy ; but gradually became more and more especially interested in the labor movement. He commenced as a Henry George man, but soon became a socialist, and in 1885 joined the Social Democratic Federation, for which he worked as a lecturer and organizer, taking also a prominent part in the eight-hour agitation. While an engineer he had become interested in the Thames docks, and so in the terrible condition of the dockers, who, on account of irregularity of work and lowness of pay, were among the lowest class of London laborers. (See DOCK STRIKE.) Among these Mr. Mann especially worked, and a trades-union was formed, of which Mr. Mann, tho not a docker, was elected President. In the great London Dock Strikes (*q. v.*), which almost marks an epoch in the English labor movement, he was one of the chief leaders, and contributed largely to its satisfactory result. He also became a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and of the London Trades Council. In 1891 he was appointed by the Conservative administration a member of the Royal Commission of Labor and signed the minority report. He was later chosen first secretary of the London Reform Union. He left this post, however, in a year to become the active and popular general secretary of the Independent Labor Party (*q. v.*), to which organization the efforts of his last years have been directed. In 1894 he was the Independent Labor Party candidate for Colne Valley, and again in 1895. In both cases he was defeated, but polled a large vote.

MANOR (from Latin *manere*, to remain) was the name given in medieval England to a landed estate. The exact nature of the English manor is, however, in dispute. Mr. E. Nasse, a German scholar, argues in a work on *Agricultural Communities of the Middle Ages in England*, that down to the Norman Conquest agricultural England was tilled by communities of free peasant proprietors, similar to the communal conception of the German *mark* (*q. v.*), and similar to the conception of the holding of primitive property advocated by De Laveleye and many others. Mr. F. Seebohm, in his *The English Village Communities* and the *English Manor*, has contested this opinion, and argues that the manor, as the estate of a lord or thane with villeins under him, was the original and universal system in England. Both views find defenders. (See PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) Authorities, however, at present seem to incline to the views of Seebohm, with,

however, some modifications. The *marks*, even in Germany (see MARK), were probably not communities of absolute equals. There seem to have been from the earliest times *ceorls* or *eorls*, the latter being nobler blood, and from them being elected the ealdormen or rulers in peace and leaders in war. They led in council, tho the final decision seems to have been by the clash of arms of the ceorls. Gradually, however, the power of the eorl seems to have grown, and that of the ceorls to have lessened. As England under Alfred and others developed more settled unity, the power of the king was exalted, and the *eorl* becomes his *thegn* or representative, and the *ceorl*, the vassal or feudal inferior of the *eorl*, the ceorl losing his vote and becoming a serf of the soil. This change seems to have been gradual; the French *manor* of the conquest simply recognized changes long developed. Says Seebohm (*English Village Communities*, p. 76):

"These manors were, in fact, in their simplest form, estates of manorial lords, each with its village community in villenage upon it. The land of the lord's demesne—the home farm belonging to the manor-house—was cultivated chiefly by the services of the villata—i.e., of the village community or tenants in villenage. The land of this village community—i.e., the land in villenage—lay round the village in open fields. In the villages were the messuages or homesteads of the tenants in villenage, and their holdings were composed of bundles of scattered strips in the open fields, with rights of pasture over the latter for their cattle after the crops were gathered, as well as on the green commons of the manor or township."

These strips were due, according to Professor W. L. Birbeck (*Distribution of Land in England*), not to requirements of tenure, but the requirements of drainage, it being the custom to throw the land by means of the rude plows into ridges rising from the side to the middle. This view thus finds in the manor no trace of communal holding, but rather of a feudalism by no means light. See FEUDALISM.

MANUAL TRAINING. See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

MANUFACTURES.—We give, under this heading, some general statistics of the growth and present development of manufacturing in the United States. (For other countries, see those countries. For details as to important industries, see those industries; for various other points, see FACTORY SYSTEM; LABOR LEGISLATION; MACHINERY; PRODUCTION; WAGES, etc.) American manufacturing during the colonial period was checked by the unwillingness of England to allow machines to be introduced into this country; but after the Revolution and the establishment of the Government, manufacturing developed fast. How it has recently gained on other industries is seen by the fact that in 1870 the agricultural product of the United States was \$333; manufacturing, \$680, and mining, \$717. In 1890 the figures were \$290, \$893 and \$740. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, gives the following comparison between 1810 and 1860:

"For the first year the marshals employed in taking the census reported the value of goods manufactured by the loom, of cotton, wool, flax, hemp, and silk, with stockings, as stated, at \$39,497,957; other goods of these five materials, spun, \$2,052,120; instruments and

machinery manufactured, \$186,650; carding, fulling, and floor-cloth stamping by machinery, \$5,957,816; hats of wool, fur, etc., and of mixtures of them, \$4,323,744; manufactures of iron, \$14,364,520; manufactures of gold, silver, set work, mixed metals, etc., \$2,483,912; manufactures of lead, \$325,560; soap, tallow candles, wax, and spermaceti, spring oil and whale oil, \$1,766,292; manufactures of hides and skins, \$179,935,477; manufactures from seeds, \$88,509; grain, fruit, and case liquors, distilled and fermented, \$16,528,207; dry manufactures from grain, exclusively of flour, meal, etc., \$75,766; manufactures of wood, \$5,554,708; manufactures of essences and oils, of and from wood, \$179,150; refined or manufactured sugars, \$1,415,724; manufactures of paper, pasteboard, cards, etc., \$1,939,285; manufactures of marble, stone, and slate, \$462,115; glass manufactures, \$1,047,004; earthen manufactures, \$259,720; manufactures of tobacco, \$1,260,378; drugs, dye-stuffs, paints, etc., and dyeing, \$509,382; cables and cordage, \$4,243,168; manufactures of hair, \$129,731; various and miscellaneous manufactures, \$4,347,601.

"Mr. Tench Coxe, acting under the directions of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Albert Gallatin, made a valuable analysis of the manufacturing products of the United States, and the foregoing figures are taken from his statement. His report was completed in May, 1813, and published by Congress. The total value of all the manufactures of the country in 1810, as given by Mr. Coxe, was \$127,694,602. By estimating the omitted products, Mr. Coxe extended this amount to \$172,762,676, and by adding some doubtful articles, embracing such manufactures as from their nature were nearly allied to agriculture, as, for example, cotton-pressing, flour and meal, productions of grain and saw-mills, the manufacture of bricks, tiles, and some other articles, he concluded that the aggregate value of the manufactures of every description in the United States in 1810 was \$198,613,474.

"The distribution of this vast product over the States shows that Pennsylvania stood at the head, with \$33,691,111, New York coming next with over \$25,000,000; then Massachusetts, with nearly \$22,000,000; Virginia, with \$15,250,000, in round numbers; Maryland, with nearly \$11,500,000; Connecticut, with over \$7,750,000; New Jersey, with over \$7,000,000; North Carolina, with over \$6,500,000; Kentucky, with over \$6,000,000, while Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Georgia, and Maine manufactured products varying from \$3,500,000 to \$5,500,000, in round numbers.

"In 1860 the value of the products of American mechanical industries had reached \$1,885,861,676, but the statement by industries for that year cannot be given in detail. The values may be given for some of the principal industries, however. The total value of all kinds of cotton goods was \$115,681,774. The value of woollen goods was \$61,895,217. Clothing had by this time become a great industry. It had grown up within a few years of the close of the first period, and in all the principal cities had become an industry of magnitude and importance, the value of the product being \$73,219,765. The great industry of boots and shoes, which is closely allied to that of clothing, and which was, at the period being considered, beginning to feel the influence of the factory system of labor, represented, in 1860, a product worth \$91,891,498. . . .

"The distribution of the manufactures over the States and Territories in 1860 was, of course, far more general than in 1810, not only through the increase in the number of States and the extension of manufactures in consequence, but also over the States that were named for 1810. New York, however, led all the States in 1860, the value of her manufactures for the year being \$379,000,000. Pennsylvania came second, with over \$290,000,000, Massachusetts being third, with over \$255,000,000. These three States are the only ones which passed the \$200,000,000 line; and there was only one State coming between \$100,000,000 and \$200,000,000, Ohio, which produced \$122,000,000 worth of goods, while in 1810 her productions were too insignificant for mention. The States passing the \$50,000,000 line were Connecticut, with nearly \$82,000,000; New Jersey, with over \$76,000,000; California, with over \$68,000,000; Illinois, with over \$75,500,000; Virginia, with over \$50,500,000. All the other States came below the \$50,000,000 line."

For recent years, the abstract of the Eleventh Census gives the following statistics:

Products in 1810.

Products in 1813.

Products in 1860.

Manufactures.

Manufactures.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Year.	Number of Establishments Reporting.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND TOTAL WAGES.		Cost of Materials Used.	Value of Products, including Receipts from Custom Work and Repairing.
			Employees.	Wages.		
The United States.....	1890 1880	355,415 253,852	4,712,622 2,732,595	\$2,283,216,529 947,953,795	\$5,162,044,076 3,396,823,549	\$9,372,437,283 5,369,579,191
Alabama.....	1890 1880	2,977 2,070	33,821 10,019	\$12,676,029 2,500,504	\$28,432,281 8,545,520	\$51,226,605 13,565,504
Alaska*.....	1890 1880	10	86	22,173	30,198	58,440
Arizona.....	1890 1880	76 66	528 111,180	358,127 220	353,814 380,023	947,547 618,365
Arkansas.....	1890 1880	2,073 1,202	15,972 4,557	5,749,888 925,358	12,397,261 4,392,080	22,659,179 6,756,159
California.....	1890 1880	7,923 5,885	83,642 43,693	51,538,780 21,065,905	120,243,683 72,607,700	213,403,996 116,218,973
Colorado.....	1890 1880	1,518 599	17,067 5,074	12,285,734 2,314,427	29,848,516 8,806,762	42,480,205 14,260,159
Connecticut.....	1890 1880	6,822 4,488	149,939 112,915	75,999,606 43,501,518	123,183,080 102,183,341	248,336,364 185,697,211
Dakota.....	1890 1880	881 251	4,269 868	2,101,299 1,523,761	6,611,001 1,523,761	10,710,855 2,373,970
Delaware.....	1890 1880	1,003 746	21,906 12,638	9,924,387 4,267,349	21,161,752 12,828,461	37,571,848 20,514,438
District of Columbia.....	1890 1880	2,295 971	23,404 7,146	14,622,264 3,924,612	17,194,666 5,365,400	39,331,437 11,882,316
Florida.....	1890 1880	805 426	13,927 5,504	6,153,068 1,270,875	8,021,854 3,040,119	18,222,890 5,546,448
Georgia.....	1890 1880	4,285 3,593	56,383 24,875	17,312,196 5,266,152	35,774,440 24,143,939	68,917,020 36,440,948
Idaho.....	1890 1880	140 162	774 388	324,202 136,326	638,673 844,874	1,396,096 1,271,317
Illinois.....	1890 1880	20,482 14,549	312,198 144,727	171,523,579 57,429,085	529,019,089 289,843,997	908,640,280 414,864,673
Indiana.....	1890 1880	12,354 11,198	124,349 69,508	51,749,976 12,960,888	130,119,106 100,262,917	226,825,082 148,006,411
Indian Territory*.....	1890 1880	20	175	79,830	127,804	248,932
Iowa.....	1890 1880	7,440 6,021	59,174 28,372	25,878,997 9,725,962	79,292,407 48,704,311	125,049,183 71,045,926
Kansas.....	1890 1880	4,471 2,803	32,843 12,062	16,328,485 3,995,010	78,845,167 21,453,141	110,219,805 30,843,777
Kentucky.....	1890 1880	7,745 5,328	65,579 37,391	27,761,746 11,657,844	63,677,583 47,461,890	126,719,857 75,483,377
Louisiana.....	1890 1880	2,613 1,553	31,991 12,167	13,159,564 4,360,371	33,282,724 14,442,506	57,806,713 24,205,183
Maine.....	1890 1880	5,010 4,481	75,780 54,954	26,526,217 13,623,188	51,520,580 15,120,708	95,689,590 79,829,793
Maryland.....	1890 1880	7,485 6,787	107,054 74,945	41,526,832 18,904,965	92,059,390 66,937,846	171,842,593 106,780,563
Massachusetts.....	1890 1880	26,923 14,352	485,182 352,255	239,670,509 128,315,362	473,199,434 386,972,655	888,160,403 631,135,284
Michigan.....	1890 1880	12,127 8,873	163,941 77,591	66,347,798 25,313,682	154,521,918 92,900,269	277,896,766 150,715,025
Minnesota.....	1890 1880	7,595 3,493	79,629 21,247	38,189,239 8,613,094	118,481,941 55,660,681	192,033,478 76,065,198
Mississippi.....	1890 1880	1,698 1,479	15,817 5,827	4,913,863 1,192,645	10,064,897 4,667,183	18,705,834 7,518,302
Missouri.....	1890 1880	14,052 8,592	143,139 63,995	76,417,364 24,309,716	177,582,382 110,798,392	324,561,993 165,386,205
Montana.....	1890 1880	289 196	2,696 578	1,948,213 318,759	2,375,093 1,006,442	5,597,873 1,835,867
Nebraska.....	1890 1880	3,014 1,403	23,876 4,793	12,884,571 1,742,311	67,334,532 8,208,478	93,037,794 12,627,336
Nevada.....	1890 1880	95 184	620 577	445,503 461,807	439,058 1,049,794	1,105,063 2,179,626
New Hampshire.....	1890 1880	3,229 3,181	63,361 48,831	24,248,054 14,814,793	47,754,152 43,552,462	85,770,549 73,978,028
New Jersey.....	1890 1880	9,225 7,128	187,398 126,038	96,778,736 46,083,045	189,365,740 165,285,779	354,573,571 254,380,236
New Mexico.....	1890 1880	127 144	944 557	532,727 218,731	691,420 871,352	1,516,195 1,284,846
New York.....	1890 1880	65,840 42,739	850,084 531,533	466,846,642 198,634,029	871,264,085 679,612,545	1,771,577,671 1,080,696,696
North Carolina.....	1890 1880	3,667 3,802	36,214 18,109	7,830,536 2,740,768	22,789,187 13,090,937	40,375,450 20,095,037
North Dakota.....	1890	382	1,847	1,002,881	3,086,661	5,028,107
Ohio.....	1890 1880	28,773 20,699	331,548 183,609	158,768,883 62,103,800	341,016,464 215,334,258	641,688,064 348,298,390
Oklahoma.....	1890	72	195	71,918	56,518	180,445
Oregon.....	1890 1880	1,523 1,080	18,798 3,473	11,535,229 1,667,046	21,793,578 6,954,436	41,432,174 10,931,232

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Year.	Number of Establishments Reporting.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND TOTAL WAGES.		Cost of Materials Used.	Value of Products, including Receipts from Custom Work and Repairing.
			Employees.	Wages.		
Pennsylvania.....	1890	39,339	620,562	\$305,591,003	\$773,734,637	\$1,331,794,901
	1880	31,232	387,072	134,955,994	463,020,593	744,618,445
Rhode Island.....	1890	3,377	85,976	37,927,921	76,253,023	142,500,625
	1880	2,205	62,878	21,355,619	58,103,443	104,163,621
South Carolina.....	1890	2,382	24,662	6,590,983	18,873,666	31,926,681
	1880	2,078	15,828	2,836,280	9,885,538	16,738,008
South Dakota†.....	1890	499	2,422	1,098,418	3,523,840	5,682,748
Tennessee.....	1890	4,559	42,759	16,809,351	40,463,782	72,355,286
	1880	4,326	22,445	5,254,775	23,834,262	37,074,886
Texas.....	1890	5,268	39,475	18,586,338	36,152,308	70,433,551
	1880	2,996	12,159	3,343,887	12,956,269	20,719,928
Utah.....	1890	531	4,980	2,715,805	4,252,030	8,911,047
	1880	640	2,495	858,863	2,561,737	3,324,992
Vermont.....	1890	3,931	24,894	10,096,549	20,433,174	38,340,666
	1880	2,874	17,540	5,164,470	18,320,677	31,354,366
Virginia.....	1890	5,915	59,591	19,644,850	50,148,285	88,363,824
	1880	5,710	40,184	7,425,261	32,883,933	51,780,092
Washington.....	1890	1,543	20,366.	12,658,614	19,917,057	36,768,022
	1880	261	1,147	532,226	1,967,469	3,250,134
West Virginia.....	1890	2,376	21,969	8,339,097	23,729,089	38,702,125
	1880	2,375	14,311	4,313,965	14,027,388	22,867,126
Wisconsin.....	1890	10,417	132,031	51,843,708	145,437,016	248,546,164
	1880	7,674	57,109	18,814,917	85,796,178	128,255,480
Wyoming.....	1890	190	1,144	878,646	1,084,432	2,367,601
	1880	57	391	187,798	601,214	898,494

* No report received in 1880.

† North and South Dakota combined for 1890, to compare with Dakota Territory for 1880.

‡ See Dakota.

§ Part of Indian Territory in 1880.

The census abstract gives the following important cautions in drawing comparisons :

"First. The great increase shown in the reports for those industries coming under the head of 'hand trades' is largely due to the fact that no previous census has so fully reported such industries as carpentering, blacksmithing, painting and paper hanging, and plumbing and gas fitting. The following industries were omitted at the census of 1880, but are included in the totals presented for 1890—*viz.*, bottling; cars and general shop construction and repairs by steam railroad companies; china, decorating; clothing, women's, dressmaking; coffins and burial cases, trimming and finishing; cotton, cleaning and rehanding; cotton, ginning; cotton waste; drug grinding; druggists' preparations, not including prescriptions; gas, illuminating and heating; hay and straw, baling; and millinery, custom work. Petroleum, refining, formed part of a separate report at the census of 1880, and the statistics were not included in the report on manufactures. At the census of 1880 'mixed textiles' appeared as a distinct classification, but the data were largely duplicated under other heads of textile manufacture.

"Second. The questions respecting employees and wages used at the Eleventh Census required the average number and total wages of males, females, and children, respectively, to be reported by classes of officers or firm members, clerks, operatives, and skilled, unskilled, and pieceworkers. The questions used in the schedules on which the majority of the industries were reported at the Tenth Census called only for the 'greatest number of hands employed at any one time during the year,' also 'the average number of hands employed, males, females, and children, and the total wages,' without designating the different classes of employees. It is believed the questions used at the Eleventh Census have more fully developed the true average number of employees and total wages. The tendency of the questions used at 1880 was to obtain a number in excess of the average number of employees, while it is believed the questions used at 1890 obtained the average number. The questions at 1890 also tended to increase the amount of wages as compared with 1880. Therefore, the average annual wages per employee as obtained from the reports for the two censuses are not comparable, nor should the amounts be used to ascertain the percentage of increase.

"Third. With the exception of a number of selected industries, the questions respecting the cost of materials and value of products used at the Tenth Census were as follows: 'Value of materials (including mill

supplies and fuel),' 'Value of products (including jobbing and repairing),' 'Value of products (including jobbing and repairing).' The corresponding questions used at the Eleventh Census required separate statements as to the cost of the 'principal materials,' 'fuel,' 'mill supplies,' and 'all other materials,' also the value of the 'principal product' and 'all other products, including amounts received from custom work and repairing.' The cost of materials used is the reported cost at the place of consumption. The value of products is the reported value at the factory of the total product for the year, not including any allowance for commissions or expenses of selling.

"The difference between the sum of the wages and cost of materials and the value of manufactured product cannot be taken as indicating profit, because miscellaneous expenses are not included in these tables, and many items of expense enter into the mercantile portion of the business, which branch is not within the scope of the census inquiry. The data furnished in the reports of the Eleventh Census relating to depreciation of manufacturing plants are not sufficient to form a basis for correct computations, and therefore are omitted from these tables."

MARGIN OF CULTIVATION. See RICARDO.

MARK, THE, was, in the Middle Ages, in Germany, a tract of land belonging in common to a community of freemen who divided the cultivated portion or *arable mark* among their individual members, used the *common* or *ordinary mark* together for pasturage or general purposes, and dwelt in the village *mark* or central portion. (For a discussion of the question whether the *mark* system ever existed in England, see MANOR.) Whether it did or not, the *mark* seems to evidence the early organization of the Germanic tribes, from whence the English came, as they are described by Tacitus. According to Green's *History of the English People*, the members of the community holding the *mark* were freeholders, or *eorls*, tho there were among them *eorls*, distinguished by nobler blood, and from whom the *ealdormen* were

chosen as rulers in peace or leaders in war. The choice, however, was purely voluntary, and the *eorls* had no special legal privileges; and the preliminary discussions rested with the *eorls*, the clash of arms of the *eorls* was the final decision. The *witen*, or wise men, of the village met and settled disputes, and later, in England, came together as the *witenagemot*, the origin of Parliament. (For the much-discussed question whether these *marks* indicate an original communal holding of soil, see PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.) The probability seems to be that the organization was communal, not individualistic;

but the communities were more patriarchal than those of equal freemen.

MARRIAGE.—(For a discussion of the social problems connected with marriage, see FAMILY; DIVORCE.) We give here statistics as to marriage. (See also DIVORCE; POPULATION.)

I. UNITED STATES.

The population, according to conjugal condition, is given by the Census of 1890 as follows:

	Total.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.	Unknown.
Males.....	32,067,880	19,945,576	11,205,228	815,437	49,101	52,538
Females.....	39,554,470	17,183,988	11,126,196	2,154,615	71,895	17,676

In the following table the statistics for 1870 and 1880 are from the Report of the United

States Commissioner of Labor on marriage and divorce (1889) and for 1890 from the census:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION.			ESTIMATED MARRIED COUPLES.		FAMILIES.
	1870.	1880.	1890.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Alabama.....	996,992	1,262,505	1,513,017	188,431	238,613	287,292
Arizona.....	9,658	40,440	59,620	1,690	7,077	13,495
Arkansas.....	484,471	802,525	1,128,179	91,565	151,077	213,620
California.....	560,247	864,694	1,208,130	105,887	163,427	245,710
Colorado.....	39,864	194,327	419,198	6,976	34,007	84,276
Connecticut.....	537,454	622,700	746,258	101,579	117,690	165,890
Dakotas.....	14,181	135,177	511,527	2,482	23,056	34,578
Dela ware.....	125,015	146,668	168,493	23,628	27,709	108,728
District of Columbia.....	131,700	177,624	230,392	24,891	33,571	43,997
Florida.....	187,748	269,493	391,422	35,484	50,934	80,059
Georgia.....	1,184,109	1,542,180	1,837,353	223,797	291,472	352,059
Idaho.....	14,999	32,610	84,385	2,625	5,707	18,113
Illinois.....	2,539,891	3,077,871	3,820,351	480,039	581,718	778,015
Indiana.....	1,680,637	1,978,301	2,192,404	317,640	373,899	467,146
Iowa.....	1,194,020	1,624,615	1,911,896	225,670	307,052	388,517
Kansas.....	364,399	906,006	1,427,096	68,871	188,262	297,358
Kentucky.....	1,321,011	1,648,600	1,858,635	249,671	311,602	354,493
Louisiana.....	726,015	939,946	1,118,587	137,387	177,650	214,123
Maine.....	626,915	648,936	661,086	118,487	122,649	150,355
Maryland.....	780,894	934,943	1,042,390	147,589	176,704	202,179
Massachusetts.....	1,457,351	1,783,085	2,238,943	275,439	337,003	479,790
Michigan.....	1,184,059	1,636,937	2,093,880	223,787	309,381	455,004
Minnesota.....	439,706	780,773	1,301,826	83,104	147,566	247,975
Mississippi.....	827,922	1,131,597	1,289,600	156,477	213,782	241,148
Missouri.....	1,721,295	2,168,380	2,679,184	325,325	409,224	528,295
Montana.....	20,595	39,159	132,159	3,604	6,853	27,501
Nebraska.....	122,993	452,402	1,058,910	23,246	85,500	206,820
Nevada.....	42,491	62,266	45,761	7,430	10,897	10,170
New Hampshire.....	318,300	346,991	376,530	60,159	65,581	87,348
New Jersey.....	906,096	1,131,116	1,444,933	171,252	213,781	308,339
New Mexico.....	91,874	159,565	353,993	16,078	20,924	35,594
New York.....	4,382,759	5,082,871	5,997,853	828,341	960,663	1,308,015
North Carolina.....	1,071,301	1,399,750	1,619,749	202,487	264,553	366,952
Ohio.....	2,665,260	3,198,062	3,672,316	503,734	604,434	785,291
Oregon.....	90,923	174,768	313,767	15,912	30,584	63,791
Pennsylvania.....	3,521,951	4,282,891	5,258,014	665,649	809,466	1,061,626
Rhode Island.....	217,353	216,551	246,531	34,550	52,264	75,010
South Carolina.....	705,606	995,577	1,151,149	133,366	188,164	222,941
Tennessee.....	1,258,520	1,542,359	1,767,518	237,860	291,506	334,194
Texas.....	818,579	1,591,749	2,235,523	154,711	300,841	411,251
Utah.....	86,786	143,993	207,905	15,188	25,194	38,816
Vermont.....	330,551	332,422	332,422	62,474	62,802	75,869
Virginia.....	1,225,163	1,512,565	1,655,980	231,556	285,875	304,673
Washington.....	23,955	75,116	349,390	4,192	13,145	70,977
West Virginia.....	442,014	618,457	762,794	83,544	116,888	140,359
Wisconsin.....	1,054,679	1,315,497	1,686,880	199,333	248,629	335,546
Wyoming.....	9,118	20,789	60,705	1,596	3,638	12,065
Total.....	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,007,880	7,281,310	9,464,908	12,690,152

This does not show the number of marriages which occur in the United States, because of the large number of married immigrants. As to the marriages occurring in the United States, there are no reliable statistics. The Report on

Marriage and Divorce quoted above gives Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Ohio as the only States in which the number are fully reported. In these States the number of marriages were as follows :

YEARS.	Connecticut.	Massachu- setts.	Ohio.	Rhode Island.	Vermont.
1867.....	4,779	14,451	29,230	2,345	1,857
1868.....	4,734	13,856	28,231	2,285	2,061
1869.....	4,754	14,826	23,910	2,280	2,621
1870.....	4,971	14,721	22,459	2,362	2,928
1871.....	4,882	15,746	24,627	2,336	2,742
1872.....	5,023	16,142	26,303	2,537	2,749
1873.....	4,841	16,437	26,460	1,630	2,714
1874.....	4,694	15,564	26,678	2,531	2,724
1875.....	4,385	13,663	26,445	2,485	2,710
1876.....	4,320	12,749	26,183	2,253	2,642
1877.....	4,319	12,758	25,156	2,282	2,635
1878.....	4,315	12,893	25,706	2,323	2,770
1879.....	4,373	13,802	26,399	2,396	2,708
1880.....	4,745	15,538	27,805	2,769	2,697
1881.....	4,850	16,768	28,566	2,750	2,763
1882.....	5,329	17,684	30,528	2,634	2,883
1883.....	5,441	18,194	30,659	2,620	2,836
1884.....	5,394	17,333	28,720	2,528	2,676
1885.....	5,091	17,052	28,773	2,488	2,709
1886.....	5,497	18,018	28,634	2,750	2,588
1887.....	5,788	19,533	.....	.....	.....
1888.....	5,969	19,739	.....	.....	.....
1889.....	5,744	20,397	.....	.....	.....
1890.....	6,284	20,838	.....	.....	.....
1891.....	6,486	21,675	.....	.....	.....
1892.....	6,596	22,507	.....	.....	.....
1893.....	6,459	22,814	.....	.....	.....
1894.....	5,830	.....	.....	.....	.....

II. EUROPE.

According to the Report of the Registrar of England, quoted in Professor Mayo-Smith's *Statistics and Sociology* (p. 95), the number of persons annually married per 1000 of the population was as follows :

COUNTRY.	Average. 1871-90.	1891.	1892.	1893.
Hungary (15 years).....	19.1	17.2	18.4	18.6
Prussia.....	16.7	16.3	16.1	16.1
German Empire.....	16.4	16.1	15.9	15.8
Austria.....	16.3	15.4	15.6	.....
England and Wales.....	15.6	15.6	15.4	14.7
Italy.....	15.6	15.0	15.0	14.7
France.....	15.4	15.0	15.2	.....
Denmark.....	15.2	13.6	13.6	14.1
Holland.....	15.1	14.2	14.4	14.6
Switzerland.....	14.7	14.4	14.8	14.7
The United Kingdom.....	14.4	14.6	14.5	13.9
Belgium.....	14.2	14.8	15.4	15.2
Scotland.....	13.9	13.9	14.1	13.2
Norway.....	13.7	13.2	12.7	12.8
Sweden.....	13.1	11.7	11.4	.....
Ireland.....	9.0	9.2	9.3	9.4

III. VARIOUS STATISTICS.

Statistics of age at marriage differ very much between men and women in different countries and between different occupations. Professor Mayo-Smith (*Statistics and Sociology*, p. 104) quotes the following figures for England for the year 1884-85 :

	Age of Bachelors Marrying.	Age of Spinsters Marrying.
Miners.....	24.06	22.46
Textile hands.....	24.38	23.43
Shoemakers, tailors.....	24.02	24.31
Artisans.....	25.35	23.70
Laborers.....	25.56	23.66
Commercial clerks.....	26.25	24.43
Shopkeepers, etc.....	26.67	24.22
Farmers and sons.....	29.23	26.91
Professional and independent class.....	31.22	26.40

There seems to be a general tendency in England to defer marriage, for while in 1891 the average age of bachelors marrying was 26.4 and of spinsters 24.8, in 1880 it was only 25.8 and 24.4. The number of under-age marriages in England has steadily declined since 1874 from 8.4 per cent. for men and 22.7 per cent. for women down to 5.9 per cent. for men and 19 per cent. for women. In Prussia, in 1891, only 1.26 per cent. of the men and 16.5 per cent. of the women were under 20 years of age. In Prussia, the lowest average age at marriage was found among miners, printers, factory hands and day laborers; the highest among artists, literary men, inn-keepers, clergymen, and soldiers.

The cause for this is undoubtedly in the more expensive style of family living demanded by the more educated classes. Late marriages usually imply more early immorality, reduced population, etc. (See PROSTITUTION; MALTHUSIANISM.)

Concerning the fecundity of marriage, Professor Mayo-Smith quotes the following table (p. 113) :

COUNTRIES.	1876.	1888.
	Births to Marriages Six Years.	Births to Marriages of the Same Year.
Italy	5.15	4.5
Ireland	5.00	4.8
Prussia	4.92	4.1
Sweden	4.84	4.3
Holland	4.83	4.1
England	4.63	3.9
Belgium	4.48	3.9
Spain	4.47	4.5
Denmark	4.24	3.7
Austria	3.73	3.9
France	3.42	3.0

Reference : see FAMILY.

MARSHALL, ALFRED, was born in 1842 in England ; was educated in London, and at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was elected Fellow of his college in 1865, and Lecturer on Moral Science in 1868, which post he held till 1877, when he was appointed Principal of University College, Bristol. In 1879 he published his *Economics of Industry*, in connection with his wife (*née* Paley), whom he married in 1877. In 1881 ill health sent him abroad, but in 1883 he was appointed Lecturer on Political Economy at Balliol College, Oxford, and in 1884 he was elected to the Chair of Political Economy at Cambridge University, formerly held by Professor Fawcett. His new work, *The Principles of Economics*, published in 1890-91, is considered by many economists the most important recent English treatise on the subject.

MARSON, CHARLES LATIMER, now Vicar of Hambridge, Somersetshire, Eng., has held eight curacies and lost them largely for his activities in Christian Socialism. He was one of the first members of the Fabian Society, and in 1884 editor of the *Christian Socialist*. He went to Australia, and there founded the Australian Fabian Society. He is on the council of the Guild of St. Matthew, and trustee of the Busmen's Union. He has written brilliantly on the socialism of the Fathers, also *The Psalms at Work* (1894), and *Fairy Stories*, besides contributing to *Vox Clamantium* (1894); *The New Party* (1894) ; and regularly to *Goodwill* and *The Church Reformer*, etc.

MARX, KARL, was born in Treves, in 1818, of Jewish parentage. Studying at Jena, Bonn, and Berlin, he attracted early attention by his attainments in philosophy, and became a devoted Hegelian. He married a sister of a Prussian minister of state, and in 1842 edited the *Rheinische Zeitung*, of Cologne, till it was suppressed a year later for its radical utterances. He then went to Paris and made the acquaintance and friendship of Heine, Bakounin, Proudhon, Ruge, above all, of Engels. The two formed an intellectual partnership, and until Marx's death in 1883 they worked together in communistic agitation.

In Paris Marx undertook, with Arnold Ruge, the publication of an edition of Hegel's *Philosophy of Jurisprudence*, besides other literary

labors ; but having employed a paper, *Vorwärts*, to attack Prussia, the Prussian Government in 1846 asked his expulsion from France, which was granted, and he went to Brussels. Here Engels joined him, and the two formed a German Working Men's Association, having as its organ the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*. Their activity attracted the notice of a German communist league of Paris, which sent in 1847 to Marx in Brussels, and to Engels in Paris, asking them to enter the organization, and promising that a congress should be convened in London. The congress was held in the summer of 1847. As a result of this congress, and of another held at the end of the year, the theories of Marx were generally accepted, and he was asked to undertake with Engels the drawing up of a communist manifesto, which appeared early in the following year. (See MANIFESTO.) The manifesto was later adopted as the creed of the communists or socialists.

In 1848 the February Revolution broke out. The Brussels authorities feared disturbance, and compelled Marx to change Belgian for French soil. Marx was not at all unwilling, and he proceeded to Paris. A manifesto was at once drawn up for circulation in Germany, in which 17 demands were advanced by the Communist Party. These demands comprised the proclamation of a republic ; payment of members of Parliament, so that working men might be eligible for election ; the conversion of " princely and other feudal estates," with mines, etc., into State property ; the appropriation of all means of transport, as railways, canals, steamships, roads, and posts, by the State ; the restriction of the law of succession ; the introduction of heavy progressive taxes and the abolition of excise duties ; the establishment of national workshops ; State guarantee to all work people of an existence and provision for the incapable ; and universal and free education. Shortly afterward Marx returned to Germany, and along with Engels, Wolff, and Freiligrath founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* at Cologne, the first number appearing on June 1, 1848. For his utterances Marx had twice to appear at the Assizes, but he was each time acquitted. In May, 1849, there were risings in Dresden and the Rhine Province, and Marx was not slow to give them his editorial benediction. The newspaper was suppressed, and the last number appeared, printed in red ink, on June 19.

Expelled from Prussia, Marx first went to Paris, but refused residence there he went to England. From this time Marx lived continuously in London, with casual visits paid to Germany and other countries for the purpose of agitation. He found London a favorable place for the further study of political economy, and resolved to begin his work again from the very commencement. His studies were frequently broken, for it was necessary to earn a livelihood, and the duties of correspondent to the New York *Tribune*, which Marx fulfilled for eight years, consumed a large part of his time. His *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie* bears the date January, 1859, a work containing the principles which were afterward to be de-

The
Manifesto.

veloped in *Das Kapital*. While carrying on his studies Marx came again prominently to the front in 1863 and 1864, when new endeavors were made to unite the working classes of various countries. The result of the agitation was the formation on May 28, 1864, of the International Working Men's Association. (See INTERNATIONAL.) Three years later Marx published the first volume of his great economic work, *Das Kapital*. Upon this work rests the reputation of Marx as a political economist.

Marx's later public life was identified with the International (*q.v.*), of which he was the first president. He became leader of the wing

which favored the development of communism by the orderly political capture of the State, as opposed to the violent overturn of the State. (See ANARCHISM.)

Out of Marx's policy has grown the German and now world-wide political socialist movement, which accepting the economics taught by Marx, looks to him as its founder. Some believe that this turning of the communistic movement into political channels will be looked upon as Marx's greatest deed—a deed more important than his economic teachings, which, however brilliantly stated, are not peculiar to him. The English-reading public, however, has never done justice to Marx's economic teachings, because it has derived its notion of those teachings mainly from the first volume of *Das Kapital*, which was long alone of Marx's writings translated into English. This volume, tho brilliant,

is almost purely analytic and critical of the capitalistic movement and economics. His more constructive works are much less known. The reason for the first volume of *Das Kapital* being the one alone

translated was that Marx never lived himself to edit the remaining two volumes, tho after his death they were published by Engels from Karl Marx's notes (the second volume in 1885, the third in 1895). Marx died in London, March 14th, 1883. One of his daughters married the French socialist La Fargue (*q.v.*), and the other the English socialist Edward Aveling (*q.v.*).

The best brief account of Marx's economic teachings is to be found in Professor Laveleye's *Socialism of To-day* (chap. iv.), from which we abridge the following account, referring the reader to the article CAPITAL for a critical review by Professor Böhm-Bawerk :

"Marx bases his system on principles formulated by Adam Smith, Ricardo, Bastiat, and their followers.

"In respect of value, says Marx, commodities intended for exchange are crystallized labor. The unit of labor is an average day's work, which varies in different countries and at different times, but which may be considered a fixed quantity in a given community. An article possesses economic or exchange value only because it represents labor. What can be obtained without labor, like air and water, has no exchange value.

"How is the quantity of values of an article to be measured? By the quantity of labor that it contains. The quantity of labor is itself measured by the duration of the labor, by days and hours. Here Marx makes a correction in the theory of Smith and Ricardo, and forestalls an objection. It might be said that, if it is the duration of the labor that creates the value of the products, a coat which took a tailor twice as long

to make as was necessary would therefore be twice as valuable. Not so, replies Marx ; the measure of the value of things is the duration of the labor on the average requisite, performed with the average amount of skill and diligence, and in the normal industrial conditions at any given time.

"From these premises, our author concludes that labor becomes more productive and creates more utilities to no purpose ; it does not produce more value. In fact, if labor measured by time is the sole source of value, articles manufactured in greater quantity in the same lapse of time, all put together, represent no more value, because each individual article is worth less. By the strictly logical chain of these abstractions we arrive at this singular result, that all the inventions of science, all the improvements of manufacture, produce more utilities without increasing the sum total of exchange values. How, then, does the capitalist make money? First of all he buys machines, tools, raw materials, and then, in order to work up the materials, he purchases the workman's 'labor force,' *arbeitskraft*, the sole source of all value. He sets the laborer to work to change, by means of the tools and machines, the raw materials into manufactured articles, and sells them for more than they cost him to make. In this way he obtains a greater value, 'surplus value' (*mehrwert*). The money, temporarily transformed into wages and merchandise, reappears under its original form, but more or less increased in amount ; it has brought forth young—capital is born.

"This would seem to conflict with the principle laid down above, that exchange does not create new value. The manufacturer has only made exchanges, and yet he finds himself in possession of a greater value. The explanation of the mystery is as follows: The capitalist pays for labor its exchange value, and thus obtains its value in use. Labor force has the unique characteristic of producing more than it costs to be produced. He who buys it and sets it to work for his gain enjoys then the source of all wealth. The capitalist pays for labor its value. What is the value of labor? Like all other merchandise, it is worth what it costs in time and trouble to be produced ; that is to say, its cost of production. The cost of production of labor is the food and different commodities necessary to support the laborer and the children destined to succeed him. The value of all these commodities is measured in its turn by the time that it takes to produce them. In short, then, according to Marx, the value of labor is equivalent to the sum of hours required to create what the maintenance of the laborer demands. But to produce the commodities necessary for the existence of the laborer and his family during a day, a whole day's work is not needed. Marx supposes that five or six hours suffice. If, then, the laborer worked for himself, he could obtain all he needed in a half day, and the rest of his time he might devote to leisure or to procuring superfluities ; but the slave of antiquity, the serf of the Middle Ages, when gaining his freedom in the existing social order, did not at the same time acquire property. He is therefore obliged to place himself in the service of those who possess the land and the instruments of production. These naturally require him to work for them the whole day of 12 hours or more. In six hours the laborer produces the equivalent of his subsistence ; this is what Marx terms 'the necessary labor ;' during the remaining six hours he produces the 'surplus value,' the *mehrwert*, to the profit of his employers. The capitalist pays the laborer for his labor-power at its value ; that is to say, by giving him the amount of money which, representing six hours' labor, permits him to buy the necessaries of life ; but as he thus obtains the free disposal of this productive force for which he has paid, he acquires everything it produces during the entire day. He therefore exchanges the produce of six hours against the labor of 12 hours, and puts in his pocket, as net profit, the produce of the six hours beyond the 'necessary labor.' From this surplus, pocketed by the employer, capital comes into being.

"The capitalist has different methods of increasing his profits. The first consists in multiplying the number of his workmen. The second method is to lengthen the working day. The longer the laborer works beyond the necessary time which represents his wages, the greater the profit he brings to his master. The third method consists in diminishing the duration of the 'necessary labor,' the hours which the laborer must work to produce his maintenance. This is done by rendering the labor more productive. As his hours

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labor obtain the same price, no matter what they produce, if twice as many articles can be made in the hour, each article will cost one half less and the laborer will have one half less to spend on living; he will therefore be able to sell his labor force for a remuneration reduced by one half. All these deductions appear to be irrefutable, and we thus arrive at this singular conclusion, that the more the employment of machines and of improved methods increases the productivity of labor, the lower wages fall and the greater the profits of the capitalist become.

"According to Marx, the capitalist régime is of recent origin. It dates from the sixteenth century, when the large proprietors, impoverished by the wars of the Middle Ages, gradually drove their retainers from the soil, and thus formed a landless proletariat compelled to compete for wages. History is to Marx a portion of natural history. He says in the preface to the first edition: 'My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is received as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creatures he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them.'

"According to Marx, the capitalistic era is a necessary epoch, which must in time give place to communistic production. Capitalistic production, by compelling workmen to work for simply what is necessary to support life, cuts off its own market, since the workman has no money left to buy with! Hence capital is compelled to turn to commerce to supply it with ever new fields and markets for it to exploit. But this ends. There are no more new worlds for it to conquer, and so it is working its own ruin. Marx says: 'One capitalist ever kills many. Hand in hand with this centralization, or the expropriation of many capitalists by few, are developed the cooperative form of the labor process—and that on a constantly increasing scale—the intelligent application of science to technical purposes, the systematic exploitation of the soil, the transformation of the means of labor into means of labor only usable in common, the economizing of all means of production by their use for production by combined social labor, the entwining of all nations in the net of the world market, and thus the international

The Present Situation.

character of the capitalist régime. With the steady decrease of the capital magnates, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this process of transformation, the mass of want, oppression, servitude, degradation, and spoliation grows; but the revolt of the laboring class—swelling ever in numbers, and disciplined, united, and organized by the mechanism of the capitalist process of production itself—spreads at the same time. The capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter on the mode of production with and under which it has originated. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point at which they become no longer compatible with their capitalist integument, and this is burst asunder. The last hour of capitalist private property strikes. The expropriators are expropriated.'

"In the first case there is the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers, but in the latter the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people.

"Marx would make land and all the instruments of production collective and social property. He would go farther; he would have all subjects of the State share equally in labor and the produce of labor. His future State is a Labor State, in which labor will be compulsory on all who are capable. In *Capital* we find him developing the idea of uniting agriculture with industry, which is advanced in the Communist Manifesto written in 1847. He would have great variety in the labor of the individual, so that he may be as many-sided as possible."

Such, in brief, is Karl Marx's socialism. On account of its intellectual brilliancy and acumen, and the influence it has had on Germans, it has been called distinctively "Scientific Socialism;" yet to-day it is not accepted by many scientific socialists, much less other political economists. In its merciless logic and Hegelian dialectic, it is indeed scarcely possible to pick a flaw; but some socialists say that it starts from a wrong premise. Marx's error is not his, but inherited from Adam Smith and Ricardo. Labor is not

the only source of value. If Adam Smith and Ricardo are right in saying that it is, then Marxian socialism follows. It takes more than labor to produce value. Labor is only one of the elements. Socialists who do not follow Marx's economics arrive at his results, but through other channels. (See SOCIALISM; VALUE.) The acumen of Marx's analysis of the orthodox economics and his contribution to the development of political socialism are, however, beyond all question. The best account of Marx is in Dawson's *German Socialism* (1888).

MAURICE, JOHN FREDERICK DENISON, was born at Normanston, Suffolk, Eng., in 1805, the son of a Unitarian minister. Graduating at Trinity, Cambridge, he took a degree in law, but early devoted himself to writing on religious and social questions, particularly in *The Athenæum*. In 1831 he entered the Church of England, and went to Oxford and obtained a second class in classics in 1831. His first curacy was at Bubbenhall, Warwickshire, but from 1836-46 he was chaplain at Guy's Hospital, London. His writings were already attracting attention. In 1835 he wrote *Subscription vs. Bondage*, and an article subsequently enlarged into his *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* (1850-57). In his *Kingdom of Christ* (1838), *Lectures on Education* (1839), *Reasons for not Joining a Party in the Church* (1841), he laid the foundations for the theological views of which in the present century he is undoubtedly the great master, with his high conception of the church and the nation, and yet with a catholic conception of Christianity that found room in it for what—tho he himself repudiated the name—has been later called "Broad Church" divinity. From 1846-59 he was chaplain at Lincoln's Inn, and it was to this period that his Christian Socialist activities belong. (For a full account of this movement, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) His attention was first prominently called to socialism and its moral significance by Ludlow, but Maurice became the "master" of the little school of thinkers and workers that gathered round, and he proposed the name Christian Socialism, saying that it was the only name that would deliver us to the conflict we must sooner or later wage with unsocial Christians and with unchristian socialists. He contributed largely to the literature of the movement, and entered earnestly into the practical details of establishing cooperative tailors' stores; but when this movement had become somewhat established (see COOPERATION) he withdrew to devote himself more purely to educational and intellectual work. He was one of the prime movers in establishing the Workingmen's College and the Queen's College for Women, and in 1854 became principal of the former. In 1840 he had been made Professor of English Literature and History at King's College, and in 1846 Professor of Divinity, but in 1853 he was deprived of his chair because of his theological and social views. From 1860-69 he was incumbent of St. Peter's, De Vere Street. In 1866 he was chosen Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, from whence he published his *Social Morality* (1869). He died in London in 1872. His writings were

numerous and varied. Those bearing directly on social themes we have mentioned. His *Life*, edited by his son, appeared in 1884.

MAYORALTY.—The mayor is the governor of a city. The word is said to have been first used in 1189, when Richard I. substituted a mayor for the two bailiffs of London. In Europe, the mayor is not usually elected by the voters, but by the City Council. In England, he is usually chosen only for one year. In Germany, he may be elected for life, and may be chosen from any city; so that the mayor of a large city is usually one who has shown ability in a smaller city. In Paris, the prefect of the Seine corresponds to the mayor, tho there are *maires* of each *arrondissement* in the city. (See PARIS.)

In America, the mayors were chosen by the Council in New York till 1834; in Philadelphia, till 1839; but at present most mayors are elected by the people. Their terms of office vary from one year to four years. Their powers, too, materially vary. They usually have a veto power in the Council, the power of appointment and removal, with the consent of the City Council; but in 1882, Brooklyn, under Mr. Seth Low, commenced allowing the mayor to make his own appointments—thinking thus to fix responsibility—and for a while there was a general tendency to increase the power of the mayors. This is a kill or cure system. Under a good mayor like Mr. Low, it worked well. New York tried the same, and under Mayor Hewitt it worked well. But under a bad mayor it works ill, and the general tendency at present is to put more power in the Council and less power with the mayor.

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE, was born in Genoa, Italy, June 22, 1808, his father being a physician of no little note. His first tutor was an old priest who taught him Latin, but his omnivorous reading was not directed by any master. At the age of 13 he attended classes in the faculty of arts at the university, and later studied anatomy to follow his father's profession, but he finally (1826) graduated in laws, and for some time was occupied in the *Ufficio dei Poveri*. From birth sentiments of social equality were engendered in him by the example of his parents; and very early the degraded political condition of his country began to prey upon his mind. Patriotic enthusiasm gained absolute sway over his spirit, and led him to renounce his cherished idea of a life of literature for the political arena. In 1827 his maiden essay in literature, *Dell' Amor Patrio di Dante*, appeared in the liberal journal, *Il Subalpino*; and he subsequently contributed to the *Autologia* of Florence and the *Indicatore Genovese*. In the pages of this latter originally appeared the essay subsequently republished under the title of *Scritti d'un Italiano Vivente*. But in the mean time the "republican instincts" which he tells us he had inherited from his mother had been developing. His articles accordingly became more and more suggestive of advanced liberalism in politics, and led to the suppression by government of the *Indicatore Genovese* and the *Indicatore Livornese* suc-

cessively. Mazzini joined the Carbonari, and was entrusted with a secret mission in Tuscany, but in 1830 was betrayed. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona on the western Riviera for about six months, when, through deficiency of evidence, he was released, but upon conditions involving so many restrictions that he preferred to leave the country. He went accordingly to France, living chiefly in Marseilles. Here, in presence of "those symbols of the infinite, the sky and the sea," and having access to no books but "a Tacitus, a Byron, and a Bible," he conceived the great mission or "apostolate" (as he himself called it) of his life, and organized a society destined to become famous throughout Europe, *La Giovine Italia*, or Young Italy. Its avowed aims were to be the liberation of Italy, both from foreign and domestic tyranny, and its unification under a republican form of government; the means to be used were education, and, where advisable, insurrection by guerrilla bands; the motto was "God and the people," and the banner was to bear on one side the words "Unity" and "Independence" and on the other "Liberty," "Equality," and "Humanity." In April, 1831, Charles Albert succeeded to the Sardinian throne, and Mazzini, as he afterward confessed, "the interpreter of a hope which he did not share," wrote the new king a letter, urging him to take the lead in the impending struggle for Italian independence. Its bold and outspoken words produced a great sensation, but so deep was the offence it gave to the Sardinian Government, that orders were issued for the immediate arrest and imprisonment of the author should he attempt to cross the frontier. Toward the end of the same year appeared the important Young Italy manifesto. "Congregations" were formed at Genoa, Leghorn, and elsewhere. Banished from Marseilles in consequence of the extensive operations of the society, Mazzini resorted to concealment for several months, principally in Switzerland.

About this time a charge was brought against him of advocating assassination as a legitimate weapon in the warfare of liberalism; but the charge was proved in the public tribunals of France to be false, and in the British Parliament (1845) Sir James Graham made an apology to Mazzini for having re-echoed the calumny. The firstfruits of *La Giovine Italia* was the revolutionary expedition of Savoy, organized by Mazzini at Geneva, but defeated by the royal troops. Sentence of death, *par contumace*, was recorded against Mazzini in the Sardinian courts for his participation in the affair; but he soon recommenced with increased vigor his revolutionary operations. A new association, entitled "New Europe," and based on principles of European rights and enfranchisement, was inaugurated by the exertions of Mazzini in Switzerland. In 1837 Mazzini quit- ted Switzerland for England, and finally took up his abode in London, where for many months he had to carry on a hard fight with poverty. Ultimately he was able to earn a livelihood by writing review articles, some of which have been reprinted, and are of the highest order of

literary merit ; they include papers on *Italian Literature since 1830, Lamennais, George Sand ; Byron and Goethe ; Lamartine ; Carlyle, and The Minor Works of Dante.* In 1839 he entered into relations with the revolutionary committees sitting in Malta and Paris, and in 1840 he originated a working men's association, and the weekly journal entitled *Apostolato Popolare*, in which the treatise *On the Duties of Man* was commenced. Among the labors undertaken by Mazzini was a free evening school conducted by himself and a few others for some years, at which several hundreds of Italian children received at least the rudiments of secular and religious education. A memorable episode arose out of the conduct of Sir James Graham, the English home secretary, in systematically opening Mazzini's letters as they passed through the post-office, and communicating their contents to the Neapolitan Government. The discussions in parliament, and the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the matter, did not lead to any result, except the vindication of Mazzini's character, which had been recklessly assailed in the course of debate. Mazzini did not share the enthusiastic hopes raised in the ranks of the Liberal party throughout Europe by the first acts of Pius IX., in 1846, but at the same time he availed himself of the opportunity to publish a letter addressed to the new pope. The revolutionary leaders had long been in correspondence with Mazzini, and their action, along with the revolution in Paris, brought him to Italy, where he took an active part in the events which dragged Charles Albert into an unprofitable war with Austria ; he actually for a short time bore arms under Garibaldi immediately before the reoccupation of Milan, but ultimately, after vain attempts to maintain the insurrection in the mountain districts, found it necessary to retire to Lugano. In the beginning of the following year he was nominated a member of the short-lived government of Tuscany formed after the flight of the grand duke, and almost simultaneously, when Rome had, in consequence of the withdrawal of Pius IX., been proclaimed a republic, he was declared a member of the constituent assembly there. A month afterward Mazzini was appointed a member of the triumvirate, with supreme executive power. His tenure of supreme authority was marked by wisdom, moderation, and success. On the surrender of Rome, by Mazzini's advice, however, he quitted the city, and subsequently returned to London. At his instigation risings in Milan (1853) and in Piedmont (1857) were attempted. The Sicilian expedition of 1860 owed as much to the organization of Mazzini as to the command of Garibaldi. In 1865 he was elected by Messina deputy to the Italian Parliament ; but the election, to which he himself as a republican would have declined to accede, was canceled by the parliament. In 1865, after the cession of Venice to Italy, his sentence of death was at last removed, but he declined to accept such an "offer of oblivion and pardon for having loved Italy above all earthly things." In 1870 he set out for Sicily, but was arrested at sea and carried to Gaeta, where he was imprisoned for two months. Events soon made it

evident that there was little danger to fear from a contemplated rising, and the occasion of the birth of a prince was seized for restoring him to liberty. The remainder of his life, spent partly in London and partly at Lugano, presents no noteworthy incidents. For some time his health had been far from satisfactory, and he died at Pisa, March 10, 1872. The Italian Parliament by a unanimous vote expressed the national sorrow ; an eloquent tribute was pronounced by the president, and a public funeral took place at Pisa, his remains being later conveyed to Genoa. Mazzini said of himself, "I am but a voice crying *action*," but he was in very deed far more. In his *Duties of Man*, addressed to working men, he gives perhaps the fullest expression to thoughts which make many consider him the greatest prophet of the nineteenth century. His watch-words were "duties," and not "rights ;" self-sacrifice, and not self-seeking ; association, and not competition ; democracy, and not government ; humanity, and not the individual ; God, and not the opinions of mankind. Opposing both socialism and Christianity as they were presented to him, he said :

"Working men, brothers! When Christ came and changed the face of the world, He spoke not of rights to the rich, who needed not to achieve them ; nor to the poor, who would doubtless have abused them, in imitation of the rich ; He spoke not of utility, nor of interest, to a people whom interest and utility had corrupted ; He spoke of duty, He spoke of love, of sacrifice, and of faith ; and He said that they should be first among all who had contributed most by their labor to the good of all. And the word of Christ breathed in the ear of a society in which all true life was extinct, recalled it to existence, conquered the millions, conquered the world, and caused the education of the human race to ascend one degree on the scale of progress."

References: a translation of his main writings appeared in 1891. There are cheap editions of his *Duties of Man*, of his *Thoughts on Democracy in Europe*, and his literary essays.

McBRIDE, JOHN, was born in Wayne County, O., in 1854, and commenced working in the mines at the age of nine. In 1870 he joined the Miners' Union, and in 1883 was elected its president. In 1881 he was nominated to the State Legislature, and tho defeated, he was renominated, and elected in 1883 and again in 1885. In 1886 he was Democratic candidate for Secretary of State. In 1894 he was elected president of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*), but defeated in 1895.

McCULLOCH, JOHN RAMSAY, was born at Whithorn, Scotland, in 1789. He became editor of *The Scotsman*, a Liberal organ, and one of the editors of *The Edinburgh Review*. He wrote the article on political economy in the supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1824), and expanded it in 1825 into the *Principles of Political Economy, with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science*. From 1828-32 he was professor of that science in the University of London. In 1838 he was comptroller of the royal stationary office, and received a pension of £200. He died at Westminster in 1864. One of the first to develop free trade views, his writings were constant. His *Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and*

Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation (1832) and a *Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects of the World* (1841, revised edition, 1866-67), were long standard authorities.

MacDONALD, ALEXANDER, was born in 1821 in Lanarkshire, the son of a miner, and worked in the pit at the age of eight years. Having an ardent desire for education, he prepared himself for Glasgow University, which he entered in 1846, working as a miner in the summer. He became a leader of the miners all over Scotland. In 1850 he became a school-teacher, but in 1857 gave this up to give all his time to agitation on behalf of the miners. In 1863, on the formation of the National Union of Miners, he was elected president. Meanwhile, by some commercial speculations he acquired a modest fortune, which enabled him to devote all his time to advocating a parliamentary program among the miners. In the general election for 1874 he was returned to Parliament for Stafford with Mr. Bright (*q.v.*), the first labor member. He was appointed on the Royal Commission on Labor Laws, and brought in a minority report. He died in 1881.

McGLYNN, EDWARD, was born in New York City in 1837. He was educated at the College of the Propaganda in Rome, and, entering the Roman Catholic priesthood, became in 1866 pastor of St. Stephen's Church, in New York City, where he rapidly gained influence and popularity. His opposition to the establishment of parochial schools and his advocacy of the land doctrines of Henry George (*q.v.*) brought him into disfavor with the Church, and he was summoned to Rome, and, on refusing to go, excommunicated. In 1887 he aided in founding the Anti-Poverty Society (*q.v.*) and became its president, lecturing on its principles before enthusiastic audiences in New York City and elsewhere. In 1893 he was reconciled to the Church, tho without renouncing his economic views; the ban of excommunication was removed, and he was restored to his rank and to office in the Church.

McGUIRE, PETER J., was born in New York City in 1852, of Irish parentage. He was educated in the public schools and in evening classes at the Cooper Institute, and in 1867 apprenticed as a wood joiner. He joined the union of his craft in 1872, and interested himself in the labor movement. In 1880 he secured the passage of labor bills in Missouri and organized the labor bureau of that State. He became a Green-backer in 1876 and stumped Missouri in 1880. In 1881 he organized the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (*q.v.*). He was arrested that year for conspiracy, but was acquitted. In 1881 he was delegate to the International Working Men's Congress in Switzerland, and studied industrial conditions in Europe. Since 1882 he has been general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters; he has addressed many thousand meetings in all portions of the United States. He is First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and for four years was its secretary.

McNEILL, GEORGE E., was born in Amesbury, Mass., August 4, 1836, his father being one of the early workers in the anti-slavery movement, a friend of John G. Whittier and others. The son worked as a boy in the woolen mills of his native town, and took part in the strike of 1851. Soon after he learned the shoemaker's trade, and in 1856 settled in Boston. About this time he joined the Sons of Temperance, and filled high office many times. He was an active member of the great Eight Hour League, and, with Ira Steward and others, had much to do with the establishment of the ten-hour law of Massachusetts. He founded the Working Men's Institute, and received the cooperation of Wendell Phillips, Governor Claffin, and others in the movement to establish the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the first labor bureau. Upon the organization of the bureau he was made deputy chief. (See LABOR BUREAUS, also SAVINGS BANKS.) He was president of the famous Boston Eight-Hour League for eight years. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.)

He joined the Sovereigns of Industry, and became State secretary. Upon the formation of the International Labor Union of America he was made president, and in that capacity addressed public meetings all over the United States. In Chicago he addressed an immense gathering of over 13,000 people, the labor societies having challenged Joseph Cook to meet him in debate. He was connected as editor and associate editor with the *New York Labor Standard*, *Fall River Labor Standard*, *Pater-son (N. J.) Labor Standard*, *Paterson Home Journal*, and *The Voice* (Boston). He founded the *Labor Leader* at Boston. He was an active member of the Labor Congress at Rochester in 1874, and there wrote a declaration of principles since adopted by the Knights of Labor (*q.v.*).

He served for a time as a member of the school committee of the city of Cambridge, Mass., and succeeded in establishing free evening drawing schools, the first attempt of the kind. He joined the Knights of Labor in 1883; became prominent in District 30 of that order, when District 30 was the largest district of the largest labor organization that had ever existed up to that time. He was appointed district treasurer in 1884. He has been successful as an arbitrator of differences between employers and employees; notably in the great horse-car strike in Boston, 1885, and in the case of the employees of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1886 he was the working men's candidate for mayor of Boston. The first systematic history of the labor movement in America was undertaken by McNeill, resulting in the publication of *The Labor Movement, or the Problem of To-day*, in 1886, edited and the larger portion written by himself. He was appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts one of the Commissioners of Manual Training (1892). Driven in his early years, by what he considered the infidelity of the Church, into unbelief, he was later in life confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and became, in 1891, senior warden of the Episcopal, Christian Socialist Church of the Carpenter in Boston. (See BLISS.) Mr. McNeill is intensely democratic in

his views, and when the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) developed too centralized a policy, and refused to recognize the autonomy of the separate crafts, he strenuously opposed the policy, and failing to convince the leaders of that organization of their mistake, he became one of the main supporters of the American Federation of Labor (*q. v.*). His economic views are those of the short-hour philosophy, of which he was one of the prime founders. (See *SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT*.)

MENNONITES are a sect of Anabaptists (*q. v.*), followers of Menno Simons, and found in Switzerland, Germany, France, Russia, and America. First appearing in Switzerland in 1525, in 1683 a colony was established at Germantown, Pa. In 1871 many of them fled from Russia to America. In 1890 there were 41,541 in the United States. At first they refused to swear in courts or bear arms, and lived a quiet industrial life. They have now abandoned any unusual social views. (See *ANABAPTISTS*.)

MERCANTILISTS.—Mercantilists is the name given to the school of political economy, if it can be called a school, which advocated the belief generally held till the end of the last century that wealth consists in gold and silver, and that therefore the importation of gold and silver and exportation of goods to obtain gold should be encouraged by the State, and the exportation of gold and silver and importation of goods should be discouraged as much as possible. How this leads to the balance of trade theory (*q. v.*) is at once apparent.

The mercantile system, also called Colbertism, restrictive system, and commercial system, obtained from the early part of the sixteenth century until late in the eighteenth century, and its influence is still felt. Most prominent among the statesmen who were mercantilists may be named Colbert, of France; Frederick the Great, of Prussia; and Cromwell, of England. Serra, an Italian, early in the seventeenth century presented a moderate and systematic statement of their views in a work entitled *A Brief Treatise on Causes which make Gold and Silver Abound where there are no Mines*. Thomas Mun, in England, a generation later, wrote a valuable treatise from the standpoint of the mercantilists, called *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade; or, the Balance of our Trade the Rule of our Treasure*, while Sir James Steuart's *Inquiries into the Principles of Political Economy*, published in 1767, may be regarded as closing the development of the theory of mercantilism. The one idea common to all was that a nation ought to strive to export a quantity of goods of greater value than it imports, in order that the difference may be imported in gold and silver and the home supply of the precious metals increased. Everything else was subordinated to this policy. A favorable balance of trade was the aim. Tariffs were laid with this in view, and protectionism was encouraged; yet it was something different from modern protectionism. It was the avowed aim of the mercantilists to make both agricultural products and labor cheap, in order that manufactured articles might be cheap and a large

sale of them abroad effected. The exportation of raw material was often entirely prohibited. To-day no one holds this view to be correct. (See *BALANCE OF TRADE; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION*.)

MERCHANTS' GUILDS. See *GUILDS*.

METAYER, THE (from Latin *medieta, half*) is one who cultivates a farm or land for the owner on condition of retaining a portion, usually one half, of the produce, the owner generally furnishing the stock and tools. *Metayage*, or the metayer system, prevails in Italy, Southern France, and to a large extent in the south of the United States. J. S. Mill says (*Political Economy*, vol. ii., chap. viii.):

"The metayer system has met with no mercy from English authorities. 'There is not one word to be said in favor of the practice,' says Arthur Young, 'and a thousand arguments that might be used against it. The hard plea of necessity can alone be urged in its favor; the poverty of the farmers being so great, that the landlord must stock the farm, or it could not be stocked at all: this is a most cruel burden to a proprietor, who is thus obliged to run much of the hazard of farming in the most dangerous of all methods, that of trusting his property absolutely in the hands of people who are generally ignorant, many careless, and some undoubtedly wicked. . . . In this most miserable of all the modes of letting land, the defrauded landlord receives a contemptible rent; the farmer is in the lowest state of poverty; the land is miserably cultivated; and the nation suffers as severely as the parties themselves. . . . Wherever this system prevails, it may be taken for granted that a useless and miserable population is found. . . . There are but few districts' (in Italy) 'where lands are let to the occupying tenant at a money-rent; but wherever it is found, their crops are greater—a clear proof of the imbecility of the metaying system.' 'Wherever it' (the metayer system) 'has been adopted,' says Mr. McCulloch, 'it has put a stop to all improvement, and has reduced the cultivators to the most abject poverty.' Mr. Jones shares the common opinion, and quotes Turgot and Destutt-Tracy in support of it. The impression, however, of all these writers (notwithstanding Arthur Young's occasional references to Italy) seems to be chiefly derived from France, and France before the Revolution. . . .

"We shall find a very different picture, by the most accurate authorities, of the metayer cultivation of Italy. In the first place, as to subdivision. In Lombardy, according to Châteaueuvieux, there are few farms which exceed 60 acres, and few which have less than 10. These farms are all occupied by metayers at half profit. They invariably display 'an extent and a richness in buildings rarely known in any other country in Europe.' Their plan 'affords the greatest room with the least extent of building; is best adapted to arrange and secure the crop; and is, at the same time, the most economical, and the least exposed to accidents by fire.' The court-yard 'exhibits a whole so regular and commodious, and a system of such care and good order, that our dirty and ill-arranged farms can convey no adequate idea of.' The same description applies to Piedmont."

METHODISM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

—John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was not less remarkable as a social reformer than as a preacher and administrator. His conception of the Gospel of Christ was that it is not only the indispensable and sufficient evangel for the individual soul, but also the only and efficient remedy for social sins and sufferings. He early combined an active philanthropy with his zealous evangelism. He saw in every man a brother, and the wrongs and needs of man everywhere aroused his compassion and called forth his practical sympathy. He regarded the physical and intellectual as well as the spiritual necessities of his fellows, and laboriously and unsparingly, in the spirit of Christ, set himself

to minister unto them. In fact, it is difficult to find any religious or social enterprise of the Christian Church which was not anticipated by Wesley.

It is believed that the first free dispensary in the world was founded by John Wesley, at the old Foundry in Moorfields, London. The first tract society was formed by Wesley and Dr. Thomas Coke in 1782, 17 years before the organization of the great and noble Religious Tract Society, a society which itself owed its origin chiefly to Rowland Hill and other (Calvinistic) Methodists. The Strangers' Friend Society, visiting 50,000 of the sick and poor of London annually, without regard to creed, was founded by Methodists six years before the death of Wesley. Similar benevolent and strangers' friend societies are sustained by Methodists in most of the large towns and cities of England.

It was Sophia Cooke, a Methodist, afterward the wife of the eloquent Samuel Bradburn, who first suggested to Robert Raikes the Sunday-school idea, "and actually marched with him at the head of his troop of ragged urchins the first Sunday they were taken to the parish church."*

Wesley and his preachers were enthusiastic and active in the use of the press and the circulation of improving and wholesome literature. The oldest periodical magazine in the world is the *Arminian Magazine*, now known as the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, which was first issued January 1, 1778, and is now in the one hundred and sixteenth year of its continuous existence.

Wesley's contributions to what in the best sense was popular literature awaken our wonder and admiration for his literary ability and tireless industry. His pen and tongue were alike constantly employed for the public good. His Christian Library in 50 volumes, the first volume of which was printed in 1749, was an effort to bring to the common people some of the treasures of literature, otherwise inaccessible to them. In all his multifarious and incessant labors Wesley sought no personal gain, but worked, as he lived, for his fellow-men.

Dr. Abel Stevens writes :

"Wesley was the first to set the example of modern cheap prices sustained by large sales. A catalog of his publications, printed about 1756, contains no less than 181 articles in prose and verse, English and Latin, on grammar, logic, medicine, music, poetry, theology, and philosophy. Two thirds of these publications were for sale at less than one shilling each, and more than one fourth at a penny. They were thus brought within the reach of the poorest of his people. 'Simplify religion and every part of learning,' he wrote to Benson, who was the earliest of his preachers addicted to literary labors. To all his preachers he said: 'See that every society is supplied with books,' some of which ought to be in every house."

Methodism in both hemispheres is still active in the work of publishing and circulating good literature. While accomplishing this end the profits are not applied to any private emolument, but distributed among the aged and superannuated ministers and widows of ministers.

The Methodist Book Concern, in New York, is the greatest religious publishing agency in

the world. Its sales of books in 1893 amounted to \$463,913. British Methodism has a vigorous and successful publishing house, which is the legal and lineal heir and successor of John Wesley in this beneficent work. Every Methodist minister has always been everywhere an active agent for the dissemination of the best literature among the people. No less than 3,624,350 copies of magazines, newspapers, and periodicals were issued by the Book Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1893. The larger part of these issues were distinctly educational, for use in Sunday-schools. The sales of books reached nearly \$464,000 for the year.

Methodism has largely caught the spirit and been influenced by the genius and example of its founder. Its territory is so vast and its branches are so numerous that it is impossible to catalog and describe all its activities in the direction of what is known as social reform.

The missionary work of the Church is by no means wholly foreign. Forty-five per cent. of the income of the Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society is expended in the United States—much of it among the foreign-born peoples. Thus, in 1893, while \$568,884 was appropriated to foreign missions, \$474,952 was expended at home.

Wesleyan Methodism, the older of the two great wings of the Methodist Church and the parent of all, expends much time and money in distinctively home missionary work. Around all these domestic centers and agents cluster schools, libraries, charities, classes for manual training, savings banks, mothers' meetings, sick clubs, etc. Classes for "sloyd" (sewing) and the teaching of useful arts and knowledge are held in connection with most city missions.

The foreign missionary work of Methodism involves an immense expenditure of money and most self-sacrificing labor in (so-called) "humanitarian" work; improving the temporal, physical, and social condition of the people, including the care of the sick and orphans, with hospitals and skilled medical service. A vast amount of educational work, with the translation, printing, and publication of literature, is also done by missionaries.

Temperance is practised and advocated as an integral part of Christian duty and character. Wesleyan Methodism has its Conference Temperance Committee, with a minister set apart to superintend temperance work throughout its jurisdiction. So also have the United Methodist Free Churches. The other branches of Methodism in Great Britain and her colonies have special organization for this work. In the United Kingdom the work is generally prosecuted by means of Bands of Hope for the children and adult societies for the seniors. In America there is less of special organization; but periodical temperance lessons are given in the Sunday-schools, and temperance work is expressly committed to one department in all chapters of the Epworth League.

The Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church issued 16,250,700 pages in 1893. Two hundred and fifty thousand tracts were printed in the German language, and funds furnished to foreign fields for printing religious literature.

The Board of Church Extension of the Meth-

* Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i., p. 11.

odist Episcopal Church has disbursed in 27 years nearly \$5,000,000, aiding the building of 9083 churches in various States and Territories. One third of this amount has been supplied as loans, to be repaid, thus constituting a fund which can be used again and again for the same purpose.

In 1866 the Freedmen's Aid Society was organized, and in 27 years it has disbursed \$3,667,162. It is now known as the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, and in 1893 expended \$363,763 in schools among the freedmen and necessitous whites of the South.

Activities. The Board of Education aided 1416 students in the year ending July, 1893. All these students were intended for the ministry, missionary, teaching, or similar work. Within the last nine years a remarkable movement in social effort has been seen in the rise and development of the deaconess movement. The work began informally in Chicago in 1887, where Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer had instituted a Missionary Training School. In 1888 the General Conference gave formal recognition and authorization to deaconesses. Deaconesses must be trained; work entirely voluntarily, taking no vows; wear a simple costume; are entirely unsalaried in nearly all cases; live usually in communities called "homes;" are individually recognized by the Church, and must be yearly approved by the Annual Conference within whose bounds they labor.

Eight hospitals have been established in connection with the deaconess homes, and many deaconesses are trained nurses.

In the foreign work the deaconess movement has been found most helpful, especially in India and China. In Germany there is a large deaconess work, having headquarters at Hamburg, where there is a fine large home and hospital. The Methodist Episcopal Church has about 500 deaconesses. In England, the deaconess movement has also become a permanent institution, and promises to aid materially in solving the problem of reaching and aiding the poor and in winning their confidence.

The Methodist Church has always taken an interest in the condition of poor, orphan, and neglected children. The Children's Home, with headquarters in London and a distributing home at Hamilton, Can., cares for nearly 1000 boys and girls. St. Christopher's Home, New York, has five cottages accommodating 125 children. The Fred Finch Orphanage (Oakland, Cal.) provides for 60 boys and girls. New York has a home for aged and infirm persons, accommodating 109 inmates. Brooklyn has a similar institution with 52 inmates.

At the Methodist Hospital, Brooklyn, 897 patients occupied beds in 1893, and nearly 600 out-patients were treated. This hospital has an estate and buildings which have already cost \$750,000. It has also an endowment fund of upward of \$195,000. During the past six years it has cared for about 10,000 people, at a cost of nearly \$195,000. These patients have been of all creeds and nationalities.

The Methodists have also hospitals at Philadelphia, with 70 beds; Cincinnati, where 233 patients were treated in 1893; Chicago, with a

training school for nurses; Kansas City; Omaha, accommodating 28 patients; St. Louis; Portland, Ore., where 276 patients were treated last year.

At East Boston, right opposite the Cunard wharf, is the Immigrants' Home. The report of a year's work includes: Trains and steamers met, 74; cared for in the home, 661; aided on piers and to find friends, 350; helped to employment, over 100; lodgings furnished, 2588; meals supplied, 7764; 465 lodgings and 1294 meals were given free.

New York Methodism has also a work among immigrants landing at that port.

In the practical activities which are now regarded as the legitimate sphere and the positive duty of the Christian Church, Methodism is everywhere taking its full share. Especially is this evidenced in the constitution and work of the Epworth League, in which thousands of the earnest and educated young people are enrolled. In every chapter of the League the Department of Mercy and Help is especially charged with the consideration and direction of systematic effort in all lines of social reform.

In the city of Boston an excellent work is being carried on at the Epworth Settlement. In a house at the North End certain university students have taken up residence, and, aided by voluntary workers, devote themselves to the service of the people. The Italians have been helped in resisting the unprincipled Italian bosses, and are being taught to be loyal citizens. Boys' and girls' clubs, classes for sewing, physical culture, night schools for Italians, Jews, Portuguese, and others are among the many activities of the settlement. Thirty-six college students are pledged to this good work.

The attitude and testimony of the Methodist Church against the liquor traffic, gambling, polygamy, the evils of divorce, the opium traffic, and the licensing of vice are too well known to require description.

JAMES YEAMES.

MICHAELIS, OTTO, was born at Lubeck, in Westphalia, in 1826. He studied law at Bonn and Berlin, but was deprived of his position in consequence of the excitements of 1848. He then betook himself to Berlin, where he became assistant editor of the *Abendzeitung*, and, after its suppression, editor of the *Nationalzeitung*. In 1861 he was elected to the Prussian House of Deputies, and in 1867 to the North German Reichstag. He held several political posts, but as his free-trade principles brought him into conflict with the financial policy of the Government, he retired. He died December 12, 1890.

MICHEL, LOUISE, was born at Veoncourt, Haute-Marne, France, in 1839. Winning distinction by musical and poetical talents, she opened a school at Montmartre, Paris, in 1860, but early became an active revolutionist. During the Commune she worked on committees and fought at barricades in man's uniform. She was captured and condemned to death, a sentence changed to transportation. She went through all the horrors of the Versailles prisons, and was transported to New Caledonia. After nine years the amnesty allowed her to return,

a more determined anarchist than ever. Several times imprisoned, she escaped to London, and started an international school in Fitzroy Street. Often addressing Hyde Park meetings, she vents, in vehement French, her hatred of the bourgeoisie, who shed the blood of her comrades. She has written her *Memoirs* and a novel, *The Microbes of Society*.

MIDDLE AGES.—The Middle Ages, which are usually made to reach from about the fifth century to the thirteenth, form a period of great economic and sociologic importance and interest. Under a separate head we treat of FEUDALISM. (See also CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; GUILDS; CITIES; CANON LAW; LAND; MONASTICISM; EDUCATION; FAMILY; SERFDOM; SLAVERY; WOMAN, etc.) Dr. Ingram, in his *History of Political Economy*, says of the Middle Ages:

"They represent a vast transition, in which the germs of a new world were deposited, but in which little was fully elaborated. There is scarcely anything in the later movement of European society which we do not find there, tho as yet, for the most part, crude and undeveloped. The mediæval period was the object of contemptuous depreciation on the part of the liberal schools of the last century, principally because it contributed so little to literature. But there are things more important to mankind than literature; and the great men of the Middle Ages had enough to do in other fields to occupy their utmost energies. The development of the Catholic institutions and the gradual establishment and maintenance of a settled order after the dissolution of the Western empire absorbed the powers of the thinkers and practical men of several centuries. The first mediæval phase, from the commencement of the fifth century to the end of the seventh, was occupied with the painful and stormy struggle toward the foundation of the new ecclesiastical and civil system; three more centuries were filled with the work of its consolidation and defense against the assaults of nomad populations; only in the final phase, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when the unity of the West was founded by the collective action against impending Moslem invasion, did it enjoy a sufficiently secure and stable existence to exhibit its essential character and produce its noblest personal types. The elaboration of feudalism was, indeed, in progress during the whole period, showing itself in the decomposition of power and the hierarchical subordination of its several grades, the movement being only temporarily suspended in the second phase by the salutary dictatorship of Charlemagne. But not before the first century of the last phase was the feudal system fully constituted. In like manner, only in the final phase could the effort of Catholicism after a universal discipline be carried out on the great scale—an effort forever admirable, tho on the whole unsuccessful.

No large or varied economic activity was possible under the full ascendancy of feudalism. That organization, as has been abundantly shown by philosophical historians, was indispensable for the preservation of order and for public defense, and contributed important elements to general civilization. But while recognizing it as opportune and relatively beneficent, we must not expect from it advantages inconsistent with its essential nature and historical office. The class which predominated in it was not sympathetic with industry, and held the handicrafts in contempt, except those subservient to war or rural sports. The whole practical life of the society was founded on territorial property; the wealth of the lord consisted in the produce of his lands and the dues paid to him in kind; this wealth was spent in supporting a body of retainers whose services were repaid by their maintenance. There could be little room for manufactures, and less for commerce; and agriculture was carried on with a view to the wants of the family, or at most of the immediate neighborhood, not to those of a wider market. The economy of the period was therefore simple, and, in the absence of special motors from without, unprogressive."

Economy.

Perhaps the first great fact of the Middle

Ages, viewed from the standpoint of social development, was its lawlessness. The monasteries afforded to an extent asylums of peace; benevolent monarchs and prosperous cities created some order; religion, as in the establishment of the days called "the Peace of God"—days when war and strife were to be laid aside—to some degree restrained violence; but these very restraints and exceptions show to what an extent lawlessness was the rule. With this reign of violence went, as a necessary result, neglect of agriculture, of commerce, and to a less extent of industry. In the latter Middle Ages city industries grew rapidly and reached heights of artistic development and of honorable esteem not equaled before or since. But agricultural labor through all the Middle Ages and city labor in the early Middle Ages were neglected because unsafe.

From this resulted a lack, even among the well-to-do, sometimes even of food, and always of the comforts of life. The poor to-day can have what rich men could not in the Middle Ages. Lack of communication and the absence of printing, too, must be noted as among the great distinguishing marks of the Middle Ages. Immorality was all but universal, limited only by the saintly lives of a few priests and monks and nuns, and by a somewhat fanciful code of knightly honor and commercial fairness. Lecky says (*History of Morals*, vol. ii., chap. v.): "Ecclesiastical immorality in the eighth and three following centuries was little if at all less outrageous than in any other period, while the papacy during almost the whole of the tenth century was held by men of infamous lives. Simony was nearly universal."

Yet there is a favorable side to mediæval life. The very rudeness of the age developed idealism. When the possibilities of knowledge were limited to the few; when material interests and distractions were not many, the faculty of the imagination had large scope. This led undoubtedly, as above stated, to gross credulity and superstition, and gave great power to the clergy, but it also led to chivalry and romance and faith. It produced the cathedral and the cathedral life. Chivalry with its largely pure, tho in part impure and unworthy, worship of woman is characteristic of the age. Commercial vices were not common. Commercial virtues were much praised. Town authorities ruled the market, enforced honest work and fair prices. It was the honor of the strong to protect the weak, even as it was their glory to attack and defeat other strong men. Paternalism went hand in hand with the tyranny of feudalism. In some lords the one was most prominent; in others the other. The poor had a claim upon the great. Each man could have a home, if it were a hovel, and, save for war, security in his home. The recognition of classes involved the duties of classes. "Each for self" was by no means a mediæval ideal.

We discover, too, a movement in the Middle Ages. Modern Europe may be said to have been born of the Crusades. They did much to make Europe **Crusades.** one. They brought the martial Goth into connection with the refined Byzantine and the quick-witted Greek.

They developed great cities like Venice and Genoa. They taught Europe to worship an idea.

The age-long battle, too, between Emperor and Pope drew Europe into international communion. It led to the ideal unity of the Holy Roman Empire, which if it was, as has been said, neither holy nor Roman, was at least imperial, and therefore stood for organic union and not for anarchistic strife. The battle, too, between contending claims developed political thought. Almost all modern political and social ideas find their germs in the contests of ideas in the Middle Ages. As men fought for private right or public law, for local government or imperial will, for power of king or right of priest, they broke up a dead system of a great Church State, and prepared the way for the doctrines of the Reformation and the rights of man.

MIDDLE-MAN.—The middle-man, who buys of the producer and sells to the consumer, and retains his profit on the transaction, is usually denounced as an unnecessary source of cost to the consumer. Cooperation (*q.v.*) tries in various ways to eliminate that cost, but often his work is of absolute value. The work of collecting and ordering products for consumers, and especially of deciding what to order and what to sell, is often of the very greatest importance and value. If not performed by a middle-man who takes his profit, it would often have to be performed by some salaried agent or employee, either of the producers or consumers. (See WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.)

MILITIA (from Latin *miles*, a soldier) is that portion of the military strength of a nation enrolled for discipline and practice, but local in organization, and only called into actual service when necessary. It is the organized national reserve, and includes the "voluntary" organizations of Great Britain and the United States, the National Guard of France, and the Landwehr and Landsturm of Germany. The British system of volunteers originated in the old Anglo-Saxon *fyrð*, and the warlike features of the ancient *posse comitatus*. The British Government appoints lord-lieutenants of counties empowered to command voluntary organizations or to place a levy by ballot upon all non-exempted persons. As a matter of fact, the volunteers are usually sufficient. The militia of the United Kingdom in 1893-94 comprised 140,308 men, or, including the whole national reserve, 274,549.

In the United States the militia is under the control of Congress in time of war, and in time of peace under the States subject, however, to the consent and general control of Congress. As a matter of fact the only effective militia are the unformed voluntary organizations maintained in many of the States as National or State Guards.

In the War of the Revolution there were 231,971 continentals or regulars and 56,163 militia. In the War of the Rebellion there were received into service 2,690,401 men; when hostilities ceased there were 1,000,516 men in service, of whom 978,000 were volunteers, and the national enrollment at the same time exhibited an available reserve of 2,254,063 men. January 1,

1895. the militia of the United States numbered 114,146, exclusive of naval reserves—the naval militia numbering 2695. Those liable to military duty numbered 10,180,043.

MILK SUPPLY SERVICE, MUNICIPALIZATION OF THE.—*The New Nation*, the former organ of the Nationalists (*q.v.*) in the United States, argued that one of the businesses in which municipal management ought immediately to be introduced, in place of private competition, is the milk supply. It considered this even more important than the municipalization of the gas supply. It says:

"Not only would the management of the milk supply by the municipality cheapen the cost of milk both by dispensing with profit and by avoiding the great waste by duplication of routes and service, which marks the present competitive system, but it would have another advantageous result far more important than this, namely, the prevention of adulteration.

"It is notorious that there is scarcely any article of food which is so commonly adulterated as milk, and this common repute is abundantly justified by official and statistical records. For example, a late report of the Massachusetts inspector of milk and vinegar states that samples of the milk sold at the lunch counters and restaurants of Boston prove in many cases to be of the poorest grade. They are largely skimmed milk and often diluted at that with 40 per cent of water. It is often found, moreover, that in order to correct the blue tint caused by pouring too much water into skimmed milk, a chemical called annatto is added. Such milk is sold at 5 cents a glass or 20 cents a quart, when 8 cents a quart is all that good milk should bring. The worst of it is the most of this bad milk is sold to the poorer classes, who can least afford to be cheated. On the other hand, however, the inspector found that quite a number of the high-priced and fashionable restaurants were not above practising the same vile sort of fraud.

"On the whole, perhaps the worst aspect of this milk iniquity is the fact that infants and children, who depend largely and often wholly upon milk for subsistence, are the chief sufferers from the adulterations practised. There is no doctor who has any practice in the tenement-house districts who will not say that the terrible prevalence of cholera infantum, as well as children's diseases in general in those quarters, is owing largely to the bad milk the poor have to use. When it is a question of milk for infants, it must be remembered, moreover, that in order not to be injurious and even fatal to a feeble child, it must be, not merely free from actual adulteration, but of a certain degree of freshness. This last is a condition absolutely unattainable to the poor, who have in Boston, as a rule, to put up with milk not less than 72 hours from the cow. By tolerating the present system of milk distribution, the State becomes an accomplice in wholesale child-murder.

"A further advantage of a municipal milk supply would be the prevention of the sale of milk from infected cattle."

MILL, JAMES, was born near Montrose, Scotland, in 1773, and educated at the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed as a preacher in the Scottish National Church in 1798; but, changing his religious views, became a tutor in the family of Sir John Stuart, and accompanied him to London in 1802 to begin a literary life.

His first venture was to start a periodical on a new plan, entitled *The Literary Journal*, which began in January, 1803, and continued under his editorship till the end of 1806.

In 1806 he commenced his *History of British India*, which he carried on along with other literary work, and published in the winter of 1817-18. The impression produced by this history was such that, in 1819, he was appointed to the post of assistant examiner of Indian corre-

spondence, notwithstanding the unpopularity of his well-known radical opinions. The business assigned to his care was the revenue department, which he continued to superintend till four years before his death, when he was appointed head of the examiner's office, where he had the control of all the departments of Indian administration—political, judicial, and financial—managed by the secret committee of the court of directors. Shortly after his appointment to the India House he contributed the articles on government, education, jurisprudence, law of nations, liberty of the press, colonies, and prison discipline to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1821–22 he published his *Elements of Political Economy*, a work prepared primarily with a view to the education of his son, John Stuart Mill.

In 1808 he became acquainted with Jeremy Bentham, and was for many years Bentham's chief companion and ally. He was not, however, a mere disciple of Bentham, but a man of profound and original thought and learned in all the departments of philosophy. He contributed largely to the *Westminster Review*, and in 1829 published *An Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, and gave a powerful intellectual stimulus to a number of young men. Between 1806 and 1818 he wrote a great many articles for various periodicals, his principal topics being education, reform, freedom of the press, prison discipline. In 1836 he died at Kensington.

MILL, JOHN STUART, was born in London in 1806, the son of the Benthamite philosopher, James Mill (*q.v.*). Educated by his father, he showed phenomenal precociousness, tho subjected to the strictest mental discipline. He is said to have begun Greek at the age of three, and by the age of 12 to have read most of the leading Greek and Latin authors. He also at this age studied calculus and the sciences, and at the age of 14 he took a complete course in political economy. He then had a year's travel in Europe, mainly in Southern France, and returned to aid his father in literary work, imbibing his father's liberalism and skepticism. He studied law with John Austin, another Benthamite. In 1823 he became a clerk in the India House, and remained in this house 37 years, rising from grade to grade. The influential *Westminster Review* was established in 1823 as a Benthamite organ, and Mill began contributing to it at once. In 1843 he published his *Logic* in two volumes; in 1844, his essays on *Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*; and in 1848, his *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, an epoch-making book. In it political economy is no longer "the dismal science" of cold theory, but the practical study how to cure economic evils; tho on the whole of the orthodox school, it is, nevertheless, progressive. In 1859 he published his *Liberty*, and also *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*; his *Representative Government* appeared in 1861, and *Utilitarianism* in 1862. His *Subjection of Women* was Mill's next work, tho not published till 1869. In 1865 appeared his *Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy*. The same

year he was elected to Parliament for Westminster, tho he refused to make any canvass for the office. His parliamentary career, however, was short and not marked. His subscription to the election expenses of Mr. Bradlaugh and other independent acts cost him his seat in 1868, and he retired to literary life at Avignon. Here he wrote many articles and essays, and for his last public work was engaged in the starting of the Land Tenure Reform Association. In 1851 he married Mrs. John Taylor, whom he had met in 1831, and with whom he had shared his literary work in the closest friendship. She died, however, in 1859, and after her death her daughter, Miss Taylor, became his constant companion. His *Autobiography* appeared in 1873, and created great interest; and in it Mill relates, step by step, the development of his views. Beginning as a Benthamite, and working for the utilitarian greatest good of the greatest number, in the autumn of 1826, he tells us, he suddenly asked himself the following question: "Suppose that all your objects in life were realized; that all the changes in institutions and opinions which you are looking forward to could be completely effected at this very instant—would this be a great joy and happiness to you? and an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered No! At this my heart sank within me. The whole foundation on which my life was constructed fell down." From that change he went on, he tells us, to materially change his views. He adopted what he later found was Carlyle's anti-self-consciousness theory, of happiness not as an end, but to be attained only by having another aim, the happiness of others, or some art, etc. He learned to add the susceptibilities to intellect culture. He came also finally to change his social views to a position where he could say of himself and his wife: "Our ideal of ultimate improvement went far beyond democracy, and would class us decidedly under the general name of socialists. . . . The social problem of the future we considered to be, how to unite the greatest liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all the benefits of combined labor" (*Autobiography*, 1873). He died at Avignon in 1873. After his death his essays on socialism were published.

MILLIONAIRES.—(For a discussion of the development and concentration of wealth in the United States and elsewhere, see **WEALTH**.) We give here a summary of the results of the investigation conducted by the *New York Tribune* in 1892 as to the number of millionaires in the United States, and the ways in which their fortunes were obtained :

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Manufacturing mainly, but in many cases with investments in real estate, banking, and other non-protected business.....	619
Saw mills and lumber, sometimes with other investments.....	138
Brewing and real estate, mainly.....	79
Distilling, mainly.....	32
Malting.....	2
Coal, iron, zinc, lead, copper, or quicksilver mines.....	113
Sugar refining, mainly.....	29
Shipbuilding and repairing.....	3

Tanning and leather business..... 46
 Coasting and lake shipping, mainly..... 31
 Flour milling..... 16
 Marble quarries, but with other investments..... 2
 Seeds and nursery business, mainly..... 4
 Sugar plantations in the South..... 3
 Lithographing, but with insurance business in addition..... 1
 Tobacco growing in the South, and lands..... 3
 Wool growing in Ohio, and lands..... 1
 Making special patented and proprietary articles..... 93
 Cattle raising in the West, and lands, mainly..... 47
 Merchandising mainly, with, in the great majority of cases, the investment of profits in real estate, banks, and securities generally..... 986
 Real estate, advance in value with the growth of population and improvement of..... 468
 Loaning money and real estate..... 9
 Railroads, development, consolidation, and management of..... 186
 Contracting and building, railroads, streets, and public and private works generally..... 77
 Banking and the investment of profits in real estate and securities, mainly..... 294
 Brokerage business and stocks..... 56
 Express business..... 18
 Mercantile agency business and investments..... 2
 Telegraph and telephone development..... 12
 Silver and gold mines..... 73
 Local enterprises, gas works, water works, street railroads, ferries, etc..... 70
 Law practice and investment of profits in real estate and securities..... 65
 Deep-sea shipping, ocean freighting, in some cases combined with foreign trade on the owner's account..... 75
 Whaling, deep-sea ships, and ocean trade..... 4
 Packing and provisions..... 34
 Ice business, mainly..... 1
 Oil producing, refining, and transportation..... 72
 Hotel and restaurant business, with real estate investments..... 24
 Pine lands and the sale of logs and timber therefrom..... 19
 Dealing in timber and mineral lands..... 11
 Publishing news and story papers..... 30
 Publishing copyright books, with general printing added in some cases..... 25
 Publishing copyrighted music..... 2
 Steamboating on the rivers and in the harbors..... 20
 Plantations, farming and land..... 15
 Cracker and bread baking..... 4
 Nitrate beds in Chile..... 1
 Louisiana lottery business..... 2
 Main contracts in the West, with other business, ranches, mines, etc..... 1
 Smelting and refining metals..... 6
 Insurance business, mainly..... 6
 Royalties on patents..... 3
 Miscellaneous investment, mostly in non-protected lines of business..... 6
 Show and circus business, with investment of profits in real estate, securities, etc..... 3
 Asphalt street pavements..... 1
 Pension agency business, with a weekly newspaper in connection therewith..... 1
 Contracts for railroad building and equipment, etc., in foreign lands..... 6
 Plantations in the West Indies and South America, mainly..... 6
 Phosphate land in Florida, banking, and real estate..... 1
 Fine stock raising and fortunate investments in lands and securities..... 3
 Grain elevator, storage warehouses, and wharf business..... 17
 Medical practice and investments in real estate... 1
 Unprotected manufacturing..... 1
 Pawnbroking and real estate..... 2
 Refining lard, cotton oil, etc..... 1
 Cotton raising in the South..... 4
 Made in the Tweed Ring, New York City..... 1
 Pony express over the plains, and lands..... 1
 By inheritance and gift, original sources of the fortune unknown..... 34
 Origin of the fortune entirely unknown..... 21

Origin of the fortune entirely unknown..... 21
 In industries not in the least protected..... 2,727
 Grand total..... 4,047

IN NEW YORK CITY.

Manufacturing, mainly..... 95
 Brewing and real estate..... 19
 Distilling, mainly..... 2
 Coasting vessels, mainly..... 19
 Tanning business and leather..... 19
 Sugar refining, mainly..... 13
 Protected mines, coal, iron, etc..... 11
 Shipbuilding and investments..... 1
 Cattle raising in the West, mainly..... 1
 Making patented and proprietary articles..... 18
 Merchandising, with investment of profits in real estate, securities, etc..... 356
 Banking and investments..... 113
 Brokerage business and stocks..... 24
 Real estate, advance in value and improvement of Railroads..... 134
 Silver and gold mines..... 6
 Ocean ships, freighting, and foreign trade..... 37
 Local gas, railroad, ferry, and kindred enterprises..... 10
 Hotel and restaurant business and real estate..... 8
 Insurance business, mainly..... 3
 Contracting and building, mainly..... 16
 Oil refining, production, and transportation..... 17
 Law practice and investments..... 28
 Storage, warehousing, etc..... 3
 Publishing news and story papers..... 12
 Publishing copyrighted books..... 9
 West India and South American plantations, etc..... 5
 Bakery business..... 1
 Medical practice and fortunate real estate investments..... 1
 Mercantile agency business, with investment of profits..... 2
 Tweed Ring..... 1
 River and harbor boats..... 7
 Express business..... 6
 Telegraph and telephone business..... 3
 Ice business, mainly..... 1
 Live-stock raising, with investment of profits..... 1
 Pawnbroking and real estate..... 2
 Inherited from relatives..... 14
 Origin of the fortune entirely unknown..... 6

In protected industries, mainly..... 179
 In cattle raising..... 1
 Patented and proprietary articles..... 18
 Inherited, business in which the fortune was made unknown..... 14
 Origin of the fortune entirely unknown..... 6
 In industries not protected..... 885

Total..... 1,103

The millionaires of Europe have not been thus tabulated. Dr. C. B. Spahr (*Distribution of Wealth*, 1896) estimates for Great Britain that less than 2 per cent. of the families hold about three quarters of the wealth. In Prussia he finds that 10 per cent. of those receiving incomes hold nearly half the wealth. In Paris, 2½ per cent. of the incomes aggregate more than one half of all incomes. (See WEALTH.)

MILLS, HERBERT V., was born in 1856 in Accrington. Apprenticed as an engineer, he left this position and eventually became a Unitarian minister, with a chapel at Hamilton Road, Liverpool, and more recently at Market Place, Kendal. He founded the Home Colonization Society in 1887, and is now a leading director of the Starnwaite Colony, an experiment at employing the unemployed. (See LABOR COLONIES.) He is author of *Poverty and the State*, and other books and essays.

MINES.—(See COAL ; IRON ; GOLD ; SILVER. For other countries than the United States, see those countries. For wages of miners, see WAGES.) The census of 1890 gives the following statistics of the total mineral products of the United States for 1889 :

RECAPITULATION.
 In protected industries, mainly..... 1,125
 In cattle raising and lands, mainly..... 47
 In making special patented and proprietary articles..... 93
 Inherited, original business in which the fortune was made unknown..... 34

TOTAL VALUE OF THE MINERAL PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES, BY STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1889.

Total	\$587,230,662	Nebraska	\$257,019
Alabama	\$9,828,369	Nevada	10,143,874
Alaska	926,568	New Hampshire	920,164
Arizona	7,248,717	New Jersey	8,275,936
Arkansas	567,683	New Mexico	4,611,764
California	19,699,354	New York	24,105,206
Colorado	41,126,610	North Carolina	451,625
Connecticut	3,099,161	North Dakota	61,431
Delaware	506,754	Ohio	26,653,439
District of Columbia	40,000	Oregon	1,238,114
Florida	138,728	Pennsylvania	150,876,649
Georgia	2,988,935	Rhode Island	987,055
Idaho	8,385,233	South Carolina	3,022,285
Illinois	17,110,317	South Dakota	3,685,862
Indiana	9,704,949	Tennessee	6,455,283
Indian Territory	1,333,897	Texas	1,985,679
Iowa	10,267,668	Utah	11,681,019
Kansas	5,935,981	Vermont	5,674,022
Kentucky	4,171,944	Virginia	6,023,076
Louisiana	480,000	Washington	2,998,355
Maine	8,126,493	West Virginia	6,969,804
Maryland	5,086,447	Wisconsin	10,183,861
Massachusetts	3,700,634	Wyoming	1,810,515
Michigan	79,880,548	Mexican lead smelted in the United States..	2,343,474
Minnesota	11,542,138	Undistributed copper	389,273
Mississippi	41,174	Nickel in imported Canadian matte	21,000
Missouri	15,931,575	Copper from imported pyrites	603,940
Montana	33,737,775	Fuel displaced by natural gas used at pipe lines for drilling and pumping wells and for other uses	1,600,000

VALUE OF PRODUCTION, SUM OF OPERATING EXPENSES, AND AMOUNT OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE PRINCIPAL MINERAL INDUSTRIES, 1889.

PRODUCTS.	Value of Production.	Operating Expenses.	Capital Invested.
METALLIC:			
Iron ore	\$33,351,978	\$24,781,658	\$109,766,199
Gold and silver	99,283,732	63,451,136	486,323,338
Copper	26,907,809	12,662,180	62,623,228
Quicksilver	1,199,500	681,401	*1,333,114
Nickel and cobalt	149,000	126,187	279,000
NONMETALLIC:			
Manganese ore	240,559	123,958	2,188,950
Coal, bituminous	94,346,809	85,324,193	180,722,319
Coal, anthracite	66,879,514	61,212,087	162,035,610
Petroleum	26,063,240	8,546,900	114,157,370
Natural gas	†11,044,858	14,920,886	59,622,154
Asphaltum	171,537	98,337	2,651,500
Stone quarries, building	\$53,935,620	49,772,803	99,212,433
Phosphate rock	2,937,776	1,985,511	6,131,718
Gypsum	764,118	433,347	2,473,175
Infusorial earth	23,372	16,678	110,750
Corundum	105,565	57,105	73,400
Millstones	35,155	21,384	54,945
Whetstones	32,980	23,804	57,510
Mica	‡52,450	58,335	691,550
Asbestos	1,800	3,225	42,600
Graphite	¶72,662	54,741	259,475
Soapstone	231,708	163,438	924,900
Barytes	106,313	64,807	351,150
Ochre	177,472	86,247	386,453
Metallic paint	286,294	163,787	462,164
Fluorspar	45,835	22,246	192,000
Sulphur	7,850	4,110	320,750
Pyrites	202,119	163,256	1,358,882
Mineral waters	1,748,458	1,168,751	5,994,683

* Estimated. † Matte at the mines.
 ‡ Amount received by producers. Value of coal and wood displaced by use, \$21,007,009.
 § Including value of stone used for lime, \$8,217,015; for iron flux, \$1,569,312; for grindstones, \$439,587.
 ¶ Including scraps, \$2450. ¶ Value of the crude product.

MINIMUM WAGE.—In 1874 Mr. Lloyd Jones, a London journalist in active touch with trade-unionists and cooperators, wrote, in *The Beehive*, a labor paper, for July 18, arguing against the principle of the sliding scale, then accepted by many working men, and especially the Northumberland miners (as it is still to-day

by some). The principle accepted the doctrine that wages should vary with prices. Mr. Jones declared this dangerous, and that the trade-unions should at least fix a *minimum wage*, below which their wages should not go. It should be, Mr. Jones wrote, "such one as will secure sufficiency of food and some degree of

personal home comfort to the worker, not a miserable allowance to starve on, but a living wage." Professor Beesley wrote soon after, in the same paper, supporting Mr. Jones's idea, and saying, "All workmen should keep their eyes fixed on this ultimate ideal." The idea may not have been original with Mr. Jones, but he popularized it to some extent, and to-day the minimum, or living wage, is now much discussed in England.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION. See PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

MIR, THE (from Russian *miru*, concord, *peace*), is the name of the Russian communities of peasants. From the most ancient times the rural population of Russia has been organized into these *mir*s. The land of the *mir* is held in common, the part of it devoted to cultivation being allotted by general vote to the several families on varying terms. Redivisions and equalizations of lots are made periodically; the portion used for dwelling portions is usually theoretically held in common, but practically divided for long periods; the land for grazing is usually undivided. Each *mir* governs itself in all local matters through its elected officers. Widows or women temporarily deprived of their husbands may vote. The land is divided with attempt at equality in proportion to the needs and abilities of each family. Adjacent *mir*s are united into *volasts* or small cantons. The system, however, is changing. (See RUSSIA.) The freeing of the serfs and division of the soil gave each too little land to enable him to live, and the lords are gradually buying or getting it back. The great difference between the *mir* and the *mark* (*q.v.*) is that the members of the *mir* had no voice in the general government. (See MARK; MANOR; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.)

MISSISSIPPI SCHEME, a scheme started in Paris in 1717 by John Law. Its object was to relieve the French finances. Law established a private bank, and managed it so successfully that in 1718 it became a royal bank. Then the West India Company was formed. To this company the province of Louisiana was granted. It was intrusted with the collection of all taxes and of the royal revenue. It issued paper money freely, but accepted the paper at a premium over specie in payment for shares in the company. A frenzy of speculation seized the nation, from prince to peasant; 2,700,000,000 livres of paper were issued. In 1719 the company shares sold for thirty times their original value. Shrewd speculators, however, began to draw gold from the banks. Legislation tried to limit the amount of gold any one might draw. In 1720 a royal bank was incorporated with the company, and May 21 an edict was issued reducing the value of the bank-notes and company shares one half. This burst the bubble, and universal bankruptcy and distress ensued.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—The name given to a law that became a landmark in the Abolitionist struggle. In the session of Congress 1818-19 a bill was introduced to admit Missouri as a State, but prohibit slavery therein.

There was a long and brilliant debate, but finally a compromise was agreed upon, chiefly through the influence of Henry Clay. Missouri was admitted as a slave State February 23, 1821, but at the same time an ordinance was enacted by which slavery should be forever excluded from all territory west of Missouri and north of the parallel 36° 30' (the southern boundary of Missouri). This agreement held till 1854, when the bills establishing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska virtually repealed the compromise, determined the formation of the Republican Party (*q.v.*), and led to the Civil War.

MODEL TENEMENTS. See TENEMENTS.

MOLINARI, GUSTAVE DE, was born March 3, 1819, at Liege. He studied medicine in Brussels, and wrote several works on medicine. Afterward he settled in Paris, where he turned his attention to political science and economy. Returning to Brussels in 1852, he became Professor of Political Economy at the Musée Royal de l'Industrie Belge. Since 1881 he has again lived in Paris as editor-in-chief of the *Journal des Economistes*. With his brother Eugen he founded two periodicals, the *Economiste belge* and *La bourse du travail*.

MONARCHY (from Greek *μοναρχία*, the rule of one) is the form of government in which the supreme power is actually or nominally lodged in the hands of one person, a king or queen. England is a monarchy, because altho the Queen of England is believed by many to have less power in government than the President of the United States, and tho the governing power is in the hands of her ministers, who are subject to Parliament, all government and legislation is in the name of the queen or the ruling monarch. Monarchies are classed as *limited* or *constitutional* and *absolute* or *despotic*, according as the sovereign is or is not limited in his power and functions by the laws or constitutions of the realm. More or less limited monarchies have nearly always existed. From the fifteenth to the close of the eighteenth century monarchies became almost absolute. To-day, except in Asia, absolute monarchy has all but disappeared. Monarchies are usually *successive*—*i.e.*, their monarchs succeed by inheritance. There have been, however, *elective* monarchies, where the monarchs were elected, as formerly in Poland. The German Roman Empire was nominally elective, but for many centuries at the last the heir of the monarch was invariably elected. (For the principles involved in monarchies, see STATE.)

MONASTICISM is a state of religious retirement, more or less complete, and supposed to be accompanied by contemplation and various devotional, philanthropic, or ascetical practices. Monasticism doubtless began in the East, and has entered more or less into almost all religious systems. The aim of the Buddhist monks was to mortify all human passions, to separate and isolate the sexes, to live by mendicancy, and relinquish all personal and individual rights. They overthrew many hoary Hindu superstitions, and raised the common life of the people.

For an account of Jewish monasticism, see ESENESES. The founder of Christian monasticism is generally believed to be St. Anthony. The anchorites of his class separated themselves almost wholly from society, receiving the visits of admirers and of the sick and needy. Occasionally they appeared as stern prophetic spirits from another world in the midst of any unusual pomp or ceremony in the towns. This solitary hermit life gradually gave way to cloister life, or monasticism proper.

Beginnings. At first the personal seclusion of individuals was combined with the existence of a common life; but the isolation became less and less. Not only did the members take upon them the vows of chastity and poverty, but elected a superior and vowed obedience to him. By degrees the monastery became the school for practical, philanthropic, and social Christian life. The monks divided their time between manual labor and their devotions, giving to the poor the surplus product of their work. Cloisters for females began to be established. In the eighth century a kind of middle order between monks and clergy was formed. Most of these had a common house and table; and some branches renounced all their possessions and claimed no private property. Some orders kept schools, and some nursed the sick. In the first part of the thirteenth century the two *mendicant* orders arose—the Franciscans and Dominicans. These orders broadened monasticism still farther, and formed the working classes into half monastic societies, which did not necessitate celibacy or isolation. It was by these two orders that monachism was raised to the height of its power, influence, and prosperity. They wandered over all Europe, instructing the people and attracting general admiration for their sanctity and self-denial. Their advice was eagerly sought in secular and political affairs. They became elevated to college professorships. At last their great influence drew upon them the hostility of the clergy, and their vast riches and prosperity brought about the envy of the nobility, and the ultimate degeneracy and downfall of the monks themselves. Again and again reforms were inaugurated only to be overwhelmed by the growing tide of self-indulgence. Laxity was followed by lust, ownership by avarice, liberality by ungodliness, and honest industry by every manner of corruption. This continued until the general confiscation of their lands and abolition of their privileges, when in a few years no less than 3000 monasteries were broken up in Europe.

But before wealth and influence brought corruption and enervation, the monasteries were centers of learning, of sanctity, and of benevolence. As has been well said, "they were for ten centuries the schools, the archives, the libraries, the hostleries, the studios, the penitentiaries, and the hospitals of Christian society." While it is not difficult in the nineteenth century to arraign monasticism for its fanaticism, its indifference to family life, its unhealthy asceticism, and its turning of the channels of religion into the desert, we must, in all justice, remember what it meant to have, in the rough and violent period of feudalism, monasteries, where

bruised and world-weary spirits found consolation; where the sick found medicine, the hungry found bread, and the benighted and storm-stayed traveler found welcome and rest. Feeble and timorous souls fled to the monasteries from a bloody and force-governed world. With their communal habits of life, their humble industry, and their penitent devotions, the monks formed little scattered islands of peace in the midst of an ocean of war. It was by them that manuscripts were copied and preserved and the chronicles of their times recorded. Monasteries were not mere asylums for broken hearts and disappointed ambitions; the young, the noble, and the brave were found also within their walls, drawn by their severe sanctity, their spirit of universal philanthropy, and their contempt for earthly show.

Altho the Reformation rejected monachism, several types of it have been and are still found in Protestantism. In Germany, both Lutherans and Evangelicals have formed houses of *deacons* and *deaconesses* for the purpose of teaching, healing the sick, visiting prisoners, etc. In the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, various brotherhoods and sisterhoods have been formed at various times, and have recently been somewhat multiplied, imitating to some extent medieval monastic associations with some modern features. In connection with the American Roman Catholic Church, there are over 300 nunneries and 128 monasteries. C.

MONETARY CONFERENCES.—The importance of the monetary question in recent times and the struggle for bimetallism has led to the holding of several international monetary conferences, in the calling of which the United States has played a leading part. Without considering some earlier less formal conferences, the first international conference met, at the call of the United States, in Paris, August 14, 1878, the Congress of the United States having made provision for calling such a conference if possible. All the prominent European Powers sent delegates except Germany. The only result was a calling attention to the evils seeming to spring from the demonetization of silver. Great Britain, Sweden, Belgium, and Switzerland declared that they would not give up gold monometallism, tho the British delegates strongly favored the full use of silver by other nations.

In 1881 France and the United States called a conference which met at Paris, April 19 of that year. Eighteen countries were represented, including Germany. England and Germany led the gold monometallist party, tho both were willing to make some concessions. The United States, Holland, and Italy led the bimetallists. The convention adjourned till the next year, to give the governments opportunity for reflection and negotiation; but it never reconvened. There were private conferences, especially in 1889, during the Exposition. In 1887 England appointed a royal commission to investigate the relations of gold and silver. It reported in 1888, six of the commission favoring gold monometallism and six favoring international bimetallism. The report of the gold

monometallists was remarkable for its admissions, and one of their number, L. H. Courtney, has since become a bimetalist.

In 1892, there seeming to be a general scarcity of gold, the United States called a third conference. All the European Powers responded, and also Mexico. The United States presented the thesis that "it is desirable that some measures should be found for increasing the use of silver in the currency systems of the nations." Germany, Austria and Russia declared that they had no power to vote. Great Britain, Spain, Denmark, Mexico, and Holland supported the proposition. Other countries were equivocal.

Mr. Alfred de Rothschild of the British delegation proposed that the different European powers should combine to make certain purchases, say to the extent of about £5,000,000 annually, such purchases to be continued over a period of five years, at a price not exceeding 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ounce standard; but if silver should rise above that price, purchases for the time being to be immediately suspended.

Mr. Rothschild accompanied this motion with a paper in which, while insisting upon gold monometallism as the sole possible policy for England, he recognized "great grievances both in India and China in connection with the silver question," such that "if anything could be done toward diminishing those grievances, it would be extremely desirable." He raised the question whether it were "not possible to extend the use of silver generally and thereby stop a further fall, the disastrous consequences of which no one can foresee." He could "see no objection to silver being made a legal tender in Great Britain up to £5, instead of £2, as it is at present." In conclusion Mr. Rothschild declared:

"If this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result, there would be a depreciation in the value of silver which it would be frightful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue the far-spreading effects of which it would be impossible to foretell."

Mr. Rothschild's proposition was much discussed, but objected to as compelling the United States to buy more silver than all Europe together. Many other plans were proposed, but nothing was agreed. Great Britain plainly, and Germany, Austria, and France among the greater Powers, virtually declared that they would not adopt bimetalism, tho favoring some compromise if possible. The conference finally adjourned to reconvene the next year, if the governments approved, but it never reconvened.

MONEY.—(See CURRENCY for a historical sketch of United States currency, and BANKS AND BANKING; BIMETALLISM; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; CRISES; DEBTS; FINANCE; GREENBACK PARTY; GOLD AND SILVER; MONOMETALLISM; PAPER MONEY, and SILVER, for especial topics.) In this article we treat of money in general, describing the economic nature and function of money, with a sketch of the history of money.

To define the word *money* is both easy and difficult. It is not difficult to define it in almost any one of two or three meanings; but the trouble is that the word is used, and even by writers of repute, in

Definition. more senses than one, and these various senses are so various that no definition can be well made to cover them all. It will be necessary, therefore, to give at least three distinct definitions.

1. *Money* is sometimes used, altho with the least authority, to mean gold and silver or other metal currency, in contradistinction from paper

currency. This use is uncommon, and almost never found in economic writings, but is sometimes met with in popular speech.

2. By *money* is sometimes meant whatever the law declares to be "legal tender" in exchange or in payment of debt. "Legal tender" is that which the law compels a person to receive in payment of debt. This is money in its narrowest sense. It has the "fiat" of government upon it—*i. e.*, government declares or "makes it" to be money. Any man can offer such money to his creditor and compel him to take it at its face value; if the creditor refuse, the debtor is no longer legally liable for the debt. This is the legal sense, and a frequent sense of the word in political economy; but usually, for the sake of clearness, the phrase "legal tender" is used for such money.

3. *Money* is ordinarily used in political economy to mean any article ordinarily in use as a medium of exchange. It has been said that in this sense, "*Money is that money does*" (Walker). To give a more exact definition, we may use Mr. Walker's, which has been widely adopted:

"Money is that which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it, or apply it to any other use than, in turn, to tender it to others in discharge of debts or full payment for commodities" (*Money, Trade and Industry*, p. 4).

FUNCTIONS OF MONEY.

The first function of money is to be a *medium of exchange*. When our earliest ancestors desired to exchange any goods, they did it by direct *barter* or exchange of goods.

The operation is also called *truck* (French, *troc*, barter). Among uncivilized races trade is still carried on in this way; a traveler going into the interior of South Africa takes a stock of beads, knives, pieces of iron, looking-glasses, etc., in order that he may always have something which the natives will like to receive in exchange for food or services. People still occasionally barter things in England or the United States, but this is seldom done, owing to the trouble which it gives.

These difficulties have early caused all races at all civilized to adopt some one article as a common medium of exchange or *money*. Thus, money being exchangeable by custom or by law, if it be legal tender, a man who has any article to sell sells it *for money* to anybody who will buy it, not having to seek an article in exchange, because, having got the money, he can go and buy whatever article he himself wants from any person who has the article he desires. Thus money fulfills its first function of being a *medium of exchange*.

A second function hardly inferior in importance to the one just mentioned is that of affording a ready means of estimating the comparative value of different commodities. Indeed, it may be reasonably maintained that the idea of

general value could not be formed without the existence of money. The adoption of some one commodity renders the comparison of values easy. "The chosen commodity becomes a *common denominator* or *common measure of value* in terms of which we estimate the values of all other goods" (Jevons).

A *third* function of money soon develops itself. Commerce cannot advance far before people begin to borrow and lend, and debts of various origin are contracted. One of the most distinctive features of advancing civilization is the increasing tendency of people to trust each other. Now a contract implies something to be done in the future, and for estimating the value of that future act a standard is required; and money, which already acts as a *medium of exchange* and as a *measure of value* at a given time, performs a third function by affording an approximate means of estimating the value of the future act, and in this respect may be regarded as a *standard of value*, or, as it is sometimes said, of *deferred payments*.

As we shall see later, this is one of the most important uses of money; but now we pass on. Money sometimes also serves a *fourth* purpose—that of embodying value in a convenient form for conveyance to distant places. Something which is very valuable, altho of little bulk and weight, and which will be recognized as very valuable in every part of the world, is necessary for this purpose. The current money of a country is perhaps more likely to fulfill these conditions than anything else, altho diamonds and other precious stones and articles of exceptional beauty and rarity might be employed.

Such are the main economic functions that *money* is designed to fulfill.

We pass on to consider what are the qualities that should characterize the commodity we adopt as money. The *first* quality needed is general acceptability. Money cannot discharge its prime function

Qualities of Good Money. unless everybody, or almost everybody, is willing to accept it. This general acceptability can, however, be secured to a great extent by means of a law, making any kind of commodity legal tender—*i.e.*, requiring all who are subject to the law to accept it as a full and final discharge of obligations. If, however, the Government chooses an unsuitable commodity, the law will be evaded and barter will be resorted to.

The second quality which it is desirable that money should possess is durability, and that *without deterioration*. Cattle and wheat are used as money by some savage tribes, but both of these lack this quality. Gold and jewels possess it in a high degree.

The third of the desirable qualities is portability. Cattle are good in this respect, as they carry themselves. Wheat is bad, as its value compared to its bulk is low. Gold is good; but from this point of view diamonds would be still better.

The fourth and fifth of the desirable qualities are *divisibility* and *uniformity*. Under the latter we may include that the quality is easily defined. Hitherto jewels have seemed even more suitable than gold, but they do not fulfill these requirements. Their value is not easily tested

or attested; and to divide them is difficult and destructive of their value. Metals, on the other hand, are easily coined in any degree of purity. The stamp, edges, etc., serve to prevent willful mutilation, and as gold and silver possess also the qualities of durability and portability in a high degree, they have, very largely, been adopted as money.

There is, however, a *sixth* quality very desirable in money, which gold and silver do not possess to anything like the extent that could be wished. This quality may be described as *steadiness of value*. We have seen that money is generally used as a standard of deferred payments. Now, if the delays in payment were always brief, gold and silver would admirably fulfill this purpose. A hundredweight of gold will exchange to-day for about the same quantity of most other commodities as it would have done six months ago. But if the interval is a long one the fluctuations in the exchange value of gold are very serious.

How this evil can be best remedied is to-day the most-discussed monetary question. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALLISM; MONOMETALLISM.) We pass on to notice one more desirable quality in money which is what Jevons calls *cognizability*. He says:

"By this name we may denote the capability of a substance for being easily recognized and distinguished from all other substances. As a medium of exchange, money has to be continually handed about, and it will occasion great trouble if every person receiving currency has to scrutinize, weigh, and test it. If it requires any skill to discriminate good money from bad, poor ignorant people are sure to be imposed upon. Hence the medium of exchange should have certain distinct marks which nobody can mistake. Precious stones, even if in other respects good as money, could not be so used, because only a skilled lapidary can surely distinguish between true and imitation gems.

"Under cognizability we may properly include what has been aptly called *impressibility*, namely, the capability of a substance to receive such an impression, seal, or design as shall establish its character as current money of certain value."

We may now consider some of the general principles which govern the use of money, confining our attention to those which apply to all money. (For a discussion of fiat, paper, or representative money, see PAPER MONEY.)

The first principle is that the supreme quality in money is that it should express a standard of value which will not vary. But value (*g.v.*) merely expresses the exchange ratio between commodities, and this is always more or less changing. It is impossible, therefore, to get a standard which will never change, and the best that can be done is to approximate this. Which money does this best is disputed; some think it is gold; others gold and silver used together; others paper money issued in certain quantities. (For these various views, see MONOMETALLISM; BIMETALLISM; MULTIPLE STANDARD; PAPER MONEY.)

Secondly, we must recognize the force of habit in using particular forms of money and having confidence on it. Jevons says on this point:

"No one can possibly understand many social phenomena unless he constantly bears in mind the force of habit and social convention.

This is strikingly true in our subject of money. Over and over again in the course of history powerful rulers have endeavored to put new coins into circulation or to withdraw old ones; but the instincts of self-interest or habit in the people have been too strong for laws and penalties. Tho in particular instances it may be difficult to explain occurrences which happen in the circulation of coins, yet a close analysis of the character of those who handle money, and their motives for holding it or paying it away, will throw much light upon the subject."

The third principle that we most notice and one of the most important is the so-called Gresham's Law (from Sir Thomas Gresham, who lived in England in the Elizabethan period). This law asserts that when two or more kinds of legal money contend for use in the market, the worst kind of money that is legal will drive the better kinds out of circulation. The reason is simple. When a person pays out any money he inclines to get rid of the worst money he has with which he can legally settle the account. He keeps the best money himself. Consequently the worst money circulates the most and the best is hoarded or driven out of circulation. Hence the necessity of keeping all the money in circulation at par, unless a nation is willing to go to the exclusive use of the worst money.

A fourth principle, and perhaps in modern times the most important of all, is that the quantity of money should be commensurate with the demand for a medium of exchange, because if the amount of money in a country is not increased in proportion to the demand for it, it will rise in value, and thus become a variable standard. Hence the money that is most invariable in value will be that which varies in quantity most exactly in conformity with the demand for it. Hence a currency inelastic in *quantity* may be the most dishonest money, and a currency elastic in *quantity* may be made the most honest.

An elastic currency, however, may also be made dishonest. It depends wholly on how it is varied in quantity. So far as quantity is concerned it should vary exactly with the demand for it, thus, so far as quantity is concerned, being perfectly stable in value. An elastic currency, therefore, at least permits of stability of value; an inelastic currency cannot be honest unless there is no change either in the population of a country or in the use that population has for money. It is not enough merely for a circulation to expand with population, but must expand or contract with the use the population has for money. If a civilization grows more intricate and involved, there are ordinarily more cash transactions, and therefore there is more demand for money. The grave and important questions that arise out of variations in the amount of money are well known. A currency increasing in volume out of proportion to the demand robs creditors; a diminishing currency robs debtors. We here are simply concerned with the principles. (For the important complications and results that grow out of this principle, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; BIMETALLISM; MONOMETALLISM; PAPER MONEY; SILVER.) We pass now to the

HISTORY OF MONEY.

The first money used seems to have been fur and skins, because the first societies which made exchanges lived by hunting. Some tribes still use fur and skins. The next stage of society was pastoral, and the corresponding money was cattle or some domesticated animal. The word *pecunia* (Latin for money), whence our word *pecuniary* is probably derived from *pecus*, cattle. In uncivilized portions of the world cattle are still used to express value. A wife, a slave, etc., are still said to be worth so many head of cattle. More advanced communities used articles of ornament, such as shells, like the wampumpeag of the North American Indians, or the ring money of many countries. Agricultural or other natural products were used. Tobacco was commonly used for money in the North American colonies; codfish were used in Newfoundland; cubes of pressed tea in Tartary; sugar in the West Indies. The next stage was the use of various manufactured articles, such as a preparation of leather by the Carthaginians, silk by the Chinese, nails in Scotland, bullets and wampum in Massachusetts.

Metals, however, have been mainly used except in the earliest times. Of metals almost every kind has been used—iron, lead, tin, platinum, nickel, copper, and, above all, silver and gold. Iron has been used until very recently in Japan for small values. In the Homeric age it is said to have been more valued than copper. It rusts, is easily counterfeited, is very heavy, and to-day too cheap to have much intrinsic value, while it is not suited for representative money. (See PAPER MONEY.) Tin was probably early used; the first known instance being by Dionysius of Syracuse. It is thought to have formed the first English coinage. It has been used in Mexico and in Java. Roman emperors and English kings struck tin coins. It is, however, too soft and breakable for much use, and to-day too cheap for intrinsic money. Tin farthings were, however, issued in England as late as 1690. Lead is still more soft, but has been largely employed. Its use is frequently mentioned in the classic poets. It was used in the form of bullets in Massachusetts. It is still employed, or was very recently, in Burmah. Platinum has been used in Russia. It is one of the rarer metals, but very difficult and costly to melt. Nickel is used solely as convenient in making alloys. Copper was one of the first known metals, and is still in use for minor coins everywhere. The earliest Hebrew coins are thought to have been copper, and the metallic currency of Rome down to 269 B. C. was an impure copper or *æs*. It formed the main money of Russia and Sweden in the last century. It is, however, too cheap to have much intrinsic value.

Silver has been the main metal for coinage in historical times. Abraham (Gen. 23 : 16) is said to have paid out shekels of silver, tho this was a weight of silver, not coin. Herodotus attributes the first use of coined gold and silver to the Lydians, tho he also says that the first Greek coinage was made by Pheidon of Argos at Ægina (895 B. C.). Metal first passed every-

where by weight, a system said to have been of Assyrio-Babylonian origin. The talent was originally a weight of silver or gold.

Only later did governments stamp **Early Coins**, on coins an indication of their weight, fineness, and resultant value—the *hall mark* as Jevons calls it. The shape was at first varied—square, hexagonal, octagonal, or round; only later did the round form, and still later the milled edge prevail to prevent clipping and unconscious loss. The standard coin of Athens was the silver drachma, worth six oboli, or about 20 cents. The old Greek talent of silver weighed about 82 lbs. avoirdupois. The Attic talent weighed 57 lbs. of silver. The earliest Roman money was the copper *as*. Silver was introduced 269 B.C.—the silver *denarius*, and was at first about $\frac{7}{8}$ of a Roman pound, but was later debased. A gold coinage seems to have been introduced in Rome, tho little used, as early as 218 B.C. Gold was to silver in proportion just about as silver was to copper, or about 1 to 10.

After the fall of the Roman Empire various silver coins were used. Charlemagne undertook to introduce a general system of money based on the silver pound, known in England as the Troy pound of 12 oz., but the breaking up of his empire prevented this general use. It passed, however, into England, and the pound was divided into 240 pence (*denarii*), 12 of which constituted a shilling (*solidus*). Twenty shillings thus represented a silver pound. Hence the name "pound." The first English gold coin seems to have been that of Henry III. in 1257, when a number of gold pennies were coined at a value to silver of 10 to 1. The first regular series of gold coinage in England, however, dates from 1344, under Edward III. In France, after the breaking of the empire of Charlemagne, 150 povers are said to have issued money. Debase-

Debasements. ment of money became the rule in France. The first debasement of coinage established in history is when Solon (599 B.C.) debased the quantity of silver in the Athenian coins over 25 per cent. Professor Bastable, in an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, thinks it to have been successful, and probably necessary. It was probably not the only Greek debasement, and in Roman history debasement of the coinage was frequent.

The first debasement in English history was in 1300, when Edward I. slightly debased the silver coinage. The practice, however, became common, especially from 1543-52, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. It wholly ceased, however, after the sixteenth century. Scotch coins were much more debased than English. In France, debasements did not stop with the sixteenth century. Professor Bastable says in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:

"The final result was that in 1789 the livre had come to only $\frac{1}{5}$ of its weight in the time of Charlemagne. At the Revolution it was converted into the franc, at the rate of 81 livres to 80 frs. It is not, however, to be supposed that the changes in the French currency were always toward debasement. The terrible evils arising from the debased coinage led to a general outcry, which in some cases was so strong as to force the king of the time to reform the monetary standard; one striking instance occurred in the reign of Philip IV.,

whose dealings with the currency led to his receiving the epithet of 'le faux monnoyeur.'"

These depreciations point to the very variable value of metallic money. Allison, in his *History of Europe*, says:

"The two greatest events in the history of mankind have been brought about by a successive contraction and expansion in the circulating medium of society. The fall of the Roman Empire, so long ascribed in ignorance to slavery, to heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the silver and gold mines of Spain and Greece. . . . The annual supply of the precious metals—of money—for the use of the globe was tripled; before a century had elapsed the price of every species of produce was quadrupled. The weight of debt and taxation insensibly wore off under the influence of that prodigious increase; in the renovation of industry, the relations of society were changed, the weight of feudalism cast off, the rights of man established."

This is, however, undoubtedly an extreme and a partial view. The corruption of the Roman Empire and the incursion of hordes of uncorrupted Germanic tribes cannot be lightly shuffled off as causes of the fall of Rome, nor can the new life of the sixteenth century be so largely attributed to the influx of gold and silver from the mines and treasures of Mexico and Peru. A hundred causes, political, intellectual, religious, and social, led to the new activity of the modern age. Feudalism in England at least was shuffled off before the gold and silver came. The rights of man were not even much preached till long after the discovery of America. Yet undoubtedly the scarcity of money in the Middle Ages and the influx of gold and silver from the New World were potent factors in the history of mankind.

Through the Middle Ages the supply of gold and silver was limited. The report of the recent United States Monetary Commission says:

"At the Christian era the metallic money of the Roman Empire amounted to \$1,800,000,000. By the end of the fifteenth century it had shrunk to less than \$200,000,000."

William Jacob, F.R.S., gives the following table of the amount of metallic money:

A. D. 14.....	\$1,790,000,000
A. D. 230....	909,000,000
A. D. 410.....	537,000,000
A. D. 662.....	256,000,000
A. D. 806.....	168,000,000

All such tables are more or less conjectural, however; the only fact that is generally accepted being that during the Dark Ages mines were little worked. About 800 A. D. the Moors in Spain began to rework her mines, and are supposed from that date to have counteracted the loss by wear and exportation, and accordingly we may regard the metallic supply as fixed in amount until the next change in the conditions of production, which was the result of the discovery of America. The conquest of Mexico (1519) gave opportunities of working the silver mines of that country, while the first mines of Chili and Peru were almost simultaneously discovered, and in 1545 those of Potosi were laid open. From this latter date we may regard the American supply as an influential factor in the matter, and look upon the stock of money as increasing. The annual addition to the store of money has been estimated as £2,100,000 for the period from 1545-1600. At this date the Brazilian supply began.

At the commencement of this century the annual production of gold has been estimated as being from £2,500,000 to £3,000,000. The year 1809 seems to mark an epoch in the production of these metals, since the outbreak of the revolts of the various Spanish dependencies in South America tended to check the usual supply from those countries, and a marked increase in the value of money was the consequence. During the period 1809-49 the value of gold and silver rose to about two and a half times their former level, notwithstanding fresh discoveries in Asiatic Russia. The annual yield in 1849 was estimated at £8,000,000. The next important date for our present purpose is the year 1848, when the Californian mines were opened, while in 1851 the Australian discoveries took place. By these events an enormous mass of gold was added to the world's supply. The most careful estimates fix the addition during the years 1851-71 at £500,000,000, or an amount nearly equal to the former stock in existence.

It is from these variations in the quantity, and therefore in the value of money, that the modern history of money takes its rise. The various coins of uncertain value in the Middle Ages, many of them depreciated by governments, by private money-clippers, or by use, gave occasion to the custom in Venice, Genoa, and perhaps elsewhere, of placing them in so-called banks, having them carefully valued by experts, and the depositors receiving various receipts for the same, which receipts circulated as money, often with a premium above coin, and often enduring even long after the coin deposited in the banks had been seized by ruthless kings or dishonest speculators. In this custom probably lies the beginning of paper money, which henceforth plays so large a part in the history of money, and for an account of which see articles PAPER MONEY; BANKS AND BANKING; BANK OF VENICE, etc.

Again, in the experience of England with depreciations of currency and in the fall of money values occasioned by the influx of gold and silver when the New World was discovered, is the occasion for the comparatively early commitment of England to the doctrine of gold monometallism (*q.v.*), which has led to the greatest monetary changes and monetary conflicts of modern times. Up to the year 1819 almost all nations, as we have seen, issued coins of both gold and silver, as well as of other metals, and tried to regulate their relative values by royal or governmental proclamations. Altho supply and demand continually tended to change the relative value of the two metals, and altho from about 1760-1810 enormous quantities of silver poured into the world from mines in Mexico and elsewhere (so that in 1800 the world's annual silver product was nearly three times its product in 1700), the actual alteration in the relative values aforesaid was but slight. In 1803, therefore, France adopted her famous law making 15½ parts of silver equal to one part of gold in all transactions. England, however, in 1816, under the second Lord Liverpool, took an opposite course, and demonetized silver as a standard.

From this time on the history of money becomes the history of the bimetallic controversy, for which we refer our readers to the article BIMETALLISM; see also PAPER MONEY. For the history of money in the United States, see CURRENCY.

References: W. S. Jevons's *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1879); F. A. Walker's *Money* (1878); W. G. Sumner's *History of American Currency* (1878); E. B. Andrews' *An Honest Dollar*; A. J. Fonda's *Honest Money* (1895). See also BIMETALLISM.

The following table, compiled from the report of the Director of the United States Mint, gives the present approximate amount of money in the world:

COUNTRIES.	Ratio between Gold and Full Legal Tender Silver.	Ratio between Gold and Limited Tender Silver.	Gold Stock.	Silver Stock.	Uncovered Notes.	PER CAPITA.			
						Gold.	Silver.	Pa-per.	Total.
United States	1 to 15.98	1 to 14.95	\$661,000,000	\$624,000,000	\$469,000,000	\$9.81	\$9.25	\$6.96	\$26.02
United Kingdom	1 to 14.28	1 to 14.28	549,000,000	112,000,000	127,000,000	14.17	2.04	3.33	20.44
France	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	800,000,000	500,000,000	110,000,000	20.89	13.05	2.87	36.81
Germany	1 to 13.957	1 to 13.957	618,000,000	215,000,000	84,000,000	12.51	4.35	1.70	18.56
Belgium	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	54,000,000	54,900,000	54,000,000	8.85	9.00	8.85	26.70
Italy	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	96,000,000	16,500,000	179,000,000	3.16	.54	5.89	9.59
Switzerland	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	15,000,000	15,000,000	12,000,000	5.17	5.17	4.14	14.48
Greece	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	500,000	3,000,000	23,400,000	.23	1.36	10.63	12.22
Spain	1 to 15½	1 to 14.38	40,000,000	155,000,000	105,000,000	2.28	8.86	6.00	17.14
Portugal	1 to 14.08	1 to 14.08	40,000,000	10,000,000	40,000,000	8.51	2.13	10.42	21.06
Austria-Hungary	1 to 13.60	1 to 13.60	124,000,000	85,000,000	187,000,000	3.00	2.06	4.53	9.59
Netherlands	1 to 15½	1 to 15	19,000,000	56,000,000	37,000,000	4.13	12.17	8.04	24.34
Scandinavian Union	1 to 14.88	1 to 14.88	28,000,000	12,000,000	12,000,000	....	....	....	....
Russia	1 to 15½	1 to 15	422,000,000	41,000,000	550,100,000	3.40	.33	4.44	8.17
Turkey	1 to 15½	1 to 15½	50,000,000	44,000,000	....	1.27	1.12	....	2.39
Australia	1 to 14.28	1 to 14.28	105,000,000	7,000,000	....	24.42	1.63	....	26.05
Egypt	1 to 15.68	1 to 15.68	120,000,000	15,000,000	....	17.65	2.20	....	19.85
Mexico	1 to 16½	....	5,000,000	50,000,000	2,000,000	.44	4.38	.18	5.00
Central America	1 to 15½	....	....	8,000,000	4,000,000	.15	2.42	1.21	3.78
South America	1 to 15½	....	45,000,000	30,000,000	600,000,000	1.31	.87	17.49	19.67
Japan	1 to 16.18	....	50,700,000	81,300,000	....	.99	2.01	....	4.00
India	1 to 15	....	....	950,000,000	37,000,000	....	3.31	.13	3.44
China .....	....	....	....	725,000,000	....	....	1.80	....	1.80
The Straits .....	....	....	....	110,000,000	....	....	28.04	....	28.04
Canada	1 to 14.95	1 to 14.95	14,000,000	5,000,000	29,000,000	2.92	1.04	6.04	10.00
Cuba, Hayti, etc.	1 to 15½	....	21,000,000	4,400,000	....	....	....	....	....
Total .....	....	....	\$3,901,900,000	\$3,931,100,000	\$2,700,000,000	....	....	....	....

The following table gives the values of foreign coins in United States money, proclaimed by the Secretary of the Treasury, October 1, 1895 :

COUNTRY.	Standard.	Monetary Unit.	Value in United States Gold Dollar.	Coins.
Argentine Republic	Gold and Silver.	Peso	\$0.965	Gold: argentine (\$4.82,4) and ½ argentine. Silver: peso and divisions.
Austria-Hungary...	Gold.....	Crown .....	.20,3	{ Gold: former system—4 florins (\$1.92,9), 8 florins (\$3.85,8), ducat (\$2.28,7) and 4 ducats (\$9.15,8). Silver: 1 and 2 florins. Gold: present system 20 crowns (\$4.05,2) and 10 crowns (\$2.02,6).
Belgium	Gold and Silver.	Franc.....	.19,3	Gold: 10 and 20 francs. Silver: 5 francs.
Bolivia.....	Silver.....	Boliviano.....	.48,6	Gold: boliviano and divisions.
Brazil.....	Gold.....	Milreis.....	.54,6	Silver: 5, 10, and 20 milreis. Silver: ¼, 1, and 2 milreis.
Canada	Gold.....	Dollar.....	1.00	
Central America...	Silver.....	Peso.....	.48,6	Silver: peso and divisions.
Chile	Gold and Silver.	Peso.....	.91,2	Gold: escudo (\$1.82,4), doubloon (\$4.56,1), and condor (\$9.12,3). Silver: peso and divisions).
China.....	Silver.....	Tael { Shanghai.. Haikwan.. Tientsin... Cheefoo..	.71,8 .80,0 .76,2 .75,2	
Colombia.....	Silver.....	Peso .....	.48,6	Gold: condor (\$9.64,7) and double-condor. Silver: peso.
Cuba	Gold and Silver.	Peso .....	.92,6	Gold: doubloon (\$5.01,7). Silver: peso.
Denmark.....	Gold.....	Crown .....	.26,8	Gold: 10 and 20 crowns.
Ecuador	Silver.....	Sucre.....	.48,6	Gold: condor (\$9.64,7) and double-condor. Silver: sucre and divisions.
Egypt.....	Gold.....	Pound (100 piasters)....	4.94,3	Gold: pound (100 piasters), 5, 10, 20, and 50 piasters. Silver: 1, 2, 5, 10, and 20 piasters.
Finland.....	Gold.....	Mark.....	.19,3	Gold: 20 marks (\$3.85,9), 10 marks (\$1.93).
France.....	Gold and Silver.	Franc.....	.19,3	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 francs. Silver: 5 francs.
Germany	Gold.....	Mark.....	.23,8	Gold: 5, 10, and 20 marks.
Great Britain.....	Gold.....	Pound sterling.....	4.86,6½	Gold: sovereign (pound sterling) and ½ sovereign.
Greece.....	Gold and Silver.	Drachma.....	.19,3	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 drachmas. Silver: 5 drachmas.
Hayti.....	Gold and Silver.	Gourde. ....	.96,5	Silver: gourde.
India.....	Silver.....	Rupee .....	.23,1	Gold: mohur (\$7.10,5). Silver: rupee and divisions.
Italy	Gold and Silver.	Lira.....	.19,3	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 lire. Silver: 5 lire.
Japan.....	Gold & Silver*..	Yen.....	.99,7 .52,4	Gold: 1, 2, 5, 10, and 20 yen. Silver: yen.
Liberia.....	Gold	Dollar.....	1.00	
Mexico.....	Silver.....	Dollar.....	.52,8	Gold: dollar (\$0.98,3), 2½, 5, 10, and 20 dollars. Silver: dollar (or peso) and divisions.
Netherlands.....	Gold and Silver.	Florin.....	.40,2	Gold: 10 florins. Silver: ½, 1, and 2½ florins.
Newfoundland.....	Gold.....	Dollar.....	1.01,4	Gold: 2 dollars (\$2.02,7).
Norway.....	Gold.....	Crown .....	.26,8	Gold: 10 and 20 crowns.
Peru.....	Silver.....	Sol .....	.48,6	Silver: sol and divisions.
Portugal.....	Gold.....	Milreis.....	1.08	Gold: 1, 2, 5, and 10 milreis.
Russia	Silver†.....	Rouble.....	.77,2	Gold: imperial (\$7.71,8) and ½ imperial† (\$3.86).
Spain	Gold and Silver.	Peseta .....	.38,9	Silver: ¼, ½, and 1 rouble.
Sweden.....	Gold.....	Crown .....	.19,3	Gold: 25 pesetas. Silver: 5 pesetas.
Switzerland.....	Gold and Silver.	Franc.....	.26,8	Gold: 10 and 20 crowns.
Tripoli.....	Silver.....	Mahbub of 20 piasters..	.43,8	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 francs. Silver: 5 francs.
Turkey.....	Gold.....	Piaster.....	.04,4	Gold: 25, 50, 100, 250, and 500 piasters.
Venezuela...	Gold and Silver.	Bolivar.....	.19,3	Gold: 5, 10, 20, 50, and 100 bolivars. Silver: 5 bolivars.

* Gold the nominal standard; silver practically the standard.

† Coined since January 1, 1886; old half-imperial = \$3.98,6.

‡ Silver the nominal standard; paper the actual currency, the depreciation of which is measured by the gold standard.

References, see before table.

MONOMETALLISM is the theory, or the practice of the theory, that only one metal should be used as a standard of value in the coinage of a country, or, as it is sometimes defined, it is the use of only one metal as full legal tender. Any metal, so far as the definition

goes, could be used as the standard; but for reasons of convenience, confidence, and stability of value (see MONEY), civilized countries confine themselves to the metals gold or silver as the standard, and at present almost exclusively to the use of gold.

This being the case, we devote this article to a statement of and the arguments for gold

monometallism. (For a history of the money question in the United States, see CURRENCY. For general monetary principles, see MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; PAPER MONEY. For views opposed to monometallism, see BIMETALLISM; PAPER MONEY; SILVER. For statistics as to gold and as to silver, see GOLD and SILVER.)

GOLD MONOMETALLISM.

This view teaches that, at least in the present stage of civilization, the only money which should be used as primary money, and, therefore, as the standard of value, should be gold. Other metals, like silver, copper, etc., may be advantageously used for subsidiary coinage (small change, etc.); and various forms of credit money (bank-notes, letters of credit, private notes, Clearing House notes, etc.) may be used in the large amount of transactions, as they are used to-day; but gold should be the only standard.

The argument for this view rests mainly on a deduction from long experience, which we shall outline later; but it will serve clearness to notice first the general argument.

This is, in a word, that the main qualities of a standard of value should be invariability and the enjoyment of general confidence, and that gold furnishes these qualities far more than any other metal. It is not asserted that even gold never varies in value, that it may not have and has not at times appreciated, but it is asserted that gold varies less in value than any other standard which can be used. The fall of prices of which bimetalists and silver advocates make so much, gold monometallists say, is not primarily due to the appreciation of gold, but to improvements in production, and has, however occasioned, not worked the harm asserted; because if it has lowered prices it has raised the real wages of all wage-workers and receivers of fixed income; while as for producers not wage-workers, if it has lowered income, it has equally lowered expenses. Even debtors have been able to borrow at lower and lower rates of interest, so that, if their debts have appreciated, they have been able to multiply their production to pay off their

debts. The mortgage indebtedness of the country, of which so much is made, is really not an indication of depression, but of prosperity and of a demand for improvements. (See MORTGAGES.) Whatever modicum of loss has come from an appreciating gold standard is far more than atoned for by relief from the uncertainties of a double standard, or of a currency in which the public has no confidence. The two things most fatal to prosperity are uncertainty and lack of confidence as to the value of money. All else can be endured but these. The absence of these qualities takes the very life out of business, and oppresses particularly the working and poorer classes. When there is uncertainty and lack of confidence, people are afraid to invest, new undertakings are not started, old enterprises shut down or are curtailed, workers are discharged, distribution checked, demand lessened, and general stagnation produced. These are exactly the conditions we have to-day in the United States, and the cause, say the gold monometallists, is the constant fear of silver legislation and the consequent lack of confidence which we have had in the United States more or less for the last 20 years. It is not true that prices depend on the quantity of *legal-tender money*, but on the quantity of *all money*, and on the *quality* of the legal tender. If the quality of the legal-tender money be above suspicion—that is, enjoying absolute confidence—then upon that firm basis the *quantity* of bank notes, subsidiary coinage, and other forms of current money can be built which business demands. England has long had the single gold standard, unburdened by silver or other unsound legislation. Consequently England can get all the money she wants. The United States could have all the money she could use if people had confidence in her standard. A per capita circulation based on legal tender is misleading. The real question is the *quality* of the legal tender and the per capita circulation of *what is used for money resting on a firm basis*. *The People's Money* (vol. ii., No. 7, of *Sound Currency*, p. 24) gives the following table of the currency of the world, and the per capita circulation:

Quality Theory.

COUNTRIES.	Popula- tion.	Stock of Gold.	Stock of Silver.	Uncovered Paper.	PER CAPITA.				
					Gold.	Sil- ver.	Pa- per.	Bank Cred its.	Total.
United States.....	68,900,000	\$626,600,000	\$625,300,000	\$475,700,000	\$9.09	\$9.08	\$6.90	\$80.50	\$105.57
United Kingdom.....	38,800,000	550,000,000	112,000,000	113,400,000	14.18	2.88	2.92	120.00	139.98
France.....	38,300,000	825,000,000	492,200,000	88,000,000	21.54	12.85	2.31	35.00	71.70
Germany.....	49,400,000	625,000,000	215,000,000	88,000,000	12.65	4.35	1.78	25.00	43.78
Belgium.....	6,200,000	55,000,000	54,900,000	51,200,000	8.67	8.85	8.26	28.00	50.68
Italy.....	30,500,000	95,000,000	30,000,000	167,600,000	3.15	0.98	5.50	18.00	27.63
Switzerland.....	2,900,000	15,000,000	15,000,000	16,600,000	5.17	5.17	5.72	30.00	46.06
Spain.....	17,500,000	40,000,000	166,000,000	107,100,000	2.29	9.43	6.12	14.00	31.89
Portugal.....	4,700,000	38,900,000	24,800,000	55,500,000	8.27	5.48	11.81	11.00	36.36
Austria-Hungary.....	43,200,000	130,000,000	121,000,000	146,300,000	3.00	2.81	3.38	19.00	28.19
Netherlands.....	4,700,000	27,600,000	56,500,000	35,900,000	5.87	12.02	7.64	22.50	48.03
Norway.....	2,000,000	7,300,000	1,900,000	3,900,000	3.65	0.95	1.95	15.00	21.55
Sweden.....	4,800,000	6,500,000	4,800,000	16,500,000	1.35	1.00	3.44	26.50	32.29
Denmark.....	2,200,000	14,200,000	5,400,000	5,400,000	6.49	2.45	2.45	58.00	69.36
Russia and Finland.....	124,000,000	455,000,000	48,000,000	530,300,000	3.67	0.38	4.27	6.00	14.32

This table is made up from data given in the report of the director of the mint, 1894, and Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*.

It will be seen that England, tho she has a smaller per capita circulation of gold, silver, or paper money than either France or the United States, has a much larger per capita of circulation of what passes for money, because the quality of her standard of value is above suspicion. Quality infallibly leads to quantity; quantity without quality leads to shipwreck.

Such is the general argument for gold monometallism, but it is based on a long deduction from experience which we can here only abridge. Gold monometallism, say its supporters, is the natural mature product of advancing civilization. The gold conspiracy of which so many silver advocates make so much simply does not exist and never has been proven, however strongly asserted, because it never has existed. Each nation has come to the gold standard simply because it found it for its interest to do so. The "crime of '73," of which one hears so much, never took place. Silver had not been coined in the United States to any appreciable

degree for 40 years before 1873. It was in 1873 worth more as bullion than as money, so nobody desired it coined. The act of 1873 simply legally recognized demonetization, which had virtually been a fact for

40 years. Nor was it done surreptitiously or without knowledge. The measure was recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury in three successive messages; the bill was printed 13 times, considered through five sessions of Congress, and the debates concerning it occupy 140 pages of the *Congressional Record*, as any one may see. Most of the present prominent silver men who were in Congress at that time, like Senator Jones, voted for it. "The crime of 1873" exists, therefore, only in the heated imagination of the perhaps well-meaning but mistaken opponents of sound currency. So with Germany's demonetization of silver, commenced in 1871 and completed in 1873. When the new German Empire was established she found herself confronted with several different systems of legal-tender silver coins, besides gold and paper. The paying of the French war indemnity allowed her to go to the single gold standard; it seemed the simplest and best step, and was taken. So with other nations; so with England, which first came to the single gold standard. Hitherto all the world had used both gold and silver or other commodities, but they had worked great evil because of the continual changes and uncertainty of value between silver and gold. In France, there were 26 changes of ratio of silver to gold between 1602 and 1773. England had had a long and bitter experience of currency debasement (see MONEY), and when that was over had found her silver so worn that it was not worth its face value. In 1774 she had been compelled on this account to limit the legal-tender value of silver to £25. But even this was not enough. New good silver was driven out of circulation by the old poor silver; so finally, in 1816, she adopted the single gold standard, and has continued it successfully ever since. Other countries did not come to it for nearly 50 years. France, said by bimetalists to have practised bimetalism successfully from 1803

to 1873, did not really have bimetalism. The market ratio of gold and silver continually varied during that period from 15.40 to 16.25, and the cheaper metal continually drove out the dearer, sometimes gold, sometimes silver. At last even France had to come to gold. All the great nations of the earth thus have been compelled by their own experiences to come to the gold standard.

It is not denied by gold monometallists that theoretically a fiat currency could be sustained under proper limitations (see PAPER MONEY; MULTIPLE STANDARD), and some of them admit that this may be the money to which civilization may ultimately come; but this, they say, is very far in the future, and can be considered only when human nature and public confidence have reached a far greater height than at present. To-day, experience manifestly teaches that the only path of safety is to keep to the gold standard, and meanwhile to expand private paper money just so far as confidence is developed. Says *The People's Money* (p. 17):

"Inconvertible paper money issued by a government may be maintained at a parity of value with metallic money, provided the following conditions, five in number, exist:

"1. There must be a monetary unit, as in the case of convertible paper money.

"2. There must be a considerable volume of metallic money in the country, and sufficient foreign trade, or other specific use for coins to keep them in general circulation.

"3. The government must make no distinction in its dealings with the people between the two kinds of money; both or either must be received and paid out with at least ostensible impartiality.

"4. Provision must be made by taxation or by voluntary funding for the prompt absorption of any redundancy apparent in the volume of outstanding paper money.

"5. The people using the paper money must have confidence in the purpose and the ability of the government to maintain indefinitely the four preceding conditions.

"Both convertible and inconvertible paper money become depreciated the moment public confidence is shaken in the purpose or power of the issuer to preserve the conditions under which alone such money can circulate in interchangeable effectiveness with coins. Under Gresham's law the primary effect of the depreciation is to cause contraction of the total volume of circulating medium, by expelling from it all money that is not depreciated. What is left thus becomes a sort of leprous currency, with which association and mingling is abhorrent to all forms of sound and healthy money."

Of the experience of the world in depreciated currencies it is, however, not necessary to speak here. It will be found under the article MONEY, subhead "Debasements." It should, however, be pointed out that gold monometallists consider the panic of 1873 and most such panics due to over-issue of depreciable paper and other forms of money, redeemable or irredeemable, which unnaturally stimulated industry, and unavoidably led at last to a crisis. This will be and always must be, they assert, the result of currency inflation, especially with debased money, now or at any other time. In proof of the assertion that prices have fallen, not because of the demonetization of silver, but because of improvements in the methods of production, transportation, etc., the gold advocates present an almost infinite amount of evidence.

Mr. D. A. Wells, writing in the *New York Tribune* for September 7, 1896, says:

"No one has ever been able to name a single com-

modity that has notably declined in price within the last 30 years, and satisfactorily proved, or even attempted to prove, that such decline was due to the appreciation of gold. And the reason for such default is that it cannot be done. On the other hand, not a single commodity that has notably declined in price within this time can be named, in respect to which clear, abundant, and specific evidence cannot be adduced in proof, that this decline has been due to decreased cost of production or distribution, or to changes in supply and demand occasioned by wholly fortuitous circumstances.

"How great has been the average increase or saving in the world's work of production or distribution cannot perhaps be accurately stated. But few investigators place it at less than 40 per cent., and in some great branches of industry it has certainly amounted to 70 or 80 per cent. Taking a majority of other than hand-made commodities into consideration, the saving of labor within the last 30 years has probably been equal to at least 40 per cent. in producing any given article. We have here, therefore, a natural, sufficient, and non-disputable cause of the remarkable decline in prices under consideration, and also for the continuance of such decline; for prices are still falling, and the only assignable and probable reason why the decline experienced has not been greater is, that decreased cost has occasioned increased demand and consumption, which, to a considerable extent, has antagonized the natural tendency to decline.

"This decline in prices admits of many examples of complete demonstration and illustration in respect to cause—*viz.*, increased production by reason of improved methods or new conditions, which have resulted in decreased cost; a supply in excess of current market demand, and continuous decline in market prices. In other words, the price of any commodity is fixed simply and solely by the proportions of such articles as are produced and consumed, and prices cannot be and are not fixed in any other way.

"Take, first, the market decline in the price of wheat, which typifies more than any other one product the grievance of the American farmer. The cause of this decline is the indisputable fact that more wheat has been and is still produced,

The Real Cause of Fall in Prices. but more than it is willing to buy. The average annual wheat crop of the United States in the four years 1869-72 was 244,187,000 bush. Since 1890 the average crop has been about 570,000,000 bush. In 1873 there was practically no wheat exported from India. In 1892 India exported 56,566,000 bush. In 1883 the Argentine States of South America were not named as a factor to the smallest extent in the world's wheat supply. To-day they are among its greatest sources of supply, and of their surplus product, exported in 1894, 60,000,000 bush. A few years ago there were but few reapers and harvesters for wheat in Russia, and hardly a grain elevator in connection with storage and delivery buildings. To-day Russia is rapidly introducing improved agricultural machinery, with the result that its annual wheat product has increased from 168,545,000 bush., in 1891, to 300,000,000 in 1894. There has also been a very marked increase in recent years in the wheat crops of Austro-Hungary and of Spain. It is impossible, therefore, to resist the conclusion that the production of wheat in the world has been increasing much faster than the necessities of the world's wheat-eaters, and that the increased production has been in the countries where wheat is produced at the least cost. In addition to these conditions, we have now the announcement that the surplus of agricultural products in Australia available for export is in excess of the demands of the people of the United Kingdom for consumption.

"The increase in the average of the annual cotton crop in the United States in the years from 1871-72 to 1880-90 was more than 100 per cent., while the increase in the population of the country during the same period was about 56 per cent. During the same period it is certain that the world's consumption of cotton did not keep up with its production. The legitimate sequel of this has been that midland cotton that sold in 1880 for 11.5 cents per pound sells now (August, 1896) for 7½ cents.

"Similar illustrations of what has happened to the world's products might be multiplied to almost any extent; but space will admit of but few additional citations. In 1883 the metal aluminium sold for \$90 per pound. Its present market value is less than 50 cents. Copper kettles which sold in 1860 for \$2.50 can now be bought for 75 cents, and this homely example illustrates the great decline which has taken place in the price of

copper since 1880—*i. e.*, from 25 cents to 10 and 11 cents in 1896, which has been mainly due to the extraordinary productiveness of American mines and new methods of mining and smelting. Pig iron sold for \$50 per ton in 1873. The same grade can now be bought for \$11. Between 1873 and 1892 the increase in the production of pig iron in the United States was 342 per cent. Recognized authorities state that since 1870 the world's wool clip has increased 155 per cent. Careful analysis has shown that the decrease in price in recent years of the four great raw materials of the world's industries—iron, wheat, cotton, and wool—in consequence of over-supply of each of them in excess of current demand, has materially affected the market price of products (in the way of decline), whose average annual value is not less than 2,000,000,000 of gold dollars.

"Again, the price of money, representing capital, has continually declined since 1871 in all gold-standard countries in almost as great a degree as agricultural or manufactured products, and to the great detriment of a large number of good people who own a small capital invested in securities, besides carrying on some business or profession, and on the combined incomes from which they depend for a living.

"In 1877 an investment of \$10,000 could be relied upon for an annual income of \$600. To-day the same amount of money, invested with equal security, cannot be made to yield more than \$400 per annum. And for this result, which may be fairly regarded in the light of a depreciation of all property, the conceded increase in the amount of the world's capital seeking investment is clearly accountable. In contravention of this conclusion, it is asserted that 'money cannot command as big interest as formerly, as borrowers are too poor in collateral to bid for it.' But the fact is that the rates of interest are lowest in those countries—like England and France—where good collaterals are most abundant.

"Land unquestionably in recent years has also declined in value, due in a certain and correct sense to over-production. The fixed acreage of the United States has not increased; but the tillable acreage has been enormously enlarged. Every railroad that has been built at the West has brought millions of acres in competition with the lands of the older States and of other countries. It is the competitive supply of cereals and animal products of the American farmer that has lowered the price of land and nearly starved the English agriculturist."

Such is Mr. Wells's argument, which he expanded seven years before in his *Recent Economic Changes*. In that book he shows, too, that commodities not cheapened in production have not fallen in price. He says:

"In the first place, all that large class of products or services, which are exclusively or largely the result of handicrafts; which are not capable of rapid multiplication, or of increased economy in production, and which cannot be made the subject of international competition—have exhibited no tendency to decline in price, but rather the reverse. A given amount of gold does not now buy more, but less, of domestic service and of manual and professional labor generally than formerly; does not buy more of amusement; not more of hand-woven lace, of cigars, and of flax, which are mainly the products of hand labor; of cut-glass, of gloves, of pictures, or of precious stones. It buys no more of horses, and other domestic animals; of pepper; of cocoa, the cheap production of which is limited to a few countries, and requires an interval of five years between the inception and maturing of a crop; of malt liquors, eggs, currants, and potatoes; nor also of house rents, which depend largely upon the price of land, and which in turn is influenced by fashion, population, trade, facilities for access, and the like. Retail prices generally have not fallen in proportion to the decline in wholesale prices; and one explanation that has been given for such a result is, that retail trade is more directly and largely dependent on personal services.

"How little of change in price has come to the commodities of countries of low or stagnant civilization, that have remained outside of the current of recent progress, is strikingly illustrated in the case of a not unimportant article of commerce—namely, the root *sarsaparilla*, which, with a gradually increasing demand, continues to be produced (collected and prepared) in Central America, by the most primitive methods, and without any change in the conditions of supply, save, possibly, some greater facilities for

transportation from the localities of production to the ports of exportation."

A second argument for believing that the fall in prices has not been due to the appreciation of gold, Mr. Wells finds in the lessening demand for gold. He argues (p. 207) that the world's annual *product* of gold—consequent mainly upon the exhaustion of mines in California and Australia—has largely diminished in recent years, the opinions as to the extent of this reduction of supply vary somewhat; but that this is not to say that the *amount* of gold in the world has diminished or is in danger of diminishing. He says:

"No one doubts that the amount of gold in the civilized countries of the world has largely increased in recent years. According to Dr. Soetbeer (Soetbeer's *Materialien*, second edition, 1886, p. 47), the monetary stock of gold and gold reserve in the treasuries and principal banks of civilized countries has shown an increase for every decade since 1850, and at the end of 1885 was nearly four times what it was in 1850; so that, instead of there being a reduced supply of gold, as compared with 35 years ago, there is a greatly increased supply.

"Professor Laughlin estimates this increase to have been 'from \$477,000,000 in 1870-80 to \$836,000,000 in 1885.' In 1871-74 there was, according to the same authority, '\$1 in gold for every \$3.60 of the paper circulation of the banks of the civilized world; in 1885 there was \$1 of gold for every \$2.40; the total note circulation increasing during the same time to the extent of \$464,000,000, or 29 per cent.' In 1870-74 the gold reserves amounted to 28 per cent. of the total

Lessening Demand for Gold.

note circulation, and 64 per cent. of all the specie reserves; in 1885 'the gold bore a larger ratio to a larger issue of paper, or 41 per cent. of the total note circulation, and 71 per cent. of the specie reserves. This,' as Professor Laughlin remarks, 'is a very significant showing. What it means, beyond a shadow of doubt, is that the supply of gold is so abundant that the character and safety of the note circulation have been improved in a signal manner. . . .

"Now, while the supply of the precious metals for money purposes has been amply sufficient to meet all requirements, there is abundant evidence in proof that the use of metallic money for the purpose of effecting exchanges has been greatly supplemented in recent years through numerous and varied agencies. 'In America, France, and Germany there are, besides gold coins, immense sums of silver money, paper money, and uncovered bank-notes; and these media of circulation are fully equivalent to gold in value, owing to public or private credit; and, therefore, in the figures of prices they have the same influence in commerce as a corresponding amount of gold money would have.'

"Never before in the history of the world have there been so many and such successful devices invented and adopted for economizing the use of money. Every increase in facilities for banking and for the granting and extension of credits largely contributes to this result; the countries enjoying the maximum of such facilities requiring the smallest comparative amount of coin for their commercial transactions. In the United States the number of national banks increased from 2052 in December, 1879, to 3151 in December, 1888, or in the ratio of over 53 per cent. . . .

"The great reduction in the time and cost of distribution of commodities, and the facility with which purchases can be made and credits transmitted by telegraph, have also resulted, not only in an enormous saving of capital, but also in an ability to transact an increased business with diminished necessity for the absorption and use of actual money. A most striking illustration in proof of this, given by Mr. Fowler (*Appreciation of Gold*, London, 1885), is, that while the total British export and import trade, aggregating £6,000,000,000 from 1866 to 1875, was accompanied by an aggregate export and import of £530,000,000 of bullion and specie, an aggregate value from 1876 to 1885 of £6,700,000,000 was moved with the aid of only £439,000,000 of bullion and specie. The same authority refers to an eminent English firm doing business with the East, as stating that 'their business could now be conducted with one fifth of the capital formerly employed,' which would seem to warrant the inference that the

reduction in the necessity for using so much of their capital as was represented by money had also been proportionate.

"For the settlement of international balances—a large function of gold—it is certain that every ounce of this metal—through the great reduction in the time of ocean transits—is at the present time capable of performing far more service than at any former period; the time for the transmission of coin and bullion having been reduced in recent years between Australia and England from 90 to 40 days, and from New York to Liverpool from 12 or 15 to 8 or 9 days. Such an increase of rapidity in doing work is certainly equivalent to increase in quantity.

"The very great change which has taken place in the United States in this respect is thus noticed in the report of the United States Controller of the Currency for 1888:

"Of late years the gold movement across the Atlantic has become much more sluggish, because something has been found to take its place, and to some extent, at least, to serve the purpose of regulating exchanges and transferring capital. Certain securities on the New York stock-list have come to be largely and constantly dealt in at the European monetary centers, and as, by means of cable communication and through the close competition of dealers, their values are generally at a level in all markets, they supply a cheaper means of settlement than gold, and a more convenient basis for exchange operations.' These securities 'have become the stock in trade of dealers in foreign exchange; they are shipped back and forth according as exchange quotations fluctuate; and, indeed, in many cases they are not even shipped; the ownership is transferred by a cablegram, and this transfer supplies a basis for bills of credit.'

Mr. Wells then goes on to show how clearing-house certificates and postal orders and notes are also taking the place of coin. He says on this point:

"The number of 'postal' orders issued by the British Post Office in 1887 was 35,108,754, representing £14,228,734 (\$69,151,000); while money orders, domestic and foreign, were issued during the same year to the amount of £27,320,000 (\$132,776,000).

"Domestic money orders were first issued in the United States in 1864. In the fiscal year 1864-65 the total amount issued represented \$1,360,122; but for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, the amount of such orders issued had grown to \$119,649,064. The growth of the international money-order system has been even more marked. Such orders were first authorized in 1869, and the total amount issued from September 1, 1869, to June 30, 1870, was only \$22,189. From 1872, however, the system made rapid strides, and in the fiscal year 1887-88 the total amount issued had grown to \$11,293,870.

"In estimating the influence of any diminished production of gold in recent years, it is important to bear in mind a point to which attention has been often heretofore called, and that is, that gold and silver are not like other commodities, of which the greater part of the annual production is annually consumed; but that their use for the purpose of effecting exchanges does not involve consumption, except by loss and wear. . . . The aggregate stock of gold has not diminished, but has continually increased, and the annual addition to the world's stock is greater at present (1886) than in any former period. Dr. Soetbeer estimates 'the production of gold since the end of the fifteenth century to have been £1,553,415,000 (\$7,549,596,000). An annual supply of £20,000,000 (\$97,000,000) above the present average product would consequently be about 1¼ per cent. on that stock.'

"The evidence, therefore, seems to fully warrant the following conclusions: That the tendency of the age is to use continually less and less of coin in the transaction of business; and that 'so far from there being any scarcity of gold, there never was a period in the world's commercial history when the existing quantity was so large as at present, in proportion to the necessity for its use or for the purposes it has to serve.'

"As civilization has increased, and as new, quicker, and cheaper methods for the interchange of thought and commodities have been invented and adopted, the function of gold as a medium of exchange—the one that necessitates a large and continually augmenting supply, and entails the greatest wear and loss—is rapidly diminishing in importance by the supplement-

tation of other and better agencies. On the other hand, the function of gold as a measure or verifier of values, by reason of its exemption from value fluctuations to a greater extent than any other product of labor, is becoming of greater and greater importance with the continually increasing volume of the world's production and distribution, and more especially since the other precious metal—silver—has become uncertain and fluctuating in value."

One further quotation we will make from Mr. Wells. Showing the unfairness of some of the arguments of the silver advocates, he says :

"The following statements were made in a memorial signed by 95 members of the United States House of Representatives of the Forty-eighth Congress, and presented to the President of the United States in 1885 :

"Eighteen million bales of cotton were the equivalent in value of the entire interest-bearing national debt in 1865 (\$2,221,000,000); but it will take 35,000,000 bales at the price of cotton now (1885) to pay the remainder of such debt (\$1,196,000,000). Twenty-five million tons of bar iron would have paid the whole debt (\$2,674,000,000) in 1865; it will now take 35,000,000 tons to pay what remains (\$1,375,000,000) after all that has been paid."

"The inference, therefore, intended to be conveyed was, that the burden of the national debt of the United States in 1885, notwithstanding the large payments on the same during the previous 20 years, had really been increased, inasmuch as a greater effort of labor, or an increased amount of the products of labor, was now necessary to liquidate it than when the purchasing power of gold had not been depreciated through its scarcity; and, as with public debts, so also with private debts, especially such as are in the nature of mortgages on land or on other productive fixed capital.

"Now, in reply to this it is to be said, *first*, that the basis assumed for this comparison of prices was, in the case of cotton, entirely unfair and unnatural—the gold price of this commodity in the year 1865, owing to a scarcity occasioned by war, having been more than 250 per cent. higher than the average prices in 1866 before the war; while the price of iron for that same year in the American markets was also inflated on even a gold basis; and, *secondly*, that no consideration is given or allowance made in the above comparison for the results of labor at the two periods of 1865 and 1885; not more, and probably much less, actual labor in 1865-86 having produced 6,550,000 bales of cotton in the United States than was required in 1866 to produce 3,800,000 bales;

Debts not Increased by Demonetization.

while in the case of bar iron the proportion of days' labor to a ton of product has been diminished more than one half since 1865; and the same is true, also, of that more valuable product of iron—*viz.*, steel. Furthermore, no important product of the United States can be named in which the labor cost of production has not decreased very much more than has the gold price of the same between 1865 and 1885. In short, if the debtor has got more to pay at the latter than at the former period, it is not the fault of any change in the relations of the precious metals if he has not at the same time got correspondingly more to pay with."

We have quoted mainly from Mr. Wells; but those who hold substantially the same position are numerous.

"In the year 1886 the British Government created a 'commission' of persons of eminent qualifications to 'inquire into the recent changes in the relative values of the precious metal,' embracing causes and results. This commission, after devoting nearly two years to their task, calling to their assistance a large number of persons as witnesses, or experts, whom they regarded as qualified to express opinions, submitted a 'final' report in October, 1888, embodying the facts to which their attention had been called; a summary of the arguments, on the one side and the other, touching questions in controversy; and a marked diversity of conclusions on the part of the several members of the commission. There was, however, an entire unanimity of opinion on some points, which the commission express as follows :

"We are of opinion that the true explanation of the phenomena which we are directed to investigate is to

be found in a combination of causes, and cannot be attributed to any one cause alone. The action of the Latin Union in 1873 broke the link between silver and gold, which had kept the price of the former, as measured by the latter, constant at about the legal ratio; and when this link was broken, the silver market was open to the influence of all the factors which go to affect the price of a commodity. These factors happen since 1873 to have operated in the direction of a fall in the gold price of that metal."

In view of the above and a large amount of similar evidence which might be quoted (see also FARMERS' MOVEMENT; PRODUCTION), the gold advocates say it is plain that the one sufficient cause of the fall of price is improved production and means of transportation.

As to the silver argument, that, whatever be the cause, prices have fallen; that there is suffering, and that an expansion of the currency would raise prices and so relieve suffering, the gold advocates affirm that were silver to be coined, and suppose prices to rise (which they are not sure would happen), the effect would be, so far as the farmers are concerned, possibly to enable them to pay their debts in a depreciated currency, and so gain a little temporary questionable good, but at the same time to raise the prices of all the farmers buy, and stimulate their production, which would again bring down the price of their produce, leaving them no better off than before, and perhaps worse. As for wage-workers, it would raise their prices and not raise their income. For all classes, it would produce an appalling panic. Professor Laughlin writes in the *American Review of Reviews* for September, 1896 :

Panic.

"The reasons why a panic must follow a change of standard are clear. Business men are selling goods on time, and discount their bills at banks. To pay wages in his factory to-day he gets the present worth from the banks of the debts due him for goods sold. These sales and discounts are made at prices determined by the existing gold standard. Suggest a lowering of 47 per cent. in the standard, and imagine if you can the ensuing confusion. How can any kind of a business contract be made if it is not known within 47 per cent. what the value of the payment will be? No bank will loan the deposits left in their hands or renew old loans if there is fear that the repayment may vary by 47 per cent. And even before the change of standard could be enacted men would all wish to sell their securities and property for gold before the change to silver came about. If, then, every one is selling, and if the banks refuse to loan because of the uncertainty, picture but faintly the consequent distress and failures. One house, unable to get loans to meet its maturing notes, fails; that brings down another house; then all come crashing down in ruin. The horror passes all description—the hopes of a lifetime gone, homes sold, and beggary for wife and children. This would be the first effect of free coinage of silver; and already the faint possibility of it has forced down the prices of securities, in many cases to a point as low as in the panic of 1893.

"The results of a panic will be reduced production, lessened demand, rigorous economy, diminished transactions, idle capital, idle labor, general prostration, and the heaping up in banks of unemployed money. Less money will be needed for the lessened business. The demand for silver will be less than the present demand for gold, as a first result of free coinage."

To propose the monetization of silver to relieve the depression of the present is to propose to pour out gunpowder in order to check a slow fire. The real evil to-day is a lack of confidence in business, which would be relieved the moment a sound gold standard were accepted, and investors, capitalists, and producers were con-

vinced that they could get the worth of their money.

The possibility of the working of the bimetallic theory, that the monetization of silver can keep it on a par with gold, the gold advocates question under any circumstances, and utterly deny under the form of its monetization by the United States alone at a ratio of 16 to 1, when the market price is nearer 32 to 1. When France tried it, the relative value of the metals was very near its legalized monetary value, and most of the world was using silver. Even then it is by no means clear that the attempt was a success. (See Giffen's *The Case against Bimetallicism*.) For the United States to try and keep silver at par with gold at a valuation twice its worth as bullion, and with no other leading country in the world using it as legal tender, would be madness. Says Professor Laughlin (as above):

"The only possible means by which silver can be raised to par must then be the demand created solely by the United States. And this demand must be sufficient to raise the value of all silver in the world to par, not only in the United States, but in India, China, Russia, or France. And yet one of the first results of free coinage of silver will be to withdraw the support from under the \$625,000,000 of silver in the United States now kept at par with gold. With our present gold system, from 1878-93 our government purchased silver outright and withdrew it from the market, but

Fall of Silver.

kept it at par with gold. Our present legislation requires the Executive to maintain this silver at parity with gold, and so far this has been done. It has been a great help to the silver market that \$625,000,000 have been bought and kept at a value far beyond its bullion value. Now give us free coinage of silver, drive out gold, and it will be impossible to maintain the silver at par. Why? Because silver cannot be exchanged for gold money in any daily dealings; only silver will be paid in for duties; the treasury will pay in silver; and all government money and obligations will be valued by the kind of money in which they are payable. Our money, based only on silver, will have only the value of silver. This \$625,000,000 of silver will fall to its market value, just as the Mexican dollars, now used in commerce all over the world, altho containing more pure silver than our own dollars, pass for about 50 cents in gold. Free coinage of silver, therefore, will deprive \$625,000,000 of silver of its supporting gold prop, and it must henceforth stand on its own legs. The effect of this will be to depress rather than raise the value of silver.

"Under the acts of 1878 and 1890 it should be recalled that the United States was a direct purchaser of silver. It took taxes from us and bought silver with them. With free coinage of silver the government would not buy a dollar of silver. Free coinage of silver means the right of any owner of bullion to have it coined into dollars. When the mint merely stamps this bullion into coins it is not a purchaser. It receives the bullion, and returns it to the owner in form of coins. A great many people have been wrongly led to believe that the government would create a demand for silver by buying it at the mints at a fixed price."

Thus, even the United States would not create a government demand, and would only lead to a possible and precarious popular demand for silver, while all other civilized countries would have no more demand for it than now. The slight effect if any on the price of silver of the coining of \$400,000,000 under the Bland-Allison Act, and of the purchase of 4,500,000 oz. of silver per month under the Sherman Act of 1890, is well known. It scarcely prevented the steady fall of silver even for a while. The steady fall in the price of silver could at best only be prevented by international agreement, and even then by no means surely. The far better

way is to use gold as the sole standard of value, a standard commanding universal confidence, and on that firm basis to use as much private paper as business needs and wise banking considers safe. (See BANKS AND BANKING.)

England in 1817, Germany in 1873, Holland in 1875, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece (the Latin Union) in 1878, Austria in 1879, Italy in 1882, India in 1893, Russia (virtually) in 1896, have come to the gold standard. The only nations using silver as a standard are Japan, China, Mexico, and South America. The United States virtually declared for gold in 1853; her experiments with silver since 1878 have done her no good and have created only continual depression, even as the greenbacks of war produced the crisis of 1873.

The present depression, as far as the wage-workers and farmers are concerned, is exaggerated. It is true that we have the poor and the unemployed to-day, but not nearly so many in proportion to the population as formerly, while what we have are not nearly so poor as in the very periods some bimetallicists are fond of talking about. (For the facts, see WEALTH; WAGES.) Prices have fallen; but this means prosperity for those of small means not suffering, while, were there confidence to-day, business would leap into life exactly because prices are such as to command large demand. This is, above all, a question of the producing classes. Said Secretary Carlisle, in his address before the working men of Chicago, April 15, 1896:

"Whether the general business of the people shall be transacted with good money or bad money, whether the wages of labor shall be paid in a sound and stable currency, with full purchasing power in the markets where they are exchanged for the necessities of life, or in a depreciated and fluctuating currency, having no fixed value and therefore bearing no permanent relation to the current prices of commodities, are questions which affect the comfort and happiness of every home and the peace and prosperity of every community. While all are deeply interested in the settlement of these questions, it is unfortunately the case that all will not be equally affected by an erroneous decision upon them. The wealthy man, the man who has accumulated property or hoarded money, is always exempt from many of the most serious consequences of a financial or industrial disturbance. He has both means and credit, and while he may be subjected to much loss and inconvenience, neither he nor his family will be pinched by hunger or compelled to go without raiment or shelter.

"It is the poor man and the man of moderate means—the man who has not been fortunate enough to accumulate property or money, but who depends upon his wages or upon the products of his own labor for the means of supporting himself and his family—that always feels the first and most disastrous effects of a business or industrial depression, no matter whether it results from a depreciated and fluctuating currency or from other causes. Such a man has nothing to dispose of but his labor, and nothing with which to support himself or his family but his wages or the proceeds of his own labor, and any policy that even temporarily suspends or obstructs the industrial progress of the country by diminishing the demand for the products of labor, or by impairing the capacity or disposition of capital to employ labor, must be injurious to his interests and inflict more or less suffering upon all who are dependent upon him. . . .

"After struggling for more than a quarter of a century, through labor organizations and otherwise, to secure a rate of wages which would make the proceeds of a day's work equal to the cost of a day's subsistence for the working man and his family, you are asked by the advocates of free coinage to join them in destroying one half of the purchasing power of the money in which you are paid, and impose upon yourselves the task of doubling the nominal amount of your wages hereafter; that is, to struggle for another quar-

ter of a century, or perhaps longer, to raise your wages in a depreciated currency to a point which will enable you to purchase with them as much of the necessities of life as you can purchase now, and if, after years of contention, privation and industrial disorder, you should at last succeed in so adjusting wages that they would procure at the higher prices of commodities just what they will procure now at the existing prices, what would you have gained by the change from the old to the new conditions?

Effect on Wages.

"But the particular proposition now under consideration is of such great importance in the discussion of this subject that you must permit me to call your especial attention to the experience of the laboring people in our own country during the years immediately following the introduction of a depreciated paper currency in 1862, and also to the very low rates of wages which now prevail in countries having the silver standard of value, or the so-called double standard of value with coinage of silver at a legal ratio not corresponding with the commercial value of the metal. . . .

"Less than three years ago you saw our financial, commercial, and industrial affairs violently disturbed by the fear that the Government would not be able to maintain gold payments and that our currency would descend to a silver basis. You saw the operations of industry interrupted, banks failing, great commercial houses unable to meet their obligations, credit seriously impaired, mills and factories closed and thousands of laborers thrown out of employment, and a state of panic and business disorder prevailing in every part of the country. If a mere doubt as to the kind of money we intended to use produced these distressing results, what think you would be the probable consequences of a deliberate determination upon the part of our people to adopt silver monometallism as a permanent system? The imagination can scarcely conceive the deplorable state of society that would immediately follow the announcement of such a policy."

References: *The Case against Bimetallism*, by Robert Giffin (1892); *The Silver Situation in the United States*, by F. W. Taussig; *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, by J. L. Laughlin (1892); *Recent Economic Changes*, by D. A. Wells (1889); *Sound Currency*, a semi-monthly published by the Sound Currency Committee of the Reform Club (New York, 1894); publications of the Gold Standard Defense Association (London).

Revised by DAVID A. WELLS.

MONOPOLIES.—A monopoly in industry may be defined as the control of some natural agent, of some line of business, or of some advantage over existing or possible competitors, by which greater profits can be secured than other competitors can make. We shall treat the subject in this article from three standpoints: first, from the standpoint of those who believe in the control of monopolies, by the State; secondly, from the standpoint of those who believe in the ownership and conduct of monopolies by the State; thirdly, from the standpoint of those who defend monopolies, or who believe that they are but the result of the present legal constitution of society, and would, therefore, remove any evils that may result from them, not by attacking monopolies by themselves, but by attacking the causes which produced at least their evil feature. (For the facts and statistics of present monopolies, see TRUSTS.)

For the first point we present an article prepared for this encyclopedia by Mr. C. W. Baker, author of *Monopolies and the People*:

I. PUBLIC CONTROL.

"There is perhaps no point in which the modern science of economics differs more widely from that science as taught by the early writers on political economy than in its treatment of the subject of monopolies. This does not mean that the teachers of the older school were in error, or that the newer school has departed from correct principles or practice. It simply means that since the days of Adam Smith a

whole vast revolution has been wrought in the world of industry, commerce, and finance. The new political economy recognizes these changed conditions and seeks to lay down the principles and rules which govern them. Until the modern era the only monopolies were those which were established by royal grants, relating to the manufacture or sale of some particular commodity. In early English history the sale of monopolies furnished a principal means for replenishing the royal exchequer. Naturally such monopolies, operating to lay a grievous and well-realized tax upon the people, were bitterly opposed; and not a small part of the popular enmity to monopolies which still remains, voiced in such common expressions as 'competition is the life of trade,' dates back to that era, before the modern system of manufactures and transportation had had its beginning.

"The monopolies of the present day may be divided into two classes, designated respectively as natural monopolies and artificial monopolies. Examples of natural monopolies are transportation lines, including not only steam and street railways, but the pipes and wires in city streets along which water, gas, steam, or electric current are distributed. In short, natural monopolies

Nature of Monopolies.

may be defined as those industries in which the number of competitors which can engage in the business on equal terms is limited to a very few. Artificial monopolies are those in which the number of possible competitors is large; but the advantages and economics arising from production on a large scale and doing away with competition are so great as to induce concentration of the industry into one organization under a centralized management.

"Both these classes of monopolies are outgrowths of modern conditions; railways and other modern systems of transportation, as well as the mechanism for distributing heat, light, power, water, etc. from central stations, were all unknown a century ago. So also the modern factory system and a thousand other modern conditions which make possible such monopolies as the cordage trust or the sugar trust did not exist a century ago. In fact, most of these conditions have arisen during the past twoscore years. It is not strange at all, therefore, that the theories and laws laid down by the old school of political economists need to be supplemented and amended; and this is the work which the new school of political economy has done and is doing.

"The most important laws of modern competition have been stated as follows:*

"1. In any given industry the intensity of competition tends to vary inversely as the number of competing units.

"2. In any given industry the waste due to competition tends to vary directly as the intensity.

"3. In any given industry the tendency toward the death of competition (monopoly) varies directly with the waste due to competition.

Laws of Monopoly.

"4. In any given industry the tendency toward the death of competition (monopoly) varies inversely with the number of competing units.

"5. The intensity of competition tends to vary directly in proportion to the amount of capital required for the operation of each competing unit, especially when the interest on the capital invested forms a large proportion of the cost of production.

"6. In any given industry the tendency toward the death of competition (monopoly) varies directly with the amount of capital required for each competing unit.

"7. In any given industry in which natural agents are necessary, the tendency toward the inequality of competition (monopoly) tends to vary with the scarcity of available like natural agents.

"Study of these laws and study of the facts on which they are based leads to the inevitable conclusion that monopolies of every sort are the result of the conditions of modern civilization.

"To put this truth in another form: The tendency of modern industry is to production on the largest scale; to the concentration of a thousand looms in a single factory, of a hundred factories under a single management, and of the introduction of such economical systems of production, distribution, and sale that it is hopeless for a single small producer to undertake a competition with it. So also with reference to the

* *Monopolies and the People*, pp. 150-54, Putnam's (1889).

class natural monopolies; there are vast advantages in distributing light, heat, and power to the inhabitants of cities from central stations, and in concentrating the flow of commerce on great railway lines.

"The social system which the old school of economists studied was a great aggregation of units to a great degree independent of each other. The social system of the present day is a vast organism in which each individual, each community, each State, each nation has its prosperities and destiny indissolubly interwoven with the prosperities and destiny of every other one. It is true now in a larger and broader sense than ever before that no man liveth to himself.

"Monopolies, then, are a necessary condition of our modern civilization. We can no more go back to the economic simplicity of our grandfathers than we can dispense with the railway, the telegraph, the ocean steamer, the power loom, and the reaper in our industrial life. But while the existence of monopolies, or, in other words, the absence of competition is inevitable, it by no means follows that this existence need involve injury to the welfare of the people. In fact, it is as much out of the question that the public should permanently submit to paying such prices for the necessities of life as the owners of monopolies choose to ask, as it is that it should dispense with the great inventions which have conferred such enormous benefits upon the world, and have in so doing altered the economic conditions of society.

"Let us see first how the problem is being solved in the case of natural monopolies. Here a whole revolution has been wrought in public opinion, in jurisprudence, and in actual practice during the past score of years, and the change has been largely effected during the past decade. Competing railways, competing gas works in cities, competing telegraph companies have swallowed up a vast amount of wealth, much of which is now a total waste. The world is wiser now. Railway rates have been declared subject to regulation by State legislatures and by State and interstate railway commissions. The community or individual discriminated against by the railways has a tribunal which will hear his grievance and protect his interests. In Maine and in Massachusetts new railways cannot be built merely to stall traffic from an established road. Those who propose the construction of a new railway must prove before the State railway commission that the public exigency requires the construction of the new line. It must not parallel an existing road able to handle the traffic, for it is rightly reasoned that it is better for the public that the existing road should do the whole work and devote the surplus revenue to improved service, or else that it should lower its rates to such a point as will pay it only a reasonable profit on its capital invested.

"Again, it is very seldom now that we hear of city streets being torn up to lay gas mains of competing companies; and where subways are being laid by cities for the accommodation of electric wires, it is the practice either for the municipality itself to carry on the work or to grant an exclusive franchise to a company to perform the work, requiring it to grant equal privileges to all at a fixed rate of rental.

"Franchises for the use of city streets for street railways, electric lighting companies, etc., are now very generally limited to a short term of years, a percentage of the gross receipts is paid by the company to the city, and the rates to be charged are fixed in the contract. The ownership of water-supply systems by the municipalities which they serve is rapidly increasing. The few instances of the ownership of sewerage systems by private companies are rapidly decreasing. Municipal ownership of gas-lighting plants shows no increase; but the newer lighting agent—electricity—has grown rapidly in favor with the public, and municipal electric-lighting plants furnishing lights for streets and city buildings number nearly or quite 100 in the United States. That furnishing of electric light to private users is likely to follow there can be little doubt.

"With regard to all these movements, it is to be distinctly noted that it is not so much municipal ownership and operation that is being sought for as municipal control. The old plan of giving away city streets in perpetuity to the first company which volunteered to lay in them the arteries of modern municipal life finds few or no defenders nowadays. On the other hand, most city governments are ill adapted to carry on complicated business affairs. For example, a city has great advantages in operating directly an electric-

lighting plant, in that it can borrow capital at a lower rate of interest than a private company, can always prevent competition from being established, and can secure for itself the profits arising from the use of its streets. On the other hand, these advantages may all be neutralized by the choice of incompetent or dishonest managers.

"There are many people who immediately go on to generalize from this fact, and to lay down the broad statement that, in view of prevailing corruption in city politics, the chances of either incompetent or dishonest men being placed in charge of municipal business is so great that municipalities should not undertake such work as public lighting, street railway service, or even public water supply. It is doubtful, however, whether so broad a statement is warranted. The fact is almost universally overlooked that waste, incompetence, favoritism and dishonesty of various degrees is exceedingly common in the carrying on of the business of private corporations. The common argument is that the men who administer the affairs of cities are put in their places by the accidents of politics, and that even if they and their appointees are honest, they are likely to lack either the experience or the ability necessary to economically administer complicated enterprises. But to some extent the same thing is true of modern corporate activity. It is an open secret that favor and not merit is the reason for the bestowal of lucrative official position in many great corporations. The real owners of great corporations are in many cases a host of scattered individuals, while those who actually control and manage them do so to further the interests of themselves and their friends. Put briefly, public office is not held as often as it should be as a public trust, but corporate offices are also too often considered a private snap.

"To sum up, then, the most generally approved methods of dealing with natural monopolies at the present day are for municipalities to either own and operate them, or to own the fixed plant and lease them for operation for short terms of years to the most favorable bidder, under such restrictions and no others as are necessary to secure efficient and reliable service. In case a city is unsupplied with electric light or with street railway service, it can best secure the construction of a plant by granting a franchise for its construction on specified plans, and its operation for a limited term of years to a private company, the plant to become the city's property at the expiration of such term on payment of its actual value, exclusive of the franchise or good will. In the construction of water works, experience generally favors the city's undertaking the work directly, provided its finances permit.

"In general railway service, control of rates and service by special public commissions is now firmly established as the method of dealing with railway corporations. The progress of railway consolidation during the past few years has entirely established the futility of relying on competition in this industry to secure proper facilities and protection against exorbitant rates and unjust discriminations.

"Turning now to artificial monopolies, it must be said that no such progress can be recorded in dealing with the problem which they present as has been made in dealing with natural monopolies. These monopolies are still too new a feature of our industrial life to be understood and appreciated in their full significance by even the educated and intelligent. Legislators are still trying to legislate them out of existence; and the courts, or many of them, are still laying down the old common-law principle that contracts to restrain competition are against public policy, and hence void and unenforceable, in the hope of preventing the growth of this class of monopolies. Such legislation and such decision has its use at the present day, undeniably, in checking and retarding the growth of such monopolies, until better methods of dealing with them can be developed. But that concentration of production and concentration of distribution is destined to go on, no one who studies in the broad aspect present and prospective conditions in industry and commerce can doubt. That monopoly, or at least a strong tendency toward the limitation and control of competition, is an inevitable result of this concentration, follows from the laws of competition already enunciated.

"The reform which is taking place and is to take place with reference to monopolies, then, is by no means their abolition. The reform needed is to uproot from the public mind the persistent idea that monopolies are essentially evil, and to plant in its stead the truth that they are the inevitable accompaniment of the new civilization on which the world

Present Solution.

Public Control.

Artificial Monopolies.

is entering. The social system has grown out of chaos with competition, or, as the student of natural science expresses it, the survival of the fittest, as its mainspring. In a large and true sense competition is destined to remain an operative factor of vast importance in the activities of the race. But in many industries—how many none can now prophesy—it seems destined inevitably to disappear, and with that disappearance in any industry the public welfare demands that something be devised to take its place. When this truth once comes to be realized by people at large, the popular fear of and prejudice against monopolies will disappear. The remedy for monopoly is not abolition, but control, is the truth which needs to be taught, and when it is taught and comprehended the way will be opened for new advancements in the world's industries and activities, which have never been possible under the cruder civilization of our fathers."

II. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Many dissent from the views expressed in the above article, believing that the public control of monopolies is impossible, and even if possible, not the best way to secure the desired results. Public control, they believe, may serve for a while, as a transition state, but as soon as practical at least they believe further control should give way to public ownership. The experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission (*q. v.*), they affirm, shows that the United States cannot control the railroads unless it also owns them. Many railroad men concur in this opinion. (See RAILROADS.) This indicates a principle, the believers in public ownership assert, which, tho developed first in railroads on account of the magnitude and concentration of the interests involved, must sooner or later appear in all monopoly. Public control, they argue, has most of the difficulties without many of the advantages of public ownership. We shall develop this view by quotations from a tract on *The Public Ownership of Monopolies*, by Professor Frank Parsons. It may be done briefly, however, because the subject will be found developed in some detail as applied to the various concrete subjects of RAILROADS, GAS, ELECTRIC LIGHTING, STREET RAILWAYS, TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE, etc. (See NATURAL MONOPOLIES.) Professor Parsons says:

"The war upon monopoly is in defense of the very principle for which our fathers fought and bled and conquered in the Revolution, for a monopoly in private control means taxation without representation, and that is a power which no legislature has a right to grant to any man or set of men—a power which no one should be permitted to exercise in a free country, for 'taxation without representation is tyranny.'

"It makes no difference whether the people are compelled to pay the tax by the power of their necessities or by the power of the sheriff. When the coal combine raised the price of coal last year on an average 20 cents a ton, it levied on the United States a monopoly tax of \$3,000,000 on the annual output of 45,000,000 tons, because the combine was already receiving heavy prices for its coal, and the cost of mining it is not increasing, but diminishing every year. Vice-President Holden, one of the leaders of the combine, testified before the New York Senate Investigating Committee that in 'advancing the price of coal the cost of production or transportation is not considered at all,' the price 'has nothing to do' with the cost. It will not do to say that people need not buy coal if they think the price is too high—they have got to buy coal, it is only because of the necessity of the case that the combine is able to collect its exorbitant rates. Look at the Western Union paying 100 per cent. dividends in the darkest days of the war, and averaging, from its organization to the present time, 300 per cent. per annum on its original stock. No wonder the owners of these monopolies became polymillionaires. No wonder Jay

Gould remarked that he had rather be president of the Western Union than of the United States. If these magic methods of accumulating riches were equally diffused it would not be so bad, but the farmers cannot put their hands into Uncle Sam's pockets and take out whatever they choose, as the monopolist can. The farmer and the mechanic sell at competitive prices and buy at monopoly prices. The telegraph men and the coal men sell at monopoly prices and buy at competitive prices. No wonder the former grow poor and the latter unconsciously rich. Not only is monopoly in private control unjust, as enabling its owner to compel the people to pay more than a labor equivalent for the service he renders, not only is it the most powerful influence for corruption and for hastening the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few selfish schemers, not only is the growth of private monopoly the greatest danger of the Republic, but, upon the plane of actually existing laws, so far as any monopoly rests upon a grant from the government, it is absolutely unconstitutional, and so far as it rests upon agreements among men, or the natural limitation of property, it calls for State interference according to undisputed principles of the common law. As we have seen, and as the American public knows to its cost, a monopoly in private hands gives its owner the power to collect from consumers more than the value of what they receive—he could charge the fair value of the service he renders without a monopoly; the advantage of monopoly—the reason men struggle so hard to obtain it, is the power it gives to charge more than that value; in other words, a private monopoly confers the inestimable privilege of demanding something for nothing, and involves the power of taxing the people for private purposes, a power which the legislature cannot lawfully confer upon any man or set of men, because it does not itself possess any such power. It can tax, or authorize taxation, for public purposes only (United States Supreme Court, 20 Wall 664; 106 U. S. 487; 58 Me. 590; 2 Dill. 353; Cooley on Taxation, ¶ 116, and cases cited), and taxation for the benefit of an enterprise in private control is not for a public but for a private purpose, and is beyond the sphere of legislative power (Judge Dillon in 27 Ia. 51, and 58 Me. 590).

"It makes no difference whether the Constitution limits the power of the legislature to public purposes or not, the grant of a monopoly is, according to the clearest principles of jurisprudence, entirely beyond the utmost power of any legislative body in a free country.

"The provisions of the Constitution are not the only limitations on legislative power. There are others that inhere in the very substance of republican institutions—'implied reservations of individual rights, which grow out of the essential nature of all free governments' (the U. S. Supreme Court in 20 Wall. See also Judge Dillon in 27 Ia. 51; 25 Ia. 540; and 39 Pa. St. 73). These cases and many others declare that legislative power is limited by the great principles of justice for the enforcement of which government is instituted, that acts in violation of these principles will be held void by the courts, altho no provision of the Constitution can be found to condemn them, and that the taking of A's property to give it to B, or the identical act of giving to B a power whereby he may help himself to A's property is beyond the limits of legislative authority. And what the legislature cannot lawfully do directly, it cannot lawfully accomplish indirectly under the guise of a franchise. The settled principles of the law logically carried out would render utterly void every franchise in existence. Even the sovereign power of Queen Elizabeth was held incompetent to create monopolies (Case of the Monopolies, 11 Coke, 84b), because they were detrimental to the interests of the people. And if the 'divinely commissioned ruler' of the people may not inflict this injury upon their interests, by what authority can it be done by the servants of the people, elected to conserve their interests, not to defeat them? An agent must be loyal to his principal's interests, and the moment he ceases to be so his authority vanishes—that is bed rock in the law of the civilized world.

"All this is clear, and yet our judges would probably hesitate to declare a legislative franchise void to-day even if the argument against its validity were fully and strongly urged. And they would hesitate because of the long line of such enactments in the past and the disturbance that would be caused by an adverse decision at this late day. And yet it is perfectly manifest that the fundamental principles of a Republican government are broken every time a franchise is granted, and every

Unconstitutionality.

moment a monopoly is maintained by aid of the law instead of being swept into the list of crimes, as it should be. The people are bitter in their denunciation of trusts, and Congress has passed severe laws against them for the sole reason that they are monopolies. Whereby we have the serio-comical spectacle of a government creating monopolies with one hand and endeavoring to choke them with the other—declaring absolutely void all monopolies formed by agreement among men, because monopoly is in its nature contrary to public policy, and sustaining exactly similar, in some cases identical monopolies established by the agents of the people without an atom of authority to do it, but through a flagrant breach of their trust and in violation of the fundamental principles of free institutions, which even the direct vote of a majority of the people would have no right to overcome or alter.

"The remedy does not lie in killing the trusts and franchises—we could not if we would, for monopolies are formed in obedience to a law superior to any that Congress can make—the law of industrial gravitation. Internally monopoly means cooperation instead of conflict, wise management instead of planless labor, economy instead of waste—it is not monopoly we object to, but monopoly in *private* control. The true remedy is *public ownership* of monopolies. That will retain the economies of concentration and remove the evils of overgrown private power—keep all that is good, kill only what is evil. We are bound to have monopolies; the only question is whether they shall own the public or the public own them."

Of the practical working and perfect feasibility of the public ownership and operation of monopolies Professor Parsons gives numerous instances. Railroads, telegraphs, telephones are publicly owned and managed in most of the civilized countries of the world, and usually with complete satisfaction. There is scarcely an instance where an industry which has once reached the stage of public ownership and management has

reverted to private hands. The tendency is all the other way.

(For instances, see RAILROADS; TELEGRAPHS, etc.) Public ownership is almost invariably cheaper, as far as accommodations go; it serves the public convenience and not the interests of stockholders. In a few instances, as in carrying mail or express parcels between great cities, private companies do it cheaper than State monopolies for two reasons: 1. Private companies pay lower wages to their employees and work them usually longer hours, hence they can afford to do work cheaper. 2. Private companies only carry mails, etc., *where it pays*; the State carries mail, etc., to little villages and country districts where it does not pay. Both these considerations are arguments for public ownership. As for the statement that public operation, in the United States especially, is impracticable because of the corruption of government, socialists argue that it is the private ownership of monopolies which is the main source of public corruption. (See MUNICIPALISM.) A tract published by the American Fabian Society (*What Socialism Is*) says on this point in brief:

"We have been schooled in America to despise government activities. The natural result is that our cities are ruled by the worthless and base. These sell franchises and legislation to the corporations. Under the present system, too, a corporation can scarcely help being corrupt, because it must get charters, franchises, or legislation. If it does not buy these some other corporation will. The present system handicaps honesty. Pure government, as business today is constituted, is almost impossible. We must adopt the European method of having the city do great things, if we would have European results. Socialism is the practical way of getting good city government."

It is sometimes said that public ownership of natural monopolies (*q. v.*) is practicable, but not of other monopolies. To this believers in the public ownership of all monopolies answer: It is true that natural monopolizers lend themselves most readily to public ownership exactly because they lend themselves most readily to monopoly; but any line of business can in time develop, and many of them are developing monopolies. When any line of business reaches the stage of monopoly, then it should be first controlled and finally taken over by the public.

Mr. Sidney Webb, in the *Fabian Essays*, gives hundreds of instances of all kinds of industry successfully conducted by government. He says (speaking of Great Britain):

"Besides our international relations and the army, navy, police and the courts of justice, the community now carries on for itself, in some part or another of these islands, the post-office, telegraphs, carriage of small commodities, coinage, surveys, the regulation of the currency and note issue, the provision of weights and measures, the making, sweeping, lighting, and repairing of streets, roads, and bridges, life insurance, the grant of annuities, shipbuilding, stockbroking, banking, farming, and money-lending. It provides for many thousands of us from birth to burial—midwifery, nursery, education, board and lodging, vaccination, medical attendance, medicine, public worship, amusements, and interment. It furnishes and maintains its own museums, parks, art galleries, libraries, concert-halls, roads, streets, bridges, markets, slaughter-houses, fire-engines, lighthouses, pilots, ferries, surf-boats, steam-tugs, life-boats, cemeteries, public baths, wash-houses, pounds, harbors, piers, wharves, hospitals, dispensaries, gas-works, water-works, tramways, telegraph cables, allotments, cow meadows, artisans' dwellings, schools, churches, and reading rooms. It carries on and publishes its own researches in geology, meteorology, statistics, zoology, geography, and even theology. In our colonies the English Government further allows and encourages the communities to provide for themselves railways, canals, pawnbroking, theaters, forestry, cinchona farms, irrigation, leper villages, casinos, bathing establishments, and immigration, and to deal in ballast, guano, quinine, opium, salt, and what not. Every one of these functions, with those of the army, navy, police, and courts of justice, were at one time left to private enterprise, and were a source of legitimate individual investment of capital. Step by step the community has absorbed them, wholly or partially, and the area of private exploitation has been lessened."

III. CONTRARY VIEWS.

Some to-day defend private monopolies, and others argue that they are not to be either attacked themselves or assumed by the public, but to be broken up so far as they are evil by attacking their causes. As an example of the first of these views, we give a supposititious statement of the defense of monopolies printed by Mr. Baker in his *Monopolies and the People* (pp. 9-22). Mr. Baker says:

"It is safe to assume that the reader is somewhat familiar with the general charges which have been brought against the trusts; but even if this side of the story has not been heard, it is not unfair to look at them first from the standpoint of the men who make and manage them. In order to do this, suppose we select some particular trust which will serve as a type, and imagine that some frank, candid manufacturer, who is a member of this trust, comes before us to give an account of its formation and operations. This man comes, we suppose, not as an unwilling informant, or as one on trial. He is frank, honest, and plain-spoken. He talks as man to man, and gives us, not the specious argument of an eloquent pleader in defense of trusts, but just that view of his trust and its work that his own conscience impels him to take. Certainly, then, he deserves an impartial hearing.

"A number of years ago the principal manufactur-

ers of linseed-oil in the United States formed an association. It was started largely for social ends, and was very successful. Business men are generally most interested in their own plans and operations; and those who are familiar with the same topics and have similar interests and purposes are apt to make agreeable companions for each other. We discussed many points connected with the management of our business at the meetings, and by interchanging with each other our views and experiences with different devices, methods of management, etc., we were able to get much valuable information, as well as social pleasure, from meeting one another.

"Now within the past few years things have been going from bad to worse with the manufacturers of linseed-oil. The long and short of it all was that the margin between the cost of the raw seed and running our mills, and what we could get for the oil cake and the linseed-oil in the market, has grown exceedingly narrow. It's hard to tell just what has caused it. They say over-production; but what has caused the over-production? One thing that may have had something to do with it is the new mills they have been putting up in the Northwest. Many of the Eastern mills used to get large quantities of seed from Iowa; but they are building cities out there now, as well as raising flaxseed, and when they were booming some of those cities they would raise heavy bonuses in aid of new enterprises. Among these were some great linseed-oil mills, which have loaded up the market pretty heavily of late years; so that not only has the price sagged down, but we have all had to work to get rid of our stocks. The firms which had the best mills and machinery, and were in a position to get their seed reasonably and put their goods on the market with least expense for transportation, etc., have been making a small profit over and above their expenses. But some of the works which had to bring their seed a long way, and which haven't quite as good machinery as can be had now, were in a bad way. There were some of the oldest houses in the trade among them, too, and with fine men at their head. It was too bad to have them go under. They tried to cut down expenses, but strikes and trouble with their men prevented their saving much in that way. Then there was one item of expense which they had to increase instead of cutting down: that was the cost of marketing. Competition was so fierce, that, in order to keep up their trade, they had to spend more on salaries of expensive salesmen, and in advertising and pushing their goods, than they would dream of ordinarily.

"It seemed too bad to cut each other's throats in that way, for that was what it amounted to, and when the association met—or what was left of it, for the business rivalries had grown so bitter that many of the former personal friendships between the members had become strained and one after the other had dropped out—the situation was discussed by the few members who met together. It was discussed earnestly, too, by men who felt an interest in what they said, because unless some remedy could be devised, they had got to sit still and watch the savings of a lifetime slip through their fingers. One thing was very clear to all. The competition was as sharp as any one could possibly wish, the public was not getting such a wonderful benefit after all. Prices were not so very much lower for oil, nor higher for seed. It was the selling expense which had run up to a ruinous figure; and on one point all the members were unanimous—that if all the firms in the trade could only work together in harmony in marketing their goods, they could save enough in salesmen's salaries, etc., to make a great difference in the profit-and-loss account without affecting the selling prices in the market one penny.

"Another very important matter, which we had to handle pretty tenderly in our discussions, was that of adulteration.

Argument for Monopolies.

I must confess that a good many firms in the trade, who used to be above any thing of the sort, have been marketing some goods in the past few years which were not exactly the "pure linseed-oil" which they were labeled. It's a mean business—adulteration—but not many of our customers ever test their purchases. The one thing they are apt to look at is price, for they are buying to sell again; and when rivals are selling a cheaper oil that seems just as good until it is laid on as the pure linseed that you are obliged to ask a higher price for, the temptation to meet them at their own game, rather than lose your old customers, is a very strong one. Certainly, when competition took this form, it hurt the public even more than it hurt us. When people wish to buy pure linseed-oil they ought to have some prospect of getting

it, instead of getting an adulterated mixture of various substances; but at the rate competition was running, there seemed to be small prospect that there would be any really pure linseed-oil put on the market in a short time. We have often discussed the possibility of stopping these adulterations, but it was a hard matter to cure by mere mutual agreement. How do I know what my competitor in a city 100 miles away does with the vats in his cellar after working hours, even if he has solemnly agreed not to adulterate his goods? For I must confess that there are a few men in our trade who are as tricky as horse jockeys.

"Quite a number of improvements have been patented in linseed-oil machinery in the past 20 years. Nothing wonderful, but things that effect little economies in the manufacture. We could have done without them; but when a few firms took them up, of course the rest had to follow suit, or fall behind in the race of competition. We have had to pay a heavy royalty on some of these machines, and it has been rather galling to count out our hard-earned dollars to the company which has bought up most of the patents, and is making 100 per cent. a year on what it paid for them, with no risk, and without doing a stroke of work. Now if we manufacturers could work in harmony, we could make this company come down from their high horse, and they would have to ask a reasonable price for their machines. But we could do more than this. It stands to reason that a good many improvements will be made in our machinery in the future. We don't object to paying a fair price to any inventor who will work out these new ideas for us; but it does seem unjust for him to go and sell them to some outside company for a song, and have that company bleed the users of the improvement for every ounce they will stand. Now, by working together, we can refuse to pay royalties on anything new which comes up; but require, instead, that any new patent in our line be submitted to a committee, who will examine and test it; and if they find it to be of value, will purchase it for the use of all members of the association.

"Some of the members thought this was as far as we ought to go. They were opposed to "trusts" on principle. But the great majority saw so clearly where we could continue to better ourselves that they became enthusiastic over it.

"Some speculators, in years of short crops, have occasionally tried to "corner" flaxseed in a small way. We could refuse to buy except directly from the growers, and that branch of speculation would be a thing of the past. We have sent out some pretty sharp men as buyers, and sometimes they have bought flaxseed in some of the backwoods districts at very low rates. At other times, two buyers from rival firms have run counter to each other, and paid prices larger than their employers could really afford. But with our combination, we cannot only fix uniform prices for seed, but we can send out only enough buyers to cover the territory; and the work of buying is reduced to simply inspecting and weighing the seed.

"Now another thing: Of course, not every manufacturer in the business owns his mills. It is a fact that since the close times of the past few years the majority of the firms are carrying mortgages on their mills; and some of them in the West are paying as high as 8 or 10 per cent. interest. But with the combined capital of all the firms in the trade at our back, we can change all that. Either by a guaranty, or by assuming the obligations, we can bring the interest charges on every mill in the association down to 4 or 5 per cent. at most.

"We have been paying enormous rates to fire insurance companies. They are not as familiar with our business as we are ourselves, and they don't know just how much risk there really is; so they charge us a rate which they make sure is high enough. We can combine together and insure ourselves on the mutual plan; and by stipulating that each firm shall establish and keep up such precautions against fire as an expert may direct, we cannot only reduce the cost of our insurance to that of our actual losses, but we can make these a very small amount.

"It may be said that we might have done all these things without forming any trust to control prices. But the practical fact was that we could not. There was so much "bad blood" between some of the different firms in the business, from the rivalry and the sharp competition for trade, that as long as that was kept up it was impossible to get them to have anything to do with each other in a business way. It was no small task to get these old feuds patched up; but some of the best and squarest men in the business went right into the work, and at meetings of the asso-

dition, and privately, exerted all their influence to forward this coming together for mutual aid and protection. They did it conscientiously, too, I think, believing that it was necessary to save many of us from financial ruin; and that we were not bound, under any circumstances, to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of the public. The trust has been formed, as every one knows, and many of the things we planned to do have been already accomplished. We have stopped adulterations on all goods made by members of the trust; and the improvement in the quality of linseed-oil which has been effected is an important benefit to the public. We are managing all the works in the trust as if it were all a single property, controlled by different managers; and the saving in expense, over the old plan of cut-throat competition, when everybody was striving to save himself and sink his rivals, is an enormous one.

"One thing which has caused much hue and cry is the fact that we have closed half a dozen mills or so. But the matter stood in this way: these mills were not favorably situated for doing business, all things considered; and all the mills in the country cannot run all the time, because there are more mills in existence than are needed to supply the market. These mills must have been closed soon, if the trust had not commenced operations, because they could not be run under the old *régime* and pay expenses. We knew we could make the oil at a less cost in our other mills, so we concluded to buy out the owners of these at a fair price, and shut up the works. Prices of linseed-oil have been raised somewhat, we confess; but we claim that they had been forced down much too low, by the excessive competition which has prevailed for a few years past. Of course some of the most hot-headed and grasping among us were anxious to force prices away up, when they once realized that we had an absolute monopoly of the linseed-oil trade of the country; but the great majority were practically unanimous in a demand for just prices only, and the adoption of the policy of live and let live; for trust-makers are not entirely selfish.

"We claim, moreover, that we are breaking no legal or moral law by this action. We are, for the most part, private parties or firms—but few corporations—hence the attempt to abolish trusts on the ground that the corporations composing trusts have exceeded the power given by their charters will fail to reach our case. We have certainly done this: we have killed competition in the linseed-oil trade; but we submit that with so many other interests and trades organized to protect themselves from outside competition, and control the prices at which their products are sold to the public, we were, in self-defense and for our own preservation, obliged to take this step.*

"If we omit the references to the especial trade, the above view of a trust from the trust-makers' standpoint will do for almost any of the many combinations which have been formed by different manufacturers for the purpose of controlling production and prices. One thing is clearly indicated in the above, and will certainly be conceded: that the men who have formed these trusts are animated by the same motives as those that govern humanity in general. They have, in some cases at least, known what it was to be crowded close to the wall by severe competition. They all at once saw a way opening by which they could be freed from the worries and losses which had been making their business one of small and uncertain profits, and would be set squarely on their feet with a sure prospect for large and steady gains. It is using a common expression to say that they would have been more than human if they had refused to improve this opportunity. Certainly, then, in examining further the trusts, we shall do so with no feeling of personal prejudice toward the men who originated them and carry them on.

"As we have given a hearing to the case from the trust-makers' standpoint, it is only fair that we should

hear at equal length from the public who oppose the trusts; but to abbreviate the investigation, let us suppose that we are already familiar with the various charges which are brought against the trust monopolies, and let us proceed at once to consider the actual effect of the trusts upon the public.

"Since we have heard so much in defense of the linseed-oil trust, it will be well for us to inquire concerning the results, in which the public is interested, which have followed its organization. During the year 1887 (the trust was formed in January of that year) the price per gallon of linseed-oil rose from 38 cents to 52 cents; and this price was kept up or exceeded during 1888. That is to say, every purchaser of linseed-oil, or every one who had occasion to have painting done, pays to the members of this trust, for every gallon of oil that he uses, about 14 cents *over and above* the sum which he would pay if competition were allowed to do its usual work in keeping down prices.

"What profits are the members of this trust making? Let us suppose that they were just able, at the old price of 38 cents per gallon, to pay all their running expenses and 4 per cent. on the capital invested, making nothing for profits beyond a fair salary to the managers of the business. Then the gain of 15 cents a gallon in the selling price is *clear profit* to them. Now add to this the fact, which was plainly brought out in the foregoing supposed statement by a member of the trust, that it is possible by means of the trust to greatly reduce expenses in many directions as well as to increase receipts, and we begin to form some conception of the profits which this trust is harvesting. If we wish to put the statement in figures, suppose we take the annual consumption of linseed-oil in the country at 30,000,000 gals. Then the profits of the trust from the increased prices alone will amount to \$4,500,000 per annum.

"There is another way in which trusts directly affect the public, which has received very much less attention than it deserves. Besides the people who use the linseed-oil and pay the trust an extra 14 cents a gallon for the privilege, there are a great number of people who would have used oil if the price had not advanced, but who cannot afford to do so at the advanced price. It is a well-known fact that every increase in the price of any article decreases the demand, and the advance in the price of linseed-oil has undoubtedly had a great effect in decreasing the consumption of oil. So while it is undoubtedly true that *at the trust's prices* there are more linseed-oil mills in the country than are needed to supply its wants, yet if the prices were lowered to the point which free competition would fix, there would probably be demand enough to keep all the mills running. To the trust, then, must be ascribed the final responsibility for the stoppage of the mills and the loss of employment by the workmen. Nor does the effect upon the labor market stop there. From the fact that less people can afford to paint their houses, because of the higher price of the oil, it is certain that there will be less employment for painters; and as less paint is used, all those interested in and employed in the paint trade are sufferers. It is to be remembered that we are speaking of the linseed-oil trust only to make the case more vivid. The principle is general, and applies equally well to other trusts, as, for instance, to the loss of employment by thousands of men working in refineries controlled by the sugar trust, in the fall of 1888. Still another effect of this trust's action is to be especially noted: the fact that the diminished production of oil lessens the demand for seed; and also that in the purchase of seed, as well as in the sale of oil, the trust has killed competition. The trust may, if it chooses, fix uniform prices for the seed which it purchases; and the farmer can take the prices they offer or keep his seed. Fortunately the farmer can raise other products instead of flaxseed, and will do so if the price is lowered by any large amount.

"One other possible mode of profit for the trusts, which, however, they are hardly likely to engage in—from their fear of public opinion, if for no other reason—lies in the power which they possess over the labor market. It will probably be conceded at once that the rate of wages in any occupation depends, among other things, upon the competition of the various workmen who seek employment in that occupation, and also upon the competition among those who wish to hire men to work at that occupation. It is plain that when the competition among employers to secure men is active, wages will rise; and when this competition falls off, wages will fall. Now the trust is more than a combination for selling purposes only. It is a combi-

The Answer.

* It should be explained that the above is not given as a *bona-fide* statement of facts concerning this especial trust, but as a vivid description of the organization and plans of a typical trust, from the standpoint of its owners and managers.

Probably, too, few or no existing trusts have tried to benefit themselves in so many different ways as we have supposed this imaginary trust to have done. But to shorten our investigation, the author has purposely extended the scope of this trust's action, to bring out clearly the variety and importance of the methods by which a trust reaps profits, aside from any advance in the price of its product.

nation of all the properties concerned under practically a single ownership. Clearly, then, as the various mills, belonging to a single owner will not compete with each other in the employment of labor, the mills belonging to a trust will be no more likely to do so. Thus if it were not for the fact that the workmen are able to take up some other employment if their wages are too low, they would be absolutely obliged to take what wages, great or small, the trust chose to give, and would be as dependent for their food and clothing upon the trust as was the slave upon his master. . . .

"The point to which we need to pay especial attention is the fact that the cost of production is continually being cheapened as it is carried on on a larger and larger scale. And because the cheaper mode of production must always displace the mode which is more expensive: as Professor Richard Ely expresses it, 'Production on the largest possible scale will be the only practical mode of production in the near future.' We need not stop to prove the statement that the cost of production by the modern factory system is a small fraction of that by the old workshop system. The fact that the former has beaten the latter in the race of competition would prove it, if it were not evident to the most careless observer. But it is also a fact that the trust, apart from its character as a monopoly, is actually a means of cheapening production over the system by independent factories, for it carries it on on a larger scale than it has ever before been conducted. Our review of the trust from the trust-makers' standpoint showed this most forcibly; and we shall see more of it as we study further the methods by which the monopoly gains an advantage over the independent producer in dispensing with what we may call the waste of competition. In the argument presented by the Standard Oil Trust before the House Committee on Manufactures in the summer of 1888, occurs the following statement of the work which that monopoly has done in cheapening production:

"The Standard Oil Trust offers to prove by various witnesses, including Messrs. Flagler and Rockefeller, that the disastrous condition of the refining business and the numerous failures of refiners prior to 1875 arose from imperfect methods of refining, want of cooperation among refiners, the prevalence of speculative methods in the purchase and sale of both crude and refined petroleum, sudden and great reductions in prices of crude, and excessive rates of freight; that these disasters led to cooperation and association among the refiners, and that such association and cooperation, resulting eventually in the Standard Oil Trust, has enabled the refiners so cooperating to reduce the price of petroleum products and thus benefit the public to a very marked degree, and that this has been accomplished:

"1. By cheapening transportation, both local and to the seaboard, through perfecting and extending the pipe-line system, by constructing and supplying cars with which oil can be shipped in bulk at less cost than in packages, and the cost of packages also be saved; by building tanks for the storage of oil in bulk; by purchasing and perfecting terminal facilities for receiving, handling, and reshipping oils; by purchasing or building steam tugs and lighters for seaboard or river service, and by building wharves, docks, and warehouses for home and foreign shipments.

"2. That by uniting the knowledge, experience, and skill, and by building manufactories on a more perfect and extensive scale, with approved machinery and appliances, they have been enabled to and do manufacture a better quality of illuminating oil at less cost, the actual cost of manufacturing having been thereby reduced about 66 per cent.

"3. That by the same methods, the cost of manufacture in barrels, tin cans, and wooden cases has been reduced from 50 to 60 per cent.

"4. That as a result of these savings in cost, the price of refined oils has been reduced since cooperation began, about nine cents per gallon, after making allowance for reduction in the price of crude oil, amounting to a saving to the public of about \$100,000,000 per annum."

"Certainly it would seem that this is a strong defense of the trust's character as a public benefactor; but it is well to note that while it has been making these expenditures and reducing the price of oil to the consumer, it has also been making some money for itself. The profits of this trust in 1887, according to the report of the committee appointed to investigate the subject of trusts by the New York Legislature, were \$20,000,000. The nominal capital of the trust is but \$90,000,000, a large portion of which is confessedly water. In answer to the statement that the price of oil has been reduced steadily by the operations of the

trust, it is charged that no thanks is due to the trust for this benefit. The trust has always wished to put up the price, but the continual increase in the production of the oil fields has obliged the trust to make low prices in order to dispose of its stock." (See STANDARD OIL COMPANY.)

To the above views must be added the views of those who hold that monopolies are due primarily to the great parent monopoly, the private ownership of land (the single-tax view), and the view that monopolies are due to the action of government (the view of the philosophical anarchists).

The single-tax men say that were natural opportunities taxed to their full rental value, private monopolies must disappear, because then the value of all natural opportunities, like building sites, mines, oil wells, railroad beds, streets, franchises, etc., would go to the community; other monopolies, they assert, could not be developed, because if all had access to land, even the weakest competitors could at least exist, and so prevent the stronger competitors from gaining a monopoly. Till the great parent monopoly of the land is destroyed, to fight lesser monopolies, say the single taxers, is hopeless.

Anarchists say that the source of all monopolies lies in a grant from Government, and that were this given up, monopolies could not continue a day save as they well served the public.

(But for all these views and for their answers, see ANARCHISM; COMPETITION; INDIVIDUALISM; NATIONALISM; NATURAL MONOPOLIES; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.)

References: *Monopolies and the People*, by C. W. Baker (1889); *Combinations, their Uses and Abuses*, by S. C. J. Dodd (1888). (See also SOCIALISM; NATURAL MONOPOLIES; INDIVIDUALISM, etc.)

MONT DE PIÉTÉS (from It. *monte di pietà*, fund of pity) are institutions established by public authority for lending money at moderate rates on the security of goods. They originated in Italy in the fifteenth century to counteract the usurious practices of the Jewish money-lenders.

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES LOUIS DE SECONDAT, BARON DE, was born near Bordeaux, France, in 1689. He was educated at the oratorian college of Juilly and the Academy of Bordeaux, but during his studies at Bordeaux he entered the Council of Bordeaux, and in 1716 became its president. Under the influence of Newton he interested himself in natural science. In 1721 he produced the *Lettres Persanes*, a satire by a supposed Persian traveler in France on French society. In 1725 came the *Temple de Gnide*, an allegorical prose poem. He was now elected to the Academy, but did not take his seat till 1728. He traveled in Germany and Italy, and spent two years in England studying social institutions, and wrote several minor political works preparatory to his masterpiece, *L'Esprit des Loix* (1748). Its character is indicated by its full title: "On the Spirit of Laws; or, the Necessary Relations between a Country's Laws and the Nature of its Government, its Manners, Climate, Religion, Commerce," etc. It was received with great enthusiasm, and ran through 22 editions in a year and a half. To the objections it

called forth Montesquieu replied in his *Défense de l'Esprit des Lois* (1750). After writing other minor works, Montesquieu died in 1755. (For his main teachings, see POLITICAL SCIENCE.)

MORAL ELEMENT IN SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—Perhaps no characteristic of the present efforts for social reform are more hopeful and more important than the deepening emphasis now placed—however far we may yet be from placing all the emphasis we ought—on the moral element in social reform. A hundred years ago the key-word in social reform was “natural rights,” and in economics “*laissez faire*.” To-day the key-word in reform is “cooperation,” and in economics “character.” If this may seem to some too optimistic a view, we remind them that individualist, socialist, and even anarchist reformers all seek cooperation, while in economics the reason why individualist economists fear socialism is that they believe that it will deteriorate character, and the reason why socialist economists seek socialism is their belief that under individualism character is deteriorating. Undoubtedly there are also evil signs to-day. Many socialist reformers come perilously near to an unethical materialism, and many individualist economists approach a cynical belief that the only thing which can be counted on to dominate activity is a material self-interest. Doubtless, too, it is possible to minimize the moral element which existed 100 years ago. If the doctrine of “natural rights” (*q.v.*) produced the French and perhaps the American Revolution, it was often striven for with a devotion and sacrifice of the most ethical kind. Of the economics of Adam Smith, Arnold Toynbee, who criticises them, says (*Industrial Revolution*):

“Two conceptions are woven into every argument of the *Wealth of Nations*, the belief in the supremacy of individual liberty and the conviction that man's self-love is God's providence, so that the individual, in pursuit of his own interest, is promoting the interest of all.”

Nevertheless, neither ignoring our own deficiencies nor minimizing the moral element of the past, it must be recognized that economics have been considerably moralized within the century, particularly in England, and that the present widespread effort for social reform upon all lines indicates in itself a deepening and a widening of the moral impulse. Under the old political economy, especially with the successors of Adam Smith rather than with Adam Smith himself, men, as Bagehot (*q.v.*) shows, were conceived as simply “economic men,” “money-making animals.” To-day political economy, particularly of the psychologic school and to a less extent of the historical school, considers man in his full, round nature. Again, the aim of the old political economy was the wealth of nations considered mainly from the standpoint of material production.

To-day political economy gives at least a considerably increased attention to the problems of distribution, and to the good of the working classes. It has become far less of a pure science and much more of a practical art. This change is largely due to Mill, or, at least, be-

comes first prominent in his work. In the introduction to his *Political Economy* (1848), he says:

“The design of the book is different from that of any treatise on political economy which has been produced in England since the work of Adam Smith.

“The most characteristic quality of that work, and the one in which it most differs from some others which have equaled and even surpassed it as mere expositions of the general principles of the subject, is that it invariably associates the principles with their applications. This of itself implies a much wider range of ideas and of topics than are included in political economy, considered as a branch of abstract speculation. For practical purposes, political economy is inseparably intertwined with many other branches of social philosophy. Except in matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone. And it is because Adam Smith never loses sight of this truth; because, in his applications of political economy, he perpetually appeals to other and often far larger considerations than pure political economy affords, that he gives the well-grounded feeling of command over the principles of the subject for purposes of practice, owing to which the *Wealth of Nations*, alone among treatises on political economy, has not only been popular with general readers, but has impressed itself strongly on the minds of men of the world and of legislators.

“It appears to the present writer that a work similar in its object and general conception to that of Adam Smith, but adapted to the more extended knowledge and improved ideas of the present age, is the kind of contribution which political economy at present requires.”

Since Mill, political economy has steadily grown “moral.” Professor Ely divides the evolution of political economy into three periods. He says (*Introduction to Political Economy*, pp. 105, 106):

“Economic goods are first made the primary thing, and they are treated almost as if their production was an independent process apart from the will of man, one extreme writer going so far as to say that the laws governing the production of wealth would be just what they are if man did not exist. The social relations involved in the production and consumption of economic goods are then considered more carefully, and finally the original process is reversed, and it is distinctly asserted that ‘the starting-point as well as the object-point of our science is man’ (Roscher's *Political Economy*, vol. i. of Lalor's translation, p. 52).

“The definition of political economy found in Mrs. Fawcett's little *Political Economy* may be taken as a fair presentation of the first class of conceptions. It is as follows: ‘Political economy is the science which investigates the nature of wealth and the laws which govern its production, exchange, and distribution.’

“The definition of political economy found in John Stuart Mill's treatise may be taken as a tolerably accurate presentation of the second class of conceptions. ‘Writers on political economy,’ says Mill, ‘profess to teach or investigate the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including directly or remotely the operation of all the causes by which the condition of mankind or of any society of human beings in respect to this universal object of human desire is made prosperous or the reverse.’ Social relations are dragged in through a back door, as it were.” As an illustration of the third period, Professor Ely quotes Professor Henry C. Adams, of the University of Michigan, as saying of political economy, in his *Outlines of Lectures upon Political Economy*, that it “treats of industrial society. Its purpose as an analytic science is to explain the industrial actions of men. Its purpose as a constructive science is to discover a scientific and rational basis for the formation and government of industrial society.”

The present moral danger of modern political economy is over analysis. Says Dr. Edward Caird (*The Moral Aspect of the Economical Problem*, a presidential address to the Ethical Society):

"It is the peculiar temptation of students of science and literature to cultivate a so-called critical spirit—a consciousness of scientific law, that has no tolerance for any form of zeal which is not quite according to knowledge or a literary sense, the delicacy and quickness of which is easily turned into faultfinding and intolerance of every thought and feeling which does not express itself in conformity with its own standards. The devil of these modern days is not, as Goethe said, the northern phantom with horns and hoofs, not the spirit which inspires a rabid witchlike frenzy for evil, that mocks the sacred enthusiasm for good; it is the spirit which always denies, which sees nothing but pretense in virtue, nothing but illusion in the higher hopes and faiths of man. This chilling doubt is the shadow that accompanies our advancing knowledge, sometimes taking away the good of it, and making us almost wish for the simpler faiths and unhesitating instincts of an earlier time. . . . It is this that turns science aside into the way of a false realistic analysis, which 'has the parts in its hand, but has lost all consciousness of the spiritual bond which united them.' It is this which reduces life to its crude elements, and then doubts whether it is worth living; it is this finally that so fills us with the sense of the difficulties and disadvantages of every step to improve the condition of man, that we shrink into isolation and inaction. . . .

"This is the devil which is most dangerous to the soul that has been swept and garnished by culture, and which that soul must repel if it would save itself from growing weakness and moral decay. As a class, men of culture are not much in danger of being possessed by a frantic love of evil and hatred of good, but sometimes they are in danger of losing a belief in the greatness of the issues of existence which are hid under its littleness, and in the worth of every human life, in spite of the triviality and meanness of its appearance."

But more than to any advance in academic political economy is the present indebted to the great moral reformers, like Carlyle, Ruskin, Maurice, Mazzini, and Tolstoi. For their position and contributions to

Reformers. social reform, see their respective names; but it is to Ruskin, more than to any other modern reformer, we owe the conceptions that wealth is well living; that the life is more than meat; that man should own property and not property own man. It is to Carlyle that we owe an exaltation of the possibility of man, and the assertion of manhood over social and economic shams. It is to Maurice that the Church of to-day mainly owes her Christian Socialism. It is Mazzini who, more strongly than any, has emphasized duty as greater than rights, and God as above materialism. Tolstoi, more than any other, has taught individualists the greatness of sacrifice. (For a consideration, however, of the moral element in social reform, so far as it has taken the form of Christian thought and effort, see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Outside of the Church the deepest contribution to the moralization of reform, except from individuals like the above, has come from the positivist school and from the modern ethical movement.

Said Frederic Harrison (*q.v.*) (*Address on Moral and Religious Socialism*, January 1, 1891), the central social maxim of positivism is "to make political interests give way to moral duties." Its aim is a religion of humanity, the service of man. As for the various societies of ethical culture in America and Europe, their avowed object is "the elevation of the moral life of its members and that of the community," and everywhere its societies are calling attention to the moral side of social reforms.

It must be remembered that our subject is the moral element in social reform. It is questioned

by some if society is growing moral. (See CRIME.) Says J. M. Whiton (*The Reaction of Ethics upon Economics*, address at Yale College, June, 1888):

"We are now threatened with moral chaos in the world of trade, as the natural result of that Lucretian vortex of atoms, out of which Smith and his disciples imagined an economic cosmos would come. So dispassionate an observer as Professor H. Sidgwick, of Cambridge, criticises 'the anti-social temper and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition,' and inquires 'whether the whole individualistic organization of industry, whatever its material advantages be, is not open to condemnation as radically demoralizing.' The question is answered by Professor Graham, of Belfast: 'Our practical working ethics, as distinct from the ethics of the schools, often grand enough, is narrowed to the lowest egoism and the coarsest moral materialism.' . . .

"These old questions, newly moved by authorities whom it is folly to disparage, we see seconded on every hand by spectacles which stir the common mind to thinking on the problems thus proposed; as by heightening contrasts between the neighbors Opulence and Indigence, by the purchase of ground for a ten-million-dollar cathedral in honor of Christ, while the slums, where Christ's little ones die in noisome heat by thousands, remain undisturbed, and even lucrative at 35 per cent. . . .

"Our political seers, also, have heard the surf through the fog, and are crying from their look-out, 'Breakers ahead.' 'Nowhere in the world,' says our Professor Sumner, 'is the danger of a plutocracy as formidable as it is here. . . . Already the question presents itself as one of life or death to democracy. . . . The task before us is one which calls for fresh reserves of moral force and political virtue from the very foundations of the social body.'"

Nevertheless, the very recognition of these evils and the effort to meet them indicate an advance. Even our wealthy men, who sneer at social reform, are compelled, as never before, to practise a "gospel of wealth;" and it is among the best signs of the times that never, as now, was philanthropy so criticised for giving to the poor only what it has first taken from the poor, bestowing on universities and charities that which it gathered by avarice and perhaps by fraud.

We are developing, as Mr. H. D. Lloyd (*q.v.*) has asserted, "a new conscience." Long ago Mazzini wrote: "Every political question is becoming a social question, and every social question is rapidly becoming a religious question." Matthew Arnold defines civilization as "the humanizing, the bringing into one harmonious and truly humane life of the whole body of society." If this is not true of civilization to-day, it is at least the present aim and endeavor of social reform.

References: the above-quoted essays and addresses; the works of Ruskin, Carlyle, Mazzini, Maurice, Tolstoi, etc. (*q.v.*); *Social Philosophy and Religion of Auguste Comte*, by E. Caird (1885); *Prolegomena to Ethics*, by T. H. Green (1890); *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, by J. S. Mackenzie; *History of Ethics*, by H. Sidgwick (1892); *Principles of Ethics*, by H. Spencer. (See also CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

MORALITY AND SOCIALISM.—Many writers believe that socialism would subvert morality. In Mr. Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty* he argues that the sense of right and wrong is the basis of the respect for property and for the obligation of contract, and that it is being subverted by socialists. He quotes (vol. i., p. 310) the *Sozial Demokrat*, the organ of the German socialists, as saying:

"The socialistic State will never be realized except

by a violent revolution, and it is our duty to spread this conviction through all classes. . . . Christianity is the greatest enemy of socialism. . . . When God is expelled from human brains, what is called the Divine Grace will at the same time be banished; and when the heaven above appears nothing more than an immense falsehood, men will seek to create for themselves a heaven below." Marx himself once wrote: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." Gabriel Deville, a French socialist, is quoted as saying in his introduction to a translation of Marx's *Capital*, that socialists when in power must "proceed by law to the economical expropriation of those whom they will have already dethroned by force. . . . It is only necessary to destroy the title-deeds, shares or obligations, treating those dirty documents as waste paper." In England the Fabian Society is committed in its declared principles to the transfer to the community of land and industrial capital "without compensation (tho not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community)." The Social Democrat Federation has as a plank in its platform "the repudiation of the national debt." In the United States Mr. George (*Social Problems*, pp. 213-221) argues it as "a preposterous assumption that one generation should be bound by the debts of its predecessors."

Again, radical reformers are accused of violating family morality. In Germany, Bebel, in his *Woman*, freely argues for the baldest "free love." Deville (see above) says:

"Marriage is a regulation of property. . . . When property is transformed, and only after that transformation, marriage will lose its reason for existence, and boys and girls may then freely and without fear of censure listen to the wants and promptings of their nature. . . . The support of the children will no longer depend on the chance of birth. Like their instruction, it will become a charge of society. There will be no room for prostitution or for marriage, which is in sum nothing more than prostitution before the mayor." In England Mr. Hyndman writes (*Historical Basis of Socialism*, p. 452): "In the German Christian sense of marriage for life, and responsibility of the parents for the children born in wedlock, is almost at an end even now," and must result in "a widely extended communism." Mr. Morris and Mr. Bax, in their *Socialism, in its Growth and Outcome*, contend that "marriage should be a voluntary association, dissoluble by either party at pleasure."

It is true, as Mr. Lecky points out, that by no means all socialist and radical reformers hold these views, but such utterances from socialist leaders, he says, will help the reader understand "why it is that German statesmen regard the socialists not as a normal political party, but as the deadly enemies of their country and of civilized society."

The opposite side to this view is, in the first place, to recognize that, as Prof. Schäffle, the best non-socialist authority on socialism, has pointed out in his *Quintessence of Socialism*, socialism as a movement is by no means committed to either confiscation or free love. Many socialists believe in these, but so do many not socialists.

As to radical views of marriage, not to speak of continental writers, witness the tendency in the novels of Mallock, Grant Allen, and even Hardy in the United States. No one school of thought is to be condemned for having among its members those who hold such views.

"As to confiscation through taxation," Professor Hadley says (*Economics*, p. 472), "most would be willing to agree that more taxes should be assessed upon economic rent and less upon improvements."

Secondly, socialists say it is the present which develops immorality. If socialists would through legal forms confiscate the property of the wealthy to establish justice, the present confiscates the property of the poor to establish injustice.

Which is the worse? At present the poor work for the rich through compulsion. Their agreements to receive low wages are forced agreements. "They are like the bargain that a naked and shivering swimmer might be induced to make with a larger man in possession of the swimmer's clothes." It is this subversion of the moral sense, in seeing those who work the hardest get the least, and many who do not work at all living in luxury, not a few prospering by downright gambling or industrial robbery, that, socialists say, is the danger to-day. If socialism would confiscate through taxation large properties, it would at least give all an equal share in proportion to work done. If it would use force, it would only use force when the possessed classes, having been defeated at the polls, try by force to prevent a victorious socialist party from enacting its will. Almost all socialists believe that more or less force will be necessary in such instance, but only because they believe that the wealthy will first draw the sword. As for free love, to-day divorce is on the increase and prostitution frightfully common. Socialism would end prostitution, the sale of the body for money, and allow all who will to live in permanent monogamy. It would simply not force continuance in unwilling marriage. Such are the two views. (See PROSTITUTION; DIVORCE; FAMILY, section on Free Love.)

MORAVIANS.—The Moravian Church, or Church of the United Brethren, the *Unitas Fratrum*, originated in the reformation of John Huss in Bohemia and Moravia in the fifteenth century. Almost crushed out by persecution, it was revived in 1722 at Herrnhut by Count Zinzendorf, and the policy was adopted of propagating its faith by forming missionary semi-communal colonies, which by a quiet fraternal life, joined to a pietistic faith, should influence the world. Since 1732 more than 2200 missionaries have gone out. These communities celebrated love feasts (*agape, q.v.*), and in every way developed the fraternal spirit. Since 1856 these fraternal customs have, however, disappeared from Moravian settlements in the United States, where the Moravians numbered 19,497 in 1890—about half those in the world.

MORE, SIR THOMAS, was born in London in 1478, the son of a judge of the court of King's Bench. He became at the age of 15 a page in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Prime Minister. In 1497 he entered Oxford University, and afterward studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London, and resided for some years at a Gray Friars monastery. In 1502 he became a judge in the sheriff's court. He also became Member of Parliament for Middlesex. Sir James Mackintosh says of him that "he is the first person in our [English] history distinguished by the faculty of public speaking, and is remarkable for the successful employment of it in Parliament against a lavish grant of money to the Crown." The occasion referred to was when he persuaded the House of Commons not to grant a supply to Henry VII. on the marriage of his daugh-

ter. About 1514 he wrote his famous *Utopia*, which was printed in Louvain (1516) under the editorship of his friend Erasmus, and was soon translated into many languages. In 1521 More was knighted and appointed treasurer of the exchequer, and in 1523, speaker of the House of Commons. In 1529 he was appointed lord-chancellor in place of Cardinal Wolsey. Tho opposed to Luther, who had attacked Erasmus as well as Henry VIII., he nevertheless in 1532 resigned the great seal because his conscience refused to sanction the divorce of Queen Catherine and the second marriage of the king. Having declined to take the oath by which he was required to recognize the validity of the marriage of Anne Boleyn, he was consigned to the Tower of London in 1534. After he had been in prison for a year he was charged with treason in that he denied the king's supremacy as head of the Church, and finally was condemned and beheaded on July 6, 1535. All the accounts we have of Sir Thomas More's life agree in describing him as of unusual greatness, pure-minded, just and generous, with an inexhaustible flow of sprightly wit; and tho as a statesman bound by his surroundings, yet able to see clearly the evils of despotism and monarchy, and in heart, as is shown in his *Utopia*, a democratic republican. In this book More first introduces his readers to a traveler and philosopher whom he meets in Antwerp, just returned from journeyings in strange lands; he had started out with Vespucci on his last voyage, but leaving him at the farthest point had pushed on to other strange lands, and finally to the island of Utopia, whose laws and customs impressed him greatly, and which he relates at length to More. The descriptions show a very keen perception of the causes of misgovernment, while the sentiments put into the mouth of the traveler when he is discussing English institutions show that Sir Thomas More was at heart, at all events, a pronounced republican, and one who loved his fellow-men rather than institutions. In Utopia all save the old and infirm are expected to labor six hours a day; all goods of every kind are owned in common; and the people chose their houses every ten years by lot, and dine together in large halls. They have no money of any kind, and consider gold and silver as the basest of metals, fit only for ignoble uses. All personal adornment they consider as childish and degrading. Their priests are few in number, but are universally revered for their sanctity and their courage in time of war. There are two religious orders among them, very similar to the Order of St. Francis of Assisi; their endeavor is to purify their souls by engaging in the lowliest and most unattractive labors. Religious intolerance is a thing unknown, as it is the doctrine of the Utopians that belief is largely a matter of environment and birth. There are 24 cities in Utopia, equal in extent. The government is largely directed by a council composed of three wise men from each city, who are elected by their fellow-citizens. The criminals of the cities are enslaved, and obliged to perform the more laborious and disagreeable work.

MORELLI was a French writer of the

eighteenth century, of whose life Larousse's *Dictionnaire* says that absolutely nothing is known, tho according to some accounts he was an abbé and lived at Vitrey-le-François. Several of his writings, however, are known and are important, especially his *Essai sur l'esprit humain* (1745); *le Prince, les delices du cœur ou Traité des qualités d'un grand roi et système d'un sage gouvernement* (2 vols., 1751); *Naufrage des îles flottantes à la Basiliade*, a social Utopia; above all, his *Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois de tout temps négligé ou méconnue* (1755), a book influential in forming the social theories of the French Revolution, and said to be the inspirer of Babœuf (*q.v.*).

MORMONISM.—The Mormon Church we consider here simply in its relation to economic and social problems. Born in 1831 at Fayette, N. Y., of the preaching of Joseph Smith, Jr., based on the revelation he claimed to have received on golden plates written, long hidden, and finally revealed to Smith by a prophet Mormon who is stated to have lived in America some time after Christ Himself, in some mysterious way, had preached Christianity in America. Mormonism claims to be a Christian religion, believing in Christ, in the Trinity, and in the Bible. With *The Book of Mormon* Smith's preaching gained many followers, and in 1831 a prosperous Mormon settlement was made at Kirkland, O., and a temple built. Persecuted, however, here, Smith led his followers in 1837 to Far West, Mo., and driven from there to Nauvoo, Ill., where their numbers reached 12,000, and they were prosperous in every way. A discontented member, however, made trouble, denounced and attacked Smith. Serious dissension arose; the civil authorities were called upon, and Smith was shot by a mob from the outlying region in 1844. Brigham Young, who had joined the sect in 1832, now became leader, and led the community to Council Bluffs in 1845, and in 1847, after an amazing march across the prairies and over the mountains, founded in territory then far beyond the limits of the United States what is now Salt Lake City, in Utah. When the United States acquired this territory, the Mormons desired to form a new State called Deseret, or the Land of the Honey Bee, but Congress would not allow this, and in 1850 the Territory of Utah was formed, Brigham Young being the first governor. In 1852 the practice of polygamy was first openly proclaimed, and even enjoined upon Mormons as a means of grace, tho it is said to have been promulgated within the church in 1843, and is said by some to have been practised by the leaders from the beginning of the church. This step created opposition through the country, and as early as 1862 Congress took some steps to stamp it out. Little, however, was accomplished. The Mormon priesthood had all the power in the territory, and little could be done. In 1882 stronger efforts were made. The Edmunds law made bigamy and polygamy in all United States territories punishable with a fine of not over \$500 and imprisonment up to five years. Any one cohabiting with more than one woman could be imprisoned six months or fined \$300, or both.

Any juryman who believed in polygamy could be challenged. All elections were conducted by a special federal commission, and polygamists were disenfranchised; 12,000 men and women—for women had been given the franchise by the Mormon authorities in 1870, and had strongly supported the church—were thus disenfranchised. Later, in 1887, all women were disenfranchised. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offenses. Witnesses were compelled to testify. Marriages must be fully registered, and all illegitimate were denied right of inheritance. Special oaths were required from voters declaring that they were not polygamists. By such severe measures polygamy was broken up, and in 1890 Gentiles for the first time obtained control of the municipal government; 1100 persons were said to have been convicted of polygamy, and over \$50,000 of church property was confiscated. Finally in 1890 President Wilford Woodruff issued a pronouncement against polygamy. Brigham Young had died in 1877, and had been followed by John Taylor, and then Woodruff. Since then the division between Mormons and Gentiles has largely died away. Intermarriages take place. Social and business intercourse is continual. In 1894 President Cleveland granted amnesty and civil rights to all convicted of polygamy. In 1896 Utah was admitted as a State. The church authorities, however, are still accused of demanding obedience to them in political as well as religious affairs. There were in 1890, 50,000 Gentiles in Utah and 110,000 Mormons. There are perhaps as many more Mormons in Idaho, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico, Colorado, and Washington.

The industrial and economic development of the Mormons, or the Church of Jesus Christ or Latter Day Saints, as they are called, is more attractive. The system seems to have been purely paternal and even tyrannical, but under the rule of the heads of the church industry was encouraged, all were given land, none were allowed to go in want, some fine buildings were erected. Even in the polygamous period only 10 per cent. of the people were said to have practised polygamy. Prominent wives and children of plural marriages declared their homes happy. Prostitution was unknown. Favoritism between wives was forbidden. On the other hand, pathetic stories were told of the suffering of the women, and dark massacres, like those of Mountain Meadows in 1857, and other deeds of cruelty, seem to have been traced to the doors of the leading authorities of the church.

MORRIS, WILLIAM, was born at Walthamstow, near London, in 1834. He was educated first at the school of that place, at Marlborough, and at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1856 he was articled to Mr. Street, the architect. He also studied painting, but in 1863 devoted himself mainly to the design and manufacture of artistic household furniture, wall paper, stained glass, and other decorations. He also later on started an ideal factory near Merton Abbey, and founded the "Kelmscott Press," for printing according to the canons of the truest art. In literature he early commenced contributing to the papers, mainly the *Oxford and*

Cambridge Magazine. In 1858 he published *The Defense of Guenevère and other Poems*; in 1867, *The Life and Death of Jason*, a heroic poem in 17 books. From 1868-70 *The Earthly Paradise* came out in installments. In 1876 appeared his Virgil's *Æneid*, "done into English verse;" and in 1877 *The Story of Sigurd, the Volsung, and the Fall of the Niblungs*, by many considered his masterpiece. Up to this time he had been, as he called himself, "the idle singer of an empty day." His experience in the commercialism and consequent degradation of modern art now drove him to socialism. In 1885 he was instrumental in forming the Socialist League, and since that time he worked strenuously for socialism, editing and writing for *The Commonweal*, attending meetings and addressing open-air audiences of working men. He published numerous socialist lectures, tracts and chants, such as *Art and Socialism* (1884); *Signs of Change* (1888); *Useful Work versus Useless Toil*, etc. His later poems are Homer's *Odyssey*, done into English verse (1887); *A Tale of the House of Wolfings* (1889); *The Wood Beyond the World* (1895). The above, however, are only a portion of his works. In 1888 he republished from *The Commonweal*, *A Dream of John Ball*, a most beautiful socialist prose poem; in 1892 *News from Nowhere*, a socialistic and artistic Utopia; and in 1894, in conjunction with Belfort Bax, *Socialism, its Growth and Outcome*. Altho he retired from the editorship of *The Commonweal*, which has passed into anarchist hands, Mr. Morris worked most fruitfully as "poet, artist, and socialist," until his death, which occurred October 3, 1896.

MORTGAGES.—We consider this subject under two heads: first, the statistics of mortgages; second, their significance.

I. STATISTICS.

Extra Bulletin No. 98 of the United States Census, 1890, says:

"There are 12,690,152 families in the United States, and of these families 52.20 per cent. hire their farms or homes and 47.80 per cent. own them, while 27.07 per cent. of the owning families own subject to encumbrance and 72.03 per cent. own free of encumbrance. Among 100 families, on the average, 52 hire their farms or homes, 13 own with encumbrance, and 35 without encumbrance. On the owned farms and homes there are liens amounting to \$2,132,949,563, which is 37.50 per cent. of the value of the encumbered farms and homes, and this debt bears interest at the average rate of 6.65 per cent. Each owned and encumbered farm or home, on the average, is worth \$3352, and is subject to a debt of \$1257.

"In regard to the families occupying farms, the conclusion is, that 34.08 per cent. of the families hire and 65.92 per cent. own the farms cultivated by them; that 28.22 per cent. of the owning families own subject to encumbrance and 71.78 per cent. own free of encumbrance. Among 100 farm families, on the average, 34 hire their farms, 19 own with encumbrance, and 47 without encumbrance. On the owned farms there are liens amounting to \$1,085,995,960, which is 35.55 per cent. of the value of the encumbered farms, and this debt bears interest at the average rate of 7.07 per cent. Each owned and encumbered farm, on the average, is worth \$3444, and is subject to a debt of \$1224.

"The corresponding facts for the families occupying homes are, that 63.10 per cent. hire and 36.90 per cent. own their homes; that of the home-owning families, 72.30 per cent. own free of encumbrance and 27.70 per cent. with encumbrance. In 100 home families, on the average, 63 hire their homes, 10 own with encumbrance, and 27 without encumbrance. The debt

on owned homes aggregates \$1,046,953,603, or 39.77 per cent. of the value of the encumbered homes, and bears interest at the average rate of 6.23 per cent. An average debt of \$1293 encumbers each home, which has an average value of \$3250.

Ownership of Homes and Farms.

There are 420 cities and towns that have a population of 8000 to 100,000, and in these cities and towns 64.04 per cent. of the home families hire and 35.96 per cent. own their homes, and of the home-owning families 34.11 per cent. own with encumbrance and 65.89 per cent. own free of encumbrance. In 100 home families, on the average, are found 64 that hire their homes, 12 that own with encumbrance, and 24 that own without encumbrance. The liens on the owned homes are 39.55 per cent. of the value of those subject to lien. Several averages show that the rate of interest is 6.29 per cent.; value of each owned and encumbered home, \$3447; lien on the same, \$1363.

"The cities that have a population of 100,000 and over number 23, and in these cities 77.17 per cent. of the home families hire and 22.83 per cent. own their homes; 37.80 per cent. of the home-owning families have encumbrance on their homes, and 62.20 per cent. own and occupy homes free of encumbrance. Among 100 home families, on the average, 77 hire, 9 own with encumbrance, and 14 without encumbrance. Averages for each owned and encumbered home: Encumbrance, \$2337; value, \$5555; rate of interest, 5.75 per cent. Homes are encumbered for 42.07 per cent. of their value; . . . 60.05 per cent. of the families occupying owned and encumbered farms and homes have encumbrances of less than \$1000, and the amount of the encumbrance is 20.70 per cent. of the total amount on all owned and encumbered farms and homes; and in the case of encumbrances amounting to \$5000 and over, the families are represented by 3.60 per cent. of the total, and the amount of encumbrance by 24.49 per cent."

AGGREGATE AND PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OCCUPYING OWNED AND HIRED, AND FREE AND ENCUMBERED FARMS AND HOMES, BY STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Aggregate of Families Occupying Farms.	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING AND HIRING FARMS.		PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING FREE AND ENCUMBERED FARMS.		Aggregate of Families Occupying Homes.	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING AND HIRING HOMES.		PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES OWNING FREE AND ENCUMBERED HOMES.	
		Owning.	Hiring.	Free.	Encumbered.		Owning.	Hiring.	Free.	Encumbered.
The United States.....	4,767,179	65.92	34.08	47.32	18.60	7,922,973	36.90	63.10	26.68	10.22
Alabama.....	166,609	43.15	56.85	41.27	1.88	120,602	22.88	77.12	22.19	0.69
Arizona.....	2,299	80.12	19.88	74.64	5.48	11,196	44.82	55.18	42.84	1.98
Arkansas.....	146,970	53.94	46.06	51.68	2.26	66,650	32.85	67.15	30.93	1.92
California.....	55,534	76.08	23.92	51.35	24.73	190,176	39.79	60.21	30.76	9.03
Colorado.....	19,178	80.39	19.61	59.90	20.49	65,098	40.30	59.70	31.15	9.15
Connecticut.....	26,439	82.32	17.68	56.72	25.60	139,451	33.85	66.15	18.26	15.59
Delaware.....	9,381	50.58	49.42	35.71	14.87	25,197	33.29	66.71	20.41	12.88
District of Columbia.....	387	62.53	37.47	59.95	2.58	43,580	25.20	74.80	19.15	6.05
Florida.....	36,625	65.16	34.84	63.24	1.92	43,434	37.46	62.54	35.73	1.73
Georgia.....	175,688	41.90	58.10	40.48	1.42	176,371	21.00	79.00	20.41	0.50
Idaho.....	7,997	88.57	11.43	74.11	14.46	10,116	58.47	41.53	55.23	3.24
Illinois.....	252,953	63.28	36.72	40.05	23.23	525,062	43.10	56.90	30.25	12.85
Indiana.....	205,435	70.43	29.57	47.34	23.41	261,815	47.15	52.85	35.01	12.14
Iowa.....	205,435	70.43	29.57	32.90	37.53	183,082	55.04	44.96	40.31	14.73
Kansas.....	171,145	68.97	31.03	30.71	38.26	126,213	50.15	49.85	30.51	19.64
Kentucky.....	188,560	65.27	34.73	62.62	2.65	165,993	32.02	67.98	29.85	2.17
Louisiana.....	79,705	44.49	55.51	42.71	1.78	134,418	20.72	79.28	19.92	0.80
Maine.....	62,122	92.38	7.62	71.97	20.41	88,233	48.02	51.98	37.77	10.25
Maryland.....	41,372	62.77	37.23	43.93	18.84	166,807	31.87	68.13	23.70	8.17
Massachusetts.....	34,576	84.94	15.06	50.07	25.87	445,214	32.72	67.28	19.85	12.87
Michigan.....	176,764	82.99	17.01	42.03	40.96	278,240	50.49	49.51	34.21	16.28
Minnesota.....	117,893	84.75	15.25	45.44	39.31	130,082	46.99	53.01	30.05	16.94
Mississippi.....	161,080	37.73	62.27	34.82	2.91	80,068	22.27	77.73	21.31	0.66
Missouri.....	250,832	68.95	31.05	43.83	25.12	277,463	36.26	63.74	26.14	10.12
Montana.....	6,441	86.60	13.40	73.11	13.49	21,060	43.70	56.30	38.31	5.39
Nebraska.....	115,928	72.99	27.01	35.04	37.95	90,892	43.91	56.09	27.99	15.92
Nevada.....	1,514	83.88	16.12	60.48	14.40	8,656	56.08	43.92	53.87	2.21
New Hampshire.....	29,151	80.08	10.92	60.67	19.41	58,197	39.27	60.73	29.33	9.94
New Jersey.....	31,942	67.89	32.11	34.69	33.20	276,397	31.93	68.07	17.54	14.39
New Mexico.....	9,518	88.18	11.82	85.54	2.64	25,986	62.70	37.30	60.80	1.81
New York.....	226,632	77.06	22.94	43.02	34.04	1,081,383	29.28	70.72	17.80	11.48
North Carolina.....	182,791	58.28	41.72	55.43	2.85	124,161	25.77	74.23	24.51	1.26
North Dakota.....	28,225	90.10	9.90	46.25	43.85	10,253	45.30	54.70	32.77	12.53
Ohio.....	256,264	72.75	27.25	51.72	21.03	529,027	45.36	54.64	32.21	13.15
Oklahoma.....	10,419	95.05	4.95	95.05	...	4,610	68.46	31.54	68.46	...
Oregon.....	27,639	81.42	18.58	62.40	10.02	36,152	46.72	53.28	33.62	13.10
Pennsylvania.....	211,472	74.21	25.79	53.87	20.34	850,154	35.94	64.06	24.93	11.01
Rhode Island.....	5,500	75.00	25.00	60.71	14.29	69,510	26.03	73.97	16.25	9.78
South Carolina.....	117,405	38.51	61.49	35.43	3.08	105,536	17.93	82.07	16.78	1.15
South Dakota.....	49,540	83.81	16.19	39.91	43.90	20,710	54.88	45.12	34.66	20.22
Tennessee.....	183,726	58.12	41.88	56.25	1.87	150,468	28.98	71.02	27.30	1.59
Texas.....	248,782	50.77	49.23	47.87	2.90	162,469	39.14	60.86	37.47	1.67
Utah.....	11,884	90.57	9.43	85.55	5.02	26,932	60.65	39.35	55.49	5.16
Vermont.....	32,573	82.38	17.62	45.85	36.53	43,296	45.61	54.39	28.79	16.82
Virginia.....	132,790	61.04	38.96	59.99	1.95	171,883	27.86	72.14	26.73	1.13
Washington.....	24,047	81.59	18.41	59.75	21.84	46,930	40.27	59.73	32.21	3.06
West Virginia.....	76,157	73.58	26.42	64.03	9.55	64,202	36.34	63.66	29.46	6.88
Wisconsin.....	148,349	86.99	13.01	49.66	37.24	187,107	54.55	45.45	38.44	16.11
Wyoming.....	3,534	79.12	20.88	68.79	10.33	8,531	38.46	61.54	33.24	5.22

Extra Census Bulletin No. 71 gives the statistics of mortgages by amounts, length of mortgage, rate of interest for the United States from 1880-89. It says:

"During that time 9,517,747 real estate mortgages stating amount of debt incurred were made in the United States, representing an incurred indebtedness of \$12,094,877,793. The number of mortgages made during one year increased from 643,143 in 1880 to 1,226,323 in 1889, or 90.63 per cent., and the yearly incurred indebtedness increased from \$710,888,504 in 1880 to \$1,752,563,274 in 1889, or 146.53 per cent.

"With regard to mortgages on acre tracts, the number made during the 10 years was 4,747,078, representing an incurred indebtedness of \$4,806,777,112. The number of these mortgages made in 1880 was 370,984; in 1889, 525,094, an increase of 41.54 per cent.; while the incurred indebtedness increased from \$342,566,477 in 1880 to \$85,729,719 in 1889, an increase of 70.93 per cent.

"The increase was relatively larger in the case of mortgages on lots. They numbered 4,770,669 during the 10 years, and the indebtedness incurred under them amounted to \$7,158,106,681. From 1880 to 1889 the annual number made increased from 272,159 to 701,229, an increase of 157.65 per cent. During the same time the amount of annual indebtedness incurred increased from \$593,322,027 to \$1,166,838,555, an increase of 216.80 per cent.

"During the decade 622,855,091 acres were covered by 4,758,268 mortgages stating and not stating the amount of indebtedness incurred under them; the number of acres covered by mortgage in 1880 was 42,743,013; in 1889, 70,678,257, an increase of 65.36 per cent.

Amounts.

In the case of lots covered by mortgage the increase from 1880 to 1889 was 108.25 per cent., the number covered by mortgages stating and not stating amount of indebtedness in the former year being 429,955; in the latter year, 1,282,334.

"At the end of the decade, January 1, 1890, the real estate mortgage indebtedness amounted to \$6,019,679,985, represented by 4,777,698 mortgages. These mortgages are divided into two classes, as follows: mortgages on acres, 2,303,061; amount of indebtedness, \$2,209,148,431; mortgages on lots, 2,474,637; amount of indebtedness, \$3,810,531,554. Number of acres covered by existing mortgages, 273,352,109; number of lots, 4,161,138.

"New York is conspicuously prominent as having a real estate mortgage indebtedness of \$1,607,874,301, which is 26.71 per cent. of this class of indebtedness in the United States. Nevada has the smallest amount of indebtedness of this sort—viz., \$2,194,995.

"It is computed that the average life of a mortgage in the United States is 4.660 years;* of a mortgage on acres, 4.540 years; of a mortgage on lots, 4.740 years. The longer life in the case of both classes of mortgages is found in New England, New York and New Jersey; the shorter life in the South and in the newly settled regions west of the Mississippi River.

"Since mortgages in force were made, 12.68 per cent. of the original amount of indebtedness incurred under them has been extinguished by partial payments; in the case of mortgages on acres, 11.67 per cent.; on lots, 13.25 per cent. The percentage of partial payments is highest in the South and lowest in the more newly settled regions.

"Subject to all the difficulties that beset any attempt to determine what proportion of the true taxed real estate value of the United States is covered by existing real estate mortgage indebtedness, it appears that the real estate mortgage indebtedness in force in the United States is 16.67 per cent. of the true value of all taxed real estate and untaxed mines. If Mayor Gilroy's estimate of \$3,495,725,018 as the true value of real estate in New York City is accepted, the foregoing percentage is reduced to 16.15, and the percentage for New York State is reduced from 30.62 to 25.06.

"In 30 States the debt on acres is 12.67 per cent. of the true value of all taxed acres and untaxed mines, and in these States the mortgage debt on lots is 13.06 per cent. of the true value of all taxed lots, mortgaged and not mortgaged.

"Upon the assumption that all taxed real estate can be encumbered for two thirds of its true value without

* It is stated elsewhere that by the average life of a mortgage the census means the average age of the mortgages it found existent in 1890. Mortgages consequently live as much longer as they ran after 1890 without being paid off.—ED.

increasing the rate of interest to cover additional risk, it follows that 25.00 per cent. of the real estate mortgage debt limit has been reached in the United States. A computation, including Mayor Gilroy's estimate above mentioned, reduces the foregoing percentage to 24.22, and the percentage for New York State from 45.93 to 37.59. In Kansas, 40.24 per cent. of the debt limit has been reached; in New Jersey, 39.27 per cent. The smaller percentages are found in the South and in the Rocky Mountain region.

"The mortgage debt in force per capita in the United States is \$06; the three largest State averages (omitting the District of Columbia) are \$268 in New York, \$206 in Colorado, and \$200 in California. The smaller ones are found in the South and the Rocky Mountain region.

"In 41 States 28.86 per cent. of the taxed acres are covered by mortgages in force. The largest proportion of mortgaged acres is in Kansas, where 60.32 per cent. of the total number of taxed acres are mortgaged. Nebraska stands next with 54.73 per cent.; South Dakota third with 51.76 per cent.

"In the five States, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, and South Carolina, 23.99 per cent. of the taxed lots are covered by mortgages in force.

"The average amount of debt in force against acres to each mortgaged acre in the United States is \$8.08; of debt in force against lots to each mortgaged lot, \$36; there are 119 acres covered by each mortgage in force against acres, and 1.68 lots by each mortgage in force against lots.

"The average rate for all mortgages in the United States is 6.60 per cent.; for mortgages on acres, 7.36 per cent.; for mortgages on lots, 6.16 per cent. These rates make the annual interest charge on the existing real estate mortgage debt of the United States amount to \$397,442,792; on the debt in force against acres, \$162,652,944; on lots, \$234,789,848.

"On each mortgage in force in the United States the average annual interest charge is \$83; on each mortgage in force against acres, \$71; on each mortgage in force against lots, \$95.

"6.03 per cent. of the number of mortgages were for amounts of less than \$100 each; while 42.57 per cent. of the entire number were for amounts of less than \$500, 68.54 per cent. of the entire number for amounts of less than \$1000, 27.41 per cent. of the entire number for amounts of \$1000 and under \$5000 each, and 4.05 per cent. of the entire number were for amounts of \$5000 and over.

"41.89 per cent. of the real estate mortgage indebtedness incurred in the United States during the decade was subject to a 6 per cent. rate of interest; 16.06 per cent. of the debt incurred was subject to rates less than 6 per cent.; 42.05 per cent. of the debt incurred was subject to rates greater than 6 per cent.; and 14.41 per cent. of the debt incurred was subject to rates greater than 8 per cent. The average rate of interest on real-estate mortgages declined from 7.14 per cent. in 1880 to 6.75 per cent. in 1889, with some interruptions to the continuity of the decline in the mean time.

"The average rate of interest on mortgages on acres declined from 7.62 per cent. in 1880 to 7.52 per cent. in 1889, subject to interruptions. The average rate of interest on the mortgages on lots declined from 6.60 per cent. in 1880 to 6.37 per cent. in 1889, with some annual interruptions. By personal inquiry in 102 counties in various parts of the Union, it was discovered that 80.13 per cent. of the number of mortgages, representing 82.56 per cent. of the original amount of mortgages in force, were made to secure purchase money and to make improvements when not combined with other objects, and that 89.82 per cent. of the number of mortgages, representing 94.37 per cent. of the original amount of existing indebtedness, were made to secure purchase money, to make improvements, to invest in business, and to buy the more durable kinds of personal property, when these objects were not combined with other objects.

"The percentages representing encumbrance for the various rates of interest show that the larger encumbrances bear the lower rates of interest, as a general fact. The amount of encumbrance bearing interest at less than 6 per cent. is 22.20 per cent. of the total encumbrance; the amount at 6 per cent. is 34.44 per cent.; the amount at 8 per cent. is 14.50 per cent.; the amount at 6 to 8 per cent., inclusive, is 66.82 per cent.; the amount at rates greater than 6 per cent. is 43.36 per cent.; the amount bearing rates greater than 8 per cent. is 10.98 per cent.; the amount bearing rates greater than 10 per cent., 1.33 per cent.; the amount bearing rates greater than 12 per cent., 0.27 of 1 per cent."

Interest.

ANNUAL INTEREST CHARGE AND AVERAGE VALUE, ENCUMBRANCE, ANNUAL INTEREST CHARGE, AND ANNUAL RATE OF INTEREST FOR ENCUMBERED FARMS AND HOMES OCCUPIED BY OWNERS, BY STATES AND TERRITORIES, 1890.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	AVERAGE VALUE OF EACH ENCUMBERED.			AVERAGE ENCUMBRANCE ON EACH.			Annual Interest Charge.	AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF INTEREST.		
	Total.	Farm.	Home.	Total.	Farm.	Home.		Total.	For Farms	For Homes
The United States.....	\$3,352	\$3,444	\$3,250	\$1,257	\$1,224	\$1,293	\$141,910,106	6.65	7.07	6.23
Alabama.....	\$1,755	\$1,392	\$3,132	\$730	\$609	\$1,190	\$250,999	8.69	8.91	8.25
Arizona.....	3,797	4,416	3,305	1,396	1,791	1,172	63,468	13.07	12.61	13.46
Arkansas.....	1,554	1,382	1,999	678	613	845	293,836	9.44	9.35	9.60
California.....	7,883	11,233	5,205	2,516	3,406	1,805	6,742,490	8.67	8.78	8.51
Colorado.....	4,483	4,379	4,552	1,517	1,418	1,583	1,328,662	8.86	9.23	8.64
Connecticut.....	3,734	3,135	3,926	1,592	1,266	1,694	2,485,009	5.47	5.57	5.45
Delaware.....	3,994	4,875	3,616	1,788	2,439	1,633	479,249	5.67	5.70	5.65
District of Columbia.....	7,047	5,278	7,054	2,436	2,737	2,439	386,464	5.99	6.00	5.99
Florida.....	3,263	3,921	2,647	1,117	1,224	1,017	171,178	10.53	10.72	10.32
Georgia.....	1,852	1,627	2,306	781	681	1,020	224,327	8.16	8.33	7.89
Idaho.....	3,735	3,960	2,946	1,129	1,190	915	178,559	10.66	10.55	11.15
Illinois.....	3,928	4,862	3,114	1,406	1,684	1,164	12,101,865	6.82	6.92	6.69
Indiana.....	2,673	3,200	1,861	836	972	628	4,595,769	6.89	6.89	6.89
Iowa.....	3,452	3,964	1,987	1,148	1,310	650	8,866,406	7.42	7.36	7.74
Kansas.....	2,875	3,129	2,202	1,042	1,126	820	7,722,864	8.21	8.15	8.42
Kentucky.....	2,659	2,665	2,651	974	1,069	842	561,107	6.70	6.68	6.74
Louisiana.....	4,695	5,423	3,731	1,990	2,392	1,457	397,603	8.02	8.06	8.06
Maine.....	1,608	1,449	1,830	594	532	681	795,641	6.17	6.26	6.06
Maryland.....	3,056	4,251	2,346	1,197	1,636	937	1,458,323	5.82	5.79	5.85
Massachusetts.....	3,878	3,158	3,090	1,733	1,323	1,797	6,300,650	5.49	5.58	5.48
Michigan.....	2,400	2,748	1,842	893	936	636	6,643,213	7.13	7.10	7.18
Minnesota.....	2,034	2,574	3,602	660	814	1,268	5,160,349	7.86	8.18	7.42
Mississippi.....	1,197	1,138	1,556	639	610	762	339,088	9.74	9.79	9.45
Missouri.....	2,635	2,643	2,616	911	853	1,041	6,397,369	7.71	7.93	7.30
Montana.....	4,484	5,624	3,612	1,511	1,782	1,303	324,305	10.97	10.97	10.97
Nebraska.....	3,227	3,346	3,268	1,076	1,084	1,052	5,154,977	8.20	8.22	8.13
Nevada.....	8,071	11,188	4,513	2,702	3,706	1,555	108,020	9.78	9.63	10.10
New Hampshire.....	2,140	1,940	2,336	810	746	873	548,003	5.92	5.91	5.92
New Jersey.....	4,052	4,891	3,820	1,821	2,428	1,660	5,175,934	5.64	5.69	5.62
New Mexico.....	3,397	4,346	2,891	1,194	1,487	1,037	90,178	10.48	10.05	10.80
New York.....	4,409	4,010	4,657	1,891	1,749	1,979	20,858,128	5.48	5.66	5.38
North Carolina.....	1,633	1,584	1,795	755	722	864	494,412	7.91	7.95	7.80
North Dakota.....	2,445	2,486	2,049	890	902	771	1,158,744	9.53	9.54	9.42
Ohio.....	3,905	3,829	2,366	1,069	1,313	879	8,779,143	6.66	6.68	6.63
Oklahoma.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oregon.....	4,622	4,359	4,914	1,347	1,391	1,398	1,197,066	8.89	9.06	8.72
Pennsylvania.....	3,669	4,222	3,416	1,550	1,716	1,473	11,616,799	5.49	5.43	5.52
Rhode Island.....	4,142	3,581	4,207	1,829	1,525	1,864	801,996	5.78	5.82	5.78
South Carolina.....	1,978	1,851	2,356	974	939	1,104	397,960	8.46	8.57	8.17
South Dakota.....	1,854	1,846	1,894	797	712	681	1,744,743	9.52	9.52	9.49
Tennessee.....	1,739	1,663	1,847	732	667	824	264,277	6.20	6.21	6.20
Texas.....	2,273	2,158	2,580	952	899	1,090	822,852	8.70	8.38	9.42
Utah.....	3,699	3,679	3,711	994	915	1,028	194,086	9.83	10.13	9.71
Vermont.....	2,261	2,405	2,026	909	1,004	754	1,029,184	5.99	5.88	5.94
Virginia.....	2,456	2,747	2,067	1,200	1,308	1,056	335,528	6.16	6.06	6.32
Washington.....	4,697	4,632	4,788	1,350	1,327	1,382	1,173,923	6.23	6.87	6.31
West Virginia.....	1,065	2,060	1,809	651	664	631	475,631	9.65	9.19	9.34
Wisconsin.....	2,761	3,005	2,314	915	1,001	756	5,198,598	6.66	6.64	6.70
Wyoming.....	3,364	3,600	3,171	1,289	1,247	1,324	112,941	10.82	10.92	10.73

PERCENTAGE OF NUMBER AND ORIGINAL AMOUNT OF MORTGAGES IN FORCE JANUARY 1, 1890, AS DETERMINED BY PERSONAL INQUIRY: TOTAL FOR 102 SELECTED COUNTIES.

OBJECTS OF INDEBTEDNESS.	For Number.	For Amount.
Purchase-money.....	54.67	56.66
Improvements.....	20.96	20.81
Purchase-money and improvements (combined).....	4.50	5.09
Business.....	6.01	8.92
Farm machines, domestic animals, and other personal property.....	1.95	0.70
Purchase-money, improvements, business, and personal property (combined).....	1.73	2.19
Purchase-money, improvements, business, and personal property (combined with objects other than farm and family expenses).....	0.45	0.63
Purchase-money, improvements, business, and personal property (combined with farm and family expenses).....	2.06	1.32
Farm and family expenses.....	5.40	1.73
All other objects.....	2.27	1.95
Total for purchase-money, improvements, business, and personal property (not combined with other objects).....	89.82	94.37

II. SIGNIFICANCE OF MORTGAGES.

There are two views of the significance of mortgages, both of which must be understood. The view that America is becoming a nation of tenants is well known. Says Mr. J. P. Dunn, Jr., writing in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1890, after describing the situation:

"The mortgage indebtedness of the Western States is a matter worthy the attention of economists and statesmen, as well as of the people of those States. Whatever may be thought of its effects, it is a fact—mountainous and immovable. And more, the probabilities that loom far above the figures here presented make it very questionable whether the 'alarmists' who have discussed the subject have in fact materially exaggerated the existing conditions. . . .

"If the people of any Western State may be considered thrifty and judicious, the people of Michigan may, and by the official records their condition appears to be as bad as that of their neighbors in Indiana. In 1887 an attempt was made

The Burden of Debt.

by the bureau of statistics to ascertain the mortgage debt of the State through personal declarations of the owners of land. This is the best method of ascertaining the amount of existing debt; the only flaw in it being that some persons, considering that the public has no interest in their affairs, refuse to give the information. In consequence the returns are less than the reality; but in the desire to keep within the truth, we accept them as accurate. They show (report of 1888) that the real-estate mortgages of the State amount to \$129,229,553, with an annual interest payment of \$9,451,851, on a total realty valuation of \$686,614,741. Of this amount \$64,302,580 is on farms, and the annual interest charge is \$4,636,265. The farms mortgaged are 47.4 per cent of all the farms in the State, and the mortgage debt is 46.8 per cent of the assessed value of the farms mortgaged. The number of foreclosures made during the year was 1667, and in only 131 cases were redemptions made, leaving a net loss of 1536 pieces of property by foreclosure in one year. The situation apparently justifies the statement of Commissioner Heath that 'a very large proportion of the people seem to be in a financial rut, and are unable to extricate themselves.'

Mr. D. R. Goodloe, in the *Forum* for November, 1890, says:

"The conclusion from this melancholy array of facts is irresistible. The virgin soil of the West is rapidly ceasing to be the home and the possession of the sturdy American freeman. He is but a tenant at will, or a dependent upon the tender mercies of soulless corporations and absentee landlords. We have abolished monarchy, and primogeniture, and church establishments supported by the State; yet the universal curse of humanity, the monopoly of the earth by the wealthy few, remains. It is related of John Randolph of Roanoke, that when visiting a neighboring planter about 75 years ago, he found his hostess, surrounded by her female servants, making clothing for the Greeks who were struggling for liberty and independence. But while taking leave, he observed a troop of ragged slaves approaching the house; and turning, he said to the lady, 'Madam, the Greeks are at your door.' And now to America, aglow with sympathy for the Irish, may be said, 'Madam, Ireland is at your door.'"

Other writers, however, like Mr. Edward Atkinson, argue that the mortgage is an indication of prosperity. He says, in the *Forum* for May, 1895, writing (before the complete mortgage returns given above had been reported) concerning the census returns for 33 States:

"The first startling fact developed by the mortgage statistics is that in these specific 33 States and Territories nearly 7,000,000 mortgages have been recorded in ten years for a total sum of nearly \$7,500,000,000. The final statement, covering the whole country, which has not yet been published, discloses the fact that 9,517,747 mortgages were executed in the decade 1880-89, to the amount of \$12,094,877,793. . . .

"On the first of January, 1890, the amount of these mortgages remaining unpaid in 33 States was \$4,935,455,896; in the whole United States, \$6,019,679,985. It

therefore appears that during the decade one half the mortgage debt incurred had already been paid. The amount of mortgages outstanding at the beginning of this decade has not been ascertained; it can only be inferred by deductions from the growth of mortgages since its beginning. The least estimate of the sum due on acres and lots at the beginning of this period would be \$1,500,000,000.

"These original mortgages executed prior to 1880 must have been wholly liquidated, mostly by payment. Evidence obtained from solvent farm-mortgage companies proves that, as fast as they matured, they were either finally paid, or else in some instances new mortgages were executed at much lower rates of interest than were customary in the era of paper money in the previous decade. On this basis the summary would be:

Mortgages in force January 1, 1880,	
estimated.	\$1,500,000,000
Executed since.	12,000,000,000
Total.	\$13,500,000,000
In force, January 1, 1890.	6,000,000,000
Paid.	\$7,500,000,000

The payments therefore amounted to 55 per cent., yet at the end of the decade the mortgage debt on acres and lots was \$6,000,000,000.

"A loud outcry has been made by the populists and the advocates of cheap money, in support of the free coinage of silver, and other devices in fraud of both debtors and creditors alike, upon the ground that this is an unbearable burden. We must therefore wrest from these statistics their true meaning. . . .

"In order to bring out the evidence of prosperity rather than adversity developed in these conditions, one must ask, what does a man, in fact, borrow, when he executes a mortgage upon land? He does not borrow money in a true sense.

Indication

In a vast number of cases only a title to money passes in the form of a check, a draft, or a bill of exchange. What he in fact borrows is the land itself, or such part of it as the encumbrance represents. If we regard foreclosure as a sign of lack of benefit to the borrower, the figures show that in all but an insignificant proportion of these negotiations it has been as much or more to the advantage of the borrower to borrow the farm or home as it has been to the benefit of the lender in securing interest on the loan. The advantage is mutual, but distinctly greater on the part of the borrower, who has been enabled to become the owner of a homestead and the improvements thereon at lessening rates of interest throughout this period.

"In proof of these benefits the following facts are deduced from Bulletin 63 of *Farms and Homes*. Of the money borrowed on mortgage, 77.38 per cent. was borrowed for the purchase or improvement of the land. Add the sums borrowed for durable personal property of capital, and we find that more than 86 per cent. of the money borrowed was expended in the purchase or improvement of land or for durable capital used thereon. Of the money borrowed during this decade, 2.82 per cent. was borrowed to meet farm or family expenses.

"Again, one of the most startling facts disclosed by these statistics is that the total debt on acres and lots combined which was outstanding January 1, 1890, amounted to 16.67 per cent. of the true value of the real estate represented in these tables, encumbered and unencumbered. It being assumed that a mortgage debt would be safe up to two thirds the value, it appears that the actual encumbrance might have been safely increased four times. At only one third—a more conservative estimate—it could have been doubled.

"It has been stated that there is a manifest tendency to an increase in the proportion of hired farms in the older grain-growing States of the Mississippi Valley, which calls for explanation. The question arises, does this mean the growth of a landlord and tenant system, as it is commonly understood? It did not form a part of the duty of the census officials to investigate this subject, but of course this tendency attracted their attention, and while they may not rightly give any official opinion, I am assured that their views are not inconsistent with the evidence that I have obtained from other sources upon this matter. I have put questions to various persons in the grain-growing States, who are in a position to know the facts—persons connected with successful and solvent farm-mortgage companies, or chiefs of bureaus of statistics of labor, or collectors of statistical data relating to crops.

All replies are of the same general tenor. The questions put to them were substantially as follows:

"1. Does the increase in the number of hired farms indicate a tendency to the establishment of permanent relations of landlord and tenant such as are customary in Great Britain?"

"2. Does it indicate the concentration of land in fewer hands?"

"3. Does it indicate better methods of agriculture, or the reverse?"

"The summary of the replies to these questions may be given in the following terms: These lands have been taken up and settled mainly during the last 50 years by men of whom many are now

Not an Indication of Tenancy.

living. These men have, as a rule, prospered. The larger portion of them or their descendants own their farms, and many possess other property. The conditions have changed from those which are pictured in the early life of Abraham Lincoln to the condition which farmers now enjoy. A part of the other property of such farmers in many instances consists of money lent on mortgage on lots or farms in their own or neighboring States. In 102 typical counties selected from all portions of the country for the purpose of a special investigation by the census authorities, it was disclosed that 68.69 per cent. of the mortgages incurred were held by citizens of the same State in which the mortgaged real estate is. Many of those prosperous farmers have retired to towns and cities in order to educate their children and to enjoy in their latter years some of the privileges of town life—their early life having been passed in isolated places under very arduous conditions. In many cases their farms are let to their sons. In many other cases men who have not retired have leased a part of their farms to their children. In many others, again, those who have retired have let their farms to men formerly in their employ. A very small proportion are hired by farmers who have been unable to pay mortgages which have been foreclosed, who now lease the farms in the hope of recovery. There are great numbers of men who have served as hired men on farms, who have laid up their earnings, and who prefer to hire land in the neighborhood where they are known, and where they can have the benefit of schools and good surroundings, rather than to move away to take up new land on the outskirts of civilization.

"The evidence is conclusive that the increase of hired farms does not imply the permanent establishment of the relations of landlord and tenant after the English fashion. It does not imply the concentration of land in fewer hands, but rather the reverse. It does imply better and more intelligent methods of agriculture, larger and more varied crops produced from lessening areas of land throughout the whole great grain-growing section."

Mr. G. H. Holmes, writing in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Quarterly*, gives a more balanced view. He says:

"While mortgage debtors must admit that they have done better to obtain real estate on credit than not to obtain as much of it as they have done, or not to obtain it at all, they are nevertheless in a situation where they feel the pinching effects of a reduction or loss of income more than real-estate owners do who are not debtors. This is owing to the interest that is wanted by the mortgagee."

The mortgage, then, indicates a hope of progress, but also a slavery to interest, under which many sink.

References: See articles quoted in this article; also United States Census Reports, which give mortgage statistics in detail.

MOSES (Hebrew *Moscheh*) was the great leader of the Hebrew race, who led them out of slavery in Egypt and founded the Hebrew theocracy in Palestine. Modern scholarship has thrown grave doubts on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but few question that Moses was a historical character and one of the greatest leaders and social reformers of the human race. There are traditions of him (Egyptian) in Manetho (Hebrew), in the *Midrash*, and Josephus (Greek) in Philo, tho they are mainly based on the Bible narrative. He was probably born at

Heliopolis in the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt, or 1500 B.C., according to the Bible chronology. His social system was a theocratic socialism, based on the fatherhood of God and the unity of the people. Land was considered as belonging to God, and the individual only allowed and protected in its use. The poor and infirm were particularly protected. (See JUDAISM; also the Bible itself: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.)

MOST, JOHANN JOSEPH, was born at Augsburg in 1846, but moving to Berlin, early became known as a leader of the most violent and anarchistic wing of German socialism in connection with the International, till he was driven out of their organization by the socialists. Expelled from Berlin in 1878, he went to London, and there, in 1879, founded the *Freiheit*, an organ of anarchist communism. In 1881 he was condemned to 16 months' hard labor for his incendiary utterances concerning the assassination of the Czar. In 1882 he emigrated to New York, and has since published his paper from that city. He has been imprisoned more than once, but still remains the leading anarchist-communist in the United States. Among his writings are: *Die Lösung der sociale Frage* (Berlin, 1876); *Die Anarchie* (New York, 1888); *Social Monster* (1890).

MULTIPLE MONEY STANDARD. For the general principles involved, see MONEY; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; GOLD; SILVER. We give here a brief statement of the monetary idea which proposes for the standard of money a so-called *multiple standard*. We give it only in its simplest elements, appending references for the various forms in which it has been advocated. In its essence the idea is this:

That no one commodity should be used as a monetary standard, like gold or silver, but that the standard should consist of a large number of commodities combined in the following way. A monetary commission appointed by Congress would first choose a long list of standard commodities, and determine in what proportion they enter into the expenses of the average family, say, of a working man. Then it should ascertain the average market price of each commodity, and average these in proportion to the extent to which each of them has been found to enter into average expenses. This final average would be the point of departure for the multiple standard. The commission would then watch the variations in the market, and when average prices went above the average it had fixed, the commission would report to the Government, and the Government would contract the currency, and thus (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY) lower prices. If, on the other hand, prices went down, it would report to the Government, which would then expand the currency and raise prices, thus keeping average prices always on a level by a contracting or expanding of the currency, according as the monetary commission reported prices to have risen or fallen.

Such is the essence of the idea. It is usually proposed that it be enacted in connection with the use of paper money, since that can be most easily contracted or expanded, and since, too, this is generally conceded to be the best money,

provided that its quantity of issue be carefully controlled, which this plan would accomplish. It would leave the decision to contract or expand not to Congress, nor even to the commission, but have it follow a fixed law, the commission simply reporting on the facts. It is believed that this would take out of politics the vexed question of monetary contraction or expansion, and furnish a standard of money well-nigh invariable, because changing exactly opposite to the market, and hence producing stability. The plan has been gradually worked out by many writers. Joseph Lowe, in 1822, whom Jevons calls a very able

Authorities. writer, and Poulett Scrope, in 1833, proposed the plan of tabular standard, tho not in connection with the expanding or contracting of money. The Swiss Professor Walrus worked out this idea. Professor Marshall suggested improvements in the original plan (*Contemporary Review*, vol. ii., p. 355). President Andrews (*An Honest Dollar*, 1st ed., published by the American Economic Association, 1889) strongly urges the plan. Professor J. A. Smith devotes a long article to it in the annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (vol. vii., p. 173). Mr. Fonda, *Honest Money*, proposes a new detailed form of the plan. Of the tabular standard, Jevons says (*Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, pp. 330-33):

"Such schemes for a tabular or average standard value appear to be perfectly sound and highly valuable in a theoretical point of view, and the practical difficulties are not of a serious character. . . . The difficulties in the way of such a scheme are not considerable. It would, no doubt, introduce a certain complexity into the relations of debtors and creditors, and disputes might sometimes arise as to the date of the debt whence the calculation must be made. Such difficulties would not exceed those arising from the payment of interest, which likewise depends upon the duration of the debt. The work of the commission, when once established and directed by act of Parliament, would be little more than that of accountants acting according to fixed rules. Their decisions would be of a perfectly bona fide and reliable character, because, in addition to their average results, they would be required to publish periodically the detailed tables of prices upon which their calculations were founded, and thus many persons could sufficiently verify the data and the calculations. Fraud would be out of the question."

See also PAPER MONEY.

MUN, ADRIEN ALBERT MARIE, COUNT DE, is a leading French Roman Catholic Christian Socialist. A captain of French cuirassiers, and of social position, he was instrumental in founding *L'Œuvre des Civiles Ouvriers*. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.) With gift of eloquence he has advocated his views by pen and speech, and has been frequently elected deputy. He now calls himself, however, politically not a Christian Socialist, but a *conservateur rallié*. He has twice conducted large bodies of working men to Rome to receive the papal blessing.

MUN, THOMAS, was born in London in 1571. Becoming a merchant he amassed a considerable fortune by commerce with the East. In 1628 he had charge of a petition from the merchants of Ostend to Parliament, and in 1630 he received from the Grand Duke of Tuscany

a license to trade in his dominions. He died in 1641. Mun is one of the earliest English mercantilists. His chief work, containing excellent reflections upon supply and demand, and practical conclusions which it would be well for England to apply, is still extant. It is *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (probably written in 1630, but not published till 1664, long after his death). It is noteworthy that, in opposition to many mercantilists, he advocated the exportation of gold when a surplus of that metal remained in the country.

MUNICIPALISM.—(For the history, statistics, present needs, and conditions of cities, see CITY. For the municipal reform movement in the United States conducted by the various municipal leagues, see MUNICIPAL REFORM. For Europe, see BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS; also the different countries.) Municipalism may be defined as the theory, or the practice of the theory, that it is wise to extend the functions of the municipality.

In the United States, the general tendency has been to minimize the municipality's functions. The presumption is against municipal activity and for private action. Says Judge Dillon, in his authoritative work on *Municipal Corporations*:

"It is a general and undisputed proposition of law, that a municipal corporation possesses and can exercise the following powers and no others: First, those granted in express words; second, those necessarily or fairly implied in or incident to the powers expressly granted; third, those essential to the declared objects and purposes of the corporation, not simply convenient, but indispensable. Any fair, reasonable doubt concerning the existence of power is resolved by the courts against the corporation, and the power is denied. Of every municipal corporation the charter, or statute by which it is created, is its organic act. Neither the corporation nor its officers can do any act, or make any contract, or incur any liability, not authorized thereby. All acts beyond the scope of the powers granted are void. . . . These principles are of transcendent importance, and lie at the foundation of the law of municipal corporations."

In Europe, the opposite is the case. The result is that in America the corporate city, being thought little of, has been left, generally speaking, to be managed by a low class of politicians, and thus to become corrupt and weak; while in Europe, the function of the city being highly conceived, city offices have attracted to themselves some of the best and ablest citizens, and thus the European city has become, as compared with American cities, efficient and pure. At least such is the view of many municipalists. The only way to purify American city governments, such municipalists argue, is to exalt and expand the city's function. This, too, they say, is cheaper and better in every way for the citizens than to allow its streets to be given over to the control of private street railway companies, its gas, electric lighting, and other natural monopolies to be provided by favored companies, which think first of dividend and secondly of the public convenience. Such is the theory of municipalism in brief. Many, moreover, who would not agree to any such general propositions as the above, do believe in much of the municipalist program, considering, however, each case concretely on its merits. We must, therefore, refer the reader for the details of mu-

nicipalism to BATHS ; ELECTRIC LIGHTING ; FIRE DEPARTMENT ; GAS ; LAVATORIES ; STREET RAILWAYS ; NATURAL MONOPOLIES, etc. (For examples of municipalism, see BERLIN ; BIRMINGHAM ; GLASGOW ; LONDON ; PARIS.) We give here a few representative general views.

Says Mr. Francis Bellamy, in an address on *Municipal Government*, delivered in New Haven, November 11, 1890 :

"Why is the municipal government of Berlin or Birmingham or Glasgow so much less corrupt and more efficient than ours? Certainly not because their citizens are more intelligent or more moral than Americans. One reason certainly is that the machinery is more simple and direct. But the deepest reason is that the functions are so much more extensive that not only are the most capable men led to take office, but the people generally are attentive to the problems which the many-sided business of the city presents.

"If it is objected that monopolies should be kept out of politics, we can only reply that monopolies are in politics. They depend on legislatures and city councils and on politicians and lobbyists for their very existence. Private monopolies have debauched our politics, and are a continual menace to uncorrupted government. Our recent West End Railway scandal in Boston is only less than the Broadway surface bribery of New York aldermen ; but both go to show how terrible is the pressure which great natural monopolies can bring to bear to extort franchises. The interests of such immense enterprises as elevated railways, surface railways, gas-works, electric lighting plants and water-works are necessarily antagonistic to the interests of the public. They serve the people, but their motive is dividends and not the comfort of the people or the improvement of the city. They absorb the best business talent and the best legal shrewdness into their service, that they may secure privileges at public sacrifice. They employ a candidate for Governor of Massachusetts to defeat in legislative committee the natural petition of Danvers town people that they may be allowed to do their own electric lighting. And they employ an ex-Governor of Massachusetts to lobby for the passage of an elevated railroad bill, which gives fullest freedom to the company, without the public receiving a dollar of compensation. Monopolies will be in politics in a bad sense until the people take them into politics in a good sense by undertaking their operation themselves. In this way, too, municipal reform is more apt to follow extension of the city's business than to go before it."

Says Professor R. T. Ely (*Christian Union*, now *The Outlook*, October 9, 1890) :

"We are reversing the order of nature in planning to reform city government first, and then to carry out the changes I have mentioned, and to make improvements in behalf of the poorer classes. Let any one name a city where this policy has been successfully pursued. I know of none.

"When the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and his friends took hold of the corrupt and inefficient city government of Birmingham, they at once 'devised large measures,' including the purchase of gas and water-works by the city. A public library followed ; public parks, improved dwellings for the poor, large public undertakings, broad and generous measures have been an essential part of municipal reform and improvement in cities like Berlin and Glasgow ; they have not followed a purification of politics, but have helped to elevate political life.

"Has the experience of this country been different? Not at all. When the city government of Baltimore was worse than it is to-day, when the 'Plug Uglies' and 'Blood Tubs' were a terror, the government was improved by adding to its functions a paid police and a paid fire department. Extension of functions within a proper sphere improves government.

"It may be urged, perhaps, that the difference of institutions between a monarchical country, like Germany or England, and a republican country, like the United States, is radical, and that things are done for the people in those countries. This is fortunately not the case. The truth is, that cities and towns have in both of these countries—Germany and England—a power which ours are far from possessing. They have more local self-government than we. They are not obliged, like Massachusetts towns, vainly to petition a legislature for authority to construct gas

works and to establish an electric lighting plant. Such powers are either possessed, as a matter of course, or are conferred by general laws.

"It is well again to make comparisons. Fifty or sixty years ago city government in England was a disgrace to the country. Has improvement come by means incompatible with democratic institutions? On the contrary, as city government has improved it has become more democratic. Germany has also become more democratic, while the local administration has been improving. There may be some limitations

Municipal Corruption.

upon the suffrage in English local politics still, and in a German city like Berlin the vote of a rich man may count for more than the vote of a poor man ; but these limitations do not account for their superior local governments. These are among the differences between us and them which are growing less. And with us it is unscrupulous wealth which rules and corrupts our cities. What influence, comparatively speaking, have working men in our politics? Was Jacob Sharp a wage-earner? Were the manipulators of the West End scandal in the Massachusetts Legislature dwellers in the slums of Boston? Does any sane man in Baltimore who wishes to work a measure through our City Council rely upon the assistance of leaders of working men? I have some idea of what I would do in Baltimore. I know the men whom I would approach, but they are not wage-earners. President Seth Low has said that his study and actual experience as Mayor of Brooklyn have convinced him that universal suffrage is not the cause of bad city governments. He says he did not find wealth always ready to cooperate, and he believes that our cities could not have made so rapid progress as they have without universal suffrage."

Those who object to this view generally argue that municipal enterprises are expensive and ineffective. *Liberty*, the organ of the philosophical anarchists in America (see ANARCHISM), quotes, in its issue of August 1, 1896, a writer in the *New-Objections*.

castle *Chronicle*, who affirms of the municipal baths and wash-houses of that city (Newcastle, England) that the number of persons using them has decreased 50,325 from 1890-95, while the expenditures for them has risen £500, salaries having increased from £1677 to £2039. The municipalization of horse cars in Huddersfield, he affirms, has necessitated the imposition of a rate of 5d. on the pound. The wrangling of the Newcastle Council over tramways has made it forget its hygienic duties, till scarlet-fever and diphtheria were rampant in certain quarters of the city.

Municipalists, however, are not much disturbed by examples of municipal mismanagement. They believe, in the first place, that such examples can be easily matched by the mismanagement of the countless private corporations, which fail, or which succeed only by inflicting hot, crowded, filthy cars, or impure water, or poor gas upon a long-suffering public. Secondly, they assert that municipal management cannot at first be expected always to excel private management in matters where the latter has had long experience and the city but little. Yet the fact is that tho no one claims perfection for city management, what it has undertaken to do a growing number of careful students, not prejudiced by any theory, believe to be

Answer.

far better done than the privately conducted interests. Work done directly by the city (see CONTRACT LABOR) is being found, where tried, to be surprisingly better and cheaper than private work. Municipal street cars, gas, electric lighting, furnish strong evidence for municipalization. (See those

subjects.) In 1867 a private company was organized to build the Brooklyn Bridge. The charter placed the original capital stock at \$5,000,000. Of this Brooklyn gave \$3,000,000; New York, \$1,500,000; private stockholders, \$500,000. Yet tho the private stockholders gave only one tenth of the amount, they had all the power. Six *ex officio* members represented the cities on the board of 21 directors, but they had no vote in electing other directors, and the whole power was put into the hands of the executive committee. The result was scandalous jobbery and mismanagement. Contracts for portions of the work were let to favored stockholders, etc. In order to save the bridge, the cities had to buy it of the private stockholders, after which its building was a success. A committee of the cities, appointed later, with such men as Abram S. Hewitt upon it, reported that there had been practically no mismanagement except under the private management. If this took place under corrupt New York and Brooklyn, municipalists argue, what might not be expected of purified municipalities?

Municipalization, too, is cheaper, and lowers taxes. Berlin, Paris, etc., receive large incomes from their municipal undertakings. Mayor Clark, of the city of Marquette, in Michigan, once declared that the revenue from the electric and other plants owned by that city were almost enough then, and by expansion could be made actually enough to meet all the expenses of the city without taxation of any kind. As the argument for municipalization, however, turns on concrete details, it must be studied under the head of the various natural monopolies. (See MONOPOLIES; NATURAL MONOPOLIES; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM.)

Reference: See CITY.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.—(For the history, statistics, evils, and needs of modern cities, see CITY. For the reform of cities on lines of municipalism, see MUNICIPALISM. For conditions and movements in Europe, see BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS; CITY.) We consider in this article the movements and societies for municipal reform which have sprung up recently in all the larger American cities on somewhat varying lines, but in general sympathy both as to aims and methods, and now federated in a National Municipal League.

The occasion for this movement was undoubtedly the unequalled corruption and degradation of American municipal political life and administration. Says Mr. Bryce (*The American Commonwealth*, revised edition, Part II., chap. ii.): "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Consciousness of this having grown among the more educated classes in America (see CITY), the movement to reform the evil has sprung up gradually, and recently to an extent justifying its being called by Dr. Albert Shaw, in the *Review of Reviews* for April, 1895, *Our Civic Renaissance*.

Spasmodic efforts and uprisings of indignant citizens against some extreme display of municipal corruption or mismanagement have long been known in America, but have accomplished little permanent, and not even much temporary

good. The powers of evil, with their machine organizations, party bosses and heelers, entrenched in the saloons, and extorting and receiving contributions from corporations in exchange for franchises, etc., have proved too much for spasmodic efforts at reform. It was a fight of unorganized volunteers against organized regulars. Usually the result was

Needs.

that the reformers, after a passing effort, gave up the battle as hopeless, or, having won a passing victory, retired to let the enemy immediately regain all that had been won. The thought of the new municipal movement has been that our cities can only be rescued from evil by the permanent organization and continued watchfulness of the forces of good. This thought has been helped by a growing ideal on the part of some of the true city life. The general tendency in America has been to despise government and magnify private action. The natural result has been that government, and especially our municipal governments, have been left, generally speaking, to our more ignorant citizens, while the abler and more educated classes have largely left politics alone. The evil of this having been seen, there has been a growing willingness of able men to devote time to city problems, and even to accept office. Examples of this are the election of Mr. Seth Low as Mayor of Brooklyn, the mayoralty of Mr. Hewitt in New York, the activity of such men as Theodore Roosevelt in the same city. But this was soon seen not to be enough, and that there was a necessity for organizing against corruption. The socialist critics of the municipal reform movement said that it did not go far enough; that municipal government could never be pure and attract strong men to it till its functions were expanded, and the city had large things to do. As long, they argued, as private corporations conducted the great natural monopolies (*q.v.*) of the city and made large fortunes they would be, and must be, the socialists argued, a corrupting element on the less important city administration. Just so long as they did the main things they could employ and attract the ablest men to service outside or inside of government circles. The way to reform, said the socialists, was, first, to exalt the city corporation over the private corporation, as it is in Europe, and not to allow the private corporation to overshadow the city, as it is in America. (For this argument, however, see MUNICIPALISM.) The municipal reform movement we are now considering, while it has had within it those who have ably voiced this thought, has not as a whole been committed to this idea. We point this out to explain the fact that the movement has not attracted to itself the more radical municipal reformers nor many of the working classes. It has been chiefly a movement of business and professional men, its main endeavors being to organize for the enforcement of such laws as we now have and the simplification and purification of administration. More radical reformers have declared that the great corporations in some of our larger cities have been represented in this municipal reform movement by stockholders, etc., so that it has been prevented from going far on lines of mu-

nicipalism, while in New York City, for example, great division and popular hostility have resulted to some portions and persons of the reform forces on the questions of Sunday closing, the wages paid to some city employees, etc. It has been declared that it was simply a business man's movement carrying into city politics all the sharp practices and cutting of wages, etc., which in the popular mind at least characterize modern business. Thus in every way in many cities a cleavage has arisen between the municipal reformers, who seek primarily to reform administration, and the municipalizers, who seek municipalism. In all cities, however, there have been some in the municipal reform movement who have advocated municipalism; there has been a general tendency to favor some municipalizing steps, such as opening city baths, lavatories (*q. v.*), enforcing strict control over tenements, streets, etc., while in some cities the reform movement has gone much farther in this direction. With this general presentation of the aims of the movement we give a brief notice of some of the more important city leagues and of the more recently formed National Municipal League.

One of the first cities to have a league for the purification of city administration was Baltimore, where, in 1885, a Reform League, after an unusually corrupt election, was formed "to secure fair elections, promote honest government, and to expose and bring to punishment official misconduct in the State of Maryland, and especially in the city of Baltimore."

Beginnings.

Several registers and election judges were convicted of fraud and imprisoned. Several cities, however, had citizens' associations against political frauds before this. Chicago had one as early as 1874. The preamble of this association's constitution states:

"In order to insure a more perfect administration in our municipal affairs; to promote the general welfare and prosperity of the city; to protect citizens, so far as possible, against the evils of careless or corrupt legislation; to effect the prompt enforcement and execution of the law; to foster and encourage all enterprises necessary and calculated to develop and extend our business and commercial interests; to protect and maintain our credit, both at home and abroad; to secure such legislation, both State and national, as the interests of the city may from time to time require; to arouse a more widely extended interest in our municipal legislation and administration; to correct existing abuses, and to prevent their future recurrence; and believing that, to secure these ends, organized and united action is necessary."

Law and order leagues (*q. v.*) sprang up about this time, and a National Law and Order League was established in Boston in 1883. A Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship was organized in 1887. A Citizens' Municipal Association was organized in Philadelphia in 1886. A Citizens' Association in Boston was formed in 1887.

In New York City, a Society for the Prevention of Crime had been organized October 22, 1878. Its objects were

"to promote in all proper and suitable ways the removal of sources and causes of crime; to assist the weak and helpless in obtaining the protection of the courts and of the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks, and in protecting themselves against the temptations to crime; to aid in the enforcement of the laws of this State; to disseminate information, and to

arouse a correct public opinion in support of all laws, organizing and forming meetings and associations for instruction and discussion upon such topics."

Under the presidency of Dr. Howard Crosby, it did good work along its corporate lines; but in its work the collusion between criminals and the officers of the law became evident, and when, upon Dr. Crosby's death in 1892, Dr. C. H. Parkhurst (*q. v.*) became its president, he devoted himself to exposing this connection. He said:

"Experience had shown that very little can be accomplished by the occasional closing of an isolated saloon illegally run, or by the prosecution of any single gambler or bawdy-house keeper, so long as the conditions exist which render it possible for illegal practices of the sort to maintain themselves so concertedly, so confidently, and so defiantly. If an attempt is made to suppress a gambling-house, for instance, the prime difficulty that we have to encounter is not in dealing with the proprietor himself, but in dealing with the support which he receives from the authorities, whose sworn duty it is to detect and arrest him. Till the alliance is broken which exists between the criminals and their proper prosecutions, it is bailing out water with a sieve to attempt the extinguishment of individual gambling-houses or bawdy-houses. . . . This is a sufficient reply to the question sometimes put, why it is that we do not cooperate with the Police Department. . . . If the department would do what the public pays them for doing, we would disband, and be glad to. The very existence of such a society as ours is, properly interpreted, a standing indictment of police incompetency or criminality. We cannot work with them then, for the simple reason that we are organized to suppress crime, and the attitude of the department is one of the greatest obstacles that we have to encounter in doing it."

New York.

The resulting exposure of the department by Dr. Parkhurst and his fellow-workers, the Lexow Investigation, are well known. (See PARKHURST; LEXOW COMMITTEE.) As one result, a City Vigilance League was formed in 1892. Its objects were

"to quicken among its members an appreciation of their municipal obligations; to acquaint them with existing conditions; to familiarize them with the machinery of municipal government; to make conspicuous the respect in which such government is languidly or criminally administered; to regard with jealous concern the point at which private interest enters into competition with the general good; and in every possible way to repress in the community what makes for its detriment, and to foster whatsoever seems fitted to promote its advantage."

Its methods were

"the collection and dissemination of full and accurate data concerning our municipal conditions; by legislation; by legal proceedings; by the hearty support of officials who discharge their duties faithfully, and the vigorous prosecution of those who neglect them; and by the creation of a public sentiment in furtherance of the objects of the League."

It established an organ, *The City Vigilant*, edited by W. H. Tolman, Ph.D. By August, 1893, Dr. Parkhurst wrote:

"Between 400 and 500 men are already actually at work in the field. Operations have been commenced in 22 out of the 30 Assembly districts. Whatever concerns the interests of our city is made subject of inquiry and conference."

Meanwhile, Mr. Edmund Kelly had organized, in 1892, the City Club of New York, and this club organized in different parts of the city some 20 Good Government Clubs (*q. v.*), which, in 1894, were federated under a Council of Confederated Good Government Clubs. It was the forces in the Good Government Clubs and the

City Vigilance League, with representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, which held a conference September 6, 1894, and appointed a Committee of Seventy to oppose the Tammany machine—somewhat similar to a Committee of Fifty created by a mass meeting November 13, 1893. The Committee of Fifty, however, had simply engaged in prosecuting election frauds, etc.; the Committee of Seventy went farther. It succeeded in defeating Tammany in the city elections and putting civil service and other reformers into some of the departments—as Mr. Roosevelt as a police commissioner. It also appointed various sub-committees, as on street cleaning, public baths and lavatories, small parks, tenement-house reform, etc. As a result, various reforms have been commenced in New York City. A commission was appointed by the city to investigate the condition of the tenements, and its report, coupled with the efforts of various society and settlements (see UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS), is resulting in the tearing down of some of the worst slums, the opening of several small parks, the opening of public baths, lavatories, etc. It is hoped that this work of this committee will develop a permanent organization, like the Civic Federation of Chicago.

Through other cities there has been a wave of organization on this line. The Civic Federation of Chicago owes its origin to the visit of Mr. W. T. Stead (*g.v.*), his revelations of the corruption there, and his effort to federate the moral forces of that city in civic and social work. The Federation was incorporated in February, 1894, with the banker, Mr. Lyman J. Gage, at its head, and Mrs. Palmer as its first vice-president. Mr. R. M. Easley has been its active secretary. It has a central council of 134 members, 7 large standing committees, and 34 ward councils. Mr. Gage is quoted in the *Review of Reviews* as saying of it:

"The idea of the Civic Federation is primarily an educational one. Its policy is to focus all the forces now laboring to advance the municipal, philanthropic, industrial, and moral interests of Chicago. It believes in the theory that in union there is strength, and it invites the cooperation of all societies and organizations, regardless of party or sect, in its efforts to raise the standard and ethics of municipal life in Chicago. The Civic Federation does its work through six different departments and under the auspices of committees selected especially for their fitness for the different lines of work. In a broad sense our association aims to accomplish the development of public sentiment toward the following results: First, in the political field, the selection of clean and honorable men for aldermen; state and municipal legislation in the interest of Chicago. In the municipal field, clean streets and alleys, improved urban traffic accommodations, honorable police, less smoke, more water, etc. In the industrial, the establishment of boards of conciliation, public employment bureau, etc. In the moral work, the people are pretty well acquainted with our efforts to suppress gambling. . . .

"But all this is incidental to the main object of the Federation—that is to educate the people, the taxpayers of Chicago, to a sense of their municipal duties; to arouse them to the necessity of action and vigilant effort, that corrupt influences and elements may be driven out and the city eventually redeemed from politics and politicians."

As a result, Chicago in 1895 gained a substantial victory for civil service reform; it remains to be seen with what enduring results. According to some the wealth of Chicago is so entwined

with interests aided by the corrupt gaining of franchises, etc., that it is questionable whether reform can come except by radical changes.

The Municipal Reform League of Boston is older. It had its origin in an address by Mr. Samuel B. Capen in March, 1892, in which the necessity for a cooperation of the best civic and moral forces of metropolitan Boston was stirring set forth. There resulted an organization under Mr. Capen's leadership out of which the present Municipal League has come by a process of healthy evolution. The League at present is limited to a membership of 250. It includes representatives of a great number of societies and organizations, some of these being trade bodies and business men's associations, others being religious and philanthropic societies. Its active secretary is Mr. Edwin D. Mead, editor of the *New England Magazine*. The League has agitated for a three-years' term for the mayor, the abolition of the Common Council, and the enlargement of the Board of Aldermen to 25, with salaries of \$3000 and no allowances for expenses, and the adoption of proportional representation in municipal elections.

The Municipal League of Philadelphia is among the largest and best in the country. It was organized in 1892. Its president is Mr. George Burnham, Jr. Its secretary, Mr. C. R. Woodruff, writes in the *Review of Reviews*:

"The Municipal League aims to combine for conference and cooperation all citizens who desire good city government. It believes in the practical separation of municipal from State and national politics; the nomination of none but those who are honest and capable; the application of civil service reform principles to all appointments; the rigid enforcement of public contracts, and no grants of municipal franchises except for limited periods and upon the best obtainable terms. There are no dues and the league is dependent on subscriptions for its necessary expenses. The by-laws provide for the nomination of candidates whenever it may seem expedient, but no member is expected to support a nomination which he cannot approve.

"The above is a succinct statement of the aims and objects of the Philadelphia Municipal League, one of the largest, most active, and influential organizations in the United States working for permanent municipal reform. With upward of 3500 members, it has active associations in over one third of the wards of the city, and in many of these ward associations the election divisions (into which the wards are divided) are organized in behalf of the cause of better city government. The importance of this kind of organization is appreciated when we learn that the dominant Republican Party has a group of active workers in every one of the 930 election divisions. There are about 10,000 office-holders, and these are so distributed as to average 10 workers to a division. This 'regular' army of trained politicians is always to be depended upon to get out the vote, carry primaries, or do any other needed work, such as the collection of assessments, the naturalization of foreigners, or the securing of signatures to petition for a pardon, or the endorsement of an ambitious candidate. We cannot expect to make much headway or accomplish much in the way of permanent results until the advocates of good city government are also adequately organized into trained and efficient bodies of workers."

In Philadelphia the women have been particularly active in municipal reform. They organized a Civic Club January 1, 1894, and actively carry on many departments of study and work.

Such are some of the representative organizations of the movement. They are now united in a National Municipal League, organized in New York City in April, 1894, as the result of a Na-

tional Conference for Good City Government, held in Philadelphia, January, 1894.

According to its constitution, the League has a threefold object :

1. To multiply the numbers, harmonize the methods, and combine the forces of all who realize that it is only by united action and organization that good citizens can secure the adoption of good laws and the selection of men of trained ability and proved integrity for all municipal positions, or prevent the success of incompetent or corrupt candidates for public office.

2. To promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration, and of the methods for selecting and appointing officials in American cities, and of laws and ordinances relating to such subjects.

3. To provide for such meetings and conferences, and for the preparation and circulation of such addresses and other literature, as may seem likely to advance the cause of good city government.

The league is managed by a board of delegates chosen by the associations composing it. Each association is entitled to appoint, from time to time, as many delegates as it may see fit, and each delegate shall retain his position until he is withdrawn, or his successor is qualified, or his association becomes inactive.

The annual fee for associate members is \$5. The league has no organ of its own, but from time to time issues leaflets on some topic connected with good government.

The present president is James C. Carter, of New York, and the secretary C. R. Woodruff, of Philadelphia. The annual conferences of this league have become important as discussing all forms of municipal reform. At the Baltimore convention of 1896 the secretary reported leagues in all the larger cities, over 200. In Baltimore and New Orleans especially important victories have been won.

References : See CITY. The *Review of Reviews* gives the latest news of the reform movement. The *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* has a valuable department on municipal government.

MÜNZER, THOMAS, was born at Stolberg about 1490. Studying at Leipzig, he became a preacher, and at first worked in unison with the reformers, but later turned against the "halfness" of Luther and Melancthon, and, led by what he believed "inner light," demanded a radical reform of Church and State. He held usual Anabaptist ideas about baptism, but was not otherwise identified with the Anabaptists (*q. v.*). He believed in continuous divine revelation and in community of property. He promulgated these ideas in popular and effective tho sometimes coarse speech. Expelled from Allstädt, where he had been preacher, he settled at last in Mühlhausen, and succeeded here in overthrowing the council and gaining a new one under his control. When the Peasants' War (*q. v.*) broke out he induced the whole population of the vicinity to rise. The peasants, however, were defeated at Frankenhausen, May 25, 1525. Münzer was captured, tortured, and beheaded at Mühlhausen a few days later.

MUTUAL BANKING.—By this phrase is usually meant a monetary system first formulated by Colonel William B. Greene, of Boston, about 1850. It has been somewhat modified, but is to-day advocated by most extreme individualists. A mutual bank propaganda was started in Chicago. Its secretary, Mr. Westrup, describes the plan in his *The Financial Problem*, as follows :

"To state that interest for money loaned on good security is irrational, and that its abolition is not dependent upon philanthropic motive, but upon business principle, and therefore unavoidable, is to either startle the 'civilized' world or else to evoke ridicule. To state that savings banks are economic absurdities, and that history gives no greater evidence of man's folly than in their establishment, is to become not only the laughing-stock of superficial thinkers, but to be regarded as *non compos mentis* by 'learned' writers on political economy. . . .

"The proof that interest upon money loaned on good security is irrational is the fact that good security is wealth, and that what the borrower obtains is merely something which enables him to avail himself of the use of his wealth as capital, without cutting it up into small pieces, as is done with the wealth consisting of the metals used as money, but which in his case is impossible. The banker lends his credit, and the borrower pledges his wealth, the banker being far more secure than the holder of the banker's paper. The banker takes pay for the use of capital, altho he furnishes none; for the capital (wealth) is furnished by the borrower. The banker, therefore, renders no more service to the borrower than he would if, both using in every way the same kind of spectacles, the borrower should hand his to the banker, while he borrowed the banker's for his own use. . . .

"The present essay is intended to show that present as well as all past monetary systems are as unscientific and the popular views of money as incorrect as the notions entertained in regard to astronomy before the days of Copernicus.

"As much of this comes of a misunderstanding of the definition of terms, in order to arrive at comprehensive views on this subject, I shall commence by giving the definitions of such terms as I shall make use of, and in regard to the meaning of which there exists a confusion of ideas. . . .

"Money cannot properly be called wealth, altho it is wealth to the extent of the market value of the material of which it is composed, as is the case when it is made of gold, silver, etc.; but it is not wealth when it is made of paper, for the wealth contained in a paper dollar or 1000 paper dollars is too insignificant to be called wealth, or rather to warrant the statement that such money is wealth. Hence to call money wealth is incorrect, for that would imply that *all* money is wealth, whereas, as I have already shown, some kinds of money is not wealth. Therefore, in defining money, I say money is a representative of wealth; or, to state it more fully, money is the circulating medium; its office is to facilitate the exchange of the products of labor; its nature is a representative of wealth.

"I do not expect opposition to my first two propositions—*viz.*, that money is the circulating medium or that its office is to facilitate the exchange of the products of labor; but to my third proposition—*viz.*, that the definition of money which relates to its nature is *not* wealth, but a *representative of wealth*, I anticipate opposition from a certain quarter. For instance an opponent might argue that money is wealth, and attempt to prove it by the fact that the possessor of \$1,000,000, even in paper money, is a wealthy individual. I do not deny this, yet it does not conflict with my definition. He is a wealthy individual, because he possesses the representative of \$1,000,000 worth of wealth, and can exchange it for wealth at any time. But to say that that individual is the *possessor* of wealth would not be correct, for he is the possessor of wealth only to the extent of the market value of the paper stock contained in the said paper money. We cannot too strongly urge the importance of recognizing this distinction; for by so doing we admit the fact that we do not increase wealth by issuing paper money; yet by issuing paper money amply secured, we increase in the same proportion the available capital for the purpose of productive enterprise, and at the same time, as will be seen by the plan for mutual banks, destroy that which is the bane of all modern enterprise, usury!

"**COST.**—The term cost is meant by the present

writer to denote the net expense of production, exclusive of any profit.

"BARTER.—This term is given to that transaction which is an exchange of wealth for wealth, or one product of labor for another product of labor; such as a house for a farm, a watch for a horse, a pair of shoes for a hat, or all these for specie. Specie is a species of wealth; therefore, to purchase with specie is barter.

"Having given definitions of the terms in regard to the meaning of which I might be misunderstood, I will now proceed with our subject. My object being to prove that the money question is a subject of science, and that there are principles by which we can test the correctness of a money system, I will first state what those principles are and then test the correctness of prevailing systems by their application.

"1. Money being a representative of wealth, a money system must provide a sufficient volume and facilities to enable all wealth to be represented by money.

"2. As interest for money loaned is not 'compensation for the use of capital,' the borrower possessing the capital (wealth), and needing but the representative (except in cases where money is loaned without security), a money system must provide for the loaning of this representative at cost.

"3. As the holder of a bank bill or government note is not thereby the possessor of wealth, a money system must provide absolute security against loss to the holder of paper money.

"The three foregoing principles constitute, in my judgment, the basis of a correct money system, and any system that does not fulfill their requirements is defective, and fails to supply what is wanted as their application to the following systems will show."

The following is the plan for a mutual bank :

"1. The inhabitants or any portion of the inhabitants of any town or city may organize themselves into a mutual banking company.

"2. The officers of a mutual bank should be a board of directors, an appraiser, a manager, a cashier, and a secretary.

"3. Those who propose to become members should elect the appraiser and the board of directors, who should hold their office for one year.

"4. The board of directors should first elect the manager, cashier, and secretary from among their number.

"5. The manager, cashier, and secretary should hold office until they resign or are removed by the board of directors, who should require each to give bonds. They should be subject to and not members of the board, nor participate in its meetings, except when called upon to do so; and the same rule should govern the appraiser.

"6. The appraiser and members of the board may be removed at a general meeting of the members of the bank, and others elected to fill their places, of which due notice should be given.

"7. Membership ceases when a member pays his notes to the bank, and none but members should be directors.

"8. The board of directors should employ a secretary of its own and a legal adviser, and fix the salary of the officers and employees.

"9. The manager should manage the affairs of the bank, the cashier the usual duties, and the secretary should have charge of all documents, see that all mortgages are duly recorded before notes are discounted by the bank, and keep an account of the printing and issue of bills.

"10. Any person may become a member of the mutual banking company, of any particular town or city, by pledging *unencumbered improved real estate, never vacant lands*, situated in that town or city, or in its immediate neighborhood, or other first-class collateral to the bank.

"11. The mutual bank should print (or have printed) paper money, with which to discount the notes of its members, and should always furnish new bills for torn or soiled ones when requested, free of charge.

"12. Every member, at the time his note is discounted by the bank, should bind himself, and be bound in due legal form, to receive in payment of debts at par, and from all persons, the bills issued and to be issued by the bank.

"13. Notes falling due may be renewed by the bank, subject to the modification which a new valuation may require, so that the note does not exceed two thirds.

"14. Any person may borrow the paper money of a

mutual bank on his own note not extending beyond 12 months (without endorsement), to an amount not to exceed two thirds of the value of the collateral pledged by him.

"15. The charge which the mutual bank should make for the loans should be determined by and, if possible, not exceed the expenses of the institution, *pro rata*.

"16. No money should be loaned by the bank except on the above conditions.

"17. Any member may have his property released from pledge and be himself released from all obligations to the mutual bank, and to the holders of its bills as such, by paying his note or notes to the said bank.

"18. The mutual bank shall receive none other than its own money, or that of similar institutions, except such coin money as the board of directors may designate, and this should be discounted one half of one per cent.

"19. All mutual banks may enter into such arrangements with each other as shall enable them to receive each other's bills.

"20. The mutual bank should publish in one or more daily papers each day a statement of its loans the day previous, describing the property pledged, giving the owner's name and its location, with the appraiser's value and the amount loaned on it, and also a statement of the notes paid and mortgages cancelled during the same period, which statement should be signed by the manager, cashier, and secretary.

"21. The mutual bank should exchange, at any time, any of its own bills that are torn or worn for new ones without charge."

To this plan socialists say that the main, and in one sense the only but sufficient objection is that unless all entered into this mutual system it would not serve the complete needs of society as a medium of exchange, so that government or some other organization would still have to provide money; and that when all did enter into it it would be a monetary cooperative commonwealth, such as democratic socialism is more speedily leading us to realize. Till we have this, government needs to control the issue of money in order to prevent the ignorant and innocent from being deceived by the speculator and the sharper. (See ANARCHISM; SOCIALISM.)

MUTUALISM is a term preferred by some, like the late Bishop Brooks, in place of socialism. Professor Frank Parsons, who has made the term known in his books, *The Philosophy of Mutualism* and *Our Country's Need*, contributes the following statement of it :

"The term mutualism is used to denote a condition of society in which the governing principle is mutual help. When two persons work together in partnership or live together in harmonious family life we have mutualism in miniature. When the principle of partnership or union of ownership, effort and control for the common benefit, shall be extended to the whole social life of city, State, and nation, we shall have a mutualism complete upon the plane of justice. And when love and brotherhood become the animating principle of the partnership, and each member of society not merely cooperates with the rest, but *devotes* himself to the welfare of the rest, we shall have a mutualism of the loftiest type. The earlier outward steps toward mutualism are the public ownership of monopolies and the growth of cooperative enterprises, which processes, meeting each other half way, will bring about a common ownership of the means of production and distribution, industrial self-government or democracy, economic equality, and a cooperative character. Finally men will come to know that the joys of intellectual and spiritual activity infinitely exceed the pleasures of the senses. Then they will wish for wealth merely so far as it may be a means of fitting them for the noblest intellectual and spiritual life. They will also learn that the richest and most enduring happiness can only be won through the happiness of others—learn it not in words alone, but in thoughts and emotions sufficiently strong to sway their conduct. Then the golden rule and brother love and devotion will become the real governing law of daily life, and mutualism will have reached its goal."

N

NASSE, ERWIN, was born at Bonn, December 2, 1829; studied there and at Göttingen, and took his degree of Doctor in 1851. After study in Berlin he established himself as *privat-docent* in Bonn, in 1854, whence he was called, in the Spring of 1856, as professor, to Basel, and in the Fall of the same year to Rostock. In 1860 he came to his native city as professor. He took an active part in political affairs, and was from 1869 to 1879 member of the Prussian House of Deputies, where he rendered important services on the budget commission. He was one of the founders of the *Verein für Socialpolitik* (see Socialists of the Chair) and the president of it from 1874 to his death, January 4, 1890. Professor Nasse was a frequent contributor to scientific journals, and the list of his writings is made up largely of the titles of these essays.

NATION AND NATIONALITY.—Blüntschi, in his *The Theory of the State* (tr. from the German, p. 90), defines a nation as "a society of all the members of a state as united and organized in the State." He thus makes it a concept dependent upon the State. The State he defines (*idem*, p. 23) as "the politically organized national person of a definite country." The two definitions are thus made mutually dependent, and the same dependence will be found to run through almost all definitions, because the ideas are themselves mutually dependent. It is scarcely possible to have a nation that is not a state, nor a state that is not a nation. Nevertheless the two words, tho often used, even by careful writers, somewhat synonymously, and though continually popularly confused, are not absolutely synonymous. A state is a nation politically organized. A nation is the organic collectivity of all the people in a state, implying indeed a political organism, but not limiting the collectivity to its political aspect. The concept people, on the other hand, is still wider than the concept a nation. The word people implies the collectivity of persons living in a state, but does not conceive it as an organic unity, political or of any sort. It conceives of them as a whole and perhaps as a united whole, but not as an organized whole. Such are the differences, or shades of difference, that are usually made by English writers between these three words. Nevertheless, the distinctions are not always observed, even by the best writers. In other languages too the word nation is used quite differently. The Germans call a people a *nation*, and what we mean by nation they call a *volk*. The old Latin *natio* meant what we mean by people. Indeed the conception *nation* as of the organic unity of a people may be considered a wholly modern conception. Despotism knows nothing of a *nation*. It only recognizes peoples and states.

Analyzing more carefully the conception nation, we find *first* that a nation implies a certain territory in which it must live. Says Woolsey (*Introduction to Inter. Law*, § 52): "A nation is an organized community within a certain territory; or in other words there must be a place where its sole sovereignty is exercised." A nation may be conceived as changing its country, but it must have a country, at least in prospect. It is scarcely possible to-day to speak of the Jewish nation. Secondly, a nation must have a natural unity; ordinarily, tho not always, it must be composed of persons of the same ethnic family and speaking the same language, or at least cognate languages. Even when this does not exist, as it does not wholly in the United States, nevertheless there must be a national unity besides that of place. M. W. Ward says (*Eng. Dram. Lit.*, Int. p. xvi): "A nation may be defined as a body of population which its proper history has made one in itself, and as such distinct from all others." A nation thus is a growth. We see this in the derivation of the word from *nasci*, to be born. Unity of race, of language, of religion, of civilization, of government, of experience, of place, all contribute in varying degree to gradually separate one nation from another. Thirdly, a nation must have some conscious and expressed unity. It must have somewhat of a common will. Blüntschi calls it a *collective personality*.

These conceptions and definitions may be illustrated by pointing out that Italy and Germany were nations long before they were states; that Rome was never a nation tho a state; that ancient Greece was one people, but never a nation or a state; that the United States, altho composed of many states and with many varieties of race, language, religion, and custom, is nevertheless one state, one nation, and one people. To take other examples we speak of the Secretary of State, the national flag, the representatives of the people.

Thus conceiving of the nation, we see that it is a modern growth, and that it must be, because it takes time and implies high civilization and wide-spread liberty to develop a nation. Antiquity knew no nations. Egypt, China, Assyria, did not develop nations. They consisted of a people, or various peoples, ruled over by a monarch. Greece had cities or states, but developed no nation. There was liberty, but no wide-spread union. The Roman Empire was not a nation; it had unity, but its various constituent parts did not have liberty or a common will. The Middle Ages saw no nations tho nationality was growing. England may be said to have developed as a nation almost before the close of the Middle Ages, and France and Italy and Germany were not far behind, yet Italy and Germany were hindered in the development of national unity by division into rival states, and France developed so tyrannical a state as, until the revolution, to have little of the liberty necessary to a true nationality. With freedom and self-government has come that love of country, that common life, which produces the modern nation.

In this brief historical survey attention must be called to the various conceptions of nationality that have prevailed. The Roman people, not a nation in the modern sense of the word, had the word *natio*, but they understood by it what we mean by people. It had an ethnographic base. A people were those descended from a common stock. The law which determined nationality with the Romans was the *jus sanguinis*, the law of blood relationship.

The Germanic tribes, gradually setting up their feudal governments over Western Europe, conceived of the nation as a territorial unit, its people being bound by feudal oaths to allegiance. Commonly the place of birth settled the allegiance, but the allegiance was even more than the birth. Nationality was thus a *jus solis*, or law of the land. This is the law that lies at the basis of the English common law. It is the personal relation of the individual to the sovereign which constitutes nationality. An Englishman is not

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subject to the king because he is an Englishman; he is an Englishman because he is subject to the king. The king being in England hereditary, or perpetual, the oath of allegiance was considered perpetual; nevertheless it came to be recognized in common law that the subject could freely withdraw his person and property from the jurisdiction of the crown, unless expressly prohibited by king or parliament. Yet no law permitting expatriation was passed until 1870. When the United States became independent the relation of allegiance was considered as transferred both to the States and to the national federation. Which allegiance is supreme has long been a mooted point (see CENTRALIZATION), but it may be considered as settled, at least as far as law goes, that the supreme allegiance is to the federal Government.

From this historical résumé and from the conception of nationality itself, it is not hard to see that the nation must play a large part in social reform. Nevertheless, political scientists have been divided between those who would exalt the unity of race and those who would exalt the unity of the nation. Modern socialism on the other hand has been somewhat inclined to ignore both social and national unities, and to develop an internationalism. This is generally the case among European socialists, but English and American socialists have generally and more wisely held that the nation is a natural unit; that if socialism is to be evolutionary it must develop around the national unities of the town, city, state, and nation, and that only when these are somewhat developed can we gradually grow toward a healthy internationalism.

For further consideration of the subject see POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE, SOVEREIGNTY, etc. For references see STATE.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY, THE, was organized in 1886, largely through the efforts of Mrs. E. B. Grannis, its present president. A national charter was obtained in Washington in October, 1887. Its objects are: To elevate opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligation upon men and women; to secure a proper, practical recognition of its precepts on the part of the individual, the family, and the nation, and to enlist and organize the efforts of Christians in protective, educational, reformatory, and legislative work in the interest of social purity. It aims to supply employment, funds, and advice to enable needy girls and women to gain an-honorable living. It forms clubs and societies of the young for their training in wholesome and honest intelligence regarding social purity. It endeavors to instill the principles necessary for the prevention of immorality into the minds of young children and youth. It seeks to protect young girls from all forms of temptation, and to prosecute those who deceive them. Its constitution says:

PREAMBLE.

We, a company of Christians, being led, as we believe, by the Spirit of God, do form ourselves into an association for the purpose of engaging in lines of work in the interest of social purity; and for our guidance we adopt the following constitution and by-laws for the purpose of the promotion of social

purity and the general well-being of women and girls, required by the Word of God.

OBJECT.

This society shall strive to elevate opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligation upon men and women, and to secure a practical recognition of its precepts on the part of the individual, the family, and the nation.

We will enlist and organize the efforts of Christians in preventive, educational, reformatory, and legislative work in the interest of social purity. The lines of work of the association are indicated by its Standing Committees.

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.—The name of this society shall be The National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity.

Article II.—Any person who is a Christian believer may be proposed for membership at any meeting of this league, and may be elected at the next regular business meeting. Annual membership fee, \$1; life members, \$50; a life honorary member, without voting privilege, \$10; life patron, \$100; sustaining member, \$25.

Article VI.—There shall be seven, or more, standing committees, as follows:

- I. A Committee on Public, Educational, and Devotional Meetings.
- II. A Committee to Secure Cooperation of Physicians and Medical Colleges.
- III. A Committee on Securing Helpful Legislation.
- IV. A Committee on Schools and Colleges.
- V. A Committee on Reformatory Work.
- VI. A Committee on Woman's Work and Wages.
- VII. A Committee on Amusements.
- VIII. A Committee on Publication and Literature.
- IX. A Committee for Visiting Strangers and those in Need.
- X. A Committee on Ways and Means.

Article XIII.—Auxiliary leagues, or branches, may be established in any city or town by those interested, who may obtain all necessary information for organization from the corresponding secretary.

The league holds two regular meetings each month at its headquarters, 33 East Twenty-second street, New York City: one a prayer and business meeting, the last Saturday afternoon in each month, for women, and a general meeting, composed of both men and women, the last Monday night in each month, for the discussion of the various questions concerning the object and aims of the society, and for stimulating thought along all the lines of the league's labors, in order to prompt individuals to action.

The league has had drafted several bills to be presented before the legislature: bills to prevent the gift or sale of tobacco to minors in prisons; to amend the code so that any person convicted of breaking the Seventh Commandment should be imprisoned for not less than one year, and fined not less than one thousand dollars; to secure long sentences for habitual drunkards and abandoned women, that they may be committed to an industrial home until they shall become self-supporting; to secure full political citizenship for women.

The league has formed permanent homes in the country for its beneficiaries; it has secured temporary homes for a very great variety of exceptional cases; it has given out work for the purpose of keeping families together where it was best that they should not be separated. It has paid rent and board, furnished food, clothes, and shelter to several hundred applicants.

The organ of the league is *The Church Union*, a paper owned and edited by Mrs. Grannis, the league's president.

NATIONAL CITIZENS' INDUSTRIAL ALLIANCE, THE.—This is an organization that aims to do in towns and cities the work of the Farmers' Alliance in the country. The Farmers' Alliance admitting to its membership only persons residing in the country, and there being many persons living in the towns and cities who were in sympathy with the objects of that organization, and desiring to cooperate with it, organizations began to spring up in various places. At Olathe, Kan., at the suggestion of Mr. E. Z. Ernst, a call was made to all citizens who indorsed the St. Louis demands, and on the 9th day of June, 1890, the Citizens' Alliance of Olathe, Kan., was perfected, with Wm. Henry, president, and D. C. Zercher, secretary.

The idea spread, and in a few weeks over 400 similar alliances had been formed, and on August 12 a convention met at Topeka and effected a State organization, with D. C. Zercher, president, and W. F. Rightmire, secretary.

By the end of the year there were 1100 alliances in 19 States, and on January 13, 1891, a convention met at Toledo to form a national organization. The former organization had been open and auxiliary to the Farmers' Alliance, but now an independent organization, with secret work, to be known as the National Assembly of the National Citizens' Industrial Alliance, was instituted, and a constitution, by-laws, and ritual, etc., were adopted, with the election of national officers.

Thomas W. Gilruth, of Kansas City, Mo., was elected president, and Wm. F. Rightmire, of Topeka, Kan., secretary. For the further history of the movement, see FARMERS' ALLIANCE, PEOPLE'S PARTY, NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL LEGION.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.—This important institution arose out of a visit of the State Commissioners of Public Charities of Illinois to Madison, Wis., in February, 1872. It was there proposed that a conference of neighboring boards be called; and May 14, 1872, five delegates from Michigan, four from Illinois, and five from Wisconsin, met in Chicago for a two days' conference. Its success was largely due to the efforts of Fred. H. Wines, secretary of the State Board of Illinois, S. D. Hastings, secretary of the board of Wisconsin, and H. H. Giles, president of the board of Wisconsin. Another conference was held at Milwaukee in 1873. In 1874 the Social Science Association (see AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION) invited the State boards of all States to send delegates to a conference to be held in New York City, May 19. This meeting was known as the First National Conference of Charities, and similar annual conferences have been held ever since. Down to 1878, however, the conferences were held in connection with the Social Science Association, and that organization was the most prominent. Beginning with 1879, the conference has met as a separate body. The chairman of the First National Conference was J. V. S. Pruyin, president of

the New York board, its secretary, F. B. Sanborn, secretary of the Massachusetts board. According to its present constitution, "the National Conference of Charities exists to discuss the problems of charities and corrections, to discriminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms." The membership includes all past officers of the conference who have served more than one year; all members of State Boards of Charities, or similar boards; all managers and officers of public or private charitable and correctional institutions; all members of societies for the relief or improvement of the poor, unfortunate, or neglected. The fee is \$2 per year, entitling the member to a copy of the proceedings and other publications of the conference. (The proceedings are now published in an annual volume of some 400 pages.) Others specially interested may be enrolled as members without a vote. The officers are elected annually. The standing committees consist of executive and social committees, and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the next conference. In 1894 these committees were on Charity Organization, the Administration of Public and Private Relief, Child-saving Work, Juvenile Reformatories, the Insane, State Boards of Charities, the Feeble-minded, Immigration and Interstate Migration, Sociology in Institutions of Learning, Training-schools for Nurses, Homes for Soldiers and Sailors, Reports from the States. The subjects do not materially vary from year to year, tho the preface to the proceedings of the Twenty-first Conference held in Nashville, in May, 1894, says: "It is perhaps indicative of the spirit of the time, that while there is no chapter devoted to prisons, large space is given to Child-saving and Reformatories. . . . A chapter on the Instructions in Sociology in Institutions of Learning hints at a new department; for this promises to be a subject that will henceforth receive much more attention than it has in the past." Besides the National Conference, some States or groups of States, like New England, hold local conferences. The reports may be ordered of the Treasurer, John M. Glenn, Glenn Building, Baltimore, Md.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES, THE.—

The part which the many play in the evolution of each idea is well illustrated in the history of the development of the National and International Councils of Women. Twelve years ago, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (*q. v.*), visiting France and England, suggested holding in Washington, D. C., an international convention of women interested in obtaining the franchise for their sex; recommending this as a peculiarly appropriate method for celebrating the then approaching fortieth anniversary of the first Woman's Rights Convention which was held in Seneca Falls, N. Y. Received into Susan B. Anthony's mind, the idea expanded to that of celebrating the fortieth anniversary by holding an international meeting of all kinds of associations of women—educational, religious, and philan-

thropic, as well as political, as these undoubtedly owed their existence to the work done by the heroines of Seneca Falls forty years before. Passed

Origin.

On to the brain of May Wright Sewall, the idea added to itself the thought of permanence and extension, and, when the time came for the Washington celebration, Mrs. Sewall unfolded to her associates a plan providing for triennial gatherings in council of delegates from women's organizations in the United States, and for a quinquennial council to be composed of delegates from national associations in every part of the world. Meeting with a favorable reception from the representatives then convened at Washington, the enlarged idea was put into definite shape by a committee chosen to prepare formal constitutions for these permanent bodies, and, before the delegates separated, the constitutions were accepted, officers chosen, and the recommendation adopted that the general officers of the National Council should at once issue an address to the women of the United States setting forth the object of the new organization.

Three years later, in 1891, the first National Council of Women of the United States, with seven important national organizations as full members of the body and thirty-one other similar associations represented by fraternal delegates, gathered in Washington, holding a three days' convention of two sessions each, which were attended by hundreds of visitors from every section of the country.

In her opening address, President Frances E. Willard suggested a still further extension of Mrs. Sewall's idea, saying, "I believe we should organize a miniature council in every town and city, confederating these in every State, and instructing the State council to send delegates to the national council. The plan would be to let these delegates form a lower and the heads of the national societies an upper house, whose concurrent vote should be essential to the enunciation of any principle or the adoption of any plan. . . . Locally a woman's council should seek to secure for women admission to all school committees, library associations, hospital and other institutional boards intrusted with the care of defective, dependent, and delinquent classes; also to boards of trustees in schools and colleges and all professional and business associations; also to all college and professional schools that have not yet set before us an open door; and each local council should have the power to call in the united influence of its own State council, or, in special instance, of the national council, if its own influence did not suffice. . . ."

President Willard further advised that the Columbian Exposition should witness the convening of a world's council of women, the invitations to which should naturally be given by the national council and the preparations for which should begin without delay.

Miss Willard's idea was acted upon, and when later the World's Congress Auxiliary to the Columbian Exposition and the Woman's Branch of the same were formed, these bodies found in

the National Council of Women of the United States a most natural and efficient helper for the management of the World's Congress of Representative Women. This meeting convened for seven days (May 15 to May 22, 1893), there being 600 speakers at 108 sessions in a building capable of accommodating 12,000 people. There were 18 countries represented by delegates from 95 organizations of national value, and it is generally admitted by all interested in woman's work that the cause of woman was advanced by this great union meeting to an extent not to be compared with the effect of any previous assemblage of women.

The National Council carries forward by means of committees three special lines of work. It having been decided, at its first regular public meeting in 1891, that the interests of all women are concerned in the proposed nationalizing of the divorce laws of this country, a committee was appointed to act, in the name of the council, in urging the appointment of women to positions upon the board of the National Divorce Reform League, the association which is working to secure Congressional action upon divorce. A Committee on Equal Pay for Equal Work secured the presentation in Congress of a bill providing for this justice toward all women in Government employ, and the council intends to push this bill until the United States Government sets this example to all its citizens. The question of developing a business dress for women which shall leave them freer than the conventional dress, has been taken up by the council and led to the appointment of its Dress Committee. Through this committee, which now consists of some of the most eminent advocates of improved dress for women, the council is seeking to concentrate into definite action the already wide-spread impatience of women with their present trammeling mode of dress—a dress utterly unsuited to the demands of the nineteenth century upon women in all walks of life.

To provide a legitimate bond between individuals and an organization which is, of necessity, precluded from accepting persons into membership, provision was made for "patrons of the council." Any person whose name is acceptable to the executive committee can, by the payment of \$100 into the treasury, become a patron for life. There are nearly one hundred patrons, including men and women prominent in all lines of work.

The main work of the council is to unify the efforts of women in educational, philanthropic, and radical work, and to show to the world what women are doing in all these lines.

Its constitution provides that its regular triennial meetings shall be held at the national capital, and this with a view to influencing national legislation upon the topics most closely affecting the lives of women. Its triennial meeting in 1895 was unique in the history of women's assemblages, taking the form of a congress lasting several weeks, in which representatives of the national associations of women which form the council, in conjunction with the represent-

Lines of Work.

atives from local councils of women (of which a large number have already been formed) discussed matters of special interest to women and formulated judgments upon them which, it is believed, will materially influence public opinion.

The members of the Council are the National American Woman Suffrage Association, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, National Free Baptists' Woman's Missionary Society, Illinois Industrial School for Girls (National Charter), National Woman's Relief Society, Wimodaughsis, Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association, National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, Universal Peace Union, International Kindergarten Union, Woman's Republican Association of the United States, National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty, Woman's Foreign Missionary Union of Friends, Woman's Relief Corps, National Association of Women Stenographers, National Council of Jewish Women, National League of Colored Women.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

NATIONAL DIVORCE REFORM LEAGUE, THE, was organized early in 1881 as the New England Divorce Reform League, by various gentlemen, Protestants and Catholics, with Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey as president. It became national in 1885, and then more definitely stated its comprehensive object in the revised constitution in these words: "*To promote an improvement in public sentiment and legislation in the institution of the family, especially as affected by existing evils relating to marriage and divorce.*" Its secretary, from the formation of the society to the present time, has been the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL. D., Auburndale, Mass. Of the scope of the society one of its reports says:

A comprehensive view is taken of the special problem before it. Earlier work on marriage, divorce, etc., treated these subjects largely or wholly in isolation from one another, and from other related social problems. The league, on the contrary, has held marriage, polygamy, divorce, chastity, children, woman, etc., to be subjects whose study and practical treatment are closely related parts of the one inclusive problem of the family, and its place and work in the entire social order. It has thus, in a degree, broken away from earlier methods of social reform, and been an acknowledged leader in those of recent years, which demand a basis of carefully ascertained facts, and a scientific apprehension of their broad social relations and interdependence. Concentrated effort, nevertheless, has been the steady aim. Work and money have not been spent on large public meetings, or in extensive publication. The league has rather sought to encourage study and original investigation; to lead to broad and thorough knowledge, and to suggest practical work to those who can best labor in their own respective departments, instead of attempting to make of itself a society for doing other people's work. It has held it to be better to get universities and colleges to teach, disinterested statisticians to investigate, and churches and citizens to propose plans of action, than for the league to do these things in their place.

1. The league proposed and was the chief agency in securing from Congress the means for the well-known Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States and Europe, and its secretary was constantly consulted in the plan of the investigation and during its execution. This report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, has been recognized everywhere, in this and foreign countries, as giving the authoritative foundation of fact for all future study and legislation. It has revised or radically changed public opinion upon several important particulars, besides giving a sound basis for action upon others. The corresponding secretary of the league, by request, recently presented suggestions

to the International Statistical Institute for the further development of their systems of official statistics of marriage and divorce by the various foreign countries and our own States. With the cooperation of the statistical officers, he has lately collected the recent statistics of marriage and divorce, bringing those of the report of Mr. Wright down to the latest returns.

2. State legislation. Since the work of the league began, there has been almost an entire cessation of the loose legislation that went on for many years in regard to marriage and divorce. The changes of law in recent years are almost invariably in the direction of reform. Many States have improved their marriage or divorce laws, or both. Divorces have absolutely decreased in three or four States, and in others the rate of increase is less than formerly, while in several marriages are better regulated. A more healthy public opinion is forming and making itself felt.

3. Uniform law has been made the subject of careful study and effective treatment. The favorite popular demand for securing uniformity through an amendment of the Constitution of the United States was neither encouraged nor was its possible future need denied by the league. So many, so complex, and so hidden elements enter into this problem that the league refused to join in the popular clamor and devoted its efforts to pushing on the collection of statistics that would shed light upon it. The result fully justified the course adopted, and public opinion has been radically changed regarding the best course to take at present.

4. Dr. Woolsey had suggested in 1881 cooperative legislation by the States, and Governor Robinson, of Massachusetts, officially recommended it in 1884. New York created the first State Commission on Uniformity. The league in 1890 brought this Commission and the Committee of the American Bar Association together, and the work of the establishment of a sufficient number of State commissions to make the experiment has been carried on in earnest, as the most practicable way to begin the solution of the question. Thirty States already have established these commissions. In the report of their first conference the Commissioners speak of the project as "the most important juristic work undertaken in the United States since the adoption of the Federal Constitution." Their subjects include marriage, divorce, the execution of wills and deeds, notarial certificates, bills and notes, and commercial law generally.

5. Church work has received special attention, in order that it might give the home a larger place in its various activities. This was the aim of the series of articles which the secretary published on the Religious Problem of the Country Town in the *Andover Review*, and which began the definite discussion of that subject, and which he followed with other papers and work upon it. He also devised the Home Department of the Sunday-school and secured its adoption by one of the leading Sunday-school societies. This soon after incorporated with it Dr. Duncan's earlier system of home classes, and has now spread widely over the country, doing a valuable work in awakening the home to its own possibilities, as well as extending the study of the Bible.

Believing, as Germany and France have learned, that the sources of national strength and the best social reform must be fed from the institutions of the higher education, constant and systematic work has been done for a dozen years, chiefly through the lectures in the higher educational institutions, the writings and correspondence of the secretary, designed to awaken an interest in the study of the family and its various problems, and in sociology as a science. The rapid development of this class of studies, which were scarcely known when our work began, and the demand for more of them in all our institutions of learning, and especially of late in the colleges for women, is a matter of great satisfaction to us, who were among the first to enter the field. These aims, methods, and results; the inherent importance of the family itself; the peculiar perils of it amid the ferment of our modern civilization, and its latent resources as a constructive force in social reform and progress, have won for the league the high regard of the best public opinion. Its list of officers and contributors shows this. So does the hearty cooperation of Government officials, scientific men, and libraries; of the faculties of educational institutions, and of writers for the press. Such Englishmen as Mr. Gladstone, Professor Bryce, Sir Alfred Stephen, and Mr. Goldwin Smith have shown their hearty sympathy, and spoken

Propaganda.

Work and Results.

emphatically of its importance. Still more significant is the outspoken or mute appeal of countless sufferers from the evils of a low domestic morality and the growing correspondence and personal conferences of the many educated young men and women whose interest has been aroused, and who are eager to treat social problems intelligently and sanely.

See DIVORCE.

NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE.
See FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

NATIONAL GRANGE. See GRANGE.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL LEGION, THE, was organized at Memphis, Tenn., November 19, 1892, by the National Executive Committee of the People's Party (*q. v.*). In connection with these, 100 leading members of the Farmers' Alliance (*q. v.*) became its charter members. Mr. Paul Van der Voort, its zealous advocate, was elected commander in chief. It is a national organization or league, aiming to establish local, county, and State legions, which may serve as People's Party clubs. It has been officially indorsed five times by the national executive committee of the People's Party and by many State committees, as the only league officially recognized by the People's Party. Its declaration of principles is the planks of the Omaha platform (*q. v.*) of the People's Party as to *Finance, Transportation, and Land*. Its members are required to take the following pledge: "I do hereby pledge my word and sacred honor as an American citizen, that I will support and defend the constitution and laws of the National Industrial Legion of the United States of America, and at all times cast my influence and ballot for the declaration of principles as laid down in the constitution; and that I will always endeavor to defend the life, interest, reputation, and family of all true members of this organization."

All communications should be addressed to Mr. Paul Van der Voort, Omaha, Neb.

NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, THE, was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York, December 24, 1889. The general secretary has prepared the following statement of the objects of the organization:

"To secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common-school system and other American institutions, to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds."

The league is absolutely unsectarian and non-partisan in character.

As a means of securing the foregoing objects, the law committee of the league has prepared the following XVI. Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding, by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control."

In pursuance of its work on the above lines the league has vigorously opposed, both in the Fifty-first

and Fifty-second Congresses, the making of sectarian appropriations for Indian education, and has sought to extend the common-school system among the wards of the nation. The national councils, conferences, assemblies, and conventions of the Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, and Congregational Churches have, in response to the league's memorials, declared against a further continuance of the practice of receiving subsidies from the National Government for the support of denominational work, and have explicitly indorsed the principles of the XVI. Amendment. The principles of the XVI. Amendment have been adopted by two national conventions, representing the various patriotic American orders, many of which are doing active work and securing the cooperation of more than 1,500,000 voters. Local secretaries have been appointed in about two hundred centers of population, furnishing a medium for extended correspondence and organization. Local leagues have been formed in several cities, and steps are being taken to organize State leagues. Subscribers to the principles and purposes set forth in the above statements, who desire the documents of the National League, may send their name, address, and occupation to the general secretary, James M. King, 1 Madison avenue, New York City.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.
See MUNICIPAL REFORM.

NATIONALISM is the name in America given to the economic ideal, pictured in Edward Bellamy's novel, *Looking Backward*, and also to the reform movement that has arisen in connection with this book. Its aim is not indeed to copy the details pictured in *Looking Backward*, but to pass toward a civilization patterned in general after the plan outlined in that book. Says Mr. Bellamy:

"This plan is called Nationalism because it proceeds by the nationalization of industries, including, as minor applications of the same principle, the municipalization and State control of localized businesses.

"Socialism implies the socializing of industry. This may or may not be based upon the national organism, and may or may not imply economic equality. As compared with socialism, Nationalism is a definition not in the sense of opposition or exclusion, but of a precision rendered necessary by a cloud of vague and disputed implications historically attached to the former word."

Nationalists put deep emphasis upon the necessity for *economic equality*. Some socialists do likewise, but some do not. In this respect, and in its starting from a distinctly national basis, lies its difference from socialism.

The Nationalist movement in the United States dates from December 1, 1888, when the first Nationalist club was organized in Boston. The idea of the movement, as well as the name, sprang from a suggestion in Edward Bellamy's novel, *Looking Backward*, the book which describes Boston as the author believes it would be under Nationalism in the year 2000. (See **The Looking Backward**.) A club of **First Club**. business men had been formed the previous autumn,—whose motto was, "Spread the Book"; but finding unexpected success and interest, the Nationalist movement was conceived and the first club organized. The leaders in the movement were Cyrus Willard, Sylvester Baxter, Charles E. Bowers, A. T. Devereux, Edward S. Huntington, Henry W. Austin, Miss Anna Page, and others. Mr. Edward Bellamy, himself, being in correspondence with the movers. The first officers of the first club

were Charles E. Bowers, president; Edward Bellamy, first vice-president; C. F. Willard, secretary. The following declaration of principles was adopted:

"The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

"The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

"Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realized.

"No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavor to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

"But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill-considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

"The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organized—the organic unity of the whole people.

"The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts."

In May, 1889, the magazine, *The Nationalist*, was started and continued two years. Great interest was manifested, and clubs were started all over the Union, particularly in California. In January, 1891, Mr. Edward Bellamy started *The New Nation*, a weekly published in the interests of the movement. This continued two years. In January, 1891, the secretary reported 162 clubs.

The movement in certain places early took a political channel. In one electoral district in California in 1890, a Nationalist candidate polled 1000 votes. Rhode Island put out a Nationalist State ticket. Most Nationalists today, however, are working in connection with the People's party (*q. v.*). Bills like the one recently passed in Massachusetts, although with bitter opposition from the gas companies, allowing cities to manufacture their own gas, show the advance of Nationalistic opinion, and the mayors of many cities have recently advocated many similar measures. It is in these ways and in the wide spread of Nationalistic ideas that the real growth of Nationalism must be looked for. As an organized movement Nationalism has not been so successful, most of the clubs having disappeared. A national committee to guide the movement, however, exists, largely under the able lead of Mr. Mason A. Green, Mr. Bellamy's former assistant in *The New Nation*, and meets annually to give a general shape to the movement. Mr. B. Franklin Hunter, at 1100 Pine Street, Philadelphia, maintains a Bureau of Nationalistic Literature. As far as organization, however, is concerned, the main impetus of the Nationalist movement has passed into the Peo-

ple's Party (*q. v.*), which is largely honey-combed with Nationalist ideas, and advocates no small share of the Nationalist program. Mr. Bellamy's novel has had, in this country alone, a sale of some half a million copies, and has everywhere scattered the seeds of Nationalistic thought, which are to-day springing up in a thousand channels.

Edward Bellamy has described the aims of Nationalism as follows:

"We who call ourselves Nationalists, believe that the solution of the industrial and social question is to be found, and is only to be found, in the logical evolution of the idea on which this nation is based, which is that of a union of the people in order to use the collective strength for the common welfare. We consider that this idea has always logically involved, when the time should be ripe, the nationalization of industry with a complete provision for the employment and maintenance of the people. When it shall in this manner have completed its evolution the nation will be, according to the hope and belief of the Nationalists, a great partnership for the general business of supporting and enjoying life, in which all the people shall be equal partners. It will be a universal insurance company, guaranteeing all its members against injustice, oppression, sickness, age, accident, and disability of every sort. It will be a mighty trust, holding the total assets of society—moral, intellectual, and natural—not only for the benefit of the present, but in the interests of future generations and for the ultimate weal of the race, and looking to the ends of the world and the judgment of God. The membership of an individual in this great partnership, with all the rights it implies, will be absolutely fixed by the fact of his birth; the part he plays in its affairs being determined by his faculties and aptitudes.

Principles Described.

"There is nothing essentially new about the project of a society based upon and illustrating brotherly relations and obligations among men. The eventual realization of such a state of affairs has been the dream of humanity in all ages. Men have always acknowledged, even the most unjust, that if, instead of contending with one another for the means of livelihood, human beings could only be induced to unite their powers to secure and share a common welfare, the world would not only be a great deal better and a great deal happier, but likewise a great deal richer than it ever has been.

"Heretofore, however, in the history of mankind the practical obstacles to such a change offered by existing conditions and institutions have been insuperable. It is the claim of Nationalists that these conditions have so changed and are so rapidly changing to-day as to render not only possible, but in the near future probable, a transformation of society which a generation ago it would have been chimerical to expect within any calculable period.

"In view of the present extraordinary business situation, the unprecedented and portentous tendency of capital, the excusably alarmed and exasperated attitude of the masses of the people, we hold it not absurd to say that men now in middle age may live to see the present system give place to that grand industrial partnership of all for all which is the destined and sole possible solution of all labor problems and all social questions.

"The greatest industrial revolution in history—greater by far in its destined consequences than the overthrow of the slave system at the South—is the present tendency to the monopolizing of the field of industry and commerce by the great capitalist organizations. The innumerable small business concerns which used to divide up every industry and trade are enduring a war of extermination at the hands of the great combinations of capital. The business of the people, which used to be in the hands of the people, is passing out of their hands into those of a small number of monopolists. It is in vain that we cry 'Halt!' to this tendency. The economic necessities underlying and compelling the movement toward the consolidation of business are irresistible and beyond the power of legislatures to dam up with any quantity of statutes.

"Americans who think are already beginning to see, and all Americans soon will be forced to see, that there

are only two alternatives before the nation—either it must consent to turn over its industries, its entire business—and that means its social and political liberties as well—to a few hundred billionaires, or it must assume control of them itself; that is to say, it must nationalize them. Plutocracy or Nationalism is the choice which, within a dozen years, at the rate things now are going, the American people will have wholly committed themselves to. Can any one who has faith in the people have any doubt as to what the choice between these alternatives will be?”

The misconceptions of Nationalism are many and obstinate, and numerous objections are based upon them, as well as upon its real and acknowledged features. It is not based upon

the maxim, “From each according to his abilities, to each according

to his needs;” its principle is—

Objections Answered. “From each equally; to each equally.” Nationalists protest that

an equal provision for maintenance does not mean a uniform *mode* of maintenance, or a similar manner of life; and that Nationalism would not discourage individuality or private exertion, but rather promote them by furnishing the best conditions for their existence. They assert that while the strong should support the weak, the industrious should not support the idle. Nationalism does not propose a paternal government, but a cooperative administration for the benefit of equal partners; neither does it seek to realize its ideal by abrupt or revolutionary methods, but by the progressive nationalizing and municipalizing of existing public services and industries. As it is an essential principle of Nationalism that in all departments of public business only the chiefs and heads of departments are to be subject to executive appointment or removal, it is claimed that the process of nationalizing or municipalizing industries would not bring a body of voters under the political control of Government.

In regard to the Nationalist program for introducing their ideas, Mr. Bellamy writes in *The Forum* (March, 1894):

“Revolutions, however peaceful they may be, do not follow prearranged plans, but make channels for themselves of which we may at best predict the general direction and outcome. Meanwhile Nationalists would prepare the way by a step-by-step extension of the public conduct of business, which shall go as fast or as slow as public opinion may determine.

The Nationalist Program.

“In making any industry or service public business, two ends should be kept equally in view, *viz.*: first, the benefit of the public by more cheap, efficient, and honest service or commodities; and second, but as an end in every way equally important, the immediate amelioration of the condition of workers taken over from private into public service. As to the first point, whenever a service or business is taken over to be publicly conducted, it should be managed strictly at cost; that is to say, the service or product should be furnished at the lowest cost that will pay the expense and proper charges of the business. Nationalism contemplates making all production for use and not for profit, and every nationalized business should be a step in that direction by eliminating profit so far as it is concerned.

“As to the improvement in the condition of the workers, which is the other and equal end to be sought in all cases of nationalizing a business, it is enough to say that the State should show itself the model employer. Moderate hours of labor, healthful and safe conditions, with provision for sickness, accident, and old age, and a system for the admission, promotion, and discharge of employees strictly based on merit,

and absolutely exclusive of all capricious personal interference for political or other reasons, should characterize all publicly conducted business from the start. In particular cases, such as the clothing manufacture now so largely carried on by sweaters' slaves, decent wages and conditions might temporarily raise the price of ready-made clothing. If it did, it would only show how necessary it had been to make the business a State monopoly; and we may add that on grounds of humanity, this is one of the first that should be brought under public management.

“As to the general question as to the order in which different branches of business should be nationalized, or (which is the same thing) brought under municipal or State control, ownership, and operation, Nationalists generally agree that chartered businesses of all sorts, which, as holding public franchises, are already quasi-public services, should first receive attention. Under this head come telegraphs and telephones, railroads, both local and general, municipal lighting, water-works, ferries, and the like. The railroads alone employ some 800,000 men, and the employees in the other businesses mentioned may raise that figure to 1,000,000, representing, perhaps, a total population of 4,000,000; certainly a rather big slice of the nation to begin with. These businesses would carry with them others. For example, the railroads are the largest consumers of iron and steel, and national operation of them would naturally carry with it the national operation of the larger part of the iron business. There are about 500,000 iron-workers in the country, implying a population of perhaps 2,000,000 dependent on the industry, and making, with the railroad and other employees and their dependents, some 6,000,000 persons. The same logic would apply to the mining of coal, with which, as carrier and chief consumer, the railroads are as closely identified.

Mr. Bellamy's Argument.

“The necessity of preserving what is left of our forests will soon force all the States to go into the forestry business, which may well be the beginning of public operation of the lumber industry. If our fast vanishing fisheries are to be protected, not merely national supervision, but national operation, will soon be necessary.

“In the field of general business, the trusts and syndicates, which have so largely stimulated the popular demand for Nationalism, have also greatly simplified its progress. Whenever the managers of any department of industry or commerce have, in defiance of law and public interest, formed a monopoly, what is more just and proper than that the people themselves, through their agents, should take up and conduct the business in question at cost? In view of the fact that most of the leading branches of production have now been “syndicated,” it will be seen that this suggestion, fully carried out, would go far toward completing the plan of nationalization.

“Meanwhile the same process would be going on upon other lines. Foreign governments which have large armies, in order to secure quality and cheapness, usually manufacture their soldiers' clothing, rations, and various supplies in government factories. The British Government, which is most like our own, was forced, by the swindling of contractors, to go into making clothing for the soldiers in the Crimean War, and has since kept it up with most admirable results. If our Government had manufactured the soldiers' supplies in the Civil War it would have saved a vast sum of money. It is highly desirable that it should forthwith begin to manufacture clothing and other necessaries for its soldiers and sailors, and for any other of its employees who might choose to be so served, as it is easy to say all would; for goods as represented, proof against adulteration, and furnished at cost, would be a godsend even to the millionaire in these days of knavish trade. The policy of supplying the needs of government employees with the product of publicly conducted industries would bring about the whole productive and distributive plan of Nationalism in proportion as the number of employees increased.

“Among special lines of business, which ought at once to be brought under public management, are the liquor traffic and fire and life insurance. It is proposed that every State should immediately monopolize the liquor traffic within its borders, and open places of sale in such localities as desire them. The liquors should be sold at cost,—that is to say, at rates to pay all expenses of the system,—by State agents, whose compensation should be fixed without relation, direct or indirect, to the amount of sales. This plan

would eliminate desire of profit as a motive to stimulate sales, would insure a strict regard to all conditions and requirements of the law, and would guarantee pure liquors. Pending the nationalization of the manufacture of liquors, the General Government need be called on only for a transportation law protecting the States against illegal deliveries within their borders.

"As to State life and fire insurance, this undertaking would need no plant and no backing save the State's credit on long-tested calculations of risks. It would be done at cost, in State buildings, by low-salaried officials, and without any sort of competitive or advertising expenses. This would mean a saving to fire insurers of at least 25 per cent. in premiums, and of at least 50 per cent. to life insurers, and would, above all, give insurance that was not itself in need of being reinsured.

"When private plants are taken over by a city, State, or nation, they should, of course, be paid for; the basis of valuation being the present cost of a plant of equal utility. Of course this subject of compensation should be considered in view of the fact that the ultimate effect of Nationalism will be the extinction of all economic superiorities, however derived.

"The organization of the unemployed on a basis of State supervised cooperation is an urgent undertaking, in line with the program of Nationalism. The unemployed represent a labor force which only lacks organization to be abundantly self-sustaining. It is the duty and interest of the State to so organize the unemployed, according to their several trades and aptitudes,—the women workers as well as the men,—that their support shall be provided for out of their own product, which should not go upon the market for sale, but be wholly consumed within the circle of the producers, thus in no way deranging outside prices or wages. This plan contemplates the unemployed problem as being a permanent one, with periods of special aggravation, and as therefore demanding for solution a permanent and elastic provision for a circle of production and consumption complete in itself and independent of the commercial system. There is no other method for dealing with the unemployed problem which does not mock it.

"In proportion as the industries, commerce, and general business of the country are publicly organized, the sources of the power and means of the growth of the plutocracy, which depend upon the control and revenues of industry, will be undermined and cut off. In the same measure, obviously, the regulation of the employment of the people and the means of providing for their maintenance will pass under their collective control. To complete the plan of Nationalism, by carrying out its guaranty of equal maintenance to all, with employment according to fitness, will require only a process of systematization and equalizing of conditions under an already unified administration."

REVISED BY EDWARD BELLAMY.

(For the objections to Nationalism see SOCIALISM; section Objections to.)

References: *Looking Backward*, by Edward Bellamy, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887; *The Program of the Nationalists*, by Edward Bellamy, reprinted from *The Forum* for March, 1894; *Principles and Purposes of Nationalism*, an address by Edward Bellamy, delivered in Tremont Temple, Boston, December 19, 1889.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.—It has been proposed by the Nationalists in America (see NATIONALISM) to meet the admittedly enormous evils of the liquor traffic by putting the whole traffic into the hands of the Government and having liquor sold under strict regulations, by government officials, in government dispensaries, and at cost. It is in this last respect that the Nationalist plan differs radically from the Dispensary system (*q. v.*), from the Norwegian system (*q. v.*), and from all similar plans. All these plans provide for some one's making a profit from the sale of liquor. Nationalists, on the other hand, maintain that so long as there is a profit in the liquor traffic some

one will be interested in the extension of the traffic, and that, conversely, the one way to kill the traffic is to kill the profits in it. They argue that this applies to government sales as well as to private sales. It will not do, they affirm, to allow even the Government to make any profits out of liquor, for if the Government has "an interest" in the sales, it will lead to corruption. Officials would then be interested in some way to extend the traffic, so that either strict regulations would not be passed, or, if passed, would not be enforced. If, on the other hand, Government made no profit out of the sales, it would be nobody's interest to sell, and therefore the strictest regulations concerning its sale could be both enacted and enforced. Sales could then be restricted to very limited hours; they could be made only to registered people or hotel guests, so that men could neither buy much at one place nor go from place to place and get a little. They could be absolutely prohibited to minors, to people whom physicians or their families declared unable to drink in moderation, etc. Yet the plan would allow other adults to drink in moderation who wish to do so. This, Nationalists urge, is the best law that can to-day be enforced. Prohibition (*q. v.*) they declare to be, in our large cities and even in most States, at present impracticable. The sale of liquor by government dispensaries, they claim, in South Carolina, Sweden, etc., is already proving practical, and the best way to restrict the traffic, and abolish its grossest evils. Only the Nationalists would go one step further and prevent even Government from having any interest in the concern. To sell liquor at cost, the Nationalists claim, would not induce people to drink more, by making liquor cheaper; in the first place, because it is by no means clear that liquor would be cheaper. The cheaper forms of liquor are sold in such vast quantities to-day, and with such vile adulterations, that they can be sold very cheap, and at such a low margin of profit (the total sum of the profits, however, being enormous) that it is very doubtful if the Government could sell its limited quantities, which would be free from cheap adulterations, at any less price than to-day, and yet cover the cost. Cost price, therefore, would not necessarily be a lower price. Even if the price were slightly lower, the Nationalists urge that the small difference would scarcely increase temptation at all, because few, if any, except those wholly without money, are deterred from drink by the price. Again, government sales of liquors to registered persons would check all or almost all the treating that is to-day one of the greatest forms of the evil. The great argument for this system is, however, that it would at once cut off the enormous money interest in the liquor traffic which to-day buys legislatures, corrupts politics, demoralizes the community, prevents temperance legislation, or mocks its enforcement.

Mr. George W. Evans, writing in *The Nationalist* for December, 1889, describes the Nationalist plan as follows:

Objections Considered.

"National prohibition is Utopian; and whenever we are in a position to secure it, the nuisance can be disposed of with less effort; will, in fact, have already sunk into insignificance. The difficulty that underlies all our schemes of reform is that both parties to the sale of a drink of liquor are co-conspirators. The seller wants to sell because he makes a profit; the buyer will not give evidence against him for any violations of law, because that violation contributes to his own gratification. The desire of profit stimulates adulteration and illicit sales; and lack of evidence has forced the law and order leagues of Eastern cities to such devices that their witnesses are rebuked from the bench in open court, and bid fair to become proverbial for sneaking and treachery—questionable means that nothing can justify if not their end.

"These two things, then, and these only, stand in the way of a reasonable restraint of the liquor traffic: the desire of profit and the privacy of the sale. The first of these difficulties may be obviated by compelling all liquor to be sold at cost; the second, by having all sales entered upon a public record. *This may be accomplished by making the manufacture and sale of liquor a government monopoly like the postal system, and in no other way.*

"Let the Government, then, assume the duty of brewing, distilling, and importing all liquors, and forbid all other brewing, distilling, and importing, just as now it forbids the private carrying of mails; let a suitable number of dispensing offices be established in each ward or other convenient district; at these offices the registered inhabitants or the *bona fide* guests of neighboring hotels may obtain liquor for such purposes and in such quantities as may be legalized; and the stranger within the gates must be vouched for, by the inhabitant with whom he is quartered, in such a way as to prevent any person from obtaining liquor from more than one office.

"There would be nothing immoral about a public bar where the dispenser had no interest except that of efficient public service under wise regulation; and with a moderate and impartial supply of this kind, smuggling and illicit manufacture would be out of the question, because they could not compete with government prices, and the evils that come from adulteration of liquor would disappear. After this system is established, any reasonable restraint will be perfectly effective, and absolute prohibition of the use of alcoholic beverages can be more effectively carried out than it ever has been yet. But this last step might then very fairly be considered an unreasonable restraint.

"Under the present régime the liquor dealers are organized for the protection of their interests against the attacks of society, but there is no organization among them, nor can there be to protect society against the outrages of which it complains. Even if there are some few saloons that will not sell drink after drink to the same customer till he is completely intoxicated, there is no hindrance to the very ordinary and usual practice of going from shop to shop, 'seeing the town,' and getting drunk by degrees. The most conscientious barkeeper—and there may be such—might find it difficult to decide whether the applicant before him could stand another dose of alcohol; and, if the line is drawn too far on the wrong side, the barkeeper will justify himself with the motto of commercial greed: 'It's business.' Not only is the moral responsibility divided by this practice, but the legal responsibility also. The law recognizes the right of the family to protest against the sale of liquor to any of its members whom it may injure; and if the relatives of a drunkard give notice in writing to any particular dealer, there is provision for legal redress if he sells contrary to such notice. It is impossible, however, to give written notice to the hundred saloons within easy walking distance, or to obtain redress, after the notice is served, without evidence of the specific act that constitutes the offense.

"Under the system proposed in this article these evils would not exist. The drinker could get no liquor except where he was known and registered; and, if his case was severe enough to demand it, his family could prevent even that."

On the other hand, the opponents of this system argue that, even if sold at cost, those who manufactured for the Government, or who worked under the Government, if the Government made its own liquor, would have an interest in extending this business;

that they would be tempted to adulterate, and so that all interest in the traffic would not be abolished even by selling at cost, while Government would be corrupted and drinking made respectable and legal. Says a writer in *The Nationalist* for February, 1890, answering the previous writer:

"In Massachusetts, under the prohibition statute of 1855 to 1868, the liquors required for medicinal, chemical, and scientific purposes were obtained at State agencies, and a public record was kept of the sales; all other sales were illegal. If the law had been honestly enforced for a few years, and the agencies placed in honest hands, our annual struggle under local option and license laws would have been avoided; millions of money expended in courts, public institutions, etc., would have been saved, and taxation by this time would have been reduced, as I firmly believe, fully 50 per cent. The Massachusetts method of '55 was far in advance of the beverage plan proposed for the Government to adopt. If we wish to rid the country of the curse of intemperance and the evils arising from the sale of alcoholic beverages, can we do so any more effectually by catering to the bad habits and evil passions of men, through public government dispensaries? We have learned that licensed liquors will ruin a family as quickly as unlicensed, and will not pure alcoholic liquors, if branded 'U. S.,' go to the brain as surely as if doctored and watered by a profits-seeking retailer? In fact, the latter, as compared with a salaried government official, has an interest in weakening the drams and prolonging the walking condition and existence of his customers, and he well knows how to 'extend' his beverages so as to compete with the Government if it should sell the pure article at cost, as proposed. Those who believe that 'there would be nothing immoral about a public bar where the dispenser has no interest,' etc., should have the experiment tried at East Boston, South Boston, or the North End before recommending its adoption throughout the United States."

Nevertheless, the experience of government dispensaries in South Carolina, Sweden, and elsewhere is winning many supporters to the dispensary system, and even many prohibitionists are coming to believe that such a system may be made a step toward national prohibition. The People's Party in Massachusetts and several other States has adopted the Nationalist plan, usually stating it in the following language, which was inserted as a plank in the Massachusetts platform of that party, August 24, 1891:

"We believe that the solution of the liquor problem lies in abolishing the element of profit, which is a source of constant temptation and evil; and we therefore demand that the exclusive importation, manufacture, and sale of all spirituous liquors shall be conducted by the Government or State at cost, through agencies and salaried officials, in such towns and cities as shall apply for such agencies."

This, it is claimed, has the advantage of local option, in that any town or city that votes no license need not apply for a government agency, while any town that desires liquor sold could have it; but only under strictest regulations. (For nationalization in other countries, see SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.)

NATIONALIZATION OF RAILROADS, THE TELEGRAPH, etc. See RAILROADS, TELEGRAPHS, etc.

NATURALIZATION is an act by which a foreigner, called an alien, becomes a citizen of any country.

The following are the Naturalization Laws of the United States, as prescribed by Sections 2165-74 of the Revised Statutes of the United States:

DECLARATION OF INTENTION.

The alien must declare upon oath before a Circuit or District Court of the United States, or a District or Supreme Court of the Territories, or a Court of Record of any of the States having common law jurisdiction, and a seal and clerk, two years at least prior to his admission, that it is, *bona fide*, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or State, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject.

OATH ON APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION.

He must, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, State, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject," which proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court.

CONDITIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied that he has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and within the State or Territory where such court is at the time held one year at least; and that during that time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," he will be admitted to citizenship.

TITLES OF NOBILITY.

If the applicant has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility, he must make an express renunciation of the same at the time of his application.

SOLDIERS.

Any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upward who has been in the armies of the United States, and has been honorably discharged therefrom, may become a citizen on his petition, without any previous declaration of intention, provided that he has resided in the United States at least one year previous to his application, and is of good moral character. (It is judicially decided that residence of one year in a particular State is not requisite.)

MINORS.

Any alien under the age of twenty-one years who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his arriving at that age, and who has continued to reside therein to the time he may make application to be admitted a citizen thereof, may, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, and after he has resided five years within the United States, including the three years of his minority, be admitted a citizen; but he must make a declaration on oath and prove to the satisfaction of the court that for two years next preceding it has been his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen.

CHILDREN OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The children of persons who have been duly naturalized, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of the naturalization of their parents, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be considered as citizens thereof.

CITIZENS' CHILDREN WHO ARE BORN ABROAD.

The children of persons who now are or have been citizens of the United States are, tho born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, considered as citizens thereof.

CHINESE.

The naturalization of Chinamen is expressly prohibited by Section 14, Chapter 126, Laws of 1882.

PROTECTION ABROAD TO NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

Section 2000 of the Revised Statutes of the United States declares that "all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native born citizens."

Great frauds have often been committed in large cities by issuing naturalization papers to large numbers of foreigners who, it has been

claimed, have not resided in this country for the requisite term of five years. By this means it has been urged that fraudulent votes have been cast, and elections largely influenced.

NATURAL MONOPOLIES.—This is a phrase that has come into general use, though particularly in the United States, for that class of monopolies which are asserted by the users of the phrase to have become monopolies on account of some inherent property. Professor R. T. Ely, who perhaps has done more than any other writer to give currency to the phrase, says (*Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 262-300) :

"Monopolies may be divided into two main classes,—natural and artificial; and natural monopolies again may be divided into two sub-classes, namely, First, those businesses which are monopolies by virtue of the qualities inherent in the business itself; and second, those businesses which are monopolies by reason of the fact that the supply of the raw material upon which they are based is so limited in area that the entire supply can be acquired by a single combination of men."

"Natural monopolies of the first class are the natural monopolies ordinarily discussed, and they include the means of communication and transportation; as well as the lighting service by gas or electricity of cities. Railways, water-ways, irrigation works, telegraphs, telephones, are especially important. But street-car lines, whether they are surface lines, subways, or elevated railways, and the means of lighting cities, are scarcely less so. These are all primary businesses in modern society; businesses of every other kind are dependent upon them. . . ."

Characterization.

"Natural monopolies of the second class are those which become monopolies because the supply of raw materials, consisting of natural treasures, is so limited that it can all be acquired by a single combination of men. Anthracite coal has been cited as an illustration; other similar cases could be instanced. It is said that it has been possible to purchase practically the entire supply of some raw materials found among barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples; not so much, perhaps, on account of the limitation of the supply, as on account of the fact that it is easy to cheat them, and to buy, a great supply at far less than its actual value. . . ."

"Land is frequently called a natural monopoly, but this hardly seems correct. Monopoly implies management or ownership by one person, or by a combination of persons who can act as a unit. Anything of the kind does not exist with respect either to landownership, or to the use of the land for agricultural or building purposes. A genuine monopoly in the ownership or exploitation of land would mean the virtual slavery of all persons not interested in the monopoly. If the farmers of the world could act together as a unit, they could force all others to give everything they might have for food, as the alternative would be starvation. 'What will not a man give for his life?' But such a combination is an impossibility, and every attempt to effect a combination, even on a comparatively small scale, with respect to a single staple, like wheat or cotton, has thus far proved a failure."

Mr. Farrer, in his book *The State in its Relation to Trade*, has given the following characteristics of natural monopolies :

- "1. What they supply is a necessary.
- "2. They occupy peculiarly favored spots or lines of land.
- "3. The article or convenience they supply is used at the place where and in connection with the plant or machinery by which it is supplied.
- "4. This article or convenience can in general be largely, if not indefinitely, increased without proportionate increase in plant and capital.
- "5. Certainly and harmonious arrangement, which can only be maintained by unity, are paramount considerations."

The following consideration of the subject we mainly take from various statements by

Professor Ely. Concerning the difference between "natural and other monopolies," he says (*idem*, p. 217):

"Socialists assert that every business is a natural monopoly, and that the expression itself, "natural monopoly," is as much out of place as would be the expression "natural adults," with reference to human beings. Every human being becomes in time an adult, and so, they say, every business becomes in time a monopoly. Proof is sought in a long list of trusts and combinations which have been more or less successful. When we look into this list of trusts in manufactures, however, we quickly ascertain that few of them have achieved anything like complete monopoly; and if we examine the list of unsuccessful attempts to form trusts, we shall discover that this is longer than the list of partially successful trusts. What we ascertain in reality is a demonstration of the advantages of production on a large scale, and a few attempts to secure a monopoly which have been partially successful, and a far larger number of cases of failure to establish monopoly in manufacturing industries. So far as any historical inductive proof is concerned, we must say that it is, as yet, lacking. The careful thinker will at least demand time for further observation. He will tell us to wait and see what tendencies are revealed by subsequent industrial development. If we turn to deductive proof, however, no convincing arguments have been advanced to support the hypothesis, either that unification of manufactures, is, generally speaking, inevitable, or even possible. We must not overlook the immense difficulty of a management so watchful, so alert, so full of resources, so fruitful in initiative and enterprise, that it can permanently secure better results than a number of smaller and competing manufacturers."

As a proof that natural monopolies are such, we are told (*idem*, pp. 263-266):

"The proof that these pursuits are natural monopolies is twofold; namely, deductive and inductive, or historical. The deductive proof takes account of characteristics of businesses of the kind mentioned, and discovers that businesses with these characteristics must necessarily become monopolies. Their main characteristics are three: They occupy peculiarly desirable spots or lines of land; second, the service or commodity which they supply is furnished in connection with the plant itself; and, in the third place, it is possible to increase the supply of the service or commodity indefinitely, without proportionate increase in cost. Any business which has these qualities tends to become a monopoly by virtue of its inherent qualities, and it must become such in time. . . . Inductive or historical proof calls attention to actual experience. It is found that sooner or later attempted competition always gives way to combination and consolidation. The gas business furnishes an excellent illustration, because the experience with respect to this is so super-abundant, and because, furthermore, as the geographical area within which the business is conducted is small, the movement toward monopoly has always been comparatively rapid. Competition in the gas business has been attempted in countries with all kinds of political government, and under every circumstance which can be imagined. It has been tried repeatedly with the most solemn promises on the part of those starting rival companies, that competition would be genuine and permanent. But the nature of the business as monopoly has been strong enough to overcome every obstacle, and guarantees have not been worth the paper on which they have been printed. It is probably not too much to say that competition has been tried a thousand times in different countries, and no one can yet point to one single instance of permanently successful competition. It would seem that a thousand experiments should satisfy any one. The telegraph business also furnishes good illustration. Competition in telegraph service was tried many times in England, but always resulted in monopoly; and it has been tried perhaps a hundred times in the United States, but the tendency to monopoly has been too strong. . . ."

Proof of Natural Monopolies.

"Competition of various sorts has been tried with respect to railways. . . . America will be held to offer the greatest difficulties in the way of the acceptance of a theory of monopoly in the railway business, but the difficulties only spring from the fact that it is a

vast country in which the railway development is yet far from complete. Combination and consolidation are going forward every day, and it is simply a question of time when monopoly will be secured in the United States as well as elsewhere. Even now it would require a small book simply to print the names of railway companies which have been absorbed by other companies, and have ceased to exist."

So conceiving of natural monopolies, those who use the phrase advocate that all natural monopolies should be at least owned and usually (tho not always) operated by the community. Professor Ely writes (*An Introduction to Political Economy*, pp. 252, 253).

"What shall be our policy? Monopoly is inevitable. Private monopoly is odious. Public monopoly is a blessing, and the test of experience approves it. Again and again it has been tried with fear and trembling, but the results have in the long run been gratifying. Public ownership and management of rail-

Treatment.

ways have in Germany succeeded in many respects even better than their advocates anticipated, and the opinion of experts in Germany favors them almost if not quite unanimously. The writer happens to know of no exception. . . . It was long ago said by a shrewd English engineer that where combination is possible competition is impossible. Combination is always possible in the case of undertakings which are natural monopolies. It is inevitable, for it is not only cheaper to do a given amount of business by a monopoly than by two or more concerns, but very much cheaper. If two gas companies in a city, having each a capital of a million dollars, operating separately are able to make 10 per cent. profit, when combined they will make much more than 10 per cent.; possibly even 15 or 20 per cent. There is a force continually at work drawing them together. It works as constantly if not as uniformly as the attraction of gravitation."

This does not, however, according to this school of thought, always imply public operation (*Socialism and Social Reform*, p. 293):

"It does not appear evident at once that the collective management of the property collectively owned is essential. If the anthracite coal-mines were owned by the State or by the nation, satisfactory results might, perhaps, be secured by leasing the land, or by allowing individuals or companies to mine coal freely on the payment of a royalty which would absorb any economic surplus above the normal returns to labor and capital."

Concerning the advantages of the public ownership of natural monopolies, we are told (we quote from various works of Professor Ely) first, that the socialization of natural monopolies would lead to the better utilization of productive forces and the avoidance of wastes due to competition. A railroad manager is quoted as saying that even now it would involve an annual saving of \$200,000,000 if the railways of the United States were managed as a unit. Says Professor Ely (*An Introduction to Political Economy*, p. 254):

"The construction of only two needless parallel lines of railway in the United States, the West Shore and the Nickel Plate, extending together from New York to Chicago, wasted two hundred millions of dollars; a sum sufficient to build two hundred thousand homes for a million people. Probably the waste in railway construction and operation in the United States during the past fifty years would be amply sufficient to build comfortable homes for every man, woman, and child now in the country.

Advantages.

"Every city shows that attempted competition eats up a large part of what might be profit. Gas can well be supplied for a profit in great cities, if the business is a perfect monopoly, for 75 cents."

A second advantage claimed is that it would tend to decrease industrial crises. (See *CRISES*.)

A third advantage is that it would purify politics. (See *CITY*; *MUNICIPALISM*; *SOCIALISM*.)

Fourth, it would tend to the utilization of inventors. (See *COMPETITION*.)

Fifth, it would aid distribution. (See *WEALTH*.) These advantages we consider under their proper heads. But besides these, are indirect advantages perhaps even greater, the breaking up of the great monopolies dependent upon natural monopolies (see *COAL*; *STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY*), and the abolition of railroad favoritism (see *RAILROADS*).

Concerning the purchase of private monopolies, Professor Ely says (*idem*, p. 289):

"The difficulties of payment for these monopolistic undertakings are often mentioned. It must be remembered that public ownership increases their value, because it produces unification in these enterprises, and shuts off the waste of future competition. Frequently public ownership makes it a possibility to unite advantageously several services and thus effect a saving. Very often a municipal electric lighting plant is connected with the public water-works, and results in a better utilization of public property, and of the services of those already in the employment of the municipality. The railways, which include the larger part of the property of the kind under consideration, are generally brought forward as affording the chief illustration of the difficulties of acquisition by the government. The purchase of these practically means the conversion of railway stocks and bonds into government bonds, and while it would add enormously to the public debt, it would add to a still greater extent to the public resources. Besides, it must always be remembered that the change could not be made in a single day.

"Reformers are often inclined to urge that the payments for railways, telegraphs, etc., should only be sufficient to duplicate the existing plant, and this generally means much less than the selling value of the plant. They make a serious mistake in taking this position. As a matter of policy, this course is not to be recommended, because it needlessly antagonizes such a large proportion of the population of the country. Those who are asked to part with their property at a price less than the market value will feel themselves aggrieved, and will oppose the reform in every way in their power. The plan proposed is also objectionable on the score of justice. The value which property of this kind has in excess of the cost of duplication of the plant is largely due to a public policy which has been approved by a majority, and a vast majority, of the people of the United States. A large capitalization, so far as it exceeds the actual value of the plant, very frequently represents only the waste due to attempted competition, and this attempted competition has been encouraged in every way, directly and indirectly, by the general public. Even when such is not the case, the possibility of an excessively large income, which has brought about the large capitalization, has been due to a considerable extent to failures of the legislature to make proper laws, and of the other public authorities adequately to enforce existing laws. Now, if the property is appraised simply at the cost of duplication of the plant, it would make a portion of the community bear the entire burden of a false public policy, whereas, as the whole of the public is to blame, the burden should be diffused among the people as a whole. If it is necessary to raise large sums to pay off the debt necessitated by the acquisition of enterprises of this kind, it could be done through a wisely devised system of inheritance taxes.

"When we consider the difficulties in the way of the socialization of natural monopolies, we must always remember what the alternative is. These difficulties are real, but the difficulties of the present system are even greater."

For the ways in which socialists and nationalists would obtain the ownership of private monopolies, see *RAILROADS*, section *Nationalization of*. We are here considering simply

the views of those who believe in the socialization of "natural monopolies" alone. For examples of the practical working of the socialization of national monopolies, see *BERLIN*; *BIRMINGHAM*; *GLASGOW*; *LONDON*; *ELECTRICITY*; *GAS*; *POSTAL SYSTEM*; *RAILROADS*; *STREET RAILWAYS*; *TELEGRAPHS*; *TELEPHONES*; *POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS*, etc., etc. Professor Ely says (*idem*):

"The test of experience seems to be decisive. The same objections which we now hear against the nationalization of railways in the United States were heard fifteen years ago in Prussia, and the opinion of the people was divided. Now one who travels in Germany, and talks with the people, finds it difficult to discover any one adverse to public ownership and management of the railways. There are some who would like to go back to the old system; but they are few indeed, and they are very generally those who would be apt to derive some private advantage from the change. Professor Cohn of the University of Göttingen voices a general sentiment when he says that, in Prussia, the question of state ownership and management of railways has been settled by the test of experience. The people of the Australasian colonies are equally clear in regard to the advantage of public ownership and operation of railways. There is considerable enthusiasm in regard to the results of such ownership and operation in New Zealand; and recently the editor of an economic periodical complained because he could not find any one in Australia to write an article adverse to the government ownership and management of railways."

Experience.

For the views of those who oppose the socialization of national monopolies, see *INDIVIDUALISM*; *MONOPOLIES*.

References: Professor R. T. Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (Crowell & Co., 1894); C. W. Baker's *Monopolies and the People* (Putnam, 1889); A. Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (The Century Co., 1895); John R. Commons' *Distribution of Wealth*, (Macmillan, 1894). (See also *ELECTRICITY*; *GAS*; *RAILROADS*; *SOCIALISM*, etc.)

NATURAL RIGHTS may be, in general, defined as rights or asserted rights based on what are declared to be laws of nature, as distinguished from rights grounded on conventional relations or positive enactments. The phrase, however, is used by different writers and different schools of thought in such different meanings, or shades of meaning, that one must ask the exact sense in which a writer uses the phrase before one can be sure that he understands his exact thought. The use of the phrase, and the value of the ideas embodied in it, will be best seen in following the development of the theory of natural rights through its several phases. Popularly identified with the revolutionary political writers of the eighteenth century, and particularly with Rousseau, the theory is really as old as political thinking and by no means dead to-day.

The germs of the theory may be found in the Greek sophists and particularly in Aristotle, although, as Professor Ritchie has pointed out in his latest book, *Natural Rights*, Aristotle did not hold the theory usually held to-day by those who use the phrase. He speaks of νόμος ἴδιος and νόμος κοινός, meaning by the former any law which the State establishes for itself, and is therefore peculiar to it, and by the latter, the law which is conformable to the dictates of nature and appears to be recognized among all men (*Ethics*, book v. chaps. vi., vii.; *Rhetoric*, book i. chaps. x., xiii.). Aristotle's distinction is not between laws based upon nature and

Classic
View.

laws based upon human enactments. To Aristotle, as to all the Greeks, the State was a natural product. He simply distinguishes between laws peculiar to one State and universal laws common to all.

Some of the Greek Cynics, however, held a theory more close to the modern doctrine. Antisthenes says: "The wise man will live not according to the established laws, but according to the law of virtue" (quoted by Ritchie, *idem*, p. 33). Diogenes was more extreme. He disowned the State and considered himself "a citizen of the world." He opposed all conventions, and preferred his tub to a house. From this Cynic school came the more balanced Stoic, with its maxim, "Live in harmony with nature." Nature, however, is not the whim of the individual; it is the divine element in the universe, and human laws may themselves be a manifestation of it. In Rome, Cicero popularized this view. "Universal consent is the voice of nature" (*Tusc.*, xv, § 35). Hence, the Latin *jus gentium* and the *jus civile* are to be interpreted as almost exact translation of the Greek κοινός νόμος and ἴδιος νόμος. One great jurist Ulpian held that the *jus naturalis* applied to animals as well as men: "It is that which nature has taught to all animals" (embodied in Justinian's *Institutes*, i, tit. 2). From the Roman law the distinction passed into medieval thought. Aquinas' conception of nature was derived from Aristotle, but he adds Cicero's conception of the

Medieval.

lex natura. The natural law becomes a fixed law implanted in the human heart and in the universe, as contrasted with both the laws of men and the revealed law of God. Aquinas says, "Natural law is nothing else than the participation in the eternal law of the mind of a rational creature" (*Summa* Ia, 2ae, qu. 94, art. 2). Medieval thought made a sharper distinction than the Roman jurists between the *jus civile* and the *jus gentium*. When Justinian codified the civil law, the law of nations was more sharply distinguishable from it. It became a distinct ideal code. To it men could appeal. First the authority of human law was questioned by the appeal to the Church. When the authority of the Church was shaken, the way was cleared, says Ritchie (*idem*, p. 42), "for revolution in the name of nature."

Through Grotius and Puffendorf the medieval distinction came to Locke, and with him played an important part. It lies in the background of all his theories. He says

Locke.

(*Treatise on Civil Government*, ii, § 95): "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the

political power of another without his own consent." He talks of a "state of nature," "a golden age" which has "a law of nature to govern it" (*Civil Government*, ii, § 6). Civil society with Locke is constituted by a compact of the original members; a compact renewed from generation to generation in the person of every citizen when he comes to an age of discretion to choose his allegiance. The sovereignty of society is limited, too, to the ends for which it was conferred. It is not hard to see outlined here all the essentials of Rousseau's social compact. Locke from this basis justified the revolution of 1688. Another English writer from the same principles deduced a condemnation of rebellion. Hobbes, like Locke, starts out from a state of nature. Men are by nature equal and live in a state of mutual fear, enmity, and war. This is intolerable. Hence, by a law of reason which is also "a law of nature," they mutually agree to surrender their natural rights to some sovereign man or body of men to govern over them. Hence, having surrendered their natural rights, they no longer have them, but must obey the sovereign power. From these English theorists sprang alike Rousseau's social contract and the "unalienable rights" spoken of in the American Declaration of Independence. Professor Ritchie has shown that the American "inalienable rights" came not from France, as is usually thought, but from England. A bill or declaration of rights exactly analogous to the French declaration is found in most of the State constitutions of the United States originated after 1776, while the French Declaration of the Rights of Man was promulgated in 1791.

America.

The Bill of Rights of Virginia (June 12, 1776) declares, "That all men are by nature equally free and independent and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their poster-

ity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from the people, that magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them." The Declaration of Independence of the United States, signed only a few days later, almost repeats the words, when it says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This theory was in the air—American and English air as truly as Gallic. Virginia, says Bancroft, "moved from charters and custom to primal principles; from a narrow alteration about facts to the contemplation of immutable truths. She summoned the eternal laws of man's being to protest against all tyranny" (*History of the United States*, 5 ed. viii, p. 383). These metaphysics we have traced historically through Locke. But as Professor Ritchie says (*idem* p. 6), "the theory of natural rights was not Locke's invention. Neither he nor Jean Jacques can claim the credit of having 'discovered the lost title-deeds of the human race.' The theory of natural rights is simply the logical outgrowth of the Protestant revolt against the authority of tradition, the logical outgrowth of the Protestant appeal to private judgment." In the Middle Ages privileges were claimed because of some real or fancied authority in the past. There were three great authorities, the Bible, Aristotle, and Justinian. Yet in each of these could be found some elements of the law of nature. The Levelers appealed to the law of nature. Thomas Edwards (in his *Gangrana*, pt. iii, p. 16) says these "sectaries" held that "by natural birth all men are equally and alike born to like propriety [property] liberty, and freedom; and as we are delivered of God by the hand of nature into this world, every one with a natural innate freedom and propriety, even so we are to live every one equally and alike, to enjoy his birth-right and privilege." Again Edwards says of them (*idem*, p. 20), "though the laws and customs of a kingdom be never so plain and clear against their ways, yet they will not submit, but cry out for natural rights derived from Adam and right reason." This doctrine Ritchie traces back to Wyclif and his poor priests. Wyclif argued (see *De Civili Dominio*, edited by R. L. Poole, *pref.* pp. xxii-xxiv) that "every one in a state of grace has real lordship over the whole universe," and deduces from this community of property. He held this only of the saints, but John Ball (*q. v.*) and others popularized this when they sang:

Protestant-ism.

"When Adam dalf and Evè span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

Says Ritchie, "In the Puritan Revolution of the seventeenth century, the appeal to historic right was replaced by an appeal to natural rights. The struggle for parliamentary liberties led some men to go behind parliaments and charters, just as the independent study of the Bible led some men to go behind the authority of the Bible and to rely on the authority of 'the inner light' alone. This," Ritchie continues, "is the logical outcome of Protestantism, however unacceptable to the majority of those calling themselves Protestants; however unsatisfactory and dangerous in the eyes of those who were more influenced by the historic spirit and who realized, in more or less intelligent fashion, the necessity of social cohesion and continuity." Ireton (*Clarke Papers*, i, p. 307) complains to Protestant extremists, "If you do, paramount to all constitutions, hold up this law of nature, I would fain have any man show me where you will end." Puritan England thus produced the theory, but it was developed mainly in the American Bills of Rights and the French Revolution. The convention at New York, October, 1765, while protesting loyalty to King George, declared "that trial by jury is the inherent right and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies," entirely in the spirit of the English Bill of Rights of 1689. In the Declaration of Rights of the Philadelphia congress of 1774, appeal is made not only to "the principles of the English constitution and the several charters or compacts," but to "the immutable laws of nature," including the right "to life, liberty, and property." In the declaration of July 4,

1776, no more is said of the rights of British subjects, but we have "unalienable rights," which come from God. We now understand the development of the theory in France better. It did not take, even here, an invariably atheistic form. The French declarations of

France.

1791 and 1793 are proclaimed "in the presence of the Supreme Being." Nor is the theory in France by any means peculiar to Rousseau. It is common to almost all the eighteenth-century writers and largely traceable to English philosophy, appearing through Diderot and the Encyclopedists. All the tendencies of the time—religious, scientific, philosophical, and political—favored the theory. It was developed on its religious side not only by the individualism of the Reformation, in the doctrines of the right of private judgment and Luther's salvation by faith, but quite as much by Calvin's sovereignty of God, since, by making man the predestined subject of God's omnipotent rule, the individual is placed above all the laws of State or Government. The same exaltation of the individual was developed by the growing spirit of science, discovery, and invention. Men were breaking away from all covenants, theories, and institutions of the past. This was peculiarly true in politics. Instituted law was identified with despotism. It was popular to place above such law the "natural rights of man."

The view was particularly favored by the Physiocrats, who they deduced from it economic rather than political conclusions. Quesnay's *Le Droit Naturel* is a classic of this theory, and begins by laying down the proposition that natural right is "the right which a man has to do the things which are fit for his enjoyment."

It will be seen into what ready soil Rousseau dropped his brilliant words. So far from his being the originator of the theory, it is not even clear that he held it, in its extreme form, in his more careful writings. Professor Ritchie argues that it scarcely appears in his little read *Social Contract* (1762), but has been taken mainly from his more popular, but weaker, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality among Men* (published 1754). This discourse, however, belonged to Rousseau's most brilliant period, and tho its views seem seriously modified in the later *Social Contract*, its teachings, and not the more careful statements of the latter, have become identified with Rousseau. The theory, however, in its essence, is contained in both books. We present Rousseau's statement as Professor Huxley has summarized it (*Nineteenth Century*, January, 1890), that: First, All men are born free, and politically equal and good, and in the "state of nature" remain so; consequently, it is their natural right to be free, equal, and (presumably their duty to be) good, *Contract Social*, v. pp. 98-99, Mussay Pathay's edition, 1826.

Rousseau.

Second, All men being equal by natural right, none can have any right to encroach on another's equal right. Hence no man can appropriate any part of the common means of subsistence—that is to say, the land or anything which the land produces—without the unanimous consent of all other men. Under any other circumstances, property is usurpation (*Discours*, pp. 257, 258, 276). Third, Political rights, therefore, are based upon contract; the so-called right of conquest is no right, and property which has been acquired by force may rightly be taken away by force (*Discours*, pp. 276-280).

The relation of such theories to the French Revolution it is easy to see. The famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed in 1791, and undoubtedly embodied the principles of the Revolution, altho these principles can by no means be considered to have caused this revolution. The French Revolution simply accomplished suddenly and in bloodshed what England had gained quietly and with legal procedure. Nevertheless, the French Revolution called all men's attention to the dangerous aspects of the theory of natural rights. In England, where the theory had been largely developed, it was strenuously attacked, and with such success that to-day most English and American publicists consider it exploded. That this is not the case we shall later see; but it is true that the overwhelming judgment of modern English and American scholars is against the theory. This is probably mainly due to the development of the modern scientific and historic spirit, which asks for

Criticism.

induction from facts, not for brilliant generalities from metaphysical arguments about unproven and unprovable "natural laws." The theory, how-

ever, was first attacked by statesmen and philosophers rather than by scientists. In brilliant rhetoric Burke argued its dangerous and baseless nature. Paine, in his even more brilliant and rhetorical *Rights of Man*, answers Burke; but thought and, above all, science, were to answer Paine. Bentham more coldly argued its uselessness, and then science came to condemn it and ask what facts teach, not what different people assert to be "natural." The argument against it to-day is mainly based on the fact that nobody can prove what are natural rights. Modern disbelievers in the theory assert that what are called "natural rights" are simply what various men believe to be the ideal of what should be man's social status. Says Professor Ritchie (*idem*, p. 80), "Natural Rights, when alleged by the would-be reformer, mean those rights which, in his opinion, would be recognized by the public opinion of such a society as he admires. . . . They are the rights which he thinks ought to be recognized; i. e., they are the rights sanctioned by his ideal society, whatever that may be." Further, Professor Ritchie says (*idem*, p. 82), "If we go back to the ordinary unreflecting opinions of mankind in comparatively primitive conditions, we shall find that those rights which people think they ought to have, are just those rights which they have been accustomed to have, or which they have a tradition (whether true or false) of having once possessed. Thus to the average Greek, slavery undoubtedly seemed a 'natural' institution; it was familiar to him, and he did not know of any civilized society without it. . . . A Turk, a German, an American, would give somewhat different accounts of this natural status. The 'natural' in each case may, perhaps, be pitched a little above the average usage of the society in question; it represents the expectations of the society, of which expectations fulfillment may indeed fall short." Hence, as many modern thinkers have shown, the theory of "natural rights" may be made to support any theory. It is usually used to base an argument against any law or action of the State that the individual does not consider wise or right. It is used by anarchists to condemn existing inequalities of social conditions, and by conservatives to check attempts on the part of government to remedy those inequalities. The Liberty and Property Defense League plants itself on the same natural rights as did Tom Paine. In the name of natural rights Henry George argues that every man has a right to what he produces, and only to that, while Matthew Arnold says: "An author has no natural right to a property in his production. But, then, neither has he a natural right to anything whatever which he may produce or acquire" (*Fortnightly Review*, vol. xxvii, p. 322). Such contradictions prove to the critics of the theory its impracticability, baselessness, and unreality.

Says Jevons in *The State in Relation to Labor*: "The first step must be to rid our minds of the idea that there are any such things in social matters as abstract ideas." Mr. Spencer quotes a writer "of high repute" as saying "to explain once more that there is no such thing as 'natural right' would be a waste of philosophy." Rousseau himself, in the preface to his *Discours*, says: "It is more difficult than one would suppose to take the precautions necessary to basing an argument upon it [the doctrine of natural rights]." Professor Huxley shows that nature's laws "contain in reality nothing but a statement of that which a given being tends to do under the circumstances of its existence." A tiger has a natural inclination to eat men; certain cannibals are said to have the same inclination. Have they a natural right to eat men? As used against governments, the advocates of "natural rights" and "a state of nature," which is supposed to be better than the organized state, forget what Aristotle did not forget, that the State itself is natural. It is halting metaphysics and stranger theology to assert that God made the country and man made the city. Is the plowed land unnatural? Is the city street contrary to human nature? The view held to-day by most publicists, in place of the theory of natural rights, is stated by Professor John W. Burgess, as follows:

"The revolutionists of the eighteenth century said that individual liberty was a natural right; that it belonged to the individual as a human being, without regard to the state or society in which, or the government under which, he lived. But it is easy to see that this view is utterly impracticable and barren; for if neither the State, nor the society, nor the government defines the sphere of individual autonomy and con-

The Opposing View.

structs its boundaries, then the individual himself will be left to do these things, and that is anarchy pure and simple. The experience of the French Revolution, where this theory of natural rights was carried into practice, showed the necessity of this result. These experiences drove the more pious minds of this period to formulate the proposition that God is the source of individual liberty. *Dieu et mon droit* was the medieval motto made new again. But who shall interpret the will of God in regard to individual liberty? If the individual interprets it for himself, then the same anarchic result as before will follow. If the State or the Church or the government interprets it, then the individual practically gives up the divine source of his liberty. . . . We may express the most modern principle as follows: The individual, both for his own highest development and the highest welfare of the society and State in which he lives, should act freely within a certain sphere: the impulse to such action is a universal quality of human nature; but the State, the ultimate sovereign, is alone able to define the elements of individual liberty, limit its scope, and protect its enjoyment. The individual is thus defended in this sphere against the Government by the power that makes and maintains and can destroy the Government, and by the same power *through* the Government against encroachments from every other quarter. Against that power itself, however, he has no defense. It can give and it can take away. The individual may ask for liberties which it has not granted, and even prove to the satisfaction of the general consciousness that he ought to have them; but until it grants them, he certainly has them not. The ultimate sovereignty, the State, cannot be limited, either by individual liberty or governmental powers; and this it would be if individual liberty had its source outside of the State. This is the only view which can reconcile liberty with law, and preserve both in proper balance. Every other view sacrifices the one to the other" (*Political Science and Constitutional Law*, vol. i. book ii. chap. i.).

Such is the ordinary view held at present by the large majority of thinkers in England and the United States.

Yet there are a few and some of the most brilliant minds in England and America, and a whole school of thinkers upon the continent of Europe, who do hold still to the doctrine of natural rights. Herbert Spencer has given the weight of his name to the doctrine. In his *Social Statics* he holds that all rights are derived from a single first principle, which he calls "the law of equal freedom." This principle is "that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the exercise of like liberty by every other man" (chap. v. § 3), or, as he elsewhere expresses it, "every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided that he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man" (chap. vi. § 1). Accordingly, he says: "Rights are nothing but artificial divisions of the general claim to exercise the faculties—applications of that general claim to particular cases; and each of them is proved in the same way by showing that the particular exercise of the faculties referred to is possible without preventing the like exercise of faculties by other persons." His development of this theory is well known. (See SPENCER.)

In Germany, the idea of *Naturrecht* is the root idea of German jurisprudence. Professor Pollok says of this school, that its authors "throw their main strength on investigating the universal moral and social conditions of government and laws, or, at any rate, civilized government and laws, and expounding what such governments and laws are, or ought to be, so far as determined by conformity to these conditions." English writers, he says, are apt to despair of systems of philosophy built up on somebody's conception of "things as they ought to be," "necessary inferences from the facts of nature," "natural laws" which, nevertheless, "never have been and probably never will be perfectly discovered. But," he adds, "allowance must be made for difference in meaning. We may discover this mysterious and terrible *Naturrecht* to be no worse than a theory of government and legislation; or, to preserve better the wide generality given to it by its authors, a kind of teleology of the State and its institutions."

In England Professor Lorimer in his *Institutes of Law*, with its sub-title, *A Treatise of the Principles of Jurisprudence as Determined by Nature*, most nearly represents the German school. But the characteristic modern English, and especially the American use of the theory, is the use made of it in politics by Jeffersonian Democrats, with their strict limitation of the

power of the State, and in economics by Henry George and his followers, when they hold that each man has a natural and a divine right to what he produces, and to that only, so that land values should be held in common, since no individual has produced them, but that each individual should be allowed private property in other things. (See SINGLE TAX.) Professor Ritchie, in his volume above referred to, considers the specific natural rights most commonly claimed: the right of life, of liberty, of toleration, of public meeting and association, of contract, of resistance to oppression, of equality, of property, of pursuing and obtaining happiness. He shows, however, that nations like the United States, most imbued with the theory of natural rights, have not scrupled to go contrary to them when it was popular. Protestants, who cannot understand why Roman Catholics should not allow legal divorce, are quite ready to suppress Mormon plural marriages by law. To sum up, the theory of natural rights is considered by its critics vague and useless; its truth to lie in its witness to the belief in a divine or general ideal of society toward which men are ever pressing.

(See POLITICAL SCIENCE; STATE; SOVEREIGNTY; ROUSSEAU, etc.)

References: *Natural Rights, a Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions*, by David G. Ritchie, 1895. (See also PAINE; ROUSSEAU.)

NAVIGATION. See COMMERCE.

NAVY. See ARMY AND NAVY.

NEEBE. See CHICAGO ANARCHISTS, last section.

NEGRO AND PRESENT SOCIAL REFORM, IN AMERICA, THE. (See also SLAVERY.) During the dark days of slavery little or no progress could be expected from the negro. Bought and sold like the cattle of the fields, and bearing all the degrading consequences of an inhuman bondage, it is evermore to his credit that he has escaped at all from the brutalizing influences of 260 years. There was a large number of free negroes settled in the South before the war, and altho they were allowed to acquire property, and secure a measure of education, they were subject to many disabilities and restrictions. They were denied intercourse with the slaves; and were even frequently the victims of murderous mobs who violated the seclusion of their homes. They were, in both North and South, excluded from the militia, and quite generally denied the right to vote, altho impartially taxed. Their schools were separate, few in number, and poorly conducted. They were excluded from churches, confined to the galleries of theaters, denied lodging and board at hotels, and were not permitted to travel as first-class passengers upon either land or water. Nearly every State constitution contained the word "white" as a restriction of civil rights; nearly every common-carrier company had special rules to apply to the negro; and nearly every community contained men and women who were always ready to denounce and abuse the harmless and submissive blacks. If the noblest class of Americans were subjected for years to such disadvantages as these, and with no chance of revolution or redress, it is very probable that their social and moral condition would not finally be very high.

The great bravery shown by many negro regiments in the war of the rebellion did much

to elevate them in esteem, and secure a little more fairness in their treatment by the whites. Before the spring of 1863 the United States Government published a plan by which negroes, free and bond, were to be employed as soldiers. By the end of the autumn 50,000 troops of this character were under arms. From the beginning to the close of the war there were 178,975 negro troops in the service of the nation, who participated in 449 engagements and sustained a loss of 36,847. At Fort Wagner, Port Hudson, Chapin's Farm, Nashville, and upon other fields they won the confidence and approval of the military and civil leaders of the cause they so gallantly served. Doubtful and discriminated against in respect to their pay, bounty, and clothing, they were subsequently placed upon the same footing with their more favored white comrades.

On January 1, 1863, the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued; every negro received his freedom; and soon after, by amendments to the Constitution, was made a voter and a citizen. The legislatures of the Southern States, however, passed laws that practically disfranchised him for a time; and the acts regulating negro laborers made them the merest vassals of the soil. But the reorganization of these States brought the negro into political prominence.

During the period of reconstruction negroes were in the majority in the Senate and House of Representatives of some Southern States, while two became United States senators and a dozen were members of the House of Representatives. Fourteen held positions in the diplomatic and consular service of the Government. The United States marshal for the District of Columbia, the tax collector, the recorder of deeds, and the register of the treasury were, at one time, negroes, and all of them ex-slaves save one. There were about 600 negroes in the departments at Washington, D. C., and several thousand of them in the postal, revenue, and customs service in various sections of the country.

The attitude of the Southern people to the negroes since the war has been almost invariably aristocratic and repressive; they have too

The South and the Negro.

frequently endeavored to keep them servile and dependent, instead of aiding them to reach a higher plane of intelligence and citizenship. Henry M. Boies says, in the course of an earnest plea for negro education, "The whole administration of the South proceeds upon the false and un-American idea of a servile class, to be maintained in a condition of suppression; an idea which the welfare of our institutions, society, and government cannot tolerate, and must in some way totally eradicate, abolish, and destroy. The American people and its free government are irrevocably pledged and devoted to human progress, elevation, and civilization, without regard to tribe or tongue, sex or color, or any previous condition of nativity, servitude, or intelligence."

In another place the same author writes: "A ruling white minority, possessing the wealth, stands over a black majority which is

paid for their labor actually less than the fairly comfortable subsistence which they received when slaves; and denies to them every right of equality except the simple name of citizen. This is as hostile to true Americanism as was slavery. It has become so palpable, atrocious, and pregnant a national peril as to require national intervention."

Yet it must be admitted that to this as to every question there are two sides. The Southern whites say, in answer to such criticism, that the negroes are yet too ignorant to vote; that being in some States in the majority, they would, if allowed actual equality with the whites, put back the whole civilization of the South, if not make civilization impossible. Says Governor Evans of South Carolina, in regard to the constitutional convention called to devise a way for excluding the negro from political power :

The Southern View.

"There are only two flags, the white and the black. Under which will you enlist? The one, the white, is the peaceful flag of Anglo-Saxon civilization and progress. The other is the black flag of the debased and ignorant African, with the white traitors who are seeking to marshal the negroes in order to gain political power. . . .

"The constitutional convention must be controlled by white men, not white men with black hearts, not negroes. The world must be shown that we are capable of governing ourselves, and that, constitution or no constitution, law or no law, court or no court, the intelligent white men of South Carolina intend to govern her."

The South (especially the progressive so-called New South) has no desire to reenact slavery, if it could, but it does almost as one man insist that civilization shall not be lowered to the level of the negro—which, it says, would be the result of giving the right at present of political and social equality with the whites.

Suddenly transformed from slaves to citizens, without test or preparation, it is self-evident that the whole negro race is the ward of the American nation, and must be so considered and treated, until it shall rise in all respects to a level of equality with its white fellow-citizens, and have a fairer show in the competitions of life.

"But there are unflinching signs that the negro is accumulating property, and rapidly acquiring knowledge, in spite of the many peculiar obstacles that have been cast in his way. In 1838, in the District of Columbia, where the Government emancipated the slaves by compensating their masters, the negro citizens paid taxes upon about \$8,000,000 of real property; in Georgia they are taxed for about \$11,000,000, in Louisiana for about \$25,000,000; and in other States in an almost proportional amount."

"According to the census of 1890, there are in the United States 7,470,040 persons of African descent—an increase of 13.5 per cent. since 1880. The negro school population of the former slave States is about 2,100,000; and the enrolment is 1,100,000. They have 281 normal schools with 6207 students; 270 institutions for secondary instruction with 9970 students; 238 universities and colleges with 5119 students; 110 schools of theology with 1297 students; 16 law schools with 98 students; 22 schools of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy with 208 students; 40 schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind with 139 students; and, adding the 661 schools for negroes in the Northern States to the 18,794 for the freedmen, there are 19,455 public schools with a total enrolment for the race, as far as reported, of 1,127,839. This does not include the negroes and mulattoes in the schools of the

Statistics.

North, where no discrimination is made as to color or nationality. There are more signs of improvement in the negro in the South than in the small communities of Northern negroes, who, contented with their condition, make little effort to improve their opportunities. They are the servant class as a rule, altho there are worthy exceptions, and make little or no progress. However, in the larger cities of the Northern States negroes have branched out into lucrative business enterprises, and by industry, frugality, and ability have attained to high and honorable business standing."

In general, since emancipation, their morals are improved, their social life more elevated, their tastes more chaste, their education advanced, and their comfort and happiness infinitely increased. The friends of humanity everywhere will join in creating a public sentiment friendly to the negro as a citizen, as a laborer, and as a man, until the African race is merged at length into a composite American nationality. H. N. C.

Concerning some other statistics in regard to the negro population in the United States, the Rt. Rev. C. Clifton Penick, D. D., agent for the Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church for work among colored people in the United States of America, says in a tract on the struggles, perils, and hopes of the negroes:

"In 1865 probably not one in ten thousand of the negroes of the South could read. To-day not less than twenty-five thousand are professors or teachers in colleges and schools. A vast number of well-read preachers, lawyers, doctors, mail agents, and clerks are at work, while, in 1800, 1,255,320 scholars were in public schools—18.55 per cent. of the negro population in the entire country, an increase of public-school enrolment of 61.58 per cent. in ten years. The enrolment of white children the country over is but 21.68 per cent. of the white population. When we remember that altho there are but 7,470,000 of these people, they have in twenty-five years built them 19,753 churches, with 5,818,459 seats, at a cost of \$20,323,887; that they report 2,316,785 communicants in churches entirely of their own race, the figures are startling. Rev. H. K. Carrol, compiler of church statistics for the Eleventh Census, puts the number of communicants at 2,610,525. When we contrast, however, the wonderful strides of the race in education and religiousness since 1865, the revelations of its criminal record are both surprising and appalling, as the following facts, gathered from the census of 1890, show:

"The negro population is a little more than one-ninth of the entire population of the nation, yet it furnishes 37 per cent. of its homicides—*i. e.*, 2730 out of 7386. Of the 82,329 adult prisoners in the United States, the negroes give 27,277. Of the 387 female homicides the negroes give 224—*i. e.*, two-thirds. The entire country has one adult criminal to every 786 of its population, while the negroes have one to every 284 of their population. Our 45,912,663 native born whites have one homicide to every 14,539 of them; the foreign whites one to 7633; the negroes one to every 2727. If we compare the ages of the homicides, we find that from 50 to 60 years of age the negroes furnish 115 out of 580, about one-fifth; from 40 to 50, they furnish 289 out of 1148, about one-fourth; from 30 to 40, 714 out of 2152, or about one-third; from 20 to 30, 1,271 out of 2630, nearly one-half; and under 20 years of age, two-thirds of the homicides of the entire nation are recorded as negroes. Of the nine murders committed by youths of 14 years old, eight were recorded against negroes."

NEIGHBORHOOD GILDS is the name of certain social reform institutions first proposed by Dr. Stanton Coit (*q. v.*), as the result of his experience in the social settlements started by him in New York city and London. He embodied his ideas on this subject in a book entitled, *Neighbourhood Guilds*, published in 1891. According to this work (*p. 7*), "The very name, 'neighborhood gild,' suggests the

fundamental idea which this new institution embodies: namely, that, irrespective of religious belief or non-belief, all the people, men, women, or children, in any one street, or any small number of streets in every working-class district in London, shall be organized into a set of clubs, which are by themselves, or in alliance with those of other neighborhoods, to carry out, or induce others to carry out, all the reforms, domestic, industrial, educational, provident, or recreative, which the social ideal demands." Dr. Coit's idea is that the forming of separate societies or clubs for special purposes tends to magnify out of all proportion that one side of life or culture which it aims to develop. It tends again to break up the family unit. It sends the boys to one club, the girls to another, the father to another, the mother to another. Thirdly, it breaks up neighborliness. One family knows nothing about its next-door neighbor, because the two families go to different churches, to different clubs, have different interests. The Neighborhood Gild aims at organizing the social life of all the people in one small district. It thus brings neighbors together, families together, different interests together. In the Neighborhood Gilds there are departments for boys, for girls, for men, for women, for art, for education, for recreation, for the various interests of life; and they are not all separate; for certain purposes, and at certain times, all come together. According to Dr. Coit, no Gild should be so large as to prevent all the members forming a circle of acquaintance. Personal work is its essence. To develop persons in all sides of character is its aim. It would not compete, but rather cooperate with other reform agencies. Neighborhood Gilds can be started quietly, without great initial expense, in almost any place, starting, perhaps, in one family house, its parlors being used for meetings until a room, and then a house, can be hired. Dr. Coit started the first Gild in New York city, about 1885, and it has now grown into a University Settlement (*q. v.*). In 1889, Dr. Coit, on his removal to London, started one there in Kentish Town. For all details, see Dr. Coit's book, *Neighbourhood Guilds*.

NEO-MALTHUSIANISM. See **MALTHUSIANISM**, last section.

NET PROFITS. See **PROFITS**.

NEW AUSTRALIA.—July 16, 1893, 200 emigrants left Australia to found a communistic colony in Paraguay, to be called New Australia; the leader was William Lane. The experiment elicited more attention than most such experiments, but the colony has met with great difficulties. Dissensions early broke out; the colony divided, and at this writing (1895) it is impossible to ascertain its true condition.

NEWCOMB, SIMON, was born in Wallace, Nova Scotia, March 12, 1835. In 1861 he became professor of mathematics in the United

States Naval Observatory at Washington, D. C., and since 1884 has also held a professorship of mathematics in Johns Hopkins University. Among his most popular works are *Popular Astronomy* (1877) and *Principles of Political Economy* (1886). In economics Professor Newcomb is known as an adherent of the classical school. A clear and forcible writer, he is as well represented in numerous magazine articles as in his books, particularly in his articles in the *North American Review* and *Princeton Review*.

NEW HARMONY, though later identified with Robert Owen (*q. v.*), was founded by a small German sect, the followers of one George Rapp, a weaver by trade, but noted for his biblical knowledge and piety. Rapp gathered together in Wurtemberg a number of people who shared his religious views, and, following the example of the early Christians in Jerusalem, they held all their property in common.

"Being persecuted for their views, they decided to emigrate to the United States, and in 1803 the Rappites formed their first settlement in Butler County, Pa., giving to their village the name of Harmony. By dint of hard work and economy, in 10 years they were in a state of comparative comfort; but wishing to make their position more secure, in 1813 they moved westward and bought about 30,000 acres of some of the richest land in Posey County, Indiana, and there founded the world-famous village of New Harmony. The Rappites were a very industrious and inoffensive folk; their creed enjoined pure life, simple diet, and plain dress; the ambitions and wishes of the individual were to be entirely subject to the general good. After a time they took vows of celibacy, even those who were already married dissolving the relationship and taking the vows. For ten years they labored and prospered exceedingly, both in agriculture and manufacture; and then, selling all their land and the village buildings to Mr. Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland, they emigrated east again to Beaver County, Pa., where they founded the village of Economy." (See **ECONOMY**.)

The purchaser of New Harmony, Robert Owen (*q. v.*), was a Welshman, born in 1771. He became manager and then proprietor of extensive cotton mills on the Clyde, Scotland, and devoted much energy to promoting the interest of working people. He desired to abolish all class distinctions, and endeavored to show that the interests of the employer and employees could be made identical. His mills at New Lanark were ideal object lessons to support his theory, and it was to put into practical shape his theories for the advancement of working people that he bought the New Harmony estate. Associated with him in the scheme was a Mr. William Maclure, a Scotchman, who shared Mr. Owen's communist theories.

"Their aim was to establish a community in which property was to be held in common, though under the restriction of a constitution. All were to share in the common labor, and all should receive a liberal education, with facilities for continued study and pursuit of knowledge. The religious views of the members were entirely of their own choice, the only qualifications essential for membership being honesty of purpose, temperance, industry, cleanliness, and carefulness. When the settlement of New Harmony came into the possession of Robert Owen the village was regularly laid out as a town, with streets running at right angles to each other; and in the center a public

square, surrounded by the large brick buildings built by the Rappites for their churches and schools. The land itself was well prepared; there were 10 detached farms, and some 3000 acres which had been cultivated by the Rappite society, besides a vineyard, several orchards, and other improvements. With the place so prepared, and 30,000 acres to fall back upon, the experiment of a secular community, based on honesty of purpose and moral integrity, seemed to have every material advantage that could be offered. In a very short time the village was a busy place. Within two or three months there were some 600 persons gathered from all parts of the United States and Europe. Many of these were inspired with an earnest belief in the ideals which the experiment was to prove, and worked zealously in the endeavor to put them into practice; but many, also, were lazy and shiftless, and came seeking an easy mode of living, shirking their share of the toil, while others came with a view to making profit out of the benevolent feeling of the founder, and with no sympathy at all for the movement. With such material it was quite impossible to fulfil the original expectation, and in less than two years it had become evident that it was hopeless to try longer."

On April 27, 1825, Mr. Owen called all the members of the community together, and in an address explained the impossibility of an immediate total change in all their manners of life, and proposed that they should accept a constitution only partially communistic for a term of three years, that they might be better prepared to fully carry out the ideal community. This was agreed to, and under the name of the **Constitution**.

"Preliminary Society of New Harmony" the venture was formally constituted. Mr. Owen then returned to Europe, and a committee managed the affairs of the society. In less than a year Mr. Owen returned to New Harmony, and soon after his return the members of the Preliminary Society held another convention, deciding to at once commence communism and adopting a constitution of a community which they called the "New Harmony Community of Equality." The management was to be in the hands of an executive council, who were to be subject to the direction of the community. Experience demonstrated that the plan of the executive council was not practicable, and the members were unanimous in requesting Mr. Owen to take the sole management. This was the inauguration of the most prosperous season in the short life of the community. There were soon no idlers, all being busily engaged; and the meetings, instead of being the scene of wrangles, were utilized for the benefit of all the members.

This was too good to last, and within a very few months there were disturbances, and attempts to divide the town into several societies. On May 30, 1826, in consequence of the continual disagreements which had arisen about the disposal of the property, a meeting of the whole of the population was held, at which it was decided to form four separate societies, each to purchase its own share of the property, and each to manage its own affairs, but to trade together by means of paper currency. Other changes followed fast, but each change left them no better than before. The trouble was not in the institutions so much as in the unpreparedness or greed of many of the members; and though there were many choice, noble spirits in the undertaking, they were overweighed by the others. After watching the spirit of the community depart, and his

fondest hopes gradually crumble away, in June, 1827, Mr. Owen bade the community farewell.

Leases were granted to such as desired to continue the cooperative experiments, and tho some smaller communities were formed from the wreckage, the New Harmony Community of Equality had become a thing of the past.

The effect, however, was not to die away. The scheme of communal cooperative life took a deep hold on the imaginations of the people, and many smaller communities were formed; and, when nearly fifteen years later Fourier's scheme was advocated, many were prepared to sink their all in the new communities which sprang up in all directions—and, alas! died away as rapidly as they came into existence. But with all the failures, there is still some gain, and the bitter disappointments of those who fondly imagined they were remodeling society are only the defeats which will help to insure victory later on, even tho it should not come as they expected it. A. H.

NEW UNIONISM, or the NEW TRADE-UNIONISM, are phrases used in England and, to a less extent, in America, to denote the tendencies toward socialism recently developed in labor organizations. The new tendency is, however, to be considered simply as a natural outgrowth of the old unionism, due to changed conditions. It was widely claimed in England, ten years ago, when the new unionism movement began, that the old unions had become largely conservative. Their aim, it was said, was not to change the conditions of working people, but merely to strike the best bargain possible for their own members, in the amount of wages to be paid, or the hours to be worked. This was the result, said the believers in the new unionism, of the long battle of the unions for existence. From 1824, when, to a very limited extent and for very limited purposes, trade-unions were first legalized in England (see **TRADE-UNIONS**; Section, England), down to 1875, when, alone, they emerged, to use the words of Mr. George Howell, "from the last vestige of the criminal laws specially appertaining to labor," the long struggles for legal existence had almost compelled the leaders of the unions to renounce the old Utopian socialism of the Owenites and Chartists and to contend for the right of combination on the somewhat individualistic ground that the individual worker, having a right to dispose of his labor as he pleased, had a right to enter into combinations to dispose of his labor if he so chose. The taking of this position seemed, under the ideas dominant in England during the period, the only way to obtain for the unions legal recognition, and it undoubtedly coincided with many of the individualistic ideas of the trade-union leaders of the times. (For a full account of this see Webb's *History of Trade-Unionism*.) Be this as it may, however, the taking of such a position naturally gave the unions something of an individualistic bias, and, when they finally won complete legal recognition, and grew somewhat strong and respectable, the result

was that they became, at least in the opinion of many, somewhat reactionary trade benefit societies, organized not to fight the battles of the working classes generally, but simply to give benefits and gain advantages for their members only. This led insensibly to the trade-unions becoming somewhat of an "aristocracy of labor." Benefit societies are somewhat slow to take into their membership the lower classes of wage-earners, who are likely at any moment to be thrown out of work or placed on the needy list, and so, to an extent, the trade-unions limited their membership to the better paid members of their trades. This, however, hurt the trade-unions. Keeping the unskilled workman out of the organizations did not at all keep him from competing in the open market; and, whenever there was a labor dispute, it was always handicapped against the men by the large number of the semi-skilled, who were able, and almost compelled by their helpless condition, to take the place of the union men who refused to work. With such a prospect it is not surprising that trade-unions were steadily and surely becoming of less importance. Such was the condition of affairs in England when the new unionism was developed.

The socialist propaganda, beginning in 1880, had rapidly made headway, and, within a few years, made a great impression on the minds of the workers in all the industrial centers. Confining their efforts mainly to propaganda, the socialists worked quite on separate lines from the trade-unionists, often antagonizing them for their conservative tendencies. In 1888 a number of socialists, many of whom were members of trade-unions, undertook the task (hitherto deemed impossible) of organizing the unskilled workers into a trade-union. The revival in trade helped them, and one of the first unions organized, "The Gasworkers' and General Laborers' Union," within a year of its foundation had gained for its members such substantial benefits in the shape of an eight-hour working day, and an increase of pay, that the example was like a new life in waking from apathy those who before were hopeless. The success of the great "dock strike" (see **DOCK STRIKE**), which followed within a few months, was made possible by the new awakening, and was itself the beginning of a period of general activity among labor organizations. It was a new ideal, infusing new life. The immediate condition of the members of a union was not the only point that was considered. Speaking at a conference on the organization of industry, at Oxford, in 1890, Mr. Tom Mann (see **TOM MANN**), who was one of the first of these socialists to undertake trades organization, said:

"As industry is conducted to-day, there are at all times a large number of persons who cannot find work, and, in consequence, cannot get the ordinary necessities of human existence. . . . I know that in the East End of London there are at least 30,000 men who have been unable to obtain work to-day; that there will be quite that number any day this week, and quite that number any and every day next week, and so on all through the winter. . . . That is a state of affairs so frightful that it will not bear calm contemplation without making the blood boil in the veins of straightforward men and women. And

because it is recognized as being so serious, we who have been identified with some of the trade-union work of late say that this question of the inability of large numbers of persons to get the wherewithal to live a decent life must be met. . . . At least we are bound to try and do our level best toward that. . . .

"There is no quarrel between the new and the old [trade-unions]; and I hope that will be allowed to be emphasized here. . . . Some of the younger men of to-day say, not merely must trade-unions look after the regulations and hours of labor and the rate of wages, but so long as this frightful social problem is there, it must receive attention, and the trade-unionists, if they are to justify their existence in the future, must be men who will give it attention with a view to solving it. Therefore has cropped up what appears to be a difference. The new and old unionists are now working vigorously, with a view not merely to regulating the hours of labor and the wages to be received by those engaged in a given industry, but they are looking in a cosmopolitan fashion on the industrial problem generally."

Mr. Mann's statement of the case gives practically the feeling which animated the leaders of the new departure, and with new ideals came new methods; the sympathetic strike (see STRIKES), political action, etc.

The leaders of the new unionism to a large extent also argued the futility of "strikes" as a means toward curing poverty; the evil they have to contend with is an economic one; and tho strikes may be inevitable accompaniments of the present wage system, they hold that they do not lead the way out. Political means were more and more to be brought to the attention of the workmen.

It is this that has largely caused the growth among the English unions of the Independent Labor party (*q. v.*) and of the capture of the Trade-Union Congress and many of the older unions themselves by those who favor a distinctly political socialist policy. (See ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

The new unionism has largely been brought to the front by new leaders. These have by no means agreed, and often have bitterly differed, as to how and by what political party the new political program could be best advanced; but they have all agreed that in some way the labor movement must find its solution to a large extent in political channels, altho without by any means giving up trade-union organizations. Their course has been not to destroy trade-unions, but to create more unions and to convert all to socialism. Prominent among these leaders have been John Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett (*q. v.*). These men first organized the gasworkers and were the leaders in the Dock strike (*q. v.*). To John Burns and to Tom Mann too has been largely due the gaining of the supremacy for the new unionism in the Trade-Union congresses. At the Liverpool congress in 1890, the new unionism gained a large majority, so much so that the Northumberland and Durham miners separated from the Miners' Federation, and favoring the old policy, have voted not to send delegates to the congress this year (1895), on the ground that the congress has become a socialist body and was largely responsible for the defeat of the Liberals this year (1895). This year, however, the vote went against socialism. Burns and Mann have parted company; Mann working with Keir Hardie in the Independent Labor party, and Burns being a strong advocate of the "progressive" policy,

and believing that socialism can be best advanced at present through the Liberal party. For taking this position he is bitterly denounced, both by the Social Democratic Federation and the I. L. P., and these and other disagreements, together with general trade depression, which has broken up some of the newly formed trade-unions among the lower paid workers, is at present giving the new unionism something of a set-back.

In the United States the new unionism has been identified with the policy of the Socialist Labor party and has led to a bitter struggle in the labor movement, the socialists claiming to have at least one-half if not the majority of American trade-unionists to-day. (See TRADE-UNIONS; section, The United States. See also SOCIALISM.)

NEW ZEALAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.—New Zealand is in many ways in social reforms the most progressive community in the world, its nearest rival being Switzerland (*q. v.*).

The area of New Zealand, including the two main islands and the smaller ones, is 104,471 square miles, or nearly that of Great Britain and Ireland. The first authentic discovery of New Zealand was by the Dutch navigator, Tasman, December 13, 1642. No one seems to have visited the island after this till Captain Cook did so in 1769. Missionaries came to the island in 1814. Colonization was first attempted in 1825, but was unsuccessful. In 1838 the New Zealand Company was formed, and the first body of immigrants arrived January 22, 1840, and founded the town of Wellington. The colony was a dependency of New South Wales till 1841, when it was made a separate colony. In 1852 representative government was established, with a governor appointed by the Queen, a legislative council nominated by the governor, and an elective House of Representatives. The suffrage was practically household suffrage. In 1893 complete suffrage was given to women, tho they are not qualified to be members of the Legislature. The seat of government is at Wellington. The Legislative Council consists (1894) of 46 members; the House of 74 members, of which four are Maoris.

Government.

Nearly all the public works of New Zealand are in the hands of the Government of the colony, and in the early days they simply kept pace with the spread of settlement. In 1870, however, a great impetus was given to the progress of the whole country by the inauguration of the "Public Works and Immigration Policy," which provided for carrying out works in advance of settlement. Railways, roads, and water-races were constructed, and immigration was conducted on a large scale. As a consequence, the population increased from 267,000 in 1871 to 672,265 at the close of the year 1893, exclusive of 41,993 Maoris. In 1891, 77.25 per cent. could both read and write; 67.62 were unmarried. There were 70,197 men over 20, and 67,000 women over 15, unmarried. Of those having occupations 70,521 (11.25 per cent.) were engaged in manufacture; 68,607 (10.94) in agriculture; 24,928 in domestic occupations; 22,992 in trade; 16,927 in mining; 15,821 in professions; 15,413 in transportation; 369,178 were dependent on natural guardians (scholars, etc.); 4717 were in some way dependent upon public or private support.

Statistics.

The birth rate for 1893 was 27.50 per 1000, lower than in any Australian colony; 3.79 per cent. were illegitimate; in England it was 4.2 in 1891. The death rate was 10.23.

The shipping entered inward for the year 1893 included 617 vessels, of 615,604 tonnage; 635 vessels were cleared outward, of a tonnage amounting to 642,466. The imports in 1893 amounted to £6,911,515; the exports to £8,985,364. The chief exports were wool, frozen meat, gold, and agricultural products.

The revenue of the general Government is of two kinds—ordinary and territorial. The ordinary revenue for the year ended March 31, 1894, amounted to £4,055,479, and the territorial to £313,059, giving a total revenue of £4,368,538.

The principal heads of ordinary revenue were: customs, £1,655,503; stamps (including postal and telegraph cash receipts), £674,647; land tax, £285,327; income tax, £75,238; property tax, £1412; beer duty, £61,808; railways, £1,175,548; registration and other fees, £49,290; marine, £20,183; and miscellaneous, £56,523.

Revenue.

The territorial revenue comprised receipts from pastoral runs, rents, and miscellaneous items, £184,380, together with proceeds of land sales, £128,670.

The total revenue (ordinary and territorial), including the proceeds of £284,500, debentures issued under "The Consolidated Stock Act, 1884," for the accretions of sinking fund for the year, amounted to £4,653,038. The customs duties constitute the largest item of revenue, nearly all classes of imports being subject to taxation.

The ordinary expenditure under permanent and annual appropriations was £4,386,350, the chief items being—charges of the public debt, £1,885,697; working railways, £731,844; public instruction, £388,652; postal and telegraph, £292,433; defense and police, £171,073; subsidies and other payments to local bodies, £149,810; crown lands, surveys, and inspection of stock, £119,096; justice, £115,024; hospitals, lunatic asylums, and charitable institutions, £115,858; and pensions, compensations, and other expenditure under special Acts of the Legislature, £80,984.

Expenditure.

In addition to (£4,386,350) the ordinary expenditure, £250,000 was transferred to the public works fund for the construction of reproductive works, and in aid of settlement of the land; and an additional extraordinary charge of £10,220 in connection with the purchase of the Cheviot estate was provided.

The total ordinary and territorial revenue, together with the proceeds of debentures issued for the accretions of sinking fund, amounted to £4,653,038. It will, therefore, be seen that the revenue for the year exceeded the expenditure (including the sums transferred to the public works and Cheviot estate purchase accounts) by £26459; and that, by adding the credit balance brought forward at the beginning of the year (£283,779), there remains a net surplus on March 31, 1894, of £290,238.

Besides expenditure out of revenue, there was also an expenditure out of the public works fund of £400,475, of which £176,254 was for construction of railways, £147,668 for roads, £4320 for purchase of native lands, £44,092 for public buildings, £16,127 for telegraph extension, £688 for lighthouses and harbor defenses, etc.; £78,48; besides the above was expended for acquiring native lands.

The Assessment Act of 1891 provides for an ordinary land tax on the actual value of land, and an owner is allowed to deduct any amount owing by him secured on a registered mortgage. Under the original Act the deduction for improvements might not exceed £3000; but, by Amendment Act of 1893, the value of all improvements whatsoever is exempted from liability to land tax. Besides this, an exemption of £500 is allowed when the balance, after making deductions as above stated, does not exceed £1500; and above that a smaller exemption is granted; but it ceases when the balance amounts to £2500. Mortgages are subject to the land tax. The revenue from the land tax is, in round numbers, £285,000 per annum. The rate of ordinary land tax for 1893-94 was 1*d.* in the pound.

Taxes.

In addition to the ordinary land tax there is a graduated land tax, which commences when the unimproved value is £5000. For the graduated land tax, the present value of all improvements is deducted; but mortgages are not deducted. The Act for 1893, while reducing the ordinary taxation on land by exempting all improvements, increased the graduated tax, and the revised rates are now one-eighth of a penny in the pound sterling when the value is £5000 and is less than £10,000, from which the rate increases by further steps of an eighth of a penny with the value of the property, until the maximum of 2*d.* in the pound is reached, payable when the value is £210,000, or exceeds that sum.

This graduated tax yields, in round numbers, £83,000 per annum, which is included in the sum of £285,000 given above. Twenty per cent. additional tax is levied in case of persons who have been absent from the colony for three years or more prior to the passing of the yearly taxing Act. This amounts to about £1000, and is included in the £83,000 shown above.

Income tax is levied on all incomes above £300, and from taxable incomes a deduction of £300 is made. The rate of income tax for 1893-94 was 6*d.* in the pound on the first taxable £1000, and 1*s.* in the pound on taxable incomes over £1000.

The amount raised by taxation in 1893 was £3 11*s.* 2*d.* per head, exclusive of Maoris.

The net public debt, after deducting the accrued sinking fund (£951,924), was on March 31, 1894, £38,874,491, an increase of £730,421 during the year.

The following may be stated as approximately representing the loan expenditure by the general Government on certain public works to March 31, 1894:

Telegraphs.....	£679,793
Water-works on gold-fields.....	572,441
Immigration.....	2,146,552
Roads and bridges.....	3,855,455
Land purchases.....	1,297,517
Lighthouses, harbors, and defense works.....	906,958
Public buildings, including schools.....	1,890,711
Coal-mines and thermal springs.....	25,435

Railways (by the Provincial and General

Governments).....15,759,308

The above several items of expenditure give a total of £27,134,170. To this must be added so much of the loans raised by the various local bodies as have been devoted to the construction of harbors, roads, and other public works; together with the amounts expended out of loan by the Provincial Government on immigration and public works other than railways. The expenditure on directly reproductive works—railways, telegraphs, and water-works—has been £17,015,542. The expenditure on land is also partly reproductive, and that on immigration, roads, bridges, and light-works indirectly so.

The private wealth is estimated in the official year book for 1894 at about £159,958,273, or £232 per head.

Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* estimates the wealth of the United Kingdom at £247 per head, France £224, Holland £216, the United States £210, Germany £140, Australia £310.

Dealing only with persons returned as in receipt of wages or salary, and discarding all who derive their incomes from professional or trade profits, it is roughly estimated that the aggregate of the wages paid in the colony for the year amounts to £12,998,546,

Wages.

of which sum £11,083,521 is earned by males, and £1,915,025 by females; the average yearly earnings being £92 12*s.* for the one sex, and £33 18*s.* for the other. In industry it was £80 and £31 7*s.* and in agriculture £77 7*s.* and £17 6*s.*

An estimate has been made of the cost of living in New Zealand, which shows a total expenditure of £23,349,623 on food, drink, stimulants, clothing, fuel, light, rent, and furniture, with allowance for such matters as attendance (personal and medical) and other accessories to the primary needs of life. The rate arrived at per head of population is £35 6*s.* 1*d.*

The length of government railways open for traffic on the 31st of March, 1894, was 1948 miles, the total cost thereof having been £15,137,036, and the average cost per mile £7770. The cash revenue for the year 1893-94 amounted to £1,172,792 17*s.* 2*d.*, excluding the value of postal services; and the total expenditure to £735,388 15*s.* 1*d.* The net cash revenue—£437,404—was equal to a rate of £2 17*s.* 0*d.* per cent. on the capital cost; the percentage of expenditure to revenue was 62.7.

Altho not included in the figures for the revenue, the real gain to the colony is greater than the net revenue shown by the value of the postal services performed by the railways (carriage of mails, etc.), amounting to £27,000 per annum.

In addition to the above railways there were 164 miles of private lines open for traffic on the 31st of March, 1894.

The passenger fares on the New Zealand railways are generally at the rate of 2½*d.* per mile first class, and 1½*d.* per mile second class; the return fare being calculated at one-third increase on these rates. For suburban and local traffic, however, the rates are much lower; in some cases of commutation tickets being as low as ¾*d.* first class, and ½*d.* second class, per mile; while excursion and tourist traffic is encouraged by greatly reduced fares during the season for such business.

The number of post-offices open for the transaction of money-order and savings-bank business at the end of 1893 was 339.

There were 29,755 new accounts opened in the year, and 10,599 accounts were closed. The total number of

open accounts at the end of 1893 was 122,684, of which 89,260 were for amounts not exceeding £20.

The total sum standing at credit of all accounts on December 31, 1893, was £3,241,998 7s. 10d., which gave an average of £26 8s. 6d.

There are seven savings-banks in the colony not connected with the post-office. The total amount deposited in them in 1893 was £456,262 13s. 10d., of which the deposits by Maoris comprised £154 15s. 10d.

There were 48 registered building societies in operation in the colony at the end of 1892.

The results of the last census show that in April, 1891, there were in New Zealand 43,777 occupied holdings of over 1 acre in extent, covering an area of 19,397,529 acres, of which 12,410,242 acres were freehold of the occupiers, and 6,987,287 acres were rented from, (1) Private individuals, (2) natives, (3) public bodies, and (4) the Crown (for other than pastoral purposes). The following table shows the number of holdings of various sizes, and number of acres held in fee-simple and on lease, excluding the Crown lands rented for pastoral purposes only :

SIZES OF HOLDINGS.	NUMBER OF HOLDINGS.	ACREAGE.	
		Freehold.	Leasehold, etc.*
1 to 10 acres,	11,116	28,124	24,343
10 " 50 "	8,899	148,965	105,751
50 " 100 "	3,613	277,135	159,128
100 " 200 "	6,851	654,729	374,022
200 " 320 "	3,916	609,857	403,462
320 " 640 "	3,802	1,057,076	660,070
640 " 1,000 "	1,321	662,612	395,849
1,000 " 5,000 "	1,675	2,144,627	1,280,558
5,000 " 10,000 "	247	1,008,810	550,080
10,000 " 20,000 "	189	1,011,063	788,341
20,000 " 50,000 "	117	2,597,848	833,083
50,000 " 100,000 "	24	801,647	723,000
Upwards of 100,000 acres,	7	397,140	680,700
Totals, 1891,	43,777	12,410,242	6,987,287
Totals, 1886,	36,485	11,728,236	5,348,838
Totals, 1881,	30,832	10,309,170	4,897,727

The extent of land rented from the Crown for pastoral purposes, including the small grazing-runs, amounted in April, 1891, to 12,469,976 acres.

It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that there is no part of the British dominions where agriculture, in its widest sense, can be carried on with so much certainty and with such good results as in New Zealand. The range of latitude, extending as it does from 34° to 47° south, secures for the colony a diversity of climate which renders it suitable for all the products of subtropical and temperate zones, while the insular position protects it from the continuous and parching droughts which periodically inflict such terrible losses on the agriculturist and pastoralist of Australia and South America. The chief crops are: oats, wheat, hay, barley, potatoes, etc.

OFFENSES.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Felony and larceny....	594	526	563	527	516	506	455
Misde-meanor....	90	120	97	131	101	120	113
Injury to property..	54	62	47	53	65	51	61
Assault and resisting the police.....	209	178	162	170	206	179	190
Acts of vagrancy.	205	238	251	351	333	225	376
Drunkenness.....	1077	1038	938	802	808	694	638
Other offenses.....	545	477	473	365	368	338	331
Totals..	2774	2639	2531	2399	2397	2113	2164

* Excluding Crown pastoral leases.

The preceding shows the number of distinct persons (exclusive of Maoris) imprisoned in the past seven years after conviction, only one cause being given when the person was imprisoned at different times, either for the same or for some other offense :

Crime, etc.

Thus in 1886 these convicted prisoners averaged 47.82 in every 10,000 of the population; in 1887, 44.25; in 1888, 41.81; in 1889, 39.00; in 1890, 38.61; in 1891, 33.55; and in 1892, 33.69. There has been since 1886 a decrease at the rate of 23.83 per cent. in the number of distinct convicted prisoners, and a reduction of 14.13 in the proportion to population. In New South Wales the proportion for 1892 was at the rate of 75 per 10,000 persons.

It must be understood that the actual number of imprisonments for some of the above offenses was much in excess of the figures given, as many were several times imprisoned, either for offenses differing in kind or for repetitions of the same offense. Thus, many persons returned as imprisoned for larceny underwent other imprisonments for drunkenness, etc. Many returned as convicted of drunkenness were several times in jail during the year for the same offense, or for some other, such as assault, riotous or indecent conduct, etc. Often there were several charges against the same person at the one time, of which the most serious followed by conviction has been selected.

The proportion of assaults is found to be less for 1892 than for any of the previous four years. In the year 1887 it was as high as 1.23 per 1000. For larceny the proportion was highest in the year 1889, when it stood at 1.77 per 1000 persons. The figures of 1892 (1.41) are the lowest for the quinquennium. Similarly, for drunkenness, the record for 1892 shows a lower rate than obtained in the other years. The range for seven years is from 10.28 per 1000 persons in 1885 to 7.87 in 1892.

To judge by the consumption of beer, wine, and spirits in 1886 and 1892 respectively, there has been a falling off during the last seven years in the use of alcoholic liquors in this colony.

CONSUMPTION OF BEER, WINE, AND SPIRITS PER HEAD OF POPULATION (EXCLUDING MAORIS).

	Beer. Gal.	Wine. Gal.	Spirits. Gal.
1886.....	7.861	0.212	0.620
1892.....	7.807	0.174	0.708

The petitions in bankruptcy numbered 507 in 1892, of which 479 were made by debtors and 28 by creditors. This number was the lowest for seven years.

The proportion of petitions and decrees for dissolution of marriage to the number of marriages is higher in New Zealand than in England and Wales, but lower than New South Wales or Victoria. The proportion in every 1000 marriages for these countries is as follows:

COUNTRY.	Petitions for Dissolution of Marriage.	Decrees for Dissolution of Marriage.
New Zealand (1892).....	7.50	4.50
England and Wales.....	1.88	0.95
New South Wales (1892)....		8.85
Victoria (1892).....	21.75	11.80

In 1889 an act was passed in Victoria to allow of divorces being granted for wilful desertion, habitual drunkenness with cruelty or neglect, imprisonment under certain circumstances of either party, and adultery on the part of the husband. These additional causes for divorce have largely increased the proportion of decrees in that colony.

At the end of 1892 there were 1686 government schools of all classes, at which members of the European and Maori races were being educated. The public primary schools numbered 1302 in 1892.

Education at the public schools is free (except that

at such as are also district high schools fees are charged for the teaching of the higher branches) and purely secular. The attendance of all children between the ages of 7 and 13 is compulsory, except when special exemptions are granted, or they are being otherwise sufficiently educated.

There were 274 private schools in the colony at the end of 1892, a decrease of 7 on the number in 1891; 29 were for boys, 47 for girls, and 198 for children of both sexes. The number of pupils attending them was 14,456—namely, 6321 boys and 8135 girls, not counting Maoris—7 boys and 4 girls. The number of European pupils at these schools was greater than in 1891 by 314. Of the private schools 105 were Roman Catholic, with an attendance of 10,111 pupils.

Concerning the land system of New Zealand of which so much has been written and concerning which so much interest is taken because of its bearing upon the problems of land reform, Mr. S. Percy Smith, F. R. G. S., Secretary for Crown Lands and Surveyor-general, says:

“The Crown lands of New Zealand are administered under ‘The Land Act, 1892,’ and the regulations made thereunder.

“The distinguishing features of the present land system are the outcome of ideas which have been gradually coming to maturity for some years past in this colony. These features involve the principle of State ownership of the soil, with a perpetual tenancy in the occupier. This, whatever may be the difference in detail, is the prevailing characteristic in the several systems under which land may now be selected. In New Zealand, this tendency to State ownership has taken a more pronounced form than in any other of the Australasian colonies, and the duration of the leases has become so extended as to warrant the name, frequently given to the system, of ‘everlasting leases.’ In point of fact, most of the Crown lands are now disposed

Land Tenure.

of in leases which have a currency of 999 years. They are leased at a fixed rental based on the assessed value of the land at the time of disposal, without recurring valuations. . . One of the most striking results of this system is the advantage it gives to the poor man, who, with little more capital than his strong right arm, is enabled to make a home for himself; which, under the freehold system, he is frequently not able to accomplish.

Again, underlying the whole of the New Zealand land system is a further application of the principle of “the land for the people,” that of the restriction as to area which any man may hold. This principle has been forced upon the attention of the legislature by defects in former systems, under which one individual with means at his command could appropriate large areas, to the exclusion of his poorer fellow settler.

“The Land Act of 1892 provides for a special class of settlement, which has been taken advantage of to a very considerable extent during the last two years. This system is known as the ‘small-farm association’ system. It provides that, where not less than twelve individuals have associated themselves together for mutual help, such an association can, with the approval of the minister of lands, select a block of land of not more than

11,000 acres, but there must be a selector to each 200 acres in the block. The extreme limit that one person can hold is fixed at 320 acres. Lands under this system are held on ‘lease in perpetuity’ for 999 years, in the same way as lands under the same tenure when thrown open for free selection. The conditions of residence and improvement are the same. The system offers many advantages to the settler, so long as the blocks of land are judiciously selected, having regard to quality of land, access, markets, and the probability of employment being obtained in the neighborhood. In the eagerness to obtain lands on such easy terms, these points have, in the past, not been sufficiently attended to by some of the associations, and in consequence the success of many remains to be proved.

“The following figures show the extent to which settlers have availed themselves of this class of settlement during the two years ending March 31, 1894; the figures represent approved applications only; 1128 selectors took up 266,233 acres, in 35 blocks.

“The ‘village-settlement system’ of New Zealand has become widely known in the Australian colonies, and has excited much inquiry, with a view to its adoption in other parts. It is believed, however, that this and the ‘small-farm association’ system, referred to above, are often confounded in the minds of the public, for of recent years there has been no very great extension of the village-settlement system in this colony. The system was initiated in 1886, by the late Hon. John Ballance, with the intention of assisting the poorer classes to settle on the land. It became immediately very popular, and by its means a considerable number of people were settled on the land, who otherwise would possibly never have become landholders. The features of the system were, originally, the possession of a small farm, not exceeding 50 acres in extent, held under a perpetual lease for terms of 30 years, with recurring valuations at the end of each term. The rental was 5 per cent. on a capital value of not less than £1 an acre. Residence and improvement of the soil were compulsory. The new and important feature in the village-settlement system, however, was the advance by the State of a sum not exceeding £2 10s. per acre, up to 20 acres, for the purpose of enabling the settler to cultivate the land, and of a further sum, not exceeding £20, to build a house with, on which he paid interest at the rate of 5 per cent. Road works were also very frequently undertaken in the neighborhood of these settlements, which have been of very great help to the settlers. Under this system a number of settlements were formed, and, where the sites were chosen judiciously, a large measure of success has resulted therefrom.

“The present law admits of similar village settlements, but the area which a selector may hold has been increased to 100 acres, and the tenure changed to a ‘lease in perpetuity’ for 999 years, on a 4-per cent. rental. Advances for clearing and house-building have, however, practically ceased, and, indeed, few set-

tlements have lately been started; one of the principal reasons being the dearth of suitable localities in which to plant them. This is owing to the limited area of Crown lands adapted to the special features of 'village settlements.'

"A modification of the system has been introduced, however, which, so far as can be judged at present, will eventually take its place. In order to find work for the unemployed, considerable areas of forest-clad Crown lands have been set aside, and small contracts for the clearing, burning, and sowing these with grass have been let. The ultimate intention is to subdivide these areas into small farms, to be let on lease 'in perpetuity' on a rental sufficient to cover the cost of clearing, etc., together with a fair rental of the land. Only one such settlement under this system has at present been allocated to settlers, and, so far, is successful."

Concerning the New Zealand system of constructing public works, H. J. H. Blow, Under Secretary for Public Works, says: "The great bulk of our railway and road works, and much of our building work in New Zealand, is now carried out under what is known as the cooperative system, an arrangement which has only been brought into operation within the last three years or so.

"The contract system had many disadvantages. It gave rise to a class of middlemen, in the shape of contractors, who often made large profits out of their undertakings, and at times behaved with less liberality to their workmen than might have been expected under the circumstances. Even in New Zealand, where the labor problem is less acute than in older countries, strikes have occurred in connection with public works contracts, with the result that valuable time has been lost in the prosecution of the works, much capital has been wasted by works being kept at a standstill and valuable plant lying idle, and large numbers of men being for some time unemployed; and considerable bitterness of feeling has often been engendered. The contract system also gave rise to subcontracting, which is worse again; for not only is it subject to all the drawbacks of the parent system, but by relegating the conduct of the works to contractors of inferior standing, with little or no capital, the evil of 'sweating' was admitted. Very often, too, the business people who supplied stores and materials were unable to obtain payment for them, and not seldom the workmen also failed to receive the full amount of their wages. The result in such cases was that instead of the expenditure proving a great boom to the district in which the works were situated, as would have been the case if the contract had been well managed and properly carried out, such contracts frequently brought disaster in their train. The anomaly of the principal contractor making a large profit, his subcontractor being ruined, and his workmen left unpaid, also occasionally presented itself, and thus the taxpayer who provided the money had the mortification of seeing one man made

Cooperative Public Works.

rich (who would perhaps take his riches to Europe or America to enjoy them) and a number of others reduced to poverty, or in some instances cast upon public charity. . . .

"The cooperative system was designed to overcome these evils, and to enable the work to be let direct to the workmen, so that they should be able, not only to earn a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, but also to secure for themselves the profits which a contractor would otherwise have made on the undertaking.

"It also places the workman on a much higher plane, and enables him to comprehend more fully the dignity of labor. Under the cooperative system every workman is a contractor, and has a personal interest in the economical and successful carrying out of the work. He is also his own master.

"Not only does the system offer these solid and very real advantages to the workmen, but it also offers substantial advantages to the State. Under this system works are carried out for their actual value—no more and no less.

"The work is valued by the engineer appointed to have charge of it, before it is commenced, and his valuations are submitted to the engineer-in-chief of the colony for approval. When approved they constitute the contract price for the work; but they are not absolutely unchangeable as in the case of a binding, strictly legal contract. It frequently happens under an ordinary contract that work turns out to be more easy of execution than was anticipated, and the State has to see its contractors making inordinate profits. Sometimes, on the other hand, works cost more than expected; but in most cases of this kind the contractor either becomes bankrupt, so that the State has, after all, to pay full value for the work, or, if the contractor happens to be a moneyed man, he will probably find some means of getting relieved of his contract, or of obtaining special consideration for his losses on completion of his work. Under the cooperative system, if it is found that the workmen are earning unusually high rates, their contracts can be determined, and be relet at lower rates, either to the same party of men, or to others, as may be necessary. Similarly, if it is shown, after a fair trial of any work, that capable workmen are not able to earn reasonable rates upon it, the prices paid can, with the approval of the engineer-in-chief, be increased, so long as the department is satisfied that the work is not costing more than it would have cost if let by contract at ordinary fair paying prices. . . .

"Work also is better done under the cooperative than under the contract system. Under the former method the Government finds its own materials, which are carefully selected to insure their being of the best class: and the workmen, therefore, have no interest in stinting the use of material to try to effect savings, while the government overseers, of course, see that there is no waste. No attempts are now made to put whitening into the paint instead of white lead, or to introduce inferior brands of cement or iron into

the works, and no walls are built dry in the center, or filled in with bats, as it is easier for the men to construct the work of sound materials than with rubbish. All stores are purchased by the Government's own officers, and are supplied to the cooperative contractors from the government store, so that the department knows exactly what class of materials is used. The workmanship put in is also of a superior kind. The men are the contractors themselves; they take a pride in their work, and have no taskmaster standing over them, finding fault with them for being too particular and taking too much pains. All the work done under the cooperative system will bear comparison with any similar work done by contract, and will generally show to advantage.

"The system was first tried in connection with formation-works on roads and railways, including small bridges and culverts, and other similar works, but it has now been extended to the erection of iron bridges (the ironwork being supplied and delivered at the sites of the bridges by the department), the supply of sleepers, the laying of the permanent way, the construction of timber bridges up to £2000 in value, and of masonry abutments and piers for bridges, and the erection of stations and other public buildings, etc. . . .

"As it often happens that men are working at a distance from where their families live, the government paymaster is instructed to offer his services in conveying remittances to the nearest money-order office for transmission to their wives, or for deposit in the Post-office Savings Bank; and any men not remitting to their families, but allowing them to become a charge upon public charity, are dismissed from the works.

"Should any of the men desire to leave the works, no impediment is placed in the way of their doing so. . . .

"All men employed on government cooperative works are selected by the Government Labor Bureau, and in selecting them the following rules apply:

"1. Applicants not previously employed on government cooperative works have priority of claim over men who have recently been so employed.

"2. Men resident in the neighborhood of the works have priority over non-residents.

"3. Married men have priority over single men.

"4. In recording the applications of men who have previously been employed on government cooperative works, the dates when they left such works are noted, and those longest off such works are considered first.

"5. All applicants for work must have been at least one week out of employment before they can apply, and all men previously employed on government cooperative works must have been at least fourteen days off such works prior to re-registration as applicants for further work.

"6. If there are more applicants for work than there are vacancies to fill, a ballot is taken to determine the particular men to be em-

ployed. Such ballots are conducted in the presence of the men interested, and members of local bodies in the district may also be present if they wish. . . .

"The number of men employed under the cooperative system from time to time varies greatly; but about 2000 may be taken as the average number for the last year or so."

Concerning State Insurance in New Zealand, the *Year Book* for 1894 says (p. 266): "It is needless to dwell upon the foundation of the institution in 1869,—at a time when New Zealanders had poor facilities for the insurance of their lives,—nor is it necessary to speak in detail of the history of the early years of the office. But it may be said that at a very early stage it was thought advisable to adopt the practice of employing paid canvassers, and without them it is quite certain that no voluntary scheme of life insurance, however attractive, can become completely successful. Since that time the principles on which the department has been managed have been much the same as might guide any progressive and soundly conducted private life insurance office. . . . To-day the inhabitants of New Zealand carry more life insurance in proportion to their numbers than the people of any other nation on the globe. . . . For this result the State office is responsible to the extent of holding, approximately, one-half of the total insurance of the colony.

State Insurance.

"The major part of the business is composed of ordinary whole-life and endowment assurance policies, which are almost equally fancied by the insuring public of New Zealand; in 1893 there were issued 1447 new policies payable at death for £389,000, and 1757 endowment assurances for £348,000. The total amount insured by the policies on the books of the department has now reached nine millions sterling, being over £12 for every man, woman, and child within the area of its operations."

Concerning the unemployed, we learn from the report of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor that, in June, 1801, a Government Bureau of Industries was established in New Zealand with the object of collecting statistics and controlling the movements of labor so as to secure work for the unemployed. Between that date and March, 1892, 2400 persons were assisted to find work. Eight hundred of these were employed in constructing roads and railways, and in other public works, on the gang or contract system, according to which one man is elected "ganger" or trustee, and deals with the Government on behalf of the rest. Small farms, to be cultivated by working men in village settlements, are also provided by Government.

The Unemployed.

According to the report, "A State farm is to comprise about 1000 acres of land, fit for agricultural purposes, and to this farm will be drafted the surplus workmen of the towns. Many of the 'unemployed' applying at the Labor Bureau are clerks, stewards, firemen, tailors, printers, etc., who, crowded out of their regular em-

ployments, are in a state of destitution; these being in addition to a large number of general laborers, who, though used to pick or shovel, have no knowledge of work upon farm or station. All these could be sent with advantage to some farm or station, where, in return for some small wage, they could assist in the general work of the farm and make its cultivation pay expenses, while, in the meantime, the workmen themselves were being trained to habits and duties fitting them for the general labor market. It is desired that buildings should be erected by the men themselves, with the help of some skilled assistance; that cottages should be built for married men with families, and that to those who show themselves most interested and capable, cooperate shares in the profits of the farms should be given." This system has not given perfect satisfaction, the complaint being made that the Government uses these colonies to get votes, etc., etc., but, nevertheless, it is undoubtedly a long step in advance.

Cooperation and profit-sharing in general have had little success. The Mosgril woolen factory, at Ashburton, in New Zealand, is conducted successfully upon cooperative principles, in 1891 paying a dividend of 8 per cent.

References: *New Zealand Official Year Book*, Samuel Costall, Government printer, Wellington, N. Z. 15.

NICARAGUA CANAL.—The canal route through Nicaragua has been advocated at various times for nearly 50 years. Its advantages are said to be that in Nicaragua is the greatest depression of Central America; that there is a large navigable lake situated on the route; and that Nicaragua is more in the path of commerce than the Isthmus of Panama. The region, moreover, is more healthy, and of greater natural resources than that of Panama.

Several important surveys were made previous to 1879, and concessions were secured and companies formed, both by Americans and French. But in 1879 a commission, appointed by the United States Government, examined the various surveys and made a report, estimating the cost of the canal as \$100,000,000. Mr. Mendeal, a civil engineer of the United States Navy, estimated it, however, at only \$40,910,839.

Owing to disputes over the Mosquito territory, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, made between the United States and Great Britain, April 19, 1850, has this clause: "The Governments of the United States and Great Britain, declare that neither one nor the other will obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said canal."

On February 20, 1889, the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua was incorporated by a Congressional Act. A liberal concession had previously been secured from Nicaragua. Work was begun in June, 1889; and in October, 1890, \$2,000,000 had been expended. The work is under the charge of the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company, which made a contract with the Maritime Canal Company to construct the canal.

The length of the canal route is 169½ miles, and it runs from Greytown on the Atlantic to Brito on the Pacific. Brito is only an open roadstead, but heavy break-waters are projected. At Greytown there is a harbor, whose entrance has been choked by sand within a few years. A channel about 12 feet deep has been dredged, and a jetty 100 feet long built out from the shore to protect the channel. The first section of the canal runs for 9¼ miles through low grounds. The dimensions here are 120 feet wide at bottom, 288 at surface, 28 feet deep. There are several locks. All the locks in the canal are 80 feet wide and 650 feet long, and some of them are to have a lift of 45 feet. Then comes a cut 2.9 miles long, average depth 141 feet, through rocky material. The route continues through the basin of the San Francisco river, which is a tributary of the San Juan. By damming, an artificial lake, 12½ miles long, is made, which extends to the San Juan river. Here will be erected a dam 70 feet high, by which the water of the river above and of Lake Nicaragua will be raised several feet. Further embankments above are also required.

The river channel near the lake, and the lake itself for 20 miles from its shore, will require to be dredged. The lake depth to be secured is 30 feet. Lake Nicaragua is 56½ miles wide. The distance from its western shore to the Pacific is 17.04 miles, and there will be three locks with lifts of 42½ feet each.

Work on the canal was suspended in 1893 on account of lack of funds. A commission of civil engineers, in the employ of the construction company, had estimated in May, 1889, the total cost at \$87,799,570.

NIEUWENHUIS, FERDINAND DOMELA.—The most prominent communist socialist in Holland. Born at Amsterdam in 1846, and educated for the ministry at Luther College, he became a clergyman in Harlingen, 1870, Beveruyk, 1871, and in 1875 at The Hague. Here he became a celebrated preacher; but in 1879 he left the Church, feeling that it did not fulfil its mission, and was on the side of the rich against the poor. Henceforth he has devoted himself to the socialist propaganda, being for long the head and front of the movement in Holland. In 1879 he founded the *Recht voor Allen*, the main Dutch socialist weekly. From 1888–91 he was a member of Parliament, a position he cared very little for at the last, believing that the Government was so completely in the hands of the capitalists that for socialists to attempt to work through it was worse than useless. The feeling has grown upon him till to-day he utterly opposes the participation of socialists in politics; and he has become, therefore, opposed by the majority of the Dutch socialists, who, like the socialists of all countries, do believe in political action. The socialists often call Nieuwenhuis an anarchist, though he calls himself a communist. His ability and radical utterances still make him popular among the masses, for whom he has sacrificed prospects, money, and reputation. He has published numerous books and pamphlets in Dutch or German, among

which are *My Farewell to the Church, The Labor Day, Capital and Labor, The Book of the Kings, The Life of Jesus, The Bible, Essays on the French Revolution.*

Nihilism (from Latin *nihil*, nothing) is used in philosophy for the doctrine of universal negation, both as to the real existence of anything and therefore as to man's ability to know anything. This lies at the basis of its use as applied to the tenets of the extreme section of Russian revolutionists, who are popularly (tho, as concerns the large mass of these revolutionists, erroneously) supposed to strive for universal destruction of all existing forms of society, without having any program of what should be constructed in the place of present forms. The name Nihilist as so used, was invented by the great Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev, and appears for the first time in his novel *Fathers and Children* (1862), as the nickname of the hero of the story, Bazaroff, who represents the phase of thought which has since been called Nihilism.

The Nihilist movement, however, is in its preparatory forms far older than 1861.

As early as December 14, 1825, there was a so-called Decembrist insurrection which for a moment imperiled the throne of Emperor Nicholas, and seems to have been caused by the spread of political revolutionary ideas in the Russian army, occasioned by their contact with the French army and western civilization, then fresh from the influence of the Revolution. Its aim was the emancipation of the serfs and the establishment of a free constitution. Ruthlessly put down, six of its leaders perishing on the scaffold and 125 being banished to

Origin.

Siberia, it nevertheless sowed through all Russia the seeds of revolution. These seeds were quickened, in the next generation, by the genius of Alexander Herzen (*q. v.*) who, having voluntarily expatriated himself from Russia in order better to serve his country, published from London the *Kolokol* (*The Bell*). Herzen's views were those of a philosophical and individualistic communism. He opposed centralization and advocated State federation. He relied, however, on a purely political and educational program, opposing plots and assassinations. The *Kolokol* had a large sale in Russia. One hundred thousand were confiscated at a single fair at Nijni Novgorod. Herzenism was the rage. It coincided with the individualistic and revolutionary philosophy of the times. Stepniak says in Johnson's *Encyclopædia*: "Primitive and genuine Nihilism was a school of philosophical individualism, which flourished in Russia between 1855 and 1865, and is now entirely extinct. . . . It proclaimed man's absolute independence of all claims which the family, society, the State, had upon him. . . . Those early Nihilists did not deny everything, for they believed firmly, fanatically, in science and the power of the individual mind. But they refused to bow before any authority, and deprecated all that was based upon emotions, fancy, supposed revelations. . . . The years 1860-64 mark the fullest dominion of this school, which found its prophet in Dmitry Pisarev," a writer in the *Russkoi Slovo* (Russian Word.)

But already a new current of thought was arising, favoring social as opposed to individualistic revolution, though not yet taking the form of modern socialism. Nicholas Teherynshevsky, journalist, economist, and novelist, is to be credited with first sowing the seeds of this movement. He brilliantly taught the doctrine of self-immolation and self-abnegation for the people's cause. Called "the La-salle of Russia," his romance *What can be done?* brought modern Nihilism to the birth. Meanwhile, the disastrous shortcomings of the

Act of 1861, emancipating the serfs, prepared the soil for Nihilistic deeds. The emancipation of the serfs (see **RUSSIA AND SOCIAL REFORMS**) broke up the old forms, but gave the serfs no adequate industrial status. The old partly communal and partly feudal rights were taken away, and with nominal liberty the peasants were left more helpless than ever before the greed of the landholding class. The peasants were given only one-third of the land and lost their old grazing rights. Peasant holdings decreased in size, though multiplied in numbers. The landed nobility too, gradually worried the peasants off more lands. According to Stepniak (see his *Russian Peasantry*), one-third of the peasantry became landless. Those that held land held so little that they could not live without attempting other trades. Enormous taxation; the support of an expensive army and central government; above all, misadministration and corruption, rendered the case desperate. Under such conditions, liberty was liberty to starve. The peasants crowded to the cities, and many sought professional life.

Economic Causes.

M. G. de Molinari, writing in the *Journal des Economistes*, in 1878, said that 20 years before 60 per cent. of Russian students were sons of the nobility, but that then only 22 per cent. were noble born. Women, too, sought education. In 1872 there were 500 female students attending medical classes in St. Petersburg, and in 1873 there were 73 female Russian medical students in Zurich. This accounts, in fact, for the large part played in Nihilism by women. The sons of the clergy, too, now for the first time free to choose their career, swelled the crowd of students and increased the competition for existence. To such minds, awakening to new life, yet without the means of livelihood, breaking away from all the restraints of the past, yet surrounded by a debauched, corrupt, despotic government, Nihilism brought a gospel of heroism and self-sacrifice. The students everywhere, especially among the women, responded to its call. *Iti v Narod* (to the people) became the cry. They were willing to sacrifice all and to dare all for the people.

And at this time appeared the most fanatical spirit of the nineteenth century. Michael Bakounin (*q. v.*), born in 1814, of noble family, with an experience as a cavalry officer, disgusted with the despotism of the army, had gone to Moscow and then to Berlin to study Hegelianism. Falling in with Herzen, Proudhon, Marx, and other revolutionary leaders and thinkers, he had been arrested at Dresden, in 1849, for his part in the revolution of 1848, and handed over to the Russian authorities, who imprisoned him eight years in St. Petersburg, and then exiled him to Siberia in 1859. Hence, maddened by his experiences, he escaped through Japan and America, and appeared in 1861 in Italy to become the father of revolutionary Nihilism. Taking part in revolutionary movements in Italy, France, and elsewhere, he made his headquarters in Geneva and here became the head of the

Bakounin.

anarchist wing of the International (*q. v.*). In 1869 he founded "The Alliance of the Social Democracy." It was half secret, half public. It had three sections. The first, "The International Brothers," was composed of 100 of the leaders of the movement, known only to each other. "Their only country was the universal revolution; their only enemies, the reaction." The second section was "the Nationalist Brothers," who were appointed by the "International Brothers" to guide the revolution in their respective countries. The third section was composed of all the simple adherents of the cause. The alliance applied for admission to the International, but was refused as being itself international. It then dissolved and was admitted by sections. Bakounin had long before this begun work in Russia. In September, 1865, Netchaïeff, Bakounin's lieutenant, arrived in St. Petersburg and formed a committee called "The Russian Branch of the International Working Men's Association." "The organization is founded on confidence toward the individual. No member knows in what degree he stands from the center. Obedience to the orders of the committee must be absolute, without hesitation or demur," so runs one of its statements. It was ready for desperate deeds. One Ivanoff, who worked for a while with Netchaïeff and had done much to collect money for poor students, after a while withdrew, not approving the policy of the committee. He was soon after quietly assassinated. Yet Netchaïeff exerted a wide influence. Ogariff dedicated to him a poem, *The Student*, which was widely read and surrounded him with a halo. But Bakounin's utterances grew more radical. He wrote:

"The revolutionist is a man under a vow. He ought to have no personal interests, no business, no feelings, no property. He ought to be absorbed in one single interest, one single passion, revolution. . . . He has only one aim, one science—destruction. For this, and for nothing else, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and sometimes medicine. With the same aim he observes men, characters, the situation, and all the conditions of the social order. He despises and detests existing morality. For him everything is moral that helps on the triumph of the revolution. Everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it. . . . He must penetrate everywhere, among the higher classes as well as among the middle—into the merchant's shop, into the Church, into the government offices, into the army, into the literary circle, into the detective force, and even into the imperial palace. . . . He must prepare a list of those who are condemned to death and despatch them in the order of their relative misdoings. . . . The most valuable element is women who are completely initiated and who accept our whole program. . . . All reasonings about the future are criminal, because they hinder destruction pure and simple, and fetter the progress of revolution."

He wished to destroy "all States and all churches, with all institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, magisterial, academical, economical, and social." He talked of "Pan-destruction," "perfect amorphism," "holy and wholesome ignorance." To attain to pan-destruction the first requisite accordingly was "a series of outrages and of audacious and even mad enterprises, striking terror into the powerful and arousing the people till they believe in the triumph of the revolution."

Such utterances are well called Nihilistic, and yet even Bakounin, at least in his earlier days, had a social ideal which he believed

would develop itself, could present forms be destroyed. He aimed at free autocratic communes, without law or government, but federated together in freedom and local self-rule. This idea was particularly acceptable in Russia, with its old ideals of the "Mir" (*q. v.*). Czardom was declared not Russian, but Tatar. For a long while the Nihilistic movement was divided between the Slavophilism of such teachers as Khomiakov and the internationalism of the more radical. The Slavophiles desired to break with Western ideas and develop these communistic national tendencies of "Holy Russia." Even Bakounin, in his early days, preached a strange mixture of Slavophilism and international anarchy. He took part in a "Pan-slavic" congress. Only gradually did he separate from this wing. But such writings as those of Bakounin, and such efforts as those of Netchaïeff, falling upon inflamed social conditions and students struggling with poverty, while fired with a spirit of self-sacrifice, could but result in terrible, fanatical, although heroic deeds. Thousands of young people went on a crusade among the people; at first peacefully, but gradually developing "the gospel of the deed." As early as April, 1865, Karakoff, a fanatic, had fired a shot at the Czar. The famous "third section" of secret police was then developed, with Peter Shouveloff as its chief, and the struggle between the Government and the Nihilists was begun. In 1873-74 some 1500 agitators and their friends were arrested. After some months' detention half were released, the rest being kept in solitary confinement for from two to four years, during which 73 died or lost their reason. In 1877 193 of them were tried and exiled, punished, or banished for ten years to

Terrorism.

Siberia. The wanton cruelty of the Government created the spirit of revenge. In 1878 Vera Zassulitch shot General Trepoff, who had ordered the flogging of a political prisoner. She did not deny her act, but for some reason was given a civil trial before a jury, and was acquitted and escaped to Switzerland. It was the beginning of the program of terrorism. A party had been formed whose organ, *Zemlia e Volia* (Land and Liberty), gave the motto to the party. This paper now accepted the terrorist program. Constant plots were laid and terrible deeds committed. Women were among the most prominent. Among these was Sophia Perovskaya (*q. v.*), of high birth and connected with prominent officials, who, nevertheless, after suffering many wrongs, became most active in Nihilist circles. She displayed the signal when Alexander II. was assassinated in 1881, and took part in the plot to blow up the railway train on which the Czar was to travel. This plot was only defeated by the Czar's having changed trains. After the Czar's assassination she calmly gave herself up to the authorities and was hanged. Other women were Vera Figner, who plotted the assassination of General Streenikoff at Odessa; Miss Ivanova, who with her pistol held the police at bay for hours, on their discovery of the secret printing office; the Soobotin sisters,

who masqueraded as spies and rendered the cause invaluable service till they were themselves discovered by real spies. These were but a few out of many. Gradually, however, the movement wore itself out in its intensest form. In 1880 the most energetic and numerous section of the Russian revolutionists proclaimed that their aim was the attaining of a constitution for Russia. This was the *Narodnaia Volia* party with the "executive committee" at its head; which may be considered the embodiment of Nihilism as understood abroad. The minority founded a paper called the *Tcherny Peredel*, which kept to a purely industrial policy, repudiating all interference in politics. The life of the paper was, however, soon cut short by the police. The *Narodnaia Volia* party thus formulated

its program: 1. A permanent representative assembly, having supreme control and direction in all general State affairs. 2. Provincial self-government, secured by the election of all public functionaries. 3. Independence of the village commune as an economic and administrative unit. 4. Complete liberation of conscience, speech, press, writings, association, and electoral agitation. 5. Manhood suffrage. 6. Substitution of the standing army by a territorial militia. 7. Nationalization of land. 8. A series of measures tending to transfer the possession of factories to workmen. The minority party, after the capture of its paper by the Government, started in Switzerland a paper, *The Social Democrat*, indorsing the program of the German socialists. This party has endured and is growing among the Russian working men. To-day, Nihilism can scarcely be said to exist in Russia. From 1862 to 1880, 17,000 men and women are said to have been transported to Siberia for political reasons. The present movement is purely socialistic. Says Stepniak (*New Review*, vol. x. p. 218): "Anarchy died in Russia in 1874, and was buried in 1877." A few Russians in exile still hold anarchistic views; but both out of as well as within Russia the friends of the movement are almost wholly socialistic. The Society of Friends of Russian Freedom in England is largely composed of socialists. The Russian Free Press Fund is largely under similar auspices. George Kennan says in his *Siberia* (vol. ii. pp. 430-432) that he "made the personal acquaintance of more than 500 of the anti-government party in Russia, including no less than 300 so-called Nihilists living in exile in the convict mines or penal settlements," and came to the conclusion that "there is no anti-government party to which the term Nihilistic can be properly applied. This may seem, perhaps, a very strange statement in view of the fact that we have never heard of any other anti-government party in Russia, but it is a true statement, nevertheless. There is no party in the empire which deliberately chooses violence and bloodshed as the best conceivable means of attaining its ends. There is no party which aims simply and solely at the overthrow of existing institutions, and there is no party that preaches or practises a philosophy of

mere negation or destruction, I make these assertions confidently because my acquaintance with the so-called Nihilists is probably more extensive and thorough than that of any other foreigner, and I have discussed the question with them for many hundred hours. Liberals, Reformers, socialist theorists of the Bellamy type, political economists of the Henry George type, Republicans, Constitutionalists, Revolutionists, Terrorists, I met in all varieties, both in European Russia and Siberia, but a Nihilist in the proper or even in the popular significance of that word—never."

References: S. Stepniak's *Underground Russia*, London, 1883, and the *Russian Storm Cloud* (1887), and articles in the *New Review*, vol. x.; an article by Peter Krapotkin, *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1882; Rae's *Contemporary Socialism*; Laveleye's *Socialism of To-day*; George Kennan's *Siberia*.

(See also RUSSIA AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

NON-PARTIZAN TARIFF IDEA. See TARIFF.

NORTHAMPTON ASSOCIATION.—A non-religious community, organized April 8, 1842, located near Northampton, owning some 500 acres, a silk factory, sawmill, six dwelling houses, etc., valued in all at \$31,000. Its projectors were David Mack, S. L. Hill, George W. Benson, and William Adam. There were no "articles of faith," and very little to hold the community together. It dissolved November 1, 1846. The cause of the failure seems to have been mainly a debt incurred in part on the original capital, which finally proved too heavy to be carried.

NORWEGIAN COMPANY SYSTEM, THE.—The Norwegian company system for controlling the liquor traffic, like every other system, is a growth. Early in the century Norway and Sweden had a *per capita* consumption of spirits higher than any other civilized nation.

Climate and domestic and social habits had led the Scandinavians to believe that, in order to secure the necessary virility to resist the raw, elemental forces of nature, and in order to enjoy family and social relations, a bounteous supply of distilled alcoholic liquor was needful.

In Sweden all owners of the soil—and tenants even—had the right to distil and sell liquor, with practically no restraint or tax to limit the production.

In Norway the situation was but slightly—if at all—better. From 1845 to 1855 laws were passed in both countries forbidding free distillation and putting distilling under the control of the Government. This benefited some of the country communities, but not the cities and towns. In 1864 the editor of the Gothenburg *Chronicle* proposed to the municipal council to appoint a committee to examine into the extent and causes of pauperism. This was done.

This committee reported in April, 1865, attributed the city's pauperism and other evils to the brandy which the poor consumed, and suggested that the municipal authorities take advantage of a provision of the law of 1855,

hitherto not used, and hand over to a company, composed of 20 highly respected business firms and private individuals, the licenses for the bar sale of brandy,—then disposed of at auction to the highest bidder,—the company engaging in the business, *not for the sake of profit, but solely for the good of the working classes*, and the shareholders refusing to derive the slightest profit from the business beyond the ordinary rate of interest on the capital invested. In the

History.

italicized words may be found the unique, vital principle which differentiates the system from all other license systems.

The town council approved the recommendation and proposition. It was sanctioned by the magistrates. In August the royal assent to the company's statutes was received; and on October 1, 1865, the company began its operations, controlling 36 licenses. Later, 1875, the company secured control of the entire retail trade in spirits. In 1874-75, when Gothenburg had a population of 59,986, the bar trade in brandy amounted to 680,539 quarts per year, and the total consumption of spirits to 1,740,110 quarts. In 1891-92, with a population of 106,356, the bar trade in spirits had fallen to 548,071 quarts, and the total consumption of spirituous liquors to 1,523,251 quarts. Thus, while the population had increased 46,370, the consumption of brandy sold over the bar decreased 132,486 quarts, and the total consumption decreased 216,859 quarts.

Two movements followed naturally the introduction of the new system in Gothenburg.

1. Other towns and cities in Sweden imitated its example; and ere long the towns and cities of Norway followed suit, because, to quote the words of Dr. Sigfrid Wieselgren:

"The system put a stop to the illegal practise of selling brandy on credit; left it to the customer's own option to use the public-house as an eating-house; made drinking on the premises more difficult; limited the hours of sale, without the dealers being able to elude said measure or raise complaints against it. There was no fear of drunkenness being encouraged by too many or too few licenses, as the bar had the right of either using or leaving unused as many licenses as they considered desirable; no competition with other venders would oblige the company to put down their prices; and, as they disclaimed all profits from the traffic, that greed of gain which forms such a strong motive power in the dealings of most tradesmen could offer them no inducement to deviate from the principle on which the whole system was built—*i. e.*, not for individual gain, but for the welfare of the working classes."

2. The distillers began to plot against the law and the "company system"; for they saw in it the most dangerous assault upon their personal interests and income that they had ever known or imagined, since it threatened to and actually did decrease the demand for the product of their distilleries, and severed immediately that alliance between distiller and retailer—with the former as dominant partner—which, in England, has made so many "tied-houses" and in the United States has made most of the saloon-keepers simply agents or hirelings of the distillers or brewers, who establish and own a majority of the retail establishments.

But the system won. In 1875 it was made

entirely legal, tho not compulsory. It to-day prevails in Sweden in 78 towns out of 102. In Norway it was tried first in Christiansand in 1871. This is its record in Norway since that date: Shops for the sale of spirits, reduced from 501 to 227, or from 1 for every 591 inhabitants to 1 for every 1413 inhabitants. Or, including the village retail shops and the licenses held by men who have a life interest, only 304 places in Norway where spirits are sold over bars; *i. e.*, about one place for every 6600 inhabitants.

Consumption of spirits (50 per cent. alcohol) has fallen from 6.8 quarts per inhabitant in 1876 to 3.3 quarts per inhabitant in 1892, which is 2.7 quarts less than the consumption in the United States, and entitles Norway to be ranked as second only to Italy among European nations for temperance.

Mr. Berner, the eminent Norwegian banker and temperance leader, said at the Hague Congress in 1892:

"There is now no longer anybody in these three countries [Sweden, Norway, and Finland] who doubts that the entire traffic in spirits will soon be intrusted to the authorized companies, and the yet remaining specimens of the old tavern vanish entirely. In Norway, at all events, the question in the future will not be whether the municipal authorities in towns shall transfer the trade in spirits to authorized companies or to ordinary shopkeepers, but whether there shall be authorized companies for the sale of spirits or the sale entirely forbidden. . . . In the future they [the companies] will have the monopoly of the spirit trade, or, at all events, have the limit raised to 250 liters, as in Sweden, or to 400 liters, as in Finland. Not before the control of the authorized companies' arrangements shall have embraced the whole of the traffic in intoxicating liquor, at least the most considerable part of it, will the beneficial effects fully appear, and Norway occupy a still more prominent position among the lands of sobriety than she already does."

Results.

Since he uttered these words his predictions have been realized. The Norwegian law of July 24, 1894, raises the minimum wholesale limit from 40 to 250 liters (42 to 264 quarts); and permission to engage in the wholesale trade, formerly open to all distillers and all general tradesmen, is now restricted. A direct local option system is established, and the women have been given a vote. The voters must choose between the company system and prohibition. Higher rates of duty have been imposed on the high-grade liquors made abroad, and it has been made more difficult for foreign agents to sell their goods. A royal commission has reported favoring the taxation of beer production according to the percentage of alcohol contained, and at the last meeting of the Norwegian Total Abstinence Society, this last suggestion, and the extension of the company system to include a monopoly of the sales of beer and wine, were made planks in their platform, for the enactment of which they will make their next assault on the Norwegian legislature.

But this is not all. The number of distillers has been greatly reduced (*only 23 in 1893, while in 1833 there were 927*); the tax has been raised from 3½ cents in 1849 to 52.9 cents per liter in 1894; and to-day, while England derives about one-fourth of her revenue from excise duties, and the United States about one-third from internal revenue duties on distilled and fermented liquors, Norway's revenue from the

same sources is scarcely one-tenth of her national income.

Says an advocate of the system, concerning another point:

"Not failing to note that the shareholders in the Bergen Company in 1893 included 38 merchants, 7 lawyers, 4 head-masters of schools, 2 school superintendents, 8 consuls representing foreign countries, 12 physicians, besides manufacturers, bankers, brokers, army officers, and government officials; let some of the acts of what may fairly be described as a typical Norwegian company be noted, and contrasted with what we know of the liquor-dealers operating under our present license system.

"After receiving 5 per cent. interest on their shares, and accumulating a reserve fund equal to their original capital, and paying to the municipality the fees for the licenses which the company controls, what have the profits been, and where have they gone? From 1878—when the company first had a surplus to divide—to 1890 the total profits of the Bergen Company were \$348,655, which were divided and distributed, not in ways that corrupt politics and debauch individuals, but among objects of public utility and beneficence, as shown by the following analysis of the division of the profits of the Norwegian companies in 1891:

1. General charity, charitable institutions, and sanitary improvements.....	\$74,793.80
2. Parks, tree-planting, and highways (for pleasure).....	63,639.01
3. Industrial and professional education....	58,590.81
4. Water-works, sewers, and other municipal objects.....	49,743.38
5. General educational purposes (public school buildings, libraries, etc.).....	39,694.92
6. Theaters, public amusements, and artistic objects.....	37,968.90
7. Organizations not of a specifically charitable nature.....	15,322.51
8. Religious objects.....	9,506.22

One of the chief results is the control of the saloons. Bars are open on week-days from 9 A. M. to 12 M., and from 1.30 to 8 P. M. On Sundays and holidays they are not open, and on the days preceding Sundays and holidays they close at 1 P. M. Liquor may only be sold in the company's glasses and for cash. Liquor may not be served to intoxicated people or in quantities to intoxicate. Lounging and staying on the premises are forbidden. Children and apprentices are not allowed entrance.

Professor E. R. L. Gould, summing up the advantages of the company system as administered in Norway and Sweden, gives prominence to the fact that there has been a marked improvement in the character of the saloons; immoral accessories having universally disappeared. The police authorities have uniformly availed themselves of the right, through the contracts made by the companies with sublicensees, to impose conditions which put an effectual stop upon gambling or immoral practises in places where liquor is sold. Professor Gould also refers to the sublicensees issued to hotels and similar places where such vices might be fostered. But the management of the company stores is such that, by reason of their location, publicity, strictly enforced rules of conduct, and management by employees who have no personal profits to make from the sale of liquors to gamblers and prostitutes, the connection becomes improbable, if not impossible.

The last legislation in Norway, July 24, 1894, gives all men and women over 25 years of age the right to vote to exclude the retail bar traffic in spirits from the community in which they reside. This is a great advance over all

previous legislation, and is hailed with joy by Norwegian temperance leaders; and this was made possible, as Mr. Berner, the chairman of the Norwegian Royal Commission which reported this new law, said, by the fact that because of the "company system" the liquor influence was out of politics.

OBJECTIONS.

The Norwegian company system is objected to by various thinkers, on various grounds. It is objected to by most Prohibitionists on the ground (1) that it will check the growth of the no-license movement. In prohibition and the education gained by the steady contest for it, lies, in their opinion, society's main hope. Let the company system once be established, and this movement will be checked. It has so worked, they claim, in Sweden. Local prohibition, they assert, had gained considerable ground there in 1855. Says a no-license advocate:

Delays No-License.

"Dr. Wieselgren says, 'Before 1855 brandy could be bought in almost every cottage. In 1856 one might travel through whole provinces without finding a single place where it was sold.' Here we see the result of no-license or local prohibition. But the cities and towns would not accept local option. 'Here the drink evil continued its ravages unabated.'

"And now mark what was done. Instead of promoting total abstinence and adopting local prohibition as was done in the county districts, they instituted the Gothenburg system . . . not as a step toward prohibition or no-license, but away from it. 'The working classes' were becoming paupers, and the rich were taxed for their support. So this system was instituted, not to interfere with drinking in general, but to promote moderation among the working classes and let them drink for the public good by having the profits go to reduce taxation. The aim was not even ultimately a prohibitive one, but an attempt at a better control of the sale of spirits. In Norway its origin, purpose, aim, and results were similar.

"What have been the results as to prohibition or local option?

"Of the 102 towns and villages in Sweden only two enjoy no-license.

"Nearly every town in Norway has a liquor company.

"No single community, so far as has been learned, which has ever once tried the system has afterward abandoned it. . . . From the temperance view of the case, it is feared that the upper classes of society do not wish to go further than the Gothenburg system. Some of them would not like to see the drinking of spirits made unrespectable. Consequently a practical difficulty may be raised in the future, should it come to a choice between the company system and prohibition. Furthermore, it is feared that municipalities will not willingly surrender the revenues now accruing from the companies' profits. Should these decline largely, it is also held that philanthropic motives may be put in the background" (*Gould's Rep.*, p. 242).

(2) The Prohibitionist opponents of the Norwegian system deny that it has even decreased drunkenness. They admit a decrease in drunkenness over former times before the temperance movement, but this they say is due not to the company system, but to the prohibition movement, and within recent years they say drunkenness has not decreased, but increased. On this point they quote from H. E. Berner of Christiania, Norway, a director of one of the companies and a prominent believer in the system, who says (*Report of Dr. E. R. L. Gould*, p. 218):

"It had been noticed at the session of the last alcohol congress that previous to the years 1888 and 1889 a slight increase in the consumption of brandy had taken place. But as yet this increase was comparatively insignificant, and, furthermore, people must always be prepared for fluctuations in the consumption of alcohol. Hence the increase might be regarded as of no importance, and we might hope that it would be supplanted by a steadily continued and lasting decrease in the consumption of intoxicating drinks. But in the face of the more accurate statistics, including those for the last five years, which can now be presented, it is impossible to rest in the hope that conditions will improve. The language of figures is incontrovertible, and it speaks loudly of a steady and very marked increase of drunkenness in Norway during these last years." Then, after giving the figures of brandy consumption for 1887 to 1891, inclusive, he says:

Increase of Drunkenness.

"This is quite an even and alarming increase for the five years. One must go back to the seventies to find such a consumption of brandy as that for 1891." Then, after noticing the enormous increase in the consumption of beer during the same period he continues: "This large increase in the consumption of intoxicating drinks, which cannot be explained by passing or outward circumstances, seems not yet to have reached the limit. We must be prepared for a further decrease in sobriety."

From the report of the Massachusetts Commission on the subject they quote:

In all Sweden the consumption of brandy increased from 6.5 quarts per inhabitant in 1889, to 6.8 in 1892 (H. R. 77), and of beer from 17.2 in 1880 to 28.2 in 1890 (B. R. 80). In Norway, brandy from 2.8 in 1887 to 3.3 in 1892 (B. R. 135), and beer from 18.7 in 1887 to 31.2 in 1891 (B. R. 140). The report says, "The [beer] figures for 1892 were not attainable, and will most likely show a continued increase." Taking the beer and brandy together, the report shows an increase of 13 quarts per inhabitant in five years. In Christiania, Norway, the total average consumption of distilled liquor per inhabitant was, according to the report (p. 126), in 1885, 2.22 quarts; 1887, 2.28; 1888, 2.56; 1889, 2.77; 1890, 2.64; 1891, 2.63; 1892, 2.69.

They also quote, from the same report, increase in arrests for drunkenness. According to this, in Gothenburg the arrests for drunkenness per 1000 inhabitants were in 1885, 29; 1886, 31; 1887, 32; 1888, 31; 1889, 34; 1890, 40; 1891, 44; 1892, 42 (p. 53).

In Christiania, Norway, the arrests for drunkenness were, 1886, 25.6 per 1000 inhabitants; 1887, 28.3; 1888, 40.6; 1889, 41.2; 1890, 51.9. The percentages for 1891 and 1892 are not computed, but as the totals are much greater than for 1890, the percentages are no doubt greater, and the fact that they are not computed is significant (B. R. p. 127).

(3) The objectors urge that by no means all in Norway believe in the system, while many who have investigated the system have rejected it. Says one objector:

"Although instituted in Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1865, and, with slight modifications, in Norway in 1871, this system has not been adopted in any other country except Finland.

Opposition.

Why is this, when we consider that only a narrow sea separates Scandinavia from Great Britain, a country alive with temperance sentiment, the home of great temperance societies eager to adopt wise temperance legislation?

"It is because Scotland and England have investigated and condemned the system."

"At the World's Temperance Congress in Chicago in 1893 the system was condemned by eminent temperance reformers who were familiar with its workings in both Norway and Sweden. No one commended it."

The *Philanthropist*, the organ for Norway's total abstinence society, says in speaking of Dr. Gould's report:

"The statistical figures are about right, but the understanding of the workings of the system rests on a misunderstanding that is easy to forgive. Dr. Gould seems to give the company system all honor for the increasing sobriety, and says that the system has diminished temptation to drunkenness; that per-

sons under eighteen years cannot buy liquor, and that the foremost temperance men think the system will lead to absolute prohibition. For us Norwegians this appears to sound a little strange. Most of us here [in Norway] know very well that the honor for the increased sobriety belongs not to the company's system, but to the temperance workers, dissenter churches, and the better education of the people. Dr. Gould points out Christiania and Bergen. It is irony when the report says that the system has lessened 'the temptation to drunkenness.' Those familiar with the facts know that the company's shops (in Christiania and Bergen) must tempt to drunkenness, and so also in other places. The company's shops are located about the open places or at the corners of several streets. The company in Bergen has not been ashamed to largely advertise their products. That persons under eighteen years cannot buy liquor is directly wrong, because there is worse beer and liquor sold to such and still younger."

(4) The supreme objection to the system on the part of many who are not Prohibitionists, as well as on the part of many who are, is the profits in it to the community and the making of the traffic respectable. Says Lewis A. Bailie of Edinburgh, who investigated the system:

Public Profits.

"The fact that the traffic had been transferred from private liquor-sellers to a corporate body I found had tended to throw around it an air of respectability which it did not hitherto possess. When it is pointed out that many members of the company were gentlemen of the highest moral and Christian character, who disclaimed all profit from the exceptional business other than 5 per cent. for the capital invested, it will be easily understood that the habit of drinking under such highly respectable conditions by young men and the working community generally was divested of much of its doubtful character."

Of the profits in the system, Mr. J. G. Brooks (a believer in the system) says in his article in the *Forum* (December, 1892):

"But no fair judgment of this whole matter can be formed without dealing unflinchingly with certain limitations, dangers, and positive weaknesses. The master stroke, as we have seen, lies in depriving the individual of profit; but the temptation to have much liquor sold is not therefore removed. We have only substituted a *group* selfishness for an individual one. It is still for the direct advantage of the taxpayers in the community to have the proceeds from liquor sales as large as possible in order that taxes may be lower. I heard a rich Swede discourse at a sumptuous dinner over his bottle of champagne upon these 'proofs of success.' 'We raise our taxes without any difficulty,' he said. It needs no illustration to show what a subtle and all-pervading force of temptation is here brought to bear upon the average citizen. That the danger is real, not in theory alone, but in fact, no one will deny who has studied the situation. Is the selfish advantage of a collective body less dangerous than that of the single individuals who compose the body? No calculations other than speculation are here possible. That so direct an interest of the group is a danger will not be questioned."

It is because of these evils that many radical temperance reformers prefer the nationalization plan, which would do away with all profits. (See NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.)

(5) Many objectors to the system deny that it will divorce the liquor interest from politics.

Even Dr. Gould says, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1893:

"Here is the great difficulty. The standard of municipal politics in this country is not what it is in Scandinavia, and this, in the light of what has been said of the intimate relation existing between the companies and the local government, apparently offers an insuperable objection. Many would think it better to leave undisturbed the present unholy alliance than that liquor and politics should be more closely wed."

Liquor in Politics.

Again he says, in the *Forum* for March, 1894 :

"Will the Gothenburg system flourish, or can it even thrive in so tainted a political atmosphere as that surrounding American municipal government? This is almost the first expression of the honest doubter. He thinks that the bad state of politics precludes successful operation of the system because of the necessarily intimate alliance liquor companies must sustain to local authorities. Can the body which must act both as licensing authority and in a sense as a board of control be constituted so as to insure fair dealing and a safeguarding of the public interests from their moral side? Judges in courts of higher instance, who would certainly be the most competent and fair-minded individuals, are disinclined to serve. A commission with final authority, appointed by governor or mayor, or even specifically elected by the community, might not be safe repositories of this authority. How is the difficulty to be gotten over? . . ."

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Many of the objections are said by the believers in the system to be not inherent in the system, but due to defects which could be remedied.

Professor Gould, in his report to the United States Department of Labor, when he came to sum up the advantages and disadvantages of the system, held that the disadvantages, for the most part, were due to defects in existing law rather than any inherent weakness in the system itself. Proceeding to describe the disadvantages, he naturally referred first to the fact that, "in order to achieve the maximum of benefit, fermented drinks must be included as well as spirituous." Both Sweden and Norway recognize this now, and Norway has begun to legislate in this direction. To this absence of control over the sale of fermented liquors and the permitting of sublicensees, the best authorities in Norway attribute much of the existing drunkenness there.

"A legal defect applicable to Norway is found in the limit for retail sales, which is not fixed high enough," says Professor Gould. Norway, since Professor Gould wrote the above, has, however, recognized the force of this indictment and remedied it in the law of July 24, 1894, in which the minimum wholesale limit is raised from 42 to 264 quarts.

"The third defect in Norway is that at present the retail sale of wine and beer in towns and country districts is conducted with general business." By the law of July 24, 1894, Norway prohibits the granting of licenses for bottle trade in the country districts.

To the charge of increased arrests for drunkenness, a defender of the system says :

"If it be recalled (1) that increase of public sentiment in favor of temperance always brings with it an increase of official vigilance and arrests, as witness the increase of arrests in the 'No-License' cities of Massachusetts—an increase, proportional to the population, over the number of arrests during the license régime much greater than the increase in the Scandinavian cities; and (2), that the cities of Scandinavia, like those of Massachusetts, as they are being surrounded by an ever-increasing area of prohibition in the adjoining rural districts to which they are being united by rapid and cheap transit facilities, have to bear a larger and larger proportion of the burden of arresting and punishing those who seek the cities for intoxicants—it might be questioned, without any further investigation, whether an increase of arrests in any such Scandinavian city could fairly be said to be due to a failure of the company system.

"Moreover, when it is remembered that a large part of whatever recent drunkenness there may have been in Scandinavia has been caused by the use of fermented drinks, which has increased there, as it has to a much greater degree in the United States and elsewhere in the world, and over which the companies have no control, it becomes clear that the failure of the system cannot be proved by these allegations of increased arrests or increasing drunkenness.

"The testimony of students of actual conditions in Scandinavia is that the increase of drunkenness has been due to the increase of consumption of fermented liquors, and to causes over which the companies now have no control."

Mr. Berner, *et. g.*, whom the objectors to the system quote as to the increase of drunkenness, is a strong advocate of the system and believes the increase to be due to a too limited control of the company system over brandy sales.

Dr. E. R. L. Gould says on this point, in the *Forum*, March, 1894:

"Will this new system of liquor traffic reduce inebriety? Its opponents have not hesitated to answer in the negative, and in justification point to the statistics of Sweden, which show that in recent years there has been an increase in the number of convictions for drunkenness. This is true, but during the same time there has been an immense decrease in the *per capita* consumption of spirits. Are we, therefore, to infer that decreasing consumption means additional drunkenness? Furthermore, during this period, prohibition has been introduced into almost all of the country districts of Sweden. Singularly enough, the ratio of increase in drunkenness in the country has been greater than in the cities and towns. Does it, therefore, follow that a prohibitory régime is favorable to the increase of drunkenness? The truth of the matter is that no reliable inference as to the efficacy of a system of control can be gathered from the study of these statistics. The number of persons who touch liquor at all might fall one-half, but if old toppers continue to drink, as they will, there will still be practically the same number of 'drunks' as before. Again, legal regulations, activity of the police, and even the employment of patrol wagons, are important factors, though usually quite neglected. The true explanation, as regards Norway and Sweden, is quite simple. While the consumption of spirits has been envied with difficulties, beer-drinking has been, one might almost say, encouraged. Hence, the consumption of malt liquors has risen to colossal figures, in comparing recent with previous years. Simultaneously the beer has been strengthened and cheapened. The companies refuse to sell further portions to a customer giving evidence of intoxication, but the vender of beer will supply as much as his client wishes.

**Per
Capita
Decrease.**

"The folly of making so sharp a distinction in the control of spirituous and malt beverages is evident. As compared with the period before the Gothenburg system went into effect in Scandinavia, the decrease in drunkenness is enormous. Progress continued in the right direction until beer commenced to be generally sold. The Swedish Government, on the 20th of last June, took the first step in recognition of this view by limiting the free sale of malt beverages to a minimum of 10 liters at one time."

As for the objection that some Prohibitionists in Norway, and almost all elsewhere, have condemned the system, it is answered that in Norway most of the temperance believers do indorse the system, while in other countries the system is rapidly growing in favor, even among strong Prohibitionists.

As for the fear of the liquor interest in politics, Mr. J. G. Thorp, Jr., says (*The Temperance Cause*, February, 1895):

"What puts liquor into politics? Does any one question that it is the enormous profit that can be made of it? Or can any one successfully dispute the proposition that in so far as private profits can be taken out of the business, to that extent at least liquor will be taken out of politics? Does any intelligent man question that the saloon, as it now exists, is not only a source of moral degradation to individuals, but a center of political corruption also? If the saloon, as a rendezvous of political heeleders and the worst features of the machine in politics, can be done away with, can any one doubt that much of liquor will be taken out of politics? That all this can be done at once no one contends; and that the establishment of this system will bring against it all the forces of the liquor organizations in attempts to overthrow it and to corrupt and control those called upon to administer it in the public interest, there can be no doubt. Such

**Politics
Divorced
From Liquor.**

is the teaching of its history in Scandinavia, a history which is already repeating itself here in the attempt of the liquor organizations to defeat the Norwegian bill; but the same is true of prohibition and of all proposed forms of legislative control, except that the liquor attack will be more bitter upon the company system since it has more to fear from it. This opposition has been withstood in Scandinavia. Shall we admit that we have less public virtue and power to overcome these forces of evil? I think not."

Of the danger of making the traffic respectable and of the communities getting profits from it, the defenders do not deny the danger, but argue that the system of private profit is incalculably worse: that to sell without profits (the Nationalization plan, *q. v.*) would be to increase intemperance by lowering the cost of drink, and that until the traffic can be prohibited, it is well that it should be made to pay the cost of enforcing laws, etc.

To the objection that the system will delay the adoption of prohibition, Dr. Gould says (*The Temperance Cause*, February, 1895, p. 4):

"Undeniably strong evidence of the efficiency of the Scandinavian method of controlling the liquor traffic is that no single community which has ever tried it has afterward abandoned it. An attempt has been made by unfriendly critics to turn this argument into an admission that the system, once introduced, cannot be gotten rid of or replaced by anything better. This is a gross perversion of facts. The system remains because communities have found it such a vast improvement on the old individual licensing plan. Publicly expressed approval of leading temperance reformers, indeed of all intelligent classes, as has been already shown, amply proves our contention. It is certainly an open question whether local prohibition under a local option system, as we understand it, would do better in any of the larger communities of Scandinavia, given existing views and contemporary social conditions; but the new law of Norway—which for the first time in Scandinavia gives adults over 25 years of age, including women, the right to vote directly on the question of license—will soon answer the hypothetical objection raised."

On this point Mrs. Mary A. Livermore writes to J. G. Thorp, Jr.:

"My Dear Sir: First, last, and always, I am a Prohibitionist; and I favor the Norwegian bill because, if righteously administered, its tendency will be toward prohibition. If our good temperance people would carefully study the bill, I think their objections to it would disappear. For, if the bill is carried, we shall continue to have 'local option' in Massachusetts, and the same proportion of towns and cities voting No-License that we now have.

"But in the towns and cities that vote for license the Norwegian system offers a chance for great improvement. It can only be adopted in those places by a majority vote. But, then, it eliminates the element of personal profit from the sale of liquor, which now keeps it alive and makes it flourishing.

"It extinguishes the saloon as it now exists, a noxious agent in politics, the headquarters of a most dangerous class, and a perpetual menace to the community. And it transfers the control of liquor-selling from the very worst elements of society to the hands

of men who abominate the whole business, and only consent to take charge of it that they may minimize its evils and ultimately extinguish them. I don't wonder that the liquor-selling fraternity fight the bill. But I do wonder that our honest, straightforward temperance people cannot see the power it gives them."

The best answer, however, to the objections is what the system has accomplished in Norway:

(1) It has reduced the number of places licensed to sell spirits in the cities from one for every 501 inhabitants to one for every 1413. In the country districts only 25 license places remain, or one to about 8000 inhabitants:

(2) It has been the main factor in reducing the consumption of spirits one-half.

(3) It has driven out the saloon as the center of the ward heeler and the political machine and the approach to every form of vice.

(4) It has crushed the ruinous credit system.

(5) It has reduced the hours of sale to a point not approached elsewhere.

(6) It has surrounded the sale by the best restrictions and regulations which good men can devise.

(7) It has driven the retail seller of spirits for private gain out of Norway.

Concurrently with all this, accomplished in the larger centers of population where liquor is sold,

(8) Prohibition has prevailed generally in the country districts, and a temperance sentiment has been developed which, unhindered by powerful liquor lobbies using private profits to prevent restrictive legislation, could secure the passage last July of a law creating a local option system as complete as that possessed by us, which gives, as Massachusetts does not, to every man and woman of 25 years of age or over, the right to vote, not as here on the issue of No-License or license for private gain, but on the issue of No-License or license under the company system.

(9) No country in the world can show more advanced temperance thought, such extraordinary progress, or so remarkable a record in temperance legislation.

References: *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic*, report of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, Fifth Special Report of the United States Department of Labor, 1893. Report of the Massachusetts Legislative Commission to investigate the Gothenburg System, January, 1894. Articles by Dr. Gould in the *Forum*, March and November, 1894, and Professor J. G. Brooks in the *Forum*, December, 1892. For the opposing view see the *Temperance Cause*, the organ of the Massachusetts Total Abstinence Society, January, 1895.

NOYES, JOHN HUMPHREY, was born at Brattleboro, Vt., in 1811. Under the Finney revival he became converted, and studied theology at Andover and at New Haven. In 1834 he became a Perfectionist, and began to teach and preach at Putney, the residence of his father and family. Gradually a school of fellow-believers gathered around him. During the Fourierist period, 1840-48, Noyes studied communism. At the end he began to preach a type of communism at Putney, but the spirit of the place was too orthodox, and it resulted in his starting the Oneida community, with which his name has been since connected. (See ONEIDA COMMUNITY.)

Results.



OASTLER, RICHARD, was born in Yorkshire, near Huddersfield, in 1789, and succeeded his father as steward to Mr. Thornhill, living at Tirby Hall. He early became interested in the abolition movement; but while advocating the abolition of slavery abroad, he suddenly became aware that there were slaves in England. He learned that there were children beaten and overworked that large profits might be made by the manufacturer, and he lost no time in entering upon a warfare against such wrongs. In a letter to the *Leeds Mercury*, in 1830, he exposed some of the evils existing in the neighboring mills. Out of this grew a spirited controversy from which he emerged triumphant, his statements being proved by evidence from every part of Yorkshire. Agitation was aroused in Lancashire, also, and as a result a bill was laid before Parliament by Lord Morpeth, for limiting the hours of work and raising the limit of age for work in the mills. But the opposition of manufacturers was very bitter, and they succeeded in getting the bill amended so that it was almost useless. Calumny was heaped upon Oastler, but he did not swerve from his course. His advice to the working classes was "Let your politics be 'ten hours a day and a time book.'"

Oastler now became associated with T. Hobhouse and M. T. Sadler (both members of Parliament) and others; and, by agreement, in 1831, Sadler introduced a ten hours bill into the House of Commons, and made a forcible speech in its support. The bill, however, did not pass, and in the election of 1832 Sadler lost his seat in Parliament.

Another leader, however, appeared. This was Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury, who took up the ten hours bill. The mass of testimony which Oastler had produced showed that it was the custom to employ children from five year old upward, from five in the morning till ten at night, and that during the whole time they were on their feet, with a short interval for dinner. These children were very cruelly treated, and were beaten for mistakes. Several cases of death resulting from such beatings were proved. Such evidence as this induced Lord Ashley to take up the cause. He was assisted by the report of the commissioners that a case had been made out for the interference of the legislature, and he brought in a ten

hours bill for women and children, on June 17, 1833. A Government bill was, however, finally introduced, and accepted by Oastler and Lord Ashley, as the best that could be procured then. While it did a certain amount of good, it permitted manufacturers to act as justices and punish offenses committed by members of their own body; and, naturally enough, punishments were few, while infractions of the act were many. The law was so openly disregarded that Richard Oastler began his campaign afresh. Short-time committees were once more organized in the Yorkshire towns. Letters were sent to the papers by Oastler and his friends, and great enthusiasm was aroused among the working classes of the North. The cry went forth, "Yorkshire slavery still exists." As a result of the agitation the Government was finally obliged to promise to do its best to enforce the factory acts.

In the midst of his great work Oastler was suddenly cast into prison for a debt which had been incurred in keeping up his position and pursuing his labors. From the Fleet prison he each week issued a journal called *The Fleet Papers*, devoted to a discussion of factory and poor-law questions. After five years' imprisonment his friends subscribed enough to clear him from debt, and he was released. His entry into Huddersfield was made a great public event, and crowds of people thronged to greet their liberated champion, with music, banners, and processions.

Oastler's final victory, however, was gained in 1847 by the passage of the Ten Hours Bill of that year. The old song had come true:

"We will have the Ten Hours Bill;
That we will, that we will!"

Oastler's wife died soon after his release from prison, and his remaining years were passed in seclusion and poverty. He died in 1861 at the age of seventy-two. The Old Factory King, as his admirers called him, is an example of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause for which he entered.

OCCUPATIONS.—The number of persons, both male and female, engaged in gainful occupations in 1890, in the United States, according to Bulletin No. 99 of the Eleventh Census, was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER.			ALL PERSONS IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS.		
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.
The United States.....	47,413,559	24,352,659	23,060,900	22,735,661	18,820,950	3,914,711
North Atlantic Division.....	13,888,377	6,904,566	6,983,811	6,971,460	5,543,030	1,428,430
South Atlantic Division.....	6,415,921	3,177,689	3,237,152	3,118,056	2,431,744	686,312
North Central Division.....	16,909,673	8,827,083	8,081,530	7,673,898	6,661,082	1,012,756
South Central Division.....	7,799,487	3,977,614	3,821,873	3,635,814	2,973,003	662,811
Western Division.....	2,400,161	1,463,627	936,534	1,336,493	1,212,061	124,432

The following statement shows the distribution of the whole number of males and females, engaged in gainful occupations according to

the number and percentage in each class of occupations :

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	BOTH SEXES.		MALES.		FEMALES.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
All occupations.....	22,735,661	100.00	18,820,950	100.00	3,914,711	100.00
Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.....	9,013,201	39.64	8,333,692	44.28	679,509	17.36
Professional service.....	944,323	4.15	633,641	3.36	311,682	7.96
Domestic and personal service.....	4,360,506	19.18	2,692,820	14.31	1,667,686	42.60
Trade and transportation.....	3,325,962	14.63	3,097,653	16.46	228,309	5.81
Manufacturing and mechanical industries..	5,091,669	22.40	4,064,144	21.59	1,027,525	26.25

The following statement shows the percentage of males and females of the whole number of persons engaged in gainful occupations, and in each class of occupations, respectively :

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	MALES.	FEMALES.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
All Occupations..	82.78	17.22
Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.....	92.46	7.54
Professional service.....	66.99	33.01
Domestic and personal service.....	61.75	38.25
Trade and transportation.....	93.14	6.86
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	79.82	20.18

The numbers in the separate trades and occupations were as follows :

OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males.	Females.
All occupations.....	22,735,661	18,820,950	3,914,711
Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.....	9,013,201	8,333,692	679,509
Agricultural laborers (a).....	3,004,015	2,556,930	147,085
Apiculturists.....	1,800	1,755	45
Dairymen and dairy women.....	17,806	16,072	1,734
Farmers, planters, and overseers (b).....	5,281,557	5,055,130	226,427
Fishermen and oystermen (c).....	60,150	59,887	263
Gardeners, florists, nurserymen, and vine growers.....	74,601	70,186	2,415
Lumbermen and raftsmen.....	65,857	65,829	28
Miners (coal).....	208,549	208,330	219
Miners (not otherwise specified).....	141,039	140,906	133
Quarrymen.....	37,658	37,628	30
Stock raisers, herders and drovers.....	79,734	79,047	687
Wood-choppers.....	33,697	33,665	32
Other agricultural pursuits (d).....	17,738	17,327	411

OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Professional service.....	944,323	632,641	311,682
Actors.....	9,728	5,779	3,949
Architects.....	8,070	8,048	22
Artists and teachers of art	22,486	11,676	10,810
Authors and literary and scientific persons.....	6,714	3,989	2,725
Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists.....	4,510	4,464	46
Clergymen.....	88,293	87,060	1,233
Dentists.....	17,498	17,161	337
Designers, draughtsmen, and inventors.....	9,392	9,086	306
Engineers (civil, mechanical, electrical, and mining) and surveyors.....	43,242	43,115	127
Journalists.....	21,849	20,961	888
Lawyers.....	89,630	89,422	208
Musicians and teachers of music.....	62,155	27,636	34,519
Officers of United States army and navy.....	2,926	2,926	.....
Officials (government) (e).....	79,664	74,789	4,875
Physicians and surgeons.....	104,802	100,243	4,559
Professors in colleges and universities.....	5,432	4,698	735
Teachers.....	341,811	96,581	245,230
Theatrical managers, showmen, etc.....	18,055	17,421	634
Veterinary surgeons.....	6,494	6,492	2
Other professional service.....	1,569	1,090	479
Domestic and personal service.....	4,360,506	2,692,820	1,667,686
Barbers and hairdressers.....	84,976	82,151	2,825
Bartenders.....	55,807	55,660	147
Boarding and lodging-house keepers.....	44,349	11,756	32,593
Engineers and firemen (not locomotive).....	139,765	139,718	47
Hotel keepers.....	44,140	38,825	5,315
Housekeepers and stewards (f).....	92,810	6,008	86,802
Hunters, trappers, guides, and scouts.....	2,552	2,531	21
Janitors.....	21,556	18,776	2,780
Laborers (not specified) (a).....	1,913,317	1,858,504	54,813
Launderers and laundresses.....	248,443	31,816	216,627
Nurses and midwives....	58,090	6,688	51,402
Restaurant keepers.....	19,301	16,885	2,416
Saloon keepers.....	71,412	69,137	2,275
Servants.....	1,443,399	237,523	1,205,876

OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males.	Females.	OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males.	Females.
Sextons.....	4,948	4,954	30	Undertakers.....	9,900	9,817	83
Soldiers, sailors, and marines (United States) (<i>g</i>).....	27,919	27,919	.....	Weighers, gaugers, and measurers.....	3,897	3,842	55
Watchmen, policemen, and detectives.....	74,633	74,350	283	Other persons in trade and transportation.....	3,882	3,080	802
Other domestic and personal service.....	13,053	9,619	3,434	Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	5,091,669	4,064,144	1,027,525
Trade and transportation..	3,325,962	3,097,653	228,309	Agricultural implement-makers (not otherwise classified) (<i>m</i>).....	3,771	3,717	54
Agents (claim, commission, real estate, insurance, etc.) and collectors.....	174,579	169,704	4,875	Apprentices (blacksmiths).....	4,245	4,242	3
Auctioneers.....	3,207	3,205	2	Apprentices (boot and shoe makers).....	1,031	1,004	27
Bankers and brokers (money and stocks)....	30,020	29,516	504	Apprentices (carpenters and joiners).....	6,735	6,726	9
Boatmen and canalmen..	16,719	16,683	36	Apprentices (carriage and wagon makers)....	853	851	2
Bookkeepers and accountants (<i>h</i>).....	159,374	131,602	27,772	Apprentices (dress-makers).....	4,439	132	4,307
Brokers (commercial)....	5,065	5,953	12	Apprentices (leathercurriers, etc.).....	422	421	1
Clerks and copyists (<i>l</i>)...	556,000	492,852	64,948	Apprentices (machinists)	9,729	9,717	12
Commercial travelers....	58,701	58,089	612	Apprentices (masons)....	1,927	1,926	1
Draymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc.....	368,502	368,265	237	Apprentices (milliners)..	1,335	140	1,195
Foremen and overseers..	36,100	35,117	983	Apprentices (painters)...	2,322	2,314	8
Hostlers.....	54,029	54,005	24	Apprentices (plumbers)..	4,579	4,576	3
Hucksters and peddlers..	59,083	56,824	2,259	Apprentices (printers)...	4,628	4,476	520
Livery stable keepers....	26,767	26,719	48	Apprentices (tailors)....	2,625	1,925	170
Locomotive engineers and firemen (<i>j</i>).....	79,463	79,459	4	Apprentices (tinsmiths)..	2,036	2,032	4
Merchants and dealers in drugs and chemicals (retail).....	46,411	45,672	739	Apprentices (not otherwise specified).....	35,580	34,039	1,541
Merchants and dealers in dry goods (retail).....	42,578	40,358	2,220	Artificial-flower makers.	3,130	603	2,527
Merchants and dealers in groceries (retail).....	115,085	108,722	6,363	Bakers.....	60,181	57,908	2,273
Merchants and dealers in wines and liquors (retail).....	10,090	9,945	145	Basket-makers.....	5,223	4,517	706
Merchants and dealers in wines and liquors (wholesale).....	3,657	3,609	48	Blacksmiths.....	205,315	205,256	59
Merchants and dealers, not specified (retail)....	446,230	430,303	15,927	Bleachers, dyers, and scourers.....	14,192	12,495	1,697
Merchants and dealers (wholesale), importers, and shipping merchants	27,542	27,344	198	Bone and ivory workers.	1,792	1,548	244
Messengers and errand and office boys.....	51,355	48,446	2,909	Bookbinders.....	23,787	12,289	11,498
Newspaper carriers and newsboys.....	5,288	5,216	72	Boot and shoe makers and repairs.....	213,447	179,838	33,609
Officials of banks, and of insurance, trade, transportation, trust, and other companies (<i>k</i>)....	39,956	39,719	237	Bottlers, and mineral and soda water makers.	7,215	6,659	556
Packers and shippers....	24,930	18,426	6,504	Box makers (paper).....	19,239	6,271	12,968
Pilots.....	4,266	4,265	1	Box makers (wood).....	9,446	8,098	1,348
Porters and helpers (in stores and warehouses).	24,327	24,002	325	Brass workers (not otherwise specified) (<i>n</i>)....	17,268	16,353	915
Sailors (<i>g</i>).....	59,904	55,875	29	Brewsters and malsters (<i>o</i>).....	20,349	20,277	72
Salesmen and saleswomen.....	264,380	205,931	58,449	Brick and tile makers and terra cotta workers (<i>o</i>).....	60,201	60,007	194
Steam-railroad employees (not otherwise specified) (<i>l</i>).....	382,750	381,312	1,438	Britannia workers.....	1,020	893	127
Stenographers and typewriters.....	33,333	12,148	12,185	Broom and brush makers.	10,117	8,944	1,173
Street-railway employees	37,435	37,423	12	Builders and contractors.	45,986	45,976	10
Telegraph and telephone operators.....	52,214	43,740	8,474	Butchers.....	105,442	105,313	129
Telegraph and telephone linemen and electric-light company employees.....	11,134	10,465	669	Butter and cheese makers	11,440	10,941	499
				Button makers.....	2,589	1,067	1,522
				Cabinet makers.....	35,926	35,891	35
				Candle, soap, and tallow makers.....	3,449	3,053	396
				Carpenters and joiners..	611,417	611,226	191
				Carpet makers (<i>p</i>).....	22,290	11,545	10,745
				Carriage and wagon makers (not otherwise classified) (<i>q</i>).....	34,572	34,294	278
				Charcoal, coke, and lime burners.....	8,699	8,684	15
				Chemical works employees (<i>r</i>).....	3,733	2,689	1,044
				Clock and watch makers and repairers.....	25,303	20,543	4,760
				Compositors (<i>s</i>).....	29,988	23,702	6,286

OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males	Females.	OCCUPATION.	Total.	Males	Females.
Confectioners.....	23,168	17,562	5,606	Printers, lithographers, and pressmen (<i>cc</i>).....	86,454	80,889	5,565
Coopers.....	47,489	47,435	54	Print-workers operatives (<i>dd</i>).....	7,103	5,356	1,747
Copper workers.....	3,381	3,373	8	Publishers of books, maps, and newspapers.....	6,426	6,207	219
Corset makers.....	6,608	792	5,816	Roofers and slaters.....	7,137	7,134	3
Cotton-mill operatives (<i>l</i>)	173,058	80,144	92,194	Rope and cordage mak- ers.....	8,420	5,044	3,376
Distillers and rectifiers(<i>r</i>)	3,349	3,340	9	Rubber-factory opera- tives.....	16,349	9,886	6,463
Door, sash and blind makers (<i>z</i>).....	5,062	5,034	28	Sail, awning, and tent makers.....	3,244	2,999	245
Dressmakers.....	288,983	828	288,155	Salt-works employes... Saw and planing mill employes (<i>ee</i>).....	1,867	1,758	109
Electroplaters.....	2,757	2,645	112	Seamstresses (<i>ff</i>).....	133,518	133,216	302
Electrotypers and stere- otypers (<i>s</i>).....	1,508	1,503	5	Sewing-machine makers (not otherwise classi- fied) (<i>gg</i>).....	149,704	3,988	145,716
Engravers.....	8,319	8,016	303	Sewing-machine opera- tors (<i>hh</i>).....	1,085	888	197
Fertilizer makers (<i>r</i>)....	716	705	11	Ship and boat builders... Shirt, collar, and cuff makers (<i>ii</i>).....	7,028	1,145	5,883
Fish curers and packers (<i>v</i>).....	1,303	1,094	208	Starch makers.....	22,932	22,929	3
Gas-works employes (<i>r</i>)..	5,246	5,209	37	Stove, furnace, and grate makers (<i>aa</i>).....	21,278	21,272	6
Glass-workers.....	34,382	32,660	1,722	Straw workers.....	9,420	9,397	23
Glove makers.....	6,423	2,760	3,663	Sugar makers and refin- ers.....	3,805	1,342	2,463
Gold and silver workers..	20,225	16,890	3,335	Tailors and tailoresses(<i>jj</i>)	2,737	2,733	4
Gunsmiths, locksmiths, and bell-hangers.....	9,154	9,065	89	Tinners and tin ware makers.....	185,197	121,586	63,611
Hair workers.....	1,266	708	558	Tobacco and cigar fac- tory operatives.....	55,374	54,427	947
Harness and saddle makers and repairers..	43,468	42,612	856	Tool and cutlery makers (not otherwise classi- fied) (<i>kk</i>).....	111,422	83,601	27,821
Hat and cap makers.....	24,030	17,336	6,694	Trunk, valise, leather- case, and pocket-book makers.....	18,105	17,454	651
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives (<i>p</i>).....	20,219	8,706	20,513	Umbrella and parasol makers.....	6,300	5,467	833
Iron and steel workers (<i>w</i>)	144,536	142,087	2,449	Upholsterers.....	3,145	1,480	1,935
Lace and embroidery makers.....	5,393	915	4,478	Wire-borers.....	25,723	23,916	1,807
Lead and zinc workers...	4,685	4,452	233	Well borers.....	4,880	4,888	1
Leather curriers, dress- ers, finishers, and tan- ners.....	39,345	39,032	313	Wheelwrights.....	12,853	12,852	1
Machinists.....	177,076	176,937	139	Whitewashers.....	3,984	3,975	9
Manufacturers and offi- cials of manufacturing companies.....	103,265	101,216	2,049	Wire-workers.....	12,348	11,255	1,093
Marble and stone cutters..	61,069	61,060	63	Wood-workers (not oth- erwise specified).....	67,225	63,529	3,696
Masons (brick and stone)..	158,916	158,874	42	Woolen-mill operatives (<i>ll</i>).....	84,071	47,636	36,435
Meat and fruit packers, canners, and preserv- ers (<i>x</i>).....	6,002	4,604	1,398	Other persons in manu- facturing and mechani- cal industries.....	74,686	59,807	14,879
Mechanics (not other- wise specified).....	15,481	15,468	13				
Metal-workers (not oth- erwise specified).....	16,702	15,840	862				
Mill and factory opera- tives (not specified) (<i>y</i>)	93,411	51,561	41,859				
Millers (flour and grist)..	52,844	52,745	99				
Milliners.....	60,464	406	60,058				
Model and pattern makers.....	10,301	10,156	145				
Molders.....	66,288	66,241	47				
Musical-instrument mak- ers (not otherwise spec- ified) (<i>z</i>).....	724	701	23				
Nail and tack makers (<i>aa</i>)	4,638	4,130	508				
Oil-well employes.....	9,239	9,229	10				
Oil-works employes....	5,624	5,587	37				
Painters, glaziers, and varnishers.....	219,868	218,622	1,246				
Paper-hangers.....	12,367	12,313	54				
Paper-mill operatives....	27,824	18,869	8,955				
Photographers.....	20,029	17,834	2,195				
Piano and organ makers and tuners (<i>bb</i>).....	14,717	14,360	357				
Plasterers.....	38,935	38,912	23				
Plumbers and gas and steam fitters.....	56,597	56,555	42				
Potters.....	14,963	12,943	2,020				
Powder and cartridge makers.....	1,396	978	418				

a In agricultural districts "agricultural laborers" are often reported simply as "laborers."

b Farmers' wives, sons, and daughters, working in common and without stated remuneration, especially in the Southern States, are often reported as "farmers," and so tabulated.

c Frequently returned as "sailors." In many cases where the avocation is followed for only a portion of the year they are reported under some other branch of industry.

d Includes "turpentine farmers" and "laborers" principally found in a few of the Southern States.

e Includes national, State, county, city, and town governments.

f Includes paid housekeepers in private families, hotels, etc., matrons in public and private institutions, and stewards and stewardesses.

g "Sailors" at sea are liable to be omitted unless they are actual members of families which are enumerated.

h Includes bookkeepers and accountants of all kinds, irrespective of where they may happen to be employed.

i Includes clerks and copyists of all kinds, irrespective of where they may happen to be employed. See "Stenographers and typewriters."

j See "Steam railroad employees (not otherwise specified)."

k Includes officials of mining and quarrying companies, classified in 1880 with officials of manufacturing companies.

l See "Locomotive engineers and firemen."

m Generally reported as blacksmiths, carpenters, iron and steel workers, machinists, painters, wood-workers, etc.

n See "Molders" and "Metal-workers (not otherwise specified)."

o The unskilled workmen are often reported as common laborers.

p See "Woolen-mill operatives" and "Mill and factory operatives (not specified)."

q Generally reported as blacksmiths, carpenters, iron and steel workers, machinists, painters and varnishers, upholsterers and trimmers, wheelwrights, wood-workers, etc.

r The unskilled workmen are often reported as common laborers.

s See "Printers, lithographers, and pressmen."

t See "Print-works operatives" and "Mill and factory operatives (not specified)."

u See "Saw and planing mill employees."

v See "Meat and fruit packers, canners, and preservers."

w Includes employees of foundries, furnaces, and rolling mills. See "Metal-workers (not otherwise specified)," "Molders," "Nail and tack makers," and "Stove, furnace, and grate makers."

x See "Fish curers and packers."

y Includes textile mill operatives (not otherwise specified), and also mill and factory hands for whom the specific branch of industry was not reported.

z See "Piano and organ makers and tuners."

aa See "Iron and steel workers" and "Metal-workers (not otherwise specified)."

bb See "Musical-instrument makers (not otherwise specified)."

cc See "Compositors" and "Electrotypers and stereotypers."

dd See "Cotton-mill operatives" and "Mill and factory operatives (not specified)."

ee See "Door, sash, and blind makers."

ff See "Sewing-machine operators," "Shirt, collar, and cuff makers," and "Tailors and tailoresses."

gg Generally reported as cabinet makers, iron and steel workers, machinists, wood-workers, etc.

hh See "Seamstresses," "Shirt, collar, and cuff makers," and "Tailors and tailoresses."

ii See "Seamstresses" and "Sewing-machine operators."

jj See "Mill and factory operatives (not specified)."

kk Generally reported as blacksmiths, machinists, etc.

ll See "Carpet makers," "Hosiery and knitting mill operatives," and "Mill and factory operatives (not specified)."

Says the *Bulletin*:

"In order to compare the results for 1880 by classes of occupations with similar results for 1890, certain changes are necessary to be made in the classification of occupations at that census in order to conform to the classification used in the census of 1890. These changes are summarized as follows:

"First, by the transfer to 'Agriculture, fisheries, and mining' of fishermen and oystermen, lumbermen, and raftsmen, miners, quarrymen, and wood choppers, to the number in 1880 of 334,131 in all, from 'Manufacturing and mechanical industries.'

"Second, by the transfer to 'Domestic and personal service' of saloon keepers and bartenders, stewards and stewardesses, and employees in warehouses, to the number in 1880 of 75,766 in all, from 'Trade and transportation,' and of engineers and firemen, to the number in 1880 of 79,628, from 'Manufacturing and mechanical industries.'

"Third, by the transfer to 'Trade and transportation' of collectors and claim agents, auctioneers, livery stable keepers, clerks and copyists not otherwise described, clerks in government offices, clerks in hotels and restaurants, hostlers and messengers, to the number in 1880 of 119,671 in all, from 'Domestic and personal service,' and of clerks and bookkeepers in manufacturing establishments and of rag pickers, to

the number in 1880 of 12,320 in all, from 'Manufacturing and mechanical industries.'

"Fourth, by the transfer to 'Manufacturing and mechanical industries' of whitewashers, to the number in 1880 of 3316, from 'Domestic and personal service.'

"The differences, therefore, between the totals used in this bulletin and those given in the printed census report for each class of occupations in 1880 are as follows: An increase of 334,131 in 'Agriculture, fisheries, and mining,' or a total of 8,004,624 instead of 7,670,493; a net increase of 32,407 in 'Domestic and personal service,' or a total of 3,503,443 instead of 3,471,036 (exclusive of 603,202 persons engaged in professional pursuits); a net increase of 56,225 in 'Trade and transportation,' or a total of 1,866,481 instead of 1,810,256, and a net decrease of 422,763 in 'Manufacturing and mechanical industries,' or a total of 3,414,349 instead of 3,837,112.

"Corresponding changes have been made in the totals given in the printed report under each class of occupations in 1880 for males and females, respectively.

"There has been no change in the classification of persons engaged in professional pursuits, given in 1880 under the heading of 'Professional and personal service,' but they have been classified in 1890 under the heading of 'Professional service,' separate from persons engaged in 'Domestic and personal service,' as designated in 1890.

"The following table shows the number of persons of each sex engaged in gainful occupations and in each class of occupations in 1890 compared with similar figures for 1880, together with the number and percentage of increase during the decade:

SEX AND CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	1890.	1880.	INCREASE.	
			Num'br	Per ct.
All occupations...	22,735,661	17,392,099	5,343,562	30.72
Males.....	18,820,950	14,744,942	4,076,008	27.64
Females.....	3,914,711	2,647,157	1,267,554	47.88
Agriculture, fisheries, and mining.....	9,013,201	8,004,624	1,008,577	12.60
Males.....	8,333,692	7,409,970	923,722	12.47
Females.....	679,509	594,654	84,855	14.27
Professional service.....	944,323	603,202	341,121	56.55
Males.....	632,641	425,947	206,694	48.53
Females.....	311,682	177,255	134,427	75.84
Domestic and personal service....	4,360,506	3,503,443	857,063	24.46
Males.....	2,692,820	2,321,937	370,883	15.97
Females.....	1,667,686	1,181,506	486,180	41.15
Trade and transportation.....	3,325,962	1,866,481	1,459,481	78.19
Males.....	3,097,653	1,803,620	1,294,024	71.75
Females.....	228,309	62,852	165,457	263.25
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	5,091,669	3,414,349	1,677,320	49.13
Males.....	4,064,144	2,783,459	1,280,685	46.01
Females.....	1,027,525	630,890	396,635	62.87

"As shown by the above table, there has been an increase since 1880 of 5,343,562 persons engaged in gainful occupations, or 30.72 per cent. There has been an increase of 4,076,008 males engaged in gainful occupations, or 27.64 per cent., and of 1,267,554 females, or 47.88 per cent. Persons engaged in agriculture, fisheries, and mining have increased since 1880 to the number of 1,008,577, or 12.60 per cent., the percentage of increase for females exceeding slightly that of males. Persons engaged in professional service have increased 56.55 per cent. since 1880, and those in domestic and personal service 24.46 per cent.; in both of these classes the percentage of increase for females is largely

in excess of that for males. Persons engaged in trade and transportation have increased 78.19 per cent. since 1880, the percentage of increase for females being especially large, or 263.25 per cent., principally due to the large increase in the number of females employed as bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers, typewriters, and saleswomen. Persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries have increased 49.13 per cent. since 1880, the percentage of increase for males being 46.01 per cent. and the percentage of increase for females 62.87 per cent.¹¹

Concerning occupations in Great Britain, Fabian Tract, No. 5 (Revised edition, 1875), gives the following summaries compiled from Reports of the 1891 census for England and Wales, C—7058; Scotland, C—7134; and Ireland, C—6780.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial.....	6,641,637	2,383,521	9,025,158
Agricultural.....	2,349,652	173,176	2,522,828
Commercial.....	1,616,065	47,795	1,663,860
Domestic.....	188,365	2,170,260	2,358,625
Professional.....	812,242	439,452	1,251,694
	11,607,961	5,214,204	16,822,165
Unoccupied, under 20..	6,163,219	6,795,984	12,959,203
Unoccupied, over 20....	543,038	*7,407,509	7,950,547
	18,314,218	19,417,697	37,731,915

* Most of these are married women engaged in domestic work, although not so described.

The detailed occupations, according to the census of 1891, was as follows:

Agriculture.....	1,311,720
Fishing.....	25,225
Mining.....	561,637
Stone, clay, road-making.....	209,972
Transport:	
(a) Railways.....	186,774
(b) Roads.....	366,605
(c) Canals, rivers, seas.....	208,443
(d) Messages and portorage.....	194,044
Houses, furniture, and decorations.....	820,582
Food and lodgings.....	797,989
Iron and steel.....	380,193
Other metals.....	146,550
Ships and boats.....	170,517
Carriages and harness.....	108,780
Machines and implements.....	342,231
Textiles.....	1,128,589
Dress.....	1,099,833
Earthenware and glass.....	90,007
Chemicals and compounds.....	56,047
Books.....	135,616
Animal substances (manufacture).....	76,566
Vegetable substances (paper, etc.).....	196,889
General mechanics and laborers.....	805,105
Commercial:	
(a) Merchants and agents.....	363,037
(b) Dealers in money.....	21,801
(c) Insurance.....	31,437
Engineers and surveyors.....	15,441

OCEANA. See HARRINGTON.

OCTROI (from French *octroyer*, to grant) is used sometimes in economic science for a commercial concession or grant conceded by a government to an individual person or a company; it is used, however, more commonly for the tax or duty levied at the gates of cities, particularly in France and Italy and some other European countries, on articles brought into the city. (For a discussion of the principles involved, see **TAXATION**; **MIDDLE AGES**; **PROTECTION**; **FREE TRADE**.)

OLD AGE PENSIONS.—Old age has been shown by recent investigations to be, if not the chief, at least among the two or three chief causes of pauperism. It is therefore very seriously proposed to-day to pension all aged persons, and the proposal of various ways in which this may be done has led, in England at least, to no little discussion and literature on the subject. In continental Europe several countries have even already entered upon large and important experiments in this direction, so that there already exists considerable information upon the subject.

While in England the credit for the first serious agitation of the subject belongs to Canon Blackley, it is to the investigations of Charles Booth that we owe the information on which the need for pensions is based and perhaps the most careful plea for the establishment of such pensions. Mr. Booth, in his investigations in East London, came to the conclusion that old age was the chief cause of confirmed pauperism, and subsequent and more extended investigations have made him declare, in his most recent books, that the paupers in England and Wales under 60 are only 4.6 per cent. of the population under 60, while those over 65 are 26 per cent. of the population over 65, so that the increase from 4.6 to 26 per cent. is the measure of the direct or indirect effect of old age upon pauperism. (See Mr. Acland's Introduction to J. A. Spender's *The State and Pensions in Old Age*, p. xviii.) In Mr. Booth's latest book he states that the number of the aged who receive public aid in the different parishes rarely falls under one-third and rises often to one-half. Such figures, to be looked at again more carefully, will show the gravity of the problem, and we now look at the experiments and proposals that have been made toward its solution. In this the prime place belongs undoubtedly to Germany. Here, and here alone, is a compulsory system of State insurance actually at work.

Germany has long held to the policy of the control of industry and life by the State (see **GERMANY AND SOCIAL REFORM**; also **BISMARCK**). As early as 1854 the Prussian legislature made membership for workmen in sick relief societies compulsory. In June, 1883, was enacted the celebrated present German Sick Insurance Law. In 1884 was passed the Accident Insurance Law; June 22, 1886, the Invalidity and Old Age Insurance Law. "This," says a statement prepared by the Imperial Insurance Department in Berlin, for the World's Fair at Chicago (1893), "is intended to secure to persons employed for wages or salary a legal provision in cases not covered by the Sickness and Accident Insurance Laws. The Invalidity and Old Age Insurance Law of June 22, 1886, subjects to compulsory insurance (from the completed sixteenth year of age) (1) all persons working for wages in every branch of trade, apprentices and servants included; (2) managing officials and commercial assistants (clerks and apprentices) with regular year's earnings up to two thousand marks. The obligation to insure may also be extended (by order of the Federal Council) (3) to small masters (with only one assistant workman), and (4) to so-called home-industrials (irrespective of the number of hands employed); otherwise these small employers are allowed to join voluntarily the insurance. Such persons, however, as have either given up or for a time laid aside an occupation involving compulsory insurance, possess the right to continue or renew the insurance by paying voluntary contributions.

"The pension for old age will be granted, without proof of disability, to all who have completed their

seventieth year. It forms an addition to the earnings of old but not incapacitated working people, and makes some amends for the diminished vigor of age. The waiting time here comprises thirty contributory years, so that for 30 x 47, or for 1410 weeks, contributions must have been paid before the insured can enter upon the enjoyment of the pension.

"Attested periods of illness and military service, as well as other interruptions in regular employment (up to four months), will be reckoned in the waiting time for both annuities.

"The money to pay the invalidity and old age pensions is furnished jointly by the empire, the employers, and the employed. The empire contributes to each annuity the fixed amount of fifty marks per annum and pays the contributions of the workmen while serving in the army or navy. It defrays the expenses also of the imperial insurance department, and effects gratuitously, as in the case of the accident insurance, the payment of pensions through the post-offices. All other expenses are borne in equal shares by the insured and their employers, and are raised by current contributions. As a rule, the payment of the contributions is to be made by the employer, who, after purchasing stamps (resembling postage stamps) of the respective local insurance office, affixes them (to the amount of the contribution due) to the receipt card of the insured. These stamps may be had at all the post-offices and at numerous private shops. The contributions are to be paid for each calendar week in which the insured finds himself in an employment or service subject to the insurance ('contributory week,' 'weekly contribution').

"The carrying out of the invalidity and old age insurance is intrusted, under State guaranty, to special insurance institutions, whose districts coincide with the communal or State divisions. Every insurance institution possesses the character of a legal person, and is managed on the basis of a statute drawn up by the managing 'committee.' This committee is composed of at least five representatives of both employers and insured (chosen by the directing boards of the sick-relief clubs and similarly constituted bodies).

"As regards the results of the invalidity and old age insurance, in the first year (1891) no less than 132,917 annuities have been granted, 15,306,754.34 marks (including 6,049,848.41 marks State subsidies) have been paid out, and 95,000,000 marks have been received from the sale of receipt-card stamps."

This system is not intended as a substitute for the Poor Law. It has been loudly complained of in Germany as inadequate. "The pension," says Dr. Geffcken (*Nineteenth Century*, September, 1891), "cannot be regarded as a competence. . . . The majority of the Berlin poor receive 144 to 180 marks a year, some even 360." An average pension would give 150 marks. The pension is proportioned to the contributions, which bear a fixed proportion to wages. Hence, those who are most needy, being able to have saved the least, get the least. Nor does the law relieve those who, through unemployment, have not been able to pay their contributions, payments being made through the employer. It is hard again to define who is a working man. The law does not reach married women. It is very complicated in action. All these are serious drawbacks. The law is reported by some to be unpopular among the German workmen. Others declare that it works well and that the trouble is with a few details, not the principle.

France has done less, but proposed more than Germany. The *Caisse de Retraites*, or National Pension

France.

Bureau, was one of the many projects proposed after the Revolution of 1848, and which has continued in one form or another to the present. The law of 1850 provided that the capital should consist of deposits, which were to be of not less than five francs, and 5 per cent. interest was guaranteed. This was taken advantage of by others than workmen, and the amount was limited that could be deposited annually, and the interest decreased. One hundred and fifty dollars, then \$200, then \$300, were the limits of annuities, and the *caisse* gradually became an institution of the middle class, not the poor. In 1871 the interest was again raised to 5 per cent., and by 1882 there was a deficit of \$8,400,000. The State settled this and lessened the interest, and the amount of deposits decreased one-half. To-day less than one-tenth of the depositors are of the working class, and the average amount of the pensions is scarcely \$1.70 a month. In 1891 M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, proposed a bill whereby every working man, who

does not before a magistrate declare his unwillingness to do so, shall pay either 1 or 2 cents a day for seventy-five days in the year from his twenty-fifth to his fifty-fifth year. This the employer must double. This, if continued thirty years with compound interest at 4 per cent., means \$32 or \$120, according as the man pays 1 or 2 cents. To this amount the State, besides conducting the insurance and guaranteeing the interest, is to add two-thirds, making the annuities \$60 and \$120. The pension is limited to French men and women earning, at the age of twenty-five, less than \$600 per year, and if, at the age of fifty-six, the recipients have an amount exceeding \$120 they lose the State portion of the annuity. To prevent employers avoiding the law by employing foreigners, a tax is laid on all foreign workmen employed. The workman, if he choose, can pay more and receive a death insurance. The charges to the State the first year are estimated at \$750,000, but at the end of thirty years it is hoped they will be only nominal. The bill has been severely criticized and will probably be radically changed, but made the basis of some action. It is claimed that by depriving those who have saved a little of the State portion of the annuity it discourages thrift; and by allowing the workman to contract himself out of the plan and compelling the employer to pay if the workman does not, it is feared that employers will instruct their men to contract themselves out.

Denmark, in 1891, laid a new tax on lager beer, but the radicals got a vote applying a portion of the revenue to a system of old age pensions, without previous payments. All persons over 60, who can prove that for 10 years previous they have neither received relief under the poor law, nor have been convicted of mendacity, can apply to the communal (town) councils, and unless proven to have been disorderly or extravagant—in which case appeal can be made to the county council—they must receive relief; the amount to be suited to the case. The State pays one-half the cost, not to exceed \$550,000. It is thus, in effect, an honorary poor-rate.

Denmark.

Italy has long aimed at establishing an old age pension. It was a favorite plan with Cavour. Nothing, however, has yet been done. According to the report of the (English) Royal Labor Commission on Italy (p. 91):

"A bill (*Proposta di Legge*), based upon abortive schemes of Signor Berti and Signor Grimaldi, was laid before the Chamber of Deputies by Signor Vaccelli and Signor Ferraris in December, 1887, and after it had been brought in a second time two years later (December, 1889), a committee was appointed to consider it, and a report upon it was presented to the Chamber in July, 1890.

Italy.

This bill, which does not appear to have become law, proposes to establish a special fund in connection with the banks of issue and deposit, the interest on which shall be devoted to providing pensions for laborers, men of 60 years old and upward, in the form of bonuses or yearly contributions. The payments of working men, subscribers to the fund, were to be made annually and not to exceed 500 lire. The fund from which the pensions are paid is derived partly from the subscriptions of members, and partly from certain consignments of shares in the savings-banks and other public sources."

Coming to England, we have a variety of propositions, for information of which we are indebted to Mr. J. A. Spender's *The State and Pensions in Old Age*. As long ago as 1772 a bill for such annuities was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the Lords. Thomas Paine, in the second volume of his *Rights of Man*, propounded another scheme, but nothing was done. Since 1865, the Post-office has granted some opportunities for purchasing annuities, but only 19,379 immediate and 1723 deferred annuities have been bought. The plan, however, has not worked, Mr. Spender thinks, because the Government has not really pushed the scheme. A somewhat involved passive scheme will not succeed against the efforts of pushing private companies. Within ten years, however, great interest has been taken in old age

pensions in England. Canon Blackley first zealously promoted a scheme of his own devising. All persons of all classes were to be compelled to pay a national friendly or provident society between the ages of 18 and 21 about £10, which was to guarantee the wage-earning class 8s. a week sick pay, and 4s. a week old age benefit after the age of 70. The National Provident League took up the idea,

England.

and in 1885 a select committee of the House of Lords was appointed to report on the idea. It reported, in 1887, adversely, or at least recommending waiting "the further development of public opinion." The committee did not believe that the working men wanted compulsory insurance. They objected to all classes being taxed to benefit one class. They did not believe that it would encourage thrift. They thought the scheme, on the testimony of experts, financially unsound. The claim that it would injure the friendly societies, however, they did not accept. They thought the sick benefit of the scheme more open to criticism than the old age benefits. In 1890 Mr. Thomas Burt, M. P., moved for a return showing the number of persons over 60 receiving relief, on a given day in the year. This appeared in December, 1890, and showed that on August 1, 41,180 persons between 60 and 65, and 24,567 over 65, were receiving relief. From this Mr. Charles Booth has figured that 331,596 separate persons over 65 had recourse to the poor law that year. Meantime discussion has gone on. Canon Blackley has proposed to meet the difficulty of getting the unemployed to pay, by letting them work instead of pay. The National Provident League has put forth a plan for voluntary State-aided old age pensions on the principles (1) that the receivers themselves contribute; (2) that the State aid be granted only through some "financially sound organization" like a friendly society or annuity office. Each individual insured is to receive £14 a year payable at 65, one-half to be paid out of his own payments, one-half by State aid. Each recipient is also to be entitled to any poor-law out-door relief besides, which may be necessary, and if he dies before receiving his pension, his nominee is to receive a sum not above £5. Among the objections to this plan it has been claimed that the Government would have to supervise all societies, to see if they were financially sound, and would never know how much additional poor-law relief might be "necessary."

Many other plans have been proposed. Mr. W. Vallance has a plan similar to M. Constans in France. Mr. Chamberlain (*National Review*, February, 1892), has published a plan embodying the conclusions of a voluntary committee of the House of Commons in 1891. According to this plan, the State is to guarantee a pension of 5s. a week, at 65, and certain payments to widows and children in case of death. Each insurer is to pay £5 before the age of 25. Women are to be insured on a lower scale. It is objected to this plan that some orders of Odd Fellows already offer better terms. Finally, it is proposed, and this is the plan which Mr. Booth indorses, that a minimum pension of say, 5s. a week, be paid to every person, without distinction of class or wealth, who has attained the age of 65. It is claimed that this will not pauperize, since all may receive it; it involves for it many administrative difficulties. It is calculated that it would cost £14,000,000 a year.

Mr. Booth (*Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, pt. ii. chap. vi.) considers the following objections to the plan:

Objections.

First. That it would tax the rich, and chiefly for the benefit of the idle and worthless. He admits that it would tax the rich more than it brought in to them, but they are taxed now for the poor. It need not of necessity tax the thrifty more than they receive.

Second. It is said that those who never reach 65 would not benefit at all. But this is true of all deferred annuities, and is really no injustice.

Third. It is urged that the sum of 5s. a week is inadequate, and therefore cruel, and calculated to stimulate begging. Mr. Booth says it is not intended to be adequate, but to encourage saving, and not reliance upon the pensions. Some pensioners might beg, but since some thrift or family help could, with the pension, make begging unnecessary, it would tend to decrease begging.

Fourth. It is said that such a pension would be pauperism under a new form, only that this would pauperize the whole nation; while, *fifth*, it is absurd to give to those who do not need it, and, *sixth*, it is unjust that the undeserving should benefit equally with the deserving. To these three objections Mr. Booth assumes that exactly because the benefit is given to all, rich and poor alike, it does not pauperize. Only this is it possible to make the benefit really dignified. By giving to the poor alone you would pauperize; by examining into the worth of the character, you open up dangers more subtle still.

Seventh. It is asserted that the assumption by the

State of responsibility for the maintenance of the old would be dangerous. But the State at present promises to do more for those who need it, by keeping them in the poorhouse.

Eighth. It is said that it would hurt the work of thrift agencies. Mr. Booth thinks that it would aid them and push them forward in true lines.

Ninth. It is urged that the principles of independence and thrift would be assailed by a provision which takes away the stimulus to saving, given by the prospect of destitution in old age. Mr. Booth believes there is no danger on this point. Those who are not driven to work and save for immediate needs, would not work if they did have to provide wholly for old age. Five shillings a week, after 65, will not prevent any saving that would otherwise be made.

Tenth. It is said that it is the duty of children to support their parents. This argument, if good at all, is good against all saving for old age.

Eleventh. Some say it would prevent emigration, but so would any improvement in England.

Twelfth. It is urged that the financial resources of the country would be overstrained. Mr. Booth figures the total cost (for England) to be £17,000,000. He would have the local authorities pay half the existing rates, which would be £4,000,000. It would leave £13,000,000 for taxation, with £3,000,000 for Scotland and Ireland. One halfpenny a pound on sugar would raise £6,000,000; *ad. on* tea, £2,000,000; drink could supply £2,000,000; *ad. on* the income tax, £6,000,000. Private charity now has to meet much of this expenditure. So it means no great increase of expenditure, simply a transfer to the public account. Cost could be charged to recipients. Lastly, it is claimed that the administration of these pensions would be difficult. Mr. Booth believes it could be done comparatively easily.

The arguments for the plan Mr. Booth believes to be the extent of pauperism, the great evil and present expense of it to the community. If the old and the sick were aided, the rest, he thinks, might be made independent. It would tend to make life more secure, and lift it up to a higher level.

Argument for.

Such is Mr. Booth's argument in brief, and such are the objections raised. Other suggestions, like reaching the desired end by providing better houses, will be discussed under tenement reform.

In the United States, the old age problem is not yet so serious. Professor Warner (in his *American Charities*, p. 55) points out that with us the leading cause of incipient pauperism is not so much the weakness of old age as the weakness of childhood. And yet old age pensions are proposed in the United States. Mr. Alfred Dolge at his works at Dolgeville (*q. v.*) and some other firms have private old age benefits. Many insurance companies (*q. v.*) provide for this. Government old age benefits have been advocated.

References: *Pauperism, a Picture, and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument*, by Charles Booth, 1892. *The State and Pensions in Old Age*, by J. A. Spender, 1894.

OMAHA PLATFORM.—The National People's Party platform, adopted at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, is as follows:

Assembled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, put forth in the same, and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

PREAMBLE.

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation and bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into Euro-

pean conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of those, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered; believing that the forces

of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

PLATFORM.

We declare, therefore:

First.—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual. May its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the republic and the uplifting of mankind!

Second.—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the Government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the Government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional Government employees.

FINANCE.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

3. We demand a graduated income tax.

4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered.

5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION.—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

LAND.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENT.

Your committee on platform and resolutions beg leave unanimously to report the following:

WHEREAS, Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this convention:

1. *Resolved,* That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.

2. *Resolved,* That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

3. *Resolved,* That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

4. *Resolved,* That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.

5. *Resolved*, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized working men to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

6. *Resolved*, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by federal officers.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY.—A community of communists and perfectionists started at Oneida in 1847, by John H. Noyes. For the motives and circumstances which led to its establishment, see article NOYES. Noyes himself says that the community issued from a conjunction between the revivalism of orthodoxy (perfectionism), and the socialism of Unitarianism. (See BROOK FARM.) At any rate Noyes' "new family" of perfectionists, containing about 50 members, purchased about 600 acres at Oneida Creek, N. Y., and proceeded to bring it into cultivation. Financially they were very successful. The amount of property brought in up to January 1, 1857, was \$107,706.45. The amount held in Oneida at that date was \$41,740, and branch communities at Putney, Wallingsford, and elsewhere had \$25,532.22 more, so that the total assets were then \$40,434.23 less than the amount brought in—a discouraging first ten years. But from that time the community financially succeeded. In 1857 the net earnings were \$5,470.11, and for the next ten years they averaged \$18,058.02 a year above all expenses. In 1868 they were \$55,100.83. The community had wisely left its policy of pushing branches, and concentrated all its strength on Oneida and Wallingsford. This financial success has been due to good management, but in no small degree to the inventive faculty of one of "the family," Sewell Newhouse, an old Canadian trapper, who invented a trap—the Oneida trap—almost universally used by trappers. By 1874 there were at Oneida 238 persons, and at Wallingsford, 45. They had no formally chosen chief, believing that thus the fittest will lead, and as the result Mr. Noyes was the actual leader, and usually wise and popular. All worked hard for the good of the community. The men wore no especial garb, but the women wore the hair cut short, did not lace, but wore a tunic falling to the knees and trousers of the same material, a vest buttoned high and a straw hat. In this costume, according to Mr. Hepworth Dixon, "plain women escaped notice and pretty girls looked winsome." They drank no beer, and only a weak, home-made wine. They practised what their critics call free love, but this they deny in the sense usually attached to free love. All the males and females of the "family" were united by a "complex marriage," but their intercourse, while unfettered by law, was in practise subject to a great deal of regulation. Says Mr. Noyes:

"Marriage is permanent union; licentiousness deals in temporary flirtations. In marriage, communism of property goes with communism of persons. In licentiousness love is paid for as hired labor. Marriage makes a man responsible for the consequences of his acts of love to a woman. In licentiousness a man imposes on a woman the heavy burdens of maternity, ruining both her reputation and her health,

and then goes his way without responsibility. Marriage provides for the maintenance and education of children. Licentiousness ignores children as nuisances, and leaves them to chance. *Now in respect to every one of these points of difference between marriage and licentiousness, we stand with marriage.* Freedom with us does not mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow. . . . Our communities are *families* as distinctly bounded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent, and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. We receive no members (except by deception or mistake) who do not give heart and hand to the family interest for life and forever. Community of property extends just as far as freedom of love. Every man's care and every man's dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women and the education of the children of the community. . . . Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be in advance of marriage and common civilization. . . . We are *not* "free lovers" in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage." (Noyes, *History of American Socialisms*, pp. 639-640). The Oneida community believed that the human heart can love any number of times and any number of persons, and that the more it loves, the more it can love. It believes this to be the law of nature and of God. Its members believe that certain physiological rules should be considered as to who should marry. To the old they would give the young; to opposites, opposites should be given. No proposals of marriage are allowed except through third persons (in order that connections may be made with discretion and not merely through passion). In many ways therefore they were certainly free from a part of the evils of free love, and their way they considered vastly more free from sin, and the misfortune of marriage for life of unsuited mates, than ordinary marriage.

All too was religious; their practises resting on intricate spiritualistic philosophy that cannot be stated sufficiently briefly for this article. Two books have been published by Mr. Noyes, giving their religious ideas: *The Berean*, published in Putney (1847), and *Bible Communism*, published at Oneida (1848). Both are now out of print. A short account of their religious tenets will be found in Noyes' *History of American Socialisms*. The Oneida communists were perfectionists and spiritualists, (tho not in the sense of spirit-rapping spiritualists). One of their most remarkable institutions was "mutual criticism," the formal public criticism of one another; which was so successful that they considered it vital to their success.

Public opinion was strongly against them. Finally, in 1879, a conference of clergymen of various churches, from the principal cities of New York State, met at Syracuse and laid plans to eradicate the evil. Before action was taken, however, Mr. Noyes proposed to the managers of the community to abandon the free-love practise of their community, in deference to public sentiment, tho still insisting that it was not immoral. This offer was accepted, and in 1881 the society became an ordinary joint-stock concern. Mr. Noyes himself had to retire to Canada, where he died April 13, 1886. The community, in 1879, had property valued at over \$600,000, and still keeps up its credit as a joint-stock concern, living peacefully, quietly, and with the good will of its immediate neighborhood, as indeed did the community in its communistic days.

OVERCROWDING. See CITY.

OVERPRODUCTION is defined by the majority report of the English Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry, as "the production of commodities, or even the existence of a capacity for production, at a time when the demand is not sufficiently brisk to maintain a remunerative price to the producer." The report affirms that "such an overproduction has been one of the prominent features of the course of trade during recent years, and that the depression under which we are now suffering may be partially explained by this fact." The minority report lays still more emphasis upon "systematic overproduction," and says that "the demand for commodities does not increase at the same rate as formerly, and that our capacity for production is consequently in excess of our home and export demand, and could, moreover, be considerably increased, at short notice, by the fuller employment of labor and appliances now partially idle." Similarly says Mr. Carroll D. Wright in his *Report on Industrial Depressions* (Washington, 1886, p. 89): "So far as the factories and the operatives of the countries concerned are to be taken into consideration (England, the United States, France, Belgium, Germany), there does exist a positive and emphatic overproduction, and the overproduction could not exist without the introduction of power machinery at a rate greater than the consuming power of the nations involved and of those dependent upon them demands; in other words, the overproduction of power machinery logically results in the overproduction of goods made with the aid of such machinery, and this represents the condition of those countries dependent largely upon mechanical industries for their prosperity." Mr. Edward Atkinson, in numerous essays, and Mr. David A. Wells, in his *Recent Economic Changes*, argue the same way.

In Europe Lord Playfair, writing in 1888, adduces for this position the authority of Dr. A. von Studnitz, Piermez, Jules Duckert, Laveleye, Trassenster, Annecke and Engel. Mr. Wells finds the asserted excess of production due to three prime causes: First, increased capacity of production; second, improved methods of distribution; third, the opening up of new abundant supplies of raw material. (For details on these points see articles MACHINERY AND COMMERCE.) Mr. Hobson (*The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 173) shows that the rise of productiveness in machinery in England, between 1850 and 1885, may be roughly estimated at 40 per cent., while Mr. Wright, in the above mentioned report, shows that in the United States, between 1866 and 1886, the gain of machinery—taking the aggregate, as measured by "the displacement of muscular labor," was more than one-third, while in some trades, the improvement of mechanical productiveness for labor was from 50 to 300 per cent. Commerce has made even greater gains. A ton of wheat can now be hauled by sea at less than a farthing per mile. The opening of the Suez canal is said to have destroyed a tonnage of two millions. Raw material can be delivered in bulk in England at only a trifle more than the cost

of its production in its far-away home. All this has enormously increased the capabilities of production. The amount of overproduction must, as Mr. Hobson has pointed out in his *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, by no means be measured by the amount of goods actually produced for which there are no buyers; this is but a small portion of the evil. A far greater evil is that the factories are often able to produce in a short while far more than there is any hope of selling, and so they stop work. This produces not only a glut upon the market, but shuts down factories, workshops, mines, railway enterprises, etc.

The circle of our production is thus stated by Hobson (*idem*, p. 179): "Improved machinery of manufacture and transport enables larger and larger quantities of raw material to pass more quickly and more cheaply through the several processes of production. Consumers do not, in fact, increase their consumption as quickly and to an equal extent. Hence the outward flow of productive goods is checked in one or more of the manufacturing stages, or in the hands of the merchant, or even in the retail shops. This congestion of the channels of production automatically checks production, depriving of all use a large quantity of the machinery and a large quantity of labor. The general fall of money income which has necessarily followed from a fall of prices, uncompensated by a corresponding expansion of sales, induces a shrinkage of consumption. Under depressed trade, while the markets continue to be glutted with unsold goods, only so much current production is maintained as will correspond to the shrunk consumption of the depressed community. Before the turn in the commercial tide, current production even falls below the level of current consumption of the glut of goods which had congested the machine. After the congestion which had kept prices low is removed, prices begin to rise, demand is more active at each point of industry, and we see the usual symptoms of reviving trade."

Thus analyzing the cycle, Mr. Hobson argues that the root evil is *under-consumption* rather than overproduction, a thought which we shall revert to later. Here we notice that English economists have largely denied the possibility of a *general* condition of overproduction. They have argued that every one who produces creates a corresponding power to consume. Producers may produce the wrong kinds of goods—goods for which there is no market—so that in certain trades or lines of goods there may be a trade overproduction, but the mere fact of production creates with it the ability to consume, so that the total production cannot be more than the total ability to consume. This argument Hobson quotes from Adam Smith, McCulloch, and J. B. Say, but it is a superficial view. Hobson says: "The fallacy involved in the supposition that oversupply is impossible, consists in assuming that the power to consume and the desire to consume necessarily coexist in the same persons." He instances the case of a glut of cotton goods, due to improved cotton machinery. The spinners and manufacturers have the desire to consume; that is, to exchange these goods for commodities; but the ill-clad of Russia, East London, and even Manchester, who desire the cotton goods, have no money nor anything else which the manufacturers want, and so the manufacturers cannot sell to them. But the manufacturers can sell, it is said, to those who perhaps do desire the labor of the ill-clad; so they sell the cotton goods to mer-

chants and buy what they want, while the ill-clad work for those who want their labor, and with their wages buy the cotton goods. Thus a roundabout exchange of goods arises, and Hobson says "this answer is valid on the assumption that the Lancashire producers desire to consume an equivalent of the goods they produce." But let us suppose, Hobson argues, that they do not desire to so consume. Suppose they desire not to consume so much, but to save or invest in more means of production, more mills, more means of transportation, etc. Then we have a production not balanced by an equal amount of consumption, and so there may be an overproduction. It is true that they may desire to produce more in order to consume more *eventually*, or to have their children consume more; still, *temporarily*, they do not consume as much as they produce, and so there is a cycle or season of overproduction which may occur in enough trades to be general. Hence Hobson argues that there may be too much saving; that all would be well if men would consume more—consume as much as they produce. Hence he maintains that the real trouble is not overproduction, but under-consumption; that a too sudden development of railroad-building, factory-building, etc., stimulates the market for a while, but leads to a temporary overproduction, which should have been avoided by more immediate consumption and less investment.

Socialists, however, find this analysis of Hobson's but partial. Why do not the ill-clad in Russia and London buy cotton goods? Because they have no money? Why do they not work and earn money? Some of them can find no work; others of them are too shiftless or too undisciplined to be willing to do work which is in demand. But why are they shiftless? Why have they so little energy? Very largely, socialists say, because of their environment, and still more largely because of their early environment. (See POVERTY, CAUSES OF). How can good environment be obtained? By self-effort, say some. But this is making the end develop the means. The question is, how to produce self-effort. You must have somewhat of good environment to produce self-effort. By wise charity, say others: model dwellings, penny savings banks, etc. But charity, even Associated Charity, (*q. v.*), admits by its leaders to-day that it cannot meet the whole problem. It takes the united action of society to reach the problem. Cities, municipalities, in spite of theorists, are more and more being driven to care for the helpless and the shiftless. But the cities cannot employ the unemployed, it is said, without such taxation as will crush the activities of those who are energetic and have self-help. Then let the municipalities themselves produce; themselves conduct natural monopolies; themselves become producers, in a word; and the municipality can consume (that is, spend) every dollar it produces, by employing men and women in productive work; that is, work that shall produce commodities, healthy homes, parks, art galleries, etc. These commodities, parks, art galleries, will not be themselves commercially productive, but be productive of

better life. Thus the shiftless and unemployed (for whatever reason they be unemployed) may be given opportunity or be compelled to work, and thus be able to consume more; a state which will in part, at least, equalize consumption with production. Therefore, even under the wage system, socialists maintain that more social production can aid distribution and so aid consumption; while, if universal cooperation ever replace the wage system, and the functions of the capitalist and the worker be not divided between two classes, but be united in the same class, then there will be little if any overproduction, and certainly no general overproduction, since when all men shall receive their share of what they produce, and one class shall not receive large profits and another scarcely a livelihood, all will have approximately equal ability to consume, and the wants of humanity can, as a whole, be not limited. It may even then be possible to produce more shoes than humanity can wear, but not for long. Hours can be limited and production so lessened; and at least there will not be the horrors that to-day accompany what is called overproduction, and which so excite the wrath of socialists—an "overproduction" of shoes, when millions are going shoeless; an overproduction of "corn," when thousands die of starvation; an "overproduction" of commodities which, sometimes, even "the very 'hands'" that have helped make them, bitterly long for, but cannot buy. Socialists are never weary of picturing the piano-makers, who have no piano in their homes; the carpet-weavers, who return to bare floors; the garment-workers, who live in all but nakedness. It is little wonder the term "overproduction" seems to them a mockery and a lie. Neither *overproduction*, nor *under-consumption*, is to them the root evil, but unequal distribution.

References: Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*; Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Sciences*; Article *Overproduction*, by A. T. Hadley; Carroll D. Wright's *Report on Industrial Depressions (First Annual Report of Commissioner of Labor, 1886)*; D. A. Wells' *Recent Economic Changes*, chap. iii.; J. S. Mill's *Political Economy*, book iii. chap. xiv.

OVERTIME is the time that employees work beyond the customary or legal hours. The practise of working overtime exists, particularly in England, in almost all trades to some degree, and in some trades is almost universal and carried to a large extent. When firms, as in the engineering, printing, or dress-making trades, have orders that must be filled speedily, they often seem all but compelled to work their employees overtime. And often employees are glad to do so—though whether wisely or not we shall in a moment consider—first, because they are glad to work more and so earn more, and, secondly, because most firms (though not all) pay at higher rates for overtime than for work in ordinary hours. The law, too, usually allows overtime in certain trades for certain reasons, provided that the employees are paid for it. We shall see that even this paid overtime is a questionable advantage and a questionable necessity; but in some trades over-

time is the rule and *not paid for*. In some trades, usually those paying the lowest wages, and usually employing girls, children, or the less intelligent men and women, employees are continually compelled to work overtime without extra payment, on threat of being discharged. Cases are by no means rare where girls and even men are locked in and compelled to work, sometimes late into the night with no extra pay. Usually the firm goes through the form of getting the employees to consent; the employees usually consent, knowing that if they do not they will be soon discharged. Sometimes the firms gain the employees' consent by offering a little lunch, or, occasionally, a drink. In the clothes-making trade of all descriptions, and in smaller shops of various trades, overtime is a very great evil. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT; also SWEATING SYSTEM.) Even where firms pay employees for overtime and pay well, the better informed employees usually do not desire it; and sometimes do not desire it

Evils of Overtime.

when well paid for, is, *first*, because it very seriously prevents the reduction of the actual working hours and thus forfeits all the very great advantages of the short-hour movement. (See EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) Often, and particularly in England, overtime work renders practically nugatory the effect of short-hour legislation. *Second*, overtime, even when seemingly paid for, is not really paid for, and employees get no more pay than they would if they did not work overtime. This is for the reason that what determines the rate of pay is not the amount done or the hours worked, but the standard of living of the operatives in the given trade. Under competition no firm can long afford to give higher pay than the lowest for which operatives of the requisite ability are willing to work. What this is depends on what it costs the operatives to live. In the long run it is found that few operatives get more than what their standard of life demands (though this, of course, varies very much between skilled and unskilled trades, etc.). Therefore, if employees by working overtime earn more, the firm can, and often under competition must, lower the general rate of wages; and the employee finds himself working overtime and yet earning no more than before. (See WAGES; also PIECE WORK.)

Nor is overtime always so necessary or advantageous to employers as they imagine. Occasionally, in some trades, as those above mentioned, it does seem necessary; but usually even where it seems necessary, if it were absolutely forbidden, customers would learn to think ahead and give their orders in time to have them fulfilled in ordinary hours; the firms would do just as much work, with less friction, with less payment at high rates for overtime, and, above all, with less demoralizing effects on their employees. Sometimes employees who work overtime will slacken work in ordinary

times in order to get the higher rate of pay for overtime work. Mr. Rae (*Eight Hours for Work*, p. 122) says:

"Mr. Spill, an india-rubber manufacturer, informed the Children's Employment Commission that he found working overtime extremely unprofitable, because his men used to loiter over their work in the regular hours in order to get better pay for it by doing it during overtime."

Mr. Rae says again (*idem*, p. 98):

"The manager of a Massachusetts carpet-mill reports of the lengthening the ten-hours day by running overtime for a season, that the production increased for the first month after the overtime began, but then the men grew listless, the quantity of their output fell off, the quality of the goods deteriorated, and by the third month the books showed that the mill was doing no more in the day, with ten hours and overtime to boot, than it did before in the ten hours alone. The imposition of the strain takes time to tell to the full; the relaxation of the strain does the same."

From instances Mr. Rae concludes (*idem*, p. 65) that it is

"certainly very doubtful whether the world has ever gained anything by systematic overtime, and whether men would not do quite the same amount of work from year's end to year's end if it were abolished altogether. Mr. Bowling, one of the factory inspectors, remarks that he was struck with the frequency with which employers said to him overtime was utterly unprofitable, and nobody can read any of the reports of commissioners on labor or trade questions without being struck with the same circumstance. Incidental overtime may be unavoidable in the engineering trade, but the persistent overtime now habitually wrought might probably be abolished with positive benefit to production."

And yet in the engineering, printing, dressmaking, and other similar trades, overtime is the rule.

Mr. Redgrave, an English factory inspector, states that in 1872 all the nine-hour trades wrought systematic overtime, and mentions the case of an engineering firm that had recently adopted the nine-hours' system, but whose men, though nominally working 54 hours a week, were actually working 84 and being paid for 106.

Says an English writer in *Goodwill* for May, 1894:

"The overtime special exception of the Factory and Workshop Act provides that women and girls may be employed 14, instead of 12 hours, on 48 days in the year, in such trades as the making of wearing apparel, printing, the preparation of articles of food, etc., provided that certain conditions are fulfilled, and a notice of such employment posted to H. M. Inspector of Factories on each day that such overtime is worked. Girls working in dressmaking and millinery establishments form the largest section of the community influenced by this portion of the Act, and there are perhaps few trades—whether we regard the moral or physical well-being of the girls—in which a working day of 14 hours, from 8 A. M. to 10 P. M., seems less desirable.

"It is said that the immediate employers—we are especially considering dressmaking and millinery establishments—would lose custom, did they not oblige their customers by undertaking unexpected orders, executing, for instance, a large mourning order in a couple of days; but is there no other way out of the difficulty than to retain the girls and women, who have already worked twelve hours, for another two hours?"

"(It must be remembered that mourning orders admittedly take precedence of any other work in hand.) Customers reasonably object to such work being sent to outworkers; but would it be impossible for employers to keep a register of capable women, trained day-workers, who would be glad to come for a day's work when there is extra pressure. . . .

"So long ago as 1872 Miss Emily Faithful presented a numerous signed memorial praying for its repeal [the Special Exception Clause], and in 1875 the Royal

Not Necessary.

Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Factory Act thus referred to the subject: "We trust in time that the use of overtime in trades of this class may be restricted down to the vanishing point, and we believe that not even in the most extreme case set before us is it absolutely necessary to the interests of society that those who minister to its wants should be overtasked to supply them."

"It is noteworthy that a large number of firms entitled to work overtime do not do so, and the dislike entertained for the system by some of the largest establishments was represented to the Commission. This might seem sufficient denial of the necessity of it for successful trade.

"Of the large number of firms entitled to work overtime in four typical counties (the metropolis not included), only 854 notices were sent in, during 12 months, by 71 firms; a considerable majority prospering equally well without it."

References: (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; WAGES; SWEATING SYSTEM; PIECE-WORK.)

OUT OF WORK BENEFITS. See TRADE UNIONS; also UNEMPLOYMENT.

OWEN, ROBERT, sometimes called "the father of modern communism," was born at the village of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in North Wales, in 1771. At ten years of age he was put to work in a draper's shop, but later he removed to Manchester where, when only nineteen years old, he was made manager of a large cotton mill. He became very successful in cotton manufacturing. In the year 1800 he purchased, with his partners, the New Lanark Mills on the Clyde, where Arkwright had in 1789 erected one of the earliest cotton-spinning establishments. His aim was to conduct the New Lanark Mills on higher principles than those common among manufacturers.

He tells us, in his autobiography, with what enormous difficulties he had to cope when he purchased the property in 1799. The position of the workers, as in all the factories of the period, was most pitiable. Women and children of the most tender age were employed under conditions which debased both mind and morals; drunkenness and ignorance, filth and immorality, were the characteristics of the population. Owen believed, however, in the omnipotent effect of circumstance in molding character; the notion that individuals form their own character he called "the enemy of humanity, the hydra of human calamity." He therefore set himself to work out reform on this principle.

Drunkenness was discontinued by the introduction of resorts where the workmen could find both pleasure and profit; immorality was checked by informal lectures setting forth its practical evils, as well as by various ingenious contrivances calculated to appeal to the honor of the operatives; the employment of young children was discontinued; the homes of the people were materially improved; good, honest provisions were supplied at cost price; children's schools were started, and insurance funds against old age and illness were not forgotten. His career at New Lanark was the most fruitful and beneficent epoch in an eventful life, and for many years he centered his attention on the necessary and the possible.

Owen's first book was *A New View of Society, or Essays on the Principle of the*

Formation of the Human Character, consisting of four essays, the first of which was published in 1813. This book contains Owen's creed, that man's character is made by circumstances, and that the one important thing to do, therefore, is to establish a right physical, moral, and social environment.

In 1815 Owen began an agitation for a factory law curtailing the hours of work, prohibiting infant labor, and affording health and education to operatives.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the employers and the doleful predictions of the orthodox economists, who foresaw the ruin of English industry by this unheard of violation of *laissez faire*, the bill finally became a law in 1819—the precursor of many reforms which have totally changed the condition of the English workman. "For this," says Professor Seligman, "if for nothing else, Owen is deserving of the highest praise and gratitude."

Owen's first public step in the path of socialism may be said to have been the famous report which, in 1817, he communicated to a committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws. In this report he pointed out that the only permanent remedy for distress was the united action of men and the subordination of machinery. For the treatment of pauperism he recommended communities.

He outlined the plan of a cooperative agricultural and manufacturing village. "This," says Professor Seligman, "was a most important step, the turning-point in his career and the virtual beginning of English socialism."

Every one was to work for the benefit of all; the meals were to be cooked and eaten in common; dormitories in the shape of parallelograms were to be erected, and the details of government regulated in the most minute manner. Owen became a fanatic in the prosecution of his new ideal; considering himself the most popular man in the kingdom, and influenced by the lavish attention heaped on him from all quarters. His plans were supported by many prominent men in England, including his special patron, the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria. But at this juncture his violent attack on all religions alienated the affections of many influential adherents—and it must be said that he showed a narrow-mindedness as great as that which he ascribed to his opponents. The change in his career was, however, the result not so much of his religious as of his socialistic views. Owen was now a world regenerator, an extremist, a socialistic idealist, whose confident anticipation of a millennium seemed to increase in inverse ratio to the failure of his practical schemes.

In 1825 he purchased New Harmony of the Rappites, who returned to Pennsylvania. New Harmony, at the time of its purchase, contained some 30,000 acres, 3000 of it under cultivation, with 19 detached farms and a regular village with streets, squares, churches, schools, and other edifices. (See NEW HARMONY.) Here Owen soon collected over 900 souls of "all classes and conditions of men," which he endeavored to constitute into a

community on the basis of exact equality, and in practise of community of labor and of goods.

To enter into the details of his communities would be impossible. The short-lived experiments of Motherwell and Orbiston in Scotland, and of New Harmony in Indiana, are well known. But Owen, nothing daunted, made a triumphal visit to America in 1829, being greeted with universal acclamation, as on the Continent ten years before. He had almost completed negotiations with the Mexican Government for the grant of an immense tract on which to attempt his experiment on a large scale—the President had signified his adherence to the scheme—when suddenly, with the fall of the liberal government, all the bright prospects again vanished.

After this inglorious attempt, Owen's interest in cooperation gradually vanished; his energy being henceforth centered on the propagation of his all-embracing socialistic schemes. On returning from America he made London the seat of his activity. Repeated addresses were issued, numerous associations formed, while the most bizarre ideas were proposed, such as the floating cooperative community on the Thames. In 1832 was established the "Labor Exchange System." In 1835 the word *socialism* first appears in Owen's propaganda. After an unsuccessful attempt to win over the trades-unions, at

whose first large congress he presided, Owen became still wilder. Bentham says that: "He begins in vapor and ends in smoke." In 1850 he called the world a great lunatic asylum, but was still full of confidence in his panacea; shortly after, he absolutely denied the right of property, and became an ardent spiritualist; and in his last year the old man showed the persistence of his convictions by addressing an open letter to the potentates of the earth, and by writing an autobiography full of youthful enthusiasm. He died at the age of 87 in his native town, November 19, 1858.

Owen was thus a visionary, like St. Simon and Fourier; but, more than they, he had a most beneficent effect on the social progress of his country. His economic doctrines were crude and often absurd; his theory of marriage was, to say the least, peculiar; his socialistic views were utopian; but he succeeded in proving that a factory could be made to benefit both master and workman; he initiated the reform in the condition of the laboring classes; he laid the firm foundation on which the cooperative movement of our times is erecting its successful edifice.

Besides what has been already mentioned, Owen wrote: *Book of the New Moral World* (1826-44), *Revolution in the Mind and Practise of the Human Race*, and *The Life of Robert Owen, written by Himself*, London, 1857. (See also ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

P

PACIFIC RAILWAY DEBTS.—In order to aid the building of the Pacific Railway, Congress (see CRÉDIT MOBILIER), loaned the Central Pacific Railway Company, originally, \$64,623,512. Bonds were issued at 6 per cent., maturing in 1895, '96, '97, '98, and '99. These 6 per cent. bonds are a full obligation of the United States, as between the holders and the Government; there is nothing, therefore, for the Treasury to do, but to pay them, or to extend them on acceptable terms. Since they are security for circulating bank-notes, the latter course can easily be followed, at not more than 3 nor less than 2 per cent., at the convenience of the Treasury. But as between the Government and the companies who first received them they constitute a debt nominally due and payable by the latter, or their successors, together with arrearages of interest also advanced, and only in part reimbursed by transportation services, or provided for by sinking-fund accumulations. The amount of this arrearage may now (1895) be approximated, and it is evident that, dealing with all the debtor companies together, it will fall not far short of the principal sums, or about \$125,000,000 in all, of which fully \$70,000,000 will be for the Central Pacific, and \$55,000,000 for the Union. The exact figures at any given date cannot be stated with precision on account of the mass of counter-credits for services delayed, disputed, or otherwise in suspense. Some authorities put it at \$138,000,000.

By the Act of 1862, construed literally, these advances were secured by a "first mortgage" (subsequently, in 1864, waived) upon the condition that "said company shall pay said bonds at maturity," and that on a failure or refusal to redeem said bonds or any part of them, when required to do so, the United States might take possession of the aided property for its own use and benefit. There are other complicated provisions for partial current payments for service and in one-twentieth of the "net earnings." It is evident that these cautionary clauses were properly introduced to secure something beyond and more important than the return of the face value of the bonds and interest at a given date, viz., the early completion of the road, or, that failing, the control of the corpus, and if need be, its transfer to other hands.

Unfortunately for the Government, Congress was in 1864 induced to make its claim a second mortgage on the roads instead of a first mortgage, and, still more unfortunately, the original contract was drawn in such a peculiar way that the Supreme Court has decided that only the main lines of the roads (and not their branches) are subject to the Government's lien. This means that the Government's claim of \$138,000,000 is secured by a second mortgage on only 2500 miles of road. In other words, the Government's second mortgage amounts to \$55,000 a mile, or twice as much as the total cost per mile of constructing President Hill's

new road (the Great Northern) from Minneapolis to Seattle. Plainly, therefore, the property is not normally worth more than half as much as the Government's mortgage upon it. The Government has, however, in the case of the Central Pacific, one further resource. This road is a California corporation, and its incorporators were by law liable for its debts up to the full amount of its stock. The Central Pacific owes the Government \$77,000,000, and the four estates of Messrs. Hopkins, Stanford, Crocker, and Huntington are liable for \$64,000,000—the amount of the stock held by them at the time of the incorporation.

Concerning the transactions of the Pacific company, the report of the Pacific Railway Commission of 1887 says, in brief:

"Congress enacted that the companies should have their stock fully paid in cash. The stock actually paid in amounted to \$1,797,000; the stock paid in 'as sworn to' amounted to \$97,098,000. The 2496 miles of aided roads were built at a cost of \$95,955,000. Stocks and bonds were issued on these to the amount of \$268,302,000, all of which was taken by the men who built and managed the roads. In the accounts of the Central Pacific Company the division of earnings for improper purposes amounted to many millions, through contracts made by Messrs. Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker with themselves. They constructed 1171 miles of road adjunct lines, at a cost of \$27,217,000. On account of that construction, in addition to a small cash payment, they issued bonds to themselves to the amount of \$33,722,000, and stock to the amount of \$49,005,000. Then as directors of the Central Pacific, they took leases of their own lines for the Central Pacific for \$3,400,000 per annum; which was at the rate of nearly 13 per cent. Fifteen months ago [in 1886] three of these directors [Stanford, Huntington, and Crocker] contracted with themselves to build an extension of 103 miles. In payment they issued stock to the amount of \$8,000,000, and bonds to the amount of \$4,500,000, the market value of the stock and bonds being at the time \$8,349,000. The actual cost of construction was \$3,505,000, so that they personally profited by their own votes by that single transaction to the extent of \$4,834,000, etc., etc. Had the Pacific railroads been built and managed upon honest methods, had the Government loan been properly applied, these companies, regarded as a whole, could have declared dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum for eighteen years, from the date of actual completion to the present time, upon all the moneys that they would have been required to pay in to complete and equip the roads; they would have owned 2495 miles of roads free from all debt, and worth \$124,700,000, upon an original outlay of less than \$35,490,381.44; three of them, the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, and Central Branch, could have repaid every cent of the principal and interest advanced by the Government to date, and could have reduced their charges to shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year. But they chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided \$172,347,113 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the Government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 a year, to pay for the inflation of the capital of these companies, and for the vicious practices that crept into their management."

Management of Stock.

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Concerning what the Government should now do in the premises there are many opinions, and various bills on the matter have been introduced into Congress. The Pacific Funding Bill of the last Congress proposed to exempt the estates of the incorporators, and to continue the Government's loan (\$138,000,000) for fifty years at 3 per cent. interest. To the Government it offered the concession of changing the Government's lien from the main lines of the roads to all the lines.

The opponents of the Funding Bill urged

that it was the duty of the Government as well as its right to prosecute its legal claims upon the stockholders of the companies which have defrauded it, and to dissolve the partnership with them. A part of the opponents were in favor of having the Government sell in the open market its property in the roads, and go out of the railroad business; the remainder were in favor of having the Government take up the first mortgage bonds, and either lease or operate the roads as Government property. The union of these two forces resulted in the killing of the bill by a vote of 177 to 106.

The opponents of the Funding Bill agreed with its advocates in just one thing. They admitted that the main lines of the Pacific roads are not worth half as much as the Government has advanced upon them. They insisted, however, that the financial interests of the Government and its moral interests both demand that the claims of the Government against the directors of the Central Pacific be prosecuted.

Mr. Richard T. Colburn, to whose article in the *Annals of the American Academy* for March, 1895, we are mainly indebted for the above facts, says that there are three courses which the Government can pursue:

I. It can relinquish the debt, except as repaid by current services.

II. Attempted foreclosure and possession, followed by transfer to new owners or lessees, or operation for Government account.

III. Extension of the debt at such rate of interest as the earnings will justify after providing for necessary prior fixed charges.

Of these courses, he says in brief:

"*First.*—Pleas have been made before Congressional committees, not without ingenuity, to have these debts waived and expunged, or rather commuted into a perpetual obligation to carry mails, troops, and supplies. Had this enterprise failed to pay its way, as was expected, or had its promoters paid every demand except only profits to the shareholders, there are many plausible and equitable reasons why a magnanimous course would be opportune. Nobody, however, has had the hardihood to formulate such a bill or report. On the other hand, there are more grave reasons why the claim should be treated as a valid debt, to be repaid to the last dollar. It will never do to set up the Treasury as a target to be aimed at on the principle of condoning failures. The Nicaragua Canal Company in some shape will be the next applicant for Treasury assistance, and no worse precedent (for its success) could be devised than to condone the debt to the Pacific Railroad Companies. It would be preferable to let it stand, tho it were indeed a hopelessly 'bad debt.'

"*Second.*—Nor is the expediency of resort to foreclose any more hopeful. As already stated, the right of the Government to take possession under this statutory mortgage is not clear. Beyond doubt its right to do so was in full force until the completion of the road was a fact or in plain sight. With the junction of the rails in May, 1869, that right lapsed forever, except in the improbable contingency of an abandonment or neglect (and then only to supply the omission), an event not likely to arrive unless by the complicity of the Government. Of course, it is within the sovereign power to take forcible possession of this railroad; subject, however, to the obligation to compensation for private property taken; but that is a general power not derivable under its statutory claim. . . .

"The practical situation is rather complicated than cleared by the assertion of this right of foreclosure. To begin with, the prior liens, equal in amount to the face of the subsidy, must be assumed, and either paid off or extended. Suppose they were to make common cause with the stockholders and claim the road itself, or demand their money, they could, with the same cash, turn round and parallel every essential portion

Foreclosure Considered.

of aided road, and ally themselves with branches and terminal lines on which the United States has no lien. No one knows this advantage better than the directors of these companies. Quite recently a new Pacific line (the Great Northern, the fifth on United States territory) has been completed to Puget Sound at a cost of one-third that of the original Union-Central line. Furthermore, who are to be the bidders at a sale, outside of the first mortgage holders and the Government? Much as the managers of railways quarrel among themselves for a division of freight money, there is too much *esprit du corps* among them for any responsible company to appear as a competitive bidder. It would, moreover, be in danger of speedy and condign punishment from the owners of these indispensable branches, feeders, terminal facilities, and tributary ocean steam lines. No one can afford to own the piece of railroad laid across these dry deserts and high mountains and which does not also have its own entrance to either Council Bluffs, Kansas City, Denver, or San Francisco. The nation is bound by honor and contract to respect the claim of outsiders to the extent of \$25,000 per mile for the Eastern portion of the main line, and about \$35,000 per mile for the Western portion.

"Foreclosure is not only no legal solution; it is no practical solution. It is the forerunner of mischief only. In his volume, giving a compact history of the work and its tribulations, entitled the *Union Pacific Railway*, Mr. John P. Davis, though accepting the right of foreclosure without question, in a concluding chapter as to its future, sums up the equities of the case very fairly and ably, and abundantly disposes of the expediency of it by showing the multiplied difficulties, perplexities, and expense of an attempt to operate the 2494 miles of road on which its claims rest. . . .

"One may have much sympathy with the people of California—a hundred thousand of whom petition to have the decision take this course. The evils they so eloquently portray, however, are those which other parts of the country share with them, to a greater or less extent. They see other communities enjoying the benefits of a sharp competition in rail-carriage, in through freights carried at bare train expenses, while the burden of fixed charges and administration is left to be sustained by local traffic; that is to say, a portion of the traffic of railroads (like the business of the Post-office, which tolerates no competitor) is done at less than the service costs; it is deemed better to have it, and keep the larger force of men and rolling-stock employed, than to lose it. The people of California would like the Government to provide them with this cheap carriage for their interior freights on the same basis as the overland business, which they now enjoy to the full, since private capital is unwilling to do so. The fares and freights in California itself are not high nor unreasonable, tried by any standard. This is the same grievance, cropping up in a hundred other places, which the Interstate Commerce Commission was organized to grapple with, but which it can do but little to alleviate.

"The suggestion emanating from the same State, that the Attorney-General should bring suit against the original directors of the railway companies, to recover large sums wrongfully obtained, is not a fortunate one. As a means of reimbursing these maturing claims, it is inadequate. This course was, in fact, tried years ago, as a sequel of the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal, before the Circuit Court at Hartford, when the Court ruled that it was for the Union Pacific stockholders, not the Government, to move, as they were the

Suit Against In- corporators.

parties wronged, if any. In like manner it is the stockholders of the Central Pacific (now for the most part in Europe) who are at liberty to bring suit, if anybody, for restitution of plunder, under this exceptional California statute made to curb the dishonesty of mining company officials, but easily evaded as to all. Will the stockholders do so? No; for the reason that it would be throwing away good money after bad; and, besides, they have to fear the possible hostility of the same men, or their successors, entrenched in power, and able to injure, even if dislodged. It is easy for the essayist, the lawyer, or the legislator, unfamiliar with the mysteries of Wall Street and railroad finance and management, to make charges, frame bills and indictments, but not so the practical work of negotiation and redress.

"An illustration (one of many drawn from the checked history of the Union Pacific Company) may serve to show how difficult is the situation in this subdued

railroad warfare, and how embarrassing at times is the choice of courses, with the best disposition to follow the ethically right. While the Union Pacific road was under construction, and J. Gould and J. Fisk were in full control of the Erie, the latter made an attempt to 'break into' the Union Pacific Company, the associate supposed to be in the background. Some years later, after they had been ousted from the Erie, Gould had acquired the Missouri Pacific, of which the Kansas Pacific (subsidized) was the natural prolongation toward Denver and the Pacific. By the Act of Congress the Union Company was required to operate the main line with the other Eastern branches 'as one continuous line.' It claimed that to charge the local rate from the Cheyenne Junction, midway of its length (which rate was, in many cases, higher than the rate throughout the entire Union Pacific line), was a sufficient compliance with the Act. Suits were carried from court to court, but in the meantime the Kansas road was being starved, its development cramped. Its stock went down to near zero and the first mortgages to 50. This was Gould's opportunity, which, with characteristic nimbleness and secrecy, he improved. He acquired enough stock of the Union to become a director, and all of the Kansas he could buy, in open market or privately. He was thus on both sides of the trade and informed of the counsels and plans of both parties. When it became imminent that the Supreme Court would have to decide in favor of the Kansas Company, he suggested a consolidation of the two. The other directors demurred—for obvious reasons—whereupon he replied, in effect: 'Very well, gentlemen; as you like; but if you refuse the Missouri and Kansas companies will build from Denver to Salt Lake and the Central terminus at Ogden, and then where will you be?' This alternative would have been a proper and feasible thing to do. His views prevailed, and the result was an exchange of share for share of stock, the assumption of the bonded and floating debt of the impoverished partner company, payment of deferred interest; in all a profit to the shrewd speculator and his friends of not less than ten millions, and perhaps nearer twenty.

"There would indeed be poetic justice, and also justice of the law and constitution, if some of these extorted gains could somehow be recovered for the unfortunate small stockholders, who are the parties really defrauded. The Government, as we shall presently see, may recover its entire claim without allowance for equitable set-off, but how and whence are the confiding shareholders to get back their money when a whole century's earnings are to be pledged to others in advance of them? True the Attorney-General has moved against the Stanford estate, ostensibly on behalf of this maturing claim of the Government, but it is likely that this was intended and understood by counsel more to 'stay waste' of the assets than in the hope of securing any part to the Treasury, and in this way the prosecution is a real service to the Stanford University, rather than an injury, as is sometimes alleged. Had all the great fortunes made out of this Government subsidy experiment been disposed of for objects as worthy, and placed in as enlightened and competent hands as this one, Congress and the public might indeed overlook or condone the irregularity of their acquisition.

"There is but one honorable way in which approximate justice may be done to all parties concerned in this Pacific Railroad venture, but, alas! it is not free from difficulties. If, notwithstanding the objections to government ownership, it is decided to take these defaulting companies' property, the only fair way is to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to purchase the stock of both, to be delivered within ninety days, at say \$50 per share, at which rate it would secure nearly all the \$68,000,000 of Central, and \$60,000,000 of Union, at a cost under \$64,000,000. This would double its original investment, but by careful nursing it might prove a judicious purchase, since it would carry control of four or five times the original aided mileage. The policy need not be urged on behalf of the shareholders, but on the ground of fairness. It is one of the curses of corporate management that out of it the managing directors can enrich themselves, while their confiding fellow-shareholders are impoverished. In this respect the Pacific Company officials have been conspicuous offenders. If the legislative favor is to be invoked on behalf of anybody besides the local patrons of the road, it may with equal reason be asked on behalf of defrauded and comparatively helpless investors in the stock, many of them women and orphans dependent upon the expected income, and none the less deserving because, living abroad,

they trusted to the honor and dignity of an American enterprise in which the Government itself was chief creditor.

"Third.—The Government would seem to be shut up to the third remedy. Compulsory or pursuing legislation is at best futile; the sovereign authority cannot be resorted to except as an extraordinary or war power; assignment of the stockholders' rights is hardly practicable, because it is but a first step in an untried policy looking far beyond the recovery of the debts. There remains the alternative of mutual accommodation. Valuable as are these lines of railway with their affiliated connections, in the hands of their owners; the cooperation of stockholders is necessary to meet these onerous claims. The margin between solvency and insolvency is too narrow to tolerate clashing or forcible measures. The nation being a large customer of the roads, is enabled to get some current return upon its outlay, the equivalent of a low rate of interest. By simply withholding the compensation for transport, it gets, taking a series of years together, a rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the new debt (or 3 per cent. on the old); or, taking the corporations separately, about 2 per cent. from the Eastern and 1 per cent. from the Western; the disparity being caused by the double volume of public service accruing to the Union Company. An insurrection, or foreign war, might carry the yield much higher. In view of the equitable considerations above named, and the fact that whatever the amounts demanded, and time granted, the payments must be a tax upon the local traffic, is not this enough and a fair basis for commutation of interest?"

"How about the repayment of the principal? Some inducement should be provided for its early liquidation. The maturity of a fraction of the subsidy bonds does not alter the moral, nor seriously the legal, status of the parties. It is the duty of the nation to help the credit of its debtor where its own claims are not prejudiced thereby. It can grant an extension of time—a long time—without sacrifice, and as it can do nothing practicable but that, that should be done willingly and helpfully. This extension need not be as great as some of the bills before Congress provide, *viz.*, a fixed period of fifty or a hundred years, all of which is to be consumed in the process; but ought to be a maximum period of a hundred years, with an inducement to shorten the time. . . .

"The Union Pacific has for years been estopped from paying dividends. This has not benefited the United States a particle; it was a restraint applied by Congress years too late. The result might have been foreseen; high rentals, including guaranteed dividends of branch and tributary lines, wholesale construction of new lines with guarantees of interest, or 'constructive mileage' allowances. The profits have gone to insiders, while the entrapped investors have remained shorn just the same. The Oregon Short Line, the Northern Utah and Montana, the Denver and Gulf are specimens of the absurd competition with neighbor companies for territorial control. The receiver-ship will enable the insolvent to relieve himself of the excessive load of some of these burdensome leases, guarantees, and preferences; but others of them will have to be retained as a charge upon the main line for many years.

"The Reorganization Committee of the crippled Union Pacific bondholders, in which the Government is amply represented, is reported to favor the very customary device in such cases of a 'blanket mortgage,' covering main-line branches, and Treasury assets, of an amount large enough to cover all outstanding bonded debt, estimated at \$140,000,000, of which it is proposed to allot nearly one-half to the United States in lieu of its existing claim. The rate of interest on the latter is to be $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on the other portions of the issue 4 and 5, according to the priority and merit of their present holdings. If the stockholders deliberately choose thus to advance the lien of the Government to that of coequality with the other bondholders and to postpone their hopes of returns for a century, it is an act of uncalled-for self-sacrifice. No one will complain, unless the first mortgage holders refuse to accept the security thus diluted. To carry out such a plan the Government must step in as guarantor that the entire loan shall be taken. Who else is to advance the money to non-assenting bondholders? As a dilatory device it may answer, but not as a settlement. It does not require the prophetic gift to foresee that this is practically an irredeemable issue."

Such is a conservative, tho informed and fair, view of the situation at the time when it was

written. In January, 1897, however, when the second mortgage bonds came to maturity, there was a violent discussion of the whole subject in Congress, and a proposition to extend the debt made by the railroads affected was defeated in the House January 11 by a vote of 168 to 102. There was nothing left for the administration but to order foreclosure in the courts. Since then various propositions have been made. It has been proposed that the Government keep the ownership of the roadbed and allow various railroads to run over it. It is more probable that a syndicate will buy the road.

PAINE, THOMAS, was born at Thetford, Eng., in 1737, the son of a Quaker stay-maker. He learned his father's trade, but did much private studying. In 1756 he served a short time on a privateer. In 1759 he married, but his wife died in 1760. In 1762 he obtained a post in the revenue service. In 1765 he was discharged for irregular conduct, but was restored the next year. Waiting for a vacancy, he taught school and preached. In 1771 he married the daughter of a deceased tobacconist at Lewis, and continued the tobacconist's trade. He published in 1772 *The Case of the Officers of the Excise*, which led to his discharge from the excise service in 1774. He also this year separated from his wife. Invited by Franklin, he now went to America, and soon found employment in Philadelphia as editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. He wrote against slavery, and January 10, 1776, published his celebrated *Common Sense*, of which 120,000 copies were sold in three months. December 19, 1776, he published in the *Pennsylvania Journal* the first number of *The Crisis*, and continued the numbers irregularly through the war, exerting wide influence for independence and republicanism. In 1777 he was chosen secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, but was dismissed and censured by Congress in 1779 for revealing secrets. He was soon after elected clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. He received in 1780 a degree from the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1781 went with Colonel Laurens to France and negotiated a loan, for which Congress gave him \$3000, and New York an estate, and Pennsylvania \$2500. In 1787 he went again to France and then to England, where in 1791-92 he published in London his *Rights of Man*, a reply to Burke, and defence of the French Revolution. France made him a citizen, and in 1792 he was elected deputy from Calais. He acted with the Girondists and opposed the execution of the king. He was imprisoned by Robespierre from 1793-94, narrowly escaping the guillotine. In prison he completed his *Age of Reason*, and published it when released in 1795. He again took his seat in the Convention and resided two years with James Monroe, United States Minister to France. In 1802 he returned to the United States in a United States sloop of war and was cordially received at Washington, New York, and Philadelphia. He was, however, opposed by the Federalists and branded by the orthodox as an atheist, tho he was really a free-thinking theist. He lived in comparative obscurity in New York, and died on his estate at New Rochelle in 1809.

PALGRAVE, ROBERT HARRY INGLIS, was born in London in 1827—the son of Sir Francis Palgrave, the well-known historian and author. His eldest brother is Francis Turner Palgrave, professor of poetry at Oxford. R. H. Inglis Palgrave was educated at Charterhouse, but early went to Great Yarmouth and entered a banking-house. Interested in economics, he won a prize, awarded in 1870 by the Statistical Society of London, for his essay, *Local Taxation of Great Britain and Ireland*. In 1877 he became associated with Mr. Bagehot on the *Economist*, and, on Mr. Bagehot's death, its editor. In 1882 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and, in 1885, was appointed one of Her Majesty's Commission on the Depression of Trade and Industry. His most recent work is to edit the *Dictionary of Political Economy*, now being published by Macmillan & Co., London.

PANAMA CANAL.—From the time of the Spanish conquest of America a navigable connection between the Atlantic and Pacific has been desired. Many years of voyaging were needed before men gave up the idea of a natural strait between the two oceans somewhere in or near the Tropics. When, however, it was realized that a continuous continent lay across the pathway, attention was naturally turned to speculations on the best route for an interoceanic canal. The Isthmus of Panama furnishes the most obvious route, as is evident from the map. It is narrow and low, the summit level of the railroad which now runs across it being only 287 feet above sea-level. A survey of the Isthmus was made by a French engineer in 1843, and later by the chief engineer of the Panama Railroad, George M. Totten. This latter survey was afterward renewed by the United States Government, and a route marked out from the Bay of Aspinwall to Panama on the Pacific coast. On May 15, 1879, a congress of delegates from 24 countries, summoned by Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, met at Paris to decide upon a plan for an interoceanic canal. In order to have a canal without locks, the congress decided on the Panama route, the canal to run from Limon Bay to Panama. The Universal Interoceanic Canal Company was organized under French laws, and under a concession from the government of Columbia.

Their first estimate of the cost of the canal, made by the congress, was \$120,000,000. In 1883, however, \$200,000,000 had been expended, and only one-third of the work was completed. But much of the money had been wasted or embezzled, and it was found impossible to raise more. The work stopped in 1889. An official commission estimated that the completion of the canal would cost \$342,000,000, and in 1890 the receiver, who had been appointed by the French Government, estimated the remaining cost at \$600,000,000. All this was largely owing to corruption and mismanagement; and an investigation led the Government to prosecute certain directors of the Panama Canal Company, including Ferdinand de Lesseps and his son Charles, on charges of swindling. The defendants were

convicted; and an investigation in the Chamber of Deputies resulted in charging 11 directors, ex-ministers, deputies, and senators with bribery and corruption.

PANTALEONI, MAFFEO, was born in Frascati in 1857, and now, at the head of the Bari School of Commerce, is in the first rank of writers on taxation and other financial themes. Achille Loria (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. ii., p. 216) says that his *La Teoria della Traslazione dei Tributi* investigates the reactions of taxes "with a marvelous acuteness, not equaled in the pages of any other Italian writer." In 1889 he published *Principii de economia pura*, which has been translated into English. His theory of value conforms in general to that of Jevons, but he has criticised alike the English and the Austrian school.

PAPER MONEY.—Money (*q.v.*), defined as the medium of exchange, may or may not have intrinsic value. When a piece of money itself apart from its stamp, is, of the commercial value stamped upon it, it is said to be *intrinsic* money, **Definitions**, having value in itself. When it has no value in itself, or no value which makes pretense of approximating to its stamped value, but simply represents a value which the government undertakes to pay out for it whenever demanded, it is called *representative* money. It represents value. When, however, its value is not equal to its stamped value, only because its intrinsic value has been depreciated voluntarily or otherwise, the originally its intrinsic and commercial value were the same, it is called, not representative money, but *depreciated* money. Its value has depreciated. Finally, when money is issued by a government stamped as legal tender for a certain value, but with no guarantee by the government that it will be redeemed for intrinsic money, it is called *irredeemable* or *fiat* money. The government makes it worth so much. It is both representative and fiat money that we consider in this article, because such moneys are to-day almost invariably made of paper, and all kinds of such money can be considered under the general title of "paper money." We shall consider, first, its history and then the principles and problems involved in its use.

HISTORY.

Representative money has a long history. The Carthaginians are said to have had a representative leather currency, and there is a tradition that there was such money used in Rome before the time of Numa. Jevons thinks that the Byzantine iron money was probably representative money. The leather currency, long in use in Russia, is believed undoubtedly first to have represented whole skins, and finally to have been circulated without any reference to the whole skins. China, however, is the country which first developed the use of representative money.

Representative money in the main, however, has been used only in times of special financial

pressure, as in times of war. Dionysius of Syracuse compelled the use of a tin money in place of silver worth four times as much. Timotheus of Athens, according to Aristotle, persuaded the soldiers to receive copper money in place of silver, promising to exchange it for silver when the war was over. Catherine II. of Russia issued paper in 1768 to replace the copper money. The State of Virginia placed tobacco in stores and used the receipts for money. Another form of paper money which, according to some, has played a large part in history, is the so-called bank money of the early Italian and German banks. All kinds of coins, many of them clipped and depreciated, being in use in the Middle Ages, the custom arose in the Italian republics, and notably at Venice, of the merchants depositing these coins in the banks, where their value

Bank Money. would be accurately estimated and a credit for the value given to the depositor, who could then check against this credit, and the credit be transferred to those receiving the checks. These checks or bank money were usually at a premium above gold. It is claimed by some believers in paper money that this bank money even circulated long after the money originally deposited had been issued as a forced loan to the government. The question, however, is somewhat involved and disputed. (See *BANK OF VENICE*; *BANK OF AMSTERDAM*.)

A somewhat similar system arose in England, when merchants, in order to gain greater security for their moneys, and, in part, to keep it from the government, deposited their moneys with the goldsmiths and used the receipts as representative money. It is probable that out of this system rose the modern English banks.

The best known instances of paper money in modern times are the French assignats, the issues of the American colonies, of the Continental Congress, and of the greenbacks in the War of the Rebellion. These will, however, be found described in special articles. (See *ASSIGNATS*; *CURRENCY*; *GREENBACK PARTY*.) Less known is the issue of token money, by merchants as late as the eighteenth century in England, serving as promissory notes to pay money.

Coming now to a consideration of the principles and problems involved in the use of paper money, it may be said, first, that most orthodox economists believe in the use of paper money only as representative of intrinsic money, such as the gold and silver certificates of the United States or the Bank of England, which are usually "as good as gold," and must always be paid in gold, if desired, by the Bank of England, except when in times of panic the government allows the bank to pay in paper. Professor Hadley represents this, the usual conservative view, when he says (*Johnson's Cyclo-pædia*, article "Money"):

"When bank notes or Government notes become currency, without a corresponding basis of money, nothing has ever been able to prevent their fluctuation in value and the consequent effect upon all other values. The temptation to increase these issues according to the fancied interest of the bank or Government is always likely to prove irresistible, in consequence of which the community employing them finds itself flooded with a currency upon which all values

float with an unsteady motion, and any standard of value is out of the question."

Provided, however, that the paper money always does really represent intrinsic money, which can be paid for it at any time, most economists prefer paper money to metallic because it is easier to handle and to convey.

Many economists, too, think it perfectly safe to use paper money redeemable in gold or silver (for the question between gold and silver, see *BIMETALLISM*; *GOLD*; *SILVER*), but issued slightly in excess of the amount of gold and silver. The reason for this is that they consider it all but impossible that all the paper issued should be presented for redemption at one time, and that therefore if any paper that will be presented can be redeemed on demand, it will all be kept at par. Just how far it is safe to issue paper beyond money to redeem it is debated. Jevons says concerning the various methods of the issue of paper money (*Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, chap. xviii.):

Different Systems.

"This question is perhaps the most vexed and debatable one in the whole sphere of political economy; but, by careful adhering to the analysis of facts, we may, perhaps, get a view of the subject free from the great perplexities in which it is commonly involved. The elementary principles of the subject are not of a complex character; and if we hold tenaciously to those principles, we may perhaps be saved from that dangerous kind of intellectual vertigo which often attacks writers on the currency.

"The State may either take the issue of representative money into its own hands, as it takes the coining of money, or it may allow private individuals, or semi-public companies and corporations to undertake the work under more or less strict legislative control. We will afterward briefly consider the relative advantages of Government and private issues, but in either case we may lay down the following series of methods, according to which the amount of issue may be regulated and the performance of the promises guaranteed.

"1. *The Simple Deposit Method.* The issuer of promissory notes may be obliged to keep a stock of coin and bullion constantly on hand, equal in amount to the aggregate of the uncanceled notes, each of which, being instantly paid on presentation, will produce a corresponding decrease of the reserve.

"2. *The Partial Deposit Method.* Instead of being obliged to keep the whole of the precious metals deposited in his vaults, the issuer may be allowed to invest a fixed amount in Government funds, or other safe profitable securities.

"3. *The Minimum Reserve Method.* The issuer may be bound to have on hand under all circumstances a fixed minimum amount of coin and bullion.

"4. *The Proportional Reserve Method.* The reserve may be made to vary with the amount of outstanding notes, being, say, at least one-third or one-fourth of the total.

"5. *The Maximum Issue Method.* Permission may be given to issue notes not exceeding in the aggregate a fixed amount, prohibitory penalties being imposed upon any breach of this restriction.

"6. *The Elastic Limit Method.* A limit may be assigned to the aggregate amount of notes, as in the last method, but the penalties on the excessive issuer may be intentionally made so slight that the issuer will under some circumstances prefer to pay the penalty rather than restrict his issues.

"7. *The Documentary Reserve Method.* The reserve of property which the issuer is required to keep may consist, not of gold or silver coin or bullion, but of Government funds, bonds, shares, or other documentary securities.

"8. *The Real Property Reserve Method.* Instead of merely documentary property, the issuer may be allowed to treat various property, such as land, houses, ships, railway shares, etc., as his reserve of wealth to meet engagements.

"9. *The Foreign Exchanges Method.* Some important Bank may be allowed to issue convertible notes

on the understanding that it will not increase the amount in circulation so long as the foreign exchanges are against the country, and render the export of specie profitable.

"10. *The Free Issue Method.* The business of issuing promissory notes may be left open to the free competition of all individuals, free from any restrictions or conditions, except such laws as apply to all commercial contracts and promises.

"11. *The Gold Par Method.* Paper money may be issued, bearing the appearance of promissory notes, but inconvertible into coin. The issue being restricted as long as any premium on gold is apparent, the paper money may be thus maintained equal in value to the coin which it nominally represents.

"12. *The Revenue Payments Method.* Inconvertible paper money may be freely issued, but an attempt may be made to keep up its value by receiving it in place of coin in the payment of taxes.

"13. *The Deferred Convertibility Method.* Notes may be issued promising to pay metallic money at some future day, either definitely fixed or dependent upon political or other contingent events.

"14. *The Paper Money Method.* Lastly, those who coin apparent promissory notes may be entirely absolved from the performance of their promises, so that the notes circulate by force of habit, by the command of the sovereign, or in consequence of the absence of any other medium of exchange.

"Altho I have, in the above statement, enumerated no less than fourteen distinct methods of managing the issue of paper currency, it is by no means certain that other methods have not been employed from time to time. There may be, in fact, an almost unlimited number of devices for securing the performance of promises, or for rendering the performance unnecessary. Moreover, these methods may be combined together in almost unlimited variety. The reserve may be required to be partially in the form of specie and partially in documentary securities, or real property. A banker may be allowed to issue a certain fixed amount of notes without any condition as to reserves, and to issue further notes on the Deposit Method.

The advantage of the first system is that so long as it is honestly conducted, coin can always be paid for the paper, and so confidence can be kept up, while the inconvenience and abrasion of the metal are avoided. But, on the other hand, a vast amount of metal is kept uselessly locked up, and the very fact that it lies there tempts the government to seize it for some use. This has been the result of most of the early instances of this method, as mentioned above, in Italy, Germany, and England.

The second plan is illustrated by the Bank of England under the Bank Act of 1844 and the recently constituted bank system of Germany.

It is safe under ordinary circumstances, but its critics claim that it gives an undue monopoly to a favored few, and produces at times terrible panics because the value of the currency changes with the demand for the currency, and cannot readily change to suit the demand because limited by the metal at its basis.

The minimum reserve method and the proportional reserve method are adopted in the United States national bank system; but the reserve cannot be touched just when it is most needed, and the terrible panics of the United States show that it does not prevent great evil.

The fifth system, the maximum issue method, is adopted in England in the 170 banks allowed to issue notes. Jevons inclines to favor this; but the believers in the evils of an unelastic currency argue that it can never be made elastic enough to prevent disastrous panics and changes in value. The sixth, or elastic limit system, is now in use in Germany, and obviates the defects of the previous system in part, and Jevons considers it an improvement, but it

leaves parties who may be interested in forcing or allowing a panic to do so if they will.

The seventh method, or that of documentary reserve, is a variation of the others; the sale of reserves may be forced just when to do so would create rather than allay panic.

Real property reserve is thought by many to be a better system. It lay at the basis of the French assignats, and is involved in most forms of fiat money; but land cannot always be sold on short notice, and may vary in value. The method of regulation by the foreign exchanges is simply a system of serving notice when the paper has been issued to an extent that makes it less valuable than metal.

The free issue system is advocated by some extreme individualists; but while with honest parties and wise parties it might work well, unwise or dishonest parties might take advantage of it and wrong the innocent and unsuspecting. The gold par method is the method which has prevailed in the Bank of France since the Franco-Prussian War, and Jevons declares it to have worked well, and adds that it might work well so long as the issue of paper be restricted so soon as gold rises in par above paper; but he considers it a dangerous system, and that such a power has rarely been wisely used. Yet he says that the French notes have not depreciated more than $\frac{1}{4}$ or 1 per cent.

The twelfth system is that of the American greenbacks of the War of the Rebellion. (See CURRENCY.)

The thirteenth system is the one usually adopted by revolutionary governments, and its value naturally depends on the value of the government that issues them.

The last system is so important that we quote Jevons's words. He says:

"Finally we come to the undisguised paper money issued by government and ordered to be received as legal tender. Such inconvertible paper notes have in all instances been put in circulation for convertible ones or in the place of such, and they are always expressed in terms of money. The French *mandats* of 100 francs, for instance, bear the ambiguous phrase, *Bon pour cent francs*. The wretched scraps of paper which are circulated in Buenos Ayres are marked *Un Peso, Moneda Corriente*, reminding one of the time when the peso was a heavy standard coin. After the promise of payment in coin is found to be illusory the notes still circulate, partly from habit, partly because the people must have some currency and have no coin to use for the purpose, or, if they have, carefully hoard it for profit or future use. There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible paper money, carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France.

"The principal objections to an inconvertible paper currency are two in number.

"1. The great temptation which it offers to over-issue and consequent depreciation.

"2. The impossibility of varying its amounts in accordance with the requirements of trade.

"It is hardly requisite to tell again the well-worn tale of the over-issue of paper money, which has almost always followed the removable of the legal necessity of convertibility. Hardly any civilized nation exists, excepting some of the newer British colonies, which has not suffered from the scourge of paper money at one time or another. Russia has had a depreciated paper currency for more than a hundred years, and the history of it may be read in M. Wolski's work on the finances of Russia. Repeated limits were placed to its issue by imperial edict, but the next war always led to further issues. Italy,

Inconvertible Paper Money.

Systems Discussed.

Austria, and the United States, countries where the highest economical intelligence might be expected to guide the governments, endure the evils of an inconvertible paper currency. Time after time in the earlier history of the New England and some of the other States now forming parts of the American Union, paper money had been issued and had wrought ruin. Full particulars will be found in Professor Sumner's new and interesting *History of American Currency*. Some of the greatest statesmen pointed to the results; and Webster's opinion should never be forgotten. Of paper money he says: "We have suffered more from this cause than from every other cause or calamity. It has killed more men, pervaded and corrupted the choicest interests of our country more, and done more injustice than even the arms and artifices of our enemy."

"The issue of an inconvertible money, as Professor Sumner remarks, has often been recommended as a convenient means of making a forced loan from the people, when the finances of the Government are in a desperate condition. It is true that money may be thus easily abstracted from the people, and the government debts are effectually lessened. At the same time, however, every private debtor is enabled to take a forced contribution from his creditor. A government should, indeed, be in a desperate position which ventures thus to break all social contracts and relations which it was created to preserve.

"A further objection to a paper money inconvertible into coin is that it cannot be varied in quantity by the natural action of trade. No one can export it or import it like coin, and no one but the Government, or banks authorized by Government, can issue or cancel it. Hence, if trade become brisk, nothing but a decree of the Government can supply the requisite increase of circulating medium, and if this be put afloat and trade relapse into dulness, the currency becomes redundant and falls in value. Now, even the best informed government department cannot be trusted to judge wisely and impartially when more money is wanted. Currency must be supplied like all other commodities, according to the free action of the laws of supply and demand.

"Some persons have argued that it is well to have a paper money to form a home currency, which cannot be drained away, and will be free from the disturbing influences of foreign trade. But we cannot disconnect home and foreign trade except by doing away with the latter altogether. If two nations are to trade, the precious metals must form the international medium of exchange by which a balance of indebtedness is paid. Hence, each merchant in ordering, consigning, or selling goods must pay regard, not to the paper price of such goods, but to the gold or silver price with which he really pays for them. Gold and silver, in short, continue to be the real measure of value, and the variable paper currency is only an additional term of comparison which adds confusion."

So far Jevons. It will be seen that his main objections to inconvertible paper money are not so much to its use as to the danger of its misuse or the (asserted) impossibility of its wise use. Most orthodox economists argue in the same way. J. S. Mill says (*Principles of Political Economy*, bk. iii. chap. xiii.):

"After experience had shown that pieces of paper, of no intrinsic value, by merely bearing upon them the written profession of being equivalent to a certain number of francs, dollars, or pounds, could be made to circulate as such, and to produce all the benefit to the issuers which could have been produced by the coins which they purported to represent, governments began to think that it would be a happy device if they could appropriate to themselves this benefit, free from the condition to which individuals issuing such paper substitutes for money were subject, of giving, when required, for the sign, the thing signified. They determined to try whether they could not emancipate themselves from this unpleasant obligation, and make a piece of paper issued by them pass for a pound, by merely calling it a pound and consenting to receive it in payment of the taxes. And such is the influence of almost all established governments that they have generally succeeded in attaining this object. I believe I might say they have always succeeded for a time, and the power has only been lost

Mill's Views.

to them after they had compromised it by the most flagrant abuse.

"In the case supposed the functions of money are performed by a thing which derives its power of performing them solely from convention. But convention is quite sufficient to confer the power, since nothing more is needful to make a person accept anything as money, and even at any arbitrary value, than the persuasion that it will be taken from him on the same terms by others. The only question is, what determines the value of such a currency, since it cannot be as in the case of gold or silver (or paper exchangeable for them at pleasure) the cost of production."

Mill then goes on to show that the value of such a currency must depend on its quantity, that it can be safely used, if kept within quantities that would keep it at par with bullion; but he considers its advantages too slight to balance the danger of overissue. He says:

"But a still stronger consideration is the importance of adhering to a simple principle, intelligible to the most untaught capacity. Everybody understands convertibility; every one sees that what can be at any moment exchanged for five pounds is worth five pounds. Regulation by the price of bullion is a more complex idea, and does not recommend itself through the same familiar associations. There would be nothing like the same confidence, by the public generally, in an inconvertible currency so regulated as in a convertible one; and the most instructed person might reasonably doubt whether such a rule would be as likely to be inflexibly adhered to. The grounds of the rule not being so well understood by the public, opinion would probably not enforce it with as much rigidity, and, in any circumstances of difficulty, would be likely to turn against it, while to the Government itself a suspension of convertibility would appear a much stronger and more extreme measure than a relaxation of what might possibly be considered somewhat artificial rule. There is, therefore, a great preponderance of reasons in favor of a convertible in preference to even the best regulated inconvertible currency. The temptation to overissue, in certain financial emergencies, is so strong that nothing is admissible which can tend, in however slight a degree, to weaken the barriers that restrain it."

Professor F. A. Walker sees the danger of inconvertible paper money; yet of its possible wise use he says (*Money, Trade, and Industry*, p. 210):

"After looking at this subject from every side, I am at a loss to conceive of a single argument which can be advanced to support the assertion of the economists, that paper money cannot perform this function of measuring values, so-called. On the contrary, it appears to me clear, beyond a doubt, that just so long and just so far as paper money obtains and retains currency as the popular medium of exchange, so far and so long it does and must act as the value denominator or common denominator in exchange. And I see no reason to believe that, in this single respect, hard money, so-called, possesses any advantage over issues of any other form or substance which secure the degree of general acceptance which is necessary to constitute them money."

He says, further, on p. 214:

"Such money, so long as its popular acceptance remains undiminished, performs the office of a standard of deferred payments well or ill, according as its amount is regulated."

Such being the view of paper money held by the orthodox economists, many writers, and among them not a few economists of repute and not radical in their views on other questions, believe that it is possible to have inconvertible paper money that will not be abused. They argue that paper money is *the best money*, provided that the amount of its issue can be wisely controlled. Money, all writers admit (see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY) is affected in its value by its *quantity, in proportion to the demand for it*. If the amount

of money expands beyond the needs or consuming power of the people, its value depreciates. If it is contracted, its value appreciates. Now, one use of money being to furnish the standard for deferred payments, all economists are agreed that honest money should be invariable *in value*, so that he who loans or borrows \$100 should, when he comes to settle the loan, neither receive nor pay more or less value than was loaned. But since the value of money varies with its quantity in proportion to the demand, a money to remain invariable *in value* must vary *in quantity* in proportion to the demand, expanding in exact proportion to the demand, or contracting as the demand contracts. If this could be always so, money would be (at least as far as this question is concerned) an invariable currency. The problem, therefore, is to obtain an *elastic* currency that shall be *invariable in value* by varying exactly with the demand for it. Disbelievers in paper currency believe it to be impossible; believers in paper currency believe that paper money can be so used and is the only money that can be so used, or, at the least, the easiest currency to use. For such use of paper money various plans are proposed. These plans are usually one form or another of adopting what is termed "a multiple standard" (*q.v.*). Even Jevons seems to favor this plan, although pointing out its dangers. He says (*Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, chap. xxv.):

"The so-called double standard system of money spreads the fluctuations of supply and demand of gold and silver over a large area, and maintains both metals more unchanged in value than they would otherwise be. Can we not conceive a multiple legal tender which would be still less liable to variation? We estimate the value of £100 by the quantities of corn, beef, potatoes, coal, timber, iron, tea, coffee, beer, and other principal commodities which it will purchase from time to time. Might we not invent a legal tender note which should be convertible, not into any one single commodity, but into an aggregate of small quantities of various commodities, the quantity and quality of each being rigorously defined? Thus a hundred-pound note would give the owner a right to demand 1 quarter of good wheat, 1 ton of ordinary merchant bar iron, 10 pounds weight of middling cotton, 20 pounds of sugar, 5 pounds of tea, and other articles sufficient to make up the value. All these commodities will, of course, fluctuate in their relative values; but if the holder of the note loses upon some, he will in all probability gain upon others, so that, on the average, his note will remain steady in purchasing power. Indeed, as the articles into which it is convertible are those needed for continual consumption, the purchasing power of the note must remain steady compared with that of gold or silver, which metals are employed only for a few special purposes.

A Multiple Legal Tender.

"In practice, such a legal tender currency would obviously be most convenient, since no one would wish to have a miscellaneous assortment of goods forced into his possession. He who wanted corn would have to sell to other parties the iron, beef, and other things received along with it; gold, or other metallic money, would doubtless be used as the medium in these exchanges. This scheme would, therefore, resolve itself practically into that which has been long since brought forward under the title of the Tabular Standard of value."

Jevons then goes on to describe different forms of this tabular standard involved in what is now called the multiple standard, and the essence of which is that no one commodity should be used as a monetary standard, but that a value should be averaged from a multiple of commodities. He then says:

"The difficulties in the way of such a scheme are not considerable. It would, no doubt, introduce a certain complexity into the relations of debtors and creditors, and disputes might sometimes arise as to the date of the debt whence the circulation must be made. Such difficulties would not exceed those arising from the payment of interest, which likewise depends upon the duration of the debt. The work of the commission, when once established and directed by Act of Parliament, would be little more than that of accountants acting according to fixed rules. Their decisions would be of a perfectly *bona fide* and reliable character, because, in addition to their average results, they would be required to publish periodically the detailed tables of prices upon which their calculations were founded, and thus many persons could sufficiently verify the data and the calculations. Fraud would be out of the question.

Difficulties of the Scheme.

"The only real difficulty which I foresee is that of deciding upon the proper method of deducing the average. Whatever method were adopted, however, the results would be better than if we continued to accept a single metal for the standard, as we do at present.

"The space at my disposal will not allow me to describe adequately the advantages which would arise from the establishment of a national tabular standard of value. Such a standard would add a wholly new degree of stability to social relations, securing the fixed incomes of individuals and public institutions from the depreciation which they have often suffered. Speculation, too, based upon the frequent oscillations of prices, which take place in the present state of commerce, would be to a certain extent discouraged. The calculations of merchants would be less frequently frustrated by causes beyond their own control, and many bankruptcies would be prevented. Periodical collapses of credit would no doubt recur from time to time, but the intensity of the crisis would be mitigated, because, as prices fell, the liabilities of debtors would decrease approximately in the same ratio."

More recently Professor E. B. Andrews, in his *An Honest Dollar*, makes a strong plea for such a multiple standard, and in the appendix to his book gives much consideration to its details. Many other economists favor this plan, at least when the community is educated to adopt it.

It is under such form that most of the advocates of paper money are now advocating the adoption of paper or fiat money. They argue that intrinsic money never can be elastic enough to suit the changes in the demand for money, and hence that only fiat money, properly limited and used as under the multiple standard system, can be honest money. An inelastic currency, they say, must rob either creditors or debtors. In times of panic and financial pressure even now, they say, the community has to resort to paper money. In panics a special act of Parliament allows the Bank of England to pay in paper. In times of panic the New York banks use Clearing House certificates. In times of depression most Western States pay salaries in receipts which are made payable for taxes.

Many believe that this system could be adopted in the conduct of public work on the so-called Guernsey plan, of which Jevons says (*Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, chap. xvi.):

"Daniel le Broc, the governor of the island, determined to build a market in St. Peters, but not having the necessary funds, issued under the seal of the island 4000 market notes for one pound each, with which he paid the artificers. When the market was finished and the rents came in, the notes were thereby canceled, and not an ounce of gold was employed in the matter. There is, however, no mystery in this advantage of paper money.

"Daniel le Broc, by issuing his market notes, drove an equivalent amount of gold out of circulation, and thus effected a kind of forced loan out of the metallic currency of the island, without paying any interest for it. A similar gain of interest accrues upon all paper notes so far as their amount exceeds the gold held in readiness to pay them. The private and joint-stock banks of issue in England in this way enjoy the interest upon a sum of about six millions and a half sterling, the Scotch banks upon two millions and three-quarters, and the Irish banks upon more than six millions. The issue of paper representative money is beneficial to all parties, provided that it is conducted upon a sound method of regulation."

Such are the main views held by economists as to the practicability of a paper currency. (See also MULTIPLE STANDARD.) (For the views of "Greenbacks," see GREENBACK PARTY; see also FIAT MONEY. For the importance of the question to-day, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY. For the historical questions involved as to the United States, see CURRENCY. For the proposition of the socialist as to the use of labor checks for money, see LABOR CHECKS.)

References: Jevons's *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1833); E. B. Andrews's *An Honest Dollar* (1833); A. J. Fonda's *Honest Money* (1895).

PARIS.—Paris, to the social reformer, suggests revolution and the struggles of the Commune, but it has something to teach in its present as well as in its past. (For its history see FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM AND PARIS, COMMUNE OF.) It was the first city to illustrate to the world the advantages of symmetry, spaciousness, order, and convenience in the planning of its streets; of wholesomeness and cleanliness and light in its municipal arrangements. It is, however, in spite of this, the most crowded city of the world. On its 19,200 acres live 2,269,023 persons, making a density of 117 persons to the acre, while Berlin, the next most crowded, has only 85, and New York, the next, has 60, while London has only 51. Paris' broad streets and boulevards have been built too often by driving the poor into crowded, narrow streets. The organization of the municipality is unique even in France. Alone among French cities Paris has no mayor, this being due to the fear the Government has of the revolutionary tendencies of the Paris Commune. The city is ruled, as a whole, by the prefect of the department of the Seine, and by his colleague, the prefect of the police. There is, however, a municipal council with considerable power, and 20 wards or *arrondissements*, over each of which presides a *maire* in a ward building called the *mairie*. The prefect of the police has, perhaps, the greatest power. He has vast sums at his disposal, of which he need render small account, and governs not only the ordinary police force, but the *police judiciaire*, the detective force, and the political police, the Government's secret agents, an inheritance of power from the Napoleonic administration, characteristically preserved by the Bourgeois Republic. He is only prevented from being despotic by the perfect clock-work organization of the departments of the city.

Paris is considered by Albert Shaw, to whose study in *The Century Magazine* for July, 1891, we are mainly

indebted for the information in this article, the best lighted city in the world. It is lighted by six gas companies (fused, however, together as one), each having a section of the city to itself, and all being under careful municipal direction and control. The companies must furnish gas to individuals at a price not exceeding a fixed maximum; they must furnish it for public use practically at cost; they must pay tax; cannot water stock; after paying 13½ per cent. dividends on its net profit, they must divide profits with the city; at the expiration of the charter all rights revert to the city, which also becomes owner of all the subways, piping, etc., that pertain to the plant. The city's share in the profits has so increased that it brings in a large revenue. For several years past it has amounted to some 20,000,000 frs. Paris thus gets her public lighting at cost, and 20,000,000 frs. a year into the bargain. Electric lighting, however, is replacing gas lighting. "A few months hence," says Mr. Shaw, writing July, 1891, "the whole city of Paris will have been laid with a network of electric lighting cables, and traffic on the sidewalks and in the streets will have suffered a minimum of obstruction, while no injury whatsoever will have been done to the pavements." There are no obstructive wires in Paris. In crossing streets it is forbidden to touch the pavement, and underground connection is made from the manholes of the sewers. "In our field of electrical methods," said a prominent American electrician to Mr. Shaw, "we are now five years behind the Continent."

Municipal Works.

"Paris," says Mr. Shaw, "has at its command a larger and more brilliant array of engineering and architectural talent than all the important cities of the United States taken together." The problem of transit in Paris has not been much worked out, on account of its density, and most workmen live in high stories over their shops. Its omnibuses and cars are ponderous and slow, but it is characteristic that they are operated upon the most mechanical system. The Paris water supply is operated and its plant owned by the city. The city sewers have been long famous. At present one-fifth or more of the total sewage affluent is carried to a fertilizing farm at Gennevilliers, with the best possible results, and in due time the whole sewage will be thus used.

Paris has given 10 of her 30 square miles to parks, the population being crowded into the remaining 20. The city is a "commune," and they have much that is communal. The city spends from 250,000,000 to 300,000,000 frs. every year, —\$25 for every man, woman, and child,—twice as much as Berlin and Vienna. A large share of this goes for municipal improvements or interest on investments in past improvements. The city has a vast debt, but one which is rapidly diminishing. "Assuming 125 francs from each citizen," says Mr. Shaw, "12 goes to the police department, 3 for cleaning and sprinkling streets, 3½ for public lighting, half a franc for protection against fire, 10 for education, 10 for hospitals and poor relief, from 8 to 10 for maintaining ways of communication, 5 for new streets, 40 for interest on debt, the remainder for salaries and minor expenses. These expenditures are enormous, compared with most cities, but they get enormous good from them. "Probably no other city in the world," says Mr. Shaw, "secures equally advantageous results from the outlay upon schools. Compulsory education makes school attendance all but universal. It has a marvelous system of industrial and trade schools for both sexes." It is in these schools that Parisian dressmakers, milliners, artificial-flower makers, furniture designers, house decorators, skilled workers in metals, and handicraftsmen in scores of lines of industry are educated to do the things that keep Paris prosperous and rich." The higher schools of science, classics, engineering, and art are proverbial.

The Mont de Piété, or municipal pawnshop, is a characteristic feature. "It has saved," says Mr. Shaw, "millions of francs for the poor of Paris." The municipal hospitals, retreats, and savings banks are equally effective. The city owns the great markets, and carefully supervises and inspects all departments of food supply. Private slaughter-houses are forbidden. Says Mr. Shaw: "If Paris spends vast sums in her municipal housekeeping, she has diverse magnificent and permanent results to show, and her people are, as I believe, enriched rather than impoverished by their common investments as a municipality."

Reference: Mr. Albert Shaw's *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*.

PARIS, COMMUNE OF.—The commune in France is a territorial division under a mayor, or a municipal government. (See COMMUNE.) The commune of Paris is of special importance, because several times the people of Paris have risen in rebellion against the General Government, and have tried to establish a communal self-government, to be federated with other self-governed communes. This is the ideal of the so-called communards or communalists of France, or those socialists who hold that the commune should be the political unit. (See FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.) In 1566 Stephen Marcel, during the English invasion, endeavored to form a confederation of sovereign communes with Paris as the governing head. In 1588 the commune of Paris did succeed in obtaining independent self-government for six months. May 21, 1791, the Revolutionary Committee of the insurrection of July, 1789, replaced the town council, and took the name of "Commune of Paris." It had great power under Robespierre, but fell with him, July 14, 1794, and was replaced by 12 municipal divisions. Partly as a result of this, Paris to-day has no mayor of the whole city, being largely ruled by the General Government. (See PARIS.) Once again, on March 18, 1871, Paris rose in revolt against the then newly established Republic, and declared the Commune March 28. It seemed an opportune time to the leaders. France had been defeated by Germany; Paris, after a long siege, had been occupied by the Germans, but now they were gone; a Republic had been established, but the communards believed it to be a weak, sham, corrupt affair of the bourgeoisie. The communards declared that the Republic had sold Paris to the Germans. They therefore rose and declared the Commune. Similar risings, instigated in part by Bakounin and the anarchist communists, took place in Marseilles and other French cities, but were quickly suppressed. In Paris was the main success. The leaders of the Commune were Flourens, Félix Pyat, Assi, Delascluze, Paschal, Grousset, General Cluseret, Dombrowski, Arnauld, Vallès, Blanqui, and Rochefort. A large part of the National Guard of Paris declared for the Commune, with headquarters at Belleville and Montmartre. March 26 an election was held to choose the members for the communal government; 180,000 votes were cast. The republican government at Versailles sent an army to suppress the Commune. Under the command of Marshal MacMahon this army besieged Paris. April 5 the communards arrested Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, and other prisoners, and held them as hostages. The Commune declared its principles to be absolute individual liberty by the means of the suppression of government, and the division of nationalities into communes more or less federated. The present holders of capital were to be dispossessed, with compensation, and the land and capital were to be divided among associations of workmen. An English socialist who was in Paris during the Commune declares that Paris was never so free from want, crime, or vice. Enthusiasm reigned among the working-

classes and many of all classes joined the popular cause. But gradually dissension arose and mistakes were made. The besieging army took many forts, and finally entered Paris, 90,000 strong, on May 22. The communards resisted for five days in the streets. The republican army having put many prisoners to death, the communards retaliated by shooting Archbishop Darboy and other hostages. Terrible reprisals were made on both sides. The communards being finally defeated, and losing power, took revenge by burning the Tuileries, the Palais de Justice, the Palais Royal, the Hôtel de Ville, and other buildings connected with the hated Government. This act and the shooting of the archbishop and other captives have been laid to their charge, but it must not be forgotten that the triumphant republicans shot the communards down by the thousand in cold blood, burying them in prepared ditches. Twenty-five thousand communards were taken prisoners and many thousands deported. The leaders were mainly executed.

References: Sempronius' *Histoire de la Commune de Paris*; Moriac's *Paris sous la Commune*; Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871* (a translation) gives the communards' side.

PARKHURST, CHARLES HENRY, D. D., was born in Framingham, Mass., in 1842. He had the usual common-school education, and at first looked forward to a mercantile career, entering a dry-goods store at the age of 16, but spending his leisure in continuing his studies. This enabled him, after two years of preparation at Lancaster Academy, Massachusetts, to enter Amherst College.

His favorite studies were metaphysics, mathematics, and philosophy; his scholarship of the highest grade. After graduation he took the principalship of the Amherst High School, then the chair of Latin and Greek at Williston Seminary, East Hampton. Dr. Parkhurst's married life began at this period with a wedding journey to Europe, and two years' study in theology at Halle, under the instruction of Tholuck, at Leipsic and Bonn. When in the Academy at Amherst he had consulted President Seelye as to his next step, and President Seelye had said, "Preach; it will do you good, if not others." This advice was followed, and in 1874 a church at Lenox, among the Berkshires, was his first charge. In 1879, a vacancy occurring in the Madison Avenue Church, a call was sent to Dr. Parkhurst and accepted.

From the first, Dr. Parkhurst commanded attention as a preacher and a thinker, but he is best known through his connection with the Society for the Prevention of Crime. This society was organized in 1878, for the object of the prevention of crime, and, as far as practicable, the eradication of the sources of crime and vice, by all suitable and legal methods. Howard Crosby was chosen president, and became its controlling spirit. On the reorganization of the society on the death of Dr. Crosby, in 1892, Dr. Parkhurst was chosen to the presidency. The present policy of the society is best stated in his words: "Till the alliance is broken which exists between the criminals and their proper prosecutors, it is

bailing out water with a sieve to attempt the extinguishment of individual gambling or disorderly houses. If the police would do what the public pays them for doing, we would disband and be glad to. The very existence of such a society as ours is, properly interpreted, a standing indictment of police incompetency or criminality." At first he was unwilling to accept the position, but accepted, with the following conditions: "If you mean to pursue your old course of taking individual cases of crime, I will not be your president, but if you are willing to fight the police as the guardian angels of crime, I am in it for all I am worth."

In February, 1892, Dr. Parkhurst preached a sermon which at once brought him into notoriety, from the fearless attack on the corruption of Tammany. He was at once challenged to prove his statements, and the enemies of good government supposed that this mere demand would cause him to retract his statements. The doctor was obliged to admit that his statements were based on hearsay, but he reasoned that they must be pretty well founded on fact, if their announcement created such an outcry. He determined that the next time he preached on misrule, he would be in possession of the facts, and about a month later, a second sermon was preached, based on facts in his actual knowledge. He was severely criticized for entering houses of ill-repute, in order to secure legal testimony, but he did not falter. He now had legal proof of what before was moral proof. His statements caused intense excitement, particularly his denunciation of the police department. Universal interest was aroused. In 1894 the Lexow investigating committee began an official inquiry into the alleged corruption in the police department. The clues gained by the Society for the Prevention of Crime were placed at its disposal, and the results of investigation were due in no small measure to the untiring energy and persistence of Dr. Parkhurst, because he knew that the police department as then constituted was corrupt.

At Dr. Parkhurst's request, Mr. John W. Goff, who was of a different political party from himself, was made chief counsel for the prosecution, and did able work.

As a result gross evils were proved, not only in the police department, but in the judicial. Dr. Parkhurst proved himself thoroughly able to sustain his side and organize the battle. When Superintendent Byrnes hinted that Dr. Parkhurst had "planned to compass the ruin of the police department" in revenge for the police refusing to give false evidence in a certain case, Dr. Parkhurst argued that Mr. Byrnes had, by his own evidence, proved himself either corrupt or too incompetent to be worthy of his place. "If the exigency arises again I shall put a detective on Mr. Byrnes," said Dr. Parkhurst. Such a man could not be downed. The great anti-Tammany victory of 1894 was largely the result of Dr. Parkhurst's work.

Dr. Parkhurst is also president of the City Vigilance League, an organization of young men for the purpose of arousing their civic knowledge and interest. It contributes largely to

Dr. Parkhurst's power. He was induced to effect this organization from his interest in young men, and his strong desire that they should realize civic rights as well as duties. The League makes use of thirty-five assembly districts. At the head of each is an assembly leader. These thirty-five leaders compose the administrative council of the League, and determine its general policy. Directly under the assembly leaders is one man from each of the 1300 election districts. By this means, a co-ordination of work and result is effected, and an organization is always in readiness to make effective the wishes of an enlightened public. Dr. Parkhurst continues his regular parish work, one of the best known, most respected men in New York city. A Republican in politics, he places reform always before party, and God before all. His book, *Our Fight with Tammany*, 1895, tells the story of this contest.

PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS.—The question of parks and playgrounds in cities is of modern origin, growing out of the rapid growth and overcrowding of our cities. It was in 1851, when the population of New York City was just above the 500,000 mark, that the State legislature passed an act for the creation of a park in the city, which afterward was developed into the famous Central Park. In 1854 the city of Paris took steps to supply itself with parks, and only just a little before this there were three small park undertakings in England.

As late as 1870 Central Park was still uncompleted, although the city had then increased to over 900,000. It required a large degree of faith even then to see any decided advantage in sinking \$5,000,000 in a piece of land four miles away from the center of population, to reach which there was no steam transit, and from which, as was said at that time, "For practical, everyday purposes, the great mass of people might have been 100 miles away." It was not many years after the successful establishment of Central Park before there was scarcely a city of the world making any claims to prominence and progress that was not providing itself with these valuable possessions. The newer cities, learning wisdom from the experiences of the older, made ample provisions for parks in the laying out of the cities, and developed their park systems with the development of the cities.

Zoological and botanical gardens are also few in American cities. Central Park in New York, and Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, have zoological exhibits or menageries. There are beautiful botanical gardens at Washington and St. Louis. The new zoological park at the national capital will be one of the finest in the world. The best known in Europe are the famous "Zoo" at Regent's Park, London, and the *Jardin des Plantes* and the *Jardin d'Acclimatation* in Paris. At present a company has a charter to lay out a botanical garden in the city of New York.

What has been already accomplished in this country and in the leading cities of Europe can be seen in the following table:

CITIES.	Population, 1894.	Area of City.	PUBLIC PARKS.		PARKS, CITY AREA, AND POPULATION.						DEATH RATE PER 1000, 1893.	
			Number.	Area.	Average Area of Parks.	Per cent. of City Area in Parks.	Number of Population to Each Park.	Population to One Acre of Park.	Population per Acre of City.	All Ages.	Children Under Five.	
American Cities.												
Allegheny, Pa.....	110,000	8.00	2	300.00	150.00	5.8	55,000	367	21	19.03	8.28	
Baltimore, Md.....	503,000	31.54	26	911.25	35.05	4.5	19,354	552	25	20.09	7.92	
Boston, Mass.....	446,507	.....	a 8	2100.00	251.00	.....	55,000	212	.....	.....	.....
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1,003,781	26.46	b 16	631.00	45.69	3.7	62,736	1591	59	21.20	8.80	
Buffalo, N. Y.....	300,000	39.04	c 5	d 000.00	180.00	3.6	60,000	333	12	19.03	8.54	
Chicago, Ill.....	1,600,000	186.50	25	2148.49	85.92	1.8	64,000	745	14	16.03	7.72	
Cincinnati, O.....	325,000	24.25	6	390.25	65.04	2.5	54,167	833	21	18.74	6.60	
Cleveland, O.....	320,000	e 27.27	9	213.13	23.68	1.2	36,667	1549	10	18.15	7.65	
Denver, Col.....	150,000	43.60	8	510.00	63.75	1.8	18,750	294	5	13.87	.....
Detroit, Mich.....	265,000	29.00	19	884.38	46.55	4.8	13,947	300	14	18.02	4.85	
Indianapolis, Ind.....	120,000	15.00	f 5	116.00	23.20	1.2	24,000	1034	13	16.56	5.06	
Louisville, Ky.....	200,000	14.30	9	1079.18	119.91	11.8	22,222	185	22	16.33	4.06	
Milwaukee, Wis.....	265,000	21.04	7	402.00	57.43	3.0	37,857	659	20	17.15	8.87	
Minneapolis, Minn.....	200,000	55.67	g 47	1552.00	33.02	4.3	4,255	129	6	9.93	3.66	
Newark, N. J.....	200,000	17.77	h 14	80.00	5.71	0.8	14,286	2500	18	24.53	10.32	
New York, N. Y.....	1,890,000	38.90	i 49	312.02	63.67	12.5	38,571	606	76	23.52	4.63	
Omaha, Neb.....	160,000	24.75	7	540.00	77.14	3.4	22,857	206	10	8.60	3.60	
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,170,000	120.39	40	3175.00	79.38	3.9	29,250	306	14	21.20	7.79	
Pittsburg, Pa.....	260,000	38.20	2	800.00	400.00	3.3	130,000	325	11	22.35	9.65	
Providence, R. I.....	153,000	16.25	j 16	484.19	30.26	4.6	9,563	316	15	20.92	6.92	
Rochester, N. Y.....	150,000	18.36	9	475.00	52.78	4.0	16,667	316	13	16.22	4.63	
San Francisco, Cal.....	335,000	42.20	24	1190.00	49.58	4.4	13,958	281	12	18.26	4.78	
St. Louis, Mo.....	500,000	61.37	21	2180.00	103.81	5.5	23,810	229	13	20.80	6.82	
Washington, D. C.....	230,000	9.55	k 331	413.52	1.25	6.8	695	556	38	22.64	8.28	
European Cities.												
Athens, Greece.....	150,000	l 3.54	2	108.72	54.36	4.8	75,000	1380	66	16.21	7.01	
Berlin, Germany.....	1,698,321	24.86	83	1263.10	15.22	7.9	20,462	1345	107	21.56	.....
Birmingham, England.....	487,897	19.85	m 13	264.00	20.31	2.1	37,531	1840	33	21.50	.....
Brussels, Belgium.....	486,664	34.51	11	395.36	35.94	1.8	44,242	1231	22	20.50	7.50	
Copenhagen, Denmark.....	341,000	8.69	4	82.37	20.59	1.5	85,250	4140	61	20.01	.....
Dublin, Ireland.....	349,594	39.00	0 2	1900.00	950.00	7.6	174,797	184	14	26.90	.....
Edinburgh, Scotland.....	270,588	9.63	r 15	1280.00	85.33	20.8	18,039	211	44	19.70	.....
Glasgow, Scotland.....	677,883	18.53	s 30	612.00	20.40	4.1	22,596	1108	58	22.90	.....
Hamburg, Germany.....	595,000	23.39	u 11	249.57	22.69	1.7	54,091	1983	39	20.00	.....
Liverpool, England.....	517,891	8.14	v 20	743.00	37.15	14.3	25,895	697	99	27.30	11.82	
London, England.....	4,349,166	108.71	150	5000.00	33.33	7.2	28,994	860	63	21.00	7.87	
Moscow, Russia.....	2,941,800	x 27.87	y 48	301.56	16.75	1.7	54,322	3123	53	25.50	10.35	
Stockholm, Sweden.....	252,937	12.04	33	468.67	14.20	6.1	7,665	540	33	20.37	.....

a. Boston is establishing a circle of parks and promenades or drives, so that it really has many more than 8 parks, and these admirably located. (There are some 40 open places and squares in the city.) b. This does not include the Coney Island Concourse, 70 acres, and the Parade Ground, 40 acres, recently brought within the city limits; nor the Ocean Parkway, 5½ miles long, and the Eastern Parkway, 2½ miles long, each road being 210 feet wide. The area of the city given is the old area before the annexation. c. "Besides a number of places." d. "Including park approaches." e. "Cleveland has recently purchased six parcels of land in different sections of the city for parks, aggregating about 700 acres." f. The street-car company has a park of 166 acres near the city. Armstrong Park, 150 acres, lies near the city. g. "Several of these are very small, nothing more than small triangles. About 18 fair-sized parks." h. "Most of the parks of the city are very small." i. Pelham Park (1700 acres) and one-half of Bronx Park (653 acres) lie outside the city limits. Total area of parks belonging to the city, 5774 acres. j. "Thirteen small, three large." k. "Besides these there are Rock Creek Park, 1500 acres, and the Zoological Park, containing 16 acres." l. Of the 413.52 acres in the city, 341.83 are improved." m. "The area of Athens is too large for its population. Besides the two parks there are several squares." n. "The corporation also possesses two hills called Redual and Bilberry Hills, containing 82 acres, and situated 10 miles without the city." o. Death-rate per 1000 children under five, 77. p. "And several small open spaces." q. "Two hundred and forty-five thousand of the population reside on an area containing 64 persons to the acre." r. Death-rate per 1000 children under five, 76.5. s. "Includes Queen's Park and Arboretum, which are under Government control and contain about 614 and 53 acres respectively." t. "Includes Botanic Gardens, 2½ acres, and adjoining highlands of ½ acres, also 7 disused graveyards open to the public, with an area of 12 acres, and 11 minor open spaces, with an area of 11 acres." u. Death-rate per 1000 children under five, 64. v. "The area of the lakes within the parks is not included in the total area of park ground." w. Dr. Benkerman, Chief of Statistics of the State of Hamburg. x. "Several are very small, being disused churchyards, etc., laid out as ornamental grounds. Largest public park, 382 acres." y. "Nine hundred and sixteen thousand, five hundred in the city and the rest in the suburbs." z. "Of which 1127.26 acres contain houses and 1258.11 acres are water." aa. "The two great parks, of 272 and 54 acres respectively, are situated outside the area of buildings. Inside, the six largest contain, respectively, 29, 25, 22, 9½, 6½, and 5¾ acres." ab. Death-rate per 1000 children under one year, 170.16; per 1000 children from one to five, 37.93.

Philadelphia has the largest single park in the United States, containing 2648 acres, extending for some 12 miles on either side of the Schuylkill river, and beautifully laid out in walks and drives. Next to

the famous royal Epping Forest, near London, it is the largest in the world.

The following shows the superficial area of some of the principal parks of the world:

	<i>Acres.</i>
Bois de Boulogne, Paris.....	2158
Parc de Chaumont, Paris.....	62
Regent's Park, London.....	472
Hyde Park, London.....	388
Kensington Garden, London.....	210
Phoenix Park, Dublin.....	91
St. James's Park, London.....	1752
Thiergarten, Berlin.....	630
Prater, Vienna.....	2000
Pelham Bay Park, New York.....	1700
Central Park, New York.....	840
Jackson Park, Chicago.....	586
Lincoln Park, Chicago.....	400
Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.....	2648
Prospect Park, Brooklyn.....	516
Forest Park, St. Louis.....	1372
Belle Isle, Detroit.....	700
Eden Park, Cincinnati.....	209
Franklin Park, Boston.....	467
The Common, Boston.....	50
Public Garden, Boston.....	24

Concerning the need of small parks and playgrounds, we quote from various sources :

The city of London has now some 5000 acres in parks, but Octavia Hill, who has done so much for the elevation of the poor of that city, found upon investigation that the city of London had been neglecting those who were most in need of these open spaces. Writing in *The Nineteenth Century* for February, 1888, she describes what she found in the heart of London—included within a circle, 8 miles in diameter, having an area of about 50 square miles and a population of 2,828,585, there were 1701 acres of park for the western half and but 223 acres for the eastern half. In the eastern half were 1,668,412 people, crowded at a rate of 101 to the acre, and having one acre of park to but 7481 of population; while in the western half is a population of only 1,160,173, or 72 to the acre, and with one acre of park to every 682 of population. The western half was thus nearly eleven times better off for park room, in proportion to the population, than the eastern half.

Urging upon her readers the necessity of providing more park room, and giving her reasons why she spoke out so earnestly, Miss Hill said :

"It is one thing to know theoretically and scientifically that they are needed, and it is another to live, as it were, side by side with those who need them; to realize, in regard to this man and that woman, how far their home is from any summer outdoor sitting-room, from any refreshing lane or field for Saturday afternoon walk; to know little children who can never, from year's end to year's end, be taken by their mother to the nearest park; to see the little pale face and shriveled form of an invalid child who cannot be laid down on the grass in the sunlight to be healed and cheered, but must sit the whole summer day through in the hot room in court or alley; to watch the big lads who get into mischief because they have no scope

for their energies, no space for game at hare and hounds, no opportunity for leaping ditches, or climbing hills, or skating, or taking a fresh walk; to watch the fresh air diminished in one neighborhood after another, taller houses being built and more of them, yard and garden more and more built over year by year, forecourts covered and the country retreating, as it were, further and further from within walking distance of one and another of my working friends. This is different from reason and science; this is life and this is pain. This urges me to speak; making it my duty to speak, and that before it is too late."

For what has been done, see LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL. Concerning New York City, *The Voice* of June 28, 1894, says :

"Of the 50 parks owned by the city and containing about 5000 acres, Pelham Bay Park, with its 1756 acres, lies entirely without the city limits, and more than 300 acres of Bronx Park lies on the east side of the Bronx River, and so outside the city limits.

"The most noticeable fact is the great disparity between the upper and lower parts of the city, in the number and extent of parks. The Harlem River divides the city into two nearly equal parts, but the part of the city above the Harlem has nearly twice as much park space, with less than one-twentieth the population. There are other marked differences on Manhattan Island itself. Fortieth Street divides the island into two sections, of which the lower part has less than one-half the area of the upper, but above 200,000 more population. There are six more parks in number in the section below Fortieth Street, but the total area of parks below Fortieth Street is but 61 acres, while the upper end of the island has Central Park, Riverside Park, and a number of other large ones, aggregating 1049 acres.

"Much of the section below Fourteenth Street is in a far worse condition than between Fourteenth and Fortieth streets. The annexed table shows the condition of the six most densely populated wards, which form a compact area of about 1½ square miles on the east side of the city, and, with the exception of the Fourteenth Ward, on the east side of the Bowery. In this section there are, all told, but four parks and open spaces, three of which are mere triangles, the largest measuring less than a half-acre. The Tenth Ward, with its 622 persons to the acre, the most densely crowded spot in America, and probably in the world, has not even a breathing-hole, not even the inner spaces of the blocks offering any relief; for within the 48 blocks of the ward there are 158 rear houses, giving shelter to over 5800 people, nearly 1000 of whom are under five years of age. Other wards without a park or breathing-hole are the Thirteenth, with its 515 of population to the acre; the Eleventh, with 454 to the acre; the Fourteenth, with 342 to the acre; the Eighth, Fourth, Third, and Second, all below Fourteenth Street, and the Sixteenth, on the west side, just above Fourteenth Street.

DISTRIBUTION OF PARKS IN NEW YORK CITY—SIX MOST CROWDED WARDS.

NEW YORK CITY.	Population, 1893.	Area in Acres.	Density of Population per Acre.	Number of Parks.	Area of Parks in Acres.	Population to One Park.	Population to One Acre of Park.	Per cent. of Total Area in Parks.
Below Fourteenth Street.....	643,219	2,408	269.2	17	55.4	38,125	11,696	2.3
Fourteenth to Fortieth Street.....	325,038	1,654	196.6	6	15.9	54,173	20,435	1.0
Fortieth to Harlem River.....	767,338	8,514	90.1	17	1048.8	45,132	732	12.3
Above the Harlem.....	86,801	12,317	7.0	9	2000.0	9,645	43	16.2
Total for City.....	1,827,396	24,893	73.4	49	3120.2	37,294	586	12.5
Manhattan Island.....	1,740,595	12,576	138.4	40	1120.2	43,517	732	8.9
MOST CROWDED WARDS.								
Tenth.....	68,440	110	622.2	None.	....	....	....	....
Thirteenth.....	53,175	107	515.6	None.	....	....	....	....
Eleventh.....	89,018	106	845.1	None.	....	....	....	....
Seventeenth.....	113,065	331	347.6	2	10.7	57,533	10,718	3.3
Fourteenth.....	32,854	96	342.3	None.	....	....	....	....
Seventh.....	66,370	198	335.2	2	0.5	33,188	122,691	0.3
Total Six Wards.....	426,928	1,038	411.3	4	11.2	106,732	38,119	1.1

"Of the 50 parks belonging to the city there are 4 of more than 600 acres each, 2 more than 50 acres, 6 between 50 and 20 acres, and 9 between 20 and 5 acres, and 5 more above 1 acre. Twenty-four of the 50 parks and spaces, or nearly one-half, are less than 1 acre each in area, while 21 are under one-half acre, and 9 less than one-tenth of an acre."

Concerning the creation and need of small parks Mr. Alfred R. Conkling says (*City Government in the United States*, pp. 55-59):

"In 1884 an act was passed by the New York legislature to create new public parks. It was argued that this was the time to acquire land for park purposes, lest it should become too valuable if further delay were made. It was enacted that several new parks should be established, but the nearest proposed site was about seven miles from the densely populated district of Manhattan Island. Since the passage of the law about \$10,000,000 have been expended in buying parks at the upper end of the city of New York.

"In 1887, at the suggestion of Mayor Hewitt, an act creating small parks in the city of New York was passed. It was soon decided to take the block known as Mulberry Bend for park purposes—a block about 200 by 600 feet, containing a little less than three acres. Proceedings were begun, and it is only now (July 1, 1894) that the title to the Mulberry Park block has been vested in the city. In other words, it has taken seven years to select and acquire title to a site for a small park in New York, not to speak of the time required for razing the buildings and laying out the grounds.

"I dwell upon the experience of the city of New York as a forerunner of what has been done and what will be done in American cities for public parks.

"The plan of laying out small parks in the tenement-house district should be supplemented by small public playgrounds for children. It has been suggested that a lot about 50 by 100 feet should be bought adjoining all public schoolhouses. This lot should become a sort of public-school park, with an entrance from the street. It could be used by the school children during recess, and by the children of the neighborhood at all other times. Light athletic games should be encouraged, such as tennis, handball, swings, and seesaws. A gymnastic apparatus might be added, and a tent could be erected on hot days in summer.

"It may be said of these public playgrounds in the densely populated districts that the noise and shouting of the youngsters would become a nuisance. But that matter would soon adjust itself, for the noise would be confined only to the daytime, or it would certainly cease early in the evening. The janitor of the schoolhouse could attend to the public park without additional compensation.

"In 1892 it was suggested to establish a children's playground in the southwest corner of Central Park. The commissioners reported that the expense would be about \$100,000, and, after thorough discussion in the public press, they decided to abandon the plan. It should be said that a portion of Central Park is made a public common on Sundays and holidays—that is, the public has the right to roam over the grass on those days.

"An American in Europe notices at once the difference between the management of the public parks in the New and the Old World. In the United States there is generally a park police, and the parks are strictly managed. For instance, citizens are not allowed to fall asleep on the benches in the parks. The traveler in Paris and London sees that much more freedom is allowed in those cities.

"The experience of Paris is worthy of careful study. The Emperor Napoleon III. improved the densely populated districts, and where miserable and vile dwellings were inhabited by the most destitute class of citizens, he ordered these dwellings to be removed and laid out beautiful parks, planted with flowers, shrubs, and trees. He created many breathing-places well supplied with benches for the accommodation of the public. He also made the point that, where a dense and excitable population was demanding work and inclined to riots, it was wise to give them employment, provided the work was necessary and was warranted by the financial condition of the municipality. Napoleon I. erected arches in certain squares.

In Europe.

"Paris is now the pleasure city of the world, and foreigners from all countries, especially from South America, make their home there. The

permanent leisure population of foreign birth in Paris is probably larger than in any other city. This feature of Paris is owing to the policy of Napoleon III., and largely to the number of public parks and parkways.

"Skillful architects should be employed to lay out public parks, and their management should not be entrusted to the ordinary ward politician, who is inclined to enrich himself, or to propose improvements for the purpose of helping some contractor who belongs to his political organization. A small public park can often be established at slight expense by using a V-shaped lot, formed by the intersection of a diagonal avenue with a longitudinal street. There are a few such parks in the city of New York, although they were closed to the public until 1887. Eleven such parks had been locked, when Mayor Hewitt suggested that they be opened. Short paths were laid out within these parks; flowers and shrubs were planted, and benches placed inside them. The observer may see the children from the tenement-houses now using these parks with great advantage.

"In American cities music is provided at public expense on Saturdays, and in some cities on Sundays. In Europe the bands of the standing army, which are, of course, paid for by taxation, perform in the public parks very frequently."

Professor E. R. L. Gould, on this last point says, in an article in vol. i. of the publication of the American Statistical Association (1888):

"Large cities should follow the advice of Professor Jevons, build pavilions for winter use in one or two of the principal parks, and maintain all the year around orchestras and bands of music, with other light attractions, to provide entertainments, either wholly free to the public or at a merely nominal rate of admission. There should be at least one Crystal Palace in every great city. During the summer months, concerts should be given as often as every other week-day evening in every one of the large and moderately sized spaces."

PARLIAMENT (from old French *parlement*, a speaking), a name given to deliberative assemblies, especially to the legislatures of Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. The origin of Parliament in Great Britain is obscure, save that there is no doubt that alike in Saxon and Norman times the English people had some share in making the laws whereby they were governed. The *Magna Charta* of 1215 recalled some of those forgotten rights, but the first Parliament of which any record is preserved was called in 1265 by a writ of Henry III., summoning the knights, citizens, and burgesses to meet in Parliament. Down through the fifteenth century all these classes met together in one house. To-day Parliament consists of monarch, lords, and commons. The three estates of the realm are lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons. In 1894 the House of Lords consisted of 2 archbishops, 24 bishops, 6 peers of the blood royal, 22 dukes, 22 marquises, 120 earls, 26 viscounts, 310 barons, 16 Scotch and 28 Irish representative peers. The last consecrated of the 25 English diocesan prelates,—provided he holds an inferior see,—the suffragan and coadjutor bishops have no seat. The number of the higher lords is growing less, but the numbers of barons is increasing, the creation of peerages being vested in the Crown. All peerages are hereditary. The Scotch and Irish representative peers are elected by the Scotch and Irish peerage.

The House of Commons has 670 members, as follows:

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Members for counties.....	253	39	85
Members for boroughs.....	237	31	16
Members for Universities.....	5	2	2

Minors, outlaws, lunatics, aliens, common-law judges, clergy of the Church of England, Roman Catholic priests, pensioners for a term of years, contractors with government, members of the India council, and peers are disqualified. By the act of 1858 property qualification was abolished. A member cannot resign his seat. The House of Lords has judicial and legislative powers, the latter with the Crown and the House of Commons.

The House of Commons imposes taxes and raises money. At present members are elected for seven years. Parliament assembles on the summons of the sovereign, and must be assembled at least once in three years. Practically it is called every year. It commences with a speech from the throne. No member can be questioned outside of Parliament for what he has said within it, and is free from arrest in civil causes, but may be adjudged bankrupt, and his goods taken. Every bill must be read three times before each house, and also be reviewed clause by clause by Select Committee, or by the whole House as a Committee.

References: *Memoirs of the House of Commons*, by W. C. Townsend (2 vols.); *How We Are Governed*, by A. Fonblanque.

PARSONS, ALBERT R. See CHICAGO ANARCHISTS; end of article.

PATENT LAWS.—A patent is the grant by government to the author of an invention, or to his heirs, of the exclusive right to use or sell the invention for a fixed number of years. It is also used—although this is an older meaning and is passing out of use—of the instrument or letters by which a grant of land is made by a government to a person or corporation.

Art. I. sec. viii. clause 8, of the Constitution gives Congress right

"To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries."

Provision was made by Congress, in 1790, for giving to inventors the exclusive right to their discoveries. From that time to the present patents have been issued, the number increasing each year. At first, applications for patents were made to the Secretary of State, and the decision was made by a board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney-general. In 1793 the Secretary of State alone was authorized to issue patents. In 1836, an office, or bureau, was created in the Department of State under the name of the Patent Office, the chief officer being styled the Commissioner of Patents. From that time patents have been issued by the Commissioner. The Patent Office was transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1849, when this latter department was created. Originally patents were issued by the President of the United States; then by the Secretary of State and the Commissioner of Patents; now by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner.

The term for which a patent was valid was fourteen years originally, but in 1870 it was made seventeen years. It is competent for Congress to extend the time of a patent, whether application be made before or after the expiration of the original term. In 1836 the power to extend for seven years, if the patentee had failed to receive a suitable return for his time, ingenuity, and expense, was conferred on a board, consisting of the Secretary of State, the Commissioner of Patents, and the Solicitor of the Treasury. But such extension must be granted before the expiration of the time for which the patent was originally issued. Since 1848 the power to extend in such cases has been exercised by the Commissioner.

In 1836 the Patent Office was burned and many of the records destroyed. Congress embraced the opportunity to thoroughly revise the whole system. By an act passed in that year prior acts were substantially repealed and the present system substituted.

As at present organized, the Patent Office is attached to the department of the Secretary of the Interior. It consists of the following officers: One commissioner, one assistant commissioner, and three examiners-in-chief, all appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. All other officers, clerks, and employees are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior on the nomination of the Commissioner of Patents.

Among the peculiarities of the patent laws of the United States it may be mentioned that the term for which they are granted, seventeen years, is longer than in any other country. The development of the patent system in the United States far exceeds that of any other nation. For several years the number of patents issued in the United States has been nearly equal to the

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number issued by all other civilized nations together. A pamphlet containing the *Patent Laws and Laws relating to the Registration of Trade-marks and Labels*, and one containing the *Rules of Practice in the United States Patent Office*, are published by the office, and can be obtained, free of charge, by any one desiring them, on application by mail to the Commissioner of Patents. It is, however, practically impossible for an inventor himself to prepare the papers, drawings, etc., necessary to obtain a patent, with the requisite degree of scientific and technical skill. "Patent lawyers" form a distinct branch of the profession, and the inventor will find it in the end the cheapest as well as the surest course to intrust his case to an attorney who makes the practise of patent law a specialty.

Patents may be granted for *designs* and *trade-marks*, as well as for machines. Designs may be patented for three years and six months, for seven years, or for fourteen years; and trade-marks may be patented for thirty years.

The applicant for a patent must make oath that he believes himself to be the original inventor of that for which he seeks a patent; he must file a full description of the same, and, in all cases admitting it, must present drawings and a model. A prior patent in a foreign country does not debar him from receiving a patent here, provided the invention shall not have been introduced into public use in the United States for more than two years prior to the application.

If one has made a discovery or invention, but wishes to mature it, he may file a *caveat*, setting forth its character, and praying for protection of his right until he can mature the invention. Should another apply within a year for a patent covering the same ground, notice is given to the first applicant, who must file his description, etc., within three months.

Patents are issued in the name of the United States, and under the seal of the Patent Office, to any person who has invented or discovered any new and useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement thereof, not known or used by others in this country, and not patented or described in any printed publication in this or any foreign country, before his invention or discovery thereof, and not in public use or on sale for more than two years prior to his application, unless the same is proved to have been abandoned; and by any person who, by his own industry, genius, efforts, and expense has invented and produced any new and original design for a manufacture, bust, statue, alto-relievo, or bas-relief; any new and original design for the printing of woolen, silk, cotton, or other fabrics; any new and original impression, ornament, patent, print, or picture to be printed, painted, cast, or otherwise placed on or worked into any article

of manufacture; and any new, useful, and original shape or configuration of any article of manufacture, the same not having been known nor used by others before his invention or production thereof, nor patented nor described in any printed publication, upon payment of the fees required by law and other due proceedings had.

Every patent contains a grant to the patentee, his heirs or assigns, for the term of seventeen years, of the exclusive right to make, use, and vend the invention or discovery throughout the United States and the Territories, referring to the specification for the particulars thereof.

If it appears that the inventor, at the time of making his application, believed himself to be the first inventor or discoverer, a patent will not be refused on account of the invention or discovery, or any part thereof, having been known or used in any foreign country before his invention or discovery thereof, if it had not been before patented or described in any printed publication.

Joint inventors are entitled to a joint patent; neither can claim one separately. Independent inventors of distinct and independent improvements in the same machine cannot obtain a joint patent for their separate inventions; nor does the fact that one furnishes the capital and another makes the invention entitle them to make application as joint inventors; but in such case they may become joint patentees.

The receipt of letters patent from a foreign government will not prevent the inventor from obtaining a patent in the United States, unless the invention shall have been introduced into public use in the United States more than two years prior to the application. But every patent granted for an invention which has been previously patented by the same inventor in a foreign country will be so limited as to expire at the same time with the foreign patent, or, if there be more than one, at the same time with the one having the shortest unexpired term; but in no case will it be in force more than seventeen years.

Fees must be paid in advance, and are as follows: On filing each original application for a patent, \$15; on issuing each original patent, \$20. In design cases: For three years and six months, \$10; for seven years, \$15; for fourteen years, \$30. On filing each caveat, \$10. On every application for the reissue of a patent, \$30. On filing each disclaimer, \$10. For certified copies of patents and other papers in manuscript, 10 cents per hundred words; for certified copies of printed patents, 85 cents. For recording every assignment, agreement, power of attorney, or other paper, of three hundred words or under, \$1; of over three hundred and under one thousand words, \$2; of over one thousand words, \$3. For copies of drawings, the reasonable cost of making them.

The receipts of the Patent Office during the fiscal year 1892-93 were \$1,288,809.13, and expenditures, \$1,139,713.35. Receipts over expenditures, \$154,593.

The following is a statement of the business of the Office for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893:

Number of applications for patents.....	39,539
Number of applications for design patents.....	1,201
Number of applications for reissue patents.....	111
Number of applications for registration of trade-marks.....	2,282
Number of applications for registration of labels.....	454
Number of caveats filed.....	2,349
Total.....	45,936
Number of patents granted, including reissues and designs.....	23,471
Number of trade-marks registered.....	1,384
Number of labels registered.....	None
Number of prints registered.....	1
Total.....	25,356
Number of patents withheld for non-payment of final fees.....	3,679
Number of patents expired.....	13,672

The total number of applications filed at the Patent Office in fifty-seven years, 1837-93, was 872,995; number of caveats filed, 98,248; number of patents issued, 500,543. Receipts, \$29,209,915.13; expenditures, \$23,753,460.35; net surplus, \$5,456,454.78.

In England the patent system is not dissimilar, but has been much debated. The Crown seems always to have enjoyed the prerogative right to grant monopolies, and this had been so greatly perverted in the time

of Elizabeth that the popular clamor led to a statute in the following reign having for its object to prevent the Crown in future making any grants of that kind which should be prejudicial to the interests of trade. By that act an exception was expressly made in favor of new inventions. At first the judges construed grants of monopoly to inventors very strictly; but afterward it was seen that they were for the benefit of trade, and were dealt with more liberally. An important modification of the law was introduced by a statute of Queen Anne, which required every inventor to describe in detail the nature of the invention in an instrument called a specification. Another statute of 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 83, further altered the law by allowing parties who had a difficulty in separating what was new from what was old in their invention to enter an express disclaimer of that part which was not new. But the most important alteration was made by the statute of 15 and 16 Vic., c. 82, 1852.

In 1862 a royal commission was appointed to consider the whole subject of the patent laws, and to suggest alterations which might be useful. The commission collected evidence in that and the two following years, and made its report in 1864. Other commissions and committees have made later inquiries, and offered suggestions founded on the evidence collected; but the opinions expressed, on almost every point, are most conflicting. The divided opinion of practical men has hitherto discouraged any attempt to legislate on their recommendations; and the act of 1852 remains still in force.

That some mode of rewarding the individual whose perseverance and ingenuity have enabled him to discover a new invention should be established is universally admitted, but whether it should be at the expense of that part of the public who are purchasers, and therefore benefited by his discovery, or by the public at large in the shape of a pension, is a matter still undecided. The evils of the present law are that there is a great deal of uncertainty in the mode of ascertaining what is a new invention. Hence, when a patent has been granted, if it is of such a nature as to lead to competition, infringements are almost matters of course, and the only mode of discovering and checking the infringement is so tedious, costly, and ineffective that inventors generally pass their lives in constant litigation, fighting in detail a succession of imitators who often have nothing to lose by defeat, and therefore entail all the greater burden on the legitimate manufacturer. It has been said that not more than three patents per cent. are remunerative.

France.—Grants of patents (*brevets d'invention*) are regulated in France by the law of 5th July, 1844. Patents are granted to inventors or their assignees, whether natives or foreigners, and the French patent expires with any foreign patent of earlier date. Applications for French patents must be made prior to the filing of the complete specification in any foreign country. Patents are granted for a term of fifteen years upon payment of an annual duty of \$20.

Germany.—By a law dated 25th May, 1877, patents are granted for fifteen years to natives and foreigners. The invention must not have been previously described in a printed publication in any way. The patentee may obtain supplementary patents for improvements expiring with the original patent. A Government duty of \$7.30, is paid on the issue of the patent, together with an annuity.

The Governments of Belgium, Brazil, France, Guatemala, Holland, Italy, Portugal, San Salvador, Servia, Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain have signed an international convention relating to patents, the salient points of which are: (1) That the subjects of each of the above States shall, in all the other States, as regards patents, enjoy the advantages that their respective laws grant to their own subjects; (2) that any person who has duly registered an application for a patent in any one of the States shall enjoy a right of priority protecting the first patentee against any acts accomplished in the interval for a term of six months—a month longer being allowed for countries beyond the sea; (3) that the introduction by the patentee, into the country where the patent has been granted, of objects manufactured in any of the other States shall not entail forfeiture, but the patentee remains bound to work his patent in conformity with the laws of the country into which he introduces the patented objects; (4) that the States agree to grant temporary protection to patentable inventions for arti-

Abroad.

International Patents.

cles appearing at officially recognized international exhibitions.

Concerning the general question of patent laws much is to be said on both sides. Mr. C. W. Baker says, in his *Monopolies and the People* (p. 89):

"If we judge the granting of patents by the aims and intentions which are held in the theory of the law, we must conclude that it is a highly wise, just, and beneficial act. The man who invents a new machine or device which benefits the public, by making easier or cheaper some industrial operation, performs a valuable service to the world. But he can receive no reward for this service, if any one is at liberty

Discussion of the System.

to make and sell the new machine he has invented; and unless the patent laws gave him the power to repay himself for the labor and expense of planning and designing his new device, it is altogether probable that he would not spend his time in inventing.

"The wealth which a valuable patent promises has been a great incentive to the work of inventors, and has undoubtedly been a chief cause of the great mechanical advancement of the last half century. But the state of mechanical science has greatly changed from what it was when the clause of the Constitution was penned which speaks of inventions as 'discoveries.' The trained mechanical designer now perfects a machine to do a given work, with almost the same certainty that it will be successful in its operation that he would feel if the machine were an old and familiar one. The successful inventor is no longer an alchemist groping in the dark. His task is simply to accomplish certain results with certain known means at his disposal, and certain well-understood scientific principles to guide him in his work. But this statement, too, must be qualified. There are still inventions made which are the result of a happy inspiration as well as of direct design. Not all the principles of mechanical science and the modes of reaching desired ends are yet known or appreciated by even the best mechanical engineers. There is still room for inventors, whose rights should be protected. The interpreters of our patent laws have always held the theory that the use of a natural agent or principle could not be the subject of a patent. This is undoubtedly wise and just. The distinction should always be sharply drawn between those existing forces of nature which are as truly common property as air and sunlight, and the tool or device invented to aid in their use.

"Again, it is a notorious fact that the great multiplicity of inventions has made the search to determine the novelty of any article submitted for a patent for the most part a farce. No one is competent nowadays to say surely of any ordinary mechanical device that it is absolutely new. The bulky volumes of Patent Office reports are for the most part a hodge-podge of crude ideas, repeated over and over again under different names, with just enough valuable matter, in the shape of the inventions of practical mechanical designers and educated inventors, to save the volume from being an entire waste of paper and ink. Space, however, will not permit us to discuss at length the faults of our patent system. The important point for us to notice is that the patent system establishes certain monopolies, and that these monopolies are not always harmless. Patents are given to 'promote the useful arts,' but the inventor whom they are supposed to encourage reaps but a small share of the profits of his inventions. Valuable improvements soon fall into the hands of large companies, who are able to defend them in the courts and reap all possible profits by their use.

"Again, patents sometimes aid in the formation of trusts and combinations. Two or three firms may control all the valuable patents in connection with some important industry. If they agree to combine their interests and work in harmony, they are far stronger than an ordinary trust, because the patents they hold prevent outside competition. It was pointed out in the opening chapter how the control of patents was sometimes a feature helping to induce the formation of trusts. The Standard Oil Trust had its origin in the superiority which one firm gained over its competitors through the control of an important patent. The envelope trust, which, at this date, has raised the price of envelopes about 20 per cent., owes its chief strength to its control of patents on the machines for making the envelopes. Instances innumerable

could be given where a few manufacturers, who by their ownership of patents controlled the whole field, have ended a fierce competition by consolidating or agreeing to work together harmoniously in the matter of selling-prices. Very many of these are monopolies in trade or monopolies in manufacturing, and, as such, have already been considered in the preceding chapters; but it is proper here to point out the part which our patent system has taken in their formation, and the fact that it is to their control of patents that many of the existing combinations owe their security against outside competition.

"Probably the public was never so forcibly reminded of the defects of our patent system by any other means as it has been by the operation of the Bell Telephone monopoly. The purpose in granting patents is to aid in the establishment of new lines of industrial activity, secure to the inventor the right to reap a reward for his work, and encourage other inventors to persevere in their search for new improvements. All these things are effected by the monopoly which is held by the Bell Telephone Company; but they are effected at a cost to the users of the telephone under which they have grown very restive. Passing by the statement that the patents which the Bell company holds were illegally procured in the first place, through the inventor having had access to the secret records in the Patent Office of other inventions for which a patent had been asked at about the same time as his own, it is an undisputed fact that the Bell company holds the monopoly of communication by electric telephone in this country. They have managed this monopoly with great skill. While the instrument was yet in its introductory stage, and when every smart town felt obliged to start a telephone exchange or fall behind the times, prices were kept low; but when once the telephone became a business necessity, and its benefits were well known, rates of rental were advanced to the point where the greatest possible profits would accrue to the Bell company's stockholders. This was excellent generalship. The same principle is applied in many other lines of business; and it was only because the company held a monopoly of a most valuable industry that it proved so immensely profitable here. But other acts of the company, it is alleged, while within the letter of the law, are yet clearly infringements on the just rights of the public. It is charged that the company has purposely refrained from putting into practical use any of the many improvements which have been made in the telephone during the past few years, but at the same time has quietly secured their control. By skilfully managing 'interferences' of one patent against another, and by amending and altering the various specifications, it contrives to delay as long as possible the issue of the patents upon these inventions."

Socialists and extreme individualists have almost invariably opposed patent laws. Individualists would have every one depend in free competition upon his own wits, with little or no defense from governments. Socialists would have every invention used for the good of all, inventors being rewarded not by being given a monopoly of their inventions but by material or other honorary reward. Patents, they argue, to-day do not usually reward the real inventor, but some rich corporation or individuals, who can afford to buy up the patent and push it for their advantage, or more likely put it upon the shelf, to prevent its competing with their present processes. Patents therefore, they claim, rarely aid the real inventor and usually defraud the public of the advantage of inventions. The only inventors who are aided are, usually, very wealthy ones who need it least. Poor inventors rarely have the capital to set their invention in use and therefore have to sell it, at terms which, after paying the fees and going through the tedious process of securing a patent, leave them usually more poorly off than if there were no patent laws.

References: Among the best works on patents in this country is that of George Ticknor Curtis; Phillips

and Fessenden are also standard authors. The best English work is that of Agnew. (See also PATENT REPORTS, etc.) (See also article COPYRIGHT.)

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY. See GRANGE, THE.

PATTEN, SIMON NELSON, was born at Sandwich, Ill., in 1852. He studied at Evanston, Ill., and Halle, Germany, and received the degree of Ph. D. at Halle in 1878. He was principal of public schools in Illinois and Iowa for several years, and was elected Professor of Political Economy in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy of the University of Pennsylvania in 1888.

Professor Patten holds, with the historical school in which he was educated, to the importance of the study of facts, but would make a large use of deductive reasoning. He considers progress possible only when the deductive and historical methods of research are properly combined.

He believes a protective policy the necessary outcome of the industrial conditions of this country, and that these conditions will not allow of any radical change of industrial policy in the immediate future.

He believes that a gold standard is not only desirable, but is also at the present time an industrial necessity. The use of silver, he thinks, should be restricted as carefully as that of paper money.

He considers that the evils due to natural monopolies are of so recent an origin that it is not yet possible to determine what policy is the best to control them, and has therefore no decided opinions on this subject.

His main writings are: *Premises of Political Economy* (1885); *The Stability of Prices* (1888); *The Consumption of Wealth* (1889); *The Principles of Taxation* (1889); *The Economic Basis of Protection* (1890); *The Decay of State and Local Governments* (1890); *Another View of the Ethics of Land Tenure* (1890); *Educational Value of Political Economy* (1890); *The Theory of Dynamic Economics* (1892); *The Interpretation of Ricardo* (1893); *The Scope of Political Economy* (1893).

PAUPERISM is the condition of the destitute who are more or less dependent upon the community for support.

For the causes of pauperism, see POVERTY, CAUSES OF; for the relief of pauperism, see ALMSHOUSES; CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS; DEPENDENT CHILDREN; UNEMPLOYMENT; POOR LAWS; SOCIALISM, etc.

In this article we consider simply the

STATISTICS OF PAUPERISM.

In the United States there are no official statistics of pauperism, save for the indoor paupers, or inmates of almshouses (*q. v.*), but these form but a small proportion of the whole number. Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Professor R. T. Ely, both estimate the total number of paupers in the United States in 1890 at 3,000,000. Says Pro-

fessor Ely (*North American Review*, April, 1891):

"While we may deplore the lack of careful statistical information concerning pauperism in this and other countries, there are certain facts which we do know. First of all is this fact: there exists in the United States an immense mass of pauperism. No one knows either how great this mass is, or whether it is relatively, or even absolutely, larger than in former times. Several States in the Union, as New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, publish statistics concerning the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes, but many of the States gather no statistics at all, or very inadequate ones. Such statistics as we have cannot well be brought together and compared, because they have not been collected in the same year in different States, nor have they been collected according to similar methods. The word pauper in one State means one thing, and in another State something else. For example, dependent children are in one place classed among the paupers, and in another place they are put in a category by themselves.

"The only authority competent to gather the facts which we ought to know for the whole country is the Federal Government, and it has attempted to do something in the various censuses. The census reports, however, have been heretofore incomplete and unsatisfactory, and during last year the praiseworthy attempt to gather most important social information has been at least partially frustrated by the senseless opposition of the newspapers. Mr. Frederick H. Wines, a high authority, was the special agent of the Tenth Census appointed to gather the statistics concerning the submerged tenth, and he reported altogether about half a million. This, however, is an underestimate. Only a little over 21,000 outdoor paupers were reported, whereas a single city undoubtedly has a larger number receiving public relief outside of public institutions. It is admitted in the report that the attempt to secure anything like a complete or adequate enumeration of them in the present census was a failure. 'The present census' means the census of 1880.

"At the sixteenth Conference of Charities and Correction, in Omaha, in 1889, the committee on reports from States expressed the opinion that it was safe to estimate the number of persons in the United States receiving outdoor relief at an average of 250,000 during the year, including at least 600,000 different persons. This same committee, including Messrs. F. B. Sanborn and H. H. Hart, did not regard 110,000 persons as an overestimate of the population of the almshouses of the country. Five States of the Union alone report nearly half that number. These are New York, with 19,500 inmates of almshouses; Pennsylvania, with 13,500; Massachusetts, with 9000; Ohio, with 8000; and Illinois, with 5000. These States, however, do not include much over one-third of the population of the country. Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the able and devoted secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society,

Number of Paupers.

has estimated that three millions of people in the United States were wholly or partially supported by alms during a recent year, and that the support received by this number was equal to the total support of half a million paupers during the entire year. This estimate is based upon such facts as he had been able to gather, and even a guess from one situated as he is has some weight.

"Reliable statistics make this estimate of 3,000,000 for the United States not at all improbable. Three millions of paupers would comprise less than 5 per cent. of the population, or 1 in 20, whereas in Cologne, in Germany, in 1781, 1 in 4 of the population was a pauper. In England, in 1863, 5½ per cent. of the population consisted of paupers. Turning to the United States, we find that over 10 per cent. of the people of Buffalo, N. Y., received alms in 1876. The Buffalo estimate includes merely the recipients of city alms, and there must have been a large additional number of recipients of private alms. There are always many recipients of private and secret alms in every community, and this unknown number must be added to the number of known paupers if we are to have a correct view of pauperism in the United States. All that we can do is to say from the facts which come under our individual observation that the total number of those who receive private and secret charitable aid must be very large. Every careful observer with an extensive acquaintance knows many persons in

every social class either wholly or partially supported by private charity. They are persons who truly belong to the dependent classes, unable to maintain themselves in the world of competition, but who never figure in reports of any society or public charitable institution.

"There are many ways of arriving at this estimate of 3,000,000 in the United States. We may first, in order to be careful not to overestimate the pauperism of the United States, suppose our population to be 60,000,000, instead of sixty-two and a quarter millions, as it really is. We may next divide the percentage of pauper population of Buffalo by one-half, giving us 5 per cent. If it be granted that this is a conservative estimate, we will have still 3,000,000 of paupers. An experienced worker among the dependent and delinquent classes in New York estimated five years ago that there were 220,000 alms-receivers in that city. Critics who question the reliability of the figures wish to cut them down one-half, but even that would have left nearly 10 per cent. of the population, giving New York twice its proper share, if the estimate of 3,000,000 for the country be correct. *The State Charities Record*, the organ of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, states that during the year ending October, 1888, nearly half a million people in the State of New York received public aid, which would give us at the same ratio for the entire country over 5,000,000, as New York contains less than one-tenth of the population. This New York estimate, however, does not include the inmates of jails, workhouses, etc., and those who receive charitable aid from other sources. It is stated that, if these were added, we should have at least three-quarters of a million in New York State dependent upon charity, showing that for the State of New York General Booth's expression, the 'submerged tenth,' is far from being an exaggeration.

"The number of paupers varies greatly from year to year, according to the general prosperity of the country and other causes, and even within the same year, according to the season. The estimate of 3,000,000 cannot be regarded as an extravagant one for the United States during hard times. We have, then, that number of persons who at some time or another are compelled to ask support which they will not or cannot obtain for themselves. If we should cut down this number to half a million, it would be sufficient to cause distress to every lover of his kind, and to justify inquiry into the nature of pauperism, its causes and its cure.

"Numerous estimates have been made of the direct and indirect cost of pauperism to this country. The direct pauper expenditures of the United States may be placed at twenty-five millions of dollars at least; indeed, this must be an underestimate, for New York State alone expends for charitable purposes through its various institutions over thirteen millions of

dollars. If we place the average number of persons in the country supported by charity at 500,000, and estimate the loss of productive power for each one of these at \$500 per year, we shall have an indirect loss of fifty millions of dollars to be added to the direct expenditures. One hundred millions of dollars a year must be regarded as a conservative estimate of the total direct and indirect pecuniary loss to the country on account of pauperism."

One of the reasons why there is so much uncertainty and often such discrepancies as to the amount of pauperism is that the word is used in such various ways. It is used in several different senses, with the result of greatly confusing statistics.

Concerning the indoor paupers or inmates of asylums, the Eleventh Census gives the following tables :

PAUPERS IN ALMHOUSES IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1890, CLASSED BY SEX AND BY ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.

ELEMENTS.	Aggregate.	Men.	Women.
The United States.....	73,045	40,741	32,304
White.....	66,578	37,387	29,191
Native.....	36,656	19,375	17,281
Both parents native.....	21,519	11,123	10,396
One parent foreign.....	949	538	411
Both parents foreign.....	3,580	2,176	1,404
One or both parents unknown.....	10,608	5,538	5,070
Foreign born.....	27,648	16,938	10,710
Birthplace unknown.....	2,274	1,074	1,200
Colored.....	6,467	3,354	3,113
Negroes.....	6,418	3,326	3,092
Chinese.....	13	12	1
Indians.....	36	16	20

NATIVITY.

ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.	PAUPERS.			PARENTS OF			NATIVITY OF PARENTS.		
	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Native.	Foreign born.	Unknown.
Total.....	66,578	37,387	29,191	133,156	74,774	58,382	45,215	63,587	24,354
Native, both parents native.....	21,519	11,123	10,396	43,038	22,246	20,792	43,038	....	....
Native, one parent foreign.....	949	538	411	1,808	1,076	822	949	949	....
Native, both parents foreign.....	3,580	2,176	1,404	7,160	4,352	2,808	....	7,160	....
Native, one or both parents unknown.....	10,608	5,538	5,070	21,216	11,076	10,140	1,228	182	19,806
Foreign born.....	27,648	16,938	10,710	55,296	33,876	21,420	....	55,296	....
Birthplace unknown.....	2,274	1,074	1,200	4,548	2,148	2,400	....	....	4,548

Taking into account only the 108,802 parents whose nativity is known, 41.56 per cent. of the white inmates of almshouses in the United States (men and women) is of the native white element and 58.44 per cent. is of the foreign element.

The actual nationalities of the 63,587 foreign parents of American paupers and the number of each nationality are given in the ensuing table, in which they are classed according to the elements of the population :

BIRTHPLACE OF FOREIGN PARENTS.

BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS.	PAUPERS CLASSED BY ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.				
	Total Parents.	Foreign Born.	Parents Foreign.	One Parent Foreign.	One or Both Parents Unknown.
Total.....	63,587	55,296	7,160	949	182
Africa.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Arabia.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Australia.....	16	16	.....	.....	.....
Austria.....	190	190	.....	.....	.....
Azore Islands...	7	6	.....	1	.....
Bavaria.....	20	18	2	.....	.....
Belgium.....	80	62	15	2	1
Bermuda.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Bohemia.....	348	340	8	.....	.....
British Guiana...	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Canada, English.	2,012	1,630	262	100	20
Canada, French.	249	218	15	8	8
Central America.	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Chile.....	62	62	.....	.....	.....
China.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Corsica.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Cuba.....	12	10	2	.....	.....
Denmark.....	241	228	5	8	.....
East Indies.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
England.....	4,688	3,912	579	174	23
Europe.....	10	10	.....	.....	.....
Finland.....	84	82	2	.....	.....
France.....	973	820	115	33	5
Germany.....	15,629	13,546	1,895	156	32
Greece.....	4	2	2	.....	.....
Haiti.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Holland.....	309	276	27	4	2
Hungary.....	108	98	9	.....	1
Iceland.....	3	2	.....	.....	1
Ireland.....	32,421	28,256	3,758	345	62
Isle of Malta.....	8	8	.....	.....	.....
Isle of Man.....	17	12	5	.....	.....
Isle of St. Helena	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Italy.....	317	290	23	3	1
Lapland.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Mexico.....	103	84	7	11	1
Moravia.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
New South Wales	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Norway.....	797	738	57	1	1
Peru.....	6	6	.....	.....	.....
Poland.....	476	438	36	1	1
Portugal.....	55	54	.....	1	.....
Prussia.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Roumania.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Russia.....	136	128	6	1	1
Sandwich Islands	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Saxony.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Scotland.....	1,392	1,150	158	75	9
South America...	40	38	2	.....	.....
South Australia..	2	2	.....	.....	.....
Spain.....	32	28	1	2	1
Sweden.....	1,368	1,202	65	7	4
Switzerland.....	64	618	32	4	.....
Syria.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....
Turkey.....	4	4	.....	.....	.....
Wales.....	592	512	68	8	2
Western Islands.	2	2	.....	.....	.....
West Indies.....	12	10	1	.....	1
At Sea.....	61	50	3	3	5

tion whether pauperism is on the increase in the United States or not, and concerning the cost of pauperism, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn writes in *The Kingdom* for August 23, 1895:

"Taking the country through, and with relation to the gain in population, pauperism is not increasing—that is, there were as many of the public poor 50 years ago in the States then free, in proportion to the whole number of free inhabitants, as there are now. In the old slave States, where slavery took the place of pauperism, in some degree there has been an increase of paupers since emancipation, but not enough to overbalance the comparative decline of pauperism in the North and West since 1870.

"I say this with confidence, because such is the result of my observation and researches for the past 30 years, during which time I have studied the subject by the best light attainable, and for more than 20 years of which I was actively engaged as a State official in the charities of Massachusetts. It is not, however, by means of the national census, with all its cost and parade of tables, that this or any other safe result can be reached. A whimsical inconsistency, a perverse unreason, has attended the efforts (often considerable and well meant) of the Census Bureau to gather the facts of American pauperism. Probably the earlier censuses in which this was attempted (from 1850 onward) were comparatively more exact than the later ones, for the question had not then become so complicated as it has been since 1870. The multiplicity of charitable agencies, and the gradual separation of the poor into various subdivisions—the insane, the sick, the idiotic, the young children, the aged poor, etc.—have so confused the Federal enumerators and tabulators that their final results have been ludicrously inaccurate of late years. Even the larger States, after many years' experience in collecting the facts, do not always come very near the full aggregate of this much-divided pauper class. Add to this that the laws of the 44 States make different distinctions as to who is a pauper, and who is not, and it will be seen that the task of collecting exact statistics is not an easy one.

"No attempt is made to enumerate the poor who receive what is called 'outdoor relief,' the census-takers giving that up as hopeless. Indeed, it is difficult, but not impossible, at least by careful estimate, which would be better than the blundering positiveness of the table cited. In 1889, from the returns made by many States to the National Conference of Charities, revised by official documents, I estimated the number receiving outdoor relief in the United States at a given date as 250,000, and their cost at \$10,000,000. This would allow a little less than 80 cents a week to each. The average in Massachusetts was 84 cents; in New Hampshire more; in other States it varied, but on the whole, could not have been much less than 80 cents. At the time of the panic of 1893-94, the sum expended rose above \$16,000,000; it has fallen again to perhaps \$15,000,000. But for our lavish pension payments the outdoor relief would very likely rise to \$20,000,000 a year, or 28 cents per capita for our whole population of 70,000,000.

"I think the outdoor aid for the nation exceeds the sum paid for full support, not including that for the insane poor. In New Hampshire it is as \$200,000 to \$150,000; in Massachusetts as \$1,200,000 to \$1,300,000; in some States it is no more than a third of the full support; but in others (the majority in numbers if not in population), more than two-thirds of the poor-law outlay is for outdoor-relief. In the whole country probably \$25,000,000 is now paid for full support (indoor relief), including that expended for children in public homes, the insane poor in asylums, idiots, and the sick in public or publicly aided hospitals. These estimates amount to \$40,000,000 as the cost of pauperism in a year; it may even rise to \$45,000,000."

GREAT BRITAIN.

The paupers in actual receipt of public relief in Great Britain on one day number more than a million:

England and Wales, 1st of January, 1893.....	776,458	cost £ 8,847,678
Scotland, 14th of January, 1893,	193,496	" 912,838
Ireland, 8th of January, 1893,	102,865	" 1,054,514

1,072,819 £10,815,030

(Report of Local Government Board, England and Wales; Report of Board for Supervision of Poor,

The total number of indoor paupers reported in 1880 was 66,203, but see ASYLUMS concerning the ques-

Scotland; *Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, and Statistical Abstract, 1893, C—7143.*)

But the relief is not usually given permanently; to obtain the number of different individuals who receive relief during a year, we must multiply the daily number by 2.3. (This is the latest computation given in Mr. Charles Booth's paper before the Statistical Society, December, 1891. See also his *Pauperism, a Picture; and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument.*) This gives a pauper class during any one year of about 2,460,000 persons, or 1 in 11 of the manual-labor class. In some rural districts every aged laborer is a pauper.

The maintenance of these paupers cost £10,815,030 per annum. But in addition to this public expenditure, the various charitable societies spend £10,040,000 annually (Mr. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 112), and the charity of individuals is known to be enormous. The numbers of the destitute class must therefore be largely increased. Mr. R. Giffen talks of the class of 5,000,000 "whose existence is a stain on our civilization" (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii. p. 350). It is the lot of at least 1 of 5 of the manual-labor class—of 16 in every 100 of the whole population—to belong to this class.

As regards the 4,000,000 of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,670, or 0.9 per cent., are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent., in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want); 938,203, or 22.3 per cent., form "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory (*Labor and Life of the People of London* (Macmillan, 1892, 1896, 7 vols.), edited by Charles Booth, 1891. Vol. ii., pp. 20-21).

The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In London alone, in 1892, no less than 31 persons, of whom 13 were 50 years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation (C—476). Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well-known that many thousands of deaths are directly due to long-continued under-feeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

The average number of persons in London whose home is the "common lodging-house" is over 30,000; over 1100 are every night found in the "casual wards."

In London 1 person in every 5 will die in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. In 1892, out of 86,833 deaths, 48,061 being 20 years of age and upward, 12,713 were in workhouses, 7707 in hospitals, and 471 in lunatic asylums, or altogether 20,831 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1892, C—7238, pp. 2, 72, and 96). The percentage in 1887 was 20.7 of the total deaths; in 1888 it rose to 22.2, in 1891 to 24.2, and in 1892 it was 23.9.

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In 1890-91, out of 175,852 inmates of workhouses (one-third being children, and another third women) no fewer than 14,808 have been members of benefit societies. In 4593 cases the society had broken up, usually from insolvency (House of Commons Return, 1891, Nos. 366 and 130—B). Considering that comparatively few of the inmates are children, it is probable that 1 in every 3 London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual-labor class" must of course be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of out-door relief is not included in this calculation. As in 1892-93 the mean number of out-door paupers in the metropolis was 47,472 (C—7180, p. 266), and the average death-rate in London in 1892 was 20.3 per 1000, it may be assumed that at least 950 persons died while in receipt of out-door relief—often from its being insufficient.

In England and Wales in 1892, 66,424 deaths were registered as having taken place in workhouses, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, or 11.9 per cent. of the total deaths. Of these, 39,748 occurred in workhouses, 20,440 in hospitals, and 6236 in lunatic asylums.

The following statistics for different countries are gathered from *The Statesman's New Year Book* (1895):

	Number of Paupers.	Expenditure.
England and Wales (1894)	812,441	\$46,085,570
Scotland (1894).....	95,668	4,632,720
Ireland (1894).....	104,931	5,196,150
Great Britain and Ireland.....	1,011,540	55,914,440
France (1888).....	1,647,720	7,178,666
Germany (1885).....	1,592,386	.....
Italy (1880).....	.....	17,934,661
Austria (1891).....	310,645	.....
Belgium (1892).....	3,564	181,220

Exclusive of vagrants and casual poor.

References: For the United States, *Census Reports, Reports of State Boards of Charities, Reports of the National Conferences of Charities and Corrections*, 21 vols. (Ellis, Boston, 1874-95); A. G. Warner's *American Charities* (Crowell, 1895); H. M. Boies' *Prisoners and Paupers* (Putnam's, 1893). Europe, Charles Booth's *Labor and Life of the People of London* (Macmillan, 1892, 1896, 7 vols.); also, *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age* (Macmillan, 1892); *Government Reports, Census*, etc.; A. Emminghaus' *Poor Relief in Different Countries* (translated from the German; Stanford, London, 1873). A full bibliography is given in Warner's *American Charities*. (See also POVERTY, etc.)

PAWN-SHOPS, MUNICIPAL.—The need of reliable pawn-shops, where, at low rates, the poor can borrow money, is, under present social conditions, admitted by almost all. In the United States some efforts in this direction have been made by private charitable organizations. In 1894 Rev. Dr. Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's Protestant Episcopal Church in New York City, started an admirable pawnshop in connection with his parish, and out of this has grown the larger movement of a Provident Loan Society. The work of the European *Mont-de-Piété* (q. v.) is well known. In general, however, on the continent of Europe, pawn-shops are now conducted by municipalities, and the proposal to establish such municipal pawn-shops in England and America has many advocates.

Mr. Robert Donald, editor of *London*, gives in the *New Review* for December, 1894, a cogent plea for municipal pawn-shops. He says: "The following shows the different treatment extended to poor borrowers in the leading capitals of Europe. A loan of 25. *sd.* for one week pays interest per annum as follows: Paris, 0; Madrid, 6; Brussels, 7; Berlin, 12; London, 260."

The extent to which the poor of London are plundered by the pawn-shops justifies Mr. Donald's plea for improvement. This, he thinks, can best be done by putting all the pawn-shops under the municipality. He says: "There are many reasons why pawn-shops would be more economically managed under municipal control than under private ownership. There would be a decided advantage in having branches all over the city. Valuable articles pledged in one quarter would pay for small loans in poor districts. The smallest pawns do not pay the pawnbroker, even altho he does charge his 100 per cent. Supervision would not be less expensive under the County Council than at present. The officers would require to be well paid, as the success of the institution would mainly depend on their loyalty to the system and their method of valuation. There would be considerable scope for economy in the matter of rent. It would not be necessary to have anything like six hundred pawnshops."

According to an article by E. F. Baldwin in *The Outlook* for August 3, 1895, the English Government has been seriously considering the adoption of such a system, and to that end Lord Kimberley recently addressed a circular to her Majesty's representatives

abroad, and received from them reports on the system of pawnbroking which obtains in the countries where they reside.

From them we learn, according to the writer, that in Germany pawnbroking is conducted by the State, by the Gemeinde (parish), or by private persons under State supervision. The Berlin *Königliches Leihamt* is under the protection of the German Reichbank, which advanced the necessary funds. The pawn-shop usually advances on two-thirds of the estimated value of household goods, four-fifths on silver, and five-sixths on gold. During the year 1893, the sum of \$1,200,000 was lent on about 220,000 pledges. After payment of all administrative expenses and interest on capital, there remained a net surplus of over \$70,000, which was placed to the account of the reserve fund, and of which the interest is devoted to a charitable institution. Under the State system the interest on loans is 12 per cent., while under private management it is either 12 or 24 per cent., according to the amount of the loan. Under both systems the loan is contracted for six months; under the first, six months' grace is allowed, while under the second four weeks only. The State pawn-office is used by the middle rather than by the very poorest classes. Artisans and tradesmen head the list, widows and unmarried women follow, while day-laborers and factory workmen occupy the third place.

In Austro-Hungary there exists a system of *Ver-satzämter*, usually under the control of the municipalities, but more or less under the control of the State also. The prototype of them all is the so-called Imperial Pawn-office of Vienna, founded like any other charitable institution and intended solely as such. The Minister of the Interior nominates the officials and sanctions any important matter connected with the management. The original advances have not been paid off; the Imperial Pawn-office is entirely independent, and is annually adding to its cash capital from its own profits. The interest charged is at the uniform rate of 10 per cent. In 1893 the Vienna office received over 860,000 articles, for which it advanced \$2,100,000.

Italy is the home of the pawn-shop, since Savonarola is supposed to have established the first one. The Italian system does not allow loans on pledges to be granted for less than one lira (20 cents) or for more than 1000 lire. The advances on gold, silver, jewels, and other articles are in the same proportions as in Germany. Interest is charged at the annual rate of 5 per cent. for loans of from five to ten lire. On loans of from 10 to 20 lire the rate is 6 per cent., and on those above that figure 7 per cent. Besides interest, a charge of 1 per cent. is levied on the pawn-ticket when the loan is granted, but loans not exceeding 10 lire are exempt from this charge. Loans are granted for six months, with the power of renewal for a further six months. A special regulation permits renewals from six months to six months for a period of five years.

In France pawnbroking is now a municipal monopoly. In most instances it is created by the local authority and regulated by the State.

Private pawnbroking no longer legally exists, tho there are many *Marchands*

In Europe. *de Reconnaissances* who purchase pawn-tickets and resell them to the original holders with a profit of one franc a month for every ten francs in advance! The French *Monts-de-Piété* are, as a rule, self-supporting; the profits made on the larger transactions paying for the loss incurred on the smaller. It is said that advances from 60 cents to \$4.50 may be classed as unprofitable operations. Advances from \$4.50 to \$17 are profitable or not, according to the period during which they remain in pawn. Beyond this sum operations are always profitable. The pawn-shops are placed under the control of the local authorities; the Mayor of the town being *ex-officio* the President of the administration. Being called charitable institutions, they are as such exempt from stamp duties, and, further, when requiring funds are allowed to issue bonds. They are now empowered to make advances on public securities which are made payable to bearer, an average of two-thirds of the value being given. The rate is 6 per cent. This feature is of great benefit to the poorer classes, with whom investments in these securities are most popular. When necessary, they are thus enabled to pawn their small savings, instead of to part with them altogether. The newest use of the French *Monts-de-Piété* has been that of a storage-room for bicycles. Many riders have found it desirable to pawn their machines in the autumn, and to take them out again in the spring. At the head of the Paris pawn-shop is a Director, who is himself under the control of a Com-

mittee comprised of the Prefect of the Seine, the Prefect of Police, three members of the Municipal Council, three members of the *Assistance Publique*, and an equal number of citizens. The funds are derived from money invested by the public in *Mont-de-Piété* bonds, from the revenue from interest charged to loans, from interest on its superfluous funds, and from pecuniary guarantees required by statute from its functionaries. The minimum advance on pledges is three francs (60 cents); for the maximum there is virtually no limit. The duration of the loan is for one year, but after the expiration of this period the pawner is allowed a renewal. Interest at the rate of 3 per cent. is charged on the sum lent, and 3 per cent. for expenses in connection with the management, insurance, etc. A further tax of 1 per cent. is also levied on the full value of all pledges, thus making the total 7 per cent. Pledges which have not been renewed or redeemed within the course of a year are liable to be sold at public auction in the thirtieth month. In 1893, 1,300,000 articles were pawned, 1,200,000 redeemed, 800,000 renewed, and 200,000 sold. The surplus (\$70,000) was handed over to the hospitals of Paris. Statistics show that about one-fourth of the articles pawned undergo renewal, while only one-eighth come to be sold.

In Spain the system is connected with that of a savings-bank. The pawn-shop advances money at 6 per cent. a year, and depositors in the savings-bank are assured an annual income of 4 per cent., which is capitalized at the end of each year. This joint institution is under the protection of the Minister of the Interior. The general administration is under the supervision of a General Council, consisting of 30 members (appointed by the Government), whose services are entirely honorary and gratuitous. At the pawn-shop in 1893, the number of loans effected and renewed was about 175,000; the amount advanced was over \$2,000,000. The object is to advance money at 6 per cent. a year, which is recovered, together with the capital, at fixed periods—namely, for advances on jewels and plate, one year; clothing, etc., six months; and advances made on the guarantee of Government securities, four months. Deposits in the savings-bank are received both Sundays and week-days. Sums less than one peseta (20 cents) are not received as a first deposit. Every depositor may draw out the total amount, or a portion of the sum deposited, by giving notice to the administration. The money is usually paid within a week, but payment may be deferred for a period as long as five weeks if deemed advisable, thus avoiding the danger of a run on the institution. While the savings-bank pays interest at the rate of 4 per cent., the pawn-shop takes charge of the funds of the savings-bank, paying the bank interest at the rate of 5 per cent.; it then makes advances of the said funds for the security of articles pledged, charging interest at the rate of 6 per cent. Each institution thus makes a profit of 1 per cent., sufficient to pay expenses and to increase the capital. They have met all requirements and increased their capital without any assistance from the Commune, the Province, or the State. Hence the savings of the poorer classes, yielding them interest of 4 per cent., form the means of assisting the still poorer and perhaps more improvident classes, who can borrow at the rate of 6 per cent. a year, or one-half of 1 per cent. a month.

The reports include in addition those from Brussels, The Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, Berne, Lisbon, and Washington. The last of these tells us nothing new. There are no Federal laws in the United States in regard to pawnbroking, each State having its own regulations. The States in which most attention has been given to this question are those of New York and Massachusetts.

PEABODY, GEORGE, D. C. L., was born at South Danvers, Mass., 1795, received little education, and entered a store as clerk at an early age. In 1814 he began a dry-goods business in Georgetown, D. C., as partner with Elisha Riggs. He later had establishments in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1829 Peabody became head of the firm; in 1837 he removed to England; in 1843 he withdrew from the old firm of Peabody, Riggs & Co., and established a banking-house. He became very rich, and gave away large sums of money. His gifts, in all, amounted to about \$7,000,000. He declined a baronetcy which the

Queen offered him. The freedom of the City of London was given to him, and his statue placed in the Royal Exchange in 1869. He died in London, November 4, 1869.

One of the chief benefactions of George Peabody was the gift of \$2,500,000 to provide dwellings and lodging-houses for the poor of London. Of this £350,000 was given during his life, and £150,000 in 1873 by bequest. The fund was in the form of a trust, and is in care of a secretary and six trustees, one of whom is the United States Minister to England. Their annual report for 1890 is an interesting document and proves beyond question the wisdom of Mr. Peabody and the value of a good gift wisely bestowed. The fund which in 1873 was £500,000 has grown by the addition of rents and interest to a total of £1,023,446. The land and buildings under the care of the trust are valued at £7,233,845. Up to the end of the year there had been furnished to the artisan and laboring poor of London 5071 dwellings, 75 having four rooms, 1789 three rooms, 2401 two rooms, and 806 one room. The average rent of each dwelling was 4s. 9½d. per week, and of each room 2s. 1¾d.; the rent in all cases including the free use of water, laundries, sculleries, and bath-rooms. The highest rent charged is 7s. 6d. for some of the 4-room dwellings. The dwellings are not in a group, but are scattered over the city, apparently being placed where they will do the most good. That the plan of cheap dwellings contributes to the health as well as to the comfort of the poor appears from a glance at the vital statistics. The death-rate last year was 21.15 per 1000, or .85 per 1000 above the average for all London, but this was exceptional, the cause being an epidemic which last spring visited the sections where some of the dwellings are located. The infant mortality was 141.22 per 1000, or 21.37 below that of all London. The births were 38.49 per 1000; 9.41 above the London record. The trustees' report also gives the employment of each tenant, and the list covers nearly 100 trades and occupations from expert artisans to unskilled laborers.

PEACE UNION. See INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

PEASANT REVOLT (1377-1381). An uprising of the English peasantry under the leadership of Wat Tyler (*q. v.*), Jack Straw, and the priest, John Ball (*q. v.*). The immediate cause of the revolt was the imposition of an unjust poll-tax, which was to be exacted equally from the poorest as well as the richest; but many other influences had prepared the way for an outbreak. The teachings of John Wyclif and his "poor priests" had very largely emancipated the minds of the laboring classes from the unjust authority of Church and king. John Ball (*q. v.*), called by the rich "the mad priest," had for years been circulating his leveling doctrine: "When Adam delved, and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" In 1348 the Black Death had swept over England, carrying off more than half its population, and being especially severe among the poorer classes. As a result there was great scarcity of laborers, and for the first time they found themselves masters of the situation. The demand for workers was twice as large as the supply, and they soon began to reap the benefits of this condition of things. The villeins suddenly became conscious of their strength, and even dared to oppose their masters. The lords and landowners, then as now, at once called for the aid of the law, and enacted what is known as "The Statute of Laborers." This provided that no laboring man or woman, whether bond or free, should leave the parish in which he or she lived, and should receive the same wages as before the Black Death. All the lawyers in

the country were set to work undoing the movement of emancipation which had been in progress before the plague. It was found impossible to enforce the Statute of Laborers, for men were at this time too scarce and valuable to be put to death or imprisoned, and too poor to pay the fines levied upon them. However, oppression followed oppression until the poll-tax, in 1377, forced the exasperated peasantry to arms (June, 1381). The revolt spread like wild-fire over the country, and for a time the peasants carried everything before them, burning the records of their serfdom, and killing every lawyer who fell into their hands. The poorer artisans of London opened to them the gates of that city. They destroyed the palace of John of Gaunt and the houses of the wealthy; they burst into the Tower and beheaded the Bishop of Canterbury, but abstained from plunder, calling themselves "seekers of truth and justice, not thieves or robbers." They were finally met by the boy-king, Richard II., who promised to free them and their lands forever, and called himself their leader. They believed his promises and gradually dispersed, the assassination of their leader, Tyler, seeming to deprive them of unity and decision. The king then gathered a large army and marched through the land, ruthlessly executing hundreds of the working people and their leaders, and declaring his promises null and void. In this he was supported by the Parliament, which was composed of landowners. The peasants' revolt was, nevertheless, not a failure. It created a healthy respect and fear for the might of united and indignant serfs, and struck feudalism its death-blow. During the century and a half after the revolt, villeinage died out so rapidly that it soon became a rare and antiquated thing. Sixty years after a working man's wages commanded twice the amount of the necessaries of life which could have been obtained under Edward III.; while one hundred years after came what is usually called the "Golden Age" of English labor.

References: Knight's *Popular History of England*, vol. ii. chap. i.; Rogers' *Work and Wages*, chap. ix., and Ashley's *English Economic History*, pt. ii. chap. iv., for opposing views.

PEASANTS' WAR, THE, is the name usually given to the revolutionary uprising of the peasants of Southern and Central Germany in 1525. The miserable condition of the German serfs, the appropriation of the common pasture lands by the lords, the refusal of the lords to let their tenants fish in the streams or hunt in the woods, the increase of ground-rent, of sottage service, and of tithes, had led to small uprisings in Germany, all through the later Middle Ages. The *Bundschuh* (the shoe), which had been universally adopted as the symbol of these uprisings, had become known through all Germany; yet the revolts had been weak and easily put down. When, however, the Reformation gave the people a new impetus and a new hope, the peasants thought that now was their opportunity. They even at first looked to Luther to lead them. They plead the communistic practises and principles of early Christianity. The peasants

rose with religious zeal. The 12 principles they formulated show this. They were (1) the right of the peasantry to appoint their own preachers, who were to be allowed to preach the word of God from the Bible. (2) That the dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, with the exception of the tithes ordained by God for the maintenance of the clergy, the surplus of which was to be applied to general purposes, and to the maintenance of the poor. (3) The abolition of vassalage as iniquitous. (4) The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling. (5) That of cutting wood in the forests. (6) The modification of socage and average service. (7) That the peasant should be guaranteed protection from the caprice of his lord by a fixed agreement. (8) The modification of the rent upon feudal lands by which a part of the profit should be secured to the occupant. (9) The administration of justice according to the ancient laws, not according to the new statutes and to caprice. (10) The restoration of communal property illegally seized. (11) The abolition of dues on the death of the serf, by which the widows and orphans were deprived of their right. (12) The acceptance of the aforesaid articles, or their refutation as contrary to the Scriptures. Karlstadt and some of the Reformers joined the peasants. Luther, Melancthon, and others denounced them. Münzer accused Luther "of deserting the cause of liberty and of rendering the Reformation a fresh advantage for the princes, a fresh means of tyranny." The uprising began in Upper Suabia in the autumn of 1524, and gradually spread. When the convent of Kempten was captured by the peasants, January 1, 1525, the uprising became general from the Alps to the Hartz, and from the Rhine to Bohemia. With the exception of Thomas Münzer (*q. v.*) and Götz von Berlichingen, a notorious robber knight, the peasants had no leaders. They simply gathered in large masses of from 8000 to 30,000 men. They captured and plundered castles and monasteries, often with great cruelty. As soon, however, as they met disciplined armies, in the south under Truchsess von Waldburg, and in the north under Philip of Hesse, they were defeated. The peasants captured Waldburg, but could not hold it. The insurrection of Münzer, the prophet of the Anabaptists (*q. v.*) in Thuringia, broke out later in 1525, but in a few months all was over. The peasants were put down and punished with terrible cruelty. The whole country became one scene of devastation; even young children were cast "as Lutheran dogs" to the flames.

References: Cornelius' *Studien zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs* (1862); Schreiber *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg* (1864); Menzel's *History of Germany* (translation, 1853).

PEASE, EDWARD R., was born at Bristol, England, in 1857. His parents were Quakers, and his education was conducted by a private tutor. He was intended by his parents for a commercial occupation. He became a stock-broker in London; but led by the study of social conditions and principles, he gave up this position in 1886, and became an appren-

tice to the cabinet-making trade in a cooperative company, spending his spare time in studying labor questions, economics, and socialism. In 1883 he was one of the most active in organizing the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), the first meetings being held in his rooms, and in 1886 he became for a time its secretary. He traveled later in the United States, but returned to England, and became a member of the Alliance Cabinet-makers' Trade Union, the secretary of the National Labor Federation, and a most active worker in labor organization and reform. In 1890 Mr. Pease became paid secretary of the Fabian Society, and has remained so till the present. The work of the society had become so extensive as to oblige him to devote all his time to its interests. Besides his arduous work of secretaryship he is editor of the *Fabian News*. Both he and his clever wife, Marjory Davidson, are active members of the Society of the Friends of Russian Freedom, Mr. Pease acting for a time as its secretary. He was the delegate of the Fabian Society at the International Socialist Congress at Brussels. His home is at Limpsfield, Surrey.

PEFFER, WILLIAM ALFRED, of Topeka, Kans., United States senator, was born on a farm in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, in 1831. At the age of 15 he began to teach school—taught during the winter and farmed during the summer. He took up land in Indiana in 1853; six years later left for Missouri, and in 1862 removed to Illinois because of the war, and enlisted as a private in the Eighty-third Illinois Infantry; was promoted in 1863 to second lieutenant, and served in various official positions. Mr. Peffer studied law in odd hours during the war, and when he was mustered out of service, in 1865, he began the practice of law at Clarksville, Tenn. Five years afterward he removed to Kansas, practised law, and established and conducted two newspapers—the *Fredonia Journal* and *Coffeyville Journal*. In 1874 he was elected to the State senate; and served as chairman of the joint centennial committee, a member of judiciary, and chairman of the committee on corporations. He was a Republican presidential elector in 1880. A year later he became editor of *The Kansas Farmer*, and began to give special attention to the condition of the agriculturalists of that State. As a result of his inquiry he became one of the leaders of the Populist movement; and was elected to the United States Senate as a member of the People's Party in 1891. Mr. Peffer has continued to be one of the foremost advocates of the Populist movement. In 1893 he instituted an inquiry as to whether the banks were complying with the requirements of the Government.

PENAL COLONIES. See **PENOLGY**.

PENITENTIARIES. See **PRISONS**.

PENOLGY is the science of the treatment of criminals. (See **CRIMINOLOGY**. For the statistics of crime, see **CRIME**; for the general subject of crime, see **CRIMINOLOGY**; for statistics as to prisons and prisoners, see

PRISONS; for various other subjects, see CONVICT LABOR, ELMIRA REFORMATORY, JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.) We consider in this article only the history of and views held to-day as to the treatment of prisoners; the article being largely abridged from the historical notes in the second annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor (1886).

FORMER TIMES.

There seems to have come down to us less positive information concerning the prison system of the ancients than concerning any other portion of their domestic and public economy. This is doubtless owing in large measure to the division of all society, among all the early peoples, into two classes—slave and free; the former the larger, numerically. The free men, the independent classes, were few in number, and arrogated all power and property. There was no convict class in the modern sense of the words, but such as it was it was recruited from such socially and legally degraded multitudes as are not now found in European and American civilization. There is no proper analogy, therefore, between ancient and modern penal laws or ancient and modern methods of employing criminals at work. And there is still less foundation for a rational comparison of the respective theories or principles whence those laws of systems have sprung. In the ancient world—in every varied civilization which preceded the fall of the Roman world-empire in its Italian birthplace in 475 A. D. and even till the death of its eastern half at Constantinople, in 1453 A. D.—vengeance was the root of all punishment; retaliation was the basis of all legislation regarding it. The wrong-doer, originally the enemy of the man wronged, came, in the course of time, to be considered the enemy of the tribe or nation also, that is, the enemy of society. Therefore he was tortured or killed, or made to pay a compensating fine. If he could not do the latter he would probably be imprisoned; but more often he was made a slave. Prisons were scarce, dungeons were commoner, but neither were used when death, scourging, or enslavement was feasible. Such few of the upper classes—who did not do any work apart from that of a political or professional nature, or that involved in court attendance or the management of invested property—as were unfortunate enough to have to incur punishment, frequently suffered much from the nature of their imprisonment, but were not forced to work. Labor was for slaves and menials alone, whether in prison or out.

The following account of forced labor in mines, from Wilkinson, mainly translated from Diodorus Siculus, probably gives a truthful picture of what existed in other ancient countries as well as in Egypt:

The historian states that those who worked in the mines were principally captives taken in war, and men condemned to hard labor for crimes, or in consequence of offenses against the Government. They were bound in fetters and obliged to work night and day; every chance of escape being carefully obviated by the watchfulness of the guards, who, in order that persuasion might not be used to induce them to relax in their duty, or feelings of compassion be excited for the sufferings of their fellow-countrymen, were foreign soldiers, ignorant of the Egyptian language.

The Roman Empire shows us somewhat of the transition to the modern treatment of the prisoner, tho slavery was still the basis. To be sold into slavery, and therefore to labor of some kind, was the main punishment. By the law of the Twelve Tables, afterward repealed, the debtor could be sold to the "foreigner beyond the Tiber." Under the republic and later, the poor plebeian *cliens*, in debt to his patrician *patronus*,

became practically the latter's slave, by process of law, to pay his debt. The *paterfamilias*, as before noted, could sell his children into slavery. Under the empire slavery—always carrying civil death—was the punishment of the citizen who refused his name for the lists of the *ensor* or sought in any way to avoid military service. Augustus once revived an old law of the republic in order to sell into slavery a Roman knight who had rendered his two boys unfit for military service by cutting their thumbs. Thus slavery as a punishment took the place in a certain way of the modern system of punishment at labor.

A punishment similar to that of the reduction to

slavery, and in more common use, was condemnation to the mines—in *metallum*, in *opus metalli*. This involved loss of citizenship and was generally for life. Women so sentenced were commonly employed to assist in the lighter parts of the work—in *ministerium metallicorum*. Slaves so sentenced no longer belonged to the master. Convicts of this class were always transported to a foreign province. Spain was the chief penal colony, and the famous silver mines at New Carthage are said to have contained 40,000 of these slaves (including the criminal class), who were treated with great severity. From their labor the Government derived large profit. A sentence of a like kind, also involving the loss of civil rights, was that to the public works—in *opus publicum*; it resembled the *bagnes* of France and the *presidios* of Spain, and was undoubtedly their prototype. It appears to have embraced all kinds of labor upon fortification, roads, and harbors, and in the galleys. It was not visited upon patricians nor upon slaves, but only upon the ordinary body of citizens—the idle and vicious Roman mob.

One of the commonest punishments, next to tortures and whippings, was confinement in the *ergastulum*, or *pistrinum*, dark and gloomy cells. There were said to have been public *ergastula* also, which were probably merely dungeons. Most of these *ergastula*, however, were loathsome underground dungeons on the country estates, where refractory slaves were confined at night, loaded with chains, working the fields in the daytime, also in chains.

Of prisons properly so named, aside from the *ergastula* and *pistrina*,—the dungeons and cells of the patrician household,—there is little information. At Rome the *carceres*, called Mamertine and Tullian, were one great dungeon in two tiers, mostly underground. Its two parts were built at different eras. It was without light or ventilation, abounding in filth, and reeking with horrible odors. But no work was or could be done in it. There were other similar dungeons at Rome and throughout the provinces. The Roman prisons, like the prisons of all their predecessors and contemporaries in history, were simply places of brief detention or torture. Their principal punishments for offenses not deserving death or slavery were also those of the rest of the ancient world, namely, whippings, tortures, mutilations, fines, etc.; and as the class to whom these penalties were meted out was principally the unlucky slaves, the individual master, not the State, adjudged them and enforced them.

In the prison systems of the Middle Ages we find the Roman system, mingling with the Germanic, slowly modified by the humanizing influences of Christianity, and then growing into a system of torture as Christianity became dehumanized in the institution of the Inquisition.

The Middle Ages.

In the time of Tacitus, the German slaves seem to have been composed chiefly of prisoners of war or persons condemned to slavery as a punishment for crime.

At quite an early period, however, the payment of a composition, afterward called the *wergeld*, became one of the principal methods of expiating crime. The amount of this composition depended on the social importance of the family injured, and a person committing a murder was allowed to purge himself of the crime by making a pecuniary composition satisfactory to the family of the deceased. Later this was accompanied by another fine, called *fredum*, which was paid to the State.

The settlement by composition was general, since nearly all crimes were considered as private injuries.

Only two offenses were accounted crimes against society in the time of Tacitus, and as such punished by death; the one, treason and desertion to the enemy; the other, cowardice and a secret offense against decency which modern laws leave unpunished.

However, the Christian religion, very soon after its establishment and recognition, began to exercise great influence on the criminal codes of Europe.

The new religion instituted three ideas regarding the treatment of criminals, which were new to all the world: Firstly, expiation instead of vengeance; secondly, a gradation of penalties or penances suited to the various grades of crimes; thirdly, the reformation of the offender.

Never was the authority of the Church over temporal society greater than from the sixth to the tenth century.

Having acquired great influence in the legislative and judicial assemblies by means of intellectual superiority, the priesthood always inclined the balance in favor of justice for all, of equality before the law;

and, if it was at all partial, it would be toward the poor, the weak, and the defenseless.

In its own punishments it imposed rigorous penances, it is true, but temporary in character, even for the greatest criminals. In the establishment and administration of these penalties it occupied itself first with the reclamation of the sinners; the protection of society and the maintenance of public order were, for it, interests of only secondary importance.

In the following period a reaction is manifested against the insufficiency of the guarantees which such a régime gives to a society agitated by so many troubles and disorders. Feudalism, which about the eleventh and twelfth centuries begins to dominate all European nations, even to their Oriental colonies in Palestine, bases itself, on the contrary, upon the principle of material force and intimidation.

Throughout the period of the existence of the feudal system in its strength it is, perhaps, vain to search for precedents of the employment of convict labor; for during the prevalence of this system, when each petty feudal lord held his own little court, and tried his vassal in accordance with his own notions of justice, it would be unreasonable to expect that stability of judicial institutions which alone can give birth to jails, workhouses, and houses of correction.

In such times we may look for sentences that are capable of speedy execution; and so we find that gradually, as the feudal system arose, the punishments became more generally corporal and capital, increasing in severity as the influences of the Church became less general.

The idea of the reformation of the offender was lost along with the temporal supremacy of the Church, and lay neglected until almost the dawn of the present century.

The other two principles of punishment which we owe to Christianity—those of expiation instead of vengeance, and of a gradation of sentences proportioned to the magnitude of the crime—remained indeed; but only in name, for the punishments during this feudal age increased so much in severity and cruelty as to rival those of savage nations.

The Church, which had formerly been such a power for good, became injuriously affected, during this period, by the struggle which it made to preserve its autonomy and at the same time to hold ecclesiastical feudatories. The result of such a struggle was that it lost much of its sacred character, and the ecclesiastical powers became as cruel in their punishments as the temporal lords themselves.

The most common punishments were naturally those most easily inflicted. Offenders paid in their persons; they were put to death with every variety of the capital sentence; were branded, mutilated, or sold as slaves. They were fined also, were degraded, or forfeited civil rights, or yet again were simply banished from their homes. Enforced detention, incarceration within four walls, was another method of coercion which grew and gained favor under the feudal system. The lord temporal or spiritual or corporate body could thus hold the vassal safe until he yielded fealty or submitted to extortion. A dungeon told no tales, and served conveniently to bury the victims of medieval oppression.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In England the first steps were taken toward modern methods. Freedom from illegal arrest was sought in the Great Charter, and, altho often in danger, it was confirmed finally and beyond all question by the Habeas Corpus act passed in the reign of Charles II. But the theory was better than the practise; numbers always languished in jail, the victims of needlessly severe or misinterpreted laws, who nowadays would have been at large. Through long years of trouble and disquiet, when the country was torn with religious and political dissensions, the prisons were always full. Intolerance appealed to the strong arm, and the jail was the ante-chamber of the scaffold or stake. When party warfare ran high, when kings struggled for larger powers or their ministers and myrmidons ruled with a high hand, incarceration was the easy recompense for all on the losing side. The commercial laws of a nation wedded to trade kept a large contingent always in jail. The debtor was at the mercy of his creditor, who could command the best efforts of the law to assist him in recovering his own again. Irregularity in the administration of justice contributed largely to fill the prisons. Jail deliveries were frequently delayed indefinitely; while, even when tardy trial ended in an acquittal, release was not always accorded, and innocent men, unable to meet extor-

tionate demands in fees, were carried back to prison. This was one reason why jails were full; yet another was the laxity or entire absence of discipline which suffered the families of accused persons to share their confinement. Under such conditions, more or less universal, the state of prisons, not in England alone, but throughout the then civilized world, was deplorable in the extreme. The penalties inflicted were purely personal, and, so to speak, final—such as chastisement, degradation, or death. England had no galleys, no scheme of enforced labor at the oar, such as was known to the nations of the Mediterranean seaboard, no method of compelling perpetual toil in quarry or mine. The germ of transportation, no doubt, was to be found in the practise which suffered offenders who had taken sanctuary to escape punishment by voluntary exile, but it was long before the plan of deporting criminals beyond seas became the rule. In Henry VIII.'s time, says Froude, "there was but one step to the gallows from the lash and the branding-iron." Criminals did not always get their deserts, however.

As a matter of fact, offenders far too often escaped scot-free through the multiplication of sanctuaries, which refuges, like that of St. Martin's-le-Grand, existed under the very walls of Newgate, the negligence of pursuers, and not seldom the stout opposition of the inculpated. Benefit of clergy, claimed and conceded on the most shadowy grounds, was another easy and frequent means of evading the law. Some judges certainly had held that the tonsure was an indispensable proof; but all were not so strict, and "putting on the book," in other words, the simple act of reading aloud, was deemed sufficient. So flagrant was the evasion of the law that jailers, for a certain fee, would assist accused persons to obtain a smattering of letters, whereby they might plead their "clergy" in court. It may be added that, altho the abuse of the privilege was presently greatly checked, it was not until the reign of William and Mary that benefit of clergy was absolutely denied to burglars, pickpockets, and other heinous offenders.

The following extract from Eden's *State of the Poor* will give the reader some idea of the crime and lawlessness rampant in the reigns of "Good Queen Bess" and her immediate predecessors, a consideration of which may serve, in some measure, to excuse the severity of the legislators of that day, when England, social, industrial, and economic, was still in a formative stage, and those in authority as unskilled in governing as the masses were untaught in obedience: "Of the regular police of the country, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it does not appear that history has furnished us with many proofs; the nation was still far from having attained what could be called a state of civilization and order; and the principal difference between the enormities committed in ancient times and in the fifteenth century seems to have been that, in the former, large bodies of men, headed by a desperate chieftain, carried on a species of civil war against their neighbors, and, in the latter, every part of the kingdom was infested with vagabonds and robbers. Writers who contend that severity of punishment is not the best preventive of crime are fully justified by the history of this period; never were severe laws issued in greater abundance, nor executed more rigorously, and never did the unrelenting vengeance of justice prove more ineffectual. The prisoners for debt in the different jails in the kingdom, are stated by Mr. Hume, on the authority of an act of Parliament passed in 1512, to have exceeded the number of 60,000, and Harrison assures us that the king executed his laws with such severity that 72,000 'great and petty thieves were put to death during his reign.' He adds that even in Elizabeth's reign 'rogues were trussed up apace,' and that there was not 'one year, commonly, wherein 300 or 400 of them were not devoured and eaten up by the gallows, in one place and another.' This account of the disorderly state of the kingdom is strongly corroborated by a statement preserved by Strype, which was written by an eminent justice of the peace in Somersetshire, in the year 1596, five years before the memorable act for the relief of the poor. In enumerating the disorders which then prevailed in that county, the author informs us that '40 persons had there been executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; 35 burnt in the hand; 37 whipped; 183 discharged; that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work.'" Soon, however, we have the beginnings of the system of enforced labor

Amount of Crime.

and also of transportation. In 1610, by order of the king, 100 dangerous rogues were banished to Virginia.

Under Charles I., in 1630, the following order of privy council was issued:

"That the correction houses in all counties may be made adjoining to the common prisons, and the gaoler to be made governor of them that so he may employ to worke prisoners committed for small causes, and so they may learne honestly by labour, and not live idly and miserably long in prison, whereby they are made worse when they come out than they were when they went in; and where many houses of correction are in one county, one of them at least to bee neare the gaole."

Haydn, in his *Dictionary of Dates*, says that transportation was first authorized by the 18th Charles II., chap. 3 (1666), judges being given power to sentence offenders to be transported "into any of his majesty's dominions in North America." Banishment, however, established by the act of 1507, did not differ materially from transportation provided later.

Reference may here be made to the system of pardoning criminals, especially from prisons and jails, if not imprisoned for too heinous offenses, as offenses were then judged, on condition of accepting military service. This system, which has in it the idea of recompense to the State by way of a service for which there is much demand in the crude and formative times of nations, was undoubtedly of early vogue in Great Britain. A single extract from the history of Newgate will illustrate this:

"Release from prison was still, as before, and for long after, frequently accompanied by the penalty of military service. This had long been the custom. On declaration of war in the earlier reigns, it was usual to issue a proclamation offering a general pardon to those guilty of homicides and felonies on condition of service for a year and a day. Even without this obligation prisoners in durance might sue out a pardon by intercession of some nobleman serving abroad with the king. But later on, the release was distinctly conditional on personal service."

Hard labor was first introduced into English prisons, to any large extent, in 1706. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries paupers and vagrants were generally considered criminals, but under the workhouse acts, which from 1697 are thickly sown through the statute-books of the realm, the unfortunate poor are treated as a class by themselves, demanding sympathy and support rather than punishment. Yet this change was of slow growth. For two centuries the lines of separation are not drawn sharply in the laws, and probably still less so in actual practise. The workhouse was, however, in its conception and in fact, like the American poorhouse, a place of relief, and only incidentally, and for certain classes, perhaps a place of punishment by labor; while the house of correction was just as significantly a place of punishment generally, both by labor and otherwise, and only casually at first, the more so later on, as the harshness of the earlier times was softened into the tenderness and sympathy of the later, a house of relief for wretchedness and misfortune.

Employment was provided with a view to profit, and for the purpose of turning pauper labor to account, regardless of its effect upon the labor market and the position of the independent laborer. In some instances, however, this effect seems to have been in some measure foreseen, for a Worcester act provides "that no cloth or stuff, either woollen or linen, manufactured in the workhouse or houses of correction, shall be sold by retail within the city of Worcester and the liberties thereof, by any officer or agent of the said workhouse, on pain of forfeiting double the value thereof to any person who shall sue for the same." The cloth and stuff made in the workhouse must, therefore, be used by the inmates or else be sent to a distance.

We now come to the times of John Howard (*q. v.*). Howard began his journeys of inspection in 1773. The prisons of the kingdom were a disgrace to humanity; they were for the most part poisonous, pestiferous dens, densely overcrowded, dark, foully dirty, not only ill-ventilated, but deprived altogether of fresh air. The wretched inmates were thrown into subterranean dungeons, into wet and noisome caverns and hideous holes to rot and fester, a prey to fell disease, bred and propagated in the prison-house, and deprived of the commonest necessities of life. For food they were dependent upon the caprice of their jailers or the charity of the benevolent; water was

denied them except in the scantiest proportions; they were half naked or in rags; their only bedding was putrid straw, reeking with exhalations and accumulated filth. Every one in durance, whether tried or untried, was heavily ironed; women did not escape the infliction. All alike were subject to the rapacity of their jailers and the extortions of their fellows. Jail fees were levied ruthlessly; "garnish," also the tax or contribution paid by each individual to a common fund to be spent by the whole body, generally in drink. Drunkenness was universal and quite unchecked; gambling of all kinds was practised; vice and obscenity were everywhere in the ascendant. Idleness, drunkenness, vicious intercourse, sickness, starvation, squalor, cruelty, chains, awful oppression, and everywhere culpable neglect—in these words may be summed up the state of the jails at the time of Howard's visitation.

Says Major Griffiths, writing in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*:

"It must be borne in mind that all this time the prisons were primarily places of detention, not of punishment. The bulk of those committed to their safe keeping were accused persons awaiting trial in due process of law, or debtors; and of these again by far the most numerous class were the impecunious and the unfortunate, whom a mistaken system locked up and deprived of all means of paying their liabilities. Now and again an offender was sentenced to be imprisoned in default of payment of fine, or to pass the intervals between certain periods of disgraceful exposure in the pillory. Imprisonment had as yet no regular place in the code of penalties, and the jail was only the temporary lodging of culprits duly tried and sentenced according to law. The punishment most in favor in these ruthless times was death. The statute-book bristled with capital felonies, and the gallows was in perpetual requisition. These were days when the pickpocket was hanged; so was the sheep-stealer, and the forger of one-pound notes. Well might Sir Samuel Romilly, to whose strenuous exertions the amelioration of the penal code is in a great measure due, declare that the laws of England were written in blood. But even then there was another and a less sanguinary penalty. The deportation of criminals beyond seas grew naturally out of the laws which prescribed banishment for certain offenses."

Later, when the system of transporting convicts to the colonies of North America was destroyed by the declaration of independence of the United States, the suggestions of Howard, Eden, and other reformers had weight, and led to the passage of the 16th George III. (1776), providing for the labor known as the hulks.

The hulks were old vessels lying at the mouth of the Thames and in other harbors in which prisoners were now, for the first time, confined and employed in dredging and other coarse labor.

But the great result of the agitation of Howard and of the commission appointed, of which he was a member, was the act of the 10th George III., chap. 74 (1779); a very important act, since it embraced in its conception, for the first time, the whole idea of the modern reformatory prison.

It provided for the erection of penitentiary houses (probably the first use of the term in English law), with storehouses, workhouses, lodging rooms, infirmary, chapel, burying ground, prison, kitchen garden, airing grounds, a governor, clerk, chaplain, surgeon or apothecary, store-keepers, taskmasters, and a matron, with salaries attached to be paid out of the profits of the work performed by the prisoners. Little was done, however. The system of the hulks was still continued. A plan of transportation was tried through the medium of contractors. "An act of 1788 empowered his majesty, under his royal sign manual, to authorize any person to make contracts for the transportation of offenders, and to direct to whom security should be given for the due performance of the contract."

Attention having been turned to the virgin land of Australia, in May, 1787, the first band of transports left for Botany Bay, and in the succeeding year founded the colony of New South Wales. The system of transporting felons to Australia continued in such force that, in fifty years from the date of its introduction (1787-1836), 100,000 convicts, including 13,000 women, had been shipped to the Australian penal colonies.

This system prevailed through all the first half of the century. The penal colonies at first had a desperate battle for existence. Later a few free families were induced to settle among them, but they were lost

Hard Labor.

John Howard.

in the bulk of the convicts. The convicts were employed under government control in various works.

Transportation.

The educated among them were made clerks and even given places of trust. When a new batch of convicts arrived, the best were assigned to government offices or were let out to employers. Others were worked as road parties in chain-gangs, and the worst sent at last to penal settlements, which became cesspools of iniquity. Finally, as the number of free colonists grew, the opposition to the convicts became very strong, and between 1835 and 1840, a party arose in New South Wales pledged to procure the abandonment of transportation. The convicts, the educated, were said to demoralize the colonies, and the road gangs and penal settlements to be worse yet. In 1857 an act was passed limiting transportation to terms of fourteen years, and in 1867 it was abolished altogether.

The penitentiary scheme had not been abandoned on the adoption of transportation. It was kept alive by Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1791, published a

work on prison discipline, entitled *The Panopticon, or Inspection House*, and followed it next year by a formal proposal to erect a prison house on his own plan. Bentham's main idea was "a circular building, an iron cage glazed, a

glass lantern as large as Ranelagh, with the cells on the outer circumference." Within, in the center, an inspection station was so fixed that every cell or part of a cell could be at all times closely observed, the prisoners being themselves at liberty to communicate with visitors and make known their complaints by means of tubes. He hoped to effect much in the way of reformation from a system of solitude or limited seclusion, with constant employment on work, in the profits of which the prisoners were to share. His project was warmly approved by Pitt, but secret influences—the personal hostility, it was said, of George III. to Bentham as an advanced radical—hindered its adoption until 1794. A contract was then made between the treasury and Bentham, by which the latter was to erect a prison for a thousand convicts, with chapel and other necessary buildings, for £19,000 [\$23,340]. A portion of this sum was advanced, and Bentham also acquired on behalf of the Government certain lands, but the undertaking never took practical shape. Nearly fifteen years later, when the penitentiary question was again revived, Bentham's claims were referred to arbitration, and the Government proceeded to erect the prison on its own account, "fully recognizing the importance of attempting reformation by the seclusion, employment, and religious instruction of prisoners." This had been tried already on a small scale but with satisfactory results, first at the Gloucester prison, erected in 1791. It was now tried on a large scale at Millbank, yet generally the condition of the prisons was very bad. Even in London itself, within easy reach of this palatial Millbank penitentiary, the chief prison of the city, Newgate, was in a disgraceful condition. This had been exposed by a parliamentary inquiry as far back as 1814, but nothing had been done to remedy the evils laid bare. All the shameful conditions of neglect, ill-treatment, and overcrowding were present in Newgate, and to the same extent as in any of the provincial prisons. Griffiths says that:

"In 1818, out of 518 prisons in the United Kingdom, to which a total of upward of 100,000 prisoners had been committed in a year, only 23 prisons were divided according to law; 59 had no division whatever to separate males from females; 136 had only one division for the purpose; 63 had only two divisions; and so on. In 445 prisons no work of any description had been introduced for the employment of prisoners; in the balance some work was done, but with the most meager results. . . . All prisoners passed their time in absolute idleness, or killed it by gambling and loose conversation. The debtors were crowded almost inconceivably."

In many of the prisons toll was carried on for toil's sake; at the treadmill, or at the shot drill, carrying shot from one side of the prison yard to the other. Says Major Griffiths:

"The state of the female side had already attracted the attention of that devoted woman, Mrs. Fry, whose ministrations and wonderful success no doubt encouraged, if they did not bring about, the formation of the prison society. Mrs. Fry went first to Newgate in 1813, but only as a casual visitor. It was not till 1817 that she entered upon the great and noble work with which her name will ever be associated. She worked

a miracle there in an incredibly short space of time. The ward into which she penetrated, altho strongly dissuaded by the officials, was like a den of wild beasts; it was filled with women unsexed, fighting, swearing, dancing, gaming, yelling, and justly deserved its name of 'hell above ground.' Within a month it was transformed, and presented, says an eye-witness, "a scene where stillness and propriety reigned." The wild beasts were tamed. It was not strange that such marvelous results should be bruited abroad, that public attention should be attracted to Mrs. Fry's labors, and that others should seek to follow in her footsteps. Movements similar to that which Mrs. Fry headed were soon set on foot both in England and on the Continent, and public attention was generally directed to the urgent necessity for prison reform. . . . A small band of earnest men, philanthropists and members of the Society of Friends, formed themselves into an association for the improvement of prison discipline, and devoted themselves with rare energy and singleness of purpose to their self-constituted task. They perambulated the country, inspecting all the prisons; they issued lengthy interrogatories to prison officials; they published periodical reports giving the result of their inquiries, with their views on the true principles of prison management, and much sound advice, accompanied by elaborate plans, on the subject of prison construction."

This and ensuing agitations gradually brought in the present system. Under this convicts are sentenced to penal servitude.

A sentence to penal servitude of male convicts consists of three parts: First, a period of strict confinement; second, a period on public works; and third, a period on license if a remission of any portion of the sentence has been earned.

The first period of the sentence in all cases lasts for nine months, during which each convict works, sleeps, and eats in his own cell. The men are employed in tailoring, hammock and bag making, shoemaking, mat making, weaving, oakum picking, threading fire-lighters, and basket making. The women during this period are mostly employed in needle-work and knitting.

Present English System.

At first a considerable quantity of the products thus made was sold; but opposition to this on the part of the public was after a while aroused. The Prison Labor Reform Association requested the commissioners who were appointed in 1878 to inquire into and report on the working of the penal servitude acts; the nature, extent, and value of the labor performed in the convict prisons, and also the manner in which manufactured articles were sold and the prices obtained, and this was done. It was sought to lessen opposition to the system by employing the convicts, as far as possible, in the manufacture of articles designed for the use of the government departments. The tailors, for example, were employed in making garments for the convicts; others, in making bags for the post-office, coal sacks, and hammocks and bags for seamen. Competition with outside makers was thus speedily reduced to small dimensions.

When the convicts complete their first and shortest period of imprisonment they are transferred to other prisons and are then employed on public works. This, the second, is by far the longest period of convict life, and their employment during it is of much the greatest importance from several points of view. Of these public works a very important one was the construction of the breakwater at Portland harbor, recommended by a select committee on harbors of refuge in 1843.

In addition they have also been extensively engaged in building prisons. Since 1863 nearly 5000 cells have been erected entirely by convict labor, in addition to other buildings for the officers. The actual cost to the Government for these buildings between 1863 and 1885 was \$358,700, an estimated saving of \$277,700, when compared with their cost by contract labor.

While there is no thought in Great Britain of abandoning the system of employing convicts at productive labor, it is yet an embarrassing and anxiously mooted question, first, where work can be found for them to do which they are capable of performing without competing with persons outside; and, second, how the cost of doing the work, especially for other departments of the Government, shall be calculated. With regard to the first inquiry: Various public works have been planned quite similar to those already completed—the building of harbors, forts, and the like—enough to last for several years. Another kind

of work has been that of reclaiming land. An instance is the Dartmoor region, where a very considerable tract has been reclaimed and is now used for farming purposes. Fifteen hundred prisoners at a time have been employed there in the open country, without any wall to secure them or chains to fetter them, but during a long period of employment there has never been any difficulty with them in the matter of control or safe-keeping. This has not been a paying undertaking, it must be said, however, for the soil was of the poorest, the climate was unfavorable, and much preliminary labor was expended in drainage and removal of rocks.

FRANCE.

In France one of the first developments out of mediæval times was condemnation to the galleys or *galères*.

In the most ancient times to row in the galleys was considered honorable, and the early Greek oarsmen were generally voluntary recruits. Gradually, however, the social standing of the manning crew was lowered; first, prisoners of war were placed at the oars, then slaves, and finally the convicted criminals.

In France the punishment of being sentenced to the *galères* is of comparatively recent origin. Philip IV., the Fair (1285-1314), is the first king of France who had rowing galleys. Charles Cœur, purser of Charles VII. (1422-61), possessed four galleys, which, after the former's trial and conviction, were sold to Bernard de Vaux, of Montpellier, who was then created "general of the *galères*," one of the grand officers of the Crown, and placed in command of that part of the French navy.

A convict sent to the *galères* was branded with red-hot irons, leaving an indelible mark. First, the three letters GAL were used; later on, only two, either T F (*Travaux forcés*) or T P (*Travaux à perpétuité*). In the time of Charles VIII. (1483-89), the galley men were subjected to other, even more cruel, mutilations, such as slitting the nose and the tongue and clipping the ears, but in the same reign these were abolished.

The crimes and offenses punished with sentence to the galleys were sorcery, blasphemy, forgery, murder, smuggling, poaching, fraudulent bankruptcy, etc.

Closely connected with the establishment of the galleys are to be found the rudiments of the penal institution called *bagne*, bagnio. The name is derived from a prison which existed in Constantinople; this was a long one-story building with very high walls. On the inside, beds, or more properly bunks, were ranged closely against the walls, leaving but a central alley where great quantities of water were gathered for the baths; from this fact the Italians called the prison *bagnio*, or bath, which name was subsequently applied to all institutions of a similar character. Tournefort describes it as being one of the most horrible prisons that ever existed.

The Galleys.

The French *bagnes* were at first old hulks, but when, under Louis XV. (1715-74), the rowing galleys were abolished, *bagnes* were built at Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, and Lorient, where the convicts were employed in making ropes, sails, etc., and paid a few cents a day, with which they were allowed to buy tobacco, etc.

The labor in the bagnios was very severe; the convicts were chained and heavily ironed, and constantly under strict surveillance and discipline. At Brest the precaution was taken to place two cannons, loaded with canister, at each end of each room. These cannons were pointed at the bunks, and were always ready for action in case of a general insurrection or outbreak on the part of the convicts. Lepelletier says, in connection with this precaution, that, "thanks to it, general tranquillity was but rarely disturbed in a serious manner."

In 1828 the bagnio of Lorient was discontinued; in 1854 those of Brest and Rochefort, and now the entire system is abolished, and deportation to the penal colonies takes its place.

Imprisonment at Toulon was for ten years; that at Brest and Rochefort for ten years, and in certain cases for life.

The total expenses at the bagnio of Toulon for the year 1870 were 615,633 frs. (about \$123,126), while the income from the labor of the convicts amounted to only 239,548 frs. (about \$47,908).

Other French Prisons.—Careful investigation leads to the conclusion that imprisonment in the other French prisons was unaccompanied by labor till nearly the close of the eighteenth century. Prison life in the Bastille, the Conciergerie, the Grand and the Petit

Châtelet, For-l'Évêque, l'Abbaye, Bicêtre, La Force, Saint-Martin, Saint Eloi, and la Salpêtrière was either of great severity or of great laxity. The prisoners were either kept in dungeons, *cachots*, *oubliettes*, *cabanons*, *au secret*, without sufficient air, room, food, clothing, and other necessities of life; or they could congregate, converse, play games, eat and drink what they could afford to pay for, and live in rooms which they could rent at prices regulated by a fixed tariff; but always in enforced idleness and without distinction of age, sex, or crime.

By a declaration of King Louis XVI., 1780, it was directed that airy and spacious infirmaries should be constructed for the sick, that separate places of confinement and courts should be provided for men and women and for prisoners of different classes, and that all underground dungeons should be abolished.

In consequence of this royal declaration several important changes took place. Little attempt was made to introduce any kind of regulated labor in any of the prisons of Paris or of the provinces. The enforced idleness of the prisoners, taken in connection with the crowded condition of nearly all the prisons, became rapidly a fertile source of diseases of all kinds, predominant among them scurvy of the most malignant type.

Howard, writing about 1784, says: "The French are now sensible of the bad policy of confining persons in idleness; for of late they have here [Bicêtre] set their prisoners to work."

Gradually reforms came in; prisoners of different sexes were placed in separate places of detention, as were also juvenile offenders, for whom special houses of correction were established from 1831 to 1836, with an experimental agricultural station at Metray in 1839, which has so far proved to be beneficial and truly reformatory to the young offenders. The following is the modern system:

All penal establishments, excepting those for military and naval convicts, which the war and navy departments respectively control, are placed under the authority of a central direction which is dependent on the home department.

Present System.

French law inflicts four sorts of penalties besides death:

A. Penal servitude either for life or for a term of years. Convicts so sentenced are transported to ultramarine settlements, where by law they are employed at the hardest labor for the exclusive benefit of the Government and without being entitled to the slightest remuneration. As will be stated subsequently, the rigor of these legal requirements is much tempered in their application. Women sentenced to penal servitude are very seldom transported, and then only at their request and in particular cases; for instance, when their husbands are transported and they are allowed, by special favor, to join them. Usually they pay their forfeits in one of the penitentiary houses, of which mention is made hereafter. The places of transportation are two in number—New Caledonia for European convicts, and French Guiana for convicts natives of the African and Asiatic colonies. The whole number of convicts who were transported during the year 1884 was 2539; 1410 of whom were Arabs of Algeria.

B. Confinement for life, inflicted only on persons above sixty years of age or in a few special cases, or for a term of years not under five. Convicts so sentenced are confined in the central prisons (*maisons centrales de force*), where they do certain work not necessarily hard, determined in accordance with their individual aptitude, and the product of which may be in part assigned to their own benefit at the will of the Government. The central prisons are five in number—four for male, and one for female convicts. The total number of prisoners in them was, in 1884 (31st of December), 3746 men, and 220 women.

C. Imprisonment for a term of not more than five years, inflicted for minor offenses. Convicts of this class are confined in the central houses of correction (*maisons centrales de correction*), or, when the terms of their penalty do not exceed one year, in the common departmental prisons. They are also required to work, but enjoy the privilege of choosing the sort of labor they like, as far as the special regulations of their place of confinement make it possible, and they have a legal claim on a share of the products of their labor. The central houses of correction are fourteen in number—ten for male, and four for female convicts. The sum total of the convicts confined in them was, in 1884, 8873 men, and 997 women.

Besides, there are in Algeria two central houses, one

for male, the other for female convicts, and one agricultural penal settlement for male convicts. In 1834 the sum total of the penitentiary population of Algeria was 1062 men and 23 women. We must also mention two agricultural penal settlements for male convicts—most of them Arabs—in Corsica. Their inmates are included in the above figures.

The departmental prisons—which are the property, not of the State as the other penitentiary buildings, but of the departments (although under the management of the central penitentiary administration)—are 982 in number, one at least for each tribunal. In 14 of them the cellular system exists. The average aggregate population of these institutions is about 29,000 individuals of both sexes, including the prisoners who are temporarily placed there under arrest before trial.

D. Detention for a term of years, decreed for particular offenses of high treason or of a political character. Convicts of this kind were formerly confined in fortresses; now they pay their forfeit in private cells of certain prisons. They are not constrained to labor, and are governed by special and comparatively lenient regulations.

Another kind of penal establishment may be mentioned, specially designed for convicts, under age, of both sexes, that is, boys and girls under sixteen years of age sentenced to a minor punishment, and who are judged "to have acted without discernment." They are placed in special establishments of a reformatory character, where they are compelled to certain labors and are taught manual trades. These establishments are six in number for boys—five agricultural settlements, where mechanical trades also are practised, and one maritime settlement. Their total population was, in 1833 (31st of December), 2170 boys. In addition, twenty-one private houses are allowed to receive boys of this class under the superintendence of the Government's agents. They contained, in 1834, 2093 boys.

Girls of this class are usually committed to private charitable houses, which receive from the Government pecuniary help and are controlled by the penitentiary agents. These houses contained, in 1834, 1193 girls.

Two systems are in practise for the employment of convict labor, viz.: (A) by contract, and (B) for public account.

A. This system is practised in fifteen of the nineteen central prisons and houses of correction, according to the following regulations:

For each of these houses the Government enters into a contract with a private citizen—the lowest bidder at a public auction held for this purpose—who, in return for a certain sum per day per head for a term of years, provides for the maintenance of the convicts, in compliance with specified conditions.

GERMANY.

In Germany, systems of employing the prisoners early sprung up.

The various States have pursued, however, different systems in the utilization of such labor, and some have been more progressive than others in securing a good prison system.

The division of power between the empire on one side, and the individual States on the other, renders it difficult to describe the present German systems. The imperial penal code defines three grades of punishment, which differ from each other principally as to length of sentence. With respect to labor, it provides that convicts sentenced to confinement in penitentiaries shall be held to the employments introduced into those institutions. They can also be employed outside them, particularly on public works, or in labor superintended by a State functionary, but when so employed the prisoners must be kept separate from free laborers. A milder punishment is that for State prisoners whose sentences vary in length from one month to five years. They may be employed in ways suitable to their circumstances and capacities. Employment outside of the institution is only permissible with their (the officials') consent. The punishment of simple confinement for minor offenses carries with it no obligation to labor, altho work is to be provided the prisoner at his request.

These are the general regulations for the empire; the execution of the sentence is left entirely to the Governments of the separate States. In consequence, there is opportunity for the widest dissimilarity in the treatment of prisoners, and the man sentenced in Prussia may fare very differently from the prisoner who serves his time in one of the Thuringian States.

The public-account system (see CONVICT LABOR) occurs in Baden, Bremen, and, in part, in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg, whereas the contract system prevails in the remaining States of the empire, of which Prussia and Saxony form the greater part. Now it is to be noted that the States contained in the first list are comparatively small, their total population being about one-fifth of that of the whole empire, and that they are geographically and politically separate from each other, while their prisons are all of moderate size, none of them exceeding 500 inmates in capacity, and are not situated in industrial centers. The contract system, on the other hand, is practised in Prussia, a State with 27,000,000 people, and where the bare figures of the prison statistics therefore appear very formidable.

But the whole number of convicts, in comparison with the mass of free laborers, is very small. If reckoned at 30,000 as a daily average in Prussia, it would still amount to less than 1 per cent. of the whole industrial population. This number, if employed in one industry alone, would prove very disastrous to the free workers engaged in it; but when the pressure is distributed through a variety of trades, it becomes almost imperceptible. And in Germany this is the case. In only one State, Bavaria, have complaints been heard that the prison labor embraced but few industries. Prussia has had since 1869 more than 35, and although the absolute figures of convicts employed are sometimes high, as, for instance, 2000 cigar-makers, the relative number to free laborers is by no means so unfavorable.

In 1832 there were a number of petitions praying for the abolition of convict labor. This was interpreted to mean the removal of competition from that source, and the discussion in the *Landtag* was conducted upon this basis. No new suggestions, however, were offered. The result of the discussion was purely negative, it being resolved that the complaints of the petitioners did not furnish subjects for further discussion, inasmuch as the Government sought continually to avoid a competition dangerous to free industry.

Since that time the subject has remained *status quo*. Evidently the feeling that the present system is a lasting one is by no means strong. There seem to be indications that the future will bring some new developments. The German Prison Society, composed of prison officials, adopted in 1830 a resolution to the effect that in principle the public-account system is the right and proper one.

ITALY.

Italy early developed the system of galleys. Of the galleys at Venice, which is perhaps a fair example, Howard writes (1784):

"One of the galleys [at Venice] was moored two boats' lengths from the shore, in which were only 27 slaves [convicts], who were kept here in order to be sent on board the other galleys. This was clean. Here, and in the other galleys, which were dirty and crowded, the slaves were in chains, of about 27 pounds' weight," etc.

Few countries however since this time have made more progress in, and given more attention to prison reform than Italy.

Dr. Wines (1880), gives the following information, regarding the modern administration of prisons in Italy, with special reference to industrial labor therein:

"The prison system of Italy embraces the following classes of prisons: 1. Prisons for preliminary detention and the punishment of minor offenses—number not stated; average number of inmates, 45,082. 2. Penitentiaries, with several subdivisions, of which the total number is 20, with an average population of 10,738. 3. The bagnios, or galleys, number 21, with a population of 15,148. 4. Correctional prisons for juvenile convicts, four, with 573 inmates. 5. Agricultural colonies, five. 6. One prison for invalids.

"The supreme authority in the penal administration of Italy is the minister of the interior. Under him . . . is the director-general of prisons.

"The end aimed at in the administration of penitentiary discipline in Italy is to so direct punishment that, without allowing it to lose its necessary characteristic of deterrence, it shall also possess the equally essential requisite of reforming the delinquents.

Methods.

. . . . On the one hand it is instilled into the mind of the prisoner that he will be enabled, by good conduct, to ameliorate his condition; on the other, it is sought to raise his sense of

Convict
Labor.

manly dignity that he may not become a hypocrite. In the penitentiaries those who distinguish themselves by good conduct enjoy special advantages. . . . In the bagnios there has been established a system of progressive classification, under which prisoners, like the mercury in a thermometer, ascend and descend according to their deserts. . . . Those prisoners who have distinguished themselves by good conduct in the penitentiaries, and have worked out at least one-half their time, are removed to the agricultural colonies of Pianosa and Gorgona.

"In the penitentiary system of Italy there is no labor bearing an exclusively penal character. It is sought to give to the industrial education of the prisoners the turn which seems best suited to them and to impart the trade most easily mastered. Labor has no other aim in the Italian prisons than to overcome the natural propensity to idleness in the criminal, to accustom him to a life of activity and hardship, and to give him the means of obtaining an honorable livelihood. . . .

"The colonies constitute, to all intents and purposes, the intermediate prison of the Crofton system in its best form. The labor, beyond that pertaining to the establishments, is wholly agricultural, being devoted to the culture of the vine, the olive, and the cereal grains. Agriculture is taught to the prisoners scientifically as well as practically. . . . Thus occupied, their minds are turned largely from evil thoughts. . . . They are brought, day by day, to look forward to a better future, and, through habit and the stimulus of gain (for they are allowed a liberal share in the product of their toil), they naturally acquire a love of labor. Physically they cannot but improve, for they have constant exercise in the open air." The Italian administration lays great stress upon the education of her criminals, particularly those of tender years. In each penitentiary there is a school, and the greatest possible number of inmates is admitted to it, the youngest having preference. Each prison has a library also. In the houses of detention and reformatories the course of instruction embraces a wide range of subjects, including music, agriculture, and a foreign language. A school for the professional education of prisonkeepers has been established at Rome—a sort of normal penitentiary college—having accommodations for between 200 and 300 inmates.

RUSSIA.

The history of Russia begins properly with the year 862, A. D., in which Rurik the Great, at the head of his Varangians, founded the empire in Novgorod.

For the first century and a half the empire was without a written code of laws, and it was not until about the year 1018 that Yaroslav framed the first code, and this was originally prepared for Novgorod alone.

Under the code of Yaroslav "perpetual slavery, extending to their posterity, was the lot of all prisoners of war and of all persons bought from foreigners; slavery for a limited period was the portion of those who sold themselves, of insolvent debtors, freemen who, without conditions, married a slave, servants out of employment, hired servants who did not fulfil their engagements, in a word, all the weak who made themselves the slaves of the strong to obtain subsistence and protection."

This bondage, however, whether perpetual or temporary, was not, except perhaps incidentally, the punishment of crime, but rather of misfortune.

The code of Yaroslav, tho amended and changed by various rulers, notably by Vladimir II., continued in force until the promulgation of that of Ivan III. (the Great), who reigned from 1462 to 1505. Of this new code, Ségur says:

"Single combat decides upon the majority of criminal offenses; in cases of suspicion, where reputation is not spotless, torture is called in to enlighten justice.

"The penalties of Ivan's code are confiscation, the knout, slavery, and death."

This code remained in force until about 1556, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, when a new code was established. Under this, as well as under the earlier code of Yaroslav, fines were the punishment allotted for the majority of crimes. The code of Ivan the Terrible remained in force until the accession of Alexis, who reigned from 1645 to 1676. In 1650 he framed a new code which became known as the Ulagena.

This code continued the law until the reign of Peter the Great, who prepared new laws much more in accordance with the spirit and genius of European legislation (1720).

"In criminal cases he still employed torture, tho with mitigation. He punished various crimes by sending the guilty to labor on the public works or the

galleys. Those condemned to such punishment had their nostrils slit."

It is stated that in 1508 Boris Godunof commuted the sentences of all capital offenders to exile to Siberia, but as nothing is said about the terms of their banishment, it cannot be determined whether they were made to labor in the mines which were then being opened.

This was the beginning of the Siberian system. Under Elizabeth (1709-62) great numbers were sent to Siberia; under Catharine II., still more were sent, tho the visit of John Howard to Russia induced the empress to introduce some reforms. In 1877 a special commission was created to examine the draft of a new scale of punishments prepared by the ministry. The commission reported favorably upon the proposed scale of penalties in which "the death penalty is retained only in the case of crimes against the safety of the State and the person of the emperor. Properly speaking, therefore, banishment to Siberia, coupled with hard labor (*travaux forcés*), occupies the first place among Russian penalties. By the existing code this penalty is for life, or a maximum term of 20 years; by the draft (*projet*) of the commission it is for life, or a maximum term of 15 years.

"Moreover, the commission is in favor of the absolute abolishment of simple banishment to Siberia, that is, without the addition of hard labor; it would have this species of banishment replaced by imprisonment in some form."

"Deportation to Siberia, begun in 1501," M. de Grot says, "was principally used for political prisoners, insurgents, religious dissenters, and conspirators. Large numbers of Poles were exiled in 1758; others again in 1830; and now, since the nihilist movement, numbers of these implacable foes to the existing régime are regularly dispatched to Siberia. The total number deported varies from 17,000 to 20,000 per annum, but this includes wives and children who may elect to accompany the exiles. The sentences are of two kinds, (1) the loss of all rights and (2) the loss of particular rights. The first includes degradation, the rupture of the marriage tie, inability to sign legal documents, to hold property, or to give a bond. The exile must wear prison dress and have his head half-shaved. He may be flogged, and if murdered would not be much missed. After a lengthened period of probation in prison the exile becomes a colonist, and may work on his own account. Those sentenced to the loss of particular rights are only compelled to live in Siberia, where they may get their living as they can. Many, however, are condemned to spend a portion of their time in confinement, but without hard labor. The exiles are sent from all parts of the empire by rail or river to Ekaterinburg, and thence to Tiumen, whence they are distributed through Siberia. Those deprived of partial rights are generally located in western Siberia. Those deprived of all rights go on to eastern Siberia. The latter go by river generally to Tomsk; thence they walk to their ultimate resting place, which may be Irkutsk or Yakutsk or Tchita, or the island of Saghalien, and the journey may occupy months. Not long ago a party of convicts was dispatched by sea to the last-named destination, embarking at Odessa, and traveling through the Suez Canal and by the Pacific Ocean.

"There are several hundred prisons in Siberia. They are of three kinds: (1) the *etape*, which afford temporary lodgings for prisoners on the line of march; (2) the *prizhlynie*, where the detention is often for several months during the winter, or until the ice is broken up; and (3) the *ostrog*, the generic Russian name for a prison, which is the place of durance for all exiles not on their own resources. Few of the large prisons in Siberia were built for the purpose. They are converted buildings—old factories, distilleries, etc. They are all upon the associate principle, containing a number of large rooms to accommodate any number from 25 to 100. The great central prison near Irkutsk, called the Alexandreffsky, one of the most important in Siberia, generally holds from 1600 to 2000 prisoners, all under sentence of hard labor and awaiting transfer to the mines. Dr. Lansdell, who visited this prison in 1870, found the prisoners very short of work. Some were engaged in making cigarette papers, others in shoemaking and brick-making. The prison is a huge stone-built building, very different from the ordinary run of Siberian prisons, which are usually built of logs, calked with moss to keep out the cold. They are surrounded by a high wooden palisade. Each prison has its hospital, chapel, generally a schoolroom, and a few work-

Siberia.

shops. The prisoners themselves are not unkindly treated.

"At most of the stations there are local committees to watch over the welfare of the prisoners. This is an extension of the Imperial Society of St. Petersburg. . . . The committees supply books and visit the prisoners. They clothe and educate the prisoners' children and help their wives to employment. They also augment the prisoners' diet from funds obtained by subscription. The regulation rations of Siberian exiles seem very liberal.

"The Russian prisoner has nearly twice the amount of solid food that an English prisoner receives, and he is at liberty to add to his diet out of his own means, which the English prisoner is not. The prisoners are also supplied with ample clothing, if they have none of their own; those sentenced to deprivation of all rights being obliged to wear convict dress. The discipline of the prisons is now in accordance with European ideas. Prison offenses are punished by relegation to a solitary cell, a certain number of which exist at all the prisons. Diminutions of diet are also inflicted, and an obligation to wear irons if they are not already worn. All exiles wear leg-irons for a certain time. These are riveted on to the ankles, and caught by a chain which is carried suspended to a belt around the waist.

"The irons are worn for various periods—from 18 months to four and even eight years. Very heinous offenders, or those who have escaped frequently, are chained to a wheelbarrow, which they are obliged to pull about with them wherever they go. A more severe punishment, when confinement and irons fail, is birching with a rod, for the knout is now abolished. The rod consists of switches so small that three may be passed together into the muzzle of a musket. The punishment is described as not more severe than that inflicted at English public schools. There is another flagellator, however, called the *plet*, a whip of twisted hide, which is still retained at a few of the most distant Siberian prisons and only for the most incorrigible, on whom irons, the birch, and other punishments have had no effect. The costliness of deportation is enormous and the results it obtains doubtful. The slow colonization of this vast territory may follow eventually, but there are already great difficulties in finding employment for the mass of labor in the Government's hands. The mines of gold, silver, and coal are passing into private hands, and there are no other public works. Hence, part of the Russian criminals who would have gone to Siberia are detained in the large prisons in Russia, where they are employed in manufactories or in the labors of ordinary mechanics, or any out-door work, such as making brick, mending roads, and manufacturing salt. Nevertheless, recent visitors to Russian prisons, whether in Russia proper or in the heart of Siberia, describe the prisoners as generally idle."

THE UNITED STATES.

Most of the early voluntary settlers in America were men of a type seldom found in a convict's cell; but the British Government bountifully supplied any lack in this respect by sending over her superfluous convicts, and thus created for us a criminal class.

Beginning in 1610 by the shipment of 100 convicts to Virginia, England continued until about 1776, the practise of periodically sending the offscourings of her jails to the American colonies, despite the earnest and vigorous protests of our forefathers. These convicts were transported by the British Government for crimes committed in the mother country, and were sold to planters for terms of seven or fourteen years, after the expiration of which time they might become freemen and acquire all the rights of citizenship.

All through the history of the Colonies down to the time of their revolt they had a distinct convict class among them, undergoing the punishment of servile labor under sentence of the courts of the mother country.

After the year 1718 the business of transporting convicts was systematically conducted by the British Government, as many as 2000 convicts being annually sent to America for a number of years. The introduction of all these "jail-birds," as a matter of course, increased the necessity for prisons and punishments in the Colonies, and we find that many of the early colonial laws were framed to control and punish these "servant criminals," as they are termed in one of the Maryland statutes.

On November 2, 1643, Samuel Gorton and six others who held peculiar views of the religious and civil duties of individuals were convicted of blasphemy at

Boston, Mass., and were thereupon sentenced to be confined at hard labor in irons in as many different towns.

In October, 1656, a law was passed in the colony of Massachusetts Bay providing that Quakers coming into the colony be "forthwith committed to the house of correction, and at their entrance to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly at work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment."

The laws agreed upon in England for the government of the colony of Pennsylvania (having been signed by the Governor and Provincial Council of the colony May 5, 1682) contained the following provision:

"Tenth. That all prisons shall be workhouses for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons; whereof one shall be in every county."

This law clearly indicates the intention of the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania to establish labor as a penalty for crime, but we find that, although these laws remained nominally in force, they were not immediately put into execution.

In Connecticut, in 1773, an act was passed establishing the "Newgate" as a permanent prison. This Newgate prison was, in reality, an old copper mine in the present town of East Granby, Conn., and was formerly known as the Simsbury copper mines, having been first worked by a company in 1709.

This prison is described as being a terrible place in the early days. A historian, speaking of it, says:

"The only entrance to it was by means of a ladder down a shaft which led to the caverns underground. There, in little pens of wood, from 30 to 100 culprits were immured, their feet made fast to iron bars and their necks chained to beams in the roof. . . . The Newgate prison was, perhaps, the worst in the country, yet in every county were jails such as would now be thought unfit places of habitation for the vilest and most loathsome of beasts."

In 1780 the Newgate was used for the confinement of criminals, who, it is said, were chiefly employed in making wrought nails. It was also used during the Revolutionary struggle for the confinement of Tory prisoners. It was not until 1790 that it was established as a State prison.

The Newgate continued to be used as a State prison until the erection of the new prison at Wethersfield in 1827. In 1802, however, new prison buildings were erected on the old site, and these included workshops for the employment of the convicts. The Wethersfield prison, which took the place of the Newgate, had productive labor in it from the time it was opened for the reception of convicts, but at that date enormous strides had been made in prison discipline in all the States, and the modern penitentiary system was an accomplished fact.

In Pennsylvania one of the earliest measures after the close of the Revolution was in the direction of reforming the penal code, and in 1786 an act was passed providing that certain crimes, which until then had been capitally punished, should thereafter be punished by labor, "publicly and disgracefully imposed."

Under this law the convicts were employed in cleaning streets, repairing roads, etc., their heads were shaved, and they were clothed in a coarse uniform.

The concurrent testimony of all, however, is to the effect that the result of this movement was to increase crime and to degrade the criminal, whose shame at this public exposure soon hardened into sullen resentment and impotent rage. The legislature, upon witnessing the disastrous effects of this system upon the criminal and upon society, attempted its reform with great vigor. "The acts of 1780, 1790, 1791, 1794, and 1795 prove the anxiety to correct mistakes and establish a system of punishments which should combine severity and certainty with humanity, and, by removing public disgrace and the temptations to excess, leave room for the possible entrance of reformation."

By the acts of April 22, 1794, and April 18, 1795, the system of solitary confinement at hard labor was established, which still, though modified by modern legislation, remains the basis of the present system. The present prisons of the Union may be classed into (1) State prisons, (2) district prisons, (3) county prisons, (4) municipal or city prisons. Each State, as a rule, has its own State prison, but Pennsylvania and Indiana have two and New York three. The cellular system, or the rule of continuous separation, was at first followed by several States, but gradually abandoned in favor of the so-called silent system, or that

Early Systems.

of labor in association under the rule of silence, with cellular separation at night. At the present time there is but one prison, the Eastern Penitentiary of Philadelphia, managed on the purely solitary plan.

Concerning the employment of the convicts there are four systems in vogue.

The contract system is the most prevalent in the United States at the present time. Under it more convicts are employed and more goods manufactured than under any other.

Present Systems.

In its practical working the prison officers, under legal instruction, usually advertise for bids for the employment of the convicts of their respective institutions, the highest responsible bidder securing the contract. The contractor commonly engages to employ a certain number of convicts at a certain price per day, the institution or the State furnishing power, and sometimes machinery, but rarely tools; the convicts to be employed, as a general thing, within the walls of the prison.

The advantages of the contract system are great, when pecuniary results are the chief ends sought. The returns or income constitute 65 per cent. of the running expenses, taking those institutions in the country that are run under this system purely. The contract system secures the constant employment of convicts, as the contractor engages to keep employed the number of prisoners specified in his contract.

It is usually claimed by those who believe the contract system is the best that can be adopted that sufficient reformatory efforts can be put forth under it. They claim that the contractor's men, instructors, and foremen are as thoroughly responsible to the State as if they were employees of the State. The chief advantages, in brief, however, are the constant employment of the convicts, the best remunerative results, and the avoidance of business risk on the part of the State.

The disadvantages of the contract system, as claimed by those who oppose it, and as shown to a greater or less extent by the facts brought out, are as numerous as the advantages, and more specific. In the nature of things, if the contract system results in securing a greater reward to the State than any other except the lease, the competition must be greater than under others, and this competition does exist to a large extent.

The simple fact that 67.8 per cent of the provision coverage used in Chicago is manufactured in prisons, by contractors who pay no rent, no insurance on buildings, and no taxes on realty, and hire men at from 45 to 62½ cents a day, renders every other fact here shown as to the decline of the business in Chicago, the falling off in the market price, the reduction of wages, and the consequent reduction of skilled coopers to the rank of day laborers inevitable without other demonstration.

If the competition is severe in any industry and in any locality, the contract system is, in so far, condemned. The material competition is aggravated by the moral aspect of the case. Working men feel aggrieved that contractors should be able to employ labor at a few cents per day, ranging perhaps from 20 to 60 cents for long-term men, and that the contractor, as an individual, should have the advantage, under the patronage of the State, of securing gains to himself. They feel that it is an affront to them, not only as wage-receivers, but as contributors to the general wealth through their producing capacity. (See CONVICT LABOR.)

The piece-price system is simply a modification of the contract system, the contractor having nothing whatever to do with the convicts. Under the terms of the contract he agrees to furnish the prison officers with material ready for manufacturing, and the prison officers agree to return the completed work, for which the Government receives a certain agreed price per piece. The advantages of this system are that the contractor's men have no position in the prison, and every effort for reformation is left untrammelled by outside influences. This system, in a large degree, satisfies the prison reformer, but does not satisfy the manufacturers and working men themselves; for while no aggravation arises on account of wages per day, whatever competition grows out of the contract system, so far as sales and the price of goods in the market are concerned, results from the piece-price plan. Its chief advantage is that it removes the objection against the ordinary contract system as regards reformatory efforts. Its disadvantages otherwise are quite as prominent as in the old system.

The report of the Labor Bureau calls the public-account system the ideal system of prison reformers, working men, manufacturers, and legislators, as a rule. The advantages claimed for it are, that whatever profit is made in labor and in sales goes to the State; that no individual secures any advantages in the production of goods not accorded to all manufacturers, and that the convict works under it with better spirit, because he knows his labor is for the State which he has offended, and not for the pecuniary benefit of any single individual or concern. The penologist likes it because prisons are placed under State control entirely and all the foremen and instructors are officers of the State. The State socialist advocates this system because it gives an instance of the State's management of industries, and adds, if successful, an argument to his claim that all industries and business enterprises should be conducted by the State. The system offers the best opportunities for reformatory efforts.

The Public-account System.

To be successful, or partially so, financially, the public-account system must be carried on with power machinery as an adjunct of the labor of the convicts, the same as in the contract system. The results pecuniarily, wherever the system is in vogue, are quite satisfactory to its adherents, and, as has been shown, its labor income meets 32 per cent. of the running expenses of those institutions carried on under it. The chief advantage of the system is that the price of free labor is not affected.

The disadvantages of the public-account system, especially when power machinery is employed, are great. It is claimed by those who oppose the system that it is impossible to secure men efficient as wardens and at the same time efficient as practical manufacturers, and that, as the industries of a prison conducted on the public-account system are diversified, as it is usually claimed that they should be, the difficulty grows greater and greater. Perhaps the greatest disadvantage of the system, however, is that it competes or can compete with honest labor more than any other system. The State can, if it choose, sell without making any profit whatever.

Another great disadvantage growing out of the adoption of the public-account system is that prisoners would have to be laid off in dull times, or else the prison accumulate its goods. If the constant employment of convicts is essential to their well-being, this system does not provide it.

The scandals which have arisen in some States in the past under the public-account system, through the maladministration of wardens in a business way, ought not, however, to be used as an argument against the system, because the State Government conducting the prisons should be responsible for the employment of men of integrity.

The old lease system of employing convicts consists in the State leasing all convicts or a certain number to a lessee or contractor for a round sum to be paid, the lessee meeting all expenses of management, care, protection, guarding, etc., connected with the employment of the prisoners. If a State should lease all who may be convicted of crime to a contractor under this system for \$200,000 per annum, this practically ends the interest

The Lease System.

of the State, and it secures a profit of \$200,000, less perhaps the salary of a superintendent, and one or two other officials, it being at no expense to maintain a prison in any form, the contractor employing the convicts within the State in any way he sees fit, so long as he conforms to law and the terms of his contract. The great advantage of the system, therefore, lies in the fact that the State has no care beyond the receipt of the amount stated in the lease. This system, therefore, is the most remunerative of any in vogue, its proceeds constituting 72 per cent., taking all States together that work under the system, of its running expenses. Its advocates are few. They claim that the system, in the States where adopted, is the best for the class of persons as a rule coming under it, they being mostly men used to outdoor life, and as this system prevails largely in the warmer portions of the country, the prisoners can be kept in stockades and open prisons, with better results as to health and comfort than could be reached for the same class within prison walls, as is the rule in the Northern States. This may be temporarily true, but the disadvantages of the system are so great that the advantages are overshadowed. The contractor or lessee becomes the agent of the most active competition. He may secure

the labor of a thousand prisoners for a year for the sum of \$20,000, this expense to him being increased by the cost of maintenance, etc.; in some cases the expense of guarding alone becomes enormous, so much so that perhaps the escape of a prisoner or his death is cheaper than the expense of guarding him. This, however, is the exception. Fortunately for free labor, the lease system is employed in localities where but little competition arises; but this advantage grows less and less as the mechanical industries of the States where it prevails become more thoroughly developed, and as the recent strikes against this terrible system have shown.

EVILS.

Concerning the evils of the present penal systems of the United States, Governor Altgeld says in his *Live Questions*, from which we largely quote in this portion of our article (p. 308):

"No man can examine the great penal system of this country without being astounded at its magnitude, its cost, and its unsatisfactory results. There are in the United States upward of 2200 county jails, several hundred lock-ups, or police stations, between 50 and 60 penitentiaries, with workshops, machinery, etc. The first cost of the erection of all these buildings and shops has been estimated at upward of \$500,000,000, which is dead capital—the interest, at 5 per cent., upon which sum alone would annually amount to \$25,000,000. To this must be added the sums annually appropriated out of the treasury to feed the prisoners, pay the officers, judicial and executive, and keep up and maintain all these institutions, which sums have been estimated at upward of \$50,000,000, to say nothing of the costs paid by the accused; there are, in addition to the many thousands of policemen and detectives, about 70,000 constables in this country, and about as many magistrates. There are upward of 2200 sheriffs, and in the neighborhood of 12,000 deputy-sheriffs. Then come the grand juries, petit juries, judges, and lawyers; next the keepers and their numerous assistants for all these prisons. On the whole, there are about a million of men partly or wholly supporting themselves and their families from this source."

Among the charges that Governor Altgeld brings against the present prison system are: *First*, that many are imprisoned, before trial and after, and thus brought into contact with the criminal atmosphere, who ought not to have been imprisoned at all, and who, had they been differently treated, might have made good citizens.

He says (*idem*, p. 268):

"Young men and boys, and even girls, accused of violating some city ordinance are treated by the police and the police magistrates, in the first instance, in the same manner as the hardened criminal. They are arrested, not infrequently clubbed, sometimes handcuffed, marched through the streets in charge of an officer to the station, which in many cases is worse than a jail, where a full description of each is written down opposite their respective names, and then they are required to give bail for their appearance at some time in the future when the magistrate can hear their case. If they cannot furnish the bond instantly—and generally they cannot—they are shoved into a cell, and frequently occupy the same cell for a night, and sometimes for a week, with the most desperate of criminals. The station-keeper is not to blame for this, for the law has made no other provision and left no alternative but to lock them up.

"Attend a session of the police court in any of our large cities, on almost any morning, and you will see on the sawdust in the prisoners' pen a miscellaneous crowd of human beings of both sexes, ranging from middle life down to tender years, nearly all from the less fortunate class in life—poor, more or less ragged, with misery stamped deep into their faces, weak, with little or no training, no steady habits, without homes worthy of the name, and raised in an atmosphere destitute of good and pregnant with vicious influences. As their cases are called, you learn that about one out of twelve is charged with a serious offense, about five-twelfths are charged with minor offenses, but there is something about the appearance of the accused which tells you they have made this round before. The remaining half are also charged with minor offenses, such as drunkenness, disorderliness, etc., but you soon become satisfied that they are not yet thoroughly depraved; that while they may have violated some ordinance, they yet have the stuff in them to make good citizens, if given a little better chance; and, as you look at them, the conviction settles in your mind that it was unnecessary, and therefore wrong, to

drag them in and corral them like so many cattle, and that neither they nor anybody else will be benefited by such treatment. If you ask the magistrate why they were thus treated, before they had even been tried to see if they were guilty, he will tell you that the law required this; that under the law no other course was open.

"You sit down while their cases are heard, and to your surprise find that about one-third are discharged by the magistrate because the evidence fails to show that they were guilty of any offense whatever. (The police reports show that nearly one-third of all that are arrested are discharged by the magistrate.) Turning then to those not discharged, you find that a few, being shown to be probably guilty of the graver offenses, are bound over for the action of the grand jury, while the great majority are shown to have violated some ordinance, and are fined; and as the fines are not paid at once in many cases, you see men, women, and often children, crowded into an omnibus with iron grating at windows and door, and driven to the workhouse or to the bridewell (which may properly be called a short-term penitentiary) to work out the fine, or, in the absence of a workhouse, they are led back to jail to serve out the fine at so much a day."

In Chicago in 1887, of 32,800 arrested, 10,743 were discharged by the police magistrates, to say nothing of those that were bound over to the grand jury and then discharged. Thus, during one year, there were in that one city upward of 10,000 young persons, who, without having committed any crime, were yet condemned to undergo a regular criminal experience.

Second. The charge is made that present prison systems do not distinguish between convicts who are guilty, but bundle together the hardened and those who have committed their first offense.

Every case has to go through the same steps, no matter how much the circumstances may differ; the proceedings must be the same, no matter how trifling the charge; the accused must be *arrested*, must be either *given bond* or be *locked up* until he can be tried and the fact ascertained whether he is even guilty of the trifling offense charged or not, and, if found guilty, then, no matter what the condition of the accused may be, whether old or young, vicious or merely weak, male or female, there is but one course open, and this for all alike; that is, to impose a fine, and, if this is not paid, to send the accused to the jail or to the bridewell.

In the Fifth Biennial Report of the Michigan State Board of Corrections and Charities, 1879-80, the subject of "Inequality of Sentences" is thus considered:

"In Michigan, during the year ending September 30, 1877, there were eight convicts sent to the State prison for assault with intent to commit murder—one for 45 years, one for 25 years, one for 15 years, one for 9 years, one for 6 years, one for 5 years, one for 2 years, and one for 1 year.

"It is supposable that these eight men, so sentenced for the same technical offense, may have been seen in prison working in the same department, eating at the same table, listening to the same prayers in the chapel, with occasional opportunities for surreptitious exchange of notes as to their respective allotments of justice and their progress in reformation.

"This inequality of sentences runs through all the courts. Cases like this (an actual case) occur somewhere in the United States every month in the year. At the same term of the court, a bank-teller, for a theft of \$500 from his employers or from a customer, is released on a nominal or suspended sentence, while a boy of 17 is sentenced to prison for three years for stealing a second-hand suit of clothes worth less than \$20."

Mr. H. M. Boies says (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 6): "Our jails are conducted as public schools of crime and nurseries of criminals. Into them our constabulary and courts hustle ravishers, sodomites, corrupters of youth, murderers, burglars, thieves, drunkards, prostitutes, and all the foul members of society they can lay hands upon, with children convicted of petty larcenies or of incorrigibility, with detained witness's and people accused of misdemeanors or crimes not tried. Inside the walls, comfortably housed, clothed, and fed, supplied with tobacco and cards, with promiscuous intercourse permitted during a part, if not all the day, the professional criminal and the hardened sinner recount their adventures to an interested audience, and delight to initiate the more ignorant into all the mysteries of iniquity. Incarcera-

Indiscriminate Treatment.

tion here has no deterrent dread for the 'rounder,' while the erring one, confined for a first assault, soon becomes assimilated to his companions, and joins the ranks of crime. Except for the brief period that the victims are restrained of their freedom of action, our jails are a menace rather than protection to society."

Third. It is said that the pole-star of the present system is *punishment*, whereas the protection of society should be its sole object, and as punishment never made a sincere convert, and as the multitude of first offenders comes from the weaker class, they should be treated rather as *wards*, whom it may be necessary to confine, but whom it is yet necessary to train and educate, if possible, into good citizens.

Governor Altgeld says (*Live Questions*, p. 190):

"In October, 1870, there was held at Cincinnati, O., a National Prison Reform Convention. The convention was composed of several hundred members from all parts of the Union, and was presided over by the Governor of Ohio. Being largely made up of persons familiar with the practical management of prisons and deeply interested in the subject of prison reform, its proceedings were distinguished for marked ability. As a result of its deliberations, it formulated and adopted, with almost entire unanimity, a declaration of principles, 37 in number, of which the *sixth* is so apposite to the point now under consideration that I give a part of it here:

"It is essential to a reformatory prison treatment that the self-respect of the prisoner should be cultivated to the utmost extent, and that every effort be made to give back to him his manhood. Hence, all disciplinary punishment that inflicts unnecessary pain or humiliation should be abolished as of evil influence. . . . There is no greater mistake in the whole compass of penal discipline than its studied imposition of degradation as a part of punishment. Such imposition destroys every better impulse and aspiration; it crushes the weak, irritates the strong, and indisposes all to submission and reform. It is trampling where we ought to raise, and is therefore as unchristian in principle as it is unwise in policy."

Mr. Wines, in his work on prisons, says (p. 201) concerning the cruel treatment of prisoners:

"Cruel treatment was once generally esteemed the most sure, just, and only fitting method of penal discipline. But the period is well passed when the interior of a prison is to be the arena for the exercise of brutalizing forces upon erring and wicked men. The thought and action of the present have emerged from the dark shadows of the last century. Surely, all means of penal control which are severally restrictive of the mental, moral, and physical good of the convicted criminal, and manifestly tyrannical, simply because an opportunity is afforded or created, do not conserve the high purpose of calm, helpful justice. The government which works out the best results for its subject secures therefrom something more than a machine-like obedience. Submission to rules, and the concurrence in an enforced task, which are not beyond reason, can be secured in the vast majority of cases, in well-regulated prisons, by means which are at hand and which are far removed from cruelty. In so doing, the prisoner's self-control is evoked, and habits of industry acquired, which can never be brought about by the crushing process so much lauded by conceited and inexperienced prison reformers."

Florian J. Ries, inspector of the house of correction of Milwaukee, in the management of which he achieved a signal success, says, in his report for 1880:

"The subject of reforming convicts is one that ought to be entitled to the very first consideration in the management of a prison. The idea that a prison is solely an institution for the *punishment* of violators of the law is fast becoming obsolete, and one more humane, and in keeping with our advanced civilization, is taking its place. Experience has taught, and humanity demands, that the discipline of a prison be directed more toward the moral improvement of its inmates than to punishment or to torture."

Fourth. The charge is made that at present our prisons do not, as a rule, reform the prisoners, but turn them loose, at the expiration of sentence, in a condition which soon returns a great per cent. of them to prison.

Says Governor Altgeld (*idem*, p. 170):

"In the Milwaukee House of Correction there were committed, during the year ending December 31, 1881, 1420 prisoners; of these 58.52 per cent. were committed

for the first time, while 41.48 per cent., or less than half, had been imprisoned before.

"During the year 1882 there were committed in the Chicago House of Correction, or bridewell, 7566 prisoners; of these, 3923, or a little over half, admitted that they had been imprisoned before.

"These two institutions may be taken as showing the average of recommitments in similar institutions throughout the country, which may be set down as 50 per cent.; that is, one-half of all imprisoned admit that they have been in prison before.

"But it must be remembered that all those imprisoned because of inability to pay a fine imposed by some police magistrate, as well as those convicted of the smaller offenses only, are sent to these institutions; hence, the average of recommitments is much higher than in the other prisons.

"For example, in the Illinois penitentiary at Joliet there were committed, during the year ending September 30, 1882, 7477 convicts. Of these, 121, or 16.20 per cent. admitted that they had been imprisoned in the penitentiary before. In some years the average is higher. It varies a little in all the penitentiaries, but in many it is 25 per cent.; and if we include the Southern States, where negroes are frequently recommitment for rather trivial offenses, it will average 30 per cent. No doubt a great many are recommitment without the knowledge of the prison officers, and consequently the number of recommitments really exceeds the above estimate."

Arthur McDonald (*Criminology*, p. 157) states the recedivists (relapsed criminals) condemned by court, to have been in Italy, in 1882, 22 per cent.; in France, in 1879, 50 per cent.; in Belgium, in 1869-71, 70 per cent.; in Prussia, from 1871 to 1877, from 74 to 84 per cent. In France, of 1000 recedivists, 67 were under 16 years of age; 204 were between 16 and 21; 284, between 21 and 30; 215, between 30 and 40; 206, between 40 and 60; 24 over 60.

Fifth. Governor Altgeld asserts that there are special evils concerning the arrest of women. He says (*idem*):

"It appears from the report of the Superintendent of Police of Chicago that, in 1882, 6835 women were arrested and taken to the police prisons in Chicago, and that, during that year, 1800 women were incarcerated in the Chicago House of Correction, mostly for non-payment of fines which had been imposed. Of the latter number, 359 were reported prostitutes, 871 were servants, 114 were laundresses, and all were poor. Now, can any good come of thus treating unfortunate women? What are they to do when released? Can anybody tell? The 359 whom the officers call prostitutes, and think that a sufficient accusation to excuse any kind of treatment, were not the pe ted children of sin—not those that live in gilded palaces and dress in silks and satins, for these are rarely disturbed—they were the poor, unfortunate, and forlorn creatures who, without friends, without sympathy, without money, often hungry, and without sufficient clothing to protect them from the cold winds, wander out on the streets, not so much wantonly as from necessity, literally trying to sell their souls for a morsel of bread, dealing in shame, not from choice, but because every Christian door is shut against them, because there is no place where they can work and find shelter. Now, in what condition are they when they have gone through the above experience? What are they to do when again set at liberty? Experience has answered this a hundred times. They return to their old ways, because there is nothing else that they can do; the only difference being that they have become more degraded, more brutalized by the treatment which they have received, and from which no good ever has or ever can come."

Sixth. Concerning the evil effect of convict labor upon free labor, see CONVICT LABOR. But there are evil effects, as the system is at present usually managed, upon the convict himself. Says Governor Altgeld:

"A convict has no interest whatever in his work. It does him no good to do a large amount of work in a day, for it will benefit neither him nor anyone dear to him. Men are generally impelled to work by a desire to benefit themselves or those dependent upon or dear to them. But the convict has none of these incentives. The convict's work is to him a treadmill from which he is to get no benefit. He goes to his task because forced to go; works only while forced.

"The effect is, therefore, to make a man a slow workman, and, in many cases, an indifferent and

Women Prisoners.

careless one; and in time these habits will become natural, especially where they are long continued. Therefore, instead of becoming an expert and skilled workman, he is more apt to become a slow botcher, and is therefore not well equipped to make an honest living when he goes free. Nobody wants him, and he soon relapses into crime."

In 1872 Mr. Tallack, at the request of the Howard Association and of the Central Committee of the International Prison Congress, collected a vast amount of information on the subject of prison management, prison labor, and the reformation of prisoners. On this point he says: "Prisoners, if discharged untaught and untrained, soon relapse, and cost the public £150 per annum (nearly \$800), at a low estimate, by their robberies."

When a man has spent years in prison, on again going out into the world he is absolutely dependent; he has no money and generally no friends who will help him; he may be anxious to work and earn an honest living, but often cannot get work.

Florien J. Ries, in his report of the Milwaukee House of Correction for 1880, in speaking of this subject, says:

"Many, doubtless, leave the prison with a strong determination to lead honorable lives in the future; but here the question arises, How will they accomplish this? With all boasted philanthropy and all pretended kindly feeling toward these persons, how does society meet them when the prison door has closed behind them? As long as people demand that prisons must be self-sustaining, these persons will receive but a pittance upon their discharge. With this they venture out upon the world, seeking employment; and, if they are frank, and admit that they have just been discharged from prison, who will employ them? Without employment, without money, without friends, what are they to do? Is it not perfectly natural, under these circumstances, that they should seek and find their former associates in crime?"

REFORMS PROPOSED.

The reforms proposed for these and other evils are numerous.

First. It is proposed that for light offenses adults, and especially the young, should not be imprisoned at all, but placed on probation under a probation officer. This has been tried in Boston some 15 years. A law providing for this was passed in 1873. Having provided for the appointment of probation officers—one in each district—and for the manner in which notice shall be given them of every arrest, the law says:

"SECTION 75. Such probation officer shall carefully inquire into the character and offense of every person arrested for crime in his city or town, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the accused may reasonably be expected to reform without punishment, and shall keep a full record of the results of his investigations.

Probation Officers.

"SECTION 76. Such probation officer, if satisfied, upon investigation, that the best interests of the public and of the accused would be subserved by placing him upon probation, shall recommend the same to the court trying the case, and the court may permit the accused to be placed upon probation, upon such terms as it may deem best, having regard to his reformation. [When probation is recommended by the officer, the prisoner is practically released on his own bond.]

"SECTION 78. He shall attend the sessions of the courts held within said county for criminal business, investigate the cases of persons accused or convicted of crimes and misdemeanors, and recommend to the courts the placing on probation of such persons as may reasonably be expected to reform without punishment. He shall have a place in the office of the superintendent of police. When he deems it advisable for any person placed on probation to be sent out of the State at the expense of the city, the city council may make the necessary appropriation for the purpose, to be expended by him, under the direction of the superintendent of police, and he shall render an account of such expenditures, with the items, quarterly, to said superintendent. He shall also, as far as practicable, visit the offenders placed on probation by the court, at his suggestion, and render such assistance and encouragement as will tend to prevent their again offending. Any person placed upon probation, upon his recommendation, may be rearrested by him, upon approval of the superintendent of police, without

further warrant, and again brought before the court; and the court may thereupon proceed to sentence, or may make any other lawful disposition of the case."

A summary of the first 10 years' experience is as follows:

	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Whole number taken on probation...	430	376	418	549	788	846	707	852	827	1056
Did well and were discharged.....	375	335	377	489	718	757	742	790	784	992
Proved incorrigible	55	41	41	60	70	89	55	62	43	64

Had there been no probation, all those that were saved must have been sentenced and imprisoned, and their sentences during the 10 years, when put together, would have amounted to 1715 years and 10 months, or an average of 171 years and 7 months of time each year, all this having been saved to the accused and their families, as well as to society.

Mr. William F. Reed, probation officer for the Roxbury district, closes his report for the year 1888 as follows: "*Probation has saved many of both sexes from exposure, shame, and loss of situation, in cases where they had committed their first offense, and not only saved them for the time being, but for all times.*"

The method of procedure is simply to continue a case for three months, and then to continue it again as often as may be deemed necessary. If the accused does well, he is finally discharged. If he does not do well, he can be sentenced at any time.

It is a most remarkable circumstance that so few run away. Out of 1056 placed on probation in one district in one year, only 12 ran away, and, on the whole, the average of runaways is scarcely 1 1/2 per cent.

Second. It is proposed that when men are imprisoned, they be imprisoned on the "indeterminate sentence."

In the report of the Committee on Prisons, made in 1881, to the Legislature of California, with some reflections on prison discipline and management, the question of "indeterminate sentences" is thus discussed:

"By indeterminate sentences is meant that all persons in a State who are convicted of crimes or offenses before a competent court shall be deemed wards of the State, and shall be committed to a Board of Guardians, until, in their judgment, they may be returned to society with ordinary safety and in accord with their own highest welfare. If this principle be adopted, the confinement of a prisoner will depend upon his own exertions to earn promotion and eventual freedom. The duration of confinement is placed under the control, and is determined by the conduct, of the convict himself. The advantages of an indeterminate sentence are:

"Indeterminate Sentence."

"1. It supplants the law of force by the law of love.
 "2. It secures certainty of restraint and continued treatment, which operate to prevent crime, as severity does not.

"3. It makes possible the arrest and right training of that whole brood of beginners, before great depravity is reached and character is irretrievably fixed.

"4. It utilizes for reformatory ends the motive that is always the strongest—the desire to be released, the love of liberty.

"5. It removes the occasion, and so mollifies the feeling of animosity usually felt toward the law and its officers, puts the personal interest of the prisoner plainly in obedience to the rules of discipline, and leads him to co-operate with those laboring for his welfare."

The classical example of the working of this system is the Elmira Reformatory (*q. z.*), where the results are so astonishing that we devote to it a special article.

The Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Prisons of Massachusetts, January, 1887, says:

"Whatever plan may be adopted to afford the best opportunities for accomplishing the reformation of criminals, the highest results can never be attained while the present system of imposing definite sentences for crime is in force. This was long ago recognized as true in the treatment of young offenders, and for many years children have been sentenced to the reform schools for their minority, no time-sentences being imposed; the power to release them, when they are deemed to be reformed, being given to the authorities in charge of the schools.

"There are many reasons for applying the same principle in the treatment of adult criminals. The present system holds out no inducement to the convict to reform. His sentence is a fixed one, and expires on a day certain, regardless of his conduct or of his character. The one thing he keeps more constantly in mind than any other is the day of his release. He knows that this will not be much delayed by anything he may do, and cannot be materially hastened by good behavior or by any change of character. He learns to look upon his punishment as wholly retributive; and, when he comes out of the prison, he feels that he has 'wiped out' the record against him, and is to begin again. During his trial, his main effort, and that of his counsel, is to secure as light a sentence as is possible, and often, with no conception of the gravity of his offense, he harbors a spite against the Government for punishing him too severely.

"It may be necessary to continue for the present this system for most offenders, as a change from fixed sentences to indefinite ones involves a change in the whole system of prison management and discipline. But for an institution whose first aim is the reformation of criminals, indefinite sentences must eventually prevail. Under such a system, a convict would be confined until he was deemed to be reformed, be it a short or long time. This throws around the prisoner every possible inducement for self-improvement. He realizes that his future is in his own hands. He sees that the State is not punishing him arbitrarily for his crimes, but is interested in his welfare; that he is deprived of his liberty not so much on account of his *acts* as on account of his *character*; and that his right to freedom is dependent upon his reformation, which in turn depends upon his own use of his opportunities."

Third. It is proposed that convicts be paid for their work. Governor Altgeld says of this plan:

"There should, in my judgment, be given every convict in prison an opportunity to earn something over and above the cost of keeping him.

Paying Convicts.

I know this involves difficulties, but none that cannot be overcome. He should be not only permitted to earn something, but he should be required to earn something to carry to his credit before he is again set at liberty; so that, when he leaves the prison doors, he will have something to sustain him for a while; and this should not be paid him at once, but in instalments, so that he cannot lose it at once; or, if he has a family to support, he not only should be permitted to work, but required to earn something, while in prison, for the support of his family.

"Under the present system, the innocent are punished with the guilty. The law intends that its penalties shall fall only on those that actually violate it; but at present, in many cases, the consequences of a conviction fall with equal severity upon the innocent and dependent, for it in effect takes away their bread."

Upon this subject W. Searles, chaplain of the penitentiary at Auburn, N. Y., in his report, says:

"The letters received by the prisoners from their almost broken-hearted wives, mothers, sisters, and friends, enjoining upon them repentance, reformation, and obedience to the prison rules, that they may the sooner be reunited, must have a great influence upon them, both for their present and future good. And, sir, it is the perusal of these letters from the poor old mother, the broken-hearted wife, the suffering children, the grieving brothers and sisters, that enforces upon my mind the lesson that no man liveth to himself alone. In the vast majority of cases, these mothers, wives, and children are poor, and were dependent upon the son, the husband, and the father for the actual necessities of life. In consequence of his imprisonment they must suffer. While it is the duty of society to protect itself against the inroads of the criminals, let me inquire, is it not equally the duty of society to protect from want and suffering the innocent wife and child? As I have heretofore suggested, permit me again to express the hope that the incoming Legislature will make some provision by which a *portion, however small, of the convict's earnings may be set apart for his own or his family's benefit.*"

This system, therefore, works a great injustice to the innocent, and, in the long run, entails a heavy burden on society; for where the family of a convict is left without support, the burden of providing falls directly on society. It is immaterial whether this burden be discharged in taxes or in charity, or in the loss of goods stolen: it still comes from the public.

Further than this, the children of a convict thus situated, having no regular source to look to for bread,

are liable to grow up violators of the law from the sheer force of their surroundings; for squalor and misery are hot-beds of crime.

There has been some experience in this line.

In Minnesota the convict in the State prison is allowed, for good conduct, six days every month, for which he receives the same rate that is paid by the contractors of the State. The money thus earned may be paid by the prison authorities to the convict's family, if needy, and when not thus paid, it is given to the convict on being discharged. Many convicts, on leaving the prison, have had upward of \$150 to their credit, with which to start again in life. Are these not more likely to do well than if they had not a cent?

In 1876 Mr. Richard Vaux, President of the Board of Directors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania—one of the very best institutions of the kind in this country—in speaking of the work done there, said:

"Manufacturing material is bought at market prices, and the goods manufactured are sold at the same; so that there is no unfair competition with manufacturers who employ honest men. The convicts are allowed pay for overtime. *One man supported a wife and family outside of prison by overwork done in prison.* The prisoners cost about 34 cents a day *per capita*. Labor is not farmed out, nor let out by contract. We are not self-supporting, and I trust we never shall be. When a prison becomes self-supporting, it is just what prisons are not intended to do."

William Kunz, superintendent of the St. Louis workhouse, says:

"By carefully studying the habits and inclinations of the prisoners, I arrived at the conclusion that a greater amount of work could be obtained from them by offering a reward to the industrious prisoners than by exacting work from them under the threat of punishment. With the consent of the Board of Public Improvements, and the approval of his Honor the Mayor, I established task-work for all such labor as the possibilities would allow, whereby a prisoner inclined to be industrious has the opportunity afforded him of materially shortening his imprisonment by making overtime. Of this a great many prisoners have availed themselves."

It is not wholly a new principle. Wines, in his historical studies of prisons, says:

"Viscount Vilan XIV. was the founder of the Great Central Convict Prison at Ghent. . . . We find at Ghent, already applied, nearly all the great principles which the world is, even to-day, but slowly and painfully seeking to introduce into prison management. What are they? Reformation as a primary end to be kept in view; hope as the great regenerative force; industrial labor as another of the vital forces to the same end; education, religious and literary, as a third essential agency; abbreviation of sentence and *participation in earnings* as incentives to diligence, obedience, and self-improvement; the enlistment of the will of the criminal," etc. Again he says: "Among the most remarkable of the early experiments in prison discipline was that of Colonel Montesino, the prisoner to choose the trade he would learn."

Experience.

"He seized those great principles which the Creator has impressed upon the human soul, and molded them to his purpose. He aimed to develop manhood, not to crush it; to gain the will, not simply to coerce the body. He employed the law of love, and found it the most powerful of all laws. . . . *He excited the prisoners to diligence by allowing them a by no means inconsiderable portion of their earnings.* He enabled them to raise their position, step by step, by their own industry and good conduct. . . . Mr. Hoskins, an intelligent English traveler, after giving an extended account of the prison, adds this conclusion: 'The success attending the reformation of the prisoners in this establishment seems really a miracle.'"

Wines also records one other remarkable case, and that in a country where it was least to be expected—Russia. It appears that Count Sollowub introduced a system into the house of correction at Moscow, similar in its general features to that last described. So long as a convict remained an apprentice he got no part of the product of his labor; but as soon as he was adjudged to be a master-workman, he received a proportion equal to two-thirds of his entire earnings, the greater part of which was reserved for him as a little capital to begin life with again after his liberation. So effectual was the power of hope thus applied, that in some instances the convict apprentices

learned their trade and became master-workmen in two months. Nine-tenths of all learned their trade so thoroughly that, on their release, they could fill the position of foreman in other shops. And further, there were scarce any relapses; so that of 2128 persons released during the first six years, only 9 were returned to prison."

Of one objection to this plan, Governor Altgeld says:

"If it is objected that there would then be too much prison labor performed, by which free labor would be injured, I answer that, in the first place, there would be no more men at work than there would be, or at least should be at work, if there were no prisons; and, as the prison labor is no cheaper than the free labor, no injustice would be done to the free laborer. In fact, one great cause of complaint that now exists—viz., the cheapness of prison labor—would be done away with."

Fourth. It is even proposed that convicts be employed at remunerative labor outside of prison walls.

It is said that while the vicious, and those that have long terms to serve, are kept within the walls, the remainder could more generally be set at work for which they were adapted, outside of the prison. Instead of being confined to the few trades that can be successfully carried on inside prison walls, prisoners could then be set at almost every kind of manual labor; and, instead of employing them in a few branches of industry, as is now done, they could be distributed more nearly as they would have been had each selected work from choice as a free man.

Fifth. Some prison reformers fear too much indulgence and "coddling" of prisoners. Said Captain E. S. Wright, of the Western State Penitentiary, Allegheny, Pa., at the meeting of the National Prison Association, in 1892:

"It is generally understood that the prisons of Great Britain and Ireland are steadily diminishing in population, but the causes for this remarkable result are not clear to all. The credit should be given to a system adopted about 15 years ago, placing all the prisons under a centralized control for each country, with exactly the same rules and regulations governing control, labor, food, and clothing. Every item seems to be cared for, and the discipline is rigid and stern. It is the general belief that serious crime has diminished, but it is apparent that the vast number of petty offenders and habitual criminals has created much uneasiness, and severer treatment for such seems probable, as it is thought to be the only satisfactory solution of the matter. There is a feeling of distrust that the prevailing system of leniency in Great Britain, for minor crimes especially, has been a great mistake. Over a million of arrests are reported for 1891; of these 255,314 were committed to prison, but, as many were repeated crimes, in the same year only 137,000 persons were committed. Of these 12,380 are reported as felons and 10,100 as habitual petty offenders. This class, it is claimed, is a menace to society. Earnest men say, 'Why hesitate to seclude a class defined as a constant danger to civilized life?'"

"The history of American prisons shows constant progress in the treatment, and clemency has marked the course of justice; yet it has to be admitted that crime and vice have increased in greater ratio than the population of the country. We are, then, brought to this conclusion, that prison discipline must be placed on sterner and more repressive lines to be deterrent."

Sixth. Mr. Henry M. Boies advocates a measure quite different from any yet mentioned. He says (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 260):

"By carefully providing for its degenerates and abnormals in comfortable prisons, asylums, and almshouses, giving them the advantages of the highest knowledge and science of living, society unwittingly aggravates the evil it seeks to alleviate. It maintains alive those who would perish without its aid. It permits their reproduction and multiplication. It fosters, with more attention than it gives its better types, the establishment and increase of an abnormal and defective class. It not only perpetuates by care, but encourages, by permitting unrestricted 'breeding in' among them, the unnatural spread and growth of a social gangrene of fatal tendencies. It is assuming oppressive and alarming proportions, which begin to be felt in the whole social organization. In terror our advancing civilization begins to inquire if there be no way of counteraction consistent with its highest benevolence, by which this abnormality of abnormalism may be

Castration.

avoided, criminality and pauperism restored to natural proportions, or to that ratio of increase which may be the inevitable result of ignorance and excess in living.

"We believe that the progress of medical and surgical science has opened up such a way entirely practicable; humanitarian in the highest sense, unobjectionable except upon grounds of an absurd and irrational sentiment. The discoveries in the use of anesthetics and antiseptics have rendered it possible to remove or sterilize the organs of reproduction of both sexes without pain or danger. This is the simplest, easiest, and most effectual solution of the whole difficulty. . . . Such a removal would be a positive benefit to the abnormal rather than a deprivation; rather a kindness than an injury. This operation bestowed upon the abnormal inmates of our prisons, reformatories, jails, asylums, and public institutions would entirely eradicate those unspeakable evil practices which are so terribly prevalent, debasing, destructive, and uncontrollable in them. It would confer upon the inmates health and strength for weakness and impotence, satisfaction and comfort for discontent and insatiable desire. . . .

"The abnormal does not want children, has no affection for them, and gets rid of them as soon as possible if they come. If this were not so, their offspring, being abnormal, weak, sickly, diseased, deformed, idiotic, insane, or criminal, doomed to a burdensome and suffering existence or an early death, are a curse rather than a comfort to their parents; so that in no sense could the deprivation of these organs inflict injury or damage to criminal or pauper. On the contrary, they would be enabled thereby to enjoy many comforts and privileges, and be relieved from many restraints at present necessarily imposed upon them. The range of their enjoyments would, in fact, be greatly enlarged, both in confinement and at liberty. Many indeed might be allowed freedom who are now closely confined. . . .

"The remedy we suggest would certainly be effectual, an immeasurable benefit to the human race, the exercise of an inherent right which really injures none, and, moreover, it appears to have become an imperative duty which society owes to its own preservation, which may not be neglected without actual sin.

"Society arrests and confines the leper, the victim of smallpox, yellow-fever, cholera, or typhoid, and treats them according to its own will, with or against their consent. It does not hesitate to remove a gangrened limb, a diseased organ from the person, if it is necessary; it shuts up the insane, the imbecile, the criminal, for the public protection; it inflicts punishments of various degrees; compels men to labor without pay, for its good; dances; even deprives them of life if it pleases; assumes arbitrary control of the life, liberty, and happiness of an individual, if it considers it necessary for the public welfare; and no reasonable being questions its right or duty to do these things. At the same time it allows its deformed, and diseased in mind, body, and soul, to disseminate social leprosy and cancer with impunity, while the skill of its surgeons could prevent the infection by an operation almost as simple as vaccination. It seems inexplicable that the remedy should have been so long delayed."

References: E. C. Wines' *State of Prisons and Child-saving Institutions*, Wilson, Cambridge, Mass., 1880; W. D. Morrison's *Crime and the Prison System*, Sonnenschein, 1890; W. Tallack's *Penological and Preventative Principles*, London, Howard Association, 1889; J. P. Altgeld's *Live Questions*, Humboldt Publishing Co., 1892; H. M. Boies' *Prisoners and Paupers*, Putnam's, 1893; R. P. Falkner's *Prisons Statistics of the United States*, University of Pennsylvania; *Report on Convict Labor*, Commission of Labor at Washington, 1886; *Reports of the National Prison Association*, etc. (See also CONVICT LABOR, CRIME, CRIMINOLOGY, ELMIRA REFORMATORY, JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.)

PENSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

—A pension is a regular payment of money to a person by the Government in consideration of past services in its employ. Pensions were formerly granted in the United States only to enlisted men of the army or navy who had suffered during our various wars, except in a few special instances. But in 1869 an act

was passed providing pensions at the rate of their salary to United States judges who have served ten years and resigned at 70 years or upward. Pensions have also been granted to the widows of former presidents. Employees in the life-saving service, in the quartermaster's and paymaster's departments, and nurses have also received them. Private pension bills are often passed, but by far the largest number of pensioners of the United States are such under general laws.

The United States pension system may be said to commence with the resolution of Congress dated August 26, 1776, by which the Continental Congress undertook to provide for disabled soldiers of the Revolution. From June 7, 1785, to September 29, 1789, the several States assumed the payment of pensions by a recommendation of Congress on account of its inability to raise money by taxation. After the adoption of the new constitution, Congress resumed their payment by annual enactments, making them payable during the life of the beneficiaries, under the acts of March 23, 1792, and February 28, 1793.

Pensions were not provided for the children of Revolutionary soldiers. The first act providing pensions for disabled officers and soldiers of the regular army, was passed April 3, 1790, and its provisions were renewed and amended from time to time until they were

embodied in the act of March 16, 1802, which is now the fundamental law for pensions on account of disability incurred prior to March 4, 1861.

By act of March 3, 1835, the office of Commissioner of Pensions was created for two years. It was extended from time to time, and made permanent in 1849. He was to execute, under the direction of the Secretaries of War and Navy, such duties in relation to the various pension laws as might be prescribed by the President.

History.

On March 3, 1849, the pension office became a bureau of the newly created Department of the Interior. As at present organized its affairs are administered by a commissioner, under whose charge come all matters relating to pensions, and who is appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, two deputy commissioners, a chief clerk, an assistant chief clerk, a law or appeal clerk, a board of legal reviewers, a board of medical reviewers, special examiners, examiners' clerks, copyists, messengers, laborers, and watchmen.

The pension laws since the War of Rebellion have been too numerous and too complicated to be given here, but the growth of our pension list till it has become the chief expense of the Government, is seen in the following table :

FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	ARMY AND NAVY.		Total Number of Applications Filed.	Total Number of Claims Allowed.	NUMBER OF PENSIONERS ON THE ROLL.			Disbursements.
	CLAIMS ALLOWED.				Invalids.	Widows, etc.	Total.	
	Invalids.	Widows, etc.						
1861.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,337	4,299	8,636	\$1,072,461.55
1862.....	413	49	2,487	462	4,341	3,818	8,159	799,384.70
1863.....	4,121	3,763	49,332	7,884	7,821	6,970	14,791	1,025,130.91
1864.....	17,041	22,446	53,599	39,487	23,479	27,656	51,135	4,504,616.02
1865.....	15,212	24,959	72,684	49,477	35,880	50,106	85,986	8,525,153.11
1866.....	22,883	27,294	65,256	59,477	55,652	71,070	126,722	13,459,996.43
1867.....	16,480	19,893	36,753	36,482	69,565	83,618	153,183	18,619,956.45
1868.....	9,460	19,461	29,768	28,021	75,957	93,686	169,643	24,019,061.09
1869.....	7,292	15,994	26,066	23,196	82,859	105,104	187,993	28,422,884.08
1870.....	5,721	12,500	24,851	18,221	87,521	111,165	198,686	27,780,811.81
1871.....	7,934	8,399	43,969	16,562	93,394	114,701	207,495	33,077,383.63
1872.....	6,468	7,244	26,391	34,333	113,954	118,275	232,229	39,169,341.00
1873.....	6,551	4,073	16,551	19,950	119,500	118,911	238,411	29,185,289.62
1874.....	5,937	3,152	16,734	10,462	121,628	114,613	236,241	39,593,749.56
1875.....	5,760	4,736	18,704	11,152	122,999	111,832	234,821	29,683,116.63
1876.....	5,360	4,376	23,523	9,977	124,239	107,893	232,137	28,351,590.69
1877.....	7,282	3,861	22,715	11,326	128,723	103,381	232,104	28,580,157.04
1878.....	7,414	3,550	44,587	11,962	131,649	92,349	223,998	26,844,415.18
1879.....	7,242	3,379	57,118	31,346	138,615	104,140	242,755	33,778,526.19
1880.....	10,176	4,455	141,466	19,545	145,410	105,392	250,802	57,240,540.14
1881.....	21,394	3,920	31,116	27,394	164,110	107,220	266,830	59,626,538.51
1882.....	22,046	3,999	49,939	27,664	182,633	103,064	285,697	54,296,280.54
1883.....	32,014	5,393	48,776	38,162	206,042	97,616	303,658	69,431,972.85
1884.....	27,414	6,366	47,875	34,192	225,470	97,286	323,756	57,273,536.74
1885.....	27,580	7,743	49,918	35,767	247,146	97,979	345,125	65,093,706.72
1886.....	31,937	8,610	49,895	40,857	279,346	95,437	365,783	64,584,270.45
1887.....	35,283	11,217	74,465	55,194	306,298	99,700	406,000	74,815,486.85
1888.....	35,843	10,816	75,266	60,252	343,701	108,856	452,557	70,646,146.37
1889.....	36,830	11,224	81,220	51,021	373,699	116,026	489,725	89,131,068.44
1890.....	59,395	14,612	105,044	66,637	415,654	122,299	537,944	106,493,890.19
1891.....	41,381	11,914	363,799	156,486	536,821	139,339	676,160	118,548,959.71
1892.....	17,876	7,287	198,345	224,047	703,242	172,826	876,068	141,086,948.84
1893.....	10,232	7,295	119,361	121,630	759,706	206,306	966,012	158,155,342.51
1894.....	6,129	4,225	49,148	39,085	754,382	215,162	969,544	140,772,163.78
Total.....	566,110	398,725	2,974,843	1,397,006	.....	.....	.....	\$1,717,275,718.20

This steady growth of the pension list has led to much discussion as to the necessity of its revision. Representative proposals for revision have recently been made by many and prominently by Hon. R. P. C. Wilson, Chairman of the House Committee on Pensions (1895); General S. S. Burdett, Past Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic; and Colonel W. C. Church, editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*. All agree that our pension list needs to be revised in such a way as to make it indeed a roll of honor.

Representative Wilson says:

"All cases of reported fraud should be promptly investigated by the department through the medium of the force of special examiners in the field, but in no instance should a pensioner's name be dropped from the roll on any ground until he has been allowed the widest latitude to show his right to a continuance of his pension.

"There can be no doubt that the deserving soldier who went unflinchingly to the front at his country's call, and, while enduring the hardships of camp, march, and conflict incurred wounds or other permanent disabilities, regards the pension list as a roll of honor, and earnestly desires, with all other good citizens, the adoption of such measures by Congress, or by those charged with the administration of the laws, as will purge the list of all those who have been placed thereon through fraud or misrepresentation; but the undeserving class, which, unfortunately, constitutes a considerable proportion of the list, will never relinquish the benefits wrongfully acquired without a bitter and determined struggle, and many well-meaning and conscientious men in public life, who acknowledge and earnestly deplore the existence of pension abuses, will hesitate to align themselves on the side of corrective measures for fear of a possible adverse effect upon their political fortunes. I contend, therefore, that the administration of the pension laws should, if possible, be completely divorced from politics, and while I have not yet been able to fully satisfy my mind as to the practicability of the change, it may be found, upon careful consideration and investigation, that the transfer of the bureau to the War Department, proposed in a recently offered (but not adopted) amendment to the Pension Appropriation bill, and to the care of a courageous, able, and fair-minded army officer, would be a step in the right direction."

Pension Reform.

General Burdett points out that the outcry is not so much against our pension laws as against the methods and result of their administration.

"It is insisted in many quarters that the rolls are encumbered by names not lawfully entitled to be there. If this is true, it is indeed an outrage which calls for prompt correction. But the very vehemence, excess, and even rudeness of some of the assailants give warning that their charges ought not to be admitted in any measure until investigation has been had. If matters are as bad as they are asserted to be, there have been worse than mistake and mismanagement; there have been fraud and conspiracy. That all the probabilities are against this is indicated by the dearth of facts which the most hostile have been able to produce. Nevertheless, iteration and reiteration have had their effect upon the popular mind. There ought to be searching inquiry through dispassionate (not partisan) agencies. The great body of veteran survivors will welcome this.

"In the meantime the situation might as well be faced. Relief to the taxpayer is to come from the scythe of the great reaper. The beneficiaries are old men now. If not by the actual count of years, they are yet old because of the exposures and decrepitudes which come from their service. All but one of the great leaders in battle are dead; a division of their followers joins them every year. A little patience and the account will be closed."

Colonel Church says:

"One thing seems possible, and that is to so codify our pension laws as to make them intelligible and con-

sistent. Under their present interpretation there are, or were at the date of the last detailed report, no less than 119 grades of pay between the extremes of \$1 a month and \$72 a month, with three other grades of \$100, \$166.66%, and \$466.66% a month, supplied by special acts to a few exceptional cases. The advance from the lowest to the highest rate is by fractions of a dollar, the average advance being 60 cents.

"Another reform that has been suggested is to permit the employment of trained actuaries to determine the exact extent of the burden upon the public treasury. What this is no one now knows, and for a succession of years the Commissioner of Pensions has been obliged to guess at it, as nearly as he could, and to ask Congress, later on, to make good the deficiency occasioned by his insufficient estimate.

"Finally, and most important of all, Congress should provide for printing a list of pensioners, with a statement of the reason for granting a pension in each case. To this should be added a list of those applying for pensions whose cases are pending, including the claimants for increase of pensions. Such a list should be widely distributed instead of being confined, as was the one printed some years ago, to a few copies, passing at once into the hands of persons interested in suppressing the facts. Every army officer should receive copies, and every organization representing old soldiers, and it should be sent to each post-office to be posted there. The attempts made thus far to revise our pension rolls have not paid their cost. The two or three hundred special examiners employed last year succeeded in convicting only 122 fraudulent pensioners, or fourteen-one-hundred-thousandths (.00014) of 1 per cent. of the whole number of pensioners. . . .

"While endeavoring to set forth fairly the exact condition of the pension problem, I must confess that I have no great sympathy with the present disposition to criticize our appropriations for pensions. We are reaping what we have sown, and in the end we may learn that the money expended in preventing war, or in preparing ourselves to conduct it with efficiency, is quite as wisely bestowed as that devoted to paying later on for our neglect, and we may find comfort for ourselves in the fact that our expenditures for pensions, at the worst showing, will not, after the arrears of pensions are settled, exceed the amount contributed annually to the public treasury by the tax upon liquors and cigars. We may be content with the knowledge that it is the vices of our people that are providing for the comfort of our old soldiers, not one of whom should fail to receive what is honestly his due in the way of public support, and let those who object to contributing to this refrain from smoking and drinking. Our liberality toward veterans is in the line of our increase of national expenditure in a ratio beyond that of an increase of population. In 1821 this increase was \$6,000,000 in excess of this ratio, and in 1870 \$164,400,000 in excess. Pensions are not peculiar to the American service; for example, every British soldier receives one after an enlistment of 21 years, and a temporary or permanent pension after 12 years, if discharged as an invalid or rendered unfit for service.

"We give pensions for a service of 60 days and even for one of 14 days; our pensions are much more liberal and our pensioners much more numerous. That is all the difference. We overlook the distinction between civilians in uniform and soldiers, and put upon the same footing the 'bounty-jumper' and the man whose loyal devotion to duty takes no thought of personal advantage."

PEOPLE'S PARTY.—In 1884 Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts was nominated for the Presidency by the Anti-Monopoly Party at Chicago, and by the Greenback Labor Party at Indianapolis. He received some 133,000 votes. This common ticket of the two parties was known as the People's Party ticket. The People's Party of the present, however, which we describe in this article, is quite another and a larger party. At the convention of the Farmers' Alliance at Ocala, Fla., in 1890 (see FARMERS' ALLIANCE), there was a strong disposition to form a new party. It was decided, however, not to take any steps toward such an end as an Alliance, but to

leave members free to act as they pleased. A few remained, and issued a call for a convention, forming a National Citizens' Alliance, to move in this direction. The movement, however, that actually resulted in the formation of the party came from Kansas. (See FARMERS' MOVEMENT.) In April, 1890, the Kansas Alliance officers had met in obedience to the pressure of Alliance opinion, to consult as to a new political party, but seemed undecided, and so called for a delegate meeting in June. At this delegate convention the People's Party of Kansas was organized. The delegate representation was as follows: Farmers' Alliance, 41; Knights of Labor, 28; F. M. B. A., 10; Patrons of Husbandry, 7; Single-Tax Clubs, 4; total, 90. The Alliance delegates were really in the minority.

An enthusiastic State campaign was conducted, resulting in carrying the State to the extent of controlling the House. Alliance measures passed in the House were killed in the Senate; but in the union of House and Senate, the Alliance succeeded in defeating the re-election of Senator Ingalls, and sending to Washington the Alliance advocate, Senator Pepper (*q. v.*), in his place. This success largely led to the sending out of a call to all parties willing to co-operate in holding a National Convention in Cincinnati, May 19, 1891.

History.

This met, and 1418 delegates were present. Of these more than one quarter were from Kansas alone, more than one-half coming from Kansas and Ohio, and more than three-quarters from six States, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska. There were only seven from Massachusetts, and even a less number from most of the Eastern States. The organized labor of the East was scarcely represented. Mr. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor was present and in sympathy with the movement, but not a delegate. Nevertheless it was a national convention more truly than these facts would at first indicate. It was a convention largely composed of farmers and Greenbackers, but in perfect sympathy with organized labor in factory, mine, and store; and the convention voted to call another convention in 1892, at which all bodies of workers should be represented, and which should nominate national candidates. The enthusiasm of the convention went beyond all bounds.

The one heated discussion was as to Prohibition, a clause proposing which was hotly debated but finally overwhelmingly defeated, not so much in opposition to Prohibition, as from fear lest such a plank might produce division.

The convention developed an almost religious earnestness, as has indeed been characteristic of the whole Alliance movement. Senator Pepper, who presided, said that "the Alliance with ballot and prayer was in a great measure taking the place of the Church." A National Executive Committee was formed, with Robert Schilling as its secretary.

In accordance with the decision of the Cincinnati convention, a nominating National

Convention was held at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, concluding its labors on July 5. By its action the present People's Party was launched upon the sea of politics. The greatest of excitement and enthusiasm was displayed, sometimes almost verging on the edge of wildness.

Omaha Convention.

The names of Gresham and Weaver had been prominently before the convention, but Weaver won on the first ballot, receiving 995 votes. General Field of Virginia was nominated for Vice-president. (For text of the platform, as reported and adopted at Omaha, see OMAHA PLATFORM.)

In 1892, the Presidential votes (popular and electoral), and in 1894 the State votes for Governor or Representatives to Congress of the People's Party were, according to the *World Almanacs* for 1895 and 1896, as follows:

STATES.	PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1892.		STATE, 1894.
	Popular.	Electoral.	
Alabama	85,181	..	83,283
Arkansas	11,831	..	24,541
California	25,352	..	51,304
Colorado	53,584	4	82,111*
Connecticut	806	..	1,546
Delaware	13	..	.....
Florida	4,843	..	4,460*
Georgia	42,937	..	96,888
Idaho	10,520	3	7,121
Illinois	22,207	..	59,793†
Indiana	22,208	..	29,388†
Iowa	20,595	..	34,907‡
Kansas	163,111	10	118,320
Kentucky	23,500	..	19,021*
Louisiana	13,281	..	14,545*
Maine	2,381	..	5,321
Maryland	796	..	1,056*
Massachusetts	3,210	..	9,937
Michigan	19,892	..	30,012
Minnesota	29,313	..	87,931
Mississippi	10,256	..	12,097*
Missouri	41,213	..	42,463†
Montana	7,334	..	15,240*
Nebraska	83,134	..	97,815
Nevada	7,264	3	711
New Hampshire	292	..	832
New Jersey	969	..	5,348*
New York	16,429	..	11,049
North Carolina	44,736	..	148,344||
North Dakota	17,700	1	9,354
Ohio	14,850	..	49,495‡
Oregon	26,965	1	26,933
Pennsylvania	8,714	..	19,484
Rhode Island	228	..	223
South Carolina	2,407	..	17,273
South Dakota	26,544	..	26,568
Tennessee	23,477	..	23,092
Texas	99,688	..	159,224
Vermont	43	..	740
Virginia	12,275	..	81,239¶
Washington	19,165	..	25,140*
West Virginia	4,166	..	4,166§
Wisconsin	9,909	..	25,604
Wyoming	7,722	..	2,176
	1,041,028	22	1,564,318

* For Representatives to Congress.

† For State Treasurer.

‡ For Secretary of State.

|| For Judge of Supreme Court.

§ No candidate. Estimated at Presidential vote.

¶ 1893.

Of the Presidential vote in 1892 it must be noted that in the States of Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming the Democrats ran no electoral tickets, and voted for the Populist electoral tickets for the purpose of taking those States from the Republicans. With a few exceptions they also voted for the Populist electors in Nevada. In Louisiana the Republican party and Populist united their vote, each nominating half of the eight candidates for electors, and in the table their aggregate popular vote is divided.

In five States the electoral vote was divided: in California and Ohio because the vote for the Cleveland and Harrison electors was so close; in Michigan because, by act of Legislature, each Congressional District voted separately for an elector; in Oregon because one of the four candidates for electors on the Populist ticket was also on the Democrat ticket, the result being three Republicans and one Populist elected; in North Dakota because one of the two Populist electors who were elected cast his vote for Cleveland, this causing the electoral vote of the State to be equally divided between Cleveland, Harrison, and Weaver.

Some of the People's party organs claim that in many States, especially in the South, the votes of the party are not counted or are miscounted to such an extent that the real Populist vote was nearer 2,000,000 than 1,500,000. Even at the smaller figures, the party leaders claim that a party polling a million votes at its first Presidential election, and increasing this 50 per cent. in two years, shows unequaled vitality. That the Populist vote was reduced in some of its strongholds they lay to local reasons, and assert that because of the fusing of parties in the Presidential election in some States, the apparent losses of the Populist vote in a few States were only apparent, and that, take the country through, a very great advance was made. In Congress, the Populist strength in the Fifty-third Congress (March 1893-'95) was 5 Senators and 70 Representatives; in the Fifty-fourth Congress (March, 1895-'97) 5 or 6 Senators, and 60 or 7 Representatives, in the Fifty-fifth Congress 6 Senators and 16 Representatives.

In 1895, in an off year and with a light vote, the People's Party slightly lessened its vote in Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New York, and somewhat increased it in Minnesota, Mississippi, Ohio, and Texas.

In 1896 the Democratic party (*q. v.*), having adopted a platform favoring free silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, and so far inclining to some other Populist demands that it was continually called a Populist platform, the People's party Convention at St. Louis, July 24, voted, after a prolonged and heated debate, to support the Democratic

Election of 1896.

nominee, Mr. William J. Bryan, the nominating a Vice-Presidential candidate of their own, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia. A heated minority claimed that this result was gained by political intrigues of the Democratic leaders. For the platform see APPENDIX. For the election see PRESIDENCY. Since the election some Populists have advocated the breaking off of all alliance with the Democratic party; others, however, incline to renew the battle in 1900, on the same grounds as in 1896.

(For a discussion of the silver issue, see SILVER, FREE SILVER, BIMETALLISM, CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF THE CURRENCY, and CURRENCY. For the farmers' movement, see FARMERS' MOVEMENT. For the tendency of the People's party to Nationalism, see NATIONALISM.) Concerning *The Mission of the Populist Party*, Senator Peffer writes in the *North American Review* of December, 1893:

"The Populist party is an organized demand that the functions of government shall be exercised only for the mutual benefit of all the people. It asserts that government is useful only to the extent that it serves to advance the common weal. Believing that the public good is paramount to private interests, it protests against the delegation of sovereign powers

to private agencies. Its motto is: 'Equal rights to all; special privileges to none.' Its creed is written in a single line of the Declaration of Independence—'All men are created equal.' Devoted to the objects for which the Constitution of the United States was adopted, it proposes to 'form a more perfect union' by cultivating a national sentiment among the people; to 'insure domestic tranquillity' by securing to every man and woman what they earn; to 'establish justice' by procuring an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor; to 'provide for the common defense' by interesting every citizen in the ownership of his home; to 'promote the general welfare' by abolishing class legislation and limiting the Government to its proper functions; and to 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity' by protecting the producing masses against the spoliation of speculators and usurers.

"The Populist claims that the mission of his party is to emancipate labor. He believes that men are not only created equal, but that they are equally entitled to the use of natural resources in procuring means of subsistence and comfort. He believes that an equitable distribution of the products and profits of labor is essential to the highest form of civilization; that taxation should only be for public purposes, and that all moneys raised by taxes should go into the public treasury; that public needs should be supplied by public agencies, and that the people should be served equally and alike.

The party believes in popular government. Its demands may be summarized fairly to be:

"1. An exclusively national currency in amount amply sufficient for all the uses for which money is needed by the people, to consist of gold and silver coined on equal terms, and government paper, each and all legal tender in payment of debts of whatever nature or amount, receivable for taxes and all public dues. **Demands.**

"2. That rates of interest for the use of money be reduced to the level of average net profits in productive industries.

"3. That the means of public transportation be brought under public control, to the end that carriage shall not cost more than it is reasonably worth, and that charges may be made uniform.

"4. That large private land-holdings be discouraged by law.

"It is charged against Populists that they favor paternalism in government. This is an error. They only demand that public functions shall be exercised by public agents, and that sovereign powers shall not be delegated to private persons or corporations having only private interests to serve. They would popularize government to the end that it may accomplish the work for which it was established—to serve the people; all the people, not only a few.

"If it be paternalism to require the Government to look after any of the private interests of the people, why do we not drive from our grounds as a tramp the postman who delivers our mail? If it be paternalism to bring our transportation business under public control, why do we not repeal the inter-State commerce law and restore the carrying trade to private citizens from whose rapacity the people were partially released some years ago? If it be paternalism to establish government agencies to supply currency to the people, what means the national bank act whose title reads: 'An act to provide a national currency secured by a pledge of United States bonds, and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof?'

"All there is in the charge of paternalism lies in the fact that Populists believe that, as to these particular matters, the people would be served more equitably, and at greatly reduced expense, by public agents working on fixed salaries, than by private persons who use their business for private ends.

"It will be observed that the party deals with live issues only, and they are those chiefly which relate to the use of natural resources of subsistence and to the distribution of property and property values. This is the only party that clearly expresses a well-defined position on the 'money question.' It states the kind of money the party wants—gold, silver, and paper; it demands that the metals be coined freely, in unlimited quantities, at a ratio of 16 to 1; that the currency shall be issued by the General Government only—not by banks—and that it shall be a full legal tender. . . .

"The Populist party is the only party that honestly favors good money. Democrats and Republicans alike declare their purpose to make all dollars equally

good and to maintain the parity between them, and the recent Act of Congress repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman law contains a similar declaration; but when an amendment was proposed to the bill in the Senate to make good the platform promises by incorporating them in the law, there were not enough Senators in favor of it to secure a yeay and nay vote on the amendment.

Money Issue.

We have seven different kinds of money, and only one of them is good, according to the determination of the Treasury officials. Bank-notes are not legal tender, neither are silver certificates nor gold certificates. Treasury notes are not legal tender in cases where another kind of money is expressed in the contract, and United States notes (greenbacks) will not pay either principal or interest on any government bond. None of our paper money is taxable. Silver dollars are by law full legal tender in payment of debts to any amount whatever, but the Treasury does not pay them out on any obligation unless they are specially requested. In practice, we have but one full legal tender money—gold coin; and Republicans and Democrats are agreed on continuing that policy; while Populists demand gold, silver, and paper money, all equally full legal tender.

"The fact that we have now out about \$700,000,000 in paper is proof that our stock of coin is utterly inadequate to perform all the money duty required in the people's business transactions. The discontinuance of silver coinage stops the supply from that source. It is believed by men best informed on the subject that the gold used in the arts has reached an amount about equal to the annual output of the mines. Then the world's stock of gold coin will not be increased unless the arts are drawn upon, and that can be done successfully only at a price above the money value of the coin. Russia, Austria, Italy, and the United States all want more gold. Where is it to come from? And what will it cost the purchaser? Are we to drop back to Roman methods of procuring treasure? When all the nations set out on gold-hunting expeditions, who will be the victor and what will become of the spoils?"

"It is evident that we must have more money, and Congress alone is authorized to prepare it. States are prohibited by the Constitution of the United States from making anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts, and nothing is money that is not a legal tender. The people can rely only on Congress for a safe-circulating medium.

"Populists demand not only a sufficiency of money, but a reduction of interest rates at least as low as the general level of the people's savings. They aver that with interest at present legal and actual rates, an increase in the volume of money in the country would be of little permanent benefit, for bankers and brokers would control its circulation, just as they do now. But with interest charges reduced to 3 or 2 per cent. the business of the money-lender would be no more profitable than that of the farmer—and why should it be?"

"While the Populist party favors government ownership and control of railroads, it wisely leaves for future consideration the means by which such ownership and control can best be brought about. The conditions which seem to make necessary such a change in our transportation system preclude all possibility of its ever being practicable, if it were desirable, to purchase existing railway lines. The total capitalization of railways in the United States in 1890 was put at \$9,871,378,380—nearly ten thousand million dollars. It would be putting the figures high to say that the roads are worth one-half the amount of their capital stock. This leaves a fictitious value of \$5,000,000,000 which the people must maintain for the roads by transportation charges twice as high as they would be if the capitalization were only half as much. It is the excessive capitalization which the people have to maintain that they complain about. It would be an unbusinesslike proceeding for the people to purchase roads when they could build better ones just when and where they are needed for less than half the money that would be required to clear these companies' books. It is conceded that none of the highly capitalized railroad corporations expect to pay their debts. If they can keep even on interest account they do well, and that is all they are trying to do. While charges have been greatly reduced, they are still based on capitalization, and courts have held that the companies are entitled to reasonable profits on their investment. The people have but one safe remedy—to construct their own

roads as needed, and then they will 'own and control' them."

(See also OMAHA PLATFORM; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; GREENBACK MOVEMENT; SILVER; FREE SILVER; BIMETALLISM; CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY; NATIONALISM.)

PÉRIN, HENRI XAVIER CHARLES, born at Mons (Hainaut) in 1815, and educated at Louvain, was in 1844 chosen to the chair of Political Economy and Law in the Catholic University of Louvain, and occupied this position 37 years, retiring as Emeritus professor in 1881. A learned professor and frequent writer, he may be considered one of the main teachers of economics from the standpoint of Roman Catholicism. His work on the *Laws of Christian Society* is prefaced by a Pontifical breve, dated February 1, 1875, full of unqualified praise from the Pope.

His main works are *Les Économistes, les Socialistes et le Chrétianisme* (1849); *De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétienues* (1861); *Le Socialisme Chrétien* (1879), with an appended discourse delivered by C. Périn at the opening of the Congress of the Directors of the Roman Catholic Workmen's Association, at Chartres, August 9, 1878; and his last work but one, *Les Doctrines Économiques depuis un Siècle*, published in 1880, which contains in its closing chapters a most interesting account of the various Catholic associations for the good of the working classes in France and Belgium. The last work, of mixed essays, contains the author's views on subjects of social interest which have occupied the attention of the world for the last twenty years.

Périn founds social order on Divine authority, but he trusts to the moral influence of the Church rather than mechanical obedience to her laws, as pronounced *ex cathedra*.

"We are at present agreed among ourselves to proclaim the rule of Christian liberty as the law of economics, a liberty equally remote from the extremes of license and absolutism, from the *laissez-faire* system, which is the boast of Liberals, and State control over life and property, which, in one form or another, socialism proclaims to be just and necessary."

Périn allows that, in exceptional cases, repressive measures by the State are necessary; but under ordinary circumstances, he thinks, the preventive measures proposed by Christian Socialism, in its endeavors to revive the moral force of self-restraint and self-denial, will prove sufficient. He acknowledges the impossibility of returning to medieval forms of corporate union, but strongly recommends the revival of that principle of Christian love which inspired them.

PEROVSKAYA, SOPHIA (born 1854, executed 1881), was one of the ablest leaders of the Russian revolutionists. By birth a member of the highest aristocracy of Russia, the despotism that was being enacted around her early roused a hatred of oppression and desire to protect the oppressed.

In Russia, during the decade 1860-70, there was fought out the battle of woman's right to think for herself and to study what she would. Kept in ignorance and in constant subjection

to the tyranny of the master of the house, the position of women was a hard one. When, however, the Nihilist philosophy (see Nihilism) spread over the land, the women caught the flame, and demanded the right of access to the study of science and philosophy and freedom to think for themselves. In 1869 Sophia Perovskaya, when refused permission by her father, ran away from home, determined to study and know for herself. When at last her father relented and provided her with a passport, she was free to pursue her studies. The wider horizon thus opened to her led to the conviction that the present social arrangements were on a wrong basis, and indicated socialism as the remedy. Meeting with others who shared similar views, they joined themselves into a secret society or "circle" for the purpose of spreading the propaganda among the young, and later, in 1871, upon her suggestion, the propaganda was turned in the direction of the working men. All this work had to be carried on by secret means, and with constant danger to the teacher, for the Russian Government was ruthlessly suppressing all such endeavors. Toward the end of 1873 Sophia Perovskaya was arrested while carrying on the agitation in St. Petersburg; and after being imprisoned for a year was released on the bail of her father, but had to go to the Crimea; where for three years she was still practically a prisoner in her own home. In 1877 she was brought to trial, in the "trial of the 193," and with many others was acquitted—but instead of being allowed to go free, she was exiled on a police order, to one of the northern provinces. Escaping very soon afterward, she returned to St. Petersburg, and again took up active work for the revolutionary cause. By this time, however, the methods had changed, and "terror" was the weapon that had to be used. In all the terrorist enterprises, from 1878 till her death in 1881, she took an active part; often being the director and controller of the most desperate of them, such as the Moscow mine which was to blow up the Imperial train, and the attempt which succeeded in assassinating the Czar on March 13, 1881. A week later she was arrested, and on April 15 was hanged with Kibalctic, Geliahoff, Timothy Micalloff, and Rissakoff. Possessing a combination of characteristics seldom or never matched, Sophia Perovskaya was and is the heroine whose example fires the hearts of the Russian revolutionists with increased enthusiasm. In person very beautiful, and only 26 when she died, for eleven years she had devoted her whole life to the cause of Russian freedom. Filled with enthusiasm, and with a determination as unyielding as adamant, she was able to excel in everything she undertook, and, with it all, of so kindly and loving a nature that all those with whom she worked, at once entertained the warmest regard for her. (See Nihilism.)

PERRY, ARTHUR LATHAM, was born in Lyme, N. H., in 1830. He was graduated at Williams in 1852, and has been professor of history and political economy there since 1853. An ardent free-trader, he has delivered

many lectures and addresses on this subject, besides writing editorially for the *Springfield Republican*, and the *New York Evening Post*. Union College gave him the degree of LL. D. His works on economic science are *Political Economy* (1865) and *Introduction to Political Economy* (1877). His works have been much used as text-books, and the 20th edition of his *Political Economy* appeared in 1890.

PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS were laws passed by several of the Northern States during the existence in the United States of the fugitive-slave laws (*q. v.*), for the purpose of securing to alleged fugitives the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of trial by jury, which the fugitive-slave laws denied. The first was passed by New York State in 1840.

PERSONAL LIBERTY MOVEMENTS.—There have been various spasmodic efforts at different times to organize personal liberty societies, and sometimes even a personal liberty party, to defend and agitate for the claimed right of the individual to govern his own acts in certain lines in which the State had interfered or it was proposed that the State should interfere. None of these movements, however, have taken enduring form. They have been organized simply at times of special excitement, when certain classes have believed their personal liberties threatened. Germans in New York City, *e. g.*, have proposed such organization against anti-saloon or Sunday-closing legislation. In England, the Liberty and Property Defense-League (*q. v.*) is organized against general socialistic legislation.

(For the principles involved, see ANARCHISM, INDIVIDUALISM, SPENCER.)

PERSONAL LIBERTY PARTY.—The strict enforcement in New York of laws directed against the sale of liquor on Sundays caused the formation there of an organization favoring the abolition of such restrictions on the sale of liquor as are deemed to conflict with the liberty of the individual, that is, the total prohibition of its sale on Sunday. This organization took the name of Personal Liberty Party, and in New York, on October 6, 1887, adopted a platform declaring that laws of the above description have notoriously failed to improve morality, while they interfere with the personal liberty of the individual; and citing, as people whose habits of life are thus interfered with, the German element of our population, who are "assiduous, temperate, and law-abiding people."

It has had small influence. Even those who believe in this so-called "personal liberty" knew that it was simply a party formed by liquor sellers anxious for business.

PERSONAL PROPERTY. See PROPERTY.

PERSONAL WEALTH. See WEALTH.

PERU, SOCIALISM IN ANCIENT.—Peru in its ancient sense included a vast extent of territory on the Pacific slope of South

America. It was inhabited by many different tribes and nations, all, however, under the scepter of the Incas. The Peruvians were in some respects, though not in all, the most civilized of all the native inhabitants of the New World, and they had certainly come the nearest of any to the formation of a true nationality. It is probable that four tribes of the Andes table-land, the Quichuas, the Incas, the Canas, and the Canchas, formed the nucleus of the nation. From the first comes the name of the language of ancient Peru, Quichua. The second tribe, Incas, was probably the conquering tribe, and hence became the rulers, or ruling caste. The career of conquest of this tribe or caste, according to native annals, began with the first Inca, Manco Capac, about 1280 A. D.; and before the time of the arrival of the Spaniards the petty State had become a great empire. It then extended from a point north of the equator to Chile, a distance of 2700 miles, and its area was more than 800,000 square miles.

The government of the Incas was a despotism, a theocracy, and a unique example of paternal and State socialism. At the head was the Inca, an absolute monarch, but more than a monarch—a god-king, a living incarnation of the sun. Next to him came the Inca nobility, who were regarded as superior beings, and by whose aid the Inca governed the people.

The empire was the result of military conquest and occupation. As peoples were subdued, the laws and even the language of the Incas were imposed on them. The security of the government was secured by an elaborate system of military roads and defenses. There were four great provinces, to each of which ran a great road. Each province had a viceroy appointed by the Inca. The highways were solidly built of stone, and carried with great skill over the heights of the Andes. They radiated from Cuzco, the capital, as a center. Cieza de Leon, an early chronicler, says of the great highway from Cuzco to Quito, that the roads made by the Romans in Spain are not to be compared with it. Along these roads at certain intervals there were storehouses. An elaborate system of couriers also made communication with different parts of the empire easy. But this military system, natural in all powerful despotisms, was carried also into the industrial organization. Peru was remarkable for this. A highly artificial and thoroughly centralized system of the regulation of industry existed. There was no private property; everything belonged to the State, and everything was managed by the State. It was a communistic despotism. Of the entire produce of the nation two-thirds went to the Inca, the nobles, and the priesthood as taxes, one-third only to the people, although they were the only producing class.

In regard to the details of industrial organization Fiske states (*Discovery of America*, vol. ii. p. 353):

"Families and villages were organized upon a decimal system, like companies and regiments. The average monogamous family of five persons was the unit. Ten such families made a *chunca*, ten *chuncas* made one *pachaca*, ten *pachacas* one *huaranca*, and ten *huarancas* one *hunu*, so that a *hunu* was a district

with a population of about 50,000 persons. Each of these decimal subdivisions had its presiding officer, who was responsible directly to his immediate superior, and ultimately to the Inca. The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their carter, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing; or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burned down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as crown officer, reporting every offense, how slight soever it might be, committed by his people, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment or referred it to another officer of still higher rank" (*Garcillaso*, lib. ii. cap. xii.).

The land belonged to the village community (*chunca*). It was redistributed at times to maintain equality.

Land was divided into *tupus*, one *tupu* for each family, with additions for children. All the farming operations and those of irrigation were supervised by the decurion. If a village suffered from war, or pestilence, or earthquake, other villages were assessed to repair the damage.

It is remarkable that such an artificial system, originally intended for a petty State, could have been adapted to a large empire made up of many different peoples. But it must be remembered that these peoples had not reached a high grade of culture; the social organization was simple, to begin with. There was little division of labor, and little extension of human wants. Exchange was limited, for there was no money of any kind and trade was by barter. Fiske explains the existence of the peculiar Inca State socialism by the theory that the formation of nationality and the establishment of a ruling caste took place before there had been much development of the idea of private property among the people, so that the result was a communistic despotism. In becoming naturalized the State stiffened into despotism.

Notwithstanding the complete repression of individual liberty under the Inca government there are great excellencies to be ascribed to it. Of these, the chief is that poverty and idleness were entirely abolished. Every one worked, and every one was taken care of by the State. Prescott, though inclined strongly to individualism, says (*Conquest of Peru*, vol. i. p. 173):

"With their manifold provisions against poverty the reader has already been made acquainted. They were so perfect that in their wide extent of territory—much of it smitten with the curse of barrenness—no man, however humble, suffered for the want of food and clothing. Famines, so common a scourge in every other American nation, so common at that period in every country of civilized Europe, was an evil unknown in the dominions of the Incas."

In another passage he says (*Conquest of Peru*, vol. i. p. 63):

"If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. The law was constantly directed to enforce a steady industry and a sober management of his affairs. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced by poverty or misfortune (it could hardly be by fault) the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out, drop by drop, as

it were, from the frozen reservoirs of 'the parish,' but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen."

The system of the Incas had produced in many respects an industrious and happy people. Yet it fell to pieces before the Spanish invaders, with wonderful rapidity, because there had been nothing in it to nourish the spirit of patriotism and of independence in the people.

Modern socialism, dealing with the complex problems of a highly developed civilization, can learn little from Peru, where the state of society was primitive and the conditions entirely different. The State socialism of the Incas was unlike anything that ever existed elsewhere, or is likely ever to exist.

PETTY, SIR WILLIAM, was born at Romsey, Hampshire, England, in 1623. An English publicist, he sided with Parliament in the Civil War. In 1651 he was professor of anatomy at Brasenose, Oxford, and of music at Gresham College. In 1652 he was appointed physician to the army in Ireland, and about 1654 executed by contract a fresh survey of the forfeited lands granted to soldiers. He bought large tracts of land and established various industries. He was knighted after the Restoration. In 1663 he invented a double-bottomed boat. He wrote *Quantulumcumque; or, a Tract Concerning Money* (1682); *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* (1662-85); *Essays on Political Arithmetic* (1691); *Political Anatomy of Ireland* (1691). He died in London in 1687.

Cossa calls Petty "one of the most illustrious fore-runners of the science of statistical research," and Ingram considers him a writer of much sagacity and good sense. He belongs to no school, opposing many of the errors of the mercantilists, yet sharing some of their views. On several he anticipates or at least gives germs of the conclusions of Ricardo and Adam Smith. One of his leading thoughts was that "labor is the father and active principle of wealth; lands are the mother." He divides population into two classes, the productive and non-productive. The value of any commodity depends, with him, on the amount of labor necessary for its production. He chooses as his unit of value the average food of the cheapest kind required for a man's daily sustenance. He opposes government control of interest, and industry generally. A study of Petty, by W. L. Bevan, was published by the American Economic Association, August, 1894.

PHILLIPS, WENDELL (1811-84), abolitionist, orator, and reformer, was born at Boston, the descendant of a family of aristocratic position. His father was first mayor of Boston in 1822. He was educated at Harvard, and called to the Suffolk bar in 1834. The agitation on the slavery question was at its height. It was in 1835 that a Boston mob, moved by the commercial spirit, dragged Garrison through the streets by a rope. This event made a profound impression on Phillips, and in 1837 he identified himself with the anti-slavery cause. In a Faneuil Hall meeting,

called to protest against the murder of Lovejoy, he made an eloquent speech as champion of anti-slavery principles. Believing, like Garrison, that slavery was a national sin, he gave up his profession because it required the observance of an oath of fidelity to the United States constitution. He consecrated his life to the fight against slavery, and did a great work for years in the North by his wonderful eloquence. His speeches on behalf of abolition were full of force and inspiration, notably that uttered over the grave of John Brown of the Harper's Ferry raid. He also spoke, with perhaps equal power, on temperance, the emancipation of women, and labor reform.

Phillips, as has been said, advocated the doctrines of the Garrisonian abolitionists, who believed the constitution of the United States to be an immoral compact between freedom and slavery, and who therefore refused allegiance to it, abstained from voting, and labored for the dissolution of the Union as the best means of negro emancipation. When the war came he urged, from the beginning, the duty of emancipation, and he even opposed the reelection of Lincoln, because he did not go far enough. In 1865, Garrison proposed that the anti-slavery society should be disbanded. He had been its president for thirty years. But Phillips wished the society to exist for the purpose of securing for the negro his constitutional right of suffrage. Hence he took Garrison's place, and after full citizenship was won for the negro, in 1870, he resigned the office of president, tho he continued to work for the removal of race distinctions in public resorts, etc.

In 1870, his newspaper, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* was converted into a monthly magazine.

Phillips now turned his attention to other social reforms. He spoke for women's rights, a cause in favor of which he had pronounced as early as 1840. His sympathies were also enlisted in behalf of the Indians, and he continued to be the champion of the temperance cause.

But the sufferings of the working classes had made a deep impression upon him, and he became an advocate of thorough social and economic reform. In 1870 he was the candidate of the labor reform party for governor of Massachusetts. He entirely favored the Greenback party and worked with it. Harvard College had always ignored Phillips, but in 1881, when he was 70 years old, he was selected to deliver there the address on the occasion of the Centennial anniversary of the Phi Beta Kappa society.

As an orator Phillips is easily in the very first ranks of those whom America has produced. As a social reformer he was devoted and unselfish, and his work was fruitful in the highest degree. He died at Boston, February 2, 1884.

PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISTS. See ANARCHISM.

PHYSIOCRATS (from Gr. *φύσις* nature, and *κρατία*, rule), a name given to a school of

French economists and philosophers which arose in the eighteenth century, largely led by François Quesnay (*q. v.*), 1694-1774. The distinguishing doctrines of the physiocrats were that a so-called natural constitution or order exists in society, the violation of which causes all the evils suffered by man; that in this natural order man has a fundamental and inalienable right to freedom of person, opinion, property, contract, or exchange. The physiocrats held that all wealth is derived from the soil, thus denying the principle of the mercantilists (*q. v.*), who virtually held that wealth consists in the precious metals. All labor expended in manufacture or in commerce the physiocrats held to be sterile, tho useful, in that, while it transferred or transformed wealth, it did not produce it. Thus, conceiving all wealth to be produced from the soil, they argued that all revenues for the State should be derived by a direct tax on land, and thus became the predecessors of the believers in the Single Tax (*q. v.*). They advocated complete freedom of trade and *laissez-faire*. Their influence on their day and succeeding thought was very deep, altho not always acknowledged. Adam Smith (*q. v.*) seems to have imbibed and to have been influenced by very many of their ideas. For the details of their school and its leaders see their respective names (see, also, POLITICAL ECONOMY). Dr. Gustav Cohn, in his *History of Political Economy*, translated by Dr. J. A. Hill, says of the physiocrat school as a whole :

"The French philosophical school of the eighteenth century, which deserves the lasting honor of having founded a science of economics, was at first much ridiculed by its contemporaries and later—on account of its growing influence and questionable conclusions—much abused. . . . It is none the less true, as Knies declares in his reply to Hildebrand, that 'however little credit they may get for it in the popular tradition, much of their thought—is the presented to be sure in the name of Adam Smith—is still regarded as unshaken truth.'"

The enduring importance of the Economists consists in the eminent ability with which, unlike their predecessors, they comprehended and formulated in a philosophical system the practical characteristics of their own age. Realizing that the working man was overburdened with taxes and feudal dues, they were led to adopt an entirely new theory of productivity. The realism of Adam Smith brought this theory into closer relations with practical life; but Smith, far from developing the doctrine scientifically, did not even understand it; and so the thread of the argument was not taken up again until Ricardo's time. Upon this conception of productivity the physiocrats built up their single-tax theory, which furnished a scientific basis for the principle, the assessment, and the obligation of taxes; they established a philosophical foundation for their aversion to the regulations which absolutism had adopted from the corporations of the Middle Ages; the corner-stone of this foundation was the principle of self-interest, the workings of which, borrowing from the mechanical ethics of the century, they traced to natural law; all this, and even more, was the peculiar work of the Physiocrats.

They demanded the reign of the natural order (*ordre naturel des choses*) and hence the Greek name given them by one of their followers (Dupont de Nemours).

In emphasizing the productivity of agriculture, or indeed in calling it the only productive occupation, the Physiocrats are not to be understood in the sense falsely imputed to their words; for they did not mean that the heavily burdened peasant was the only productive man. Indeed, the real meaning of the word productive, as applied by them to agriculture solely, has a much wider significance than any philistine comparison of the advantages of manufactures on the one hand with those of agriculture on the other. As the deliverance of the starving masses from the tradi-

tional pressure of taxation and feudal burdens was uppermost in the thoughts of the Physiocrats, they deduced from the theory of the exclusive productivity of agriculture (that is, the yielding of a surplus over the cost of production) their argument in favor of a single tax. This tax should bear heavily upon the land-owners; hence, the theory could assume an aspect friendly to agriculture only by the complete separation of land-owners from the peasant classes, being favorable in such a case to the masses, whose misery had already attracted the attention of Sully and Colbert.

From a practical standpoint, the essential thing is not so much the prominence given to agriculture compared with industries and manufactures, as the intercession in behalf of the masses of laboring people; not the presentation of a new theory of taxation, but the demand for the deliverance of the masses from the burdens of traditional imposts. It is only because the masses were engaged in agriculture, and only so far as agriculturalists belonged to the working masses, that the demands of the physiocrats were favorable to agriculture.

Their theory of a natural tax, the *impôt unique* or *impôt direct*, is admirable for its scientific consistency with their system; how thoroughly socialistic it is in its opposition to the landlords has for the most part entirely escaped notice in the usual repetition of their "over-estimation of agriculture." Indeed, the physiocrats declared that the landlords were entirely superfluous, as they performed no labor; that if the State should absorb the entire rent, and thereby deprive them of their means of support, society would be just as well off as it was before; and that the landlords, therefore, should be quite content if the State, to provide for its wants, took a part only of the rent of their land as a just compensation for the protection it afforded their property.

Cohn criticizes the physiocrats for the ambiguity that lay in their conception of a natural law of social life, which led them to limit nature to agricultural activities, and thus to limit the surplus which should be taxed to the rent of land. (See SINGLE TAX.)

The most prominent Physiocrats were Quesnay (*q. v.*), the physician of Louis XV. (*q. v.*); Turgot (*q. v.*), intendant and minister of Louis XVI.; Marquis Mirabeau (*q. v.*); Abbé Baudeau, and Mercier de la Rivière. Baudeau produced a text-book which resembled the later text-books of political economy. The numerous writings of the school were collected and published in 1844 by Eugène Daire under the title, *Œuvres des Physiocrates* (2 vols.) and *Œuvres de Turgot* (2 vols.). Before that time, in 1768-69, a collection of these writings had been published in six volumes by Dupont de Nemours. The collection was entitled *Physiocratie, ou constitution naturelle du gouvernement plus avantageux au genre humain*.

Despite many differences in details, these writers all agree in the essentially fundamental principles and doctrines. The especially noteworthy works are, *Tableau Économique*, by Quesnay (1758), and an essay by Turgot, entitled *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (1766).

PIECE-WORK is work done or paid for by the quantity or piece. This is the usual system in many trades, especially in tailoring and shoemaking, in almost all trades producing personal wear, in printing, etc. Mr. Mundella said, in 1876, that 90 per cent. of production was piece-work. This is probably not true to-day. Certain trades, where many men have to work together in one operation, scarcely admit of piece-work. Says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, p. 393) :

"The system of piece-work is seldom found in the finest and best of industrial relations. The most careful and artistic work can seldom be measured by it; and in many trades, especially small trades, the work varies so much from bench to bench, and from day to day, that no regular tariff can be devised; and piece-work degenerates into contract work, in which the in-

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and
Taxation.**

dividual workman has to bargain alone with his employer.

"But in the majority of trades, the various tasks can be graded accurately; and when a list of prices for them is agreed on, the employes grade themselves, and yet present an unbroken phalanx in bargaining with their employers. Piece-work adds to the wages of the industrious workers, and it checks those habits of half-hearted work which flourish in every rank of life where the soil is favorable."

Workmen, however, have learned by experience not to take so favorable a view of piece-work. Professor Marshall says (*idem*, p. 394):

"In some cases this is caused by an undue eagerness of certain employers to reduce piece-work rates when they have thought their men were taking too much money home. Some workmen oppose it because they desire to take things easily, and have perhaps a latent dislike to be graded according to their merits. And some oppose it because they think it makes work scarce, by inducing men to get through more of it than they otherwise would; and here again come in the combined effects of a little trade-selfishness and the fallacy of the fixed Work-Fund. Perhaps these imperfections of human nature, rather than unionism, are further to be held responsible for whatever ground there may be for the complaint that some unionists urge their fellows not to exert themselves over-much, and absorb work that others might be glad to do. This is not effected by general regulations; but in some workshops, unionist and non-unionist alike, social pressure is brought to bear on any one who works so hard as to set a standard of work higher than the others like; and no doubt the presence of a union element may increase this pressure."

Workmen, however, claim that this effort, not to allow any one to work too hard, is due not to any dislike of work, but to the necessity under present conditions of making a job go as far as it can, employ as many men as possible, and be paid for as highly as possible. It is an inevitable result of the present system. Says Mr. George Gunton (*Wealth and Progress*, p. 180):

"Workmen agree among themselves not to do more than a certain quantity of work, because repeated experience has taught them that if they do, their wages will soon be proportionately reduced. That is why, in some trades, the unions forbid the men to produce more than a given quantity per day, which is so bitterly denounced as one of the injurious features of trades-unions. This practise is adopted the most when new kinds of work or new machinery are introduced, in order to keep the price 'per piece' as high as possible."

Why rapid work reduces wages Mr. Gunton explains. He shows that wages depend on what it costs the working man to live according to the standard of comfort of his class. He cannot long get more than this, because, if he does, some other workmen will offer to work at this standard of comfort price and, under competition, the employer will be compelled to employ him, since the competition compels him, in order to sell cheap, to hire the cheapest labor which can produce a given quantity and quality of work. Hence, if, either by day-work or by piece-work, workmen are seen to be earning more than the standard of comfort wages, the employer not only usually does cut down the wages, but is usually compelled to cut them down. Hence competition prevents working men from long earning in any system wages above the standard of comfort, and rapid work lowers their wages. Says Mr. Gunton (*idem*, p. 181):

"Although this law has never been understood, it has always been implicitly obeyed. Consequently,

wherever the wages system prevails, whether the price of labor is fixed by royal proclamation, statute law, or competition, we find the rate of wages tends to conform to the cost of living, and the price of 'piece-work' to the rate of wages for 'day-work.' . . .

"Accordingly, in the various statutes regulating wages in England from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, we find the price fixed for 'piece-work' always sustained a uniform relation to that of 'day-work.' For instance, threshing a quarter or mowing an acre of wheat was always regarded as a day's work. Hence, in the thirteenth century, when harvest wages were *ad*, a day, the price of mowing an acre or threshing a quarter of wheat was *ad*. . . . also. During the same period, when artisan wages were $\frac{3}{4}$ *ad*, a day, the price for a pair of sawyers to saw 100 planks—which was always reckoned a day's work—was *ad*. . . .

"So when wages rose after the rise in prices in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the price of 'piece-work' always rose correspondingly with that of 'day-work.' Thus, in 1651, when the Essex magistrates fixed the wages of common laborers at *1s.* and *2d.* a day, the price of sawing 100 planks was fixed at *2s.* and *6d.* or *1s.* and *4d.* for each sawyer. And if we compare the price paid for 'piece-work' in the same industries in different countries or localities where similar methods of production are employed, we shall find that the rate paid will vary according to the difference in the cost of living. . . .

"Again, in manufacturing industries, where machinery is extensively used and 'piece-work' is the general practice, although the average wages keep pace with the average cost of living, the price of 'piece-work' always varies inversely with the productive capacity of the machinery. In the cotton industry evidence of this fact is constantly in view. Through the changes in machinery, which are mostly gradual, it sometimes happens that two kinds of machinery (the new and the old) are in use in the same factory, and very often in the same locality, at the same time, and accordingly we frequently find two different prices paid for the same work in the same town, and even in the same establishment—not a different rate of wages, but a different scale of prices, in order to equalize the rate of wages. And sometimes, in order to avoid two scales of prices for the same work, one will be put on 'day-work,' the rate of wages being fixed upon the average earnings of the other. In fact, this is the general practise on new machinery, until its productive capacity is correctly ascertained, after which the scale of prices is fixed accordingly."

"I have, myself, seen three different prices paid for weaving the same cloth in the same room, all because it was woven in different kinds of looms. For example, a 50-inch loom will not run as fast as a 30-inch loom—*i. e.*, the shuttle will not, *ceteris paribus*, pass as many times a minute across a 50-inch space as it will across a 30-inch space. While the former to-day will run at the rate of from 130 to 150 picks a minute, the latter will average from 180 to 200 picks a minute. It will thus be seen that when 30-inch cloth is woven in 40 or 50-inch looms, the weavers on the broad looms cannot weave as many yards per day as those on the narrow looms; hence a higher price per cut is always paid for weaving narrow cloth in broad than in narrow looms."

"If we examine the shoe-trade we find the same unvarying law obtains; and while the average wages of shoemakers have grown in a direct ratio with the cost of living, the price per pair for making shoes has grown less and less in proportion as improved machinery has been adopted. The same is strikingly true in the watch and jewelry business."

The price of piece-work for pivoting, burnishing, gilding, fitting, casing, etc., through the use of improved tools and machinery, is in many instances from 50 to 75 per cent. less than it was formerly. Still, the real wages in these industries are not reduced, the price of 'piece-work' being lessened only in proportion as the capacity to produce is increased. But while wages never rise in the same proportion with the increased power of production, the price of commodities always falls in that ratio; consequently, though the nominal wages of watchmakers, jewelers, shoemakers, and weavers are not proportionately higher, the prices of watches, jewelry, cotton-cloth, and shoes are relatively lower. This explains the fact that the direct and immediate effect of improved machinery is always more strikingly seen in lower prices than in higher wages, all of which is in strict accord with the

History.

Present Facts.

doctrine that the price of labor always moves in direct ratio with the cost of living, and that of commodities in direct ratio with the cost of production.

"It will thus be observed that wherever we go or to whatever industry we turn our attention, we find that the price of labor, either under 'piece-work' or 'day-work,' is ultimately governed by the same law. Manifestly, therefore,

"Whether laborers work by the piece or work by the day,
The cost of their living determines their pay."

The above principles are well illustrated by the following table as to the actual prices paid by day-work and piece-work in Massachusetts and Great Britain. The table is taken from the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau (1885, p. 113). It will be seen that in these industries in both Massachusetts and Great Britain, piece-workers receive less average weekly wages than day laborers.

GENERAL AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE PAID TO DAY, PIECE, AND DAY AND PIECE EMPLOYEES.

INDUSTRIES.	MASSACHUSETTS.			GREAT BRITAIN.		
	Day Hands.	Piece Hands.	Day and Piece Hands.	Day Hands.	Piece Hands.	Day and Piece Hands.
Agricultural Implements.....	\$ 9.94	\$14.27	....	\$ 8.85	....	....
Artisans' tools.....	11.88	10.81	....	h 6.04	....	....
Boots and shoes.....	14.53	11.42	....	h 4.93	h \$5.42	....
Brick.....	8.63	....	....	4.16	....	....
Building trades.....	14.99	....	....	h 7.81	h 9.49	....
Carpetings.....	5.96	6.56	....	4.11	....	....
Carriages and wagons.....	12.80	14.90	....	h 8 53	....	....
Clothing.....	9.17	10.46	\$10.43	h 9.73	5.78	....
Cotton goods.....	6.61	6.31	....	h 7.28	h 6.08	h \$4.72
Flax and jute goods.....	6.48	5.55	....	h 3.27	....	2.78
Food preparations.....	10.08	6.65	....	h 3.74	....	....
Furniture.....	11.16	11.35	7.69	7.96	....	....
Glass.....	12.83	9.62	....	h 10.95	....	h 9.92
Hats: fur, wool, and silk.....	9.73	11.75	9.00	h 7.30	8.66	5.87
Hosiery.....	8.69	h 6.48	....	7.22	....	4.44
Liquors: malt and distilled.....	12.86	13.13	....	h 19.46	....	....
Machines and machinery.....	11.96	....	9.43	h 7.40	7.16	h 8.62
Metals and metallic goods.....	11.55	10.74	11.92	h 10.51	h 6.91	....
Printing and publishing.....	11.36	11.40	....	h 9.48	h 10.07	h 7.14
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.....	8.68	7.63	....	h 4.83	h 4.97	h 6.32
Stone.....	13.54	15.01	....	h 10.16	....	....
Wooden goods.....	13.51	8.55	....	5.67	....	....
Woolen goods.....	6.79	7.01	....	h 5.49	....	....
Worsted goods.....	7.39	7.21	....	2.55	....	h 4.27

h indicates that of wages on more than one basis the highest has been used.

CLASSIFICATION.	MASSACHUSETTS.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
	Number of Industries.	General Average Weekly Wage.	Number of Industries.	General Average Weekly Wage.
Day hands.....	24	\$10.46	24	\$7.43
Piece hands.....	21	9.85	9	7.17
Day and piece hands.....	5	9.69	9	6.01

There can be no questioning these facts. Hence workmen have learned that by working fast they do not *permanently* increase their pay, but soon find themselves producing more, working faster, and employing fewer men, while their wages are not higher. They do find, however, that wages rise by making labor more costly.

The best and most intelligent workmen therefore do not favor piece-work; it is usually the more ignorant though quick new workers who sometimes favor it, because *for a while* it seems to enable them to earn more; a gain, however, soon to be lost when the employer lowers the wage to bring it down to the level of earnings *necessitated* by the competition of the market.

Piece-work too often makes the worker scant his work and sacrifice quality to quantity. Nevertheless, in many trades it prevails, because employers usually favor it, since it enables them to get more work for the same pay, and because in many trades, where quantity counts for more than quality, it is a convenient form of payment.

References: George Gunton's *Wealth and Progress*, chap. viii.; Marshall's *Economics of Industry*, pp. 393-394.

PINGREE, HAZEN S., the well-known reform mayor of Detroit, was born on a farm in Maine in 1842. In 1856 he went to serve his time in a Massachusetts shoe factory, but when 20 years old enlisted and served through the

whole War of the Rebellion, spending six months as a prisoner of war at Andersonville. At the close of the war he went to Detroit and found work in a shoe factory, but after a time started a small factory of his own, and, with keen business instincts and sterling honesty, worked his way to wealth, owning the largest shoe factory west of New York. He traveled and showed culture and refinement. In 1889 there was great dissatisfaction in Detroit, owing to municipal corruption and mismanagement. Mr. Pingree was asked to stand for the mayoralty and finally consented to do so, tho up to this time he had taken little interest in politics. He threw his energy into the campaign and was elected by a majority of 2318. Altho a Republican, he immediately subordinated partizan politics to the public good, and with indomitable energy began to run the city on business principles. Finding himself opposed by a corrupt council and private companies who, for a song, could buy whatever franchises they wanted, he commenced to fight them. In his first message he announced that the time had come for the city to control its own public lighting. The companies fought him in the courts and in every way; sometimes retaining all the able lawyers, so that the mayor had to seek elsewhere for legal advice. The council was more than once ready to pass over his veto an ordinance giving the electric lighting and other privileges to private corporations. Mr. Pingree boldly accused them of venality and was ready to give names, and at last terrified them into submission. In his message for 1896 he says:

"Another cause for congratulation on the part of the city lies in the successful completion and operation of the public lighting plant, by which the cost of public lighting has been reduced from \$11.15 to \$7.20 per arc lamp. The city has been lighted for three months by this plant, and during that brief period has saved the city \$18,961.60, with first-class service.

In his battle with the railway companies he has not been able yet to gain municipal ownership, because it needs a change of charter, and the legislature is too much controlled by the companies; but after a prolonged fight he has brought a new corporation to Detroit to battle the old ones, and has gained for a portion of the city 3-cent fares, and now proposes to accept a proposition made by the Detroit Railway to operate all the tracks of the city at 2½ cent fares, with universal transfers, the company to pay interest on the purchase price of the tracks. He has also fought the gas companies and early secured a reduction of their rates from \$1.50 to \$1, with a prospect of still further reduction. Very widely known is his potato-patch scheme, through which, in the hard times of 1894, he was successful in relieving the unemployed. (For an account of this, see Detroit Plan.) He has also fought for free water, direct legislation, a general adoption of the eight-hour day and other reforms. He has written a popular book, *Facts and Opinions; or, Dangers that Beset Us*. In 1896 he was elected Governor of Michigan on the Republican ticket.

PINKERTONS, THE.—In 1852 Allan G. Pinkerton, a Scotchman, who, having become involved in the Chartist outbreak in Birmingham, had emigrated to the United States, and here having from love of adventure secured the arrest of a band of counterfeiters, had been appointed deputy sheriff, established in Chicago a detective agency. His agency was very successful, and during the War of the Rebellion Mr. Pinkerton superintended the secret service of the army. Later, in the labor troubles in Pennsylvania, his agency was employed against the Molly Maguires. Henceforth, the Pinkerton agency was employed more and more by employers to defend their works from threatened violence on the part of mobs rising in connection with strikes. They became bitterly hated by working men. The working men claimed the Pinkertons did more than protect the property of their employers. They claimed that the agency went into the slums of the great cities, hired desperadoes and men of the worst character, swore them in as special detectives, and then sent them not only to protect the property of employers, but to incense the populace and provoke it to violence, then firing upon the populace on the least provocation. The working men claimed that the Pinkertons created more evil than they allayed. Stories were circulated of the Pinkertons secretly doing violence themselves, laying it to working men, and then firing on them. Finally, when, at the great Homestead strike (*q. v.*), Pinkertons in large numbers and armed with rifles were marched to Homestead, the working men rose and repulsed them as they would an invading army. Working men claim that the duty of protecting property should be left to the police; that if these are not sufficient, the army should be called in, but that bodies of reckless armed private mercenaries should not be allowed to fire on citizens. As a result of this popular feeling, Congress appointed a committee to investigate into the employment of such private armed bodies of men, and some States passed bills forbidding such employment. (See STRIKES.)

PLACE, FRANCIS.—A master tailor who played a large and important part in the English labor movement at the beginning of the century. Before setting up a shop of his own at Charing Cross, London, he had worked as a journeyman breeches-maker, and had been active in effecting organizations in his own and other trades. When he set up for himself he was still more active, and after 1818 left the conduct of his business to his son, and devoted himself wholly to the labor movement: first, to the repeal of the combination laws, and second, to the reform movement. He was a pupil of Bentham, a radical individualist, and a shrewd parliamentary lobbyist. As early as 1810 he testified before a select committee of the House against measures proposed by the employers, and in 1814 set himself seriously to overthrow the combination laws (see CONSPIRACIES). Working through a little working-class paper, the *Gorgon*, he gained the support of Joseph Hume and J. R. McCulloch, then editor of the *Scotsman*. Joseph Hume, in the House of

Commons in 1822, gave notice of his intention to bring in a bill repealing all combination laws, but Place really managed the case, marshaled the witnesses, and arranged their evidence. Scarcely realizing what was done, Parliament passed the bill. The employers were now thoroughly roused, and the next year succeeded in partly modifying the bill, though Hume in Parliament, and Place outside, ably fought them at every point. After this Place took less active part in the movement, but has left valuable manuscripts, letters, books, and an unpublished autobiography, which are being worked by Mr. Graham Wallas into a critical biography of this important man. (See *History of Trade-Unionism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.)

PLATO (429-347 B. C.) was born in Athens, the year of the death of Pericles. At the age of 20, coming under the influence of Socrates, he chose philosophy for his life pursuit, but was driven from Athens and lived in Sicily, visiting (probably) Italy and Africa. At the age of 40 he was able to return to Athens and establish a school of philosophy, the *Academy*; a beautiful garden, where for 41 years he taught, his greatest pupil being Aristotle. His greatest economic writings are *The Republic* and *The Laws*. The following review of his economic teachings is given in Professor Ingram's *History of Political Economy*. He says :

"The most celebrated of Greek ideal systems is that of Plato. In it the idea of the subordination of the individual to the State appears in its most extreme form. Within that class of the citizens of his republic who represent the highest type of life, community of property and of wives is established, as the most effective means of suppressing the sense of private interest, and consecrating the individual entirely to the public service. It cannot perhaps be truly said that his scheme was incapable of realization in an ancient community favorably situated for the purpose. But it would soon be broken to pieces by the forces which would be developed in an industrial society. It has, however, been the fruitful parent of modern Utopias; specially attractive as it is to minds in which the literary instinct is stronger than the scientific judgment, in consequence of the freshness and brilliancy of Plato's exposition and the unrivaled charm of his style. Mixed with what we should call the chimerical ideas in his work, there are many striking and elevated moral conceptions, and, what is more to our present purpose, some just economic analysis. In particular, he gives a correct account of the division and combination of employments, as they naturally arise in society. The foundation of the social organization he traces, perhaps too exclusively, to economic grounds, not giving sufficient weight to the disinterested social impulses in men which tend to draw and bind them together. But he explains clearly how the different wants and capacities of individuals demand and give rise to mutual services, and how, by the restriction of each to the sort of occupation to which, by his position, abilities, and training, he is best adapted, everything needful for the whole is more easily and better produced or effected. In the spirit of all the ancient legislators he desires a self-sufficing State, protected from unnecessary contacts with foreign populations which might tend to break down its internal organization or to deteriorate the national character. Hence he discountenances foreign trade, and with this view removes his ideal city to some distance from the sea. The limits of its territory are rigidly fixed, and the population is restricted by the prohibition of early marriages, by the exposure of infants, and by the maintenance of a determinate number of individual lots of land in the hands of the citizens who cultivate the soil. These precautions are inspired more by political and moral motives than by the Malthusian fear of failure of subsistence. Plato

aims, as far as possible, at equality of property among the families of the community which are engaged in the immediate prosecution of industry. This last class, as distinguished from the governing and military classes, he holds, according to the spirit of his age, in but little esteem; he regards their habitual occupations as tending to the degradation of the mind and the enfeeblement of the body, and rendering those who follow them unfit for the higher duties of men and citizens. The lowest forms of labor he would commit to foreigners and slaves. Again, in the spirit of ancient theory, he wishes (*Legg.* v. 12) to banish the precious metals, as far as practicable, from use in internal commerce, and forbids the lending of money on interest, leaving indeed to the free will of the debtor even the repayment of the capital of the loan. All economic dealings he subjects to active control on the part of the Government, not merely to prevent violence and fraud, but to check the growth of luxurious habits, and secure to the population of the State a due supply of the necessaries and comforts of life."

PLUTOCRACY (Gr. *πλοῦτος*, wealth, and *κρατεῖν*, to rule) is the rule of wealth, or government by the wealthy class. (For the principles involved, see STATE.) We consider here the facts as to the rule of wealth in the United States. Many believe this to be the danger to-day most threatening the public weal. We therefore consider it at no little length, collecting the testimony only of responsible men and careful students, rigidly excluding all common gossip or careless exaggeration. We commence with a few general judgments from leading men.

Bishop H. C. Potter of New York, in his address on the anniversary of Washington's Inaugural, April 30, 1889, spoke freely of the danger to our political institutions from amassed fortunes and alluded to "the growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual."

Says the Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D. (*Our Country*, pp. 166-168):

"It is useless for us to protest that we are democratic, and to plead the leveling character of our institutions. There is among us an aristocracy of recognized power, and that aristocracy is one of wealth. No heraldry offends our republican prejudices. Our ensigns armorial are the trade-mark. Our laws and customs recognize no noble titles; but men can forego the husk of a title who possess the fat ears of power. In England there is an eager ambition to rise in rank, an ambition as rarely gratified as it is commonly experienced. With us, aspiration meets with no such iron check as birth. A man has only to build higher the pedestal of his wealth. He may stand as high as he can build. His wealth cannot secure to him genuine respect, to be sure; but for that matter, neither can birth. It will secure to him an obsequious deference. It may purchase political distinction. It is power. In the Old World, men commonly live and die in the condition in which they are born. The peasant may be discontented, may covet what is beyond his reach; but his desire draws no strength from expectation. Heretofore, in this country, almost any laborer, by industry and economy, might gain a competence, and even a measure of wealth; and, tho now we are beginning to approximate the conditions of European labor, young men, generally, when they start in life, still expect to become rich; and, thinking not to serve their god for naught, they commonly become faithful votaries of Mammon. Thus the prizes of wealth in the United States, being at the same time greater and more easily won, and the lists being open to all comers, the rush is more general, and the race more eager than elsewhere. . . . And, while Mammonism corrupts morals, it blocks reforms. Men who have favors to ask of the public are slow to follow their convictions into any unpopular reform movement. They can render only a sur-reptitious service. Their discipleship must needs be

secret, 'for fear of the' customers or clients or patients. It is Mammonism which makes most men *invertebrates*. When important Mormon legislation was pending, certain New York merchants telegraphed to members of Congress: 'New York sold \$12,000,000 worth of goods to Utah last year. Hands off!'

As long ago as 1871 Charles Francis Adams, since himself president of a great railroad organization, wrote (*Chapters on Erie*):

"The system of corporate life and corporate power, as applied to industrial development, is yet in its infancy. It tends always to development, always to consolidation; it is ever grasping new powers or insistently exercising covert influences. Even now the system threatens the central government. . . . The belief is common in America that the day is at hand when corporations far greater than ever,—swaying power such as has never in the world's history been trusted in the hands of mere private citizens, controlled by single men like Vanderbilt, or by combinations of men, like Fiske, Gould, and Sage,—after having created a system of quiet but irrepressible corruption, will ultimately succeed in directing government itself. . . . It is a new power for which our language contains no name. We know what aristocracy, autocracy, democracy are, but we have no word to express 'government by moneyed corporations.'"

A very recent utterance is the address of Justice Henry B. Brown of the United States Supreme Court, before the law school of Yale, in June, 1895. He said in his address:

"The I am unwilling to believe that corporations are solely responsible for our municipal misgovernment, the fact remains that bribery and corruption are so universal as to threaten the very structure of society. Universal suffrage, which it was confidently supposed would inure to the benefit of the poor man, is so skillfully manipulated as to rivet his chains and secure to the rich man a predominance in politics he has never enjoyed under a restricted system. Probably in no country in the world is the influence of wealth more potent than in this, and in no period of our history has it been more powerful than now."

Judge William J. Gaynor of the New York Supreme Court, writing to the St. Louis Mercantile Club a letter for Jefferson Day, 1895, says:

"The untold millions of sham, dishonest, and oppressive paper stock and bonds now existing in this country, issued generally upon rights and privileges conferred by law gratuitously, and to pay dividends and interest upon which it is proposed to sap agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, mercantile, professional, and all other honest industry, may well be the subject of grave thought by those who meet to recur to and keep alive principles which are wholly antagonistic to such a condition, and which cannot be said to be paramount while such a condition exists."

It is true that the New York *Evening Post* ridicules Judge Gaynor's alarm as an hallucination, and says:

"The fact is that plutocrats are so scarce that one may travel five hundred miles without seeing or hearing one. . . . So far, too, from the 'oppressive paper' sapping the honest industry, it is the honest industry which saps the oppressive paper. Oppressive paper rarely pays more than half a year, while it is honest industry which carries the country along and makes the world go round."

The *World*, however, answers the *Evening Post*, and says:

"What influence was it except the money of the Sugar Trust operating in the Senate which thwarted the purpose of the great majority of the House of Representatives and reestablished an odious sugar tax? Was not the successful hold-up of the Wilson bill in the Senate an example of the domination of a republic by plutocrats? Or, take the beef trust, the coal trust, the oil trust, as they rule the market and rob the people to-day—what is their power except

the towering tyranny of combined capital? The power arbitrarily to fix the prices of great staples, and successfully to defy laws enacted to restrain such combinations, comes painfully near to absolute supremacy. The man who buys a piece of pork or a barrel of oil or a ton of coal does not find plutocracy a 'hallucination.' How many senators of the United States owe their seats directly to the use of money? Are there not enough such to hold the balance of power in that body and so to control legislation?"

Says Professor R. T. Ely (*Problems of To-Day*, p. 210):

"Our Federal, State, and local governments are now controlled by men who hold their offices in trust for powerful private parties, and they view public measures not from the standpoint of the general public, but from the standpoint of those in whose employ they are. . . . One proof of this is the way in which legislative favors are exchanged. . . . The lobbies which exist everywhere are further proof. These are maintained to instruct legislators in regard to private interests and to make it worth while for them to help forward some schemes for plundering the people. Again and again have citizens found it an absolute impossibility to secure any attention for measures designed simply to benefit the general public. Legislatures and city councils will not even take time to give them superficial attention" (*Problems of To-Day*, pp. 210-211).

The opinion that Democracy is a failure is growing in the United States. Says a Michigan Supreme Court decision:

"Indeed it is doubtful if free government can long exist in a country where such enormous amounts of money are allowed to be accumulated in the vaults of corporations, to be used at discretion in controlling the property and business of the country against the interest of the public" (*Michigan State Reports*, vol. lxxvii. p. 632).

Not all, however, admit the danger from plutocracy. Papers like the New York *Evening Post* deny that it is a wide-spread evil, while some writers even excuse the buying of legislation. They argue that when a rich man meets a highwayman and is compelled to surrender his purse, **Defense of Corporations.** no one calls it a corrupt proceeding on the part of the rich man. So, they say, corporations go to the legislature for legitimate legislation—legislation for the good of the whole community—legislation without which commerce could not prosper, yet they are met at the door by corrupt and venal political highwaymen, who compel them to pay or not get their legislation. The fault, such writers say, is not with the corporations, but with the voters who elect highwaymen to office. Mr. Hudson, who cannot be accused of overpartiality to corporations, reminds us in his *Railways and the Republic*, that if any corporations, with an exceptional and miraculous scrupulousness, should abstain from these methods, it would be crowded out of existence by the competition of its less scrupulous rivals. Of the Senators said to represent railway interests he says:

"It is not fair to say that these men deliberately choose to serve their corporate interests rather than the nation in public office. Many of them believe that the interests of the railways are the public interests. Their habits of life, their associations, their business training, their success in the service of the corporations, and, above all, their interests support that belief."

Defenders of the present system, therefore, argue that what is the real evil is not plutocracy, but a vitiated public service. The cure they look for lies in the extension of civil-ser-

vice reform, municipal purity, the enforcement of educational qualifications for the suffrage, etc., etc.

After these various general judgments, we consider some detailed facts and evidences of plutocratic perils:

First, we note the constitution of our national legislature and the extent to which the corporations, and not the people, are represented therein. This applies more directly of course to the "millionaire Senate" than the House, but very largely to both. Of the Cabinet we shall speak later. In

Composition of Congress. 1895-97, there are about 88 members (not including the Senators from Utah). Of these 57 are lawyers, 2 are termed capitalists, 1 manufacturer, 2 merchants, 2 railroad presidents, 2 miners, 1 brewer, 1 steamship manager, 1 railroad and coal operator, 1 car builder, 2 bankers. The remaining 15 members out of the 88 are 3 journalists, 4 public officials, 3 farmers, 1 literary man, 1 physician, 1 clergyman, 1 planter, 1 stock grower. In the House, out of 356 members, 228 are lawyers, 14 bankers, 15 manufacturers, 12 merchants, 4 real estate dealers, 2 contractors, 2 capitalists. Of the remaining 79, 27 are farmers, 5 journalists, 5 public officials, 4 planters, 5 physicians, 8 editors, and the rest scattering. With a legislature thus constituted, and realizing whence a successful lawyer today must usually draw his large fees, it is only too evident what must be the character of our legislation. Says Mr. J. F. Hudson in a carefully balanced statement:

"The methods by which corporate interests control political action may be classified broadly in two great divisions. The first includes the election or appointment of representatives of the railways to public courts in which they can serve the corporate interests. The second covers the use of their immense pecuniary resources in downright bribery or indirect influence of those holding such trusts. The first method may involve no direct corruption of the elective or appointing power. The

Forms of Bribery.

method of directly attacking the integrity of the representatives and servants of the people, to secure their adherence to corporate interests, is hazardous and expensive when applied to high departments of government, which are under the constant inspection and criticism of the public. It is, therefore, less frequent, as I am glad to believe, in efforts to influence the action of the national Government than the former plan. But as we go down the scale of political power and prominence, the dangers of exposure decrease, and the frequency of direct or indirect acts of corruption increase rapidly. . . . Hence, bribery by corporations, direct or indirect, is far more frequent in the State legislatures than in Congress, while the same practice in municipal bodies may be said to be general. It is a contribution to the maxims of corruption, by one of the lights of the lobby management in Pennsylvania, that it is cheaper to buy representatives or delegates after they are elected than to elect the men wanted."

Yet how much money is spent by corporations in elections is well known. Mr. James Bryce (*American Commonwealth*, vol. ii., third edition, pp. 613-614) refers to "the large subscriptions and promises of political support" made by the wealthy to national parties to procure or prevent legislation. He says:

"Plutocracy used to be considered a form of oligarchy, and opposed to democracy. But there is a strong plutocratic element infused into American

democracy; and the fact that constitutions ignore differences of property, treating all voters alike, makes it neither less potent nor less mischievous. . . . In the United States the money power acts by corrupting sometimes the voter, sometime the juror, sometimes the legislator, sometimes a whole party. The enormous amounts of money spent in great city elections like those of New York City, and which sometimes turn national elections, is well known.

Mr. W. M. Ivins, city chamberlain of New York, in an address before the Commonwealth Club of that city, as reported in *The Nation* for March 3, 1887, showed an ordinary city election to cost the enormous sum of \$1,283,000. He showed that in November, 1886, the city paid \$222,500 for 4872 officers on duty at the polls, besides \$68,500 for Federal marshals. Besides this various political leaders drew, nominally as salaries but really to keep themselves in power, \$330,000, an average of \$4750 apiece. To this Mr. Ivins adds \$750,000 paid in one way or another for hangers-on, heelers, etc., and \$291,000 for the legal machinery of elections, making it give a grand total of \$1,283,000.

Money in Elections.

To meet this, he says, the candidates are assessed as follows:

Mayor (for 3 machines).....	\$25,000-30,000
Supreme Judge (for 2 or 3 machines)....	10,000-20,000
Superior Judge (for 2 or 3 machines).....	10,000-15,000
Common Pleas (for 2 or 3 machines).....	10,000-15,000
Register.....	15,000-40,000
Comptroller.....	10,000
Sheriff.....	10,000
County Clerk.....	10,000
District Attorney.....	5,000
Congress.....	5,000-10,000
State Senator.....	5,000-10,000
Assembly.....	500-1,000

Allowing two candidates for each office, this makes, Mr. Ivins calculates, \$211,200 assessed from candidates. The average disbursements by all organizations he puts at \$307,000. The balance is paid by contributions from the wealthy and from other interested factors. In the election of 1886 he calculates that 45,475 men were under pay, or one-fifth of the total vote. (See CORRUPTION.)

Whence comes the money to buy these men? In part from the assessments upon candidates.

Said Charles Francis Adams in 1871:

"The existing coalition between the Erie Railway and the Tammany Ring is a natural one, for the former needs votes, the latter money."

We come now to consider some typical illustrations of the power of plutocracy. Mr. Hudson says (*Railways and the Republic*):

"The most conspicuous of all is the complete control which a great corporation has had for 20 years or more over the State of Pennsylvania. The old joke of moving to adjourn the legislature of that State 'if the Pennsylvania Railroad has no more business for this body to transact' dates from the early stages of corporate development; but hardly a legislature has convened in that State for many years in which it would have been felt to be pointless. With one brief spell of legislative independence, the laws of the commonwealth, as far as that corporation has any interest or claim, have been made by its managers and registered by the legislature. . . . John D. Lawson, in his work, *Leading Cases Simplified*, referring to the decision in the case of *Thorogood vs. Bryan*, says: 'The American courts decline to follow it, except in Pennsylvania. Here, perhaps, is the place to warn the student, so far as the law of carriers is concerned, not to pay much heed to the decisions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, at least during

Pennsylvania Railroad.

the past 10 or 15 years. The Pennsylvania Railroad appears to run that tribunal with the same success that it does its own trains.' . . . This corporate supremacy through the Republican party in one State finds a parallel in another State under Democratic ascendancy. The power of the Standard Oil Company in the Democratic Legislature of Ohio has been

Standard Oil Monopoly.

asserted in the election of a United States Senator and in the defeat of the bill to give competing refineries equality in pipe-line transportation with that monopoly. It has been charged that wholesale bribery was used to secure these results. Such charges by political opponents might not command belief, altho the persistent refusal to investigate them is suspicious. But the Democratic agent of the bribery has acknowledged it. During the last session of the body stigmatized by its partizan opponents as 'the coal and oil legislature,' the legislative agent of the 'ring' which is credited with its control appeared on the floor in a state of gross intoxication. The offense was too public and notorious to be overlooked, and a committee was appointed to enforce discipline. Before the committee had begun its work, the offender declared that the House dared not discipline him; that he had paid too many members for their votes; that he had a list of those that had been purchased; and that, if he were punished for his behavior, he would expose a majority of that body as having accepted bribes. The excitement was great; the challenge was accepted; he was called before the committee and asked for the list. He then retracted his charge and all further proceedings against him for his outrage upon the rules of the House was quietly dropped. . . . This was in the State legislature. It was, however, carried to Congress."

Mr. H. D. Lloyd, in his *Wealth vs. Commonwealth*, thus states this portion of the narrative. We abridge his account:

Both houses of the Ohio legislature forwarded formal charges of bribery to the United States Senate and appealed for an investigation. It was not granted, tho it had been the invariable custom of the Senate to grant such investigations, and Senator Sherman, the other Senator from Ohio, had declared that he agreed with every word of the appeal

Election of Mr. Payne.

and that it was the belief of a very large majority of the people of Ohio that the election was bought. Mr. Payne, the Senator whose election was declared to have been bought, did not deny the facts. He simply denied that he had spent any money for his election and offered to show his private papers. But that was not the accusation. The Committee on Privileges and Elections recommended (Senators Pugh, Saulsbury, Vance, and Eustis voting against Senators Hoar and Frye) against investigation. In the debate on the adoption of the majority report Senator Hoar said: "The adoption of this majority report . . . will be the most unfortunate fact in the history of the Senate." In the minority report he had declared that refusing to investigate would show that the Senate "is indifferent to the question whether its seats are to be in the future the subject of bargain and sale, or may be presented by a few millionaires as a compliment to a friend." When the majority report was adopted, Senator Edmunds is said to have turned to his neighbor in the Senate and to have said: "This is a day of infamy for the Senate of the United States."

But the Standard Oil Monopoly and its friends could be represented in the Cabinet as well as in the Senate. In December, 1892, the Secretary of the Treasury decided that the oil combination should be paid a drawback for the duties it had paid on imported steel hoops. "It isn't pleasant," said the *New York World* editorially, February 23, 1891, "to have a Secretary of the Treasury who holds intimate relations with the oil trust." Through the Secretary of the Navy, too, the company of the International Line of Atlantic steamers, whose president is also president of the pipe-line branch of the oil trust, got various favors; Congress granting them the monopoly

Further Influence.

of carrying the mails for 10 years from 1895 and a subsidy of \$1,354,496 a year on investment of not over \$10,000,000 on the part of the company. The Secretary of the Navy urged the bill upon the naval committees of Congress. It was to help American

commerce, but the company by especial vote was allowed to raise the American flag on two English-built steamers, and the Secretary of the Treasury later excused the company from obeying, as to its engineers, the requirements of the bill that its officers be Americans. Patriotism was appealed to to carry the bill through, but when it had been voted patriotism was dropped. The same Secretary of the Navy got through the closing hours of the Congress of 1889-90 a bill appropriating \$1,000,000 for nickel ore to be purchased by the Secretary of the Navy when and where he would. Duty was to be taken off the ore, and it could thus be bought at Sudbury, Canada, the only nickel mine of importance in Canada and a mine alleged to be owned by the oil combination. The Postmaster-General, who stands between the United States and the subsidized company that carries its foreign mails, is one of the firm of counsel that defended some of the owners of the company in their trial at Buffalo for blowing up a rival oilworks. (See STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY.) It is little wonder that Senator Hoar during the debate as to Mr. Payne, asked if the trust was represented in the Cabinet as well as in the Senate. For still other charges against the trust, see STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY.

Nor must it be thought that these notorious scandals are the only ones. Says Mr. Hudson:

"Such practises are not peculiar to railway corporations. They occur to a greater or less degree in the political relations of water corporations, electric companies, gas companies, telegraph companies, and even manufacturing companies, where their opportunities for profit can be affected by the exercise of governmental power. The railways are the greatest and most powerful of all these organizations, because their interests are most directly affected by legislation and by public administration. But the nature of corporate influence on politics is always the same. The sole aim is pecuniary profit; the impersonal character removes all limitations of conscience. . . . A striking picture of the methods of the corporations in dealing with legislation in that State [New York] was furnished by the testimony of Mr. Jay Gould. . . . Mr. Gould artlessly says: 'We were Republicans in Republican districts, and Democrats in Democratic districts, but always for the Erie Railway.' The companion picture furnished by the Huntington letters, published last year, throws new light on corporate lobbying in Congress. Here in the confidence of private correspondence, we learn from the railway kings how some statesmen serve the corporations under the pretense of opposing them; how editorial opinions in leading journals are a good investment for the corporation fund; how unsuspected lobby agents are set to work, apparently without concert, but under secret orders from one head; how, in short, the unlimited resources of great corporations employ all that is unscrupulous, wily, disreputable, and dangerous in politics to attack members in their weak points, to flatter, bribe, and control them so that they must support the corporations. . . ."

Ordinary Corporations.

Professor E. W. Bemis, at that time of the University of Chicago, in a paper before the National Convention for Good City Government held in Minneapolis, December, 1894, tells of a corporation voting \$100,000 to buy the Chicago city council as calmly as it would vote to buy a new building, and says that, according to a reliable attorney's information, such is an ordinary proceeding.

Another most serious sign of the growth of plutocracy is the extent to which great corporations openly and flagrantly violate the laws that are passed. Says Mr. Hudson (*Railways and the Republic*, pp. 324-325):

"It is a humiliating confession to make, and one which shows the magnitude of the power with which legislation must measure its strength, that the constitutional prohibitions of a dozen States, traversed by great railway lines, against discriminations, rebates, the consolidation of competing lines, the granting of free passes, and other practises are practically waste paper.

The constitutions of California and Pennsylvania are striking illustrations. Their language is clear, and strong enough, if enforced, to prevent nine-tenths of the abuses which unregulated railways practise. Yet in California the rule of the Central Pacific Railway over commerce is unlimited. The commissioners provided for in the Constitution are expensive figure-heads, and the Constitution as a restraint upon that great corporation is a dead letter. In Pennsylvania a similar result has been obtained by the success of the Pennsylvania Railroad in preventing legislation to give effect to the Constitution."

Mr. Lloyd gives us some of the details of this. He says (we abridge his account):

"Pennsylvania in 1873 adopted a new constitution. By its common carriers were forbidden to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines or to buy land except for carrying purposes. The Constitution has been defiantly ignored by the railroads. Says the report of Congress of 1888, 'the railroads have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal as well as of neighboring agricultural lands.' They have been 'aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal.' So far from quitting it they 'have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite' (Report, p. 13). The legislature has aided them, and has passed laws to nullify the Constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the State of the immense area of lands held unlawfully by the railroads."

In Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lloyd adds another illustration of the way corporations evade the law:

"In 1837 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Law, and established the Interstate Commerce Commission, to enforce justice on the railroads. The independent miners of Pennsylvania appealed to it against the railroads. Two years and a half were consumed in proceedings. Then the commission ordered the roads to reduce their rates. It was never done. In 1893 Congress found their rates to be 50 cents a ton higher than what the commission required. The Interstate Commerce Law provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers. The only conviction had under it has been of a shipper for discriminating against a railroad" (H. D. Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, p. 19).

"Railroads like the Pennsylvania Railroad simply laugh at the Interstate Commerce Commission. September 3, 1888, all the trunk railroads advanced their rates on barrels of oil, and claimed that this rise was forced upon them by the commission. The commission protested that that was not according to their decision. 'I did not consider it in that way,' answered one railroad official. 'That was their (the commission's) view of the case, but it was not shared by us.' 'It was considered best to continue the practise,' said the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad (Testimony Titusville and Oil City, Independents' cases, p. 462-542). Said Wendell Phillips: 'There is no power in one State to resist such a giant as the Pennsylvania road. We have 38 one-horse legislatures in this country, and we have a man like Tom Scott with \$350,000,000 in his hands, and if he walks through the States they have no power.'"

Interstate Commerce Act.

The president of the sugar trust, before a special committee of the United States Senate, testified that this "politics of business" was the custom of "every individual and corporation and firm, trust or whatever you like to call it" (Senate Report No. 485, Fifty-third Congress, second session, June 21, 1894). Asked if he contributed to State campaign fund, said: "We always do that. . . . In the State of New York, when the Democrat majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it their way. In the State of Massachusetts, when the Republican party is doubtful, they probably have the call. Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls local matters" (Supplemental Report of Senator W. V. Allen

Prevalence of Corruption.

of the Senate Special Committee (ordered May 17, 1894) to investigate alleged attempts at bribery by the sugar trust).

In regard to the relation between government and the monetary and banking interests of the country, it is to be said that the power of plutocracy is probably more marked here than in any other quarter. Yet the very extent to which the monetary legislation and policy of the United States has been dominated by, and certainly on occasion actually corrupted by, the great monetary interests, has led to so many unreliable current reports upon the point, as to make general statement appear to endorse some detailed statements, that cannot be supported, while to say little would not do justice to the extent of this gigantic form of plutocratic power. We therefore refer the subject to the article, *Silver Question*, where it will be carefully treated at the length it demands. We simply print here one quotation from a report of a United States Comptroller of the Currency, which shows that from war times, if not before, the money power has played a large and most criminal part in our monetary legislation.

Mr. Hugh McCulloch, when Comptroller of the Currency, said, in his second report:

"Hostility to the Government has been as decidedly manifested in the effort that has been made in the commercial metropolis of the nation to depreciate the currency as it has been by the enemy in the field, and unfortunately the effort of sympathizers with the rebellion and of the agents of the rebellious States to prostrate the national credit has been strengthened and sustained by thousands in the loyal States whose political fidelity it might be ungenerous to question. Immense interests have been at work all over and concentrated in New York to raise the price of coin, and splendid fortunes have been apparently made by their success. . . . Gold has been a favorite article to gamble in. . . . The effect of all this has been, not to break down the credit of the Government, but to increase enormously the cost of the war and the expense of living; for, however small may have been the connection between the price of coin and our domestic products, every rise of gold, no matter by what means effected, has been used as a pretext by holders and speculators for an advance of prices, to the great injury of the Government and the sorrow of a large portion of the people. . . ."

(See also *CORRUPTION*; *STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY*; *SILVER*; *SYNDICATE*; *WEALTH*, Section Concentration of.)

Revised by H. D. LLOYD.

POLICE.—The policeman is far more than a guardian of the public peace. Mr. Thomas Byrnes calls him "the real court of first instance." Says Mr. H. M. Boies (*Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 237):

"Nowhere, probably, on the face of the globe, does what is commonly known as the police force occupy so prominent, important, and influential a position and sphere in the social organization as it does in the United States; nowhere does it sustain so potent a relation to pauperism and crime as here. . . . In the United States, under a social organization for self-government, a government of laws, which are solely the formulated decrees of popular judgment and will, the police and constabulary constitute almost the only incorporate and vital evidence, or general manifestation, of the authority and dignity of government; they represent the concrete absolutism of the laws, and exercise the majesty and power of the people in, among, and before the people constantly. They become, therefore, to the people here, not only the agents and representatives of self-government, but the express force and soul of government, the general and popu-

lar conception of government itself. This increases the power, dignity, and influence of the police officer in this country immeasurably above what exists elsewhere. It is his province here to bring the popular power into direct contact with and control over the people. . . . The police are, in this country, the eyes and ears, as well as the hands, of the body politic; not only the means of governmental apprehension, but of discovery; the agents of prevention as well as of cure. It devolves upon them to observe the very beginnings of error, failure, and sin in society; to note the sources, the inception, and conception of crime and poverty; to watch their birth, growth, and development; to become familiar with causes and occasions, to recognize the necessary remedies. They seldom feel called upon to interfere; indeed, the principle of their action is not to interfere before the overt act, when correction becomes necessary and prevention is no longer practicable. The intimacy and constancy of their contact with society and its elements should enable them to stretch out the helping or the warning hand of government when it could be efficient, when the needed slight change of direction can be given the individual faced the wrong way, before the club, the handcuff, or the lock-up have become necessary. Indeed, an interference which would be resented from a private person, however gently or kindly made, would be received not only without objection ordinarily from the policeman, but it would carry with it the weight and influence of the wisdom and will of society. A word or an act which would make no impression without authority, with it might be effectual in saving many a youth from ruin. If the police then could be enlisted as conservators of morals as well as preservers of the peace, they would become a power in the community of inestimable utility, and the necessities of their harsher activities would be greatly decreased. The task of training the twig is lighter than bending the tree. If they could be made to devote their chief care to the children and youths when they are beyond the parental eye or control, and be placed in a position representing with authority the organized parentage and domesticity of the community outside its homes, upon the streets and in public places, many of the dangers of city life would be alleviated. Their parental functions might be extended for the general benefit to the relief of the poor from suffering, to the ministrations of charity, to the restrictions of intemperance, the arrest of drunkenness, the correction of evil tendencies, and the rescue of those in peril of moral corruption and ruin."

On the other hand, what the police can do for evil is shown by the following account of the political situation in Philadelphia under the control of the old Gas Ring. It is from Mr. Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*, first edition, vol. ii. chap. lxxxviii.

"The possession of the great city offices gave the members of the Ring the means not only of making their own fortunes, but of amassing a large reserve

fund to be used for 'campaign purposes.' Many of these offices were paid by fees, and not by salary. Five officers were at one time in the receipt of an aggregate of \$223,000 (£44,600), or an average of \$44,600 each (£8,900). One, the collector of delinquent taxes, received nearly \$200,000 a year. Many others had the opportunity, by giving out contracts for public works on which they received large commissions, of enriching themselves almost without limit, because there was practically no investigation of their accounts. The individual official was of course required to contribute to the secret party funds in proportion to his income, and while he paid in thousands of dollars from his vast private gains, assessments were levied on the minor employees down to the very policeman. On one occasion each member of the police force was required to pay \$25, and soon afterward a further tax of \$10, for party purposes. Any one who refused, and much more of course any one who asserted his right to vote as he pleased, was promptly dismissed. The fund was spent in what is called 'fixing things up,' in canvassing, in petty bribery, in keeping bar-rooms open and supplying drink to the workers who resort thither, and, at election times, in bringing in armies of professional personators and repeaters from Washington, Baltimore, and other neighboring cities, to swell the vote for the Ring nominees. These men, some of them, it is said, criminals, others servants in the Government departments in the national capital, could of course have effected little if the election officials and the police had looked sharply after them. But those who presided at the voting-places were mostly in the plot, being Ring men and largely city employees, while the police—and herein not less than in their voting power lies the value of a partizan police—had instructions not to interfere with the strangers, but allow them to vote as often as they pleased, while hustling away keen-eyed opponents.

"A policeman is by law forbidden to approach within thirty feet of the voter. Who was to see that the law was observed when the guardians of the law broke it? According to the proverb, 'If water chokes, what is one to drink next?'"

With this view of what the police do or might do—and no one can know anything of police courts (*q. v.*) without seeing how much of responsibility actually lies upon the police, and frequently how utterly ignorantly they carry it out—it becomes necessary to know what is the organization of the police in this and other countries. Census Bulletin No. 100 gives much information. In cities of over 100,000 inhabitants there are an average of 13.55 patrolmen to each square mile, who make an average of 36 arrests per year. In cities of less than 100,000, there are an average of 3.75 patrolmen to the square mile, who make an average of 51 arrests. The following tables give details:

POLICE STATISTICS BY GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	Number of cities.	Total population.	FORCE.		Average number of arrests annually.	Average cost of force annually.	Average annual number of arrests to each patrolman.	Cost of force to each head of population.	Per cent. of arrests to each head of population.	Percent. of force to each head of population.
			Total.	Patrolmen.						
Total.....	253	15,243,900	20,738	16,951	742,112	\$17,329,160	44	\$1.14	4.87	0.14
North Atlantic.....	106	7,791,295	11,619	9,297	343,892	10,386,331	37	1.33	4.41	0.15
South Atlantic.....	17	1,076,455	1,825	1,529	78,884	1,493,165	52	1.39	7.33	0.17
North Central.....	92	4,817,428	5,570	4,703	173,211	3,753,646	37	0.78	3.60	0.11
South Central.....	18	783,588	895	692	95,739	2,155,571	126	1.07	12.22	0.11
Western.....	20	775,143	889	730	59,386	860,447	69	1.11	6.50	0.11

Statement showing the police statistics for each of fifty of the largest cities in the United States that have made complete returns, including the number of each force divided as to grade, number of arrests annually, number of station-house lodgers, value of lost and stolen property recovered, average annual cost of force, and casualties, with per centages and ratios.

CITIES.	Miles of streets.	FORCE.		Average number of arrests annually.	Average number of station-house lodgers annually.	Value of lost and stolen property recovered.	Average annual cost of force.	Number of patrolmen to each square mile of territory.	Per cent. of arrests to each head of population.	Cost of force to each head of population.
		Officers, detectives, etc.	Patrolmen.							
New York, N. Y.....	575	499	2,922	74,594	138,604	\$987,031	\$4,301,766	72.65	4.92	\$2.90
Chicago, Ill.....	2,048	167	1,458	39,911	39,136	134,341	979,804	9.08	3.63	0.89
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,151	292	1,425	50,000	100,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	11.01	4.78	0.96
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	653	257	900	28,364	21,569	103,309	859,184	34.01	3.52	1.07
St. Louis, Mo.....	1,061	78	535	17,645	3,500	175,650	475,408	8.72	3.91	1.05
Boston, Mass.....	498	237	679	32,867	2,709	119,864	963,355	19.25	7.33	2.15
Baltimore, Md.....	780	163	619	26,502	19,361	107,252	677,914	21.81	6.12	1.56
San Francisco, Cal.	342	70	336	23,411	1,779	58,788	545,500	21.73	7.83	1.82
Cincinnati, O.....	486	33	400	14,000	10,000	50,000	330,000	16.00	4.72	1.11
Cleveland, O.....	462	67	252	7,500	3,000	28,312	250,000	10.13	2.87	0.96
Buffalo, N. Y.....	372	70	272	11,152	3,814	19,143	297,994	6.97	4.36	1.17
New Orleans, La.....	625	93	173	15,000	250	3,000	170,000	4.66	6.20	0.70
Detroit, Mich.....	400	63	395	7,907	4,092	14,351	222,509	14.81	3.45	1.08
Milwaukee, Wis.....	419	24	172	3,581	3,797	9,519	122,488	10.12	1.75	0.60
Washington, D. C..	235	43	365	17,779	4,000	48,762	399,060	35.64	8.76	1.97
Newark, N. J.....	186	33	181	5,775	13,630	22,380	179,000	10.19	3.18	0.93
Minneapolis, Minn.	800	33	166	4,672	1,200	10,000	151,337	3.21	2.84	0.92
Omaha, Neb.....	508	15	80	1,100	400	4,500	65,000	3.27	0.78	0.46
Rochester, N. Y.....	240	25	98	4,000	1,161	5,823	99,307	6.28	2.99	0.74
St. Paul, Minn.....	970	45	125	3,200	300	11,000	98,798	2.43	2.40	0.74
Denver, Col.....	756	25	75	5,000	300	10,000	59,000	4.84	4.69	0.47
Indianapolis, Ind..	400	22	79	3,583	.....	6,760	56,079	7.85	3.40	0.53
Worcester, Mass.....	195	10	84	3,275	5,160	4,062	73,332	2.47	3.87	0.87
Toledo, O.....	438	15	70	3,723	2,468	4,000	73,000	3.55	4.57	0.90
New Haven, Conn..	140	27	85	5,553	2,679	17,495	102,481	11.24	6.83	1.26
Lowell, Mass.....	105	10	66	3,271	2,786	3,000	79,552	5.92	4.21	0.91
Nashville, Tenn.....	251	11	65	4,500	300	1,500	46,000	7.70	5.91	0.60
Fall River, Mass.....	106	18	77	2,286	1,449	4,190	70,407	7.03	3.97	0.95
Cambridge, Mass.....	79	14	65	1,548	1,178	3,268	71,756	11.15	2.21	1.02
Camden, N. J.....	100	1	42	2,500	2,500	.....	30,000	9.68	4.29	0.51
Trenton, N. J.....	100	14	59	2,500	.....	.....	55,000	12.66	4.35	0.96
Lynn, Mass.....	125	3	44	1,660	.....	.....	40,000	4.14	2.98	0.72
Hartford, Conn.....	130	3	50	3,400	25	2,000	55,000	3.41	6.39	1.03
Evansville, Ind.....	136	9	43	2,000	200	500	28,098	9.73	3.94	0.55
Los Angeles, Cal...	800	5	73	2,307	200	6,398	28,800	2.64	4.58	0.57
Lawrence, Mass....	82	8	35	1,975	1,183	5,518	32,717	5.25	4.42	0.73
Hoboken, N. J.....	30	10	50	1,800	3,600	1,000	42,000	34.01	4.12	0.96
Dallas, Texas.....	529	15	32	2,966	.....	4,500	40,000	4.17	7.79	1.05
Sioux City, Ia.....	340	1	14	136	.....	.....	12,000	0.45	0.36	0.32
Portland, Me.....	56	3	37	2,177	652	1,962	33,906	14.74	5.98	0.93
Holyoke, Mass.....	50	2	27	1,000	.....	.....	20,000	6.78	2.81	0.56
Binghamton, N. Y..	80	3	14	1,000	63	.....	8,340	1.39	2.86	0.24
Duluth, Minn.....	224	7	31	2,100	400	9,000	40,000	9.60	6.34	1.21
Elmira, N. Y.....	90	12	20	1,465	300	5,000	17,838	4.49	4.93	0.60
Davenport, Ia.....	140	8	11	794	772	1,231	11,958	2.49	2.95	0.44
Canton, O.....	150	2	17	950	1,000	500	8,400	2.50	3.63	0.32
Taunton, Mass.....	200	3	19	796	1,720	6,472	18,863	0.40	3.13	0.74
Lacrosse, Wis.....	125	6	13	1,850	700	1,000	1,500	1.59	7.37	0.40
Newport, Ky.....	30	3	13	700	600	300	10,000	10.83	2.81	0.40
Rockford, Ill.....	120	3	9	395	85	500	7,500	1.41	1.29	0.32

The methods of organizing the police are different in American cities. Mr. **Organiza- A. R. Conkling**, in his *City Govern- tion in the United States*, tells us that in Chicago it is ruled by a single head. Under the city charter of 1872 the absolute control of the police department is vested in the mayor. He appoints all

officers and men. An incoming mayor may promote, degrade, or discharge any member of the force. As a general rule, however, this official transfers most of the responsibility to the superintendent of police. Neither the bureau of elections nor any other of the municipal or county bureaus is in any way connected with the local police department.

In Philadelphia there is a single-headed bureau (which is a branch of the department of public safety) under a director, who exercises all powers, and is appointed by the mayor. There are no police commissioners, and there is no bureau of elections. The sheriff issues a proclamation for elections. The election officers in each precinct are chosen by the people, and the ballots are furnished by the county commissioners. The police have nothing to do with elections except to preserve the peace. They must pass a civil-service examination.

In St. Louis the police department is governed by four commissioners, who are appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the State Senate. The mayor of St. Louis is, *ex-officio*, president of the board. There is no bureau of elections.

In Cincinnati (population 296,000 in 1890) the board of police commissioners is composed of four electors of the city, who are appointed by the Governor. Not more than two members belong to the same political party. Two of the commissioners, of different political faith, are appointed to serve two years; and the other two, also of different political faith, are designated to serve four years. After the expiration of the term of the commissioners designated to serve two years, all appointments made by the Governor are for four years. The mayor is a member of the board, and hence no tie votes are possible. The board of elections is composed of four citizens, who are appointed by the Governor on the same principle as the board of police commissioners.

In Minneapolis the executive power of the police department is exclusively vested in the mayor. The bureau of elections is independent of the police department. No civil-service examination is required.

In New Orleans the police department is under the management of the board of six police commissioners created by the act of the legislature in 1888. The superintendent is the executive head of the force and is subject to the orders of the mayor; but the board has power to pass resolutions regarding the enforcement of any law, as well as to make regulations for the general government of the force. The police do not supervise elections. All applicants must pass a civil-service examination.

In Detroit there is a bipartizan board of four commissioners, who are appointed by the mayor for the term of four years.

In Boston there are three commissioners, who are appointed by the Governor.

New York has had the greatest difficulty with police organization. In early times her police force became a political machine. In 1857, when the Republican party dominated the State, and the Democrats the city, a metropolitan police district was organized and the police power vested in a board of five members appointed by the Governor, the mayors of New York and Brooklyn

New York. being *ex-officio* members. The citizens resisted the enforcement of this act, but finally submitted.

By a law of 1864 the commissioners were reduced to four named in the act. In 1870 the

above act was repealed, and a board of four commissioners was to be appointed by the mayor. Of this act Mayor Hewitt, in a message to the common council in 1888, says:

"The only obstacle in the way of an efficient administration of the police is to be found in the constitution of the board of commissioners, which consists of four members, two of whom belong to each of the great political parties. It was organized as a non-partizan board; but as a matter of fact, from its very constitution, it is nothing more or less than a partizan board. The patronage of the department is notoriously divided between the commissioners, and a large part of their business has been in the past to satisfy the claims of the two political parties whom they represent. It is fatal to the police that politics should enter either into its composition or its administration. *There is no way, so far as I can see, to get rid of this evil but to place the management of the police in the hands of a single commissioner, to be appointed by the mayor, and to hold office during his pleasure.*

"A competent and honest commissioner would, in all human probability, have a permanent tenure of office. There has been no mayor in my day who would dare to confront public opinion in case he should remove such an officer from his position. On the other hand, the fact that the acts of the commissioner would be thus subject to the supervision of the mayor would insure a conscientious discharge of duty."

Seth Low, in opposing a bipartizan police board for New York, says:

"Until it becomes wise to place an army under the charge of four generals it cannot be wise to place a police department under the control of four men. . . . The founders of this republic committed all the great administrative offices of the general Government to a single head. Our cities do not show their wisdom in departing from this practise. They rather illustrate their lack of wisdom, which is the more evident from the fact that they depart from instead of following so great an example."

Mr. A. R. Conkling says:

"Of all the methods of ruling a police force by a board, the Cincinnati plan is, I think, the best; for there the mayor (an elective officer) may prevent a tie vote, and the electors can hold him responsible for the condition of the department. The chief objection to a bipartizan board is that, if one commissioner changes his politics, there is no way of removing him, unless there be in the statute a provision that any commissioner who joins another organization forfeits his office by that act. But the system of making the police force a department of the municipality is wrong. The American people should learn a lesson from the governments of Europe and place the police departments under the supervision of the State. The police power belongs to the commonwealth. The true remedy for the existing evils of the police boards of cities is to remove the department from politics and make it a branch of the State Government under the control of one official. No police commissioner should stand for office, and it is forbidden by law in New York. The Governor should appoint the commissioners throughout the State, as is now the custom in several of the large cities."

Recently, New York has had a complete overhauling of her police force (see LEXOW INVESTIGATION), and many reforms have been proposed. It was sworn testimony that an applicant must pay, either by political assessment or otherwise, for appointment, and an officer must contribute an enormous sum, either to the "ring" or to the commissioners, for promotion; that accordingly many members of the force, of all grades, extorted money from certain classes of citizens in return for a license to violate the laws and ordinances with impunity, and that the police force organized machine votes for their friends.

In Great Britain the police is founded on a civil plan. In London the commission consists of a chief and his assistants, appointed for life by the Queen on the recommendation of the Home Secretary. The metropolitan police is composed of 15,099 officers and men and 334 horses, for which the annual appropriation is \$6,437,550. There is also the city police, consisting of 988 men, whose yearly compensation is about \$570,000.

Europe.

In Paris the organization of the police is distinctly military, under a prefect of police who is under the minister of the interior. The prefect occupies almost a cabinet position and resigns after a conspicuous failure, as after the students' riot in 1892, and the assassination of President Carnot. The number of men belonging to the municipal police of Paris is 8174, and the annual appropriation is \$4,370,926. There are also "indicators" or spies, usually reformed criminals.

In Berlin there are many kinds of police, all in military organization under the minister of the interior. The force is divided into two departments, the day watch and the night watch. The municipal authorities maintain besides a force of night watchmen, whose duty is chiefly to protect the property of the citizens. The Berlin force consists of 4500 policemen.

The police of Vienna is composed of 2800 officers and men. In Glasgow the yearly expenditure is \$358,350 for a force of 1347 men. On the Continent of Europe, the police are usually armed with swords and revolvers, and mounted officers are much more numerous than in the United States. In some cities, as in Paris, the police commonly carry muskets with fixed bayonets when on guard duty.

In Russia the police are the executive administrators of the empire, and their number is unknown. There are about 10,000 in St. Petersburg. Many of them are detectives or the famous "Third Section." They are unarmed, but carry whistles.

Concerning the evils of the present police system in American cities, see LEXOW INVESTIGATION, also POLICE COURTS. It must not be forgotten that besides the political and administrative corruption of the police of which we hear so much, there are other evils of which we do not hear. Their task is often arduous and the need of good judgment very great. Not too much must be expected. Said an old soldier in mitigation of his drunkenness, "You cannot expect all the civic virtues and temperance included for \$13 a month." The same, tho

to a less extent, since their pay is higher, might be said of the police.

Need of Reform.

Many of them do discharge their difficult work with great faithfulness and surprisingly good judgment. One cannot understand the difficulties they meet without close acquaintance, and a closer acquaintance often shows that many of them are far wiser than the public knows. Yet it is equally true that many of them are ignorant, inefficient, simply bullies in uniform. They are often brutal, and the terror of the weak, rather than a terror to evil doers. Mr. H. M. Boies (*Prisoners and Pau-*

pers, chap. xiv.) considers what may be done for the improvement of the police system. He argues for a carefully selected *personnel*, men of good health, morals, and judgment, appointed for life on good behavior. The force should be firmly instructed, carefully drilled and disciplined, to develop unity and *esprit du corps*. Ordinarily, one policeman to 1200 men he thinks enough, with a thorough system of intercommunication, all under the control of one wise chief, and well supported by the public. Says Mr. Boies:

"Humanity, philanthropy, and religion must follow the policeman on his mission with an untiring and increasing care, both for his own sake and the success of his effort. Counter-attractions must be opposed against the special allurements to which he is exposed. Pleasant resorts must be provided for his off-duty hours, where the better things of life may be contrasted with the debasing pleasures with which his duties make him familiar, and intellectual and moral influences may be brought to bear upon his character. Particular effort must be made to keep up his connections with all the higher influences of social life, with the educational and religious enterprises of the people."

(See also POLICE COURTS.)

References: H. M. Boies' *Prisoners and Paupers*; J. P. Altgeld's *Live Questions*; A. R. Conkling's *City Government in the United States*.

POLICE COURTS are variously organized in different cities, but everywhere have enormous responsibilities. Said Mayor Hewitt of New York City in his message of 1888:

"I do not assert too much when I declare that the position of a police justice is more important to the community than that of a judge of the Court of Appeals. The latter finally settles the law, but the former applies it in the first instance in nearly all cases affecting the life, liberty, and property of the citizens."

In New York City there are 15 police magistrates and eight courthouses, in various parts of the city. A new central building for the criminal courts of record (called the General Sessions) has just been completed. It adjoins the central city prison, or "the Tombs." The poorer portion of the population depend upon these minor civil and criminal courts for the enforcement of their rights and liberties, yet Mr. Conkling (*City Government in the United States*, p. 8) tells us that three out of the 15 police-court judges have been indicted for various offenses, and another has but just escaped. Yet he adds that at least 100,000 persons appear before the police magistrates annually. He says:

"Of this number 86,488 were arrested by the police in 1893. The remainder are those who appeal for warrants or for protection from their oppressors. The police magistrate is generally an absolute autocrat in the cases that come before him. He has discretionary power, and hence it is difficult to impeach a magistrate for an abuse of authority. Moreover, it would usually be easy to obtain a squad of witnesses to commit perjury in the event of proceedings for impeachment in the court of Common Pleas.

"The decisions of the New York Police Magistrates, especially in election cases, depend largely upon the presence of some anti-ring lawyer. If a man of standing appears in behalf of the accused, a majority of the magistrates are inclined to be careful in their rulings."

Brooklyn has six judges, Albany two, other New York cities but one, elected on terms of from one to ten years, with salaries of \$600 or more. In New York city they have a salary of about \$800, and are elected for ten years.

In Massachusetts the magistrates are appointed for life by the Governor of the State. They can be removed only by "the Governor with the consent of the council, and upon the address of both Houses of the Legislature." In Boston the police magistrates are called judges of the municipal court. There are

Organi- zation.

a chief justice, with a salary of \$4,300, also four associate justices receiving \$4,000 each, and one special justice receiving \$4,000. Police courts have a limited civil as well as criminal jurisdiction, and are free from political influence after appointment.

In Illinois police judges are practically appointed by the Governor, as in Massachusetts. There are in Chicago 43 justices of the peace, having a term of office of four years. A justice must be recommended to the Governor of the State by a majority of the judges of the Cook County Circuit and Superior Courts. If approved by the Governor the name of the proposed justice must be sent to the State Senate, which accepts or rejects him. It being necessary for these three tribunals to pass upon the names of the justices, a good class of men fill the places. They are usually lawyers, and their jurisdiction is limited to suits where the amount involved does not exceed \$200. From these justices of the peace the mayor of Chicago selects as many police magistrates as may be necessary, and the city pays their salaries. The mayor can at any time revoke his appointments and name other justices to act as police magistrates, but those once appointed usually continue to hold the office.

Concerning the need of reform in police courts, and the police-court system, Governor Altgeld of Illinois says (*Live Questions*, p. 263):

"Young men and boys, and even girls, accused of violating some city ordinance are treated by the police and the police magistrates, in the first instance, in the same manner as the hardened criminal. They are arrested, not infrequently clubbed, sometimes handcuffed, marched through the streets in charge of an officer to the station, which in many cases is worse than a jail, where a full description of each is written down opposite their respective names, and then they are required to give bail for their appearance at some time in the future when the magistrate can hear their case. If they cannot furnish the bond instantly—and generally they cannot—they are shoved into a cell, and frequently occupy the same cell for a night, and sometimes for a week, with the most desperate of criminals. The station-keeper is not to blame for this, for the law has made no other provision and left no alternative but to lock them up.

"Attend a session of the police court in any of our large cities, on almost any morning, and you will see on the sawdust in the prisoners' pen a miscellaneous crowd of human beings of both sexes, ranging from middle life down to tender years, nearly all from the

Evils of System.

less fortunate class in life—poor, more or less ragged, with misery stamped deep into their faces, weak, with little or no training, no steady habits, without homes worthy of the name, and raised in an atmosphere destitute of good and pregnant with vicious influences. As their cases are called, you learn that about one out of 12 is charged with a serious offense, about five-twelfths are charged with minor offenses, but there is something about the appearance of the accused which tells you they have made this round before. The remaining half are also charged with minor offenses, such as drunkenness, disorderliness, etc., but you soon become satisfied that they are not yet thoroughly depraved; that while they may have violated some ordinance, they yet have the stuff in them to make good

citizens, if given a little better chance; and, as you look at them, the conviction settles in your mind that it was unnecessary, and therefore wrong, to drag them in and corral them like so many cattle, and that neither they nor anybody else will be benefited by such treatment. If you ask the magistrate why they were thus treated, before they had even been tried to see if they were guilty, he will tell you that the law required this; that under the law no other course was open.

"You sit down while their cases are heard, and to your surprise find that about one-third are discharged by the magistrate because the evidence fails to show that they were guilty of any offense whatever. (The police reports show that nearly one-third of all that are arrested are discharged by the magistrate.) Turning then to those not discharged, you find that a few, being shown to be probably guilty of the graver offenses, are bound over for the action of the grand jury, while the great majority are shown to have violated some ordinance, and are fined; and as the fines are not paid at once in many cases, you see men, women, and often children, crowded into an omnibus with iron grating at windows and door, and driven to the workhouse or to the bridewell (which may properly be called a short-term penitentiary) to work out the fine, or, in the absence of a workhouse, they are led back to jail to serve out the fine at so much a day.

"In Chicago in 1881, of 32,800 arrested, 20,743 were discharged by the police magistrates, to say nothing of those that were bound over to the grand jury and then discharged. Thus, during one year, there were in that one city upward of 10,000 young persons, who, without having committed any crime, were yet condemned to undergo a regular criminal experience. . . .

"Every case has to go through the same steps, no matter how much the circumstances may differ; the proceedings must be the same, no matter how trifling the charge; the accused must be arrested, must then either give bond or be locked up until he can be tried and the fact ascertained whether he is even guilty of the trifling offense charged or not, and, if found guilty, then, no matter what the condition of the accused may be, whether old or young, vicious or merely weak, male or female, there is but one course open, and this for all alike; that is, to impose a fine, and, if this is not paid, to send the accused to the jail or to the bridewell."

Of the arrest of women he says:

"It appears from the report of the superintendent of police of Chicago that, in 1882, 6835 women were arrested and taken to the police prisons in Chicago, and that, during that year, 1800 women were incarcerated in the Chicago house of correction, mostly for non-payment of fines which had been imposed. Of the latter number, 359 were reported prostitutes, 871 were servants, 114 were laundry-women, and all were poor. Now, can any good come of thus treating unfortunate women? What are they to do when released? Can anybody tell? The 359 whom the officers call prostitutes, and think that a sufficient accusation to excuse any kind of treatment, were not the petted children of sin—not those that live in gilded palaces and dress in silks and satins, for these are rarely disturbed—they were the poor, unfortunate, and forlorn creatures who, without friends, without sympathy, without money, often hungry, and without sufficient clothing to protect them from the cold winds, wander out on the streets, not so much wantonly as from necessity, literally trying to sell their souls for a morsel of bread, dealing in shame, not from choice, but because every Christian door is shut against them, because there is no place where they can work and find shelter. Now, in what condition are they when they have gone through the above experience? What are they to do when again set at liberty? Experience has answered this a hundred times. They return to their old ways, because there is nothing else that they can do; the only difference being that they have become more degraded, more brutalized by the treatment which they have received, and from which no good ever has or ever can come."

Women Arrested.

(For proposals for the reform of the system, see PENOLOGY, last part of article, Reforms Proposed. See also JUDICIARY.)

POLICE MATRONS.—These are women whose duty it is at police stations, lock-ups, jails, etc., to look after, examine and, if possible,

aid arrested women and girls. They were first regularly employed in this country in Chicago in 1886, owing to the efforts of the Woman's Alliance of that city. In Massachusetts in 1887 the system was first recognized by law. To-day they are found in almost all the larger cities. Massachusetts in 1892 had 22. Boston also has made a step in advance in employing a woman probation officer, to whom girls may be turned over on their first offense, on probation. This gives the probation officer a chance to watch her and advise and help her toward reformation. She is then only imprisoned if she prove incorrigible. All those who know the sufferings and wrongs and indignities often inflicted, by sometimes even well-intentioned policemen, upon girls often more ignorant than sinful, agree that the good that one trustworthy matron can do at a police station can scarcely be overestimated. See Altgeld's *Living Questions*. See *Lend a Hand*, vol. ix. p. 180.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, we consider under the following heads:

- I. Name, definition, and content.
- II. Divisions of the science.
- III. Schools of Political Economy.
- IV. History of Political Economy in England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Belgium, other European countries, and the United States.
- V. Various radical views.

For the consideration of the separate divisions of the subject, as land, capital, rent, wages, etc., see the respective articles.

I. NAME, DEFINITION, AND CONTENT.

The name *political economy* occurs on the title-page of a book on the science, published by Montchrétien de Watteville in 1615, and was employed by Steuart in 1767, by Verri in 1731, and by Adam Smith in 1776, since when it has been the ordinary name. Many other names, however, have been used.

The Greeks used the name *Economics* pure and simple, and this was favored by Hutchison in 1747, and recently by Garnier, Jevons, H. D. Macleod, and Marshall. Cherbuliez talks of economic science, or *Economy*. But this word economy is used to-day of purely household affairs, and therefore needs some distinguishing characterization. Genovesi proposed *Civil Economics*; Beccaria, Pecchio, and Minghetti, *Public Economics*; others, mostly Germans, prefer *State Economy*. Orthes in 1774, and the German protectionists of this century, say *National Economy*. But all these are either ambiguous or emphasize one theory of this science. Scialoja, De Augustinis, Raymond, Ciccone, and other French and Italian writers like the phrase *Social Economics*, but this is to confuse it with sociology. In 1819 Say was made, in Paris, professor of *Industrial Economics*, but this is to choose the name of a part for the whole. Still others have taken, from Aristotle's *Politics*, the term *chrematistics* (Sismondi), or have coined *chrysology*, *plutonomy* (Gujard), *plutology* and *ergonomy*, (Courcelle-Seneuil and Hearn), or *catalactics* (Whately). But all these are too narrow, shutting us up to the term *Political Economy*, which, though in itself vague, is the common term, and at least as good as any.

Coming to definitions, we notice that the term is derived from three Greek words: *πόλις*, city or state; *οἶκος*, household, and *νόμος*, law, custom, or regulation; the term meaning

then, etymologically, the regulation of the household or housekeeping of the state. This corresponds to the German word for political economy, *volkswirtschaftslehre* (*volk*, nation; *wirtschaft*, housekeeping; *lehre*, science).

If we would define more exactly, we notice a development or evolution of the meaning of the word, corresponding very closely to the evolution of the schools of political economy.

To the Greeks, the State was all in all. Political economy was to them very literally the science of the regulation of the affairs of the State. To the Mercantilists and the Physiocrats, it was little more than a science of taxation, or how to raise money for the State, in the best way for the State and the people. To Adam Smith and his school it was mainly the science of wealth. Nassau Senior defines it simply as the science of wealth, and Jevons, in his primer of *Political Economy*, defines it as the science of the wealth of nations, defining wealth as "all those things, and those things only, which are transferable, are limited in supply, and are useful."

The definition of political economy found in Mrs. Fawcett's *Political Economy* may be taken as a fair presentation of this class of conceptions. It is as follows: "Political economy is the science which investigates the nature of wealth and the laws which govern its production, exchange, and distribution."

Definitions.

But this did not give enough weight to the human element in the production and distribution of wealth, and therefore with John Stuart Mill commences a new conception, where the producers and owners of wealth are more prominent.

"Writers on political economy," says Mill, "profess to teach or investigate the nature of wealth and the laws of its production and distribution, including directly or remotely the operation of all the causes by which the condition of mankind or of any society of human beings, in respect to this universal object of human desire, is made prosperous or the reverse." Says Professor Ely of this definition: "Social relations are dragged in through a back door, as it were. It is perceived that political economy must concern itself with them, but they are not at once placed in the foreground as the main thing with which we are to deal. Mill's position is perhaps brought out still more clearly in the full title of his work, which is, *Principles of Political Economy, with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*. Social philosophy is evidently viewed as something outside of political economy rather than as a larger whole, of which political economy is only a part."

We next find man put frankly first when Sismondi, the Swiss economist, defines political economy as "the science of human happiness," and Professor von Scheel more scientifically defines it as (translated and somewhat modified by Professor Ely) "the relations of private economies to one another and their union into larger economic communities (as township, city, State), taking into account their origin, their growth, and their constitution, and prescribing rules for that ordering of these relations best calculated to meet the demands of the degree of culture already attained and to be attained in the future."

Professor Adams puts the same in better words when he says: "Political economy treats of industrial society. Its purpose as an analytic science is to explain the industrial actions of men. Its purpose as a constructive science is to discover a scientific and a rational basis for the formation and government of industrial society."

This may be taken as a fair example of the meaning given to political economy by the so-called historical school. This however puts too much relative emphasis upon historical analysis. Cossa's definition is better when he says in his introduction to the *Study of Political Economy* (revised edition): "We will define it by an amplification of Romagnosi's description of it, as follows: political economy is an ordered knowledge of the cause, the essence, and the rationale of the social system of wealth; viz., man's concern with wealth as a social factor to be grasped in its essence through its causes, its rationale, and in its relation to prosperity at large."

It will be noticed that all these definitions practically make political economy the science of wealth, differ-

ing mainly in their conception of what wealth is; a statement which is true of Ruskin's definition of political economy as "the system of conduct and legislature which should multiply human life at its highest standard," since, to Ruskin, wealth is well being or "life at its highest standard." It will be thus seen, too, how political economy has of late years wholly changed its tone. From being merely a study of commodities, it has become a study of civilizations; from being almost anti-human, it to-day centers around man; from being "the dismal science," it has become a science of human progress.

Coming now to the content of political economy, we quote again from Cossa, when he says:

"First, it studies in the social system of wealth what is typical, essential, and permanent, whether this be connected with coexistent or with successive phenomena. Political economy seeks the causes upon which these phenomena depend, measuring, so far as may be, their intensity; finally, it reasons out the manner in which these causes act; that is to say, the rationale which governs them. Second, political economy formulates rules or principles by which the economic functions of political societies can be directed aright. The final goal toward which political economy strives, by the performance of its double duty, is happiness at large."

This conception distinguishes political economy from other sciences. It is different from sociology or social science. Sociology (*g. v.*) is used by some to-day as the generic of which political economy and other social sciences are specifics. According to others sociology concerns itself with all social relations, political, economic, religious, etc., studying the basic laws of human associations. Again, political economy is to be distinguished from statistics, political science, etc. The study of these may be necessary to, but they are not a part of, political economy. Nor is political economy to be confused with private economics or the science of right management of a household or of one private business. Political economy is emphatically a *social science*.

II. DIVISIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The first general division of this subject may be into what has been called Pure or National Economics, which undertakes to explain the facts concerning any social system of wealth, that is the *theory*, and Applied Economics, which treats of the *art* of the wisest and best methods of producing, distributing, and exchanging wealth. Another distinction, followed by many Germans, gives us (we quote all in this section mainly from Cossa) (1) Social Economics, also described as civil or national, and sometimes called simply economics, and (2) Political Economics, in its wider sense. Cherbuliez calls it economic legislation, and it is also denominated State economics. This branch deals with the economical functions of the State, as well as of any other subordinate society, and it coincides with our definition of applied economics. Moreover, since these functions cover the whole ground of State interference with private wealth and with all wealth possessed by political societies regarded as individual units, there arises a partition of political

economics into: (a) Political Economics, most strictly so called, or Economic Policy, which supplies the State with guiding principles in all interference with private wealth; (b) Political Finance, or as it is now more usually styled, the science of finance, which deals with public revenues and possessions, furnishing guiding principles for accumulating, administering, and applying all means, especially belonging to the State, the county, or the parish.

The ordinary division of the science, however, is into four parts: (1) production; (2) distribution; (3) consumption; (4) exchange. This division, however, is frequently modified. J. B. Say used only the first three; these three terms occur in the title of his chief work (1803). A glance at works like Gioja's, Kraus', Jacob's, Rau's, Riedel's, Schüz's, and MacCulloch's will show what wide acceptance this scheme received, and how long it has been adhered to.

James Mill, Florez Estrada, Garnier, Baudrillard, Messedaglia, Nazzani, Mangoldt, Schönberg, Walker, Andrews, and Ely, however, use all four divisions.

Kudler varies slightly from this order of treatment, and so do certain French writers—Levasseur, Jourdan, Laveleye, Leroy-Beaulieu, and Beauregard. These put the chapter on distribution first, and then deal with circulation.

Roscher was at one time inclined to add to the four headings in question a fifth on population. But population, statistically, economically, and legislatively considered, is the subject-matter of demography.

Turgot, close upon the end of the last century, Senior, Stuart Mill,—in one of his essays mentioned above,—and Rossi exclude from economics, properly so called, the whole discussion of the consumption or use of wealth. They would assign it to ethics, to domestic economics, and to finance, while other and more recent authors, like Jevons, Walrus, and Pierson, put a theory of consumption before everything else, and argue that it belongs to the discussion of the uses of wealth, upon which hinges the whole theory of value. Marshall connects consumption with his similarly crucial discussion of demand. A middle course is followed by those writers who assign to the discussion of consumption a subsidiary place, regarding it rather as a necessary preliminary to economics than as one of its constituent parts.

Finally, there is a school which holds with Senior and Rossi that consumption cannot legitimately form an independent department, but makes one out of circulation—exchange is the English word, for which Held substitutes traffic. This subject last named Cherbuliez, Villey, Sidgwick, Carter Adams, and Laurence Laughlin, discuss after production, while Mill takes it up after distribution. Perhaps the common division into four parts is sufficient for a study of the theory; but then there should be added: *political economics*, or the determination of the true economic function of the State, and *social economics*, or the

**Ordinary
Division.**

consideration of, the theories as applied in society.

III. SCHOOLS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Under this head we do not consider the history of political economy, but outline the main schools of political economy that one may better understand the history which we consider in our next section. Political economy, as we shall there see, although a subject that has been treated from the earliest days of thought, as a science is modern. Its first

Early Schools.

school may be said to be that of the Mercantilists. They held that wealth is measured by the ownership of gold and silver; that that nation was wealthiest which received most gold and silver in exchange for commodities; *i. e.*, had the balance of trade in its favor. This idea, now given up by economists, long had influence. The leading Mercantilists were Colbert, the great French statesman under Louis XIV., Mélon, Broggia, Genovesi, and in England, Mun, Temple, Child, and Davenant. The Italian Serra is sometimes included in this school, but really took a much broader position.

The next school, and the first to develop a complete system of economics, was that of the Physiocrats (1755-81). Their cry was, "Back to nature. Do away with laws: let nature work. *Laissez-faire.*" They held that agriculture alone *produced* wealth, manufacture and commerce only changing its form and place. Hence they would put all taxes upon land alone. Their leading names are French: Cantillon (1755), and above all Quesnay (1694-1774) and Gournay (1712-59). Turgot (1727-81), the illustrious statesman, applied their theories in practise so far as he could.

The great school of Natural Liberty comes next. David Hume and others led up to this, but Adam Smith (1723-90) is its great head. His *Wealth of Nations* (1776) marked an epoch. He believed in *laissez-faire*, but he was a student of facts, and not an extreme doctrinaire. His followers were not so wise.

School of Natural Liberty.

Malthus (1766-1834) is best known for his theory of population, and Ricardo (1772-1823) for his Law of Rent, but, economically, they were both followers of Adam Smith; Ricardo carrying the law of competition to its theoretical extremes unmodified by facts. Among others of this school were, in England, Senior, Torrens, Chalmers, James Mill, Bentham, Jones, M'Culloch, and Fawcett; in France, Say, Dunoyer, Rossi, Cherbuliez, and Bastiat; in Italy, Scialoja and Ferrara; in Germany, Rau, Nebenius, Von Thünen, and Hermann; and in the United States, Amasa Walker, Perry, Bascom, Bowen, Sumner. A transitional school from that of *laissez-faire* may be said to be that of J. S. Mill, Leslie, Bagehot, Jevons, and Cairnes. In France, Sismondi, Blanqui, and Courcelle Seneuil may be said to belong to this transitional school.

The next great school is the historical school, largely German, which holds that

principles of political economy must be derived inductively from history; that it has a large moral relation, which must be considered; that it is concerned with society as an organism, and demands considerable paternal action from the State.

Historical School.

The leaders of this school are, in Germany, Roscher, Hildebrand, Kneis. It led also to the movement of the so-called socialists of the chair (*q. v.*), who must be included in this school, Schmoller, Nasse, Held, Brentano, Von Scheel, Schäffle, Wagner, and others. In Belgium, de Laveleye; in England, Ingram, Marshall, Rogers, Foxwell, Cunningham, Symes; in the United States, Ely, James, Jenks, H. C. Adams, W. J. Ashley, and Bemis, are prominently of this school tho differing materially in their views.

Most modern economists, however, decline to be considered of any school. We are, therefore, unable longer to trace any schools, tho groups of men often stand in their views much together, like the modern Austrian economists, with their psychologic economies and development of the theory of final utility. They represent perhaps the latest school and have a growing following, especially in the United States with such men as Patton, Clarke, and others. A mention should be made of the American Carey, who is sometimes considered the founder of an American school quite different from all others, but this must be referred to our next section.

IV. HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In the following outline of the history of economic thought our main authorities have been Ingram, Cossa, and Cohn (see References at the end of this article). Cossa is the fullest authority, but, unfortunately, not the most reliable. We have, therefore, followed Ingram very largely; and Cossa, where Ingram is not full enough. Cohn we have consulted largely for Germany, and Ugo Rabbino for Italy. The earlier and less known writers we have considered more fully in this article than the known writers, because all the most prominent will be found considered under their respective names.

A. IN ANTIQUITY.

Ancient thinkers were prevented by various causes from getting at the conception of rational laws governing economic affairs. The principal of these causes were social and political conditions. Slavery, coupled with arbitrary despotism, prevented economic development.

War was another great hindrance. Modern communities are organized for industry; ancient communities were organized for war. This widely separates the present from the past. It was in the military constitution of society that the institution of slavery was rooted. Whatever possible excuse or reason can be urged for slavery is to be found in war. As a natural result of ancient slavery, almost all industry and manual labor was considered degrading and unworthy of a free citizen. The free artisans were ranked but little above the slaves, and no occupations were thought honorable except those of administration and war. Those to whom the production

and traffic of the country were left were unfitted to develop any advanced system or science of industry. Moreover, the insecurity of life and property in military states prevented any such development and rendered any extensive method of cooperation, or concentration of capital, well-nigh impossible. An effective system of credit demands national peace as its foundation. Thus slavery and war combined to limit and dwarf all study of social and economic conditions; and revealed to us most clearly that two things are essential to any advanced and humane system of economics—peace, and the dignity of labor.

The economic ideas of the East are little more than a few moral precepts about virtue, industry, temperance, and charity, taken from their sacred writings; caste and the sway of custom made the East unprogressive. Only a few individual Chinese writers have any clearer ideas of the nature of commerce, etc. From a fragment of Kwantsze, written in the seventh century A. D., and from two writers in the eleventh, one may learn that the Chinese anticipated in their customs many modern institutions.

In Greece the State was all in all. The individual is regarded only as a minute fraction of a great whole.

The constant aim is to develop good citizens, who shall maintain and serve the State to which they belong. The individual is to find his own development and completion in self-forgetful patriotism. The citizen is regarded as a possessor, and not a producer, of wealth; and wealth is never regarded as the supreme good, but only as a means to an end. Social problems are studied primarily from the ethical and educational point of view.

The Greeks divided morals into domestic economy, ethics in their strict sense, and politics, or the art of government. They came to have an exaggerated conception of the efficacy of laws and institutions. (See ATHENS; GREECE.)

Different individuals proposed quite different systems. Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, mingles with many traditional precepts of sacerdotal origin a large measure of practical sagacity; and concentrates his thought into proverbs. But, commencing with Thales, begins the development of abstract thought, which not only marks a new era in the progress of Greek culture and philosophy, but also in the intellectual history of mankind.

The Socratic school is both concrete and ideal. The best known of these ideal systems is that of Plato (429-348 B. C.), who presents in its most advanced form the Greek conception of the State. So far does he subordinate private to public interests that he represents the higher class of citizens as having community of property and wives. His system is inflexible and mechanical and allows little scope for the action of the humaner passions. The individual is little more than a cog in the wheel; and slavery is at the foundation. He would abolish interest and the use of silver and gold. Government control of industry he believed to be necessary and right, to prevent undue luxury at one end, or undue poverty at the other. This ideal communism he develops in his *Republic*. In his *Laws* he considers what is possible rather than what is ideal. Throughout his works, however, are many lofty conceptions of social and moral duty and some just economic analyses. (See PLATO.)

Xenophon (440-357 B. C.) is more practical and matter-of-fact. His observations, however, are chiefly limited to domestic economy, such as the government of the family and care of private property. In common with all Greeks he exalts agriculture above other industrial occupations, as best tending to cultivate religious and patriotic feelings. And, contrary to most Greeks, he speaks respectfully of trade and manufactures, demanding for commerce the protection of the State. He recognizes the fact that money in itself is not wealth. He is an advocate of peace, as he perceives the impossibility of international commerce without international harmony. Slavery was to him natural and legitimate; and one of his recommendations is that branded slaves be hired out by the State to labor in the mines, so that the State revenue may be increased thereby.

Aristotle (384-322 B. C.) represents the highest stage reached by his countrymen in social studies. He was not only a thoughtful spectator, but an impartial one as well, and gifted with unusual generalizing ability. He had in a strong degree the Greek devotion to the public good; and his opportunity for observation was unequalled by any of his countrymen. All that was original or important in the political life of Greece was before his eyes. It is too much to expect of him

more than static sociology, or any recognition of the laws of the historical development of social phenomena. He has conveyed to us a remarkable body of sound and valuable observations and ideas concerning the constitution of the social organism. He differs from Plato and most Greeks in his conception of the State; opposing the absorption of the individual, the suppression of personal freedom and right of initiative, and altogether rejects the community of wives and property proposed by Plato. He regards the abuse of the principle of private property as avoidable, and as owing to imperfect human nature and vicious legislation. The producers and manufacturers of society he excludes from citizenship, as it was commonly thought that mechanics, artificers, and farmers were debased by their occupations, being without the necessary leisure and wealth to acquire education and culture. Not only does he see no evil in slavery, but defends it as natural and lawful. He considers a slave as a mere "animated tool," having no independent will, and finding his true and highest well-being in obedience to his owner. In this view he acts simply as a mirror in which all Greek thought is represented. He is only the spokesman of a society founded upon the systematic degradation and enslavement of a despised and cruelly treated class. He considers it the duty of government to preserve a due proportion between the population and the territory of a country. It is impossible to imagine what he would have said to such overcrowding as exists to-day in European and American cities. (See ARISTOTLE.)

The task of the Romans was military and political, and in spite of their practical views of life and utilitarianism, they produced no highly developed system of manufacture or exchange. The agricultural habits of the first Romans soon gave place, through the increase of militarism, to an extensive system of slave-labor.

Large estates took the place of small holdings, and drove the peasant proprietor to the city streets. Commerce and industry were regarded by the free citizen with contempt, and even the noblest Romans were not free from this disdain of all manual labor. Some signs of economic thought are to be found in the writings of the philosophers and jurists; but most of their ideas were taken from the Greeks, and none of their original conceptions are of much scientific value. The philosophic writers express the general feeling of industrial decay, and the increasing tendency toward luxury and immorality. To be sure the virtues and pleasures of rural life and agriculture are much dwelt upon, but chiefly with no higher purpose than to glorify the hardihood of the early Romans. As to the social evils which surrounded them they were very largely indifferent and short-sighted. Pliny, the elder (23-79), who is not so much an independent thinker as an Encyclopedist, in his *Natural History* favors agriculture on the large scale, but protests against the slave-tilled *latifundia*. He expresses a preference for barter rather than for a money exchange, and deplors the use of gold. Varro and Columella are to be credited with having perceived the superiority of free labor to that of slaves; and, together with Cato, they advocate a return to agriculture as the best means to avert the flood of corruption and immorality which was then felt to be approaching the empire. Cicero translated Xenophon's *Economics* and also praised agriculture.

As to the general principles of industrial progress they have little to say. In general, the Roman theorists agreed with the Grecians in disapproving of interest, Cato going so far as to liken it to murder. In B. C. 341 the taking of interest was entirely forbidden by the Genueian Law.

Both Greeks and Romans approached social problems from the political rather than the economic side. It is unfair to them to expect from their writings much economic truth, or more than the slightest germs of modern developments. Political economy is necessarily a modern science.

B. THE MIDDLE AGES.

The period between the years 400 A. D. and 1300 A. D. is one of much importance, as being a time of great change and potentiality. Everything modern is deposited there in germ. Altho, from the absence of brilliant literary lights, this period has been termed

the Dark Ages, there was, nevertheless, not a little illumination of other kinds.

It was between these dates that two vast systems were erected—feudalism and Roman Catholicism.

Under the feudal system no fully developed economic activity was possible. All production was upon a small scale, and the volume of commerce was insignificant. The mechanical arts were still held in contempt, and militarism absorbed the interest and energies of the community. Nevertheless, there was important thought and action.

The canonical theory of usury, with its prohibition of interest, has an important practical bearing upon history and economics.

All the Church fathers base explicit and unqualified condemnation of usury—that is, of interest—upon texts of Holy Writ and upon the universally valid precept of charity. This precept involved the canonical prohibition of interest, which was, however, during the first eight centuries of the Church binding solely upon ecclesiastics. The Latin Church, but not the Greek, then proceeded to make it binding upon laymen also, as may be abundantly seen in the proceedings of many ecumenical and national councils, whose utterances are increasingly preceptory up to the end of the thirteenth century.

Gradually, however, exceptions were more and more allowed, till, when Calvin and the leaders of the Reformation allowed interest, Rome was ready to follow suit. In other directions thought was also active.

In theology and philosophy Saint Thomas of Aquino (1225-74), the Angelical Doctor, had no peer, and he was also the greatest writer of the age on politics and economics. (See AQUINAS.)

In the fourteenth century we have Engelbert, Abbot of Admont in Styria; Fra Paolino, probably a Venetian; Colonna, an Augustinian monk; Andrea d'Isernia, a Neapolitan lawyer; in France, Philip Dubois; Jean Buridan, rector of the University of Paris; the Dominican monk Durand de Saint-Pourçain, Bishop of Meaux in 1326; and Philippe de Mezerles, councillor of King Charles V., who were the projectors of the *Monts de Piété* (q. v.), by establishing which the State was to rescue needy persons from the oppression of usurious Jews.

Last must be mentioned the most remarkable of them all, Nicholas Oresme, who died in 1382 as Bishop of Lisieux. He wrote his *De Origine, Natura, Jure et Mutationibus Monetarium* for his pupil, Charles V., and afterward republished it in French. Here is a simple, well-arranged, and clear summary of the theory of money, together with a masterly arraignment of those who were for debasing coin.

In the fifteenth century we have Sant' Antonio, Archbishop of Florence, and San Bernardino, a Franciscan of Siena. Kuppener, Summenhart, and the German Biel deserve mention. "Among humanists," says Cossa, "three remarkable men, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano from Umbrian Cerreto, Benedetto Cotrugli of Ragusa, and last but not least, Diomedes Carafa, Count of Maddaloni, effected by word and deed certain very sound financial and economical reforms in the kingdom of Naples under kings of the house of Aragon.

"Pontano (1426-1503) is remarkable for sound fiscal rules and praiseworthy counsels in economic ethics. His works appeared in two volumes at Naples (1505-08).

"Cotrugli's small book *Della Mercatura e del Mercante perfetto* was not written until the middle of the century. Genovesi and Zanoni speak highly of it. It deals specifically with value, price, and exchange, as well as mercantile contracts.

"Carafa's pamphlet *De Regis et Boni Principis Officio*, written a few years before or after 1475, by Eleanor of Aragon's special command, stands head and shoulders above all contemporaneous works on finance. Carafa, who died in 1487, has new ideas about the function of commerce, about public revenue and public expenditure, and about the advisability of farming out the taxes. He it was who first conceived the idea of taxing fixed incomes."

C. FROM 1500 TO THE MERCANTILISTS.

The downfall of feudalism and the ecclesiastical power gave free scope to the irregular and disunited activity of individuals. It emanci-

pated the mercantile class from a tyrannous and traditional authority, but left them without a bond of union or a source of wise and helpful guidance. Private ambition and avarice were encouraged as motives of action. In the midst of such moral and industrial chaos, the powers of governments were taxed to maintain mere material order.

By the establishment of standing armies, the merchant and manufacturing classes were protected, and enabled to enlarge and systematize their business. Their increasing power is evidenced by the general admission of the commons as an element in the political system, while the occasional insurrections of the working classes revealed the gradual breaking down of the spirit of servile obedience to unjust authority.

The mariner's compass gave greater security to foreign commerce, and the art of printing connected the industrial with the intellectual forces. In Venice, Genoa, and other Italian cities public credit was established. Trade was greatly developed by the discovery of America, and of the new route to the East. In the sixteenth century economic thought still clung to its medieval conceptions; a change, however, slowly coming. The historical and political writers, Palmieri, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini, have a little to say on economics. There is quite a development of utopian communism. Of this, More's *Utopia* (1516) (see MORE) is the best known.

James Harrington, in his *Oceana* (1640), criticizes large land-holdings. Tommaso Campanella, a Dominican monk of Calabria, in his *Civitas Solis* (1607), took the step, from which Plato did not shrink, of advocating a community of wives; the argument being that a community of goods involves the abolition, not only of private ownership, but of the family as well.

Another such work is the far less familiar one of Ludovico Vives, *De Communiione Rerum* (1635), a Spanish philanthropist.

Last of all comes Anton Francesco Doni with his *Mondi celesti terrestri ed infernali* (Florence, 1552-53). Here a free rein is given to unbridled and eccentric fancy.

In Germany, Frank and Münster (see ANABAPTISTS) sought to put these ideas in practise.

Among writers who gave attention to economics and finance in general works of a political character, which embraced administration at large, may be named Jean Bodin d'Angers (1530-96). In the sixth book of his *République* (1576), he takes climate and soil into consideration as factors in any financial and economical system, and argues in favor of the free importation of corn and cattle, advocating at the same time high customs duties upon foreign manufactures, and the prohibition of all exportation of food products or raw materials.

Conspicuous among the economists of the first half of the seventeenth century, and considered by some the creator of political economy, was Antonio Serra of Cosena in Calabria. His *Breve Trattato delle cause che possono fare abbondare li regni d'oro e d'argento dove non sono niuere* was published at Naples in 1613, and was written in the Papal prison. It was not brought to light until a century after its publication. He is largely an advocate of Mercantilist principles, insisting on the superiority of manufactures to agriculture, as a source of wealth. He recognizes, however, that the acquisition of wealth is not the only condition of prosperity, and that the influence of a nation's commercial policy upon the character of its citizens is to be considered. Montchretien de Watteville, a Frenchman, first used the name "political economy" (in 1615), and wrote a valuable treatise on the subject. In his treatment of the subject, he omits agriculture.

In 1530 the Albertine pamphlets appeared in Germany. These were the first German publications on political economy which were thoroughly national and popular, and they were written to antagonize a proposed debasement of the currency.

In England at least two writers are prominent. William Petty (1623-83), one of the most illustrious forerunners of the science of statistical research, was most determined in his opposition to many if not all of the Mercantilist views. He joined hands with Locke in demanding a single standard for money, he was one of the earliest enemies of restrictive laws about interest, and it was he who declared that wealth, the child of mother-earth, has for its father the active principle of cultivation.

John Locke, the celebrated philosophical and political

author (1632-1704), can hardly be classed otherwise than as a Mercantilist, and must even be written down as a systematic upholder of the errors of that system. Nevertheless, in respect of certain theories in detail,—such as property, which he bases upon work done, and money, the debasing of which he loudly condemned,—he lays claim to originality.

Thought in the seventeenth century was tending to the school of

D. THE MERCANTILISTS.

The doctrine of the Mercantilists is that the wealth of a nation is to be computed by the amount of gold and silver it possesses, and that the chief endeavor in commerce is to export as much and import as little as possible. National profit or loss was to be decided by the balance of trade; that is, the amount of gold and silver paid or received after the exchange of goods. It was considered the main object of government to secure by all available methods such a balance. The precious metals were considered the sole standard and measure of wealth. The gold and silver mines of the new continent excited this extreme metal-idolatry, and awoke all the slumbering cupidity of Europe.

This represents, however, the most extreme party of Mercantilists. Not all of them were so infatuated with the glitter of white and yellow dross. The Mercantilists were not connected by any one definite theory, but were rather included in a general tendency. Their more commonly received principles were as follows: (1) the overestimation of gold and silver; (2) the undue exaltation of foreign over domestic trade, and of manufactures over the production of raw material; (3) the overvaluation of the national benefit of large population, and (4) the demand for governmental aid and protection.

The dogmas of the Mercantilists were not based upon any scientific investigation of the true and normal laws of trade. They were rather photographs of the practical activities of their time. The force of local circumstance molded them, which circumstance they at once proclaimed universal and fixed. Yet it must not be thought that this period was without its use and place in philosophic history. Europe was entering the doorway of social development. The trading and manufacturing zeal of the period was necessary and just, as leading to the inventions of modern times, and to the organization of industry. Agriculture, being hampered with the ceremonies of feudalism, lagged behind; and progressed only so far as the new life of the towns surged over into the country. Hitherto nations had been striving in the arena of political competition; now their competition was transferred to trade. Thus a national economic interest came into existence. The Government became the god-father of the city industries. Production was not so spontaneous as in the former period, as it became regulated more or less, to secure the cheapness and goodness of the goods exported. Large corporations and trading companies naturally were formed, with special privileges granted them by the Government.

High tariffs came into existence, partly for revenue, and partly for protective purposes. International diplomacy concerned itself with commercial treaties, its main endeavor being to prevent the importation of the manufactured goods of other countries, and to shut out other nations from competing in the foreign markets. The colonies were peremptorily forbidden to trade with any but the mother country. Working men were drawn over from foreign countries to engage in new lines of manufacture, and much was done for the promotion of technical skill. One important result of Government patronage was the removal of the contempt for commerce and the comparative elevation of the industrial classes.

No one man or class of men is responsible for the rise of the mercantile system. It was a natural growth, which was not allowed completion. On the breaking down of the medieval system, the policy of individual manufacture and free competition spontaneously arose. Monarchs acquiesced in it and conformed their measures to it. Commercial competition soon became the law for nations as well as for individuals, and each strove with the others for the market of the

world. During the seventeenth century the race was led by Holland, which maintained the supremacy of the seas until Cromwell, by his Navigation Act, transferred the world's carrying trade to England. Cromwell and Colbert of France were by their whole economic policy the chief practical representatives of the mercantile system. It is, however,

due to Colbert to state that he regarded the greater part of the Mercantilist expedients as temporary only, speaking of protective tariffs as crutches by which trade might learn to walk alone. There is no doubt that his policy was the chief cause of the rapid development of French manufactures and commerce. As in other countries, French industry was hampered as well as helped by the Government. The regulation of trade often forced it into unnatural channels of activity, and prevented initiation and invention. And although Colbert and others sought to compensate trade by obtaining technical information from foreign lands, it was not a sufficient compensation to atone for the repression of spontaneity and free development.

The most prominent English Mercantilist was Thomas Mun. Mun held a brief for the East India Company, on whose behalf he established that the net result of Indian trade brought more money home than it carried abroad. This argument he brought out in his *A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies*. His far more important publication, however, was brought out by his son in 1664, long after he had died, and bore the title,—an argument in itself,—*England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*. Steering clear of exaggerations indulged in by many subsequent Mercantilist writers, Mun sets forth in this work a complete theory of international trade.

English Mercantilists.

Mun's great point is that only one thing really enriches the State, and that is such a shaping of complex commercial transactions as shall secure that the value of all imports shall be less than that of all exports in a given time.

Of the same school, although more moderate, are Temple, Child, and Davenant.

William Temple, who represented England for many years in the Low Countries, has recorded excellent impressions on labor, savings, luxury, and the relations between consumption and production. Josiah Child is still more remarkable for his sound understanding of the character of money, for his well-balanced ideas on population, for his protest against monopolies and in general against everything that hampered internal trade. But perhaps his greatest merit lies in his comprehension of the balance of trade as the result rather than the cause of healthy trade, and as especially dependent on a rightly managed merchant marine. Davenant (1656-1714) wrote works on economics, finance, and statistics, which mark a still further step in advance. In his later works he loses confidence in the calculations that were available for determining the amount of imports and exports, so that, as Pierson hints, he ends by being only nominally a Mercantilist, though he is enough of one to give staunch support to privileged companies and to the most inelastic of colonial systems. Francis Hutcheson, the remarkable Scotchman, founder of the new school of philosophy in Scotland and teacher of moral philosophy in Glasgow (1730-46), had many ideas of natural rights, etc., but was nevertheless a strong Mercantilist.

The French Mercantilists are not so prominent. Perhaps the best book is Jean François Mélon's *Essais Politique sur le Commerce* (1731), which gave a clear-cut and succinct summary of the economic doctrines then in vogue, under the then favorite name of commercial theories. Mélon calls for commercial liberty, which he narrows down to a free exchange of superfluities for necessities.

In Italy there were several important writers. The archdeacon Bandini (1677-1760) seems to have been a really remarkable man, and perhaps not to be counted a Mercantilist, though mentioned with this school. C. A. Broggia and Girolamo Belloni were decidedly of that school. But the greatest Italian Mercantilist of the century was Antonio Genovesi (1712-69), a Neapolitan. To secure him from theological persecution one of his friends founded for him the first chair of economics established in Europe (1755), one of the conditions of which was that it could never be filled by a monk. His *Lezioni di Commercio* (1765) is the first complete treatise in Italian. Ferdinando Galiani is another prominent Italian of this school.

While secretary of the Italian embassy in Paris, he published (1770) his *Dialogues sur le Commerce des blés*, a book greatly praised by Voltaire. Of the German Mercantilists Ingram says:

"In no country had Mercantilist views a stronger hold than in Germany, though in none, in the period we are now considering, did the system of the balance of trade receive a less extensive practical application. All the leading German economists of the seventeenth century—Bornitz, Besold, Klock, Becher, Horneck, Seckendorf,

Germany.

and Schröder—stand on the common basis of the mercantile doctrine. And the same may be said of the writers of the first half of the eighteenth century in general, and notably of Justi (d. 1771), who was the author of the first systematic German treatise on political economy, a work which, from its currency as a text-book, had much effect on the formation of opinion. Only in Zincke (1692-1769) do we find occasional expressions of a circle of ideas in variance with the dominant system, and pointing in the direction of industrial freedom. But these writers, except from the national point of view, are unimportant, not having exercised any influence on the general movement of European thought."

E. THE STEPS TOWARD LIBERALISM.

Several writers must be noticed here who scarcely form a school and yet are of great importance as preparing the way.

Richard Cantillon was a banker belonging to an Irish family, who lived for many years at Paris, where he had business dealings with Law. He finally died by the hand of an assassin at London in 1734. His *Essay on the Nature of Commerce at large* was not published until 1755, though he wrote it during the last four years of his life. Cantillon's *Essay* is pronounced by Jevons to be the first systematic treatise, the cradle, as it were, of real political economy. It falls into three parts. In the first he considers land and labor; in the second, money; in the third, international payments.

David Hume comes next. Says Cossa:

"It is no easy task to assign Hume's (1711-76) right place in the history of economics, though it is not difficult to reject the claim made by his biographers, Walckenar and Burton, that he founded political economy. . . . Hume's *Political Discourses* will not bear comparison on the score of coherence and unity with Cantillon's brief, systematic, and thoroughgoing performance. But Hume's title indicates a significant point of view, and he deals with the theory of population, of luxury, of circulation,—including trade, money, interest, the mercantile balance, and the working of jealousy in trade transactions,—and of finance, including taxation and public loans, but excluding capital, value, and wages. His views were instinct with liberalism and the warmest love of progress. He was Kant's forerunner in philosophy, and had the gift of a wonderfully clear and charming style. Indeed, Adam Smith made no secret of his admiration for Hume, who was his 'guide, philosopher, and friend.'"

In England.

Sir Dudley North, who wrote *Discourses upon Trade* in 1691, branded Mercantilism as a political aberration. Money, he argued, is a commodity distributing itself in the course of nature among various nations according to their needs, which are registered by the ups and downs of market prices. Classes as such, according to North, have no exclusive concerns of their own, but society is bound together by the solidarity of interest, and the same holds true among States, so that absolute free trade, both industrial and commercial, is the one and only way of achieving wealth.

Of other Englishmen who led the way to Adam Smith we quote from Ingram:

"Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester (d. 1799), holds a distinguished place among the immediate predecessors of Smith. Most of his numerous productions had direct reference to contemporary questions, and the marked by much sagacity and penetration, are deficient in permanent interest. In some of these he urged the impolicy of restrictions on the trade of Ireland, advocated a union of that country with England, and recommended the recognition of the independence of the United States of America. The most important of his general economic views are those relating to international commerce. He is an ardent supporter

of free-trade doctrines, which he bases on the principles that there is between nations no necessary antagonism, but rather a harmony, of interests, and that their several natural advantages and different aptitudes naturally prompt them to exchange. He had not, however, got quite clear of mercantilism, and favored bounties on exported manufactures and the encouragement of population by a tax on celibacy. Dupont, and after him Blancqui, represent Tucker as a follower of the Physiocrats, but there seems to be no ground for this opinion except his agreement with them on the subject of the freedom of trade. Turgot translated into French his *Important Questions on Commerce* (1755).

"In 1767 was published Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*. This was one of the most unfortunate of books. It was the most complete and systematic survey of the science from the point of view of moderate mercantilism which had appeared in England. Steuart was a man of no ordinary abilities, and had prepared himself for his task by long and serious study. But the time for the mercantile doctrines was past, and the system of natural liberty was in possession of an intellectual ascendancy which foreshadowed its political triumph. Nine years later the *Wealth of Nations* was given to the world, a work as superior to Steuart's in attractiveness of style as in scientific soundness. Thus the latter was predestined to fail, and, in fact, never exercised any considerable theoretic or practical influence. Smith never quotes or mentions it; being acquainted with Steuart, whose conversation he said was better than his book, he probably wished to keep clear of controversy with him."

The French champion of economic freedom of this age is René Louis Voyer, Marquis d'Argenson (1694-1757). For a short time he was in the ministry, and he wrote various works on politics and economics, which remained unpublished for more than a century, as well as an epoch-marking essay published in the *Journal Oeconomique* (1751).

Continental Writers.

Another Frenchman who should be noticed was Pierre Boisguillebert, a passionate antagonist of the Mercantilist school. Vauban, in his economic tracts, especially his *Projet d'une Dixme Royale* (1707), follows the same line. Of Fénelon and Montesquieu, Ingram says:

"The liberal and humane spirit of Fénelon led him to aspire after freedom of commerce with foreign nations, and to preach the doctrine that the true superiority of one state over another lies in the number indeed, but also in the morality, intelligence, and industrious habits of its population. The *Télémaque*, in which these views were presented in an attractive form, was welcomed and read among all ranks and classes, and was thus an effective organ for the propagation of opinion.

"After these writers there is a marked blank in the field of French economic thought, broken only by the *Réflexions Politiques sur les Finances et le Commerce* (1738) of Dutot, a pupil of Law, and the semi-mercantilist *Essais Politiques sur le Commerce* (1731) of Mélon, till we come to the great name of Montesquieu. The *Esprit des Loix*, so far as it deals with economic subjects, is written upon the whole from a point of view adverse to the mercantile system, especially in his treatment of money, tho in his observations on colonies and elsewhere he falls in with the ideas of that system. His immortal service, however, was not rendered by any special research, but by his enforcement of the doctrine of natural laws regulating social no less than physical phenomena."

Among the most progressive of the Italian writers the most prominent is Cesare Beccaria (1738-94). His treatise *Dei delitti e delle pene* is said to have been translated into twenty-two languages. The Austrian Government created for him a chair of political economy, and his *Elementi di Economia Publica* (1771, published in 1804) was the result. He was something of a Physiocrat and strongly opposed to monopolies, privileges, etc., although a protectionist. Other Italians of less prominence are Pietro Verri (1728-97), Giovanni R. Carli (1720-95), Giambattista Vasco (1733-96), Gaetano Filangieri (1752-88), the second volume of whose *Scienza della Legislazione* treats of economics and seems to take many of the positions of Adam Smith, without knowing it. Still other Italians are Ludovico Ricci (1742-99); Ferdinando Paoletti (1717-1801), a public-spirited priest and a Physiocrat; and Francesco Mengotti (1791). Here, perhaps, should be mentioned Giannaria Ortes (1713-90), neither a Mer-

cantilist nor a Liberalist, but finding his ideal in the Middle Ages. In Spain, Geronimo Ustariz (1724) was an extreme Mercantilist. Count Pedro Rodriguez (1723-1802) represents the Liberal school. In Austria Sonnenfels (1733-1817), the first distinguished economist of that country, is a Mercantilist, but a very liberal one. In Germany, according to Roscher, the greatest economist of the eighteenth century was Justus Möser (1720-94), the author of *Patriotische Phantasien* (1774), praised by Goethe. He is opposed to the Aufklärung and liberalism, and, like the Italian Ortes, looks back to the Middle Ages. He opposes absolute private property in land and somewhat favors the commune.

F. THE PHYSIOCRATS.

Says Cossa: "The unparalleled merit of having created a scientific system of political economy, or, to phrase it better, of philosophic social jurisprudence viewed chiefly in its economic aspects, undoubtedly belongs to a man of genius named François Quesnay, founder of the physiocratic school. The name 'physiocratic' was given to them after 1763, before which time they bore, as a sort of nickname, the title of 'economist.' When I speak of theirs as the first scientific system, I intend to convey the fact that they deduced from a few ultimate principles a perfectly homogeneous whole, comprising pure economics as well as political and financial economics. What gave them their name was the basis of their system—a recognition that natural laws are paramount."

They held that there was such a theory as a *jus nature*, a harmonious and beneficial order of nature, corresponding in economics to the theological conception of a beneficent divine providence, and they taught that wisdom consisted in doing away with all artificial laws and customs preventing the working of this divine order. It was the same conception that made Rousseau criticize the existing order of society and advocate a return to "natural" liberty. It will be seen, too, how this school really led the way to the great school of natural liberty of Adam Smith and his followers. The Physiocrats, however, had marked views as to what was the natural order. Ingram describes these as follows:

"Only those labors are truly 'productive' which add to the quantity of raw materials available for the purposes of man; and the real annual addition to the wealth of the community consists of the excess of the mass of agricultural products (including, of course, metals) over their cost of production. On the amount of this *produit net* depends the well-being of the community, and the possibility of its advance in civilization. The manufacturer merely gives a new form to the materials extracted from the earth; the higher value of the object, after it has passed through his hands, only represents the quantity of provisions and other materials used and consumed in its elaboration. Commerce does nothing more than transfer the wealth already existing from one hand to another; what the trading classes gain thereby is acquired at the cost of the nation, and it is desirable that its amount should be as small as possible. The occupations of the manufacturer and merchant, as well as the liberal professions, and every kind of personal service, are 'useful' indeed, but they are 'sterile,' drawing their income, not from any fund which they themselves create, but from the superfluous earnings of the agriculturist. Perfect freedom of trade not only rests, as we have already seen, on the foundation of natural right, but is also recommended by the consideration that it makes the *produit net*, on which all wealth and general progress depend, as large as possible. *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer* should therefore be the motto of Governments. The revenue of the State, which must be derived altogether from this net product, ought to be raised in the most direct and simplest way—namely, by a single impost of the nature of a land tax."

Their Views.

This last position gives the school an especial interest to social reform as being the forerunner of the modern believers in the Single Tax. The first great Physiocrat was François Quesnay (1694-1774). Altho

by profession a physician and attendant upon Louis XV. and Mme. de Pompadour, he was also a landowner deeply interested in agriculture. In 1756 he wrote the articles *Fermiers*, and one on *Grains* in Diderot and Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, which contain the germ of his system. His famous *Tableau Économique* was printed in 1753. In 1763 he published his *Maximes Générales du Gouvernement Économique d'un Royaume Agricole*. His *Tableau Économique*, though dry and abstract, is perhaps the best statement of the school, with its motto, *peuples paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi*. J. C. M. Vincent, M. de Gournay (1712-50), though born after Quesnay, must be associated with Quesnay as a founder, and is said to have influenced Quesnay. He wrote nothing save memoirs addressed to ministers, but in the *Bloge*, which Turgot addressed to his memory, we have a full statement of his views. He was bred as a merchant, as Quesnay was an agriculturalist, and does not agree with the latter that commerce and manufacture are "unproductive." He puts all his emphasis on the struggle for "natural" freedom, and he it is who formulated the phrase *Laissez-faire, laissez-passer*. Quesnay's oldest and most devoted disciple was Victor, Marquis de Mirabeau, the somewhat verbose father of his more famous son. Another earnest and persevering apostle of the system was Dupont de Nemours (1730-1817), known by his treatises *De l'Exportation et de l'Importation des Grains* (1764), *De l'Origine et des Progrès d'une Science Nouvelle* (1767), *Du Commerce de la Compagnie des Indes* (1767), and especially by his more comprehensive work *Physiocratie, ou Constitution Naturelle du Gouvernement le Plus Avantageux au Genre Humain* (1768). It was the title to this book which gave the name to the school. Other interpreters of physiocratic doctrine were Mercier de la Rivière, Baudeau, and Letrosne, Abeille, Condorcet, Bosnier de l'Orme, Bigot de Sainte Croix, Chastellux, and Abbé Morellet.

The greatest name, however, among the followers of this school, and the only one who could put the ideas into practice, was Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-81), for a short time minister of Louis XVI., and perhaps, as Matthew Arnold calls him, "the greatest minister France ever had." (See TURGOT.) Says Cossa:

"Turgot deserves a place quite by himself among the economists of his day, because of the variety and solidity of his attainments, and the versatility in argument displayed in his books, and in the official memorials for which he is responsible.

His fame rests quite as much upon the reforms which he instituted as upon the books which he wrote. His reforms reorganized the national finances, and delivered agriculture from the strait-jacket in which for centuries it had been confined; at least these reforms would have accomplished this, if the weak king had not instantly abolished them, and abandoned his ministry to the mercies of court intriguers, and the opposition of privileged classes. All this made shipwreck of reforms which, though substantially wise, were in themselves foredoomed to failure, because they contained no sufficient provisions for making gradual and partial changes, but contemplated the sudden sweeping away of the old order to make room for the new."

His economic views are explained in the introductions to his edicts and ordinances, in letters and occasional papers, but especially in his *Reflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses* (1766).

The last French Physiocrats were Germain, Marquis de Garnier, who published his *Abrégé Élémentaire des Principes de l'Économie Politique* in 1796, and Dutens, whose *Philosophie de l'Économie Politique* appeared in 1835.

Outside of France the main Physiocrats were, in Germany, Karl Friedrich, Markgraf of Baden (1728-1811), Theodor Schmalz (1760-1831), Johann August Schlettwein (1731-1802), Jakob Mauvillon (1743-94). Karl Arnd's *Die Naturgemässe Volkswirtschaft* appeared as late as 1851. In England the Physiocrats had no real following. In Poland, Strojnowski, in Russia, Prince Galitzin (1796), are of this school. The leading Italian Physiocrats are, Melchior Delcico (1788), Nicola Fiorentino, and Neri (1767), besides four writers on the corn laws who came after him: Scottoni (1781), Mario Pagano (1789), De Gennaro, in his *Annona* (1783), and Scrofini in his *Memorie di Economia Politica* (1826); also four writers on finance, viz., Adamo Fabroni, mentioned in 1778 by Balletti, Giuseppe Gorani (1771), Giovanni Paradisi (1789); and above all, Giuseppe Sarchiani, a Tuscan, and author of the pamphlet *Intorno al Sistema delle Pubbliche Imposizioni* (1791).

Turgot.

G. ADAM SMITH, AND THE SCHOOL OF NATURAL LIBERTY.

For a full account of Adam Smith, see article SMITH; for an account of the predecessors and the steps which led up to Adam Smith, see Section E of this article. Adam Smith must by no means be considered the absolute originator of his school; nevertheless he gave it such signal utterance and so influential an impulse as to make him in a very real sense the founder of this, the great school of orthodox English, if not European and American, political economy.

Adam Smith was born in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, June 5, 1723, and studied in his native place, at Glasgow, under Hutcheson (1737-40), and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he remained till 1846. He lived in Edinburgh and read under the patronage of Lord Kames, and in close intimacy with David Hume. In 1831 he was called to the chair first of logic, and then of moral philosophy. In 1759 appeared his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In 1764 he vacated his chair, and for two years traveled with the young Duke of Buccleuch, spending nearly a year in Paris, and becoming acquainted with Diderot, A. L. C. Quesnay, and Turgot. Returning to his native Kirkcaldy, he lived there ten years, save for a trip to London, and in the first months of 1776 brought out his great work, *The Wealth of Nations*. The fame won by this got him the appointment of Commissioner of Customs at Edinburgh, where he went in 1778. In 1787 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and died July 17, 1790. Cossa says of his book:

"Adam Smith's book is a masterpiece because its author combined rare philosophical powers of insight with rich and varied mental acquirements, and his profound historical knowledge was joined with a phenomenal common sense which enabled him to investigate all his problems from all sides, without ever suffering prejudice to intervene and carry him too far.

His reasoning is alternately deductive and inductive, and his style combines literary charm with scientific apprehensibility, and is accordingly adapted to every heedful and fairly instructed mind. He abounds in historical illustrations, constantly tests his points by appealing to facts, and as a matter of fact all his digressions into questions of justice, education, and soldiering,—found fault with though they are by many on account of their inordinate length, which certainly would suggest an encyclopedia rather than a treatise on one subject,—played their part in making the book popular, and in winning for it the control which it eventually exercised over the course of legislative reform that has prevailed in the leading States of modern times."

Coming to an analysis of this remarkable work, we find that it commences in book i. with the premiss that every appreciable increment of national wealth springs from labor, and then asks what causes enhance this increment; carefully considering the division of labor, the resultant saving of capital to fall back upon, and the widening of the market. This leads to the subject of exchange, and the consideration of (1) value in use, or utility, and (2) value in exchange, constituted by the purchasing power of wages. This latter is studied under the two categories of natural and market value. Then comes the subject of distribution, and the study of differences in wages and profits, with the conclusion that the advancement of wealth increases rents and wages, but diminishes profits. Wealth he defines as the assemblage of material, necessary, convenient, or desirable articles; and to produce wealth is to make materials more useful or valuable. Hence clergyman, magistrates, house servants, etc., are not engaged in productive labor.

Book ii. begins with the distinction between capital and the fund required for daily consumption, and then considers the various forms of capital, mobilized, circulating, etc. Saving creates capital, which supports productive labor, whereas unproductive consumption does not. Money is next discussed, in its various forms, and he censures the confusion of the volume of current money with the rate of interest and favors a legal rate slightly above the current rate, so as to prevent the flow toward speculators and spendthrifts. Agriculture Smith considers the most productive investment, because here, through the

gratuitous cooperation of nature, a surplus arises, making rent possible.

Book iii. sketches a history of industry, with special study of causes favorable to prosperity. Book iv. first criticizes the Mercantilist and Physiocrat theories, and then sets forth Smith's own canons. The ultimate aim of good government is the utmost freedom for the production and circulation of wealth. He attacks all outworn restrictive measures. Yet he appeals to no abstract principle like the Physiocrats, but to expediency and opportunity. He implies, though he does not state, that the play of individual interests will always produce the good of the community. He thinks ever of the consumer's interests, and so desires the cheapening of all articles. He does not however desire a sudden adoption of free trade, and believes that the public health and morals may persistently require the limitations of trade. He would justify temporary grants of monopolies to companies taking great risks.

Book v. concerns the State, whose function is not only negative, but educational, and to carry on all enterprises which are of importance but would not remunerate private enterprise. Revenue he would raise, not from crown lands, but from taxes on consumption and on various forms of rent. He closes with a study of the evils of abusing public credit.

The book is thus wonderfully balanced, but contains hints which less balanced followers have developed into capital errors. He was, however, on the whole, decidedly influenced by his time in criticizing the economic functions of government, and trusting too far to the free play of private interests, under the idea of the old *ius nature*.

Adam Smith was much criticized by the English and French Mercantilists, and the German school of M \ddot{o} ser (see above), who condemned him as rationalistic, individualistic, and materialistic. One of the best criticisms was by J. Lauderdale's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of the Public Wealth* (1804). He based value on utility and sharply criticizes Smith's confusion of public and private wealth.

But Smith soon won distinguished followers. Jeremy Bentham (*q. v.*) declared for him, and wrote *A Manual of Political Economy* and monographs on free trade, public debts, and *A Defense of Usury* (1787).

We now come to the great name of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). A Protestant clergyman, he taught economics at Haileybury College. (See MALTHUS and MALTHUSIANISM.) Cossa says of Malthus:

"He investigated the economic aspects of population with a masterly idea of the right method of scrutinizing the fundamental principle involved under all existing and widely divergent cases by which it is exemplified. Thus he founded on solid ground a doctrine which, when stripped entirely of its pseudo-mathematical integument and stated with greater precision statistically and psychologically, has held its own up to the present hour against a horde of cavils, which turn for the most part upon a loose employment of terms; it has even weathered the shock given to it by certain incompetent friends who have fastened upon it the heavy burden of their own false conclusions."

The first edition of his work appeared anonymously in 1798 under the title, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers*. This book arose out of certain private controversies of its author with his father, Daniel Malthus, who had been a friend of Rousseau, and was an ardent believer in the doctrine of human progress as preached by Condorcet and other French thinkers and by their English disciples. The book was a polemic. Godwin (*q. v.*) had held that evils in society arise from human institutions, which should be replaced by a natural equality for all. Malthus, following a work by Dr. Robert Wallace in 1761, showed that the tendency of population to rapidly increase made equality impossible. The result was brilliant, but crude. He attempted to prove that population increases in a geometrical, food in an arithmetical, ratio. His success led to his writing a second edition, which is practically a new book, carefully eradicating the crudities of the first edition, not attempting to formulate any mathematical law, but from abundant instances to cautiously show the general tendency of population to outstrip the means of support.

His Critics.

Adam Smith.

Malthus.

The book, so altered, appeared in 1803, under the title, *An Essay on the Principle of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness; with an Enquiry into our Prospects respecting the Future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it Occasions.*

There is one important addition. In the former edition the author had spoken of no checks to population save those of wars, misery, and vice. He now speaks of "moral restraint," and so is able to soften some of the harshest conclusions of the first edition. The book passed through six editions in Malthus' lifetime, and he constantly introduced corrections. The last edition was that of 1817.

The impression made by Malthus' book was largely due to the times in which it appeared. Adam Smith had written at the beginning of an industrial revolution. The only steam-engine he refers to is Newcomen's, and of the cotton trade he makes but one mention. "Between the years 1760 and 1770," says Mr. Marshall, "Roebuck began to smelt iron by coal, Brindley connected the rising seats of manufactures with the sea by canals, Wedgwood discovered the art of making earthenware cheaply and well, Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, Arkwright utilized Wyatt's and High's inventions for spinning by rollers and applied water power to move them, and Watt invented the condensing steam-engine. Crompton's mule and Cartwright's power-loom came slowly after."

The result of all this invention was a rush into manufacturing. Capitalists who could own factories made money at the rate of several hundred per cent. Agriculture was neglected and hand production killed. The unemployed from Ireland, as well as from all England, poured into the factory towns. Machines enabled the owners to employ women and children instead of men. Parishes sold their pauper children to the factories. There were no trade-unions to keep wages up; there were no laws to prevent long hours or child labor. The horrors of English factory and agricultural life at this time beggar description. Men were housed like animals and fed like swine. Children of five or six worked

The Industrial Revolution.

long hours. Drunkenness and every evil abounded. Some have argued that at no period in English history was the condition of the English laborer worse than during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth. Competition was absolutely unlimited. Meanwhile, Adam Smith's book seemed to show the wisdom of absolute freedom. It was a comfort, therefore, to have Malthus prove that population, by a law of nature, tended to increase faster than the means of subsistence and that, therefore, some must perish. It seemed to excuse the suffering of the poor and still any prickings of capitalistic consciences. Malthus had met a need. Between Adam Smith and Malthus the employee was helpless—free to slave, free to suffer, and free to die. Adam Smith and Malthus furnished the economic orthodoxy of the day; an orthodoxy not yet overthrown, though very largely undermined. But it was to be developed. Malthus himself wrote other works.

But we now come to the third great name in the school of English orthodox economists, that of David Ricardo (1772-1823). Ricardo was the son of a Jewish merchant, carefully educated for business. He himself, however, became a Christian, and turned a banker of unimpeachable honesty and great success. The study of the *Wealth of Nations* made him an economist. In 1810 he entered Parliament as an authority on finance. In 1821 he was one of the founders of the Political Economy Club.

Ricardo.

His great work, however, was his *Principles of Political Economy* (1817), a work which Cossa calls "of originality and profundity so remarkable that it marks an epoch in the history of our science, tho its good points are overstated by such enthusiastio partizans as MacCulloch and De Quincey."

Ricardo was a pure theorist. He develops Adam Smith's hints and fundamental positions, with keen logic, simply as matters of pure science. "He, therefore, comes to conclusions which Adam Smith's balance of a mind full of facts saved him from making. Ricardo carries many of the points so far as to make them assume positions entirely new, and which may be truly said to be original with Ricardo. Primary among these is his view of value and his famous law of rent. (See RICARDO and RICARDIAN LAW OF RENT.)

With Ricardo, the great primal stage of the *laissez-faire* economy is complete. The works of Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo went through all Europe, creating everywhere a new awakening of economic thought and often such admiration as for a time almost to check further independent thought. As late as 1869 Rau, in Germany, wrote: "The fundamental ideas of Adam Smith are derived so directly from the nature of things that later investigations only furthered the gradual internal development of his system without establishing a new one; hence, the political economy of to-day, altho by no means confined any longer to the content of the doctrines formulated by Adam Smith, is nevertheless regarded as his system."

Of French orthodox political economy, Léon Say wrote in 1884: "The science has neither in practise nor in theory shown a growth equal to that of the demands made upon it. One does not even take the trouble to combat on scientific or political grounds the ideas which come from Germany; our economists slumber in indolent optimism on the cushion of *laissez-faire*."

The school of Adam Smith governed economic thought down to 1870, and everywhere it created a school of writers. We from this time must study economic thought by countries.

H. ENGLAND.

Contemporary with Adam Smith was another Scotchman, James Anderson, who died in 1808. In a footnote to his *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws* (1777), he puts the whole principle of rent clearly and concisely. Much better known was James Mill (1773-1830). In his *Elements of Political Economy* (1821) he seems to sum up, altho dryly and without interest, all the Ricardian economics. John Ramsay McCulloch (1789-1864), another Scotchman, was a more popular, but less accurate writer. His *Principles of Political Economy* (1825), *Dictionary of Commerce*, and treatise on Taxation contain nothing original, and are now of little value, but in their day did considerable to spread the Ricardian economics. Colonel Robert Torrens (1780-1864) is a better representative of the school, and a prolific writer.

Two prominent clergymen are among the economists of this school and time. The Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, having been professor at Oxford, and being the author of excellent lectures introductory to political economy (1831), finally founded a chair of economics at Trinity College, Dublin, which was creditably filled by Longfield, his successor, Lawson, and then by Cairnes.

Professor Ingram says of Whately: "He published lectures on the science generally (1835), on *Poor Laws* (1834), and on *Commerce and Absenteeism* (1834), which were marked by independence of thought and sagacious observation. He was laudably free from many of the exaggerations of his contemporaries. He said, in 1835, 'In political economy we must not abstract too much,' and protested against the assumption too often made that 'men are guided in all their conduct by a prudent regard to their own interest.'"

The second clergyman, Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow, well known in other lines of thought, was no mean economist, tho principally famous in this line for his successful efforts in charity organization restriction in Glasgow. (See CHALMERS.) In his *The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns* (1821-36), and *On Political Economy in Connection with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society* (1832), he strongly opposes legal charity; and, while justly insisting on the primary importance of morality, industry, and thrift as conditions of popular well-being, carried the Malthusian doctrines to excess.

Undoubtedly, however, the greatest writer of the strict Ricardian school, after Ricardo himself, was Nassau William Senior (1790-1864), Professor of Political Economy at Oxford. Senior analyzed the cost of production most ingeniously, but his choice of the curious term "abstinence" (for describing that element in the cost of production which depends upon capital accumulated by self-denial) was unfortunate, since it gave rise to objections and controversies that turned entirely upon words. Equally important were his researches into the measure of wages and of profits, and, in general, into the whole terminology of economics. He was among the first in England to aim at accuracy and precision in this matter.

Senior.

Of less importance are Harriet Martineau (1802-76), who popularized Ricardo and Malthus in her *Illustra-*

tions of Political Economy (1832-34); Charles Babbage, *On the Economy of Machinery and Manufactures* (1832); Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (1841-42); T. C. Banfield, *The Organization of Industry Explained* (1844); and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization* (1849). All these are of the Ricardian school. The main English contemporary critic of Ricardo was Richard Jones (1790-1855), professor at Haileybury.

Ingram says of him: "Jones has received scant justice at the hands of his successors. J. S. Mill, while using his work, gave his merits but faint recognition. Even Roscher says that he did not thoroughly understand Ricardo, without giving any proof of that assertion, while he is silent as to the fact that much of what has been preached by the German historical school is found distinctly indicated in Jones' writings. He has been sometimes represented as having rejected the Andersonian doctrine of rent; but such a statement is incorrect. . . .

Jones.

What he really denied was the application of the doctrine to all cases where rent is paid; he pointed out in his *Essay on the Distribution of Wealth and on the*

Sources of Taxation (1831), that, besides "farmers' rents," which, under the supposed condition, conform to the above law, there are "peasant rents," paid everywhere through the most extended periods of history, and still paid over by far the largest part of the earth's surface, which are not so regulated. Peasant rents he divided under the heads of (1) serf, (2) métayer, (3) ryot, and (4) cottier rents, a classification afterward adopted in substance by J. S. Mill; and he showed that the contracts fixing their amount were, at least in the first three classes, determined rather by custom than by competition. Passing to the superstructure of theory erected by Ricardo on the doctrine of rent which he had so unduly extended, Jones denied most of the conclusions he had deduced.

Jones is remarkable for his freedom from exaggeration and one-sided statement; thus, while holding Malthus in, perhaps, undue esteem, he declines to accept the proposition that an increase of the means of subsistence is necessarily followed by an increase of population."

We come now to undoubtedly one of the greatest names in English economics, John Stuart Mill (1806-73). Of the orthodox school, he yet so far worked his way out of the orthodox economics as in his *Autobiography* to announce himself a socialist. This mere fact indicates a mental progress and, perhaps, inconsistencies that make it impossible to present his views in brief space.

Cossa says of Mill:

"Few influences of the kind have been more widespread among educated Englishmen, or found more approbation among the cultivated classes everywhere, than that exercised by his *Principles of Political Economy*, a book which summarizes and systematizes under their more important aspects, and in the most exact language possible, all the leading doctrines of the classical English school.

J. S. Mill.

Nor does this author fail, where necessary, to strengthen these views by completing them, so that there is no better account than his"; yet Cossa also says:

"But Mill's work requires a thorough understanding before you can away with the extraordinary inconsistencies and contradictions in which it abounds. . . . Self-contradiction lurks in the ever-widening and deepening vein of genial philanthropy, visible in the successive editions of Mill's *Principles*, until in the third he draws in the most rosy hues a prophetic picture of the days in store for the working classes, and actually proclaims his belief in the eventual consummation of socialism; but this philanthropy never quite carried him off his feet until he wrote his posthumously published chapters on socialism. Self-contradiction also lurks in his proposal to bar the right of collateral kindred to inherit, and also in his sympathy with the idea of heavy taxes to be imposed upon vexatious transfers of landownership, which culminated in the later years of his life in his marvelous scheme for confiscating the future rents of land which were to be acquired at current prices by the State with the owner's consent. But his self-contradiction is most palpable and can best be understood, from the point of view of science, when these socialistic aspirations are confronted with his theoretical adhesion to the doctrines of Malthus. These he not only maintained, but almost caricatured, by proposing the restriction of marriages by law. Again, how are we to reconcile his approval of a stationary state, which is really a retro-

gressive condition of decadence, with his unwavering belief in unlimited progress? He should either part company with Laing, reject Thornton's *plea for Peasant Proprietors* (1848; second edition, 1874), and refrain from glorifying small peasant-holdings, or else he must retract his own *Papers on Land Tenure (Dissertations and Discussions*, vol. iv.), and destroy all record of his own usefulness as president, from 1870 on, of the Land Tenure Reform Association. Finally, what can Mill the socialist, pledged as such against every form of competition, have to do with the Mill who defended 'cooperative societies for production,' and thus endeavored to replace competition between private enterprises by competition between associations of working men?"

Such a writer we shall not undertake to condense; only a brief account can be given. (For a full account, see MILL.) Born in 1806, and submitted by his father to a phenomenal intellectual discipline, he could read Greek and Latin at eight, and before the age of 20 became a close friend of Bentham, Austin, Grote, and Macaulay. In Paris he had met Say and St. Simon. From 1823 to 1853 he held a post in the India Office. From 1865 to 1868 he was M. P. for Westminster, but offended his constituents by his independent attitude. He died in retirement at Avignon, 1872. Committed at the outset to Benthamism, in 1826 he began to change to a more socialistic view. His acquaintance with Mrs. Taylor, beginning in 1831 and ending in marriage in 1851, rapidly developed his mental change. From 1841-46 he was under the influence of Comte. He in later life zealously espoused Agrarian Reform, Minority Representation, and Woman's Suffrage. Mill's main economic contributions were *Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (written in 1829-30, and published 1844), *Principles of Political Economy, with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy* (1848), *Dissertations and Discussions, Comte and Positivism* (1865), *England and Ireland* (1868), *on Representative Government* (1861), *on the Subjection of Women* (1869), *on Socialism*, published after his death in the *Fortnightly Review* (1874). His five essays contain his main original contributions to economics: Essay I. contains his famous doctrine of free international commerce; Essay II. his argument that absenteeism is a purely local evil; that tho a general glut is permanently impossible, it may be temporarily general; that this comes, however, not from over-production, but from impaired credit; Essay III. discusses productive and unproductive labor and consumption; Essay IV. discusses Ricardo's theory of the connection between wages and profits, showing that the latter depend upon the cost of the work. Essay V. discusses methods in economics, which must be inductive.

The marked points in Mill's *Political Economy* are (1) his analysis of the influence of progress; (2) his observation that profits tend to a minimum; (3) his remarks concerning a stationary condition of economic forces; (4) his famous distinction between the physical character of the laws governing production and the social character of those governing distribution. This last Mill himself regarded as his greatest contribution to economics, a view to-day not accepted.

Mill's *Autobiography* is of peculiar interest to social reform. Of it Ingram says:

"The gradual modification of his views in relation to the economic constitution of society is set forth in his *Autobiography*. In his earlier days, he tells us, he 'had seen little further than the old school' (note this significant title) of political economy into the possibilities of fundamental improvement in social arrangements. Private property, as now understood, and inheritance appeared the *denier mot* of legislation. The notion of proceeding to any radical redress of the injustice 'involved in the fact that some are born to riches and the vast majority to poverty' he had then reckoned chimerical. But now his views were such as would 'class him decidedly under the general designation of socialist'; he had come to believe that the whole contemporary frame-work of economic life was merely temporary and provisional, and that a time would come when 'the division of the produce of labor, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, would be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice.' 'The social problem of the future' he considered to be 'how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action,' which was often compromised in socialistic schemes, 'with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation in all

Ingram on
Mill.

the benefits of combined labor. These ideas were scarcely indicated in the first edition of the *Political Economy*, rather more clearly and fully in the second, and quite unequivocally in the third—the French Revolution of 1848 having, as he says, made the public more open to the reception of novelties in opinion.

"Whilst thus looking forward to a new economic order, he yet thinks its advent very remote, and believes that the inducements of private interest will in the meantime be indispensable. On the spiritual side he maintains a similar attitude of expectancy."

Among the more prominent of English economists after Mill, is John Elliot Cairnes (1824-75), professor at Trinity College, Dublin, and at University College, London. He was a great worker, but deficient in sympathy, and therefore somewhat one-sided. He largely developed the question of economic method. His book on *Method* (1857) for over 20 years had no rival. In 1862 he published *The Slave Power; Its Character, Career, and Probable Designs*; showing from an economic standpoint the evils of slave labor and creating a deep impression. His *Essays on Political Economy* were published in 1873, and in 1874 his important *Some Leading Principles*

Cairnes.

of *Political Economy Newly Expounded*. It contains however little new, merely amending some of the positions of Mill and others. He adopts the wages fund theory, which Mill had thrown away. He favors co-operation and shows that American highly paid labor need not fear European low paid labor.

Most closely connected with Mill is Henry Fawcett (1833-84). Altho blind he was professor at Cambridge, an M. P., and in 1880 made Postmaster-General. His *Manual of Political Economy* (1863) has been much used as a text-book, and has been adapted by his wife, Mrs. M. G. Fawcett, into a *Political Economy for Beginners* (1870), also much used.

But the newer thought that begins to show itself in Mill was to attain more development than in Cairnes and Fawcett.

William Thornton (1813-80) had already attacked the theory of value and of the wages fund, and in many ways criticized the orthodox economy; and altho doing but little to point a way out, presenting facts to show the unhappy condition of the English laborer. In this way his *Overpopulation and its Remedy* (1846); *On Peasant Proprietors* (1848); and *On Labor, its Wrongful Claims and Rightful Dues*, are helpful books. But more positive thought was to develop. Robert Owen (1771-1858), the Chartists, and others (see ENGLAND) had, from 1817 on, awakened considerable utopian radical social thought. (See SOCIALISM.) William Thompson, one of Owen's followers, who died in 1833, had practically formulated what is Marx' theory of surplus value, as early as 1824, in his *Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth*. John Gray (1821), Edmonds (1828), J. B. Bray (1830), and Charles Bray (1841) developed similar thoughts. The writings, too, of Carlyle and Ruskin affected the economists more than they were willing to admit; but, especially, the violent condemnation of the soulless Manchester or orthodox political economy by Maurice, Kingsley, and the other Christian Socialists set the economists thinking. The tendency to break away from old theoretical abstractions was much quickened by the development in Germany of the historical school (see Section J of this article). One of the first economists in England to voice the newer thought was Walter Bagehot (1826-77). Author of an excellent

Bagehot.

work on the English money market, *Lombard Street* (1873), of several monographs on monetary questions, and of some general economic essays collected in *Economic Studies*, edited by R. H. Hutton (1880), he described himself as "the last man of the ante-Mill period," but he was more truly the first man to feel the influence of the historical school. With this he had "no quarrel, but rather much sympathy." "Rightly conceived," he said, "it is no rival to the abstract method rightly conceived." "Mill and Cairnes," says Ingram, "had already shown that the science they taught was a hypothetical one, in the sense that it dealt not with real but with imaginary men—'economic men' who were conceived as simply 'money-making animals.'" But Bagehot went further: he showed what those writers, tho they may have indicated, had not clearly brought out, that the world in which these men were supposed to act is also 'a very limited and peculiar world.' What marks off this special world, he tells us, is the promptness of transfer of capital and labor from one employment to another, as determined by differ-

ences in the remuneration of those several employments—a promptness, about the actual existence of which in the contemporary English world he fluctuates a good deal, but which on the whole he recognizes as substantially realized."

"The object of his economic studies," Ingram says, "was to show that the traditional system of political economy—the system of Ricardo and J. S. Mill—rested on certain fundamental assumptions, which, instead of being universally true in fact, were only realized within very narrow limits of time and space. Instead of being applicable to all states of society, it holds only in relation to those 'in which commerce has largely developed, and where it has taken the form of development, or something like the form, which it has taken in England.' It is 'the science of business such as business is in large and trading communities—an analysis of the great commerce by which England has become rich.' But more than this it is not; it will not explain the economic life of earlier times, nor even of other communities in our own time; and for the latter reason it has remained insular; it has never been fully accepted in other countries as it has been at home. It is, in fact, a sort of ready reckoner, enabling us to calculate roughly what will happen under given conditions in Lombard Street, on the Stock Exchange, and in the great markets of the world. It is a 'convenient series of deductions from assumed axioms which are never quite true, which in many times and countries would be utterly untrue, but which are sufficiently near to the principal conditions of the modern 'English' world to make it useful to consider them by themselves.'"

More advanced was T. E. Cliffe Leslie (1827-82). Of him Ingram says: "The first systematic statement by an English writer of the philosophic foundation of the historical method, as the appropriate organ of economic research, is to be found in an essay by T. E. Cliffe Leslie (printed in the Dublin University periodical, *Hermathena*,

Cliffe Leslie.

1876; since included in his *Essays, Moral and Political*, 1870). This essay was the most important publication on the logical aspect of economic science which had appeared since Mill's essay in his *Unsettled Questions*. Tho Cairnes had expanded and illustrated the views of Mill, he had really added little to their substance. Leslie takes up a position directly opposed to theirs. He criticizes with much force and verve the principles and practise of the 'orthodox' school. Those who are acquainted with what has been written on this subject by Knies and other Germans, will appreciate the freshness and originality of Leslie's treatment. He points out the loose and vague character of the principle to which the classical economists profess to trace back all the phenomena with which they deal—namely, the 'desire of wealth.' This phrase really stands for a variety of wants, desires, and sentiments, widely different in their nature and economic effects, and undergoing important changes (as, indeed, the component elements of wealth itself also do) in the several successive stages of the social movement. The truth is that there are many different economic motors, altruistic as well as egoistic; and they cannot all be lumped together by such a coarse generalization. The *a priori* and purely deductive method cannot yield an explanation of the causes which regulate either the nature or the amount of wealth, nor of the varieties of distribution in different social systems, as, for example, in those of France and England. 'The whole economy of every nation is the result of a long evolution in which there have been both continuity and change, and of which the economical side is only a particular aspect. And the laws of which it is the result must be sought in history and the general laws of society and social evolution. The intellectual, moral, legal, political, and economic sides of social progress are indissolubly connected. Thus, juridical facts relating to property, occupation, and trade, thrown up by the social movement, are also economic facts. And, more generally, 'the economic condition of English' or any other 'society at this day is the outcome of the entire movement which has evolved the political constitution, the structure of the family, the forms of religion, the learned professions, the arts and sciences, the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.' To understand existing economic relations we must trace their historical evolution; and 'the philosophical method of political economy must be one which expounds that evolution.' This essay was the most distinct challenge ever addressed to the ideas of the old school on method, and, tho its conclusions have been protested against, the

arguments on which they are founded have never been answered."

An Irishman by birth, Leslie was a barrister and professor at Belfast. His writings are mainly essays (1888) and articles in various reviews.

More important is William Stanley Jevons (1835-82). Born at Liverpool, assayer in the Mint at Sydney (1854-59), professor at Manchester (1866-76), and in University College, London (1876-81), his experience gave him many-sidedness and balance. His *A Serious Fall in the Value of Gold* (1863) and the *Coal Question* (1865) were his first important works. His *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (1875) is one of the best treatises on that subject, from a conservative position (Jevons being a moderate monometallist). More progressive are his *The State in Relation to Labor* (1882) and *Methods of Social Reform* (1883). Jevons would have State action developed not on any doctrinaire principle, for or against, but experimentally; learning from this experience what the State can do best and what the individual. He sought to work out the conception of final utility. Altho apt in statistics and mathematics, he can be also popular, as in his *Primer of Political Economy* (1878).

Jevons.

Of the same school is J. E. Thorold Rogers, professor at Oxford. His six-volume *History of Agriculture and Prices, 1250-1702* (1866-87); his one-volume *Six Centuries of Work and Labor* (1884); his two-volume *Industrial and Commercial History of England* (1891) are monuments of patient investigation and full of facts, if economists pay little heed to the conclusions he draws from them. Commencing his studies opposed to trade-unions, he was by his historic studies converted to a reasonable trade-unionism.

But most progressive of all this school was the brilliant Arnold Toynbee (1825-83). Best known for the impetus he gave to university residence among the poor, commemorated in Toynbee Hall (*q. v.*), his fragmentary writings on economic history printed as *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England* (1884), have made many regret his early death, altho the scientific value of his writings is questioned by such men as Cossa.

Ingram says of him:

"He had a belief in the organizing power of democracy which it is not easy to share, and some strange ideas due to youthful enthusiasm, such as, for example, that Mazzini is 'the true teacher of our age'; and he fluctuates considerably in his opinion of the Ricardian political economy, in one place declaring it to be a detected 'intellectual imposture,' whilst elsewhere, apparently under the influence of Bagehot, he speaks of it as having been in recent times 'only corrected, restated, and put into the proper relation to the science of life,' meaning apparently, by this last, general sociology. He saw, however, that our great help in the future must come, as much had already come, from the historical method, to which in his own researches he gave preponderant weight. . . . If, as we are told, there exists at Oxford a rising group of men who occupy a position in regard to economic thought substantially identical with that of Toynbee, the fact is one of good omen for the future of the science."

Coming to contemporary authors, easily the first place is occupied by Professor Alfred Marshall, who in 1885 was called to succeed Professor Fawcett at Cambridge. Cossa calls him "the first English name in contemporary economic thought," and says:

"Alike as a teacher and as a writer, Professor Marshall has given proofs of an acute mind, a many-sided and well-digested familiarity with economic theories, a point of view regarding method which is at once comprehensive and accurate, and a power to measure justly the theories of the classical school.

Of that school he is the representative and heir, for he follows the traditions of Adam Smith, allowance being made for altered views and circumstances. Like Jevons, but with more balance, he utilizes mathematics; like Rogers and Cliffe Leslie, he favors historical studies; and finally, with Giffen, he appreciates statistical induction, at the same time giving fair warning that bare facts which are facts only, and not welded together by theoretical inductions, are mute and unintelligible. The special field of his work has been the theory of value." Nevertheless, altho of the classical school, he is so inclined to advanced social views as often to be called a socialist. His *Economics of Industry* (1879), written with the aid of his wife Mrs. Mary Paley Marshall, has replaced Mrs. Fawcett's book for beginners and strikes a much

Marshall.

more advanced note. His chief work, however, is his *Principles of Economics* (vol. i., 1890), a collection of monographs; among others his important *Some Aspects of Competition*. His *Elements of Economics of Industry* (1892) is an abridgment of the *Principles*. Cossa says of his general views:

"Marshall's ideas on the working man and his condition, on the causes regulating demand for labor and for products, and on the right limits of State interference on behalf of classes living in straitened circumstances, are beyond all commendation, so that a great gulf is fixed between them and the extremes of socialism on the one hand, and of individualism on the other."

Perhaps next to Marshall stands another Cambridge man, Henry Sidgwick, Professor of Moral Philosophy, best known for his *Methods of Ethics* and *History of Ethics*, his *Principles of Political Economy* (1883), and *Elements of Politics* (1891). Professor Ingram says of him:

"It is impossible not to respect and admire the conscientious and penetrating criticism which he applies to the *a priori* system of economics in its most mature form. But it is open to question whether the task was wisely undertaken. It cannot be permanently our business to go on amending and limiting the Ricardian doctrines, and asking by what special interpretations of phrases or

Sidgwick.

additional qualifications they may still be admitted as having a certain value. The time for a new construction has arrived; . . . It is interesting to observe that the part of the work which is, and has been recognized as, the most valuable is that in which shaking off the fictions of the old school, he examines independently, by the light of observation and analysis, the question of the industrial action of governments."

Among the leading economists must be mentioned Professor Ingram himself, from whom we have so often quoted. John Kells Ingram, professor at Trinity College, Dublin, and an Irishman himself, is a Comtist and most opposed to the classical school. His *Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy* (1878), and his article on political economy in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, since expanded into his *History of Political Economy*, are the best English works on the subject, and markedly trace the development of economic thought in the socialist direction. Professor H. S. Foxwell, who now occupies the chair left vacant by Jevons' death, has attained considerable distinction by editing Jevons' posthumous works, as well as by several essays, like his *Fluctuations of Employment*. He is now engaged with a vast bibliographical work, of which much is expected.

Latest Writers.

Among writers prominent in certain fields of economic thought Professor William Cunningham, with his *Politics and Economics* (1885) and *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (vol. i. *The Early and Middle Ages* (1890), vol. ii. *Modern Times* (1892)), stands foremost in economic history. Philip H. Wicksteed, with his *Alphabet of Economic Science* (pt. i., 1888), has developed and lucidly presented Jevons' theory of value. D. G. Ritchie of Oxford has written many valuable articles. His *Darwinism and Politics* is an able answer to the position sometimes taken that Darwinism is opposed to the collectivist position. Professor J. S. Nicholson of the University of Edinburgh has attracted attention by his *The Effects of Machinery on Wages* (1878), *Tenant's Gain not Landlord's Loss* (1883), *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i. (1893), *Historical Progress and Ideal Socialism* (1894). The Rev. Professor J. E. Symes' *Short Text-book of Political Economy* (1888) has won praise in progressive circles, while E. C. K. Gonner's *Political Economy* (1884) and E. Cannan's *Elementary Political Economy* deserve mention among small text-books. James Bonar has shown much learning in discussing the new Austrian theory of value, while W. Smart is the translator of Böhm-Bawerk. Professor F. Y. Edgeworth, the successor of Rogers at Oxford, is perhaps first in economic investigations based on mathematics. The chief modern English work on monetary questions is Goshen's *The Theory of Foreign Exchange* (1861). J. S. Nicholson (*A Treatise on Money*, 1888), Seyd, Barbour, and Hucks-Gibbs have defended bimetalism as Jevons did monometallism. Ingram calls Professor W. E. Hearn's *Plutology* (1864) "one of the ablest extant treatments of the subject of production. L. T. Hobhouse's *The Labor Movement* and W. D. Hobson's *Evolution of Capital* have elicited no little attention. Likewise C. F. Bastable's *Commerce of Nations* (1892), *Public Finance* (1892), and E. Cannan's *Production and Distribution*.

Of older books on money Cossa mentions the following: Lord Liverpool's *Treatise on the Coins of the Realm* (1805); Thomas Tooke's *A History of Prices and of the State of Circulation from 1792-1836* (London, 1838-57, 6 vols.); H. D. Macleod's *Theory and Practice of Banking* (fourth edition, 1885, 2 vols.); Hankey's *The Principles of Banking*; the largely statistical labors of R. H. Inglis Palgrave on the *Bank-rate in England, France, and Germany, 1844-78* (1880); Bagehot's fascinating work, *Lombard Street, a Description of the Money Market* (1873); S. Jones Lloyd's tracts and other publications on metallic and paper currency (1858), and John Fullerton's *On the Regulation of the Currency* (1844).

Among the earlier productions on financial reform, he mentions: Sir John Sinclair's *History of the Public Revenue* (third edition, 1803-04, 3 vols.); Robert Hamilton's *The Rise and Progress, the Redemption . . . of the National Debt* (third edition, 1818); Sir Henry Parnell, *On Financial Reform* (fourth edition, 1822); Taylor's *History of the Taxation of England* (1853); Hubert Hall's *History of the Customs Revenue* (1885); and Stephen Dowell's monumental *History of Taxation in England* (1884-85, 4 vols.; second edition, 1888). Then there were also Sayer's *On the Income Tax* (1831); Buchanan's *Inquiry into Taxation* (1844); and to these may be added certain more recent works, like Baxter's *Taxation of the United Kingdom* (1869); Noble's *The Queen's Taxes* (1870); Sir Morton Peto's writings; Giffen's *Essay on Finance* (second edition, 1880); and Wilson's *The National Budget* (1882). On local taxation Palgrave (1871), Goschen (1872), and Probyn (1875; second edition, 1885) have set forth their views, and, finally, some place here should be found for mentioning Mr. Gladstone's *Financial Statements* (1867-70, 3 vols.), and the admirable works of Newmarch (*On the Loans raised by Mr. Pitt*, 1855); of Capp (*The National Debt Financially Considered*, 1859); and of Baxter (*National Debts*, 1871).

(Concerning the literature of social reform, see articles SOCIALISM, COOPERATION, etc., etc.)

Of the general state of economic science in England Cossa says: "The very vehemence of opposition shown during the last twenty years to the leading ideas of economics has been a blessing in disguise, since men well versed in it have been constrained to redouble their efforts to be sound and accurate in all things. It may, in fact, be confidently predicted that this period of incubation will clear the way for new triumphs, since the signs of their speedy coming are visible even now. In England, however, the diffusion of economic instruction goes on in lines quite different from those pursued in Germany and Italy, where professors at universities have matters all their own way. Not so in England, where a number of 'Reviews,' devoted to

Reviews.

general culture, are constantly applying the principles of economic science to questions of practical utility as they arise from time to time. The *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Review*, traditionally identified with the Tories and Whigs respectively; the *Westminster Review*, anciently the organ of radicalism; the *Fortnightly*, the *Contemporary*, the *National Review*, and the *Nineteenth Century*, representing either liberalism or a strict and impartial neutrality—all these periodicals, as well as many minor ones of great merit, are well supported and widely read. Specialists have very few organs, but the *Economist*, a weekly journal founded in 1843, and devoted to economics and politics, still maintains its ancient prestige, and goes on with its discussions about commerce, banking, and money, and there is also the old-established quarterly *Journal of the Statistical Society*, which celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation in 1885."

To these he adds *The Economic Review* (1891); *The Economic Journal* (edited by Edgeworth, 1891); R. H. Inglis Palgrave, *Dictionary of Political Economy* (1891 ff.).

The best history of purely English political economy is L. L. Price's *A Short History of Political Economy in England, from Adam Smith to A. Toynbee* (London, 1891).

I. FRANCE.

French political economy, after the school of the Physiocrats had lost ground, became dominated by the school of Adam Smith. In many respects it even out-orthodoxed the English school itself. Say, Rossi, Bastiat,

Michel Chevalier, Garnier, Cherbuliez, Léon Say, Courcelle-Seneuil, Block represent an undeviating following and a popular development of the school of natural liberty that cannot be matched in any other country, certainly not in England. Mill early turned the English channel into more independent lines.

The first important name is that of Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832). Born at Lyons, he was successively a clerk, a journalist, an active politician, and a professor of political economy at the Paris Conservatoire.

Cossa says of him: "Though not a few still choose to deny it, he certainly was an able successor of the great Scotch master, whose views he expanded and did much to complete. From the moment he produced his *Traité* (1803), which he corrected and summarized in his *Catechisme* (1817), and enriched with a whole chapter of new considerations on private industries in his *Cours Complet* (1828),—this last being in substance the lectures given by him at the Conservatoire,—Say gave signal proofs of his preeminent aptitude for presenting correctly, clearly, and in shapely form the whole body of doctrine embraced by economics strictly so called. His definitions are sound, and he points them with suitably chosen practical instances, grouping them by means of his famous triple subdivision of the subject-matter involved, and adapting them to the understanding of average minds incapable of coping with Adam Smith's long digressions, or of appreciating his historical learning and his lofty point of view. Our author's limitations grow out of a weak desire that tormented him to be ranked first among living economists, and a deficient education in history and law, which exposed him to dangerous pitfalls and misled him into erroneous views touching State interference. This he undertakes to restrict far more than Adam Smith when he discusses the unproductiveness of public expenditures and free coinage. These characteristic shortcomings had further the negative effect of preventing him from making due allowance for the progress that had been made, especially in England, and through Ricardo's able work."

Of the same period and school as Say are several minor names Cossa mentions. Isnard's *Traité des Richesses* (1781); Canard's *Principes d'Economie Politique* (1802); Sismond's *De la Richesse Commerciale* (1802). Count Destutt de Tracy's *Traité d'Economie Politique* (1815), and Joseph Droz's *Economie Politique* (1829); and more important still Heinrich Storch's *Cours d'Economie Politique* (1815), written in St. Petersburg for his pupils, the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael of Russia; his *Considerations sur la Nature de Revenu National* (1824); and Charles Comte's *Propriété* (1834), and *Traité de Législation* (1827).

We come to a greater name in that of Pelligrino Rossi (1787-1848). Born in Carrara and assassinated in Rome, an expert in Switzerland on criminal law, he succeeded Say in his chair at Paris, but soon wandered off on a diplomatic career. His successor was Michel Chevalier (1806-79). Once of Saint Simon's school and editor of the *Globe*, he was as skilful an economist, as expert as an engineer. He devoted himself to applied economics, particularly as to money. He is especially known to English readers for *La Baisse d'Or* (1858), translated by Cobden. An ardent free-trader, he was associated with Cobden in negotiating the treaty of 1860. In 1848 he attacked socialism in his *Lettres sur l'Organisation du Travail*. Against his brother-in-law Louis Wolowski (1810-76), he defended the single gold standard in *La Question des Banques* (1864). A friend of international exhibitions, he wrote *Les Brevets d'Invention* (1878). Against local dues he wrote *L'Industrie et l'Octroi de Paris* (1867). Of the same school is Joseph Garnier (1813-81), whose *Elements of Political Economy* appeared in 1845.

Cossa says of him: "Garnier shared in founding—and was for many years chief editor of—the *Journal des Economistes*, as well as of the *Annuaire de l'Economie Politique*; he also produced numerous books, duly enumerated by Lippert. His *Elements* passed through various vicissitudes in successive editions, and emerged with a new title as a *Traité*. He gradually added complementary volumes on finance and on population, and these formed a valuable, if not a profound, series of books for the advancement of economic study. Of the same character and general cali-

Say.

ber is the *Dictionnaire d'Économie Politique* (1851 ff., 2 vols.), published by Guillaumin and edited by Charles Coqueulin, who died upon its completion, but not without publishing a lively pamphlet, all his own, *Du Crédit des Banques* (1848; third edition, 1875). Coqueulin's *Dictionary* enlisted the collaboration of a number of competent experts, and was for very many years the model encyclopedia of economic science."

Among the more prominent of the recent French writers of the classical school is Antoine Elisée Cherbuliez (1797-1869). Born in Geneva, he was there professor of law (1833), of political economy (1835), and then till 1848 on the *Grand Conseil*. Then going to France, he soon returned after the *coup d'état* and was instructor at Lausanne till, late in life, made professor in the Zurich Polytechnicum. His main writings are on political science and finance.

Better known, tho perhaps not more deserving, is Jean Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil (1813-92), merchant, journalist, and a professor of political economy at Santiago in Chile from 1854 to 1863. Cossa says of him: "He was made a *conseiller d'état* in 1879, and those of his writings which embrace philosophy, law, politics, and technical bookkeeping are of uneven merit, but his real strength appears in industrial and political economy, more especially in what he has to say on banking and on socialism. He was associated with Dussard in translating Mill's *Principles*, and published a treatise of his own largely in Mill's vein.

Courcelle-Seneuil.

This work deserves a large measure of commendation; its method is sound, the line between science and art is clearly and correctly drawn, the parallel between the competitive and the authoritative principles, as worked out in two schemes of economics, is accurately stated, it contains an instructive presentation of the positions relatively occupied, on the one hand by law and on the other by economic phenomena; and, finally, there are to be found in it considerations touching emigration and colonies based upon an almost unique Spanish-American experience."

Maurice Block, born in 1816, is the last name we notice of the strict classical school. Of German parentage, he is best known for his statistical works. He edited the *Dictionnaire Général de la Politique* (1862 ff.) and the *Dictionnaire de l'Administration Française* (1855 f.).

His *Compte Rendu* of economic literature, which he has written in the *Journal des Économistes* for over 40 years, has become famous. His main theoretical works are: *Le Progrès de la Science Économique depuis Adam Smith* (1890), in which he criticizes the historical and praises the Austrian school, and his *Les Théoriciens du Socialisme en Allemagne* (1873), *Le Socialisme Moderne* (1891), and *Le Quintessence du Socialisme de la Chaire* (1894), books against socialism, which Professor Ely calls "strong, but not altogether fair."

All of the above writers are of the strict classical school. We now come to a few who are of this school, but of some independence. Strongly individualistic, they would leave socialistic reform alone rather than oppose it. Cossa calls them "the optimists." The first of these was Charles Dunoyer (1786-1862), a daring journalist during the period of the Restoration; under Louis Philippe named *préfet* and *conseiller d'état*. Ingram says of him: "In no French economic writer is greater force or general solidity of thought to be found than in Charles Dunoyer (1786-1862), author of *La Liberté du Travail* (1845; the substance of the first volume had appeared under a different title in 1825),

Dunoyer.

honorably known for his integrity and independence under the régime of the Restoration. What makes him of special importance in the history of the science is his view of its philosophical constitution and method. With respect to method, he strikes the keynote at the very outset in the words *rechercher expérimentalement*, and in professing to build on *les données de l'observation et de l'expérience*. He shows a marked tendency to widen economics into a general science of society; expressly describing political economy as having for its province the whole order of things which results from the exercise and development of social forces."

Far better known, however, and more popular and brilliant, if not abler than Dunoyer, is Frédéric Bastiat (1801-50). He lived the most of his life in quiet possession of lands at Mugron, beginning his scientific career in 1844 and dying in Rome in 1850, it is said, of overwork.

Cossa says of him: "Bastiat was a sincere philanthropist, an eminent dialectician, and a formidable

champion of economic freedom, which he defended, to begin with against protectionist assaults, and after 1848 against the socialists. His part in these controversies is represented by many works, among which may be named *Capital et Rente* (1849) and *Gratuité du Crédit* (1850), written against both Proudhon and Crevé, who clamored for gratuitous credit. His *Sophismes Économiques* (1845 ff.) are masterly examples of good sense and logic. He applied a *reductio ad absurdum* to the great arguments of the protectionists—his famous defense of the petition of candle-makers is a good instance of his method—by showing how closely their ideas, which insist upon spoliation to benefit the rich, coincide with socialistic schemes of spoliation for the benefit of the poor, *Protectionnisme et Communisme* (1849). Little, if any, fault could indeed be found with his views, if they did not imply a return to the physiocratic doctrine of an inalienable and absolute right to free trade, and also to the physiocratic disallowance of economic functions to the State—to this Bastiat clearly commits himself in his book to the State (1849)—and if, further, he did not ignore entirely the plea for protection made on behalf of infant industries. His zeal for free trade led our author to translate Cobden's leading speeches along with those of Bright, Fox, and other leaders of the *Manchester Anti-Corn Law League*, prefixing a masterly preface of his own to the whole collection, *Cobden et la Ligue, l'Agitation Anglaise pour la Liberté des Échanges* 1845."

Ingram calls him a brilliant but not a profound writer, and says of his *Harmonies Économiques* (translated into English by P. J. Sterling (1860): "It will always be historically interesting as the last incarnation of thorough-going economic optimism. This optimism, recurring to its first origin, sets out from theological considerations, and Bastiat is commended by his English translator for treating political economy 'in connection with final causes.' The spirit of the work is to represent 'all principles, all motives, all springs of action, all interests, as cooperating toward a grand final result which humanity will never reach, but to which it will always increasingly tend, namely, the indefinite approximation of all classes toward a level, which steadily rises—in other words, the equalization of individuals in the general amelioration. . . ."

"His constant aim is, as he himself expressed it, to 'break the weapons' of antisocial reasoners 'in their hands,' and this preoccupation interferes with the single-minded effort toward the attainment of scientific truth. The creation or adoption of his theory of value was inspired by the wish to meet the socialistic criticism of property in land; for the exigencies of this controversy it was desirable to be able to show that nothing is ever paid for except personal effort. His view of rent was, therefore, so to speak, foreordained, tho it may have been suggested, as indeed the editor of his posthumous fragments admits, by the writings of Carey. He held, with the American writer, that rent is purely the reward of the pains and expenditure of the landlord or his predecessors in the process of converting the natural soil into a *farm* by clearing, draining, fencing, and the other species of permanent improvements. He thus gets rid of the (so-called) Ricardian doctrine, which was accepted by the socialists, and by them used for the purpose of assailing the institution of landed property, or, at least, of supporting a claim of compensation to the community for the appropriation of the land by the concession of the 'right to labor.'"

Bastiat exerted a widespread influence in France. Cossa mentions, among those most influenced by him, Martinelli, with his *Harmonies et Perturbations Sociales* (1853); Bénard, who wrote *Les Lois Économiques* (1862); and of living economists, Fontenay, *Du Revenu Foncier* (1854), who also in later works has shown great vigor in argument, and, finally, Frédéric Passy, the subtle and fascinating pleader for universal peace. See among other works, his *Leçons d'Économie Politique* (1861, 2 vols.), and his *Mélanges Économiques*.

Of much more independence and importance, altho of the same school, is Gustave de Molinari, born at Liège in 1819; editor of the *Économiste Belge* from 1855 to 1868, and since 1882 the *Journal des Économistes*. Cossa says of him: "Individualism has no more uncompromising defender than this multifarious writer, whose keen insight often deviates into whimsical extravagance, but never into dullness. Special questions, such as those of ownership, slavery, the corn trade, money, credit, and weights and measures, have engrossed him much; he has also taken up more general aspects of the whole complex mass of eco-

conomic facts, but whatever his theme may be, he always returns to the notion of the non-competence of the State, which he maintains by arguments considered extravagant even by those who, like Foville, are more sure to judge him leniently."

Another prominent French defender of individualism is Paul Leroy Beaulieu. An expert in statistics, he attracted attention first by a series of monographs on the moral and intellectual condition of laborers, on working women (1873), and on colonial systems (1874), all of which were crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.

Cossa says of his views on State interference:

"He overstates the danger, but it is well to have it so, if only as an antidote to the equal extravagances of State socialism."

Two other moderns of this school must be mentioned: Henri Baudrillard, born in 1821. He was Chevalier's assistant professor in economics, and Levasseur's predecessor in the chair of economic history at the *Collège de France*, and his special subject of study was the relation between economic facts and moral laws. His more important works are *Manuel d'Economie Politique* (1857), *Histoire du Luxe Privé et Public* (1878-80), *Les Populations Agricoles de la France* (1880 ff.).

Émile Levasseur (1823) has written what Cossa considers meritorious works on economic history, and "the best book on the population of the century."

We now come to the French writers of the century who have more or less opposed the classical school. Augustin Cournot (1801-77), who was the very first to use the mathematical method in any competent fashion, in his *Recherches sur les Principes Mathématiques de la Théorie des Richesses* (1838). He abandoned, however, the mathematical method in his *Principes de la Théorie des Richesses* (1863); a work which Ingram says "is written with great ability and contains much forcible reasoning in opposition to the exaggerations of economic optimists."

Much better known is Jean Charles Léonard Simonde de Sismondi, born at Geneva in 1773, dying there in 1842. Cossa says of him: "Eminent in history and literature, he also was an expert in the science of agriculture, but maintained the conventional view on this subject in his first agricultural works, *Tableau de l'Agriculture Toscane* (1801), and *De la Richesse Commerciale* (1803). Later on he changed completely, and his *Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique, ou de la Richesse dans ses Rapports avec la Population* (1810), begins a consistent and severe attack upon views to which in his first works he was committed. He published quite in the same strain his *Études sur l'Economie Politique* at Paris in 1837 and 1838, and these two volumes discuss, from the new point of view, agriculture, slavery, manufactures, money, credit, colonies, and the balance between production and consumption. He attacks Adam Smith, Say, and Ricardo on many points; stigmatizing the science of their predilection as "chrematistics," because its chief concern is wealth, and it does not sufficiently make provision for man as the producer. Political economy, the real science which he opposed to theirs, must study the effect of production on the material comfort of the people, and this calls for the special attention of the State. Alarmed as he was by the rapid succession of crises in commerce, he proceeded to connect these with excessive production, and this resulted, according to his argument, partly from the division of labor, which in turn was the outcome of the introduction of machinery, and the organization of enterprise on a large scale; but the final root of the evil he discovered in competition, which had been allowed to run riot, with the result that rich men were always growing richer, and poor men poorer. On the strength of this argument Sismondi proclaimed the instant and imperative necessity of a return to small agricultural holdings and farming on a small scale, as well as of a revival of petty industries. Furthermore, he maintains stoutly that the employer must guarantee a livelihood to the workman, who is also entitled to have recourse to the State." Sismondi is thus an inconsistent socialist. He would not change the present system of distribution, to do which he thinks would be mischievous; he sharply criticizes modern industrialism, although unable, as he admits, to suggest a better system. Hence people have made out of his writings what they would. Theodor Fix, who founded the *Revue Mensuelle d'Economie Politique* (Paris, 1833-36), and wrote in 1846 his *Observations sur l'État des Classes Ouvrières*; S. R. Villermé, who has *Tableau de l'État Physique et Moral des Ouvriers* (1840), and Léon Foucher with his *Études sur l'Angle-*

terre (1845) Cossa considers to have been under Sismondi's influence at his best, while Eugène Buret's *La Misère des Classes Laborieuses en Angleterre et en France* (1842); Villiamé's *Nouveau Traité d'Economie Politique* (1857), and Auguste Ott's *L'Economie Politique Coordonnée au Point de Vue du Progrès* (1891), represent Sismondi's less desirable influence.

This is not the place to consider the French socialists and social philosophers (see articles SOCIALISM; FOURIER; ST. SIMON; LAMENNAIS; CABET; PROUDHON; LOUIS BLANC; COMTE, etc.), but the school of Le Play must be considered on account of its influence on French economic studies. F. Le Play (1806-72), deeply interested in social reform, became convinced that there were no economic principles satisfactorily established in France, because no one had sufficiently collected facts. Without adhering therefore to either socialistic or individualistic views, he devoted his life to the careful investigation of facts, and the setting of other people to collect facts. A prominent part in this work was taken by the two reviews he established, *La Réforme Sociale* (1881 ff.) and *La Science Sociale* (1886). He also established the *Société d'Economie Sociale*, and a whole movement has developed from it. He strongly emphasizes the integrity of the family, and opposes the equal distribution of land among coheirs as tending to disintegration. This is the theoretical *magnum opus* of the school, and has been summarized in a volume entitled *L'Organisation du Travail*, 1870. Among Le Play's chief followers Cossa mentions Delaire, Faucillon, Ribbe, Guérin, and last but not least Émile Cheysson, a professor at the *École des Mines* and at the *École des Sciences Politiques*, the organizer of the section of social economics at the International Exhibition in 1889, and the writer of many monographs, both statistical and economic.

Le Play was a Catholic, but made only final appeal to the Gospel and the Decalogue so as to try and reach Christians of all churches. His ideas, however, have been taken up by a strong Catholic movement. Cossa says:

"This school is at home chiefly in Belgium, and more especially at the Louvain University, which is backed by the clergy, who use it against the free university at Brussels and the governmental ones of Liège and Ghent. It has now representatives also in the free law faculties of Paris, Lyons, Lille, and Angers."

A Frenchman, Charles Périn, has borne the brunt of battle for these views in his *De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes, Les Lois de la Société Chrétienne* (1875), *Le Socialisme Chrétien* (1878), *L'Economie Politique d'Après l'Encyclopédie* (1891), *Les Doctrines Économiques Depuis un Siècle* (1880).

Victor Brants is the successor of Périn in his professorship, possessing, Cossa says, "equal native gifts, but a far superior acquaintance with historical facts, and a much more definite familiarity with the technical points involved in various theories." He began with a learned *Essai Historique sur la Condition des Classes Rurales en Belgique* (Louvain, 1880), and this is connected with a very valuable investigation by Vanderkindere. When raised to his professorship, Brants summed up in three volumes all the doctrines of the Catholic school in economics. These are: *Lois et Méthodes de l'Economie Politique* (Louvain, 1883; second edition, 1887), *La Lutte pour le Pain Quotidien* (1885), *La Circulation des Hommes et des Choses* (1886).

Paul Jannet, a retired magistrate and now professor at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, is of the same school of thought. His *Les États-Unis Contemporains* (fourth edition, 1889; 2 vols.), Cossa call indispensable to understanding the present condition of the United States. His *Socialisme d'État et la Réforme Sociale* (1890) is directed against State socialism.

Of the other group of French Catholic Christian Socialists, led by the fiery orator, le Comte de Mun, we do not here speak, since it is political rather than economic.

Protestant Christian Socialism, in France, however, has an active society for economic studies, and has as an active worker in it one economist, Charles Gide (brother of the late Paul Gide), whom Cossa calls "unquestionably the most promising economist of his years in France." Cossa goes on to say: "He goes against optimism, is in favor of freedom, though no blind devotee of competition. Let him but measure a little the expressions which he uses about land tenure; let him but

Le Play.

Sismondi.

Gide.

bring back to earth certain winged words of prediction touching the future of distributive cooperation, which is to usher in cooperative production, and then he will find himself far nearer the company of the classical school than he would readily believe, if some rather ill-defined censures of his upon that school are to be insisted upon. Reasons enough for saying this can be found in his text-book of political economy, which, in the present writer's opinion, is the very best now published in France, just as Cherbuliez' book is the best treatise. . . .

Gide's main works are: *Principes d'Économie Politique* (Paris, 1884; third edition, 1891. Translated into English, 1891), *L'École Nouvelle* (Geneva, 1890), and his contributions to the *Revue d'Économie Politique* (Paris, from 1887 on).

Concerning writers in special departments, Cossa says: "Adolphe Quételet (1798-1874) created the modern study of statistics. Guerry was past master in dealing with ethical statistics, where Yvernès has also shown consummate ability; Bertillon gave his splendid powers to demography, which Levasseur has chosen for his special subject; Moreau de Jonnés, Legoyt in the past, and now Alfred de Foville, not to mention again the eminence of Block, have also distinguished themselves in economics. Foville's brilliant articles on prices are well known, and so are his two admirable monographs, one on transportation,—*Les Transformations des Moyens de Transport* (1880),—and the other on the extreme subdivision of land holdings—*Le Morcellement* (1885). This last should be read in connection with A. Legoyt's book (1886). Then there is Franqueville's *Du Régime des Travaux Publics* (second edition, 1876; 4 vols.); l'Audiganne's *Les Chemins de Fer* (1858-63; 2 vols.); Picard's *Traité des Chemins de Fer* (1887; 4 vols.); all of which seek to throw light upon the history as well as the technical management of public works, and more especially of railways.

"Upon agricultural economics there are many writers besides Baudrillart, who died in 1892. There was Hippolyte Passy (1793-1880), whose book, *Systèmes de Culture* (second edition, 1852), has yet to be equalled. There was Léonce de Lavergne (1860-80), whom Cliffe Leslie praised so warmly and so justly in the *Fortnightly Review* of February, 1881, and to whom we owe various learned and most readable monographs: *Essai sur l'Économie Rurale de l'Angleterre, de l'Écosse et de l'Irlande* (1854); *L'Agriculture et la Population* (1857; new edition, 1865); *Économie Rurale de la France* (1860; third edition, 1866). Finally, there are the Belgian Piret, whose work, though ill-planned and proportioned, has great weight—*Traité d'Économie Rurale* (1880 ff.); M. le Comte de Tourdonnet, with his *Traité Pratique du Métaillage* (1882), and Rerolle, who wrote *Du Colonoage Partiaire* (1888)—all of whom have deeply studied the metayer system; and there are many writers, too, who have written on credit as applied to farming and land holding, as well as Cazeneuve (1889), who devoted his attention to profit-sharing in rural enterprises.

"On manufactures, praiseworthy work was done by Léon Faucher, Ducpétiaux of Belgium, and Charles Laboulaye, a brother of the famous Édouard; on credit and banking there have also been excellent works by Wolowski, Horn, Juglar, and Courtois, fils." Cossa mentions Amé's free-trade *Étude sur les Tarifs des Douanes* (1870); Naville's (1784-1830) *La Charité Légale, ses Causes and ses Effets*. Among works on finance he selects, besides Leroy Beaulieu's *Traité* and Léon Say's *Dictionnaire*, Parieu's *Traité des Impôts* (1862-64).

Political economy, as a pure science, Cossa believes to have been on the whole little developed in France, a fact which he considers due to three causes. "To begin with," he says, "instruction in economics has been difficult to obtain in France; only here and there were there special schools, like the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, the École des Ponts et Chaussées, and lately the new foundation of the École des hautes Études Commerciales and that of the École Libre des Sciences Politiques have made a special point of teaching political economy. In the Collège de France, where no academic degrees are conferred, and where there are

no regular hearers, our science has been pursued among other works of supererogation; but, nevertheless, just there men of the greatest eminence, such as Say, Rossi, Chevalier, and Baudrillart have taught, and there Levasseur and Leroy-Beaulieu may be heard to-day. Not until after 1878 was economics placed by the faculty of law on the list of subjects for regular in-

struction, at first optional and then obligatory, here as well as in the schools above alluded to. . . .

"Again, the progress and diffusion of economic knowledge in France was most seriously interfered with by constant onslaughts made upon it on behalf of industrial protectionists, vigorously backed by the mass of public opinion, by those in the uppermost ranks of the governmental hierarchy, by the ruling majorities of deliberative assemblies, and by a swarm of writers, not a few of them men of a vigorous mind. . . .

"But, after all is said and done, the leading and most real cause of the decline of economic study in France is singled out in words of eloquent regret in Léon Say's *Le Socialisme d'État* (1884; see p. 209); it is the invasion of socialistic doctrines which have found ready acquiescence among the working people, the ground having been prepared by persistent usurpations on the part of the French bureaucracy. Nor is the case improved at all, but rather it is complicated, by the uncompromising optimism of the official school, with its individualism that knows no limits; the upshot being that erroneous theories are the only arm available against the wild practical schemes of socialism, which is thus practically left in possession of the public ear.

"The exclusiveness of this school asserts itself by means of Molinari's *Journal des Économistes* (1842); Leroy-Beaulieu's *Économiste Français* (1873); and Beaugregard's *Monde Économique* (1891). It also makes no sparing use of the large funds belonging to the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, shaping economic thought directly by the subjects assigned for competitive prize essays, and indirectly by the somewhat one-sided views which govern final awards, so that the very solutions looked for in advance are evoked. Advantage is also taken of the monthly meeting of the Société d'Économie Politique, and of the publications from the press of Guillaumin, which makes a speciality of books on economics."

Thus rather mournfully, even while praising certain economists, Cossa sums up the general situation. As we have seen, the *Revue d'Économie Politique* represents the progressive school, and *La Réforme Sociale*, the Le Play movement.

J. GERMANY.

The characteristic development of modern German economics is the historical school, but we commence with a notice of the German economists of the classical school, which after the disappearance of the mercantilists and physiocrats (see sections D and F) was for a while influential in Germany.

The first of these were contemporary with Adam Smith. The position of that author had profoundly influenced the statesmen Stein and Hardenberg, and led to the legislation which abolished many of the old feudal restraints and guild-monopolies, etc.; doing to an extent, in a legal way, the negative work accomplished in France by the Revolution. In connection with this movement several names must be mentioned in Germany. Sartorius, in 1796, published a *Handbuch* and *Von den Elementen des Nationalvölkchthums* (1806-08). Christian Jakob Kraus published a *Staatswirthschaft* (1808-11), and August Ferdinand Lüder, *Ueber National Industrie* (1800-04), and *Nationalökonomie* (1820). Of others of this period, Cossa says:

"With a larger measure of originality, Count Julius Soden applied himself to a more exact formulation of the fundamental notions of our science; see his *Nationalökonomie* (Leipzig, 1805-24, 9 vols.), a book disfigured by the obscurity of a style which is wearisomely prolix, and by the author's keen relish for elaborating purely verbal disputes. G. Hufeland, on the other hand, shows real insight in his *Neue Grundlegung der Staatswirthschaftskunst* (Giessen, 1807-13), where he gives a full account of the functions of the *entrepreneur*, and develops the conceptions of value, price, capital, and money. A still greater master of clearness than Hufeland was Johann Friedrich Eusebius Lotz, as he showed not only in his *Revisions der Grundbegriffe der Nationalwissenschaftlehre* (Coburg, 1817-14), but also in an admirable *Manual*, where he favors free trade, and in his slightly diffuse exposition of finance (*Handbuch der Staatswirthschaftslehre*, Erlangen, 1821 ff., 3 vols.; second edition, 1837 f.). But there was another and shorter compendium of general principles, *Grundsätze der Nationalökonomie* (Halle, 1805; third edition, 1825), by Ludwig

Heinrich von Jakob, which was far more widely adopted in schools. Its author also translated Say, and wrote a correspondingly serviceable manual of finance, *Die Staatsfinanzwissenschaft* (Halle, 1821)."

Coming to more prominent names, the first is Karl Heinrich Rau (1792-1870), a professor at Erlangen in 1818. He was transferred to Heidelberg in 1822, where he continued 48 years. His *Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie* (vol. i., 1826) was long the chief text-book in Germany, and passed through many editions. Cohn says "his *Lehrbuch* accomplished all that could possibly be attained by combining the cameralistic traditions with the system and spirit of Adam Smith.

... At the same time the book, written, as was customary then, with a view to practical use in the management of State affairs ('with constant reference to the existing public institutions'), fulfilled its purpose all the better because the author himself had participated in the public administration, and given it the benefit of his well-ordered counsels."

C. A. Malchus (1770-1846), at one time minister of the King of Westphalia, cultivated finance and dealt with it in a *Handbuch des Finanzwissenschaft* (1830). Johann Gottfried Hoffman (1765-1847), a professor and director of the Berlin statistical office, wrote several books on money, particularly *Die Lehre vom Gelde* (1838), and *Die Zeichen der Zeit in Deutschen Münzweisen* (1841), the first German argument for a gold monometallism. Karl Friedrich Nebenius, Cossa considers superior to both Rau and Hoffman. His career runs from 1784 to 1857. He was prominent as a promoter of the Zollverein; but his books of greatest value are *Der öffentliche Credit*, 1820; *Ueber die Herabsetzung der Zinsen der öffentlichen Schulden*, 1835.

Johann Heinrich, Graf von Thünen (1780-1850), is a writer whom it is hard to place. Some have called him an individualist, and some a socialist. He arrived by the deductive method at the Ricardian law of rent and especially developed the influence of situation upon land rent. His *Der isolirte Staat* is in a still broader view. Cohn says that this book has survived and will long survive. Purchasing in 1810 an estate in Mecklenburg, he made an attempt at agricultural profit sharing. Friedrich Benedikt Wilhelm von Hermann (1795-1868) is less original but more scholarly. He was first professor and then director of the Munich statistical office. His *Staatswirthschaftliche Untersuchungen* was published in 1832.

Hans von Mangoldt (1824-68) was professor at Göttingen, and then at Frieburg in Breisgau. In important works, *Die Lehre vom Unternehmervogewinn* (1885), *Grundriss der Volkswirtschaftslehre* (1869), *Volkswirtschaftslehre*, 1st Band (1868), he analyzes the entrepreneur's profits as distinct from interest and wages, and identifies land rents with monopoly profits. Lorenz Stein (1815-90) was a professor at Vienna, and a thorough student of French socialism.

He is a creator in the science of administration, and favored radical reforms in the teaching of law. He wrote a *Lehrbuch der Nationalökonomie* (1858) and a *Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft* (1860).

Stein.

Of a few other men of this school Cossa says: "There is a group of specialists who either diverged so little from the classical school, or were so preoccupied with the vigorous prosecution of special investigations, that they held aloof from the controversy which raged between the historical school and the optimists. These distinguished specialists are Baumstark, Laspeyres, and Hefelrich, who wrote on variations in the price of gold and silver from 1492 to 1830 (Nürnberg, 1843); E. Nasse, who produced admirable monographs on money, credit, and banks among other topics; and last, but first in the order of merit, the eminent Georg Hansen, in whose debt we are for a series of invaluable works discussing more particularly the historical aspects of German rural economy."

We now come to the great school of Germany, the historical school. The rudiments of this school may be found in various writers, Adam Müller, Alexander Hamilton, Sismondi, Schön, in his *Neue Untersuchung der Nationalökonomie* (1835), Schmittner in his *Zwölf Bücher von Staats* (1830), but perhaps particularly in Auguste Comte. Europe, after the French Revolution, was in an unrest. Men were leaving the old, but not seeing the new. There was need, Ingram says, "of a scientific social doctrine which should supply a basis for the gradual convergence of opinion on human questions. The foundation of such a doctrine is the immortal service for which the world is indebted to Auguste Comte.

"The leading features of sociology, as he conceived it, are the following: (1) it is essentially *one* science, in which all the elements of a social state are studied in their relations and mutual actions; (2) it includes a dynamical as well as a static theory of society; (3) it thus eliminates the absolute, substituting for an imagined fixity the conception of ordered change; (4) its principal method, though others are not excluded, is that of historical comparison; (5) it is pervaded by moral ideas, by notions of social duty, as opposed to the individual rights which were derived as corollaries from the *ius nature*; and (6) in its spirit and practical consequences it tends to the realization of all the great ends which compose 'the popular cause'; yet (7) it aims at this through peaceful means, replacing revolution by evolution."

The first Germans, however, to oppose the classical school were Adam Müller (1779-1826) and Friedrich List (1780-1846). Ingram says Müller was a man of real genius, and his *Elemente der Staatskunst* an important book. List was the initiator of the later German protectionism, and is especially regarded in South Germany. He favored a *national* rather than a universal economic development, and actively fought for the development of the Zollverein, railroads, and all that could aid German unity. His *Das Nationale System der Politische Oekonomie* (1841) really marks an epoch in the development of German thought.

Others of the same general transitional school, according to Cohn, were Friedrich Gentz, a friend of Adam Müller; Karl Ludwig von Haller, a patrician of Berne; Alexander von der Warwitz; Theodor Bernhardt, "a penetrating critic" of the classical theories; Georg Hansen, a man, says Cohn, "whose influence began, beyond question, to make itself felt in the second third of the century, while his scientific position was, for a long time after that, a monumental example for those who would reform German political economy by means of historical investigation."

We now come to the three great leaders of the historical school, Roscher, Knie, and Hildebrand. Of the first Ingram says:

"Omitting preparatory indications and undeveloped germs of doctrine, we must trace the origin of the school to Wilhelm Roscher. Its fundamental principles are stated, tho with some hesitation, and with an unfortunate contrast of the historical with the 'philosophical' method, in his *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode* (1843). The following are the leading heads insisted on in the preface to that work.

"The historical method exhibits itself not merely in the external form of a treatment of phenomena according to their chronological succession, but in the following fundamental ideas: 1. The aim is to represent what nations have thought, willed, and discovered in the economic field; what they have striven after and attained, and why they have attained it. 2. A people is not merely the mass of individuals now living; it will not suffice to observe contemporary facts. 3. All the peoples of whom we can learn anything must be studied and compared from the economic point of view, especially the ancient peoples, whose development lies before us in its totality. 4. We must not simply praise or blame economic institutions; but few of them have been salutary or detrimental to all peoples and at all stages of culture; rather, it is a principal task of science to show how and why, out of what was once reasonable and beneficent, the unwise and inexpedient has often gradually arisen."

Roscher, in his long life as a teacher (he was born 1817, and professor at Göttingen 1843, and at Leipzig after 1848), has written numerous works. Among his best, *System der Volkswirtschaft* (first volume, 1854; fourth volume, 1885); *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft* (1861); *Ueber Kortheuerung und Theuerungspolitik, Kalomen, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung* (1856); *System der Finanzwissenschaft* (1886). Cossa calls him "one of the most illustrious economists of this century." Cohn considers him "of the foremost rank."

Roscher.

Karl Knie, professor at Heidelberg, was born in 1821. Altho his style is poor, Cossa calls his knowledge of economics and law phenomenal. Ingram considers his *Die Politische Oekonomie von Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode* "an elaborate exposition and defense of the historical method in its application to economic science, and the most systematic and complete manifesto of the new school, at least on the

The Historical School.

logical." Cohn says of it: "A generation has elapsed, in which the reputation and influence of this book has steadily increased. The new and enlarged edition which came out in 1883 would, it is true, have been received with more favor in scientific circles if the material which had been omitted from the first edition had now been introduced; or, on the other hand, if the work had been transformed into a true method of political economy. But be that as it may, Knies' book, from the time of its publication to the present day, has been better fitted than any other to settle the question of what is really meant when one talks of an historical method of political economy."

Knies. Bruno Hildebrand (1812-78), the third of the trio, and perhaps second in chronological order, was professor at Jena in 1863 and founded there the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*. In 1873 he associated his son-in-law, Professor Johann Conrad, with the more and more arduous work of editorship, which finally passed entirely into his hands in 1878.

Ingram says of Hildebrand, that he was "a thinker of a really high order; it may be doubted whether amongst German economists there has been any endowed with a more profound and searching intellect. He is quite free from the wordiness and obscurity which too often characterize German writers, and traces broad outlines with a sure and powerful hand. His book contains a masterly criticism of the economic systems which preceded or belonged to his time, including those of Smith, Müller, List, and the socialists. But it is interesting to us at present mainly from the general position he takes up, and his conception of the real nature of political economy."

His *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft*, the first volume of which appeared in 1863 and was never continued, was one of the earliest utterances of the historical school.

These three men, Roscher, Knies, and Hildebrand, are usually considered the founders of the historical school, but Cohn associates with them Lorenz Stein, whom we have noticed above. For four decades he stood a master in the entire realm of legal and political sciences. His chief work is his *Verwaltungslehre* (begun in 1868). Cohn says of him:

"He has combined the old theory of political economy with the broader conceptions of a 'science of society'; he has elevated the cameralistic science of finance and police to their proper places in a higher system of knowledge, by showing their close connection with law and State. Planned with such bold strokes, his work shows not so much an elaboration of detail as a laying out of boundaries and divisions of the whole. It is not so much the completion of the work as the rich and thoughtful suggestion which is notable. It is characteristic of Stein that he retains the individual theories of political economy comparatively unchanged, and does not follow the course pointed out by the historical school and by Knies in particular; other men, however, have long since made the deductions which render these theories plastic."

"It was these four men," says Cohn, "Stein, Roscher, Hildebrand, and Knies, who in the period of 1842-53 prepared the way for the German political economy of to-day. They are the ones most worthy of our attention in this connection."

But they are not necessarily the greatest names of the school, altho its founders. Cossa says that after justifying the historical method they neglected to carry it out, but left it to a younger man, Gustav Schmoller, born in 1838, and now professor at Berlin.

Schmoller. He has written numerous works on the details of small industries, corporations, epochs in Prussian finance, with other points in the history of German economics, and is now publishing valuable studies in the theory of industrial enterprise. Many of these he published in his *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*, founded in 1872 by Holtzendorf, and which Schmoller has edited since 1881. Important, too, are the *Staatswissenschaftliche Forschungen*, published since 1878 by Schmoller's best pupils. It was Schmoller who, perhaps more than any other, was the leader in the interesting movement that became manifest in 1872 and led to the formation of a society called the "Verein für Socialpolitik," largely favorable to a mild paternal State socialism.

Says Ingram of this school: "The members of the school of which we are now speaking, when intervening in the discussion of practical questions, have occupied an intermediate standpoint. They are opposed alike to social revolution and to rigid *laissez-faire*. While rejecting the socialistic program, they call for the intervention of the State, in accordance with the theoretic principles already mentioned, for the purpose of mitigating the pressure of the modern industrial system on its weaker members, and extending in greater measure to the working classes the benefits of advancing civilization. Schäffle in his *Capitalismus und Socialismus* (1870; now absorbed into a larger work), Wagner in his *Rede über die Sociale Frage* (1871), and Schönberg in his *Arbeitsämter: eine Aufgabe des Deutschen Reichs* (1871), advocated this policy in relation to the question of the laborer. These expressions of opinion, with which most of the German professors of political economy sympathized, were violently assailed by the organs of the free-trade party, who found in them 'a new form of socialism.' Out of this arose a lively controversy, and the necessity of a closer union and a practical political organization being felt among the partisans of the new direction, a congress was held at Eisenach in October, 1872, for the consideration of 'the social question.' It was attended by almost all the professors of economic science in the German universities, by representatives of the several political parties, by leaders of the working men, and by some of the large capitalists. At this meeting the principles above explained were formulated. Those who adopted them obtained from their opponents the appellation of 'Katheder-Socialisten,' or 'socialists of the (professorial) chair,' a nickname invented by H. B. Oppenheim, and which those to whom it was applied were not unwilling to accept. Since 1873 this group has been united in the 'Verein für Socialpolitik,' in which, as the controversy became mitigated, free-traders also have taken part. Within the Verein a division has shown itself. The left wing has favored a systematic gradual modification of the law of property in such a direction as would tend to the fulfillment of the socialistic aspirations, so far as these are legitimate, while the majority advocate reform through State action on the basis of existing juristic institutions."

Among the members of this school, willing in some respects to go to the most radical extremes, a high place must be assigned to Adolph Wagner. He has pursued his professorial career at Vienna, Hamburg, Dorpat, Frieberg, and for over 20 years at Berlin. Cossa calls him a specialist of the first rank on money, banks, and finance. With Arendt, Schäffle, and others he has strongly defended international bimetallism. In his *Die Abschaffung des Privateigentums* (1876) he defended property in land against attacks from the socialists, but by advising the governments of large towns to resort to the expropriation of houses as the only possible measure against extortionate house rents, he invited vehement censure, which he duly received from Roscher and Nasse.

Cohn says of Wagner (*History of Political Economy*, translated by J. A. Hill, p. 120): "Wagner began his career as an economist by publishing monographs on credit and moral statistics, which at once attracted attention. He then went on to take up a work of greater scope, viz.: the revision and elaboration of Rau's text-book of political economy. But the task thus begun developed under his hands, until he was led to undertake a large and independent work of his own. He proposed, that is, to publish a text-book of political economy which should thoroughly discuss legal institutions with a view of providing, as a substitute for the doctrine of the natural rights of the individual, a positive answer to the criticisms of the socialists. The completion of this proposed work—the largest by far that has yet been undertaken in political economy—is not to be expected in the immediate future. The following volumes have appeared: *Grundlegung zur Volkswirtschaftslehre* (Fundamental Principles of Political Economy, 1875); *Finanzwissenschaft* (Science of Finance, pt. i. 1871-72; pt. ii. 1880; pt. iii. 1880)."

Wagner has also to some extent identified his name with German Protestant Christian Socialism. (See CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.)

Not far removed from the position of Wagner is that of Gustav Cohn, whom we have quoted: "Gustav Cohn began his professoriate at Riga, continued it first at Tübingen and then at Zürich; whence he was called to his present post at Göttingen. His

**Katheder
Socialisten.**

Wagner.

maiden effort was on English railway legislation; his brilliant essays in the field of economic history and political economy next called attention to his very varied powers. A later work from his pen is his *System der Nationalökonomie* in two volumes; the third chapter of the first book of which it is that has been translated by Dr. J. A. Hill, as *A History of Political Economy*. Professor James says of Cohn in an introduction to the above translation: "Professor Cohn's work is so well known in Europe and America that it would be superfluous for any one else to vouch for its scientific character. He has, himself, been one of the most prominent contributors to recent economic science in Germany, and, in addition to writing many valuable monographs, he has been one of the few who have succeeded in making a systematic treatise on economics and finance, which is at once scientific and readable."

Cohn.

Others of the historical school are Lujo Brentano, Adolf Held, Erwin Nasse, H. von Scheel, Gustav Schönberg, Adolph Samter.

Pehäns the writer among the German economists most favorable to democratic socialism is Albrecht Eberhardt Friedrich Schäffle. His professoriate, begun at Tübingen in 1861, was continued at Vienna in 1868, he having in the meantime been from 1862 to 1865 a member of the Württemberg Landtag, and having sat in 1868 in the *Zollparlament*. In 1870 he became Minister of Commerce in the Hohenwart Cabinet, with which he fell in 1871. He now lives at Stuttgart, and edits the quarterly *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, founded in 1844 by the Tübingen professors, who edited it until 1875. Schäffle made his beginning with a good compendium of political economy, which grew bulkier and more valuable through successive editions. There he shows complete grasp of the theory of business enterprise, deals competently with money, credit, and means of transportation, and dwells effectively upon the distinction between economics at large and its special branches. Ingram says Schäffle goes so far as to maintain that the present "capitalistic" régime will be replaced by a socialistic organization; but, like J. S. Mill, he adjourns this change to a more or less remote future, and expects it as the result of a natural development, or process of "social selection"; he repudiates any immediate or violent revolution, and rejects any system of life which would set up "abstract equality" against the claims of individual service and merit.

The further the investigations of the German historical school have been carried, in the several lines of inquiry it has opened, the more clearly it has come to light that the one thing needful is not merely a reform of political economy, but its fusion in a complete science of society. This is the view long since insisted on by Auguste Comte; and its justness is daily becoming more apparent. The best economists of Germany now tend strongly in this direction. Schäffle, who is largely under the influence of Comte

Schäffle.

and Herbert Spencer, has actually attempted the enterprise of widening economic into social studies. In his most important work, which had been prepared for by previous publications, *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers* (1875-78; new edition, 1881), he proposes to give a comprehensive plan of an anatomy, physiology, and psychology of human society. He considers social processes as analogous to those of organic bodies; and, sound and suggestive as the idea of this analogy, already used by Comte, undoubtedly is, he carries it, perhaps, to an undue degree of detail and elaboration.

Schäffle's direct study of socialism, embodied in his *Die Quintessenz des Socialismus* (1875), is so favorable to socialism that he is often called a socialist, and to answer this charge he wrote his *Die Aussichtslos der Sozial Demokratie* (1885, the Impossibility of Social Democracy), but Cossa says that this book does little to disabuse the reader of the charge that Schäffle is a socialist.

Not all modern German economists, however, lean toward socialism. There is a band of liberal economists who, under the lead of Prince-Smith (1809-74), have organized at Berlin an economic society and have held congresses. It founded in 1863 the quarterly *Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Culturgeschichte*.

Of other German general economic periodicals, Cohn gives the following succinct account: "For a long time there was but a single journal of political economy. It was small in size and hardly regular in its publication. Then this solitary periodical was

combined with a journal of general political science, so that for a decade there was no journal whatever devoted exclusively to economics. Such in brief was the career of the *Archiv der Politischen Oekonomie und Polizeiwissenschaft* (Archive of Political Economy and of the Science of Police). It was founded by Rau in 1835. After 1843, it was continued as a "new series," with Georg Hansen as assistant editor. But in 1853 it was combined with the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft* (Journal of General Political Science), a publication which the Political Science Faculty of the University of Tübingen had founded in 1844.

It was not until 1863 that a second independent journal of political economy appeared; the *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* (Annals of Political Economy and Statistics), edited by Bruno Hildebrand. It was significant of the changes which time had wrought, even in practical political economy, that contemporaneously with this journal, the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Volkswirtschaft* (Quarterly Journal of Political Economy) was started. It was published by Julius Faucher and Otto

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Michaelis, as the organ of the German free-trade party. Hildebrand's *Jahrbücher*, on the other hand, confined itself to purely scientific ends, giving expression to this purpose partly by the purely historical character of its articles. . . . In 1872 Johannes Conrad became associate editor, and in 1878 assumed full charge of the work. At this time the tendency toward political economy in the Tübingen *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft* was becoming more and more pronounced, under the controlling influence of Albert Schäffle (and later, after 1878, of Adolph Wagner). Then with the founding of the German Empire the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Rechtspflege des deutschen Reichs* (Annals of Legislation, Administration, and Judicature in the German Empire) came into existence, edited by Fr. von Holtzendorff. After a short time, in 1887, the word *Rechtspflege*, Judicature, in its title was replaced by *Volkswirtschaft*, Political Economy. A little later this periodical came into the hands of that competent editor, Gustav Schmoller (1881), and entered upon a remarkably prosperous career. Closely related to the original intentions of the *Jahrbuch*, with its subjects and treatment, is the *Annalen des Norddeutschen Bundes und des Deutschen Zollvereins* (Annals of the North German Federation and the German Customs-Union). It first appeared in 1868, and in 1870 was changed to *Annalen des Deutschen Reichs für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Statistik* (Annals of the German Empire; a Periodical Devoted to Legislation, Administration, and Statistics). It is edited by Georg Hirth, and contains a valuable collection of materials, as well as a series of critical, and partly also general, more academic contributions.

At the same time a number of statistical journals have sprung up in connection with the more important statistical bureaus of the German states. Especially noteworthy is the one edited by that highly gifted and energetic man, Ernst Engel, the *Zeitschrift des kgl. Preussischen Statistischen Bureau*s (Journal of the Royal Statistical Bureau of Prussia), established in 1861.

K. AUSTRIA.

The Austrian school of economics has gained at the present time a deserved prominence. Its earlier days were of small importance.

Cossa mentions von Czörnig and Ficker, Neumann-Spallart, Brachelli, the Bavarian K. Th. von Inama-Sternberg, the historian of German economics, Professor Mischler of Prague, Beer, Plener, Peez, Neunrath, Hertzka (q. v.), Kudler, Karl von Hock; but the three great names in Austria are Sax, Menger, and Böhm-Bawerk. Says Cossa: "Emil Sax was born in 1845, became professor at the German University of Prague, was elected a member of the Reichsrath, and has written a sound book on working men's houses, but his great celebrity as an economist was achieved by his masterly special account—Schönberg's *Manual* summarizes it—of the means of transportation.

Sax.

With no unsteady hand he pointed out the public nature of all such arrangements, proceeding by way of the most impartial and clear-headed analysis. These merits put his work on a footing far superior to that of such books as Cohn's and Wagner's, which show many marks of personal bias. Sax has held his own in discussions of method,

defending the conclusiveness of deductive reasoning; he has subjected the influence of the higgling of the market, as well as that of such moral influences as modify it, to a searching scrutiny, and thus has thrown light upon both; he has also set forth even in the domain of pure science the inevitable necessity of State intervention. Equally remarkable is the originality of our author in the book where he seeks to base the whole of finance upon deductive reasoning, and to give it a place in pure science; and he has followed the same argument in dealing with value. But in respect of this last point he certainly is guilty of serious overstatements, and resorts to a form of presentation which is anything but clear.

"A still more remarkable influence is that of Carl Menger, born in 1840, a professor at Vienna. His very first production received very high praise, though hardly so much as it deserved. Then came essays on capital and money in which, though ignorant of what Jevons had done, and without any recourse to the calculus, he reached conclusions which were either parallel to those of Jevons or altogether original on the subject of the relative and purely personal measure of value for goods instrumental, substitutive, and complementary. He also made applications quite peculiarly his own, which formed the basis for a series of writings by his pupils, von Wieser, now a professor at Prague, Zückerkandl, and Komorzynski."

Menger's distinguishing characteristic, however, is his criticism, first made in his *Untersuchungen*, on the tendencies of the historical school. Menger does not despise history. He has done much to encourage its study. But he criticizes the historical school as being too purely inductive, and as not giving sufficient emphasis to the physiologic side of economics, especially as regards value. His special work has been to consider right method in economic science; the full title of his chief book is *Untersuchungen über die Methode der Socialwissenschaften und der Politischen Oekonomie insbesondere* (Leipzig, 1883).

Of Böhm-Bawerk Cossa says: "Among all Menger's pupils, however, Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk, professor first at Innsbruck and now at Vienna, is undoubtedly the leader. He began with a remarkable monograph, proving that established ownership, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, tho it doubtless plays an important part in constituting individual capital, cannot properly be viewed by political economy as social capital. Far more clear, tho far more brief than Wieser's, is our author's development of the theory of value, based tho both accounts are upon the conception of the margin of utility established by Menger. But now we come to Böhm-Bawerk's greatest work, which is incontrovertibly his history and theory of interest upon capital, which receives at his hands an explanation hinging upon the difference in value between present and future products; no matter whether the products in question are destined for consumption as such, or swallowed up in the course of production. This is a book of profound research, acute criticism, and extreme lucidity."

For his views, see BÖHM-BAWERK.

Among other pupils of Menger Cossa mentions Gross, Mataja (Böhm-Bawerk's successor at Innsbruck), Meyer, Philippovitch, H. von Schullern, and Seidler.

Of the Austrian school Cossa says: "The Austrian theory of the margin of utility, admirable as it is, may be made too prominent. Should it not rather be used to supplement and correct the doctrine of current value, instead of being put in the place of normal value and made to serve as the cardinal doctrine of a new economics based purely on psychology?"

An economic quarterly is published in Vienna, the *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Socialpolitik und Verwaltung* (Vienna, 1892).

L. ITALY.

Modern Italy has recently witnessed no small development in the economic sciences. While no great contribution to original thought may have been developed in Italy in political economy, corresponding to Italy's contribution to criminology, nevertheless, a large number of careful and instructive writers have appeared. The following account is in the main abridged from an article

on *The Present Condition of Political Economy in Italy*, by Ugo Rabbeno, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi. p. 439).

Early in the century among the most prominent names among Italian economists were Giovanni Fabroni (1752-1822); Luigi Molinari Valeriani (1758-1828); Melchiorre Gioja of Piacenza (1767-1820); Antonio Scialoja (1817-77); Gian Domenico Romagnosi (1761-1835); Arrivabene and others, who were in the main of the school of liberalism and acquainted Italy with the doctrines of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus.

A little later, and according to Rabbeno, the dominant influence up to 1870, we have the Sicilian economist, Francisco Ferrara (1810-). Ferrara is a strong adherent of the *laissez-faire* school, and has strenuously opposed the coquetting of some of the younger Italian economists with socialist principles. Ferrara was editor of *Giornale di Statistica* (1836-46), and of the *Biblioteca dell' Economista* until 1870. He succeeded Scialoja in Turin. Others of this period were Marco Minghetti of Bologna (1818-86); Girolamo Boccardo, professor at Genoa (1829-); and Stephano Juacini di Caselbuttano (1837-91). To Senator Angelo Messadaglia, professor at the University of Rome (1820-), Rabbeno gives, with Cossa and Boccardo, large credit for the development of Italian economics. Boccardo did much to acquaint Italy with the German economists, as the earlier writers had introduced the English.

About 1870, due in part to the new life developed by the realization of Italian unity and, according to Rabbeno, to becoming acquainted with the German economists and the historical school, a new day began for Italian economics. Old chairs were reestablished at Bologna, Pisa, Parma, and Modena; new ones created at Genoa, Cagliari, Messina, and Rome aided the growth. Emilio Nazzini (1832-), twenty-five years professor at Forlì, in many works and notably in his *Sunto di Economia Politica* (1873), felicitously combined the ideas of the English classical school with those of the modern German economists. Fidele Lampertico (1833-), in his *Economia dei Popoli e degli Stati* (1874-84), soberly set forth the principles of the historical school. Antonio Ciccone (1808-93) studied various subjects historically. Vito Cusumano (1843-) enthusiastically advocated the German ideas, especially in his *Le Scuole Economiche della Germania in Rapporto alla Quistione Sociale* (1875). Ferrara denounced these writings as favoring socialism, but they did their work. Luigi Luzzatti (1841-), the prominent advocate of cooperative banks (*q. v.*), calmly answered him, and in concert with Lampertico and Scialoja, summoned a congress of economists at Milan in 1875. Later on he founded, in Padua, the *Associazione per il Progresso degli Studi Economici*. Ferrara and his school in turn gathered at the Adam Smith Club in Florence; while, as a reply to them, Luzzatti, Forti, and Favaro founded the important *Giornale degli Economisti* at Padua (1875-78). In its issue of September, 1875, it said:

"Between the classical economists at one extreme and the socialistic iconoclasts at the other, there is to-day a mediator in the historical or inductive school. . . . Its adherents do not admit *a priori* either harmony or contradiction of interests. They investigate the world as it is, and not as it ought to be. . . . They admit liberty as a principle; they also put their faith in the energy of individual action. But they do not propose to construct economic romances on the presumption either of necessary harmony or necessary antagonism in human interests. They respect and uphold progress equally with liberty; and where compulsory social action, *i. e.*, the action of the State, serves to prevent conflicts which liberty promotes and to procure benefits which liberty obstructs, they accept in their economic proceedings a directive action, *viz.*, governmental interference."

Among its contributors were Lampertico, Boccardo, Cossa, Ferraris, and others. Carlo Ferraris (1850-) carefully studied administration. Lo Savio similarly studied the State. Gradually the controversy grew less intense, and Minghetti, Lampertico, and Luzzatti revived at Rome the former Florentine *Società d' Economista Politica Italiana*, on conciliatory plans open to all schools. But professional socialism (Martello of Bologna, Fontanelli, Bertolino, and Berardi follow Ferrara) has gained a hold in Italy. Prominent in this school are Carlo Francesco Ferraris of Padua, well known for his monetary studies; Augusto Mortara,

Italian
Historical
School.

who in his *Doviri della Proprietà Fondiaria* (1885) asks for drastic State control of land tenure. Giuseppe Toniolo (1845-) of Pisa, Forti, Ducati, Camillo Supino, Augusto Montanari, Ricca Salerno, and Cognetti hold a more moderate position. Senator Alessandro Rossi and Egisto Rossi have become prominent in the advocacy of a protective tariff.

We now come to some greater names, in the main connected with the Austrian school of economics. First among these is Luigi Cossa, for over thirty years professor at Pavia, where he has developed a seminary of political economy, limited to no school, and noted for wide economic research. His *Guida allo Studio dell' Economia Politica* has been translated into many languages, and tho by no means always accurate, is in many departments the only book covering the whole field. Another name prominent in Italy is Maffeo Pantaleoni (1857-), head of the Bari school of commerce. Graziani, Mazzola, Emilio Cossa, Conigliani, and De Viti are others of this school. They are almost all especial students of financial questions, and more or less connect all economic and financial phenomena with the theory of final utility. Pantaleoni, Mazzola, Zorli, and De Viti are associated in the successfully revived *Giornale degli Economisti* (1886-).

In Florence Franco, Della Volta, and De Johannis edit the *Economista*, holding more orthodox theories. We have still to mention one of the greatest names in modern Italian economics. Achille Loria (1857-), long professor at the University of Sienna and then at Padua. He can scarcely be connected with any one school. He defends the Ricardian theory of rent and value against the Austrian school, and yet on questions of money opposes Ricardo. He goes a long way with the socialists, and yet opposes Marx's theory of value. On the whole he is of the historical school, with a strong leaning to professorial socialism. One more school may be mentioned in Italy, which the Italians call the sociological school, and to which belong Schiatarella, Puviani, Zorli, Lo Savio, Luzzato, Bocardo, and Ugo Rabbino himself, with his able studies of cooperation, and—perhaps greatest of all in this line—Cognetti de Martini, professor at Turin, well known for his sociological studies among the lower animals and primitive civilizations.

M. BELGIUM AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Political economy in Belgium is so closely identified with France as to be with difficulty separated from it. Some Belgians we have, therefore, already noticed (see Section I), but Belgium early developed economic writers of special interest in social reforms. Colins and Huet (*q. v.*) belong rather to the history of social reform than of economics, but Professor Émile de Laveleye (1822-92), a pupil of Huet and professor at Liège, stands as high in economics as in social reform. His works on finance, his defense of bimetalism, his studies of primitive property, as well as histories of socialism, have won for him world-wide fame. Charles Périn we have already seen to have made Louvain a center of Roman Catholic social thought; a work which has been ably continued by his successor, Victor Brants. Other Belgians of note are Denis, Ducpétiaux.

HOLLAND.

Holland has considerable activity in political economy. The science is ably taught at the universities of Leyden, Utrecht, Groningen, and Amsterdam, while the reviews, *De Gids* (general), *De Economist* and *Vragen der Tijds* (special), follow closely the best work done in the science. The economy is mainly of the classical school, but with many corrections and modifications. W. C. Mees (1813-84), president of the Netherlands Bank, Cossa calls an authority of the first order, writing on coinage, the famous Bank of Amsterdam, and on workhouse labor. Among living Dutch economists, the first position is held

by N. G. Pierson (born 1839), professor at Amsterdam in 1877, succeeding Mees at the Netherlands Bank in 1884; he was made minister of finance in 1891. He is a strong supporter of the English school, particularly of Ricardo, Mill, Jevons, and Marshall, an energetic opponent of socialism, a free trader without being an optimist, a believer in the moderate intervention of the State in the labor problem. The author of many books and articles in the *De Gids* and *De Economist*, his great work is his *Political Economy*. Other writers who may be mentioned are van Rees (1825-69), with his historical disquisitions; Quack, with his essays on socialism; and Anton Beaujon (died 1890), with his work (in English) on fisheries and his monograph on free trade.

DENMARK.

Political economy in Denmark has had many writers, first, of the mercantilist school, then of the physiocrat, of the classical, and now of the historical German school; even socialism in Denmark being unusually prominent. A political economy society was founded in 1872, and a monthly, the *Nationalökonomisk Tidsskrift*, in 1873. The best writers for this are Professor H. Westergaard, the statistician; V. Falbe-Hansen, head of the government bureau of statistics; W. Scharling, author of valuable monographs on the variation of price; Petersen Studnitz, the editor of the review; Krebs, W. Arntzen, H. Ring, Cl. Wilkens, author of a sociology. All these last five are strong adherents of the German school.

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.

Political economy in Norway has followed the same lines as in Denmark, owing to the identity of language and the political union dissolved only in 1814. Purely descriptive and local discussions in economics have been the main result.

Sweden has an older economic literature, especially as to manufactures. A. Chydenius (1729-1803) was the first in his day. D. Davidson, professor at Upsala, is among the foremost to-day.

RUSSIA.

Economics in Russia began with mercantilism, but Trityakov's lectures (1772) and the translation of *The Wealth of Nations* (1802) first really developed the science. Turguev's monograph on taxes Cossa praises very highly. To-day, economics in Russia are considerably developed, and with such forward strides that Cossa predicts for them a brilliant future. It is ably taught in the universities and in the reviews, the *Economic Journal*, the *European Messenger*, the *Russian Messenger*, the *Journal of the Ministry of Finance*, the *Magazine of Political Science* (founded 1873). Nevertheless, over all hangs the censorship of the press. N. G. Thernyshevskiy attained much prominence in 1859-62, till banished for a while to Siberia in 1863. Among the most prominent to-day are Sieber, and Alexander van Oettingen, who has brought statistics to bear on ethical data.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Political economy here Cossa calls the mere echo of opinions expressed elsewhere, and especially in France. The *Gaceta Economista* (1860-68) and the proceedings of the Madrid Economic Society (1835-77) and of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, contain some of the best thought. Works on finance and history are the most frequent. The doctrines of the professorial socialists have been attacked by Rodríguez, Sanroma, and Carreras, and defended by Giner, Azacárate, Botello, and Sanz y Escartín.

SWITZERLAND.

Some Swiss writers have been considered in connection with the French school. Leon Walras, the eminent professor at Lausanne, stands at the head of the French school of mathematical economists. See his *Éléments d'Économie Politique Pure* (1874-77) and *Théorie Mathématique de la Richesse Sociale* (1883). Secrétan, the veteran professor at Lausanne, coquets with an ideal socialism.

N. THE UNITED STATES.

To Benjamin Franklin (1706-90) undoubtedly belongs the honor of being the first practical economist in the United States. A work of his on population is of importance, and he produced others in which he attacked slavery, defended paper money, and pointed out that labor is the measure of value. Dickinson's *Letters to a Gentleman* (1765) set forth sound ideas on commerce and money, and Pelatiah Webster declared vigorously against forced currency. A far more important place belongs to Alexander Hamilton (*q. v.*), the author of remarkably able official reports on the public credit, on banks (1790), and on money and manufactures (1791). He consistently supported bimetalism, the institution of one federal bank of circulation, and the necessity of a moderate protection of nascent industries by tariffs. He nowhere countenances protection for protection's sake, his position on this last point being nearly that now occupied by fair traders.

His Report on Manufactures and the memorial drawn up by Albert Gallatin (1832) and presented to Congress from the Philadelphia Convention in favor of tariff reform, deserve to be mentioned as an able statement of the arguments against protection (*q. v.*). The school of Adam Smith, however, had early representatives. Three editions of the *Wealth of Nations* appeared in America in 1789, 1811, and 1812; and Ricardo's principal work was reprinted here in 1810. Daniel Raymond, in his *Thoughts on Political Economy* (1820); and Willard Phillips, in his *Manual of Political Economy* (1828), made known the principles arrived at by Adam Smith and some of his successors. Rae, a Scotchman, settled in Canada, published (1834) a book entitled *New Principles of Political Economy*, which has been highly praised by J. S. Mill, especially for its treatment of the causes which determine the accumulation of capital.

Simpson's *The Workingman's Manual* (1831), and Colton's *Political Economy of the United States* (1848), favor protection. Alexander Everett, in his *New Ideas on Population* (1833), attacks Malthus by attributing errors to him, and by maintaining that the demand for labor and the day's wage increase in proportion as population grows more dense. Stephen Colwell, in his *Ways and Means of Payment* (1859), presents a subtle and accurate analysis of the mechanism of payments. Thomas Cooper of Columbia College, in his *Lectures on the Elements of Po-*

litical Economy (1826), praised without stint by MacCulloch, Francis Wayland, in his *Elements of Political Economy* (1837), and Henry Vethak, with his *Principles of Political Economy* (1838) have all covered more general grounds, in the main favoring the English orthodox economy. The first American to make a real mark in the economic world and to found a school sometimes called the American, sometimes the Pennsylvania school, was Henry Charles Carey (*q. v.*) (1793-1879).

Carey first published an essay on wages (1835), in which he attacked a pessimism which he found lurking in the very essence of the theory of a wages fund. His political economy (1838) gives the theory of value as determined by the cost of production, deducing from this that the increase of profit, being absolute only and not relative, is more than counterbalanced by the increase of wages, which is both absolute and relative, with the result that improvement in the condition of working men must inevitably be continuous. In his *Credit System* (1838) he is preoccupied with the scarcity of money; in his *Past, Present, and Future* (1848) he recants his earlier liberal views, returns with redoubled vigor to the charge against Ricardo and Malthus, and then states his famous theory of the order of cultivation for lands. From this, which he declares overthrows the Ricardian law of rent (*q. v.*), he deduces the laws of (1) increasing returns, and (2) of the greater relative accumulation of capital than of population. He restated these ideas for the popular mind in the *Harmony of Interests* (1850), and his system is presented still more broadly in his *Social Science* (1858)—his most considerable work. Here he stands for the doctrine of a providential identity between cosmic and social laws—a theory which receives more detailed statement in his *Unity of Law* (1872).

Professor Ingram says of Carey: "His aim was, while adhering to the individualistic economy, to place it on a higher and surer basis, and fortify it against the assaults of socialism, to which some of the Ricardian tenets had exposed it. . . . Inspired with the optimistic sentiment natural to a young and rising nation with abundant undeveloped resources and an unbounded outlook toward the future, he seeks to show that there exists, independently of human wills, a natural system of economic laws, which is essentially beneficent, and of which the increasing prosperity of the whole community, and especially of the working classes, is the spontaneous result—capable of being defeated only by the ignorance or perversity of man resisting or impeding its action. He rejects the Malthusian doctrine of population, maintaining that numbers regulate themselves sufficiently in every well-governed society, and that their pressure on subsistence characterizes the lower, not the more advanced, stages of civilization. He rightly denies the universal truth, for all stages of cultivation, of the law of diminishing returns from land. His fundamental theoretic position relates to the antithesis of wealth and value. . . ."

"Ricardo saw in the productive powers of land a free gift of nature which had been monopolized by a certain number of persons, and which became, with the increased demand for food, a larger and larger value in the hands of its possessors. To this value, however, as not being the result of labor, the owner had no rightful claim; he could not justly demand a payment for what was done by the original and indestructible powers of the soil." But Carey held that land, as we are concerned with it in industrial life, is really an instrument of production which has been formed as such by man, and that its value is due to the labor expended on it in the past—though measured, not by the sum of that labor, but by the labor necessary under existing conditions to bring new land to the same stage of productiveness. He studies the occupation and reclamation of land with peculiar advantage as an American, for whom the traditions of first settlement are living and fresh, and before whose eyes the process is indeed still going on. The difficulties of adapting a primitive soil to the work of yielding organic products for man's use can be lightly estimated only by an inhabitant of a country long under cultivation. It is, in Carey's view, the overcoming of these difficulties by arduous and continued effort that entitles the first occupier of land to his property in the soil. Its present value forms a very small proportion of the cost expended on it, because it represents only what would be required, with the science and appliances of our time, to bring the land from its primitive into its present state. Property in

Carey.

land is therefore only a form of invested capital—a quantity of labor or the fruits of labor permanently incorporated with the soil; for which, like any other capitalist, the owner is compensated by a share of the produce. He is not rewarded for what is done by the powers of nature, and society is in no sense defrauded by his sole possession. The so-called Ricardian theory of rent is a speculative fancy, contradicted by all experience. Cultivation does not in fact, as that theory supposes, begin with the best, and move downward to the poorer soils in the order of their inferiority. The light and dry higher lands are first cultivated; and only when population has become dense and capital has accumulated, are the low-lying lands, with their greater fertility, but also with their morasses, inundations, and miasmas, attacked and brought into occupation. Rent, regarded as a proportion of the produce, sinks, like all interest on capital, in process of time, but, as an absolute amount, increases. The share of the laborer increases, both as a proportion and an absolute amount. And thus the interests of these different social classes are in harmony.

"But, Carey proceeds to say, in order that this harmonious progress may be realized, what is taken from the land must be given back to it. All the articles derived from it are really separated parts of it, which must be restored on pain of its exhaustion. Hence the producer and the consumer must be close to each other; the products must not be exported to a foreign country in exchange for its manufactures, and thus go to enrich as manure a foreign soil. In immediate exchange value the landowner may gain by such exportation, but the productive powers of the land will suffer. And thus Carey, who had set out as an earnest advocate of free trade, arrives at the doctrine of protection: the 'coordinating power' in society must intervene to prevent private advantage from working public mischief."

Among Carey's pupils the most original is E. Peshine Smith (*Manual of Political Economy*, New York, 1853), whose account of population is especially noteworthy, and indeed was adopted by Carey himself. W. Elder (*Questions of the Day*, 1871), is a subtle and effective writer, but somewhat inconstant. Robert Ellis Thompson (*Social Science and National Economy*, 1875; *Elements of Political Economy*, 1882; *Protection to Home Industry*, 1886) is the ablest recent representative of this school. W. D. Wilson, who is now of Pennsylvania, has attempted, in his *First Principles* (1875), the very difficult task of making Carey's views harmonize with those of Malthus.

In the period including and following the War appeared Amasa Walker's *Science of Wealth* (1866; eighth edition, 1883), and A. L. Perry's *Elements of Political Economy* (1866). A. Walker and Perry are free traders; Perry is a disciple of Bastiat. The *Science of Wealth* is particularly full in discussing monetary questions. He criticizes the United States banking system and attributes to it the crisis of 1873. Professor John Bascom's *Political Economy* (1859; reprinted in 1874) is a text-book which has been much used in America. It favors monometalism, opposes banks of emission, and proposes the substitution of certificates, based on gold and payable in gold, for greenbacks. Francis Bowen's *Principles of Political Economy* (1856, afterward entitled *American Political Economy*, 1870), has been another popular text-book.

Of President Walker—Amasa Walker's son, General Francis Amasa Walker, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston—Ingram says: "The name of no American economist stands higher." He has written many special treatises, the substance of which is contained in his *Political Economy* (New York, 1883), and summarily presented in his *First Lessons* (1880). His greatest special work is on wages,—*The Wages Question* (1876; new edition, 1891),—in which he draws a clear line between the *entrepreneur* and the capitalist, attacking the wage-fund theory, contending that wages are in reality the residuum of the value left attaching to the product after interest and profits have been deducted. His work on *Money* (1878 and 1891) defends international bimetalism. His *Land and its Rent* (1883) gives a refutation of Carey, dealing similarly with Henry George.

Of the present state of American economics Cossa says:

"American universities have multiplied, new chairs of economics have been founded, administrative fac-

ulties have been organized as at New York and Philadelphia, the American Economic Association (1885) has been formed, special reviews have been brought out, excellent monographs have been published in collected form. Controversies have been carried on through the writings of many young professors fresh from Germany and more especially from Halle; nor has there been lacking a powerful influence wielded by the more matured thought of older professors, who combine a knowledge of all that German science has achieved with an unwillingness to follow blindly its too exclusive vagaries. Such are the leading facts which explain the strides made during the last ten years by the study of economics in America, and account for the eminence there attained by a group of able writers who have nothing to fear from a comparison with the ablest scientific lights of Europe, whether as to knowledge of principles or power of steady work."

Cossa mentions prominently Professor R. T. Ely. With his *French and German Socialism, Labor Movement in America, Socialism and Social Reform*, and constant articles in magazines and the religious weeklies, no man in America has done more fairly and discriminatingly to acquaint the reading public with the importance of the present socialist and labor movement. At the same time his *Taxation in American Cities*, and various articles on railroads and other natural monopolies, have been an important contribution to constructive economic science, showing how the community may adopt many of the good points in socialism without accepting its extreme theories. Again, Professor Ely's *Principles of Political Economy*, revised as *Outlines of Economics*, has been very widely accepted in both England and America, as a popular progressive text-book of general political economy. Finally, as a leader in the foundation of the American Economic Association, of the Christian Social Union (in America), and of the American Institute of Christian Sociology, together with his *Social Aspects of Christianity* and frequent addresses before academic and religious bodies, Professor Ely has done much to promote economic study both in the university and in the churches. First at Johns Hopkins and now as professor at the University of Wisconsin, Professor Ely has been frequently and at least once bitterly denounced as a socialist, but has held his own as an accurate thinker, courageous enough to champion all that is good, and critical enough not to identify himself with what he considers impractical and extreme in socialism.

Professor E. J. James of the University of Chicago is not the author of numerous books, but has been of marked influence with various important monographs on *The Canal and Railway*, on *The Municipality and Gas Supply*, and studies of various federal constitutions. He is even better known by his presidency of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and his editorship of the *Annals* of the Academy with their frequent contributions not only to historical study, but to original economic theory. Associated with him at the University of Pennsylvania was Professor R. P. Faulkner, prominently known for his translation of Meitzen (on statistics), and his own valuable studies in statistics. Professors Mayo-Smith and E. R. A. Seligman of Columbia are other prominent contributors to American economics from the standpoint of historical studies—Professor Mayo-Smith being especially prominent for his studies of immigration and his recent work on statistics. Professor Seligman on the canons and incidence of taxation. With their associates in the Columbia Faculty of Political Science, Professors Burgess, Munroe Smith, F. J. Goodnow, H. L. Osgood, W. A. Dunning, J. B. Moore, and now J. B. Clarke and F. H. Giddings, they edit the *Political Science Quarterly*, among the most progressive and important of American economic journals. In the West, Professor Henry Carter Adams of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Cossa says, has written "valuable economic treatises on the *Relation of the State to Industrial Action* (1887), on *Taxation in the United States* (1884), and on *Public Debts* (1887)," while as statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in charge of the United States railway statistics, he fulfils an important function outside of university work. Professor J. W. Jenks of Cornell is the able secretary of the American Economic Association, and a care-

R. T. Ely.

E. J. James.

H. C. Adams.

ful student and writer on the important questions of trusts, monopolies, etc.; Professor John B. Clark of Columbia University, a President of the American Economic Association, is author of a *Philosophy of Wealth*, and various monographs; Professor J. K. Commons of Syracuse University, stands with Professors Ely and Bemis among the more advanced of American economists in their friendship to socialistic ideas (without at all being socialists), and is author of *The Distribution of Wealth, Proportional Representation*, and various articles in favor of monetary, electoral, and Christian social reforms; Chancellor James H. Canfield, of the University of Nebraska, is a Vice-president of the American Economic Association, and a writer on taxation and the tariff; Professor E. W. Bemis, recently of Chicago University, is a writer of monographs and careful studies of labor organizations and the municipalization of natural monopolies. Separate somewhat from the above writers in holding distinctively more for the necessity of historical study and the deduction of cautiously pronounced principles, is Professor W. J. Ashley, now of Harvard University, formerly of Oxford, England, and then of Toronto. Cossa says of him that his works on the *Economic History of England* are justly celebrated. His criticisms of Thorold Rogers and others of his school are trenchant, but entitled to the greatest weight.

Among the more conspicuous upholders of the traditions of the classical school in economics are Professors Charles F. Dunbar and W. G. Sumner, at the head respectively of the Department of Economics in Harvard University and at Yale. Professor Dunbar is an editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, founded at Boston in 1885, and published for Harvard University, and is particularly at home on questions concerning currency and credit, as in his *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking* (1892).

Professor W. G. Sumner of Yale has written on the tariff, American currency, bimetalism, wages, civil service reform, and is popularly known for his *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, in which he comes to the strongly asserted position that they owe nothing. Among others on the whole of the classical school, are Professor A. T. Hadley, also of Yale, a careful writer on

The Classical School.

railways, the Interstate Commerce Law, etc., and a student of the facts of wages, etc. Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard is prominent for his studies of the tariff and his defense of monometalism in his *Silver Question in the United States*, and various economic articles. Professor J. Lawrence Laughlin is at the head of the economic department of University of Chicago, and a writer on bimetalism, the tariff, and general studies of political economy. Professor Simon Newcomb of Washington has forcibly written on general political economy from the *laissez-faire* position. More original than any of the above men, according to Cossa, either of the historical or classical school, and coming nearer to the Austrian school than any other, and yet developing original principles and positions of their own, are

F. H. Giddings.

Professor F. H. Giddings of Columbia University and Professor S. N. Patten of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor Giddings is especially prominent for his monographs on the province and theory of sociology developed now into his important treatise on *Sociology*. Professor Patten has written brief but important studies on the premises of political economy and concerning the concepts of utility. His monograph on the *Theory of Social Forces* (1896) shows how far he studies the psychologic side of economics. With this school stands Professor Clark, whom we have also noticed above. President E. B. Andrews of Brown University is a strenuous advocate of bimetalism, and well known for his works on recent American history and general political economy. Professor E. R. L. Gould of the University of Chicago, both as a scholar and as an investigator for the United States Census and Labor Commission, has carefully investigated the conditions of working men, and of the poorer classes, both in Europe and America. Professor A. G. Warner has written the one complete book on *American Charities*, besides studying relief methods in Germany and other countries. Professor E. A. Ross has defended bimetalism and written on taxation. Many names perhaps as important as some of those mentioned must be omitted, as not bearing particularly on Social Reform. Professor D. R. Dewey of the Institute of Technology in Boston has devoted him-

self to statistical studies. John Graham Brooks, as lecturer, writer, and expert for the Census, has carefully investigated the Norwegian company system of temperance reform and various relief methods in Germany and France, as well as in this country. Professor Lester F. Ward is one of the chief sociologists in the country. Still others, as well known as most we have mentioned, though without being professors of political economy, write on economic themes with learning and ability. Such are Edward Atkinson, the statistician; Carroll D. Wright, United States Labor Commissioner; Dr. Albert Shaw of the *Review of Reviews*; Mr. Charles B. Spahr of the *Outlook*; Mr. George Gunton, president of the School of Economics, New York City; Mr. Henry George and T. G. Shearman, the prominent single-tax advocates; the Rev. N. P. Gilman, editor of the *New World*; the Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden of Columbus, O.

V. RADICAL VIEWS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

For the detailed economic views of the various schools of social reform—we must refer the reader to the various articles, Socialism, Individualism, Anarchism, the Single-Tax, Eight-Hour Movement. We here simply point out that there are many writers who from very various standpoints and sometimes with an economic ability comparable to that of the professed economists considered above, have presented views quite opposed to any of the views stated in this article. Such writers usually deny utterly that the so-called professed economists have reached any settled conclusions, or have even done much for the cause of economic truth. There is some ground for this view.

Said Mr. Leslie Stephen (presidential address at the annual meeting of the Social and Political Education League, March, 1892): "There is no science of sociology, properly scientific—merely a

heap of vague empirical observations, too flimsy to be useful in strict logical inference." Mr. Kidd says, speaking of "probably the largest section" of the community (*Social Evolution*, p. 5): "They feel that some change is inevitable. . . . But at present they simply sit still and wait. They have no indication as to the direction in which the right path lies. They look in vain to science and authority for any hint as to duty. They are without a faith, for there is at the present time no science of human society." He says again (*Social Evolution*, p. 236): "It has to be confessed that in England during the nineteenth century the educated classes in almost all the great political changes that have been effected have taken the side of the party afterward admitted to have been in the wrong; they have almost invariably opposed at the time the measures they have subsequently come to defend and to justify. This is to be noticed alike of measures which have extended education, which have emancipated trade, which have extended the franchise. The educated classes have even, it must be confessed, opposed measures which have tended to secure religious freedom and to abolish slavery. The motive force behind the long list of progressive measures, carried during this period, has in scarcely any appreciable measure come from the educated classes; it has come almost exclusively from the middle and lower classes, who have in turn acted, not under the stimulus of intellectual motives, but under the influence of their altruistic feelings."

Even Professor Taussig of Harvard, writing in *The Nation*, December 28, 1893, and referring to "fantastic" radical social proposals, says: "The temptation is strong under such conditions, to hold fast to authority and accepted doctrines and to refuse to give aid and comfort to the enemy by admitting that the theories of current political economy are not settled and established scientific truths. But, in fact, there are few of them which the criticism of the last quarter of a century has not impugned more or less. The doctrines of exchange, money, international trade have suffered least; those as to production and distribution most. The latter, it must be confessed, need to be largely recast."

Lack of Science.

Such being the asserted condition of political economy to-day, the leaders of the various schools of reform, and especially among working class reforms, treat professorial economics with an ill-concealed contempt; yet the same men are often very glad to welcome or even to strain any admissions which may happen to drop from the professor's pen and can be used to favor any desired end.

The radical school which comes nearest to economic doctrines accepted in the universities, and to which modern economists on their part have shown themselves most friendly, is that of the socialists. Socialism, indeed, of the Marxist type pro-

Socialism. fessedly bases itself upon the principles of value and rent held by Ricardo and the classical school, and on that basis constructs views the opposite of the classical. On the other hand, many economists of the historical school come so near to socialism as often to be called socialists by their critics. The economic basis of socialism will be considered under socialism, yet such writers as Rodbertus, Marlo, and Marx, in Germany, and the writers of the *Fabian Essays* in England, cannot be ignored in the field of political economy. Ingram says in his *Britannica* article on political economy :

"With such writers as St. Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon, Lassalle, Marx, Engels, Marlo, and Rodbertus (who, notwithstanding a recent denial, seems rightly described as a socialist) we do not deal in the present sketch (see Socialism); but we must recognize them as having powerfully stimulated the younger German economists (in the strict sense of this last word). They have even modified the scientific conclusions of the latter, especially through criticism of the so-called orthodox system. Schäffle and Wagner may be especially named as having given a large space and a respectful attention to their arguments. In particular, the important consideration, to which we have already referred, that the economic position of the individual depends on the existing legal system, and notably on the existing organization of property, was first insisted on by the socialists. They had also pointed out that the present institutions of society in relation to property, inheritance, contract, and the like are (to use Lassalle's phrase) 'historical categories which have changed, and are subject to further change.'"

Of the socialists of the chair, we have spoken above. See also SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.

In England socialism has so influenced economic thought that Sydney Webb can write (*Socialism in England*, p. 46) :

"That one competent economist, not himself a socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now socialists, with many of the professors." And that "Professor Henry Sidgwick (professor of moral philosophy, Cambridge), the most cautious of men, even publishes an article with a view to correct the world's mistaken impression that political economy is opposed to socialism, and shows that, on the contrary, the socialist proposals are a plain and obvious deduction from accepted economic principles." (*Contemporary Review*, November, 1886.)

Mr. Webb says further (*idem.*, p. 47) :

"It was computed in December, 1887, that out of a total of 14 courses of lectures on economics being delivered under the auspices of various public bodies in London, eight, and possibly more, were being given by professed socialists. I have been told that one of the university extension societies lately found some difficulty in obtaining young economist lecturers

sufficiently free from what some of its older members thought the socialistic taint."

Outside of Germany and England the influence of socialism on professional economic thought is not so marked, but in Belgium, France, Austria, and Italy, we have seen its influence strongly marked on more than one writer, while in the United States such men as Professors Ely, Bemis, Commons, Jenks, Adams, James, and others of the historical school are at least as socialistic in their views as many of the so-called Katheder Socialisten in Germany. Everywhere we thus see the influence of socialism upon the economists.

Says Professor de Laveleye: "It was at one time imagined that the means of combating socialism would be found in the teachings of political economy; but, on the contrary, it is precisely this science which has furnished **Socialism and Political Economy.** the socialists of to-day with their most redoubtable weapons." (Introduction to *Contemporary Socialism.*)

The value of these utterances, however, can easily be both over- and underestimated. They by no means indicate that political economists are on the high road to socialism. There is even among them at present a reaction against socialism. Frightened by their own admissions, they are drawing back and trying to show that, while there is considerable truth in socialism, society need not accept the whole socialist position.

On the other hand, the value of these admissions by the economists must not be under-estimated. Their main use is to prove that there is no case to be drawn from political economy against socialism. Says Mr. Kidd, speaking of socialistic propositions (*Social Evolution*, p. 208): "A somewhat startling admission has to be made. . . . It is that the arguments by which their advocates lead up to them are unanswered, and even unanswerable, from the point of view from which the greater number of their critics have assailed them."

Coming to ask what is the economic basis of the socialist writers, one must in the first place distinguish between the early Utopian socialists and later evolutionary socialists, and secondly, as far as their economic basis goes, one must distinguish between two main schools of socialists. The early communists, Plato, More, Doni, Campanella, Harrington; the radical social reformers of the eighteenth century, Rousseau, Mably, Morelli, De Warville, Babeuf; the Utopian socialists of the first half of the present century, Owen, Fourier, Gall, St. Simon, Enfantin, Buchez, Considerant, Cabet, Weitling, even Louis Blanc, had, properly speaking, no economic basis for their socialism. They had various philosophic views, and often acute sociological principles, as is illustrated by the connection between Comte and the St. Simonians; but they had little or no political economy. Modern socialism has however developed considerable strict economic thought, principally of two schools, the German school of so-called scientific socialism, and the English school of Fabian socialism. In Germany, Rodbertus, Marlo, Marx, Engels, and to a less extent, Lassalle, took the then generally accepted Ricardian theory of rent, and the position that labor is the source of all exchange, which had come to them from Adam Smith, and, without questioning these, ably and with great acumen built upon them the socialistic superstructure of surplus value, appropriated from the working man by the capitalists, and the condemnation

of the working man, through the asserted "iron law of wages," to receive the lowest wage that would support and reproduce the workman's life. The English socialists of the Fabian Society on the other hand have denied that labor is the source of all value, but have agreed rather with Jevons (see VALUE), and on the whole have been influenced economically by J. S. Mill as much as by Marx. In their ideals these schools agree completely, but differ in their economic analyses.

Value in exchange, according to the English school, depends in part at least upon final utility, and is produced by land, labor, and capital; so that the socialization of land, labor, and capital is necessary to a right production and distribution. (See SOCIALISM.) Around these two schools cluster all shades of economic and much very obscure socialistic thought.

Socialism, however, is by no means the only radical school that has developed its own economic thought. Less known perhaps in professorial circles than any other radical school, and yet with some very clear economic thought, is the so-called eight-hour philosophy.

Ira Steward, George E. McNeill, and George Gunton have argued very ably that wages depend neither on a wage fund, nor on the amount of production, nor are reduced to the lowest point which supports life, but depend on the cost or standard of living held by the various classes of wage-earners; they argue that this standard of living is developed by men's wants; that men's wants are very largely the result of leisure, and that therefore the supreme way to improve the wage-earner's condition is to shorten his hours of work. For the details of this able view, see SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

Coming to individualist views, we have first the economic views as to rent, interest, wages, etc., developed by Mr. Henry George, who finds in the private monopoly of land the source of at once high rent and low wages. His views, while they are accepted to-day by few trained economists, are admitted by all to be at once brilliantly stated and based (albeit with fatal relative exaggeration) on some profound economic as well as ethical truths. (See the SINGLE-TAX.) See also Flürscheim for an important modification of Mr. George's view.

More strictly individualistic are the radical views of such writers as Wordsworth Donisthorpe in his *Individualism, A System of Politics*; Herbert Spencer in his various works; Auberon Herbert with his Voluntaryism. Still more extreme are the economics of the so-called philosophical anarchists, the American, Joseph Warren, with his view that cost determines value, and his resultant conclusion that, if there were no law, each man would receive the full value of

what he produced; the great French philosopher, and no mean economist, Proudhon, with his critique of private property; the German Max Stierener, and B. R. Tucker, the subtle

editor of *Liberty* (New York). Such are a few, at least, of the radical social reformers of various schools who have developed economic thought. The details of all their views, and a discussion of them, will be found under the respective names of the writers and their schools; but neither the theories themselves, nor their influence upon economic thought, can be ignored in any study of modern political economy.

References: Blanqui's *Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe* (1837-38) translated into English; J. K. Ingram's *History of Political Economy* (1888); Luigi Cossa's *Guida* (revised edition, and translated into English as *An Introduction to the Study of Political Economy*, 1893), is the most complete, though not the most reliable history. Some chapters of Dr. Gustave Cohn's *System der Nationalökonomie*, have been translated by Dr. J. A. Hill, and published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science as *A History of Political Economy* (1894). S. S. Price has a convenient *History of Political Economy since Adam Smith* (1891).

Among German works Ingram mentions a brief but excellent history by H. von Scheel in the *Handbuch der politischen Oekonomie* (really a great encyclopedia of economic knowledge in all its extent and applications), edited by Gustav Schönberg (1882); the *Geschichte der National-ökonomik in Deutschland* (1874), by Wilhelm Roscher; a vast repository of learning on its subject, with occasional side-glances at other economic literatures, *Die neuer National-ökonomie in ihren Hauptrichtungen*, by Moritz Meyer (third edition, 1882); a useful handbook dealing almost exclusively with recent German speculation and policy.

Of French works Ingram says: "Some of the biographical and critical notices by Eugène Daire and others in the *Collection des Principaux Economistes* will also be found useful, as well as the articles in the *Dictionnaire de l'Économie Politique* of Coquelin and Guillaumin (1852-53), which is justly described by Jevons as 'on the whole the best work of reference in the literature of the science.'"

See also the various topics, CAPITAL, LABOR, etc.

For brief studies of the great writers, see W. J. Ashley's *Economic Classics*, a series of reprints (1895). For brief statements of the more orthodox economy, see W. S. Jevons' *Political Economy Primer* (1878); A. and M. P. Marshall's *Economics of Industry* (1890), and F. A. Walker's *First Lessons in Political Economy* (1891). A short political economy of the more advanced school is Professor J. E. Symes' *Political Economy* (1889). Among the longer but representative works are J. S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1892), which Cossa calls "even now the best English treatise on economics." Professor Marshall, with his yet unfinished *Principles of Economics* (vol. i. 1890), is considered by many economists the leading English authority to-day. Professor R. T. Ely's *Outlines of Economics* (1893) is largely used, as a text-book of the more advanced type. One of the best of the few books on its important subject is J. N. Keynes' *Scope and Method of Political Economy*. The best English dictionary of economics is the *Dictionary of Political Economy*, now being published, edited by R. H. I. Palgrave. (See also Bibliography in the Appendix to this Encyclopedia.) Among the best books on political economy from the socialist point of view are *The Fabian Essays* (1890), and Karl Marx' *Capital* (tr. 1889). Henry George (*Progress and Poverty*, 1879) presents the economic views of the Single-Taxers. George Gunton (*Progress and Wealth*, 1889) gives the important economic

view of the eight-hour philosophy. Wordsworth Donisthorpe (*Individualism*, 1889), and B. R. Tucker (*Instead of a Book*, 1893), give the radical individualistic and anarchistic views. For particular subjects in political economy, see the respective subjects; see also SOCIOLOGY.

POLITICAL SCIENCE may be defined as the science of politics, or the science of the constitution and government of the State or body politic. Among the subjects of which it treats are the principles on which States are constituted; the forms they may assume; the placing of the supreme power or sovereignty; the functions of government, the conduct of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers; the defense of the people; the liberties of the people; diplomacy, etc., etc. In Professor J. W. Burgess' *Political Science and Constitutional Law*, he treats of The Nation, The Geographical Distribution of Nations, National Political Character, The State (its origin, form, and ends), The Formation of Constitutions, Individual Liberty, and Civil Liberty. For a study of the various features of political science, see STATE; NATION; NATURAL RIGHTS; DEMOCRACY; CONSTITUTIONALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM; also CONGRESS; PARLIAMENT; PRESIDENT; JUDICIARY; TAXATION; FINANCES, etc., etc.

In this article we are concerned simply with the history of political science. It may be said to have begun with the Greeks. The laws of Manu in India, the sayings of Confucius and Mencius in Chinese, the sacred books of the Hebrews, and the priestly traditions of Egypt and Babylon all enunciate occasionally apothegms as to government, chiefly in advice to kings, but there is no approach to a systematic view of the constitution of States till the Greeks, and with them not till the time of Plato and Aristotle. Homer and Solon give occasional advice as to rulers, and Aristophanes satirizes the folly of the people and the wickedness of demagogues, but this is not political science. In the following history we give only an outline, referring the reader to different articles for details.

I. CLASSIC TIMES.

Greek political science begins with Plato and Aristotle, the Thucydides, Socrates, and others had already contributed valuable ideas. With them, as with all Greeks, the State is supreme, and the origin of the State is discussed in the same way as the origin of the universe. It is both natural and divine. The various forms of government are distinguished between. It may be monarchical, tyrannical, aristocratic, plutocratic, democratic, oligarchical. Plato's *Republic* develops his ideal of a communal State. (See PLATO; COMMUNISM; FAMILY.) His *Laws* outline the State he considers more immediately possible; in the *Politics* he describes the ideal statesman. The best condition is to be under a perfectly wise ruler unfettered by laws; the worst condition is to be under a foolish ruler without laws. In fact, laws are a clumsy necessity. The perfect State

is necessary to the perfect citizen. The family should be subject to the State (See PLATO.)

Aristotle begins with the concrete and the actual, as Plato with the ideal. In his *Politics* he analyzes the State. He is said to have studied 360 constitutions. His State is a community, a large household. Man cannot exist in solitude. No passage in political literature is better known than his "ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῶον." A cityless man must be either superhuman or beneath contempt; he must be in a state of perpetual strife. The State is natural. It has grown up from the household and the village community. The head of the family was the first king. Slaves are a necessity, but must be well treated. Communism is not practical. Aristotle says: "Carefulness is least in that which is common to most; for men take thought in the chief place for their own, and less for the common stock." Yet friendship must rule; "friends' goods are common." But this communism must start from the individual, not from law. "The pleasure we take in anything is increased beyond expression when we esteem it our own; and I conceive that the individual's affection for himself is by no means casual, but is of man's very nature."

The State is the continuity of the race within a manageable compass, and must have an enduring constitution. Pollock's *History of the Science of Politics* thus puts Aristotle's views:

"A normal or right constitution is that which is framed and administered for the common good of all, whether the sovereign power be with one, with few, or with the many. A constitution framed in the exclusive interest of a class, even tho it be a majority of the whole, is wrongful and perverse. Royalty, aristocracy, and commonwealth (πολιτεία) are the normal forms; their respective corruptions are tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy—tyranny being a monarchical government worked for the advantage of the monarch over all subjects; oligarchy, the government of a privileged class for the advantage of the rich over the poor; and democracy, the government of the multitude for the advantage of the poor over the rich." (See ARISTOTLE.)

Later Greek thought turned more upon questions of morals than of politics. The Cynics protested against the exaltation of the State, and the Stoics furnish the connecting link between Greek and the Roman political conceptions. In the stoical conception of the individual conforming his life to natural laws is the germ of that doctrine of natural rights which has played so large a part in political science. Rome, not Greece, is the typical home of the Stoic. "To the Stoics and the Roman lawyers," says Lecky (*History of European Morals*, vol. i., chap. ii.), "is mainly due the clear recognition of the existence of a law of nature above and beyond all human enactments which has been the basis of the best morality, and of the most influential tho most chimerical political speculation of later ages."

But Rome's genius was practical rather than philosophical. Polybius, in his analysis of the Roman constitution, and Cicero, in his presentations of Greek thought, are almost the only writers among the Romans to directly treat of political science. The real contribution of Rome to this science is the jurisprudence which was built up by the juriconsults.

Rome.

It gave forms and laws to the customs of a great State. It sought to base government on ideas of liberty and justice. Even when Rome grew most imperial she preserved the forms of liberty. It has been said that "the theory of the Roman Empire was that of a representative despotism, and that under the empire "the various offices of the republic were not annihilated, but gradually concentrated in a single man" (Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol. i., chap. ii.). Greece in theory had made the State dominant over the individual; Rome in theory made the individual dominant over the State. It is not the only case where the individual has in fact been more free under the former than under the latter condition. Out of Rome arose the political problems of

II. THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD.

The main political problem of the Middle Ages was the relation of Church and State. Rome had bequeathed to the successors of Charlemagne the traditions of a great State. The Church had built upon the simple teachings of Christ a great secular power. Thomas Aquinas (*q.v.*), in a treatise *Of the Government of Princes*, left unfinished, but completed by his disciple, Ptolemy of Lucca, argued the independence of the Church. Dante (*q.v.*), in his *De Monarchia*, defended the independence of the State. (For the discussion, see AQUINAS; CANON LAW; DANTE; MIDDLE AGES.) Both sides admit the need of a wise ruler. Only under such a ruler, said Dante, is freedom possible.

"For citizens are not for the sake of the consuls, nor a nation for the king; but contrariwise the consuls are for the sake of the citizens, the king for the sake of the nation. For as a commonwealth is not subordinate to laws, but laws to the commonwealth, so men who live according to law are not for the service of the lawgiver, but he for theirs; which is the philosopher's opinion in that which he hath left us concerning the present matter. Hence it is plain also that the consul or king in regard of means be the lord of others, yet in regard of the end they are the servants of others; and most of all the monarch, who, without doubt, is to be deemed the servant of them all."

But this, tho the main, was not the only problem of the Middle Ages. Out of the unsettled condition of the times, out of the battle between the conflicting claims of emperor and pope, of kings and barons, of empire and free city, rose the claims of the right of local government and the conception of limited monarchy.

III. THE MODERN PERIOD.

Pollock says that the modern study of politics begins with Macchiavelli. He seems rather the link between the Middle Ages and the present, but to belong to neither. Concerning the vexed question of how to interpret his great work, *The Prince*, see MACCHIAVELLI; but whether it be interpreted as satire or heartless policy, Macchiavelli shows with masterly keenness how an unlimited monarch may bend all to his will. He is modern in his study of facts; he is medieval in his worship of the State and kingly power. Bluntschli considers his great service to have been that he divorced political science from theology. To Jean Bodin (*q.v.*), in his *Of the Commonwealth*, we owe the modern and neces-

sary concept of sovereignty (*q.v.*). Sovereignty is not above moral law; justice is its best support; yet the State is above enactments. "The State can do no wrong." There are, however, laws, like those of the family, of property, even of the succession to the French crown, with which, Bodin says, the State cannot meddle. From the inviolability of property he deduces the consequence that even the most absolute monarch cannot tax his people without their consent. We see here plainly the influence of the Reformation, the emphasis upon individual responsibility, and the right of the individual to judge even the king. On this question Luther, Reuchlin, Colet, More, Erasmus, Politian, Calvin, Bacon, all wrote. Hugo Grotius declares the State to be "the complete union of free men who join themselves together for the purpose of enjoying law and for the sake of public welfare" (*De jure belli*, vol. i., chap. i., § 14). This is almost the social contract.

Of the early English writers on political science Pollock says:

"Fortescue, both in his book, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, and in his less known treatises on the Law of Nature and the Monarchy of England, is careful to represent the king's power as not absolute but limited by the law, or, to use the language borrowed by him from St. Thomas Aquinas' *De Regimine Principum*, not 'royal' but 'political.' The king is the head of the body politic, but can act only according to its constitution and by the appropriate organs in each case. And it is said in general terms that the king's power is derived from the consent of the people. But the question where political supremacy really lies is not followed up. Neither is any definite theory of the origin of government put forward. More's *Utopia* calls for mention on account of its literary fame; but tho it contains incidentally not a few shrewd criticisms, open and covert, on the state of English society in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, we cannot count it as an addition to political science. It is a Platonic or ultra-Platonic fancy, bred of the Platonism of the Renaissance. Even more than the *Republic* of Plato it belongs to the poetry as distinguished from the philosophy of politics. In the *De Republica Anglorum*, or *English Commonwealth*, of Sir Thomas Smith, first published after the author's death in 1583, we find something much more like a forerunner of Hobbes. Indeed, so clear and precise are Smith's chapters on sovereignty that one is tempted to think that he must somehow have had knowledge of Bodin's work."

Early Writers.

More modern in its appeal to facts is Montaigne's great *Essai des Loix*. Like Aristotle, he endeavors to study States and laws as they are, and from them to construct his generalizations. Much of his information is unreliable, and his writings are therefore of unequal value; but much is also of very great value, and he may be considered almost the father of modern historical research and comparative political science. His interpretation of the English Constitution emphasizes the necessity of separating the legislative, judicial, and executive powers, an idea which has played so large a part in America, but is to-day much criticised, especially in England. He feared the corruption of democracies, yet held that liberty should be the governing political principle.

This brings us to Hobbes (*q.v.*) and his *Leviathan*. (For a fuller discussion of the origin of and the difference between Hobbes', Locke's, and Rousseau's forms of the theory of natural rights and the social contract, see NATURAL RIGHTS.) With Hobbes all men are

by nature free and equal ; but since in this state without government they would constantly be at war, they have compacted together to give over their natural rights to some person or persons who have the sovereignty, and, having given away their rights, they no longer have them, and hence they can only absolutely obey. The sovereign is irresponsible and absolute. The people are his subjects.

The Social Contract.

With Locke, the people have made a similar compact, but have reserved the right to withdraw their allegiance when they will. Hence the right to revolution, his *Essay on Civil Government* being an elaborate defence of the Revolution of 1688. (See LOCKE ; HOBBS.)

Rousseau's social compact is one where the people surrender their rights to all the people and not to the sovereign. "Each of us puts his person and faculties in a common stock under the sovereign direction of the general will ; and we receive every member as an inseparable part of the whole." (See ROUSSEAU.)

We pass over these theories in brief because they are discussed under the special articles above referred to, but these theories have changed the whole modern world. Entering into the thought of France through Rousseau and numerous writers of the eighteenth century (see FRANCE), the doctrine of the natural rights of man was the main intellectual cause of the French Revolution. Crossing the ocean, it produced various Declarations of Rights in various States, as notably in Virginia ; it molded the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and has affected the whole history of the United States even more than that of France. Federalists and Jeffersonians, Republicans and Democrats, broad and strict constructionists have differed in the interpretation of the United States Constitution, but all have been agreed that government can only do that which the Constitution empowers it to do, or, at least, that which can be read into the Constitution. All else is reserved to the individual ; constitutions and charters are compacts by which the sovereign voters allow the government certain acts. In Europe, governments, municipal, State, or national, can do what they will. In the United States, the presumption is against government action ; and city, State, and even the Federal Government can do only what the people vote that they may do ; action beyond this often requires constitutional amendments most difficult to obtain. Under which system the individual is most free is to-day a debated point. A growing minority in the United States believe that there is really more individual freedom in Europe than in the United States ; that the United States is bound by "the dead hand" of an iron Constitution, framed for conditions which have long passed away, and that, as in the case of Greece and Rome, the greatest freedom is not in that country which theoretically most exalts the individual over the State, but in that country where the power of a democratic State is greatest. The individual in Rome and America is freed from the State, a member of which he is, to be delivered, bound hand and foot, to private despotisms in which he has no voice. Whether this view be correct or not, it will be seen how

far these theories of the social compact and of natural rights have affected the world, and particularly the United States. (See CONSTITUTIONALISM ; NATURAL RIGHTS.) In England first arose a check to these theories and more balanced views. Hume brilliantly showed the fallacy of the social contract, and Blackstone carefully built up where Hume tore down. Of Blackstone, Pollock says :

"While Rousseau's *Contrat Social* was almost fresh from the press, Blackstone was handling Locke's principles in England after quite another fashion. If we dismiss from our minds Bentham's fervid criticism, and approach Blackstone in an unprejudiced mood, we shall find that he not only was faithful to his lights, but materially improved on Locke in more than one point. For one thing, he distinctly refuses to believe in the state of nature as an historical fact, and thereby avoids a difficulty which Locke had palliated rather than met by ingenious but weak excuses. 'Society had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals.' Blackstone treats the family as the unit of society, and reduces the original contract, tho he does not abandon the term, to the fact that men hold together in society because they cannot help it."

The Social Unity.

Burke, however, most brilliantly criticised the theory of the social compact. His theoretical statements are intertwined with his historical and political writings, and this fact renders him at times contradictory, but also saves him from going to extremes. He opposes both Protestant oppression in Ireland and Jacobin violence in France. His *Reflections on the French Revolution* is explained by his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. He says : "Metaphysics cannot live without definitions, but prudence is cautious how she defines." He believes in the people almost as much as Rousseau, and tells us that "as a law directed against the mass of the nation has not the nature of a reasonable institution, so neither has it the authority ; for in all forms of government the people is the true legislator." Even the whole people "have no right to make a law prejudicial to the whole community." But he asks : "What are the people ? 'A number of vague, loose individuals' are not a people, neither can they make themselves one offhand by convention. A nation is born of history ; it is a compact of the living, the dead, and those yet unborn. It is far more natural than an imaginary 'state of nature,' for 'art is man's nature.'" Rousseau's *Contrat Social* Burke calls "chaff and rags, and paltry blurred shreds of paper about the rights of man." (See BURKE.) This study of facts leads us to

IV. THE PRESENT CENTURY.

Here the first great name is Bentham. His *Fragment on Government* appeared in 1776, but he belongs distinctly to the nineteenth century. He bases the State on sovereignty, and, laying the foundation of the modern English theory of the State, says : "When a number of persons (whom we may style subjects) are supposed to be in the habit of paying obedience to a person, or an assemblage of persons, of a known and certain description (whom we may call governor or governors), such persons altogether (subjects and governors) are said to be in a state of political society."

Laws are the commands of the supreme governor, or, to use the term now adopted, the sovereign. And the field of the supreme governor's authority is indefinite. As to the subject, Bentham says that while his duty is, as Hobbes says, to "obey punctually," his right is also to "censure freely." The basis of censure is to be the Benthamite measure of right; utility, "the greatest good of the greatest number." (See BENTHAM.)

Austin (*q.v.*) is a writer whose works have been much discussed and much misunderstood. He writes abstractly and dogmatically, developing the clear concept of sovereignty with little reference to moral, social, or historical considerations. This lack, Pollock says, "has been supplied by Sir Henry Maine in the two last chapters of his *Early History of Institutions*, and later by Mr. Frederic Harrison, in the *Fortnightly Review*. Still more lately Professor Holland has exhibited the results of the English school in a form wholly freed from the old controversial encumbrances, and thereby freed also from the extreme insularity which has prevented Austin's work entirely, and Bentham's to a great extent, from being appreciated by Continental thinkers."

The German school of political science is characteristically transcendental. It begins with Kant's *Rechtsstaat* and the German *Naturrecht*; it is developed in Fichte's socialistic treatment of his early individualistic conception of the State as composed of individuals, and Hegel's individualistic treatment of a socialistic conception of the State; it results in the paternalism of German State socialism, and the democratic socialism of Marx and Lassalle.

German political science, however, like German political economy, has developed a strong historical school. Even Hegel, in his theories, has much reference to history. Savigny, however, is the great German founder of the historical school. The problem, however, most discussed in political science in the present century has been the function and the extent of the function of the State. Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1791 argued that the sole duty of the State was the maintenance of the legal security of each individual; but most Germans have differed from this. Fichte notably broke through these narrow bounds. Friedrich J. Stahl considers the State "the union of the multitude to an ordered common existence, the setting up of a moral authority and power, exalted and majestic, to which the subjects must submit." Fr. Schmittbenner declared the State to be "an ethical organism for the purpose of giving public expression life, law, well-being and culture." Waitz (*Politik*, 1862) says, "The State is not something arbitrarily made; it does not arise by a contract between men nor by the power of one or more individuals. The State grows like an organism, but not according to the laws, nor for the ends of mere natural life; it has its foundation in the higher moral tendencies of man, and is a sphere for the realization of moral ideas; it is not a natural but a moral organism."

More recent thought of this school has em-

phasized the element of nationality. Welcker in Freiburg, Lieber in New York, Laurent in Ghent, Mancini and Padelitti in Rome, Pierantoni in Naples, and notably Bluntschli in Zürich and Munich, have emphasized this thought.

The opposition to the historical and national school has been mainly in England. Mill criticized the paternal theory of the State from the radical standpoint, though he later in life in many practical ways modified this and learned even to call himself a socialist. (See MILL.) Buckle and Bagehot apply the methods of natural science and environment to the theory of the State; Baron Eötvös in Hungary, Laboulaye in France, Morley in England, follow Mill's liberalism. Herbert Spencer bitterly opposes any extension of the function of the State, in which he is opposed by Huxley (*q.v.*) and Ritchie (*q.v.*). Latest political science, however, devotes itself more to special subjects and historical research and analysis. Gneist in Germany, Stubbs, Anson, and Dicey in England, Macey in America, are among the chief students of the English Constitution. Laboulaye writes admiringly of the American Constitution. Treitschke, Lorenz von Stein and others have studied Prussian and German administration. De Tocqueville (early in the century) and Bryce and Lecky (recently) have written general studies of American democracy. Paul Janet, in France, has written what some consider the best general history of political science.

References: F. Pollock's *History of the Science of Politics* (1890); J. K. Bluntschli's *Lehre vom Modernen Staat*—the first volume translated as *The Theory of the States* (1895); J. W. Burgess's *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law* (1890); T. D. Woolsey's *Political Science* (1878); W. Wilson's *The State* (1895).

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AMERICA.

—It would be difficult to overestimate the influence which the rise of the great American Republic has had on the recent phases of political philosophy. Not that the United States has produced a striking literature of the subject. The American spirit is more at home in practice than in theory. It has been the facts of our political history, far more than the literary formulation of our political science, that have produced important results. To the philosophers of Europe, groping blindly about among the rubbish of antiquated systems for a foundation on which to build a strong modern theory of the State, the development of American political institutions was full of suggestions. The Americans themselves worked away at their nation-making quite untroubled, for the most part, by philosophical perplexities. In the crises of attaining their independence the speculative minds among them followed unquestioningly the theories of natural rights and social contract, which were the staple of English and of Continental thought. There was nothing original in the ideas of Otis, Adams, Mason, or Jefferson; only in the application was novelty to be found. In the crisis of constitution-making, the same was true. Hamilton, Madison, and the other leaders in the movement of 1787-80, followed the theories

of Locke and Montesquieu and Burke; but exhibited a marvelous sagacity in distinguishing the features of those theories that were of immediate applicability to the problems at hand, and in rejecting that which, however attractive in philosophy, was not of practical moment.

The reaction of American methods on Europe became manifest at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The formulation in written documents of the rights of subjects and the form and powers of Governments followed American precedents; and the effect of this practise, in classifying thought on political subjects, was enormous. In America itself, speculation in reference to the written Constitution took a narrow legal form. The meaning of the language in this one concrete document absorbed our interest, and we became a race of constitutional lawyers. But beyond the seas the written Constitution, as a new phenomenon in politics, excited debate as to its abstract significance, and as to its importance, not to a particular State, but to the State in general. A new turn was given to the perennial discussion as to the relative position of monarch and people in reference to ultimate political authority. European thinkers, with the concept of a written constitution to work upon, were able to assign to the popular will a much more definite function in the abstract state. Moreover, the progress of an untrammelled democracy on this side of the water attracted the attention of social philosophers. The study of our institutions has been the source of such profound reflections, on both the good and the bad aspects of democratic development, as are to be found in de Tocqueville, in Maine, and in Bryce.

The crisis of our struggle for national unity, culminating in the Civil War, produced a considerable volume of literature, in which a solution for our practical problems was sought in the principles of abstract political theory. Lieber's *Political Ethics*, published before 1840, was the most complete treatise of a broad philosophical character prior to the war; and this work followed very closely the lines of German speculation of the day. Of our great *ante-bellum* statesmen, Calhoun was the most endowed with the spirit of speculation, and his *Disquisition on Government* embodies some very suggestive ideas on the ultimate principles of Government, apart from his peculiar interpretation of the American Constitution. Of the works called forth by the exigencies of reconstruction at the end of the war, Hurd's *Theory of Our National Existence*, Brownson's *American Republic*, and Mulford's *The Nation*, are notable. All of these betray a close dependence on prominent schools of European thought, but all are devoted to adapting the old formulas to the determination of a national sovereignty in the Constitution of the United States. This question of sovereignty in relation to our written constitution, is a characteristic feature in the work of Jameson, *The Constitutional Convention*, and in that of Burgess, published as late as 1891, on *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*.

The definitions and distinctions evolved in these latter works in the conception of sovereignty have denoted a clear advance in political theory, and have been correspondingly influential. A similar line of advance is to be seen in the works of Anson and Dicey on the English Constitution, and these writers, the latter in particular, reveal their indebtedness to American institutions for light in pushing their way. At the same time continental thought, especially since the problem of German national organization was solved, has looked for inspiration and example across the Atlantic. Laband and Jellinek, the leading German publicists, are finding solutions for the problems of constitutional law and politics in the same conceptions of sovereignty that have been developed by American conditions.

In summary, it is not unfair to say that American facts and American theories, together, have given to individual rights their surest present guarantee through written constitutions, and to national authority its surest support through the interpretation of sovereignty in those constitutions.

WM. A. DUNNING.

POLLOCK, SIR FREDERICK, eldest son of Sir William Frederick Pollock, was born in 1845, and educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was called to the bar in 1871 and was examiner in law at Cambridge, 1879-81. He was Professor of Jurisprudence at University College, London, in 1882-83, and then at Oxford. He was Professor of Common Law in the Inns of Court, 1889-90. He is editor of the *Law Quarterly Review*, and of the *Law Reports* since January, 1895. He has published works on law, a history of political science, etc.

POLL TAX. See TAXATION.

POLYANDRY (Gr. *πολῖς*, *many*, and *ἀνὴρ*, *man*) is the social state where the women have more husbands than one. It is sometimes limited to the marriage of a woman to two or more brothers. It has prevailed in savage times more or less all over the world. It still exists in Tibet, Ceylon, and some parts of India. See FAMILY.

POLYGAMY (Gr. *πολῖς*, *many*, and *γάμος*, *marriage*) is the social state where the husband has more than one wife (polygyny), or the wife has more than one husband (polyandry). See POLYANDRY and POLYGyny.

POLYGyny (Gr. *πολῖς*, *many*, and *γυνή*, *woman*) is the social state where the husband has more than one wife. It prevails in most savage lands, and is allowed in some semi-civilized lands. See FAMILY.

POOL-SELLING is the selling of pools or stakes where a combination of persons stake a sum of money on the success of a horse, or on whatever thing the pool may be; the money to be divided among the successful betters according to the amount put in by each. There has been considerable agitation against pool-selling, and laws have been passed against it. See GAMBLING.

POOR-LAWS (ENGLISH).—The poor-laws of England, which have played so large and important a part in her economic and social history, date mainly from the Elizabethan period.

In feudal times the poor were recognized as having direct claim on their lords; there needed to be no other legal provision. What more was needed was left to monastic and other ecclesiastical organizations, and to hospitals. There was no inquiry into the causes of destitution; application for relief was the one thing needful. The inevitable consequence of this want of discrimination was that the very machinery for the relief of the poor became a means of increasing their number and deteriorating their character. The downfall of feudalism and the transition to an industrial and commercial society, too, developed pauperism which differed widely from the poverty of preceding centuries, and completely outgrew the machinery for its relief.

Steps were first taken simply for the repression of the poor. An act of 12 Richard II., after providing for labor for persons able to work (see *Labor and Labor Laws*, vol. xiv. p. 167), enacts "that beggars impotent to serve shall abide in the cities and towns where they may be dwelling at the time of the proclamation of this statute, and, if the people of the cities and towns will not, or may not, suffice to find them, that these, the said beggars, shall draw them to other towns within the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the towns where they were born, within 40 days after the proclamation made, and there shall continually abide during their lives." This is the first enactment in which the impotent poor are directly named as a separate class, and on that account it has been mistakenly regarded as the origin of the English poor-laws; but it makes no provision for their relief, and the chief characteristic of the statute is the fact of its having openly recognized the distinction between "beggars able to labor" and "beggars impotent to serve."

Early Legislation.

But the problem grew. The reckless waste of national resources by Henry VIII.; the dissolution and spoliation of the monasteries, and the resultant transfer of land and other property from the possession of semi-popular trustees to nobles greedy for increased rents; the debasement of the currency which raised the cost of the necessities of life, and was not accompanied by a proportionate increase in wages; and the confiscation of the lands belonging to the craft-gilds—all combined to bring about a state of distress and misery among the masses of the people which has persisted, in varying extent and intensity, down to the present day. The Agrarian Revolution of the sixteenth century, by which men were displaced to make room for sheep, and the impoverishment of the small farmers which followed in its train; the discovery of a new world and the consequent birth and development of the "great industry" and the vast foreign commerce of to-day; the continuous enclosure of common lands, and the enforced aggregation of men into the towns, had all also added to the deterioration of the national life, and contributed to establish pauperism as a national institution.

In 1536 Parliament first attempted to cope with the problem by enacting that voluntary alms should be collected in each parish for the purpose of relieving the impotent poor. "Every preacher, parson, vicar, and curate,"

says the act, "as well in their sermons, collections, bidding of the beads as in the time of confession, and making of wills, is to exhort, move, stir, and provoke people to be liberal for the relief of the impotent." But this scheme failed, and was repealed four years later. In 1551 another attempt was made to establish a voluntary poor fund. A book was directed to be kept in every parish, containing the names of the householders and the impotent poor, and in Whitsun week collectors were to be appointed whose duty it was on the following Sunday at church to "gently ask every man and woman what they of their charity will give weekly towards the relief of the poor. . . . If any one able to further this charitable work do obstinately and frowardly refuse to give or do discourage others, the ministers and churchwardens are to gently exhort him. If he will not be so persuaded, the bishop is to send for him to induce and persuade him by charitable ways and means, and so, according to his discretion, take order for the reformation thereof." This act was also ineffective and was repeated word for word in another act.

Passing by various acts of similar import and growing more and more toward the compulsory relief of the poor, we come to the Elizabethan acts. Early in Elizabeth's reign the spiritual persuasion toward obstinate persons withholding contributions was strengthened by the aid of the civil power. A few years later (1572) legislation took a more vigorous turn "for the punishment of vagabonds and for relief of the poor and impotent."

Elizabethan Acts.

The act 14 Eliz. c. 5, reciting that "all the parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth in the same realm horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and to the great annoy of the common weal, and for avoiding confusion by reason of numbers of laws concerning the premises standing in force together," repealed before-mentioned statutes and made provision for various matters, "as well for the utter suppressing of the said outrageous enemies to the common weal as for the charitable relieving of the aged and impotent poor people." Persons above 14, and being rogues, vagabonds, or sturdy beggars, and "taken begging in every part of this realm, or taken vagrant, wandering and misordering themselves," were upon their apprehension to be committed to prison to the next sessions or jail delivery without bail, and on conviction "shall be adjudged to be grievously whipped, and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, manifesting his or her roguish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same." This judgment was not to be executed if, after imprisonment, "some honest person, valued at the last subsidy next before that time to five pounds in goods or 20s. in lands, or else some such honest householder as by the justices of the peace of the same county, or two of them, shall be allowed, will of his charity take such offender before the same justices into his service for one whole year," under recognizance to keep this poor person for that period and to bring him, if still living, before the justices at the year's end; on the other hand the pauper, departing within the year against the will of his master, was to be whipped and burnt as above provided. The offender was absolved from a second punishment for a short time, but if after threescore days, and being of the age of 18 or more, he "do oftsoons fall again to any kind of roguish or vagabond's trade of life," then the said rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar, from thenceforth was "to be taken, adjudged, and deemed in all respects as a felon," and should suffer as a felon—sub-

ject, however, to like redemption as on the first charge, conditioned for two years' service; but offending a third time he was to "be adjudged a felon" and suffer pains of death and loss of lands and goods as a felon, without allowance or benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Offenders under 14 were punishable by whipping or stocking, as provided by the repealed statutes.

This was harsh, but the short-lived law of Edward VI. was harsher still. It allowed, however, for many exceptions, and called for charitable relief.

The numerous charities and endowments and foundations of almshouses, by will and otherwise, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still extant in numerous buildings throughout the country, are illustrations of the spirit of the legislation here referred to. It is not improbable that legislation sometimes prompted the donations, but more probable that such legislation was a reflex of the general disposition prevalent for generations after the ordinary channels of voluntary charity were obstructed.

Still, legal repression and private charity did not work, and occasioned the legislation of 1601, laying the foundation of the poor-law system which has endured in substance even down to the present century.

By this act two or more "substantial householders" were to be yearly nominated by the justices of the peace to serve as overseers of the poor in each parish. The overseers were to raise "weekly or otherwise, by taxation of every inhabitant, such competent sums of money as they shall think fit," for (a) setting to work the children of all such whose parents shall not be thought able to keep and maintain them; (b) for setting to work all such persons, married and unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and who use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by; (c) for providing a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other ware and stuff, to set the poor on work; (d) for the necessary relief of the lame, old, impotent, blind, and such other among them being

poor and not able to work. Children whose parents cannot maintain them are to be apprenticed till the age of four-and-twenty years in the case of boys, and twenty-one years or the time of marriage in the case of girls. The overseers may, with the leave of the Lord of the Manor, erect houses for the impotent poor on any waste or common. No provision is made for the erection of any house in which work may be done, and it was evidently intended that the flax, hemp, etc., should be worked up at the houses of the poor. But an act of 1576 had already empowered the justices of each county to erect "houses of correction" in which "such as be already grown up in idleness and so rogues at this present" should be set to work under strict prison discipline; and the justices were now ordered to commit to these places, or to the common jail, those who refused to work on materials provided by the parish. What they had to expect at the houses of correction may be seen from one of the rules of the Suffolk House for the year 1580—"Item, it is ordered and agreed upon that every strong or sturdy rogue at his or her first entrance into the said house shall have 12 stripes upon his bare skin with the said whip provided for the said house; and every young rogue or idle loiterer six stripes with the said whip in form aforesaid. And that every one of them, without fail, at their first coming into the said house, shall have put upon him, her, or them some clogs, chain, collars of iron, ringle, or manacle, such as the keeper of the said house shall think meet."

The new act was only gradually carried out. In 1622 "A Wellwisher" complains, in a tract called, "Grievous Groans for the Poor," that "tho' the number of the poor do daily increase, there hath been no collection for them, no not these seven years, in many parishes of this land, especially in country towns; but many of those parishes turneth forth their poor, yea and their lusty laborers that will not work, or for any misdemeanor want work, to beg, filch, and steal for their maintenance, so that the country is pitifully pestered with them; yea and the maimed soldiers that

have ventured their lives and lost their limbs on our behalf are also thus required. . . . So they are turned forth to travel in idleness (the highway to hell) . . . until the law bring them unto the fearful end of hanging."

In 1630 a royal commission was appointed to examine into the working of the law, and new legislation resulted. In 1662 the statute 13 and 14 Charles II. recited various evils, and developed the law of settlement, which proved so fruitful in ills.

It said "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavor to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and, when they have consumed it, then to another parish, and at last become rogues and vagabonds, to the great discouragement of parishes to provide stocks, where it is liable to be devoured by strangers." Justices of the peace, upon complaint by the parish officers, within 40 days after any such person's coming to settle as before mentioned in any tenement under the yearly value of £10, were empowered by warrant to remove such person to the parish where he was last legally settled either as a native, householder, sojourner, apprentice, or servant for not less than 40 days, unless he gave sufficient security for the discharge of the parish.

Law of Settlement.

This act at once divided England into fourteen thousand warring communities, each determined, at whatever cost to the national welfare, to throw its burden of involuntary charity upon its neighbor. A huge code of case law, developed by hundreds of judgments and appeals, was founded upon the muddled sentences of the original acts. Every possible subtlety as to the effect of every variety of hiring or apprenticeship, or the validity of indentures given by a parish where the churchwardens and overseers were the same persons, was defined to a hair's breadth, while the incurable vagrant, the too ambitious laborer, the widow, the lunatic, the invalid, the miserable causes and instruments of this warfare, were carted and whipped and scorned and driven backward and forward from one cruel little parish to another.

The eighteenth century saw some changes in the law. It had evidently produced evil. By the statute 1 James II. c. 17 (one of the acts continuing the act of Charles II.), it had been enacted that, as poor persons "at their first coming to a parish do commonly conceal themselves," the 40 days' continuance in a parish required by the act of Charles to make a settlement, were to be accounted from the time of the person's delivering a notice in writing of the house of abode and number of the family to the parish officer. Hence persons coming to work under a certificate, on its production, were removed back again, lest they gain a settlement at the end of 40 days. This mischievous result was sought to be avoided by a certificate of acknowledgment of settlement, and then and not before, on becoming chargeable to another parish, the certificated person could be sent back to the parish whence it was brought (8 and 9 Will. III. c. 30). This provision led to additional legislation, complicating the law of settlement. It was not until toward the close of the eighteenth century that an important inroad on the law relating to the removal of the poor was made by requiring actual chargeability before removal to their place of settlement (35 Geo. III. c. 101); and at the same time justices were empowered to suspend removal in the case of sickness.

There was with this some development of relief. In 1676 William III., when appointing his new Board of Trade, instructed them to "consider of proper methods of setting on work and employing the poor, and making them useful." In the same year a Bristol merchant

named John Cary proposed the erection of a workhouse for the united parishes of Bristol. Two years later a new "corporation" was formed for London, and several houses in Bishopsgate Street were bought. Into these houses were taken "the poor distressed children that lay up and down in the streets of the city," and others, for each of whom the churchwardens of the various city parishes paid a shilling a week. There were about four hundred in all. At Bristol, Cary succeeded in getting his workhouse established. The example of Bristol was followed by Plymouth, Worcester, Hull, Exeter, and other places. The results, in suppressing vagrancy and keeping down the rates, were so good that in 1722 a general act was passed allowing parishes either singly or in combination to build workhouses, and to refuse relief to all who would not enter them. At once a very large number of workhouses were erected in many parts of England. Their first effect was shown in a very considerable decrease of the rates.

Those who administered the workhouses were under no illusion as to the cause of this decrease. In a book published in 1725, describing about a hundred of the newly established houses, a correspondent from Rumford writes: "I must, sir, observe to you that the advantage of the workhouse to the parish does not arise from what the people do toward their subsistence, but from the apprehension the poor have of it." The workhouses were run for profit. Sir Matthew Hale, one of the wisest and best men of his time, some time before 1662, advocates the building of workhouses for the employment of the poor. "By this means," he says, "the wealth of the nation will be increased, manufactures advanced, and everybody put into a capacity for eating his own bread." John Locke's report to the Board of Trade, written in 1697, contains exact calculations as to the value of the labors of young children, and of those who, being decayed of their full strength, could yet do something. Even Henry Fielding, with all his experience as a police magistrate and his own practical good sense, suggested in 1753 that the workhouse might be made a place where industrious destitute men might support themselves by the sale of their work; and lesser men than Hale and Locke and Fielding issued, from the middle of the seventeenth till the end of the eighteenth century, a constant succession of pamphlets advocating various schemes for "employing the poor to profit," generally by engaging them in the woolen or linen manufactures.

A few years, however, sufficed to develop the injurious effects of this mode of dealing with the poor, and the accumulated evils of the working of the poor-laws led, in 1783, to the passing of the statute 22 George III., c. 83, known as "Gilbert's Act," the principle of which was extensively adopted in subsequent legislation. Only the aged and infirm were to be sent to workhouses, and the principle was deliberately adopted that work was to be found in the neighborhood for the able-bodied, and that any difference between their wages and the sum necessary for their maintenance

was to be made up from the rates. In 1790 another act was passed, attempting to create a system of inspection of poor-houses by justices and the clergy. But as soon as the French War had begun (1793), the poor-laws began to be administered in a spirit of blind panic. By this time the justices had taken upon themselves most of the responsibility for the amount and character of the relief granted by the parish overseers. It had been originally intended by the poor-law of Elizabeth that they should, through their right of appointing the overseers, exercise a general control over the system, but an act of 1691 had been so interpreted as to give them an unlimited right of ordering relief themselves, in spite of the opposition of the overseers.

In 1795 the magistrates of Berkshire "and other discreet persons," at a meeting held at Speenhamland, near Newbury, announced that they would make an allowance in aid of wages to "all poor and industrious men and their families," raising the household income in each case to a minimum varying with the price of bread. Next year the clauses of the act of 1723 allowing parishes to offer the workhouse test instead of outdoor relief were definitely repealed. And so began the pauperization of the English rural population. Hitherto relief, in theory at least, had been confined to the exceptionally unfortunate. Now the rates were to become part of the normal industrial system; farmers discharged their men in a body, to take them back next day as paupers with part of their wages paid by the parish.

Says Thorold Rogers (*Work and Wages*, chap. xv.):

"I can conceive nothing more cruel, I had almost said more insolent, than to condemn a laborer to the lowest possible wages on which life may be sustained, by an Act of Parliament, interpreted and enforced by an ubiquitous body of magistrates, whose interest it was to screw the pittance down to the lowest conceivable margin, and to inform the stunted recipient that, when he had starved on that during the days of his strength, others must work to maintain him in sickness or old age."

The terrible suffering and demoralization of the English laborer that resulted from the system can to-day be scarcely credited. Under the law, the laborer was guaranteed against starvation, and there was no incentive to work. He could not live except by pauper relief. He cared therefore little about work. It was really the parish that sold his labor. In some parishes the laborers were put up at auction. Sometimes children of either sex were sold to manufacturers in job lots (the manufacturer sometimes contracting to take one insane child for so many healthy ones). Often children of both sexes were given over to gangmasters, who would let them out to farmers, working them in the field by day and lodging them in barns by night without any pretense of decency. The poorhouses were called "bastiles," and hated. The degraded laborer came to look upon pauper relief without shame, and the distributor of the relief would go around and distribute the bread the laborer could not buy. The poor-relief rates rose till they threatened to devour the rents of the landlords. The landlords themselves were

**Pauperizing
Labor.**

compelled to desire a change. Various minor changes led to the great reform law of 1834.

Says Graham Wallas (see references at the end of this article):

“Political economy’ had by this time consolidated itself in the writings of Ricardo, and MacCulloch, and James Mill. Malthus had demonstrated the important part which the struggle for life had played in the history of human society as well as in the animal world. No member of Parliament could now repeat without criticism the light-hearted argument of Mr. Charles Gray in 1751, that the poor-law ‘makes young laborious people venture to marry when nothing else would, and helps to propagate a race of the most useful subjects we have.’ The old ideas as to the profitable employment of the poor scarcely appear in the reports of the Commons committees of 1824 and 1828, and having been rediscovered, without a suspicion of their past history, by Robert Owen in 1812, were now associated in men’s minds with revolutionary schemes of equality.

“At the same time the new doctrine, that human society is best managed when no man is either hindered or helped in supporting himself and his family, seemed to be justified by actual experience in poor-law administration.

“In the parish of Southwell, near Nottingham, the rates had already been enormously reduced by the building of a prison-like workhouse and the exaction of labor, useless, perhaps, but severe and unpaid, as a condition of bare subsistence. Similar experiments, with the same success, had been tried in several other parishes.

“The ‘laws of political economy’ were vaguely felt to have established themselves in a position of gloomy orthodoxy, and when in 1832, during a lull in the fierce struggle for the Reform Bill, the Whigs in power appointed a

Law of 1834. Royal Commission on the poor-laws, its strongest members were known and ardent partizans of the newly accepted science. Their report, after two years of incessant labor on the part of the commissioners and their paid assistants, was presented in 1834, and is still the most magnificent State paper in existence, admirable in form and crushing in argument. It ended by recommending a radical alteration of the whole system. Parishes were to be formed, with or without their consent, into unions, whose accounts were to be inspected and whose by-laws were to be drawn up by a body of three commissioners sitting in London, and represented by traveling subcommissioners in the country. Outdoor relief to able-bodied persons was to be prohibited. Finally, and chiefly, the whole administration of the law was to be regulated on the principle that ‘the condition of the paupers shall in no case be so eligible as the condition of persons of the lowest class, subsisting on the fruits of their own industry.’”

The report was adopted, almost unchanged, by overwhelming majorities. Repression of the poor was now the order of the day. Outdoor relief was gradually ended. Families were broken up, lodged in poorhouses, husband and wife being separated. It produced its hardships. Says Mr. Wallas:

“The sordid abominations of the old law were soon forgotten, and the religious working man as well as the revolutionary Chartist loathed the new science which aimed, it was said, at reducing the population to Parson Malthus’ standard by starving the paupers and separating man and wife in direct defiance of the word of God. Meanwhile the rates, in spite of the new law, were creeping up to the old level, and that great rise in agricultural wages for which the more sincere of the political economists had hoped did not take place. Freedom of combination was the first condition of such a rise, and on the very night after the new poor-law was introduced, Lord Howick repeated the refusal of the Whig Cabinet to interfere with that flagrant sentence of transportation upon the Dorchester laborers which made combinations in agriculture impossible.

“The opposition to the new law soon penetrated to the House of Commons, and it was with increasing difficulty that the powers of the commissioners were from time to time renewed. At last, in 1847, the Poor-law Commission was dissolved, two out of the three worthy gentlemen of the day disappeared, having per-

haps taken themselves rather too seriously as solitary protesters against an evil world, and an official Poor-law Board with a parliamentary head was created. By 1871 so many duties of various kinds had been assigned to the department that it took the name of the Local Government Board, which it still retains. Sixty years have now passed since the new poor-law was first enacted. During that time the great evil noted by the commissioners of 1834, the relief of able-bodied men in aid of wages or as a premium upon idleness, has practically disappeared. Of the 728,042 persons in receipt of relief on the 1st of July, 1891, there were only 3641 adult men in good health receiving indoor and 3419 outdoor relief—these last being helped only in some urgent crisis. There were at the same time not more than 6351 women in health inside the workhouses, and 52,679, almost all of whom were widows, receiving relief outside. Our pauper population now consists of deserted or orphan children, helpless old men and women, invalids, and lunatics. Their number has remained wonderfully steady for the last twenty years, tho it does not at present increase with the increasing population. But the amount spent in their relief does slowly increase, and there is no sign of that extinction of the poor-rates to which most political economists in the early part of the century looked for as a result of good administration.”

Relief is now given under a series of general orders and instructional circulars issued by the Local Government Board and its predecessor, the Poor-law Board. While local guardians are not supposed to act contrary to these regulations, they have considerable latitude in administration. The regulations provide that no relief shall be given to any able-bodied male person while he is employed for wages or any remuneration, and that every able-bodied male relieved out of the workhouse shall be set to work, and be kept employed so long as he continues to receive relief. The exceptions to these rules are:

Present Methods.

Cases of sudden and urgent necessity, defined as “destitution requiring instant, but not permanent, relief”; cases of sickness, accident, or bodily or mental infirmity; burial expenses; widows within the first six months of widowhood; widows with legitimate child or children dependent on them and incapable of earning their livelihood, and with no illegitimate child born after the commencement of widowhood; wives and children of soldiers, sailors, marines, or militiamen, or of prisoners or convicts; wives and children of not able-bodied persons not residing in the parish.

Outdoor relief is given in money and in kind, but in the case of able-bodied persons it is laid down that “one-half at least shall be given in articles of food or fuel or in other articles of absolute necessity.” Relief may also be given by way of loan. The relieving officer has to investigate the cases of all applicants; he can give temporary relief in kind, where necessary, and must report to the guardians as to the health, ability to work, etc., of the applicant and his family. The guardians are then to decide on the merits of each individual case.

Indoor relief is administered under a general order issued in July, 1847.

Of the working of the law, Mr. J. F. Oakeshot (see references) says:

“The growth of humanitarian feeling has had its influence on Poor-law administration, and the inhumanity of 50 years ago would not be tolerated by public opinion to-day. At the same time the administration of the law is still wanting in humanity. Over the entrance of Dante’s Hell was written, ‘Abandon hope, all ye who enter here,’ and if the effect of our Poor-law system were to be summed up in a single sentence we should have to use the same words. In

the desire of insuring that 'the situation of the paupers shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent laborer of the lowest class,' we deliberately feed them worse than criminals (the prison dietary is luxurious in comparison with the poor-law standard), and we allow the law to be administered with such harshness that many men and women every year deliberately prefer death by starvation outside the workhouse to accepting relief from the rates with its deprivation of the privileges of citizenship and its dishonorable stigma of pauperism alike on aged and young, infirm and able-bodied, deserving and undeserving. Mr. Charles Booth in his recently published work, *The Aged Poor in England and Wales*, states that 'as regards entering the workhouse, it is the one point on which no difference of opinion exists among the poor. The aversion to the "house" is absolutely universal, and almost any amount of suffering and privation will be endured by people rather than go into it.' A recent return ordered by the House of Commons (C-476) shows that in London alone, in 1892, no less than 31 persons, of whom 12 were 50 years old and upward, were certified by the verdicts of coroners' juries to have died of starvation. In no case could any application for relief be traced; and they were never discovered to be in want by the relieving officers, or by any charitable society or individual. Who can say how many times 31 would have to be multiplied if a similar return were made for the whole country, and if we included all those whose deaths were accelerated by starvation, but which were declared by juries to have been due to 'natural causes.'"

Mr. Robert Treat Paine (see references) says of the poor-law of 1834:

"The fundamental principle of this reform was 'That the situation of the person receiving relief should not on the whole be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent laborer of the lowest class.'

"This principle has been everywhere accepted. . . .
 "In fact the soundness of this principle is unquestioned. The lot of the pauper must not be made too attractive. Yet I am led to ask whether repression has not been guilty of a fatal error. Has not the system been left to such mere officialism as to be hard and depressing, and at last brutalizing?

"And this in two directions. First, to the worthy poor, so that all England is now vibrating in recoil from the sad lot of the old and worthy and suffering poor. Second, to the idle, the dissolute, the loafer, and the tramp—the unworthy poor.

"Do not present conditions in London and New York force us to face a new and graver problem? Yes, and the conditions in cities of the second rank also.

"Do not the new race of brutally degraded paupers laugh to scorn the principle of the English Reform of 1834, that their lot shall not be made too attractive? Do they not defy differences of detail of poor-law administration?

"Has not the principle of repression miserably failed, when its effort to make the lot of the pauper not over-eligible hardens tramps into such brutal degradation that in their game with society they seem just now to hold in their hands the winning cards, and yet on the other hand the worthy poor of England are in such straits that a great pension scheme throws its baleful shadow across the land? . . . Who will not agree with me that *repressive charity alone is hard* and that negative measures alone will fail? . . .

"The conviction that the lot of the poor in England is too hard and their treatment under the poor-law too severe has caused such reaction that a pension scheme of \$85,000,000 a year hangs in the air, and a royal commission has been created to consider the condition of the poor."

For proposed reforms in the poor-law and methods of dealing with the whole problem, see POVERTY.

References: P. F. Aschrott's *The English Poor-law System* (Tr. 1888); T. W. Fowle's *The Poor-law, English Citizen Series* (1892); *Report on Pauperism in England and Wales* (Blue Book, 1889); W. Chance's *Better Administration of the Poor-law* (1894); *The History of the Poor-law*, a paper by Graham Wallas, published in *The Cooperative Annual* for 1894; *The Humanizing of the Poor-law*, a Fabian tract (1894), by J. T. Oakeshot. (See also POVERTY.)

POPULATION.—(See also BIRTH- AND DEATH-RATE; DEATH-RATE; MARRIAGE; CITIES, MALTHUSIANISM.) We give in this article the principal sociological facts of population, leaving the discussion of the problems involved to the above articles.

I. POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

According to the estimate made by Ernest George Ravenstein, F. R. G. S., for 1890, the population of the earth by continents is as follows:

CONTINENTAL DIVISIONS.	Area in Square Miles.	INHABITANTS.	
		Number.	Per Sq. Mile.
Africa	11,514,000	127,000,000	11.0
America, N.	6,446,000	89,250,000	13.8
America, S.	6,837,000	36,420,000	5.3
Asia	14,710,000	850,000,000	57.7
Australasia	3,288,000	4,730,000	1.4
Europe	3,555,000	380,200,000	106.9
Polar Reg.	4,888,800	300,000	0.7
Total	51,238,800	1,487,900,000	29.0

From *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for January, 1891.

Some recent authorities, however, put the earth's population at nearer 1,700,000,000. The density of population of the more civilized countries, in the order of density, is as follows:

	Population.	Density per Square Mile.
Belgium	6,993,798	536
Holland	4,558,094	357
Great Britain and Ireland	37,888,152	321
Italy	30,158,408	272
Germany	49,424,135	235
Switzerland	2,933,335	186
France	38,218,903	183
Austria-Hungary	41,284,966	171
Denmark	2,172,205	148
Portugal	4,306,554	124
Servia	2,157,447	116
Rumania	5,000,000	98
Spain	17,246,688	90
Greece	2,217,000	88
European Turkey	5,600,000	83
European Russia	93,703,331	49
Sweden	4,774,409	28
United States	62,622,250	21
Norway	1,999,176	15
Australia	3,230,000	1
UNITED STATES:		
North Atlantic Division . . . . .	.....	107.37
South Atlantic Division . . . . .	.....	32.08
North Central Division . . . . .	.....	29.68
South Central Division . . . . .	.....	18.94
Western Division . . . . .	.....	2.58

Ravenstein's estimate of the earth's fertile regions, in square miles, is 28,269,200; steppe, 13,901,000; desert, 4,180,000; polar region, 4,888,800.

The population of the earth according to race, as estimated by John Bartholomew, F.R.G.S., Edinburgh, is:

RACE.	Location.	Number.
Indo-Germanic or Aryan.....	Europe, Persia, etc..	545,500,000
Mongolian or Turanian.....	Greater part of Asia	630,000,000
Semitic or Hamitic	North Africa, Arabia	65,000,000
Negro and Bantu..	Central Africa	150,000,000
Hottentot and Bushmen.....	South Africa.....	150,000
Malay and Polynesian.....	Australasia..... and Polynesia.....	35,000,000
American Indian...	North and South America.....	15,000,000
Total.....		1,440,650,000

The numbers in the world according to creed, as estimated by M. Fournier de Flaix (American Statistical Association Publications, 1892-93, p. 37) are as follows :

CREEDS.	Number of Followers.
1. Christianity.....	477,080,158
2. Worship of Ancestors and Confucianism.....	256,000,000
3. Hinduism.....	190,000,000
4. Mohammedanism.....	176,834,372
5. Buddhism.....	147,900,000
6. Taoism.....	43,000,000
7. Shintoism.....	14,000,000
8. Judaism.....	7,056,000
9. Polytheism.....	117,681,669

Mulhall's estimate of the number speaking the different European languages is :

LANGUAGES.	NUMBER OF PERSONS SPOKEN BY.		PROPORTION OF THE WHOLE.	
	1801.	1890.	1801.	1890.
English.....	20,520,000	111,100,000	12.7	27.7
French.....	31,450,000	51,200,000	19.4	12.7
German.....	33,320,000	75,200,000	18.7	18.7
Italian.....	15,070,000	33,400,000	9.3	8.3
Spanish.....	26,190,000	42,800,000	16.2	10.7
Portuguese...	7,480,000	13,000,000	4.7	3.2
Russian.....	30,770,000	75,000,000	19.0	18.7
Total.....	161,800,000	401,700,000	100.0	100.0

CHRISTIANITY.	
CHURCHES.	Total.
Catholic Church.....	230,866,533
Protestant Churches.....	143,237,625
Orthodox Greek Church.....	98,016,000
Church of Abyssinia.....	3,000,000
Coptic Church.....	120,000
Armenian Church.....	1,690,000
Nestorians.....	80,000
Jacobites.....	70,000
477,080,158	

RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS OF EUROPE.

COUNTRIES.	Catholic Church.	Protestant Churches.	Orthodox Churches (Greek).	Jews.	Mohammedans.	Unclassified
Russia.....	9,600,000	3,400,000	73,310,000	3,400,000	3,000,000	290,000
Germany.....	17,100,000	29,478,000	....	590,000	....	32,000
Austria-Hungary.....	31,100,000	3,900,000	3,100,000	1,700,000	....	100,000
France.....	35,387,000	580,000	....	40,000	....	84,000
United Kingdom.....	6,500,000	30,100,000	....	100,000	....	500,000
Italy.....	20,850,000	62,000	....	38,000	....	50,000
Spain.....	16,850,000	29,000	....	5,000	....	....
Belgium.....	5,880,000	15,000	....	3,000	....	2,000
Rumania.....	100,000	15,000	4,800,000	400,000	30,000	55,000
Ottoman Empire.....	320,000	11,000	1,700,000	60,000	2,708,000	79,000
Netherlands.....	1,545,000	2,756,000	....	83,000	....	16,000
Portugal.....	4,300,000	....	....	....	....	1,000
Sweden.....	1,000	4,698,000	....	2,000	....	1,000
Switzerland.....	1,172,000	1,710,000	....	8,000	....	10,000
All Europe.....	160,165,000	80,812,000	89,196,000	6,456,000	6,629,000	1,219,000

Levasseur (*La Population française*, iii. chap. vi.) thus shows the significant changes in population of European countries during this century :

COUNTRY.	Population in 1801.	COUNTRY.	Population in 1890.
Russia in Europe.....	40,000,000	Russia in Europe.....	93,793,331
France.....	26,800,000	Germany.....	49,424,135
Germany.....	25,000,000	Austria-Hungary.....	41,284,966
Austria-Hungary.....	25,000,000	France.....	38,218,903
Italy.....	17,500,000	Great Britain, Ireland.....	37,888,152
Great Britain, Ireland.....	16,300,000	Italy.....	30,158,408
Spain.....	6,000,000	Spain.....	17,246,688

Population.

Population.

The following is the present population of the world as given in the *World Almanac* for 1896:

COUNTRIES.	Popula- tion.	Square Miles.
China.....	413,000,000	4,218,401
British Empire *.....	381,037,874	11,335,806
Russian Empire.....	113,354,649	8,644,100
United States †.....	769,000,000	3,692,090
France and Colonies.....	59,666,967	3,127,856
France.....	38,218,903	204,177
Colonies.....	21,448,064	2,923,679
Algeria.....	3,870,000	260,000
Senegal, etc.....	183,237	580,000
Tunis.....	1,500,000	45,000
Cayenne.....	26,502	46,607
Cambodia.....	1,500,000	32,254
Cochin-China.....	1,223,000	13,692
Tonquin.....	12,000,000	60,000
New Caledonia.....	62,752	7,624
Tahiti.....	12,800	462
Sahara.....	1,100,000	1,550,000
German Empire ‡.....	49,421,064	211,108
Prussia.....	31,491,206	134,467
Bavaria.....	5,589,382	29,221
Saxony.....	3,500,513	5,789
Wurtemberg.....	2,035,143	7,531
Baden.....	1,663,817	5,803
Alsace-Lorraine.....	1,603,970	2,965
Hesse.....	956,177	1,517
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	375,140	5,137
Hamburg.....	628,530	158
Brunswick.....	374,250	1,425
Oldenburg.....	341,250	2,479
Saxe-Weimar.....	313,668	1,387
Anhalt.....	247,603	906
Saxe-Meiningen.....	214,697	953
Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.....	198,717	760
Bremen.....	180,443	91
Saxe-Altenburg.....	161,120	59
Lippe.....	123,250	472
Reuss (younger line).....	112,118	319
Mecklenburg-Strelitz.....	98,371	1,131
Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.....	83,039	393
Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.....	73,623	333
Lubeck.....	76,485	115
Waldeck.....	56,565	433
Reuss (elder line).....	53,787	122
Schaumburg-Lippe.....	37,204	131
German Africa.....	5,950,000	822,000
Austro-Hungarian Empire.....	41,827,700	201,591
Japan.....	39,607,234	147,669
Netherlands.....	4,450,870	12,680
Netherlands and Colonies.....	33,042,238	778,187
Borneo.....	1,073,500	203,714
Celebes.....	2,000,000	72,000
Java.....	21,974,161	50,848
Moluccas.....	353,000	42,420
New Guinea.....	200,000	150,755
Sumatra.....	2,750,000	170,744
Surinam.....	57,141	46,060
Turkish Empire.....	33,559,787	1,652,533
European Turkey.....	4,790,000	63,850
Asiatic Turkey.....	16,133,900	729,170
Tripoli.....	1,000,000	398,873
Bulgaria.....	3,154,375	37,860
Egypt.....	6,817,265	400,000
Italy.....	29,699,785	110,665
Italy and Colonies.....	34,970,785	425,765
Abyssinia.....	4,500,000	189,000
Eritrea.....	660,000	56,100
Somal Coast.....	210,000	70,000
Spain.....	17,550,216	196,173
Spain and Colonies.....	28,911,609	603,076
Spanish Africa.....	437,000	203,767
Philippine Islands.....	9,500,000	114,326
Cuba.....	1,521,684	43,220
Porto Rico.....	784,709	3,550
Brazil.....	18,000,090	3,219,000
Mexico.....	11,632,924	751,700
Corea.....	10,519,000	85,000

* These estimates of the population and area of the British Empire include the recently acquired great possessions in Africa.

† Estimated for January 1, 1896.

‡ In Europe; the acquisitions in Africa and elsewhere are given below separately.

COUNTRIES.	Popula- tion.	Square Miles.
Congo State.....	8,000,000	802,000
Persia.....	7,653,600	636,000
Portugal.....	4,708,178	34,038
Portugal and Colonies.....	11,073,681	951,785
Portuguese Africa.....	5,416,000	841,025
Portuguese Asia.....	847,503	7,923
Sweden and Norway.....	6,785,898	297,321
Sweden.....	4,784,981	172,876
Norway.....	2,000,917	124,445
Morocco.....	6,500,000	314,000
Belgium.....	6,030,043	11,373
Siam.....	5,700,000	280,550
Rumania.....	5,376,000	46,314
Argentine Republic.....	4,750,000	1,095,013
Colombia.....	4,600,000	331,420
Afghanistan.....	4,000,000	279,000
Madagascar.....	3,500,000	230,000
Chile.....	3,500,000	256,600
Peru.....	2,800,000	495,040
Switzerland.....	2,933,334	15,981
Bolivia.....	2,300,000	472,000
Greece.....	2,187,208	24,977
Denmark.....	2,172,205	14,780
Denmark and Colonies.....	2,288,193	101,403
Iceland.....	72,445	39,756
Greenland.....	9,780	46,740
West Indies.....	33,763	118
Venezuela.....	2,323,988	566,159
Servia.....	2,096,043	18,757
Nepaul.....	2,000,000	56,800
Oman.....	1,600,000	81,000
Guatemala.....	1,550,000	46,774
Ecuador.....	1,300,000	144,000
Liberia.....	1,050,000	14,000
Hayti.....	950,000	29,830
Transvaal.....	800,000	110,193
Salvador.....	816,000	7,228
Uruguay.....	750,000	72,112
Khiva.....	700,000	22,320
Paraguay.....	476,000	145,000
Honduras.....	450,000	42,668
Nicaragua.....	400,000	51,660
Dominican Republic.....	350,000	20,506
Montenegro.....	245,380	3,486
Costa Rica.....	265,000	19,998
Orange Free State.....	133,518	41,484
Hawaii.....	86,647	6,587

The following is the population of the British Empire as given in the *Statesman's Year Book* (1895):

	Area. Sq. Miles.	Popula- tion.
United Kingdom.....	120,979	38,104,975
India:		
British India *.....	1,068,314	221,172,952
Feudatory States.....	731,944	66,050,479
Total India.....	1,800,258	287,223,431
COLONIES.		
Europe:		
Gibraltar.....	1.0	26,050
Malta and Gozo.....	119	168,105
Total Europe.....	121	194,155
Asia:		
Aden and Perim.....	80	41,910
Ceylon.....	25,365	3,008,466
Hongkong.....	29	221,441
Labuan.....	30.2	5,853
Straits Settlements.....	1,472	512,342
Total Asia.....	26,976	3,790,912
Africa:		
Ascension.....	35	140
Basutoland.....	10,293	218,902
Bechuanaland.....	71,000	60,376
Cape Colony.....	221,310	1,527,224
Mauritius.....	705	371,655
Natal.....	20,460	543,913
St. Helena.....	47	4,116

* Including Upper Burmah.

	Area, Sq. Miles.	Population.
<i>West African Colonies:</i>		
Gambia.....	2,700	50,000
Gold Coast.....	15,000	1,473,882
Lagos.....	1,071	100,000
Sierra Leone.....	15,000	74,835
Total Africa.....	357,621	4,425,043
<i>America:</i>		
Bermudas.....	20	15,519
Canada.....	3,315,647	4,833,239
Falkland Islands and South Georgia.....	7,500	1,789
British Guiana.....	109,000	278,205
British Honduras.....	7,562	31,371
Newfoundland and Labrador*.....	162,200	202,040
<i>West Indies:</i>		
Bahamas.....	4,466	48,913
Jamaica and Turk's Islands.....	4,424	675,105
Barbados.....	166	185,000
Leeward Islands.....	701	127,723
Windward Islands.....	784	143,013
Trinidad and Tobago.....	1,868	238,638
Total America.....	3,614,338	6,780,605
<i>Australasia:</i>		
Fiji.....	8,085	122,712
New Guinea.....	88,860	350,000
New South Wales.....	310,700	1,132,234
New Zealand.....	104,471	626,658
Queensland.....	668,497	393,718
South Australia.....	903,690	320,431
Tasmania.....	26,385	146,667
Victoria.....	87,884	1,140,495
Western Australia.....	975,876	65,064
Total Australasia.....	3,174,008	4,297,889
Total Colonies.....	7,173,064	19,487,704
Total U. K., India, and Colonies.....	9,094,391	344,816,110
PROTECTORATES AND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE:		
Asia.....	120,400	1,112,000
Africa.....	2,120,000	35,000,000
Pacific.....	....	10,000
Total Protectorates... ..	2,240,000	36,122,000
Total British Empire.....	11,334,791	389,938,110

* The area of Newfoundland alone is 42,000 square miles.

Concerning conjugal condition, Professor Mayo-Smith quotes from the *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs* (No. 44, p. 35) the following table:

COUNTRIES.	PERCENTAGE OF MALES OVER 15 WHO ARE			PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES OVER 15 WHO ARE		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
Austria.....	43.8	51.3	4.8	40.0	48.1	11.8
Hungary.....	31.5	63.7	4.7	22.0	62.8	15.0
Switzerland.....	45.2	48.0	6.4	41.5	45.6	12.3
Italy.....	40.9	53.1	6.0	33.2	53.2	13.6
France.....	36.0	56.5	7.5	30.0	55.3	14.7
Great Britain.....	39.5	54.9	5.6	37.3	50.9	11.8
Ireland.....	49.3	44.8	5.0	43.5	42.1	14.4
Belgium.....	46.0	47.5	6.5	41.8	47.1	11.1
Holland.....	42.2	52.0	5.8	38.7	49.8	11.4
Germany.....	40.9	53.7	5.3	36.5	50.8	12.4
Sweden.....	42.6	51.9	5.4	40.8	47.1	12.0
Norway.....	43.3	51.0	5.6	41.7	47.0	11.1

The population of the United Kingdom, according to the census of 1891, was as follows:

	Area in Square Miles	Population.
England.....	50,840	27,499,084
Wales.....	7,470	1,501,034
Scotland.....	29,785	4,033,103
Ireland.....	32,583	4,706,448
Islands.....	295	147,870
Total.....	120,973	37,888,439

The population, according to different censuses, was.

	England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1831.....	13,896,797	2,364,386	7,767,401
1841.....	15,914,148	2,620,184	8,106,597
1851.....	17,027,609	2,888,742	6,574,278
1861.....	20,066,224	3,062,294	5,798,907
1871.....	22,712,266	3,360,018	5,412,377
1881.....	25,974,439	3,735,573	5,174,830
1891.....	29,001,018	4,033,103	4,706,448

POPULATION OF THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE EARTH.

CITIES.	Census Year.	Population.
London.....	1891	4,231,431
Paris.....	1891	2,447,957
New York*.....	1892	2,801,739
Berlin.....	1895	1,677,351
Canton.....	estimated	1,600,000
Vienna.....	1891	1,364,548
Tokio, Japan.....	1893	1,214,113
Philadelphia (municip.).....	1892	1,142,653
Chicago.....	1890	1,099,850
St. Petersburg.....	1892	1,935,439
Pekin.....	estimated	1,000,000
Brooklyn.....	1892	957,163
Constantinople.....	1885	873,566
Calcutta.....	1891	840,130
Moscow.....	1891	822,397
Bombay.....	1891	804,470
Rio de Janeiro.....	1892	800,000
Hamburg.....	1895	625,552
Glasgow.....	1891	618,470
Buenos Ayres.....	1895	615,226
Warsaw.....	1892	532,260
Naples.....	1894	522,700
Liverpool.....	1891	517,950
Brussels.....	1894	507,685
Buda-Pesth.....	1891	506,380
Manchester.....	1891	505,340
Boston.....	1895	494,205
Melbourne.....	1891	490,900
Osaka, Japan.....	1893	482,961
Madrid.....	1887	472,230
St. Louis.....	1890	451,770
Rome.....	1894	451,000
Amsterdam.....	1894	450,189
Madras.....	1891	449,950
Lyons.....	1891	438,077
Baltimore.....	1890	434,440
Milan.....	1894	432,400
Birmingham, Eng.....	1891	420,170
Munich.....	1895	407,174

* New York State census of 1892. The population of the territory embraced within the limits of "Greater New York" as proposed by the commission is about 3,100,000. This will constitute the New York of the immediate future the second city of the world.

Concerning the population by sex, Professor Mayo-Smith (*Statistics and Sociology*, p. 39) tells us that Europe has 1064 and the United States 952 females for every 1000 males. Italy, Servia, and Greece have more males than females; in all other European countries females are in excess, varying from Norway, with 1091; Scotland, with 1072; Sweden, with 1065; England and Wales, with 1064, to Belgium, with 1005, and France, with 1014. Switzerland has 1057; Germany, 1039; Ireland, 1029. In Europe, however, more males are born than females; but the male mortality is also greater. In cities the excess of females is usually greater. The demand for servant girls and saleswomen is far more in the cities than in the country.

Prostitution attracts some. In Asia, Africa, and Australasia males are generally considered to be in excess.

As to age, in England, 23.9 per cent. of the population are under 10 years of age; 21.3 between the years of 10 and 20; 47.3 between 20 and 60; 7.5 over 60 years. The corresponding figures for Scotland are: 24.3 under 10; 21.6 between 10 and 20; 46.2 between 20 and 60; 7.9 over 60. For Ireland they are: 20.8 under 10; 23.4 between 10 and 20; 45.3 between 20 and 60; 10.5 over 60. For France, 17.5 under 10; 17.4 between 10 and 20; 52.5 between 20 and 60; 12.6 over 60. For Germany, 24.2 under 10; 20.7 between 10 and 20; 47.1 between 20 and 60; 8.0 over 60.

II. STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

The following table, giving the voting, school, and militia ages, was compiled from the Reports of the Census of 1890 by the *World Almanac*:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	VOTING AGES—MALES 21 YEARS AND OVER.					PERCENTAGE.		SCHOOL AGES. Total population, 5 to 20 years old.	MILITIA AGES. Total Population, Males, 18 to 44.
	Total.	Native-born.	Foreign-born.	Whites.	Colored.	PERCENTAGE.			
						Native.	Foreign.		
Alabama	24,822	316,697	8,125	184,059	140,763	97.50	2.50	639,494	265,025
Arizona	33,696	13,665	10,031	21,160	2,536	57.67	42.33	18,284	10,226
Arkansas	257,868	249,608	8,260	188,296	69,572	96.80	3.20	476,185	241,708
California	462,289	230,154	232,135	390,228	72,061	49.79	50.21	360,289	343,001
Colorado	164,920	114,580	50,340	161,015	3,905	69.48	30.52	113,150	140,441
Connecticut	224,092	145,673	78,419	220,115	3,976	65.01	34.99	221,245	163,865
Delaware	47,559	41,407	6,152	40,007	7,552	87.06	12.94	57,496	36,076
District of Columbia	64,505	55,263	9,242	46,159	18,346	85.67	14.33	74,176	47,623
Florida	96,213	85,561	10,652	58,068	38,145	88.03	11.07	75,076	79,604
Georgia	398,122	391,168	6,954	219,094	179,028	98.25	1.75	511,627	336,295
Idaho	31,490	19,785	11,705	29,525	1,965	62.83	37.17	27,257	24,688
Illinois	1,072,663	682,346	390,317	1,054,469	18,200	63.61	36.39	1,323,030	852,635
Indiana	595,066	521,768	73,358	581,987	13,079	87.67	12.33	785,172	455,823
Iowa	520,332	364,662	155,070	517,060	3,326	70.08	29.92	701,182	399,687
Kansas	383,231	310,166	73,065	370,688	12,543	80.93	19.07	540,170	295,364
Kentucky	450,792	420,976	29,816	387,371	63,421	93.39	6.61	747,061	361,137
Louisiana	250,563	225,212	25,351	130,748	119,815	86.88	13.12	455,234	205,215
Maine	201,248	170,771	30,470	200,600	632	84.86	15.14	201,851	133,169
Maryland	270,738	228,149	42,599	218,843	51,895	84.27	15.73	370,892	205,816
Massachusetts	665,009	407,915	257,094	657,042	7,967	61.34	38.66	650,870	499,312
Michigan	617,445	369,128	248,317	611,008	6,437	59.78	40.22	703,684	462,765
Minnesota	376,036	154,792	221,309	374,027	2,009	41.15	58.85	454,804	328,764
Mississippi	271,086	266,049	5,031	120,611	150,469	98.14	1.86	559,101	228,764
Missouri	705,718	584,981	120,737	667,451	38,267	82.89	17.11	1,008,935	566,448
Montana	65,415	35,442	29,973	61,948	3,467	54.18	45.82	30,240	55,490
Nebraska	301,509	205,625	95,875	297,281	4,219	68.20	31.80	384,255	255,665
Nevada	20,951	10,181	10,770	17,002	3,949	48.59	51.41	12,391	14,606
New Hampshire	118,135	92,088	26,047	117,880	246	61.79	38.21	106,611	79,878
New Jersey	413,530	268,483	145,047	398,966	14,564	64.92	35.08	464,992	313,683
New Mexico	44,951	28,794	6,757	41,478	3,473	84.97	15.03	52,543	36,065
New York	1,769,691	1,084,572	68,642	1,745,418	24,273	61.27	38.73	1,836,935	1,326,619
North Carolina	342,653	340,572	2,081	233,307	109,346	99.39	0.61	673,405	273,834
North Dakota	55,959	19,445	36,314	55,769	190	35.11	64.89	50,324	48,608
Ohio	1,016,464	797,623	218,841	990,542	25,922	78.47	21.53	1,271,031	767,975
Oklahoma	19,161	17,502	1,659	18,238	923	91.34	8.66	21,642	15,084
Oregon	111,744	74,329	37,415	102,113	9,631	66.52	33.48	103,365	88,049
Pennsylvania	1,461,869	1,064,449	397,449	1,426,996	34,873	72.81	27.19	1,791,514	1,140,476
Rhode Island	100,017	59,832	40,185	97,756	2,261	59.82	40.18	105,730	75,317
South Carolina	235,666	232,200	3,466	102,557	132,649	98.55	1.45	501,393	196,059
South Dakota	95,765	53,851	42,014	95,177	588	55.65	44.35	113,900	79,219
Tennessee	405,472	391,429	11,047	310,014	92,462	97.26	2.74	720,872	324,214
Texas	532,942	460,664	75,248	434,010	101,932	85.66	14.04	924,142	447,413
Utah	54,477	29,946	24,525	53,235	1,236	54.98	45.02	79,937	45,139
Vermont	101,697	82,011	19,686	101,369	328	80.64	19.36	101,457	67,310
Virginia	378,782	367,469	11,313	248,035	130,747	99.01	2.99	671,779	295,340
Washington	146,018	88,968	57,950	141,934	4,984	60.56	39.44	97,563	124,860
West Virginia	181,400	171,611	9,789	172,198	9,202	94.60	5.40	305,660	147,334
Wisconsin	461,722	217,338	244,384	450,893	1,829	47.07	52.93	603,846	347,469
Wyoming	27,044	17,852	9,192	26,050	994	66.01	33.99	16,291	24,614
Total	16,940,311	12,591,852	4,348,459	15,199,856	1,740,455	74.33	25.67	22,447,392	13,230,168

The following table of the population of the United States, in each decade, is from the Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1894 :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Rank in population.	POPULATION.										Rank in population.	POPULATION.
		1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.			1890.
Ala....	..	.....	.....	.....	127,901	309,527	599,756	771,623	964,201	996,992	1,262,505	17	1,513,000
Ariz....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,658	40,440	48	59,600
Ark....	..	.....	.....	.....	14,255	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450	484,471	802,525	24	1,128,100
Cal....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	92,597	379,994	500,247	864,694	22	1,208,100
Colo....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,277	39,864	39,864	194,327	31	412,100
Conn. 8	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,148	297,675	309,978	370,792	469,147	537,154	622,700	29	782,200	
Dak....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,837	14,181	135,177	135,177	41	182,200
Del....	16	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,085	91,532	112,216	125,015	146,608	37	168,800
D. C. ...	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42	230,300
Fla....	..	.....	.....	.....	33,039	39,834	43,712	51,687	75,080	131,700	177,624	39	230,300
Ga....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34,730	54,477	149,424	187,748	32	391,400
Idaho... 13	82,548	162,686	252,433	349,985	516,823	691,392	906,185	1,057,286	1,184,109	1,544,180	1,544,180	12	1,873,700
Ill....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,999	32,610	45	84,300
Ind....	..	.....	.....	.....	12,282	55,162	157,445	476,183	1,711,951	2,539,891	3,077,871	10	3,826,300
Iowa... 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	1,427,000
Kans....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	1,911,800
Ky....	14	73,677	220,955	406,511	564,135	687,917	779,828	982,405	1,155,684	1,321,011	1,648,600	11	1,818,500
La....	..	.....	.....	.....	76,556	152,023	215,739	352,411	517,762	708,002	939,046	25	1,158,500
Me....	11	66,540	151,719	228,705	298,269	399,455	501,793	583,169	628,279	626,015	648,936	30	661,000
Md....	6	319,728	341,548	389,546	407,350	447,040	470,019	583,024	687,049	780,894	934,943	27	1,042,300
Mass... 4	378,787	422,345	472,400	523,159	610,408	737,699	994,514	1,231,066	1,457,351	1,783,085	6	2,203,800	
Mich... 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21	2,093,000
Minn... 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20	1,301,800
Miss... 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21	1,289,600
Mo....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	2,679,100
Mont... 8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	1,058,900
Neb....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	29	457,700
Nev....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	1,321,100
N. H.... 10	141,885	183,858	214,460	244,022	269,328	284,574	317,076	326,073	318,300	346,991	33	376,500	
N. J.... 9	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,426	320,823	373,300	489,555	672,035	906,096	1,131,116	18	1,444,900	
N. Y....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33	1,535,000
N. Y....	5	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,111	1,918,608	2,428,021	3,097,394	3,880,735	4,382,759	5,082,871	1	5,997,800
N. C.... 3	393,751	478,103	555,590	638,829	737,987	753,419	869,639	992,622	1,071,261	1,309,750	16	1,617,900	
Ohio... 3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	3,172,300
Okla....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46	1,618,000
Ore....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38	313,700
Penn... 2	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,047,597	1,348,233	1,724,033	2,311,786	2,906,215	3,521,051	4,282,891	2	5,258,000	
R. I.... 15	68,825	90,122	76,931	83,015	97,109	108,830	147,545	174,620	217,353	276,531	35	345,500	
S. C.... 7	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,398	668,507	703,708	705,600	905,577	23	1,151,100	
Tenn... 17	35,691	105,602	261,727	422,771	681,904	829,210	1,002,717	1,109,801	1,258,520	1,542,359	13	1,767,500	
Tex....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	2,235,500
Utah... 17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40	207,900
Vt....	12	85,425	154,465	217,895	235,966	268,052	291,948	314,120	315,008	330,551	332,286	36	332,400
Va....	1	747,610	880,200	974,600	1,065,116	1,211,405	1,239,797	1,421,661	1,596,318	1,225,163	1,512,565	15	1,655,900
Wash... 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	34	349,300
W. V... 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	762,700
Wis....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14	1,686,800
Wyo....	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	47	60,700
U. S... ..	3,929,214	5,308,483	7,239,881	9,633,822	12,866,020	17,069,453	23,191,876	31,443,321	38,558,371	50,155,783	..	62,622,200	

* North Dakota.

† South Dakota.

‡ Including 5338 persons in Greer County (in Indian Territory) claimed by Texas.

§ Includes 5328 persons on public ships in the service of the United States not credited to any State or Territory.

|| Includes 6100 persons on public ships in the service of the United States not credited to any State or Territory.

NOTE 1.—According to the census the population of Alaska for 1880 was 33,426, and for 1890, 32,052, of which latter 4298 are white, 23,531 Indian, 2288 Mongolian, 1823 mixed blood, and 112, all other persons.

NOTE 2.—According to the census of 1890 the population of Indian Territory was as follows: Five-Tribe Indian (Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws), 45,494; other Indians, 4561; total Indians, 50,055. Colored and Five-Tribes colored citizen claimants, 18,636; Chinese, 13; whites, including some Indian citizen claimants, 109,384; unknown, 9; Quapaw Indian Agency, 1224; total, 179,321.

NOTE 3.—The total population returned by the Indian census enumerators was 325,464. This included 189,349 reservation Indians and other Indians not taxed, 109,384 whites and 18,636 colored persons, 13 Chinese, and 9 unknown in Indian Territory, and 8073 whites, employees and others, on reservations and at posts.

NOTE 4.—The total number of Indians in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, on June 1, 1890, was 248,155, divided as follows:

Reservation Indians and other Indians not taxed.....	189,349
Taxed Indians counted in the general census.....	58,806
Total.....	248,155

The following tables, giving the constituent elements of the population of the United States, are compiled from the compendium of the eleventh census (1890):

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Males.	Females.	White.	Negro.*	Total foreign-born.
The United States	32,067,880	30,554,370	54,983,890	7,470,040	9,249,547
North Atlantic Division.....	8,677,798	8,723,747	17,121,981	269,906	3,888,177
Maine	332,590	328,496	659,263	1,190	78,961
New Hampshire.....	186,566	189,964	375,840	614	72,340
Vermont.....	169,327	163,095	331,418	937	44,088
Massachusetts.....	1,087,709	1,151,234	2,215,373	22,144	657,137
Rhode Island.....	168,025	177,481	337,859	7,393	106,305
Connecticut.....	369,538	376,720	733,438	12,302	183,601
New York.....	2,976,893	3,020,960	5,923,952	70,092	1,571,050
New Jersey.....	720,819	724,114	1,396,581	47,638	328,975
Pennsylvania.....	2,666,331	2,591,683	5,148,257	107,596	845,720
South Atlantic Division.....	4,418,769	4,439,151	5,592,149	3,262,600	208,525
Delaware	85,573	82,920	140,066	28,386	13,161
Maryland.....	515,991	526,699	826,493	215,657	94,296
District of Columbia.....	109,584	120,808	154,695	75,572	18,770
Virginia.....	824,278	831,702	1,020,122	635,438	18,374
West Virginia.....	390,285	372,509	730,077	32,690	18,883
North Carolina.....	799,149	818,798	1,055,382	561,018	3,702
South Carolina.....	574,337	578,812	462,008	688,034	6,270
Georgia.....	919,925	917,428	678,357	858,815	12,137
Florida.....	201,947	189,475	224,949	166,180	22,932
North Central Division.....	11,594,910	10,767,369	21,911,927	431,112	4,060,114
Ohio.....	1,855,736	1,816,580	3,584,805	87,113	459,293
Indiana.....	1,118,347	1,074,057	2,146,736	45,215	146,205
Illinois.....	1,072,368	1,854,043	3,768,472	57,028	842,347
Michigan.....	1,091,780	1,002,109	2,072,884	15,223	543,880
Wisconsin.....	874,951	811,920	1,680,473	2,444	519,199
Minnesota.....	695,321	606,505	1,296,159	3,683	467,356
Iowa.....	994,453	917,443	1,901,086	16,685	324,069
Missouri.....	1,385,238	1,293,046	2,528,458	150,184	234,869
North Dakota.....	101,590	81,129	182,123	373	81,461
South Dakota.....	180,250	148,558	327,200	541	91,055
Nebraska.....	572,824	486,086	1,046,888	8,013	202,542
Kansas.....	752,112	674,984	1,376,553	49,710	147,838
South Central Division.....	5,593,877	5,379,016	7,487,576	3,479,251	321,821
Kentucky.....	942,758	915,877	1,590,462	268,071	50,356
Tennessee.....	891,585	875,933	1,336,637	430,678	20,020
Alabama.....	757,456	755,561	833,718	678,489	14,777
Mississippi.....	649,687	639,913	844,851	742,559	7,952
Louisiana.....	559,350	559,237	558,395	539,193	49,747
Texas.....	1,172,553	1,062,070	1,745,935	488,171	152,956
Oklahoma.....	34,733	27,101	58,826	2,973	2,740
Arkansas.....	585,755	542,424	818,752	309,117	14,264
Western Division.....	1,782,526	1,245,087	2,870,257	27,081	770,910
Montana.....	87,882	44,277	127,271	1,490	43,096
Wyoming.....	39,343	21,362	59,275	922	14,913
Colorado.....	245,247	166,951	404,468	6,215	83,999
New Mexico.....	83,055	70,538	142,719	1,956	11,259
Arizona.....	36,571	23,049	55,580	1,357	18,795
Utah.....	110,463	97,442	205,899	588	53,064
Nevada.....	20,214	16,547	39,084	242	14,706
Idaho.....	51,290	33,095	82,018	201	17,456
Washington.....	217,562	131,828	349,513	1,602	90,005
Oregon.....	181,840	131,927	301,758	1,186	57,317
California.....	700,059	508,071	1,111,672	11,322	366,399

* Includes all persons of negro descent.

For a discussion of the principles involved in these tables, see MARRIAGE; also DIVORCE. Some of the facts, however, speak for themselves. That there should be more than twice as many widowed females as males, and considerably more divorced women than men, indicates unquestionably that men remarry more frequently than women. That in the

United States, the North Atlantic, and North Central States, the average number of persons to a family has steadily decreased during the last two decades, and that in the South and West it has slightly increased, is another significant fact. For the facts as to the increase or decrease of marriages and divorces in the United States, see those articles.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	MALES.					FEMALES.				
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.	Unknown.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.	Unknown.
The United States	19,945,576	11,205,228	815,437	49,101	52,538	17,183,988	11,126,196	2,154,615	71,895	17,676
N. Atlantic Division....	5,072,962	3,322,329	259,877	10,007	12,623	4,683,294	3,293,929	726,481	15,182	4,861
Maine.....	181,365	137,419	12,100	1,094	612	159,967	137,184	29,938	1,337	70
New Hampshire.....	99,233	78,658	7,684	800	101	91,333	78,526	18,943	1,084	78
Vermont.....	91,690	70,140	6,808	584	105	77,986	69,956	14,438	677	38
Massachusetts.....	626,862	421,946	35,513	1,394	1,994	619,690	421,259	107,273	2,484	528
Rhode Island.....	97,152	64,852	5,488	391	142	64,838	55,556	759	759	72
Connecticut.....	212,478	144,054	11,542	846	618	197,010	143,263	34,880	1,298	251
New York.....	1,723,617	1,155,661	91,009	2,210	4,387	1,600,156	1,149,995	265,456	3,395	1,958
New Jersey.....	420,454	278,957	20,119	363	926	389,141	276,345	57,763	505	300
Pennsylvania.....	1,620,111	970,642	60,614	2,316	3,648	1,451,746	952,563	182,225	3,583	1,566
S. Atlantic Division....	2,881,662	1,436,089	94,417	2,910	3,690	2,657,307	1,448,454	323,090	6,132	4,207
Delaware.....	52,028	31,159	2,306	40	40	45,484	31,192	6,154	70	20
Maryland.....	322,428	178,105	14,125	321	622	303,348	179,888	42,583	582	298
Dist. of Columbia.....	66,084	39,639	3,376	146	339	66,775	39,675	13,929	314	115
Virginia.....	545,793	257,559	19,895	533	538	509,779	258,116	61,867	1,039	891
West Virginia.....	253,962	127,820	7,1487	359	648	225,733	127,576	18,389	674	137
North Carolina.....	529,705	253,635	15,074	378	357	502,554	257,919	56,889	836	600
South Carolina.....	378,798	182,524	10,637	210	168	352,076	184,998	40,617	483	668
Georgia.....	603,240	298,504	16,823	579	680	543,360	302,097	69,125	1,551	1,286
Florida.....	129,656	66,955	4,694	344	298	108,189	67,024	13,187	583	192
N. Central Division....	7,157,290	4,114,822	285,802	23,230	13,766	5,996,437	4,008,449	636,284	32,230	3,969
Ohio.....	1,109,172	691,197	50,200	3,567	1,591	991,349	689,347	129,443	5,717	724
Indiana.....	670,867	417,733	29,392	3,000	855	584,186	413,523	71,252	4,711	385
Illinois.....	1,221,422	697,129	47,844	3,117	2,596	1,035,123	694,531	119,131	4,926	332
Michigan.....	638,209	420,700	28,482	2,805	1,584	522,867	416,304	59,080	3,493	305
Wisconsin.....	545,698	304,210	22,453	1,039	951	461,884	302,859	44,685	2,179	322
Minnesota.....	451,683	226,159	14,992	1,071	1,416	354,126	223,403	27,475	1,178	263
Iowa.....	619,162	349,345	23,387	1,993	566	517,787	349,983	46,625	2,880	168
Missouri.....	878,806	407,600	34,569	2,231	2,032	739,428	467,802	82,899	3,201	436
North Dakota.....	67,698	31,611	2,025	129	127	47,022	31,172	2,809	106	20
South Dakota.....	116,151	59,647	3,818	426	208	84,778	58,290	5,120	328	42
Nebraska.....	368,994	190,318	11,140	1,296	1,076	278,987	187,579	17,995	1,394	131
Kansas.....	469,428	263,173	16,991	1,756	764	378,900	263,506	29,680	2,117	781
S. Central Division....	3,654,943	1,792,119	130,422	6,840	9,533	3,174,570	1,794,653	393,548	12,860	3,385
Kentucky.....	603,227	313,436	23,692	1,260	1,143	534,740	313,880	63,997	2,461	799
Tennessee.....	577,598	290,440	21,198	1,154	1,105	515,379	291,665	65,859	2,660	370
Alabama.....	496,308	244,803	15,008	744	593	450,032	245,952	58,018	1,419	140
Mississippi.....	431,069	202,798	14,778	581	401	384,334	204,104	49,616	1,233	536
Louisiana.....	365,865	178,220	13,372	632	1,261	327,686	179,458	50,270	1,193	630
Texas.....	777,933	362,324	26,848	1,497	3,951	629,785	360,228	2,568	633	63
Oklahoma.....	21,598	12,005	996	99	35	14,888	11,244	912	49	8
Arkansas.....	381,345	188,093	14,530	873	914	317,726	187,504	35,648	1,277	269
Western Division.....	1,178,718	539,869	44,919	6,114	12,906	672,380	409,710	75,252	5,491	1,254
Montana.....	62,445	22,772	1,706	253	706	23,341	18,766	1,906	217	47
Wyoming.....	27,706	10,308	859	144	326	11,634	8,777	823	105	23
Colorado.....	161,033	75,735	6,044	736	1,699	87,490	69,100	9,575	712	74
New Mexico.....	50,985	29,343	2,479	207	41	36,431	28,931	4,877	290	9
Arizona.....	25,972	9,536	918	104	41	12,628	8,764	1,505	62	....
Utah.....	74,266	33,823	1,802	214	358	57,408	33,790	5,768	492	44
Nevada.....	19,990	8,023	771	166	264	8,924	6,282	1,051	125	165
Idaho.....	35,393	14,500	1,120	191	86	18,799	12,987	1,191	111	7
Washington.....	146,851	63,538	5,145	761	1,267	69,902	56,380	4,686	447	113
Oregon.....	118,827	56,262	4,853	752	1,146	73,129	52,312	5,893	537	75
California.....	455,250	216,029	19,222	2,586	6,972	272,694	194,621	37,666	2,393	697

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES.			PERSONS TO A FAMILY.		
	1890.	1880.	1870.	1890.	1880.	1870.
The United States.....	12,690,152	9,945,916	7,579,363	4.93	5.04	5.09
North Atlantic Division.....	3,712,242	3,023,741	2,407,494	4.69	4.80	4.92
South Atlantic Division.....	1,687,767	1,463,361	1,132,621	5.25	5.10	5.17
North Central Division.....	4,598,605	3,389,017	2,480,311	4.86	5.12	5.22
South Central Division.....	2,071,120	1,697,550	1,242,411	5.30	5.25	5.18
Western Division.....	620,418	372,247	226,526	4.88	4.75	4.37

PERSONS OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	PERSONS OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE.		NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICANS.				GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.			
	Number.	Per cent.	Canada and Newfoundland.	Mexico.	Central and South America.	Cuba and West Indies.	England.	Scotland.	Wales.	Ireland.
The United States.....	20,676,046	33.02	980,938	77,853	6,198	23,256	909,092	242,231	100,079	1,871,500
North Atlantic Division.....	8,215,838	47.21	490,229	651	2,230	7,235	446,921	119,382	51,081	1,241,116
South Atlantic Division.....	533,380	6.02	5,412	207	535	12,978	21,520	7,144	1,787	48,003
North Central Division.....	9,020,354	43.02	401,660	685	856	1,036	312,308	81,019	34,403	433,719
South Central Division.....	833,038	7.59	8,153	52,129	540	1,105	24,611	6,493	1,988	43,198
Western Division.....	1,473,436	48.67	75,484	24,181	2,031	902	103,642	27,593	10,820	105,473

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	GERMANIC NATIONS.					SCANDINAVIAN NATIONS.		
	Germany.	Austria.	Holland.	Belgium and Luxemburg.	Switzerland.	Norway.	Sweden.	Denmark.
The United States.....	2,784,894	123,271	81,828	25,521	104,069	322,665	478,041	132,543
North Atlantic Division.....	868,321	61,549	17,759	5,883	24,208	16,084	87,756	15,197
South Atlantic Division.....	81,449	2,154	341	228	1,615	660	1,797	623
North Central Division.....	1,570,112	39,175	61,309	17,081	54,415	283,847	335,871	89,631
South Central Division.....	114,645	10,410	532	703	6,093	1,807	4,723	1,388
Western Division.....	120,367	9,983	1,887	1,626	17,538	20,267	47,897	25,702

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	SLAV NATIONS.				LATIN NATIONS.					ASIATIC NATIONS.			All others.
	Russia.	Hungary.	Bohemia.	Poland.	France.	Italy.	Spain.	Portugal.	Greece.	China.	Japan.	India.*	
The United States.....	182,644	62,435	118,106	147,440	113,174	182,580	6,185	15,996	1,887	106,688	2,292	4,403	41,729
North Atlantic Division.....	92,896	45,540	12,254	56,694	40,809	118,621	2,404	4,674	604	6,686	393	1,966	19,034
South Atlantic Division.....	5,900	1,153	1,708	2,471	2,509	4,894	621	151	167	641	54	240	1,363
North Central Division.....	69,907	13,850	99,514	84,104	38,615	21,837	706	515	404	2,525	149	1,264	8,905
South Central Division.....	2,713	866	3,687	2,458	14,376	12,314	1,314	236	267	1,359	31	328	3,351
Western Division.....	11,228	1,026	943	1,713	16,865	24,914	1,140	10,420	445	95,477	1,665	605	9,076

* Includes Asia not specified.

POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS are savings-banks (*q. v.*) conducted in connection with post-offices and under the management of the State. The United States and Germany, alone among the great civilized countries of the world, do not have postal savings-banks.

The establishment of post-office savings-banks was first effectually mooted in England in 1860 by Mr. C. W. Sykes of Huddersfield, whose suggestion was cordially received by Mr. Gladstone, then chancellor of the exchequer.

A bill—entitled “An Act to grant additional facilities for depositing small savings at interest, with the security of Government for the due repayment thereof”—received the royal assent on the 17th of May, 1861, and was brought into operation on the 16th of September. The banks first opened were situated in places theretofore unprovided with private savings-banks. Within two years nearly all the money-order offices of the United Kingdom became savings-banks; about 367,000 new deposit accounts were opened, repre-

senting an aggregate payment of £4,702,000, including a sum of more than £500,000 transferred from trustee savings-banks, the accounts of which were closed.

In 1891, on a single day, there were as many as 72,869 persons making deposits, who laid by in one day \$790,110. The daily average number of deposits was 29,412, and the average amount of deposits each day was \$350,900. During the year there were 992,155 new accounts opened. The total number of persons in the United Kingdom using the privilege is over 5,000,000.

An interesting department of the English postal savings-banks is thus described in a recent report of the British office :

"It will be remembered that on the 1st of September last an act came into operation which relieved parents from the obligation of paying fees for the education of their children in elementary schools, and that the deficiency thereby caused in the income of the various schools is now made good by grants from the public exchequer, representing in the aggregate over £2,000,000 per annum. It was desired by the Government that strenuous efforts should be made to divert into the savings-banks some portion, at least, of this large sum, and that parents should be induced to train their children at the earliest age to take advantage of the various opportunities for thrift offered by the post-office. Accordingly . . . on the day on which school pence used formerly to be paid the manager receives the pence brought by the children and gives in exchange a corresponding amount of stamps affixed to slips, which the children take home to their parents as evidence of the transaction. At certain intervals these slips are collected, and a clerk from the nearest post-office attends at the school for the purpose of opening accounts and receiving further deposits in the individual names of the children. About 1400 schools adopted the scheme, and others are added daily. It is estimated that the school children had within three months deposited a sum of about £14,000, and it is anticipated that savings of over £60,000 will have been received by the end of the year."

Steps have been taken, too, to interest railway employees in a similar plan. In the Colonies, too, it has had great success. In India, as in England, the use of the postal savings-banks has extended the opportunity of thrift into many parts of the country where, otherwise, it would be impossible to afford such accommodation without incurring a cost too great to be borne by the business of the district.

One of the minor advantages of the system is that it gives the Government a sum to be borrowed in case of necessity, as the cheapest and most popular form of loan.

IN ENGLAND.

The principal features of the regulations governing the service are as follows :

Postal savings-bank offices are open for the receipt and payment of money daily.

At these offices ordinary deposits of one shilling, or any number of shillings, will be received, subject to the limits of £30 in one year, ending December 31, and £200 in all, inclusive of interest. A depositor may, not more than once in any savings-bank year, deposit money to replace money previously withdrawn in one entire sum during that year. In addition, deposits will be received for immediate investment in government stock, and in connection with government insurance and annuities.

Any person desirous of saving one shilling by means of penny contributions for deposit in the postal savings-bank may do so by purchasing with any penny so saved a penny stamp, and affixing it to a form to be obtained at any post-office. Instructions as to this form are printed thereon.

On opening an account a person must state his Christian name or names and surname, occupation, and residence. He must also sign a declaration to the effect that he takes no benefit from any savings-bank account, unless it be as personal representative of a deceased depositor, or as a member of a friendly society. If such declaration, or any part thereof, is not true, the deposits will be liable to forfeiture.

Every deposit must be entered at the time in the de-

positor's book by the postmaster, or other person receiving it, who must affix to the entry his signature and the stamp of his office.

In addition to the receipt in the book, the depositor will receive an acknowledgment by post from the savings-bank department in London.

Interest at the rate of £2 10s. per cent. per annum, which is at the rate of 6d. a year, or 1/2d. a calendar month for each complete pound) is allowed until the sum due to a depositor amounts to £200. When the balance declared on ordinary account, inclusive of accumulated interest and dividend, exceeds £200, no interest is allowed on the amount in excess of £200. The calculation of interest is made from the first day of the calendar month next following the day on which a pound has been deposited or completed, up to the last day of the calendar month preceding the day on which a warrant for repayment is issued; and after each 31st day of December the interest is added to the principal.

When a depositor wishes to make a withdrawal from his account, he should fill up and forward to the savings-bank department a notice of withdrawal, which he can obtain at any postal savings-bank office. He will then receive by post a warrant, which he should present, together with his book, at the post-office where payment is to be made, and the postmaster will take from the depositor a receipt on the warrant.

IN FRANCE.

Of all the departments of the Government the post-office is the one which is known best, and whose services are most highly appreciated.

Private savings-banks can, in the majority of cases, only have their windows open for deposits and payments for two or three hours per week. The 7000 post-offices, however, which are branches of the postal savings-banks, are open every day, including Sundays and holidays, and during the greater part of the day.

The public can draw money and pay money at every post-office, and can draw at one post-office money deposited in another.

Besides these highly appreciated facilities, the direct management of the postal savings-bank by the Government, represented by the administration of posts, offers absolute security to depositors.

By reason of these facilities and this security the postal savings-bank has been enabled to prosper and develop, altho it only pays 3 per cent. interest; a lower rate than that paid by private savings-banks, which existed before the establishment of the postal savings-bank, and which still exist.

Even communes where there is no post-office, and, therefore, no agency of the savings-bank, are visited at least once a day by the rural letter-carriers, who can serve as intermediaries between the post-offices and the depositors for making deposits. It may, therefore, be said that there is not a commune and not a hamlet in France where savings cannot be collected.

STATISTICS OF POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS.

COUNTRIES.	When introduced.	Date of Statistics.	Number of Banks.	Depositors.	Value.
England.	1861	1893	283 ¹	4,456,086 ²	\$121,763,910 ³
Scotland. ....	..	1893	27 ¹	174,438 ²	3,707,395 ³
Ireland. ....	..	1893	18 ¹	19,790 ²	7,074,335 ³
Belgium.	1865	1893	854	960,468	78,030,335 ⁴
Italy.	1875	1892	4666	2,523,796	45,138,048 ⁵
France.	1881	1893	7000 ⁶	2,809,442	122,152,324
Austria.	1883	1893	5095	994,977	33,237,123 ⁴
Sweden.	1884	1890	..	276,422 ⁷	1,417,927 ⁸
Hungary.	1886	1893	3895	211,310	2,967,203 ⁴
Netherlands. .	1886	1889	..	54,477 ⁹	4,595,834 ¹⁰
Finland.	1885	1889	..	31,204 ¹¹	152,861
Russia.					
Totals for 11 countries. . .				12,689,410	\$420,237,895

¹ 1890. ² Accounts of the end of 1890. ³ Received in 1893. ⁴ Amount at end of 1893. ⁵ Deposits during 1892. ⁶ Post-offices in France and Algiers made agencies in 1892. ⁷ Deposits in 1890. ⁸ Deposited in 1890. ⁹ Accounts opened in 1899. ¹⁰ Deposited in 1889. ¹¹ Deposits in 1889.

These statistics are taken for the latest years from the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1895, and for the earlier years from Mr. Wanamaker's investigation of the subject, described in his report as postmaster-general in 1892. They show that, in Europe alone, over 12,000,000 of people use the postal savings-banks and deposit some \$420,000,000 a year. Remembering those who use this system in Australia, India, and other colonies it is small wonder that Mr. Wanamaker recommended that the United States should adopt the system and that several bills to that effect are now pending in Congress.

See Report of the Postmaster-General for 1892.

POSTAL SERVICE.—I. HISTORY. The earliest postal service of the world was probably that of the trained runners or couriers who carried official and military messages between the cities of Greece and Rome, developing into the heralds and nuncios and embassies between governments in later times.

At first they carried simply official messages. Gradually they came to carry private messages. Then all letters of the fifteenth and perhaps the fourteenth century in England evidently were carried by a system of messengers. The University of Paris organized a system of messengers in the thirteenth century. Sir Brian Tuke, in 1533, is described as Master of the Messengers.

History.

In 1635 Thomas Witherings was authorized to run a post night and day between London and Edinburgh, "to go thither and back again in six days." Eight lines of post were established. The postage was *ad* for less than 80 miles, *8d.* to any place in Scotland. In 1685 a penny post was established in London and suburbs. It was a private speculation, but, on succeeding, was annexed to the Crown. In 1783 mail-coaches were substituted for boys on horseback. In 1837 Rowland Hill published a pamphlet, analyzing the postal system and showing £282,308 as the probable outgoings for receipt and delivery and £144,209 as the probable outgoings for transit. In other words, the expenditure which hinged upon the *distance* the letters had to be conveyed was £144,000, and that which had nothing to do with distance was £282,000. Applying to these figures the estimated number of letters and newspapers (126,000,000) passing through the office, there resulted a probable average cost of $\frac{3}{8}$ of a penny for each, of which $\frac{1}{8}$ was cost of transit and $\frac{2}{8}$ cost of receipt, delivery, etc. Taking into account, however, the much greater weight of newspaper and franked letters as compared with chargeable letters, the apparent average cost of *transit* became, by this estimate, but about $\frac{1}{10}$, or less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of a penny.

From this Hill argued that as it would take a nine-fold weight to make the expense of transit amount to one farthing; he further inferred that, taxation apart, the charge ought to be precisely the same for every packet of moderate weight, without reference to the number of its enclosures.

Parliament was induced to appoint a committee, which sustained Mr. Hill and showed that postage was extensively evaded by all classes of society, correspondence suppressed, more especially among the middle and working classes of the people, and thus,

in consequence, the cost unnecessarily high. As a result, Rowland Hill was placed in charge. A bill was passed, enabling reforms to be put into effect. A penny was adopted as the uniform rate for every inland letter not above half an ounce. Facilities for prepayment were afforded by the introduction of postage-stamps, and double postage was levied on letters not prepaid. Arrangements were made for the registration of letters; and the money-order office, by a reduction of the commission charged for orders, became available to an extent which it had never been before.

As far back as 1792 a money-order office had been established as a medium for sailors and soldiers to transmit their savings, and its benefit had afterward been extended to the general public; but the commission charged had been so high that it was only employed to a very limited extent. The immediate result of the changes introduced in 1840 was an enormous increase in the amount of correspondence, arising in part from the cessation of the illicit traffic in letters, which had so largely prevailed before; but

for some years there was a deficit in the post-office revenue.

With the development of the railway system came the carriage of letters by train, adding to the expenses of the post-office, but gradually the former gross revenue of the post-office was exceeded in 1851, and the net revenue in 1863. Many reforms were introduced: (1) The establishment of postal savings-banks (1861); (2) the transfer to the State of the telegraphic service (1870); (3) the introduction of postal cards (October, 1870); and (4) the establishment (1883) of a parcel post.

The French postal system was founded by Louis XI. (1464). In 1627 France originated a postal money-transmission system. Mazarin's edict of 3d December, 1643, shows that France at that date had a parcel post as well as a letter post. Important postal reforms in France are: The extension of postal facilities to all the communes of the country; the adoption of postage stamps (1840); the organization of an excellent system of not only transmitting but insuring articles of declared value, whatever their nature (1850); the issue of postal notes payable to bearer (1860); the establishment of a post-office library (1878); the creation of postal savings-banks (1880).

The German postal system also began early. In Strasburg a messenger code existed as early as 1443. A postal service was organized at Nuremberg in 1570.

The Prussian system began with the Great Elector, and with the establishment, in 1646, of a government post from Cleves to Memel. Frederick II. largely extended it. The first mail steam-packet was built in 1821; the first transmission of mails by railway was in 1847; the beginning of the postal administration of the telegraphs was in 1849; and, by the treaty of postal union with Austria, the germ was virtually set of the International Postal Union.

The first postal service established in any portion of what is now the United States was probably made by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1639.

In 1672 the government of the Colony of New York established a "post to goe monthly from New York to Boston"; and notice was given to "those that bee disposed to send letters, to bring them to the secretary's office, where in a lockt box they shall bee preserved till the messenger calls for them, all persons paying the post before the bagg bee sealed up."

In 1692 the English Government put the colonial postal service in charge of a deputy postmaster-general, and in 1710, by formal act of Parliament (9 Queen Anne, chap. x.), the first organized system for the transmission of the mails in the Colonies was created.

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin, who had been postmaster at Philadelphia, was made postmaster-general. A penny post was established at Philadelphia; in 1756 the first stage, probably, in the Colonies began to carry the mails between Philadelphia and New York. In 1758 newspapers,

which previously had been carried in the mails free, were charged with postage. Other reforms and improvements were begun, so that in 1774, the last of Franklin's administration under the Crown, the net revenue of the postal service was over £3000. On January 30 of that year Franklin was removed from office, as he himself calls it, "by a freak of the ministers," due to his pronounced advocacy of the cause of the Colonies; but in July, 1775, he was appointed, by the Second Continental Congress, "Postmaster-General of the United Colonies." When the Constitution

England.

The Conti-
nent.

The United
States.

Cheap
Postage.

went into operation, Congress, by act of September 22, 1789, provided for the "temporary establishment of the post-office," the regulations to be "the same as they last were under the resolutions and ordinances of the late Congress."

In 1792 an act was passed to establish a general post-office.

So insignificant was this department that in 1790 Samuel Osgood, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, gravely discussed the question whether the Postmaster-General should not be required to occupy the room at the seat of government where the mails were received and dispatched, in order that he might personally superintend the work.

But the service rapidly grew. In 1816 better rates were granted. In 1834 railroads were first used. In 1851 a great advance was made toward cheap postage. Letters not over one-half ounce, prepaid, could be sent 3000 miles for three cents. In 1855 the registry system was authorized; in 1863 the free delivery system; in 1864 the money order system; in 1885 the special delivery. Other reforms have been the introduction of railway post-offices and, very recently, electric street postal cars; the system of delivery, postal cards, and return cards, etc., etc.

In 1874 a Universal Postal Union was formed, mainly owing to the efforts of Dr. von Stephan of Germany, tho it had been proposed to the various countries by the United States in 1862.

Universal Postal Union.

The approximate number of letters and postal cards transmitted annually in the mails of European countries is as follows: Great Britain and Ire-

land, 1,500,000,000; Germany, 1,200,000,000; France, 700,000,000; Austria-Hungary, 600,000,000; Italy, 250,000,000; Russia, 200,000,000; Belgium, 130,000,000; Spain, 120,000,000; Switzerland, 110,000,000; Netherlands, 100,000,000; Sweden, 100,000,000.

The number of pieces of postal matter of all kinds which pass through the mails of the United States annually is about 3,800,000,000. The annual aggregate number of letters transmitted through the post-offices of the world may be estimated at 8,000,000,000, and of newspapers, 5,000,000,000.

The United States transmits 71 pieces of mail per capita to its population; Great Britain, 61; Germany, 41, France, 37.

The main expenses of the department in 1894 were railroad transportation (\$25,661,567), payment of postmasters (\$15,889,700), free delivery service (\$11,239,251), clubs (\$8,759,386), railway clubs (\$6,878,194), star routes (contract routes) (\$5,806,855), railway postal car service (\$2,921,957), mail messenger service (\$1,208,972), foreign mails (\$1,250,154).

Expenses.

The Postmaster-Generals assert the cause of the deficiency in the department is that so much matter for other departments is carried free. The report for 1894 says (p. 4): "If the free business transacted by this department for the other departments of the Government were paid at regular rates, as has at times been suggested, the post-office department would be self-sustaining." Says Mr. Wanamaker in his Report (1893): "Bundles of wire six feet high, and six feet around, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden cases that sometimes require three men to handle them, millions of blanks of the census office, are piled into the post-offices.

Cause of Deficiency.

The reason for it is, that the Post-Office Department is compelled to carry anything sent under a penalty frank, and finally franks are used by all the departments and their agents for the purpose of carrying everything they choose to send."

II. STATISTICS.

The following data for the United States are taken from the annual reports of the Postmaster-General:

Year Ending June 30	Post-Offices.	Extent of Post-routes.	Revenue of the Department.	Railway Mail Service.		Total Expenditure of the Department.
				Number of Employees.	Annual Expenditure.	
	<i>Number.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>		<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1869.....	27,106	233,731	18,344,511	1,129	973,560	23,668,132
1870.....	28,492	231,232	19,772,221	1,106	1,109,140	23,998,838
1871.....	39,945	238,359	20,037,045	1,382	1,441,020	24,390,104
1872.....	31,863	251,398	21,915,426	1,647	1,709,546	26,658,192
1873.....	33,244	256,210	22,996,742	1,895	1,958,876	29,084,946
1874.....	34,294	269,097	26,471,072	2,175	2,186,330	32,126,415
1875.....	35,547	277,873	26,791,361	2,242	2,410,490	33,611,399
1876.....	36,383	281,798	28,644,198	2,415	2,504,140	33,263,488
1877.....	37,345	292,820	27,531,585	2,500	2,484,846	33,486,322
1878.....	39,258	301,966	29,277,517	2,608	2,579,013	34,165,084
1879.....	40,855	316,711	30,041,983	2,600	2,624,890	33,419,899
1880.....	42,989	343,888	33,315,479	2,946	2,850,980	36,544,804
1881.....	44,512	344,006	36,785,398	3,177	3,108,801	39,592,566
1882.....	46,231	343,018	41,876,410	3,570	3,486,779	40,482,021
1883.....	47,858	353,166	45,508,693	3,855	3,972,071	43,282,944
1884.....	50,017	359,530	43,335,958	3,963	3,688,032	47,224,560
1885.....	51,252	395,251	42,560,843	4,387	4,246,210	50,046,235
1886.....	53,614	368,060	43,948,423	4,573	4,477,177	51,004,744
1887.....	55,157	373,142	48,837,610	4,851	4,694,562	53,006,194
1888.....	57,376	403,977	52,695,177	5,094	4,981,366	56,468,315
1889.....	58,999	411,159	56,175,611	5,448	5,250,838	61,376,847
1890.....	62,401	427,999	60,882,097	5,836	5,562,844	65,930,717
1891.....	64,329	439,027	65,931,786	6,032	5,694,381	71,662,463
1892.....	67,119	447,591	70,930,476	6,417	6,480,684	76,323,762
1893.....	68,493	453,833	75,896,933	6,645	6,733,410	81,074,104
1894.....	69,805	454,740	75,080,479	6,852	6,989,449	84,324,414
1895.....	70,069		76,983,128			86,799,172

Mr. Bissell in his Report for 1894 says, that the one great, and in his opinion unnecessary loss of revenue to the department arises from the undue amount of mail matter transmitted at second-class rates (one cent a pound). The 256,000,000 pounds of this matter carried in 1893, added to the 44,000,000 carried free, was, he says, about two-thirds of the weight of the mails. He says this rate is abused to carry trashy serials, advertising sheets, bogus papers, sample copies, etc., etc. He recommends the careful modification of this law, to distinguish between real journals and publications and advertising sheets, etc. (But see below.)

July 1, 1893, there were 610 free delivery offices. July 1, 1894, there were 10,264 domestic money-order offices, which transmitted, the 12 months previous, \$138,793,579. There were 2625 international money-order offices which transmitted abroad \$13,792,455, and received \$6,568,493. There were issued 7,765,310 postal notes valued at \$1,640,094. The gross revenue received from the money-order business was \$960,347. The number of pieces of mail matter received at the dead letter office was 7,101,044, of which 2,975,998 were restored to their owners containing money or notes, exclusive of merchandise valued at \$1,000,663. The sale of stamps, cards, etc., was \$70,239,910 in value. There were mailed at pound rates, papers and periodicals aggregating 254,799,306 pounds; 44,962,995 pounds of matter were carried free. There were mailed 2,383,730,000 letters; 468,490,000 postal cards; 1,429,450,000 pieces of second-class matter; 589,180,000 pieces third-class; 48,240,000 fourth-class; 23,166 post-office appointments were made, 1028 being Presidential post-office appointments; 351 post-office burglars were arrested; 1621 offices were burglarized during the year; 558 offices burned; 50 postal cars burned and wrecked; 48 mail trains and stages robbed; 5926 complaints were received concerning registered mail, and 56,877 concerning unregistered; of 41,419 cases investigated, no loss occurred in 6731 cases, leaving 56,072 with a claimed loss—this is less than one complaint for 87,000 pieces carried; 29,614 employees were on the civil service list.

Miscellaneous Statistics.

The employees of the Post-office are expected to work eight hours a day besides what Sunday work is necessary. Overtime is paid for, though too often the employees have to contest for such pay. Their wages are \$600, \$800, \$850 and \$1000, according to the time they have worked in the department. The number of postmasters is about 67,368; clerks, 111,875; letter carriers, 10,892; sub-contractors, 11,478; mail messengers and railway postal clerks, 13,762. (*The Story of Our Post Office.*)

The number of post-offices in the United Kingdom, March, 1834, was 20,016. The staff of officers was 74,819 (10,908 women), besides 61,000 who did not hold permanent positions. There were delivered the year ending March 31, 1894, 1,812,000,000 letters; 248,500,000 post cards; 574,300,000 book packages; 164,900,000 newspapers; 547,000,000 parcels; 10,524,774 money orders valued at £28,720,820. The revenue exclusive of the postal telegraph was £10,472,875; the expenses, £7,738,602. There are 46 miles of pneumatic tubing in London.

(See also POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS and TELEGRAPH.)

Great Britain.

III. POSTAL REFORMS.—In his report for 1892 Mr. Wanamaker outlines his ideal postal system:

"My ideal for the American postal service is a system modeled upon a district plan, with fewer offices, and those grouped around central offices and under thorough supervision. By this means at least 20,000 offices could be abandoned that produce no revenue to the department. In the place of every abolished non-money-order and non-registry office might be put an automatic stamp-selling machine and a letter-box to receive mail. With the money saved should be instituted a system of collection and delivery by mounted carriers, bicycles, and star-route and messenger contractors, and the free delivery gradually spread all over the country. The classes of postage should be reduced to three, and the rate of postage the world over to one cent for each half-ounce for the average weight of a letter is now three-eighths of an ounce. I would indemnify, to the extent of \$10, for every lost registered letter."

Mr. Wanamaker goes on to recommend

postal telegraph and telephone, pneumatic tubes, etc. Many would go much further. Mr. J. L. Cowles, in his *A General Freight and Passenger Post* (1896), advocates the government ownership of postal, baggage, and express cars, and the operation of these services by the government, paying the railroads a reasonable sum for hauling the cars. He shows (p. 112) that the annual saving to the people would be \$22,670,257 per year, or more than enough to pay the entire equipment in a single year, after which there would be a clear gain of \$22,000,000 annually, and far better service than now.

He shows from Postmaster-General Vilas's report for 1887, that the Government then paid the railroads merely for rent of the 432 postal cars then in use (besides the 8 cents a pound for transportation), \$1,881,240 per year, while the cars could easily be re-duplicated for \$1,600,000. On one line alone \$50,037 was paid per year for rent of cars that could be built for \$17,500.

He shows (p. 68) that for transportation the Government pays the railroads on an average 8 cents a pound for an average haul of not over 4.42 miles; yet the express companies deliver goods from houses in New York to houses in Chicago for \$3 per hundred pounds, and certain transcontinental roads have been fighting for nine years for the legal right to carry foreign books, carpets, cutlery, etc., from New Orleans to San Francisco at eight-tenths of a cent a pound. Some trains (he says) get their entire cost from their receipts from the Post Office. Yet people wonder that the post-office has a deficit.

Extreme individualists would take the post-office out of government operation.

Mr. Frederick Millar, in *A Plea for Liberty* (chap. ix.), criticizing the English postal system, argues that all the reforms in the post-office system have been forced on it from without; that the very monopoly enjoyed by the State is a tacit acknowledgment of its inability to compete with private enterprise; that postage is still very much dearer than it need be; that its operations are not conducted in a business way; that in 1887 the postmaster-general declared that the theft of postal orders had "reached portentous dimensions"; that the authorities of the post-office are unjust to their employees, and the employees arbitrary and impudent to the public; that there have been strikes in the post-offices, as in any business; that the parcel post has failed to compete with the railroads; that the postal savings-banks are not as well managed as private banks, are not open at hours convenient for the working-classes; that the telegraph service does not pay; that at Christmas-time the post-office is disorganized; in a word, that the State post-office stands "self-condemned."

To this it is answered by socialists that the above writer, living where both post and telegraph are in government hands, has not had much experience of the delights of private ownership of the means of communication. The telegraph rates of the private Western Union Company of the United States are more than twice those of England (State system), and the accommodation, or lack of accommodation, the private

Socialist View.

telegraph gives to the small places is well-nigh atrocious. In the larger cities, where it pays, private companies *might* give better accommodations (tho usually they do not) than the State, but the State thinks of the whole people, and provides accommodation where it does not pay. The United States has 70,064 post-offices; the private Western Union Company has not half that number of offices. The United States postal service carries packages to small places as cheap as the private express companies do to larger places, and to thousands of places where there is no private express service. Undoubtedly, no postal service is perfect and reforms everywhere can be made, but the United States postal service has been more progressive than private companies, pays its employees higher wages, charges lower rates, has its offices open longer hours, for example, than the private telegraph offices, and accommodates far more of the population. (See TELEGRAPH; TELEPHONE; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.)

References: *Reports of the Postmaster-general*; M. Cushing's *The Story of Our Post-office* (Boston, 1893); J. W. Hyde's *A Hundred Years by Post* (London, 1891); J. L. Cowles' *A General Freight and Passenger Post* (1896).

POVERTY. For the statistics of poverty, see PAUPERISM; WEALTH (section, Distribution of); UNEMPLOYMENT; WAGES.

We consider here the meaning of poverty, the causes of poverty, and the means proposed for its prevention or relief.

I. WHAT POVERTY MEANS.

We quote upon this point a statement, written by Mr. Ira Steward, and published in the Fourth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor (1873). He says:

"Poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals. The problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind will be solved when the masses are no longer poor. Poverty makes the poor poorer, and independence impossible. It corrupts judges, ministers, legislators, and statesmen. It decides marriages, shortens human life, hinders education, and embarrasses progress in every direction. It gives rise, directly and indirectly, to more anxiety, suffering, and crime than all other causes combined. Poverty crams cities, and their tenement houses, with people whose conduct and votes endanger the Republic. The dangerous classes are always *poor*. There is a closer relation between poverty and slavery than the average abolitionist ever recognized. . . . The anti-slavery *idea* was that every man had the right to go and come at his will. The labor movement asks how much this abstract right is worth, without the power to exercise it. . . . The laborer instinctively feels that something of slavery still remains, or that something of freedom is yet to come, and he is not much interested in the anti-slavery theory of liberty. He wants a *fact*, which the labor movement undertakes to supply.

"But has not the middle class its poverty—a poverty that should excite the most anxiety, and the most searching inquiry?

They are a large majority of the people, and their poverty is generally carefully concealed. . . . The middle classes have the strongest motives for never making any parade or public complaint of their poverty. To advertise oneself destitute, is to be without credit. . . . Poverty that publishes or argues one's incapacity closes many a door to more profitable or advantageous situations or promotions. The more expensive and superior style of living adopted by the middle classes, must, therefore, be considered in the light of an *investment*, made from the soundest considerations of expediency. . . . Very few among them are saving money; many of them are in debt; and all they can earn for years is, in many cases, mortgaged, to pay such debt—'debt that increases the load of the future, with the burden which the present cannot bear.' . . . The poverty of the great middle classes consists in the fact that they have only barely enough to cover up their poverty, and that they are within a few days of want, if through sickness or other misfortune employment suddenly stops. . . .

"But the most alarming fact concerning the poverty of the *native* middle classes in this commonwealth is that, for two or three decades past, marriages and births have so far decreased among them that we are nearly or quite justified in saying that they are now dying faster than their children are being born; and that it is to foreign sources (and to Americans born in other States), and to the lower class of native-born, we must credit the present increase in our census returns. . . . With the mass of intelligent people, early or late marriages, and few or no children, is largely a question of poverty and wealth. . . .

"Poverty, however, falls most crushingly on woman. In all countries, and in all ages, among the lower and middle classes, she has worked harder, and for less pay, than men. A woman who has no resources for a living except from the labor of her own hands, is tolerably sure to become in time, either the poor man's slave, or the rich man's plaything; to marry for a home, or do worse. To make prostitution unnecessary is a part of the problem of social science; but prostitution means getting a living.

The Cause of Intemperance.

The science that will solve this problem will easily dispose of war, intemperance, financial convulsions, and a dozen other evils that now disturb the peace of the race. Poverty is the mainspring of selfishness, for it is the destitution of the mass of mankind that prevents them from thinking and doing for others. As Mill says, 'all their thoughts are required for themselves.' . . . The two classes most peculiarly open to the temptation of intemperance are the very poor and the very rich young men. . . . The steps of some young men turn finally to the light, warm, welcome saloon, not from force of appetite, for they have never yet drunk enough

to create the craving for stimulating beverages, nor because it is fashionable, for their wages are not sufficient to lift them up to that level ; but because they are without homes, and are starving for society.

“The sons of the wealthy have homes, and all that money can bring for their entertainment. But in many cases they have nothing whatever to do. They are corrupted by idleness, and it is their extreme wealth that makes their hours of idleness possible. . . . The most terrible of all stagnations is idleness. It means moral and social rottenness, and intemperance is only a single manifestation of it. . . .

“No one is fully educated until the discipline of hard labor has been added to the culture of books, travel, and good society, and, on the other hand, no one is educated who has had no chance to learn anything but to work hard and steadily, and to ‘know his place.’ . . . The law of ‘supply and demand,’ so often quoted as regulating wages and prices, means nothing, more nor less, than the great fact of the poverty of the poor, and the power and comparative independence of the wealthy. . . . Starving men will always bid for wages at starvation prices. . . . The law of supply and demand is said to regulate the price of commodities, but the ‘demand’ is limited by the great fact of the poverty of the mass of consumers. . . . ‘A glut in the market’ has never yet meant anything more than that millions of people are too poor to pay for the food, clothes, houses, books, and opportunities that are waiting for customers. . . .

“It is poverty that compels one man to borrow of another, and the price paid for the use of the money loaned is what we call interest—so that interest on money is poverty again. . . . It is the enormous profits made directly upon the labor of the wage classes, and indirectly through the results of their labor, that, first, keeps them poor, and, second, furnishes the capital that is finally loaned back to them again. . . .

“It is clear that the large fortunes accumulated by the wealthy can only be defended upon the theory that their services are actually worth the compensation they receive. Are their services worth the price charged? . . . If it is fair to ask hands how much they could do without brains, it is just as fair to ask brains how long they could live without hands. The alternative presented to mankind, in case the services of managers were withdrawn, is a reduced rate of production, which means poverty. But, on the other hand, the alternative presented to those who manage labor, in case the so-called brainless workers were withdrawn, is death, or hard work with their own hands, for fields were never tilled, nor houses reared, nor garments made, nor food cooked, without manual labor. . . . The capital of the capitalist is not simply the wealth he has somehow acquired, tho this is, indeed, a very important part of his capital. The other part, without which the first would be worthless, and to which the political economist

seldom, or never, refers, but to which we now call special attention, is the great and terrible fact of the poverty of the masses. It is their poverty, destitution, and consequent dependence, that compel them, every day of their lives, to make the best terms possible with those who hold in their possession the surplus wealth of the world. . . .”

II. CAUSES OF POVERTY.

As to the causes of poverty there are various views. Professor A. G. Warner, in his *American Charities*, has collected and tabulated the findings of a large number of investigations of the causes of actual cases of poverty in the United States, England, and Germany. He includes in his table practically all the findings, as to actual cases of poverty, thus far made in a scientific way by trained investigators. His table embodies the results of investigations by the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Buffalo, and New York city, the associated charities of Boston and Cincinnati ; the studies of Charles Booth in Stepney and St. Pancras parishes in London ; the statements of Böhmert (*Armenwesen in 77 Deutschen Städten*) for 77 German cities, published in 1886. It will be seen that here, if anywhere, we have a scientific analysis of the facts of the case, as collected by persons without any particular bias, certainly not socialists. The conclusions, and especially the averages of even this table, however, should not be used without reading the explanations that follow it. We give Professor Warner's table, quoting, however, only his percentages.

Of this table Professor Warner says : (pp. 36, 37).

“The first duty of one presenting such a table as this is to indicate clearly what it does not show. It deals, as already indicated, only with the exciting causes of poverty; and yet this fact is not kept clearly in mind, even by careful workers. Mr. Booth, for instance, includes ‘pauper association and heredity’ in this list of causes; and the American societies include ‘nature and location of abode.’ Both of these are by their nature predisposing causes, rather than immediate or exciting causes; and it is confusing to mix the two. Secondly, many of the persons whose cases are here tabulated have been, as Mr. Booth says, the football of all the causes in the list. Under such circumstances to pick out one cause, and call it the most important, is a purely arbitrary proceeding. Any one of the causes might have been inadequate to produce pauperism, had not others cooperated with it. A man is drunk and breaks his leg; is the cause ‘accident’ or ‘drink’? When this question was submitted to a group of charity organization workers, it was very promptly answered by two of them; but their answers were different. A man has been shiftless all his life, and is now old; is the cause of poverty shiftlessness or old age? A man is out of work because he is lazy and inefficient. One has to know him quite well before there can be sure that laziness is the cause. Perhaps there is hardly a single case in the whole 7000 where destitution has resulted from a single cause. . . .

Explanation of Table.

“The impossibility of giving an accurate statistical description of the facts is still clearer when we try to separate the causes indicating misconduct from those indicating misfortune. Back of disease may be either misconduct or misfortune. The imprisonment of the bread-winner indicates misconduct on his part, but may only indicate misfortune on the part of wife and children. The same is true in the case of abandoned children and neglect by relatives. This particular classification is made in deference to popular inquiry

Poverty Causes Low Wages.

CAUSES OF POVERTY AS DETERMINED BY CASE COUNTING.

REPORT FROM	NUMBER OF CASES.	CAUSES INDICATING MISCONDUCT.										CAUSES INDICATING MISFORTUNE.										Total	Per Cent.					
		LACK OF NORMAL SUPPORT.					MATTERS OF EMPLOYMENT.					MATTERS OF PERSONAL CAPACITY.					Total	Per Cent.										
		Drink.	Immorality.	Laziness.	Inefficiency and Shiftlessness.	Crime and Dishonesty.	Roving Disposition.	Total.	Imprisonment of Bread Winner.	Orphans and Abandoned.	Neglect by Relatives.	No Male Support.	Lack of Employment.	Insufficient Employment.	Poorly Paid Employment.	Unhealthy or Dangerous Employment.			Ignorance of English.	Accident.	Sickness or Death.			Physical Defect.	Insanity.	Old Age.		
Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.					
Baltimore:	690	9.0	..	..	14.0	..	..	..	1.4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.7
1890-91.....	695	7.1	..	..	12.0	1.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	5.0	4.0	8.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	21.0	7.1	5.0	7.1	4.7
Boston:	991	19.2	..	..	7.6	1.5	6.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	7.2	14.1	6.0	1.3	7.0	3.6	23.2	2.5	2.3	2.3	24.9	2.3	3.8	5.7	5.4
1890-91.....	1092	21.0	..	..	6.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	4.8	14.3	5.0	1.3	7.0	2.3	24.9	2.3	2.3	2.3	24.9	2.3	4.4	6.7	3.9
Buffalo:	6021	11.6	..	..	7.3	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.6	31.1	..	7.5	..	..	21.1	8.7	3.5	4.6	21.1	8.7	..	8.1	..
1878-87.....	497	8.9	..	..	3.6	..	..	..	..	..	..	14.9	27.2	..	8.7	..	..	22.7	6.6	4.6	5.0	22.7	6.6	..	8.1	..
1888-89.....	576	4.9	..	..	5.7	..	..	..	..	..	..	13.4	32.5	..	6.6	..	..	23.8	5.2	5.0	5.5	26.2	5.0	..	8.4	..
1889-90.....	560	5.7	..	..	1.8	..	..	..	..	..	..	19.4	26.8	..	7.0	..	..	26.2	5.0	5.5	5.5	26.2	5.0	..	8.4	..
1890-91.....	581	8.1	..	..	3.4	3.3	..	..	..	..	..	15.0	21.9	5.7	3.3	..	..	29.5	1.0	4.5	4.5	29.5	1.0	3.6	8.4	2.6
1891-92.....																												
Cincinnati:	2174	13.3	..	..	13.3	7.7	12.5	3.0	5.4	5.4	5.4	7.1	9.7	2.5	9.0	..	..	15.5	1.7	2.3	2.3	15.5	1.7	3.0	46.4	21.1
1890-91.....	2670	9.2	..	..	12.5	3.0	12.5	3.0	5.4	5.4	5.4	7.1	11.3	11.9	7.5	7.5	7.5	14.6	3.2	2.3	2.3	14.6	3.2	3.1	66.4	3.4
1891-92.....																												
New York:	1412	10.7	..	..	7.2	1.4	7.2	1.4	3.3	3.3	3.3	7.2	29.0	6.1	2.5	..	..	18.5	2.7	3.3	3.3	18.5	2.7	3.3	74.9	2.5
1891.....																												
London:	634	12.6	2.5	1.9	5.1	4.6	4.4	26.7	..	4.7	4.7	26.7	..	1.7	32.8	74.9	3.0	
(Stepney).....	736	21.9	6.9	10.6	2.8	2.8	2.2	20.7	..	2.6	2.6	20.7	..	4.3	23.4	54.0	1.8	
(St. Pancras)....																												
76 German Cities.	95,845	1.3	2.5	12.5	45.8	2.4	1.1	1.1	45.8	2.4	3.4	15.8	91.4	5.9	
Average.....		11	4.7	6.2	7.4	1.2	7.4	1.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	8.0	17.4	6.7	4.4	23.6	4.1	3.5	3.5	23.6	4.1	1.2	9.6	74.4	5.5	

* Including large family, nature of abode, pauper associates, and heredity.
 † These averages are of unequal value, depending upon the number of cases they are averaged from. A glance at the columns will show how many cases each average represents. The totals and averages for drunkenness and unemployment are among the most complete.

only. In the writer's opinion its chief value consists in showing how little it is worth.

"But after all possible allowance has been made for the 'personal equation' of the investigator, and for all the inevitable inconclusiveness of the figures, there is a residuum of information to be got from the tables. They give, as well as such statistics can, the conclusions reached by those who are studying pauperism at first hand. If the figures furnished by all the investigators were added together into one great total, and this only were put before him, the author would indeed hesitate to base any conclusions whatever upon it. But when it is found that different investigators, at different times, in different places, reach conclusions which, while varying in many and often inexplicable ways, are yet in agreement as regards certain important facts, we can but think that the figures to some extent reflect actual conditions."

It will be seen from this table that the chief single cause of poverty, as here studied, is sickness or death in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second, altho, if the averages as to lack of work, insufficient work, and poorly paid work be added together, as well they might be, they form the supreme cause of poverty. Drink stands third, tho only one-half as great a cause as unemployment. Says Professor Warner (pp. 60 and 65):

"Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprise the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one-fifteenth to one-fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent. of the cases." (See *INTEMPERANCE*.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand in apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.'"

It will also be seen from the table that causes indicating misconduct average only 21.3 per cent., while causes indicating misfortune average 74.4, or over three times as much. Four per cent. of the cases are not classified; but the causes indicated as unclassified belong to causes indicating misfortune much more than misconduct, at least as far as the individual studied is concerned. How far poverty is the result of other people's misconduct or hereditary misconduct is not here shown. But as for the persons immediately concerned, misfortune is shown to be nearly four times as much the cause of poverty as their misconduct.

This seems to be the most careful analysis of the causes of poverty yet made; but not all will accept its conclusions. Certain schools of thought are apt to find the especial evil they attack the main cause of poverty. The followers of Mr. Henry George, for example, are apt to believe that poverty mainly exists because, on the one hand, the landowner receives the lion's share of the annual product of the community, and, on the other hand, private property in land prevents the opening up of natural opportunities. (For a discussion of this, see *SINGLE TAX*.) A large number of people believe drink to be the main cause of poverty (see *INTEMPERANCE*). In another school of thought overpopulation is the main

cause (see *MALTHUSIANISM*). Socialists usually believe that poverty mainly exists because under a competitive system the capitalistic classes take from the producing classes a large share of their product. Theologians are wont to declare that all poverty comes primarily from sin. Individualists usually assert that poverty mainly comes from the inefficiency of the workers in one form or another—shiftlessness, lack of thrift, unwillingness to save, etc., etc.

Professor F. H. Giddings of Columbia College, in his essay on the *Ethics of Social Progress*, argues that the poor are poor to-day because society does not need them and they contribute little or nothing to production. He says:

"Neither oppression nor greed has been at any time the first cause of legal bondage or of economic dependence. Both are secondary causes, induced by experiences with a slavery already existent.

"Modern civilization does not require, it does not even need, the drudgery of needle-women or the crushing toil of men in a score of life-destroying occupations. If these wretched beings should drop out of existence, and no others stood ready to fill their places, the economic activities of the world would not greatly suffer. A thousand devices latent in inventive brains would quickly make good any momentary loss. The true view of the facts is that these people continue to exist after the kinds of work that they know how to perform have ceased to be of any considerable value to society. Society continues to employ them for a remuneration not exceeding the cost of getting the work done in some other and perhaps better way.

"The economic law here referred to is one that has been too much neglected in scientific discussion. It ought to be repeated and illustrated at every opportunity, for at present it stands in direct contradiction to current prepossessions. We are told incessantly that unskilled labor creates the wealth of the world.

"It would be nearer the truth to say that large classes of unskilled labor hardly create their own subsistence. The laborers that have no adaptiveness, that bring no new ideas to their work, that have no suspicion of the next best thing to turn to in an emergency, might be much better identified with the dependent classes than with the wealth-creators. Precisely the same economic law offers the true interpretation of ancient slavery. In strictness civilization did not rest on slavery. It was not in any true sense maintained by slavery. The conditions that created the civilization created economic dependence, and they are working in the same way, with similar results, to-day. . . . The condition and assurance of freedom to-day is the ability to devise new things, to create new opportunities, to make not only two blades of grass grow where one grew before, but to make a hundred kinds of grass grow where before grew only one kind.

"Accordingly, the practically unfree task-workers of this present time are those who, unaided, can accomplish none of these new things. They are those who might do well in old familiar ways, but who have nothing to turn to when their ways cease to be of value to the world. To live they must force depreciated services upon society on any terms that society can continue to pay. They are unfree task-workers, not because society chooses to oppress them, but because society has not yet devised or stumbled upon any other disposition to make of them. Civilization, therefore, is not cruel. It is ever supporting, and trying in many ways to utilize, the wrecks and failures of its own imperfect past."

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, in an address read at the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, at Chicago, in 1893, said:

"Has not the new charity organization movement too long been content to aim at a system to relieve or even uplift judiciously single cases without asking if

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there are not prolific causes permanently at work to create want, vice, crime, disease, and death; and whether these causes may not be wholly or in large degree eradicated? If such causes of pauperism exist, how vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief, when society should rather aim at removing the prolific sources of all the woe.

"The four great causes of pauperism and of degraded city life have long seemed to me to be these: 1. Foul homes. 2. Intoxicating drink. 3. Neglect of child life. 4. Indiscriminate almsgiving."

Mr. Charles Booth counts up twenty-three principal causes of pauperism (*Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, p. 9):

Crime, vice, drink, laziness, pauper association, heredity, mental disease, temper, incapacity, early marriage, large family, extravagance, lack of work, trade misfortune, restlessness, no relations, death of husband, desertion, death of father or mother, sickness, accident, ill luck, old age. He says, "that, as causes, old age stands first, sickness next, and then comes drink" (p. 148).

Among 1610 cases, however, of the poor and very poor in London, he shows 4 per cent. due to "loafing," 14 to drink, 27 to illness, large families, or other misfortunes, 55 to "questions of employment" (*Labor and Life of the People*, vol. i. p. 147). A large part of this lack of employment may be among the old.

Mr. J. G. Godard in his *Poverty, Its Genesis and Exodius*, argues that waste of wealth, poverty itself, are prominent causes of poverty, but that the main cause is unequal distribution. He argues that men must be poor, either because there is not enough produced for all, because some of it is wasted, or because some get too much. He shows for England that, tho' relatively the number of the poor is somewhat less to-day than it was, the annual wealth produced is nearly double what it was three generations ago, and "never in the whole history of England, excepting during the disastrous period at the beginning of the century, has the absolute number of the very poor been so great as it is now" (J. A. Hobson's *Problems of Poverty*, p. 26, 1891). Is there then, he asks, not enough produced? He shows that the total annual income of the United Kingdom in round numbers may be placed at £1,350,000,000 (Mr. Giffin in his *Essays on Finance*, vol. ii. pp. 460-72, estimating it in 1886 at £1,270,000,000). Dividing this by the population of the census returns for 1891 (37,740,283), he gets £35 per annum (£175) for each individual, or £175 (\$875) for each family of 5. He says, "Insufficient production of wealth may then be regarded as an actual cause of poverty, but one of minor influence." A more important cause of poverty he considers to be the waste of wealth. He quotes Professor Marshall as saying (*Principles of Economics*, vol. i. p. 731), "Perhaps £100,000,000 annually are spent even by the working classes, and £400,000,000 by the rest of the population of England, in ways that do little or nothing toward making life nobler or truly happier." This means a waste of over one-third of the whole. Poverty itself, he shows, causes much poverty. It checks profitable production; it causes large amounts of waste; leads to unequal distribution, compelling the poor to work for low wages. But, above all, he considers unjust distribution the main cause of poverty. He says (giving authorities for his conclusion), "One thirty-eighth of the population possess on the average £5000 per head, and thirty thirty-eighths of population possess on the average £6 per head. Inequality of distribution can scarcely be carried much further." Of the annual income he says, "Thirty million weekly wage-earners obtain £500,000,000 only; the remaining eight million persons thus receiving £850,000,000. This means that the average annual income of the one class is less than £17 per head, and the average annual income is more than £106 per head." (For other statements on this point and for authorities, and for similar facts as to the United States, see WEALTH,

Unequal Distribution.

DISTRIBUTION OF.)

III. PREVENTION AND RELIEF OF POVERTY.

The ways in which it has been or is proposed to prevent or relieve poverty are numerous as the causes assigned for it. One's conception of its main causes must obviously affect one's belief as to the way it may best be relieved or prevented. Thus the followers of Henry George believe that the solution lies along the lines of the Single Tax (*q. v.*; see also ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY). Those who find its main cause in intemperance find its main cure in temperance (*q. v.*). Socialists find the only way out in socialism (*q. v.*). Many, and perhaps most trade-unionists, believe the main cure to be the eight-hour movement. (See SHORT HOUR MOVEMENT.) Individualists largely look for the solution to education (*q. v.*), the cultivation of thrift, etc. (See INDIVIDUALISM.) For a study of all these views we must refer the reader to their especial topics. (See also ANARCHISM; COOPERATION; UNEMPLOYMENT; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM, etc.)

We review here some of the proposals for the relief of poverty which have been proposed by those who are identified with no one particular school of thought.

Mr. Charles Booth (*q. v.*), who perhaps has studied the facts of modern city poverty as carefully as any other one man, divides the residents of the poorer sections of London into eight classes: (A) The lowest class of occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals; (B) the very poor, with casual earnings; (C) those of intermittent earnings; (D) of small regular earnings; (E) those of regular standard earnings, above the line of poverty; (F) the higher classes of laborers; (G) the lower middle class; (H) the upper middle class. Class A he thinks could be "harried out of existence" (*Life and Labor of the People*, vol. i. p. 160). Class B he thinks presents the main problem. It is *de trop*. The competition of B drags down C and D, and that of C and D hangs heavily upon E. We gain nothing from B. All that B does could be done by C and D in their now idle hours. . . . To bring Class B under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism. Hence he would put them under State control. He says: "These people should be allowed to live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building materials were cheap, being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work indoors and out, for themselves or on Government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of furniture. . . . There would be no competition with the outside world. . . . What is the poor-law system? It is a limited form of socialism—a socialistic community (aided from outside) living in the midst of an individualist nation. My idea is to make the dual system, socialism in the arms of individualism, under which we already live, more efficient by extending somewhat the sphere of the former, and making the division of function more distinct. Our

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individualism fails because our socialism is incomplete. In taking charge of the lives of the incapable, State socialism finds its proper work, and by doing it completely would relieve us of a serious danger."

More recently Mr. Booth, in his *Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age*, finding pauperism largely a problem of the aged (see above) has proposed a vast scheme for pensioning all aged persons. (See OLD AGE PENSIONS.)

The Rev. Samuel Barnett of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, London, is even more radical. He says (*Practicable Socialism*, revised edition, pp. 101-107): "Individuals have given their money and their time, their failure is notorious, and societies have been formed to direct their efforts. The failure of these societies is not equally notorious, but few thinkers retain the hope that societies will reform society and make the conditions of living such that people will be able to grow in wisdom and in stature to the full height of their manhood. If it were a sight to make men and angels weep, to see one rich man struggling with the poverty of a street, making himself poor only to make others discontented paupers, it is as sad a sight to see societies hopelessly beaten and hardened into machines with no reach beyond their grasp. The deadness of these societies or their ill directed efforts have roused, in the shape of charity organization workers, a most striking missionary enterprise. The history of the movement as a mission has yet to be written; the names of its martyrs stand in the list of the 'unknown good,' but the most earnest members of a charity organization society cannot hope that organized almsgiving will be powerful so to alter conditions as to make the life of the poor a life worth living. Societies which absorb much wealth, and which relieve their subscribers of their responsibility, are failing; it remains only to adopt the principle of the education act, of the poor-law, and of other socialistic legislation, and call on society to do what societies fail to do. There is much which may be urged in favor of such a course. It is only society, or to use the title by which society expresses itself in towns, it is only

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town councils which can cover all the ground and see that each locality gets equal treatment. . . . The first need is better dwellings. . . . Insanitary conditions and high rents are the points to which consideration must be directed. . . . Wise town councils, conscious of the mission they have inherited, could destroy every court and crowded alley, and put in their places healthy dwellings; they could make water so cheap, and bathing places so common, that cleanliness should no longer be a hard virtue; they could open playgrounds and take away from a city the reproach of its gutter children; they could provide gardens, libraries, and conversation rooms; they could open picture galleries and concerts; they could light and clean the streets of the poor quarters; they could give medicine to heal the sick, money to the old and poor, a training for the neglected, and a home

for the friendless. The first practical work is to rouse the town councils to the sense of their powers; to make them feel that their reason of being is not political but social, that their duty is not to protect the pockets of the rich, but to save the people. . . . If it be urged that when town councils do for social reform all which can be done, the condition will still be unsatisfactory, I agree; . . . no social reform will be adequate which does not touch social relations, bind classes by friendship, and pass through the medium of friendship the spirit which inspires righteousness and devotion. If therefore the first practical work of reformers be to rouse town councils, their second is to associate volunteers who will work with the official bodies. . . . As a rule it may be laid down that the voluntary work is most effective which is in connection with official work. . . . Teetotal advocates will preach in vain that drunkenness is the root of all evil, and that a nation of abstainers will be either a healthy, a happy, or a thoughtful nation. Thrift will be seen to be powerless to do more than to create a smug and transient respectability. . . . The nationalization of luxury must be the object of social reformers."

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, in the address above quoted, opposes Mr. Booth's plan, but is almost equally radical. He says:

"The problem of poor relief in great cities has got to be restated in ampler terms. The diseases of society are more aggravated, the dangers are graver, the need of radical remedies is more absolute than the new charity has yet fully and fairly faced. . . .

**Robert
Treat Paine.**

"When the poor sink below their poverty into pauperism, and pauperism becomes hopeless and degraded and brutal; when powerful and prolific causes are at work to swell the rising tide,—the day has gone when it is enough to go on dealing with details. . . .

"Pauperism is assuming a new and more terrible type in the largest cities, where paupers have lived so long in this condition that they know nothing better. . . . Strong drink is almost the sole solace of their dull routine. . . .

"Crimes of violence, crimes of lust, crimes against property not only prevail, but cease to shock, where the general level of life has lapsed into a new phase of barbarism. . . .

"What hope for boys and girls growing up in such atmosphere of sin, in overcrowded cities from which playgrounds have been excluded by rising rents; playgrounds for the innocent outpouring of the boys' animal spirits which will have some vent, if not in hockey and football, then in breaking into empty buildings, stealing lead pipes and stoning dispensary doctors or police with even-handed delight. . . .

"With population rents rise so that the average man—that is, the mass of the people—is forced to live in utterly unfit homes, fearfully overcrowded; hence, low vitality of body and soul, diseased morals and diseased bodies. . . .

"Repression alone is a failure. . . . In some cities all these evils are aggregated into great masses. . . .

"Merely to deal, no matter how wisely, with single cases of distress or crime, as they arise, is infinitely insufficient. . . .

"In the largest cities, where conditions are worse and the evils of pauperism, grown chronic and contagious, are blended with habits of drunkenness and other vice, breaking out into crimes against the law, pauperism cannot wisely be considered alone, but the problem of how to uplift the general level of life must be studied as *one whole problem*, especially as to the causes of the evils. . . .

"The methods of dealing with pauperism hitherto applied are impotent against this swelling tide of brutal, degraded pauperism. . . .

"Who does not know," says Professor H. C. Adams, 'that much of our so-called philanthropy tends to perpetuate those conditions which seem to make philanthropy necessary?' Professor W. G. Tucker, in his Phi Beta oration at Harvard last June, compels us to seek more radical cure, by more radical measures, when he says: 'The philanthropy which is content to relieve the sufferer from wrong social conditions, postpones the philanthropy which is determined at any cost to right those conditions.'

"Pauperism, vice, and crime are common factors of the inseparable and tremendous problem how to uplift the general conditions of life among the poor."

Mr. Paine then states what he believes to be the causes of poverty (see above) and then says:

"Which of the two causes dragging down the conditions of life among the masses, foul homes or intoxicating drink, is more potent, I do not know. Each leads surely to the other.

"Everywhere the conviction gains ground that it is impossible to elevate the conditions of the lower class of working people above the condition of their homes.

"Would to God my words could strengthen the conviction of every delegate to this Congress, as he goes home to his own city, that slums must be abolished!

"Probably no city has been wholly inactive. But I am sure no large city in this country has begun to act up to the standard required for the health or morals of the poor, or by economy to the public, or by principles of justice and right.

"Boards of health probably have power in all cities to vacate dwellings unfit for human habitation. All that is needed is *aroused public interest* to learn the unspeakable horrors of the homes of the wretched poor to-day, and then to insist on a *higher standard of habitability*.

"Boards of health will follow the public command and the public conscience. . . .

"Three agencies directly deal with the task of fitly housing the people:

"1. Philanthropic agencies which aim to improve the condition both of tenants and of the tenements they occupy.

"2. Economic agencies providing decent homes, often in model buildings.

"3. Municipal agencies aiming to abolish the worst evils and to destroy foul homes.

"High above each and all of these three agencies in its influence and promise of grand results I place the rising ambition of working men themselves to own their own homes. . . .

"If this laudable ambition is lacking among the lowest class, so also do both of the powerful agencies at work to provide model homes, whether by philanthropic or invested capital of which I have just spoken, shoot over their heads.

"The agency which must be invoked to rescue the very poor, whether virtuous and struggling or degraded and indifferent, is *the municipal power to destroy utterly unfit abodes of habitation*.

"Sad, indeed, is the fact that when charity aids some wretched family to move out of a vile basement or dark and nasty slum, presently some other like family moves in.

"The growth of public sentiment toward practical unanimity in this decision has been marked by important measures in London, Glasgow, and other cities of Great Britain. (See TENEMENT PROBLEM.)

"Intoxicating drink is the second great cause of pauperism, crime, and many other wretched conditions of degraded life.

"The temperance reform makes perceptible headway, altho the most powerful passions of mankind oppose its progress. In the last ten years England has seen a great improvement in the conditions of the working people in this respect.

"In the United States prohibition, or high license, or restricted license, or the Gothenburg system, or that new State system in South Carolina, or local option which secures no license in many cities and towns—all these movements mark a great popular awakening to the terrible influence of drunkenness upon the welfare of the people. . . .

"My object here is to propose and stimulate an alliance of these two forces, the friends of temperance and all the other forces working to improve the conditions of the poor. Such an alliance will strengthen,

both and lead each party to see the broader scope of their task. (See TEMPERANCE.)

"The third prolific cause of pauperism is found in the conditions of neglect or maltreatment of child-life in great cities. The Hon. A. S. Hewitt, in his address at the opening of the United Charities building of New York (*Charities Review*, April, 1893, p. 304), says: 'In this city a large number of children of both sexes live in an atmosphere of poverty and vice, and even crime, which educates them to be paupers and criminals instead of training them to become honest workmen and good citizens. And for this result, which is generally no fault of their own, they are punished, and, along with them, the industrious class of the community is also punished by taxation for the support of poorhouses, hospitals, and criminals. . . . Gangs of young men, not yet twenty-one years of age, are to be found in many parts of the city who, not having been permitted to learn trades, or having been denied the opportunity to follow some useful occupation, have grown up in idleness, and expend their animal energies in excesses which make them a terror to the neighborhood and a trial to the police, the only barrier between them and crime. In time most of them necessarily become criminals, and they are very sure to breed criminals.' (See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.)

"Indiscriminate almsgiving is the fourth and a most potent cause of pauperism. . . .

"Three reforms of the abuses of outdoor relief should receive universal sanction, and will effect in very large measure the end which all parties desire: dealing with the unworthy, those out of work, and the inefficient.

"First. To the unworthy, rigid prohibition of all relief, public or private, so that, abandoning all hope of it, they shall seek their own support. This includes the lazy, idle, shiftless, extravagant, or vicious paupers, as also in most cases those with relatives or friends.

"Second. The provision for men or women out of work demands most serious study of ablest economists and statesmen. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

"Third. The third and grand reform aims to recreate the inefficient, always in great cities a numerous class, into self-support by skill and cheer, and to save them from gratuitous relief as deadly poison. . . . One of the best standards to-day to test the progress of constructive Christian charity of the various towns and cities of our own or any country, is to see what practical measures have been devised to convert the inefficient into an efficient worker." (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

Mr. H. M. Boies, in his *Prisoners and Paupers*, argues that one of the first things society should do is to stop the breeding of paupers and criminals. (See CRIMINOLOGY.) Of illegitimates he says:

"The first object society has to consider in the matter is to stop this illegitimate increase. The second is the reformation of the mother and of the father, if he can be caught. The third, the rearing of the children into the condition of independent good citizens. . . .

"Homeless children are a still larger class of paupers needing special care and attention. The deserted waifs of our city streets, the neglected offspring of the criminal and drunkard, orphans and half-orphans of the indigent, who may be unable or unfit to properly rear them, constitute an important and growing element of our denser communities, and require the immediate consideration of legislators for the protection of society. The pressure of necessity has compelled charitable societies and individuals to establish houses of correction and refuge, juvenile asylums, homes for the friendless, children's aid societies, and similar institutions here and there; but they are managed without any general, regular, or complete system, according to the ideas and ability of their benevolent promoters, and afford but a local and sporadic relief. (See DEPENDENT CHILDREN.)

"We have yet the third class of paupers for whom to provide. These are the wounded, maimed, exhausted, and sick in the battle of life; the true objects of charity and benevolence. Many of these have fallen out in the march from inherited weakness, or incapacity, but they have bravely undertaken the struggle, and are entitled to social and human sym-

H. M. Boies.

pathy and care. The sterner restrictions of legislative enactments are unnecessary, except to secure to them the aid and relief they may be unable alone to obtain. There are two methods of bestowing this in common use: one known as 'outdoor relief'; the other as 'almshouse treatment.'

"Public 'outdoor relief' is liable to serious abuse and imposition. Almost universally it makes confirmed paupers of the recipients, who soon come to depend upon, and demand it as a right due them from the public treasury. On these accounts 'outdoor relief' is regarded with disfavor by the public and humanitarians. As the administering officials are generally unable to properly investigate applications, they encourage fraudulent claims, waste the public funds, or pervert them to political purposes, thus stimulating instead of reducing pauperism. . . . Public outdoor relief should be prohibited by law, except in cases of sudden calamity, and to assist honest, hard-working children to maintain indigent parents at home; or indigent widows to keep their children under their own care. All other proper objects of charity should be provided for either in the almshouse or by private benevolence. This latter should be allowed opportunity, as a public necessity, to foster the birth and growth of divine charity in the human heart. For upon the development and diffusion of this spirit depends all human progress. In order that private benevolence may be wisely and efficiently administered in these days of steam and electricity, when those best able to give are least able to investigate, because of the incessant pressure of personal affairs upon their time, a system and organization are necessary. For it must be accepted as an axiom that every dollar that is given for the mere asking is worse than wasted.

"How then shall the real objects of charity, our third class of heterometrics, be provided for? That is, those whom age, disability, infirmity, or misfortune have rendered permanently dependent?

"Proper legislation might materially reduce the number of these also, by enforcing the support of the aged and children by the next of kin wherever it is possible. . . . [As for the remainder] experience and theory agree in an indisputable demonstration that they must be cared for in public almshouses. It is unwise and unsafe to attempt regular and permanent relief to them in any other way, for any other plan inevitably results in neglect and suffering to the worthy, in great imposture and abuse of charity, and in the increase of pauperism to an insupportable extent. It must be accepted as an axiom of public relief that, when it is to be continuous and regular, the aid must be rendered in a regularly organized institution. To this the applicant for assistance must be transferred before public support by taxation can be conferred. As the duty of maintenance rests upon society in general, the response must be from the social organization, and not from private charity; by equal taxation of all, rather than the benevolence of a few, however large their interest."

A full discussion of these various measures will be found under their respective heads. It should, however, here be plainly stated that many question the efficiency of many of these reforms, at least so far as they are carried alone. The importance of temperance as an effectual element in social progress no thinking man can question, but many economists hold that, *by itself*, temperance would not raise the wages of the poorer paid workmen *as a class*. Here and there if individuals give up drinking, they are able to save more, but if enough should give up drinking to make it affect the general class, it would probably lower their wages by the amount they would save in drink, for the simple reason that, under competition, laborers cannot get wages much above the cost of living in their class. If any employer should pay higher wages, some rival employer would get workmen—and under competition could get workmen—at a lower price, and so be able to produce cheaper, sell cheaper, and thus drive the more generous employer out of the market.

Employers, therefore, under competition, have no choice. They *must* pay wages enabling employees to live about on the standard of living of their trade and class. If, therefore, by temperance you lower the cost of living of a class, you will lower the price of wages by about the same amount.

So, to a less extent, with model dwellings and artisans' dwellings. Since the poorest often cannot be got to pay for their own house, or to occupy a model dwelling, the plan for workmen to own their homes, or occupy model dwellings, simply enables a somewhat high grade of labor to live more cheaply on the improved level, and so eventually to bring down their wages. Once more, workmen owning their homes cannot move to suit the shifting demands of the market. Nor can they strike. They are, therefore, much more under the power of their employer and compelled to accept what wages the employers are willing to give. Most trade-union leaders discourage men from owning their homes.

So, too, with technical education, says J. A. Hobson (*Problems of Poverty*, p. 179):

"In so far as technical education or general education enables a number of men who would otherwise have been unskilled laborers to compete for skilled work, it will no doubt enable these men to raise themselves in the industrial scale; but the addition of their number to the ranks of skilled labor will imply an increase in supply of skilled labor, and a decrease in supply of unskilled labor; the price or wage for unskilled labor will rise, but the wage for skilled labor will fall, assuming the relation between the demand for skilled and unskilled labor to remain as before."

It should be remembered, however, that these objections are not objections to the propositions in themselves, but to relying on them *alone* to meet the problems of poverty. As a part of social programs, together with other reforms studied elsewhere (see SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SHORT HOUR MOVEMENT; SINGLE TAX), all admit these propositions to have their place. Says Mr. Hobson (*idem*, p. 181):

"There are those who seek to retard all social progress by a false and mischievous dilemma, which takes the following shape: No radical improvement in industrial organization, no work of social reconstruction can be of any real avail, unless it is preceded by such moral and intellectual improvement in the condition of the mass of workers as shall render the new machinery effective; unless the change in human nature comes first, a change in external conditions will be useless. On the other hand it is evident that no moral or intellectual education can be brought effectively to bear upon the mass of human beings, whose whole energies are necessarily absorbed by the effort to secure the means of bare physical support. Thus it is made to appear as if industrial and moral progress must each precede each other, which is impossible. . . . The falsehood in the above dilemma consists in the assumption that industrial reformers wish to proceed by a sudden leap from an old industrial order to a new one. Such sudden movements are not in accordance with the gradual growth which nature insists upon as the condition of wise change. But it is equally in accordance with nature that the natural growth precede the moral. Not that the work of reconstruction can lag far behind. Each step in this industrial advancement of the poor should, and must, if the gain is to be permanent, be followed closely and secured by a corresponding advance in moral and intellectual character and habits. But the moral and religious reformer should never forget that, in order of time, material reform comes first."

References: Charles Booth, *Labor and Life of the People* (new edition, 4 vols., 1892); A. G. Warner's

American Charities (1894); General Booth's *In Darkest England: Mackay's The English Poor* (1889); Mr. S. A. Barnett's, *Practicable Socialism* (revised ed. 1895); R. T. Paine's *Pauperism in Great Cities* (1893); J. A. Hobson's *Problems of Poverty* (1891).

(See also POOR-LAWS; OLD AGE PENSIONS; UNEMPLOYMENT; CHILD LABOR; CITIES; CHARITY ORGANIZATION; SLUMS; PAUPERISM, etc.)

POWDERLY, TERENCE VINCENT, long General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was born at Carbondale, Pa., January 24, 1849, of Irish parentage. He attended school six years, and at 13 became a switch-tender for the Delaware & Hudson Coal Company, entering its machine shop a year later. In 1869 he went to Scranton, Pa., and shortly afterward joined the Machinists and Blacksmiths' National Union, soon becoming its president. His study of the labor problem led him to join the Knights of Labor, in which order he held various offices in the local and district assemblies. In January, 1879, he was chosen General Worthy Foreman, and in September of the same year was elected General Master Workman, which office he held 13 years. Mr. Powderly was Mayor of Scranton for two years, but declined a renomination in 1884. He practically reorganized the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*), and gave his whole time and talents to the cause.

In 1892, owing to dissensions in the order, he was defeated for reelection, and Mr. J. B. Sovereign was chosen in his place. The order, however, had long before this begun to decline, owing mainly to opposition to the policy of the Knights, in failing to sufficiently respect the autonomy of each trade, and in concentrating too much power in the General Executive Board. It was this policy which has given Mr. Powderly many enemies in the labor movement, but no one has questioned his ability and long usefulness to the cause of labor.

PREEMPTION LAW. See PUBLIC DOMAIN.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORMS, THE.—The Presbyterian Church is committed to the cause of social reforms, first of all, by the principles on which such reforms rest. They were first most clearly enunciated and sharply defined by John Calvin. Mr. Froude says of him, "There was no reformer in Europe so resolute to tear out and destroy what seemed to be false, and so resolute to establish what was true in its principles and make truth to its last fiber the rule of practical life." These characteristics of the stern leader were so wonderfully impressed on his followers that they wrought for the good of man and from the highest motives. Mr. Froude says again, "The Calvinists abhorred, as no other body of men has ever abhorred, mendacity, all impurity, all moral wrong of every kind as they could recognize it. Whatever exists at this moment in England or Scotland of the fear of doing evil is the remnant of the convictions branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts."

Green, in his *History of the English People*, recognizes truly the genius of the new life of Europe and of the Reformation, when he says, "A vast and consecrated democracy, it stood in contrast with the whole social and political framework of the European nations. Grave as we count the faults of Calvinism, alien as its temper may be in many ways from the temper of the modern world, it is in Calvinism that the modern world strikes its roots, for it was Calvinism that first revealed the worth and dignity of man. Called of God and heir of heaven, the trader at his counter and the digger of the field suddenly rose into equality with the noble and the king." The idea of the Reformation which is traceable to Calvin has often been regarded as largely theological in its character, and as dealing with speculative rather than practical truths. This is not true. The Reformation was not more of a theological than of a social and public reform. It was an endeavor to deliver people from their ignorance and sin, first by giving them right views of the truth and then adjusting their relations with one another. Consequently the nerve ideas distinctly traceable to Geneva and John Calvin have secured our modern civilization. Democratic government, free institutions, free schools, and popular education—these are the great pillars on which our social reforms rest. The struggle for these constituted the great battles in Holland, France, England, and later, in the United States. It required a revolution in all of these countries to establish these institutions, and our own Revolution was nothing, as Bancroft has said, "But the application of the principles of the Reformation to our civil government." The history of the Presbyterian Church has been a history of the struggle for the rights of man. It was a body of Presbyterians who wrote the Mecklenberg Declaration—the pen stroke that in 1775 separated one county in North Carolina from the British Crown, and which first asserted the principle that Americans are, and of right ought to be, free and independent. Dr. John Witherspoon was not more eminent as a theologian than as a patriot. The Synod of New York and Philadelphia was the first religious body to favor open resistance to England. Many of the Presbyterian ministers were actually engaged in civil service for their country. The blood of the Covenanter fought in the battles of the Revolution. The things at stake in these battles are the things at the bottom of all social reform. There is no progress of man without constitutional government, popular education, and deference to the rights of the people.

The Presbyterian Church, then, by reason of her principles, and of her history in illustrating and defending them, should be actively committed to every phase of social reform. Her protests against every evil have been constant and emphatic. Take, for example, the temperance reform, the center of all social reform; in this the Presbyterian Church has been unwavering in her testimony.

History.

Even as far back as 1854 the General Assembly took the following action :

" *Resolved*, That the General Assembly continue to view with deep interest the progress of the temperance reformation, most intimately connected with the vital interests of men for time and eternity, and that they do especially hail its new phase through the action of several State legislatures, by which the tariff in intoxicating liquors as a beverage is entirely prohibited. They commend this new system of legislation to the attention and support of all ministers and churches connected with this body for its blessed results already experienced, and as able, if universally adopted, to do much to seal up the great fountains of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and relieve humanity of one of its most demoralizing and distressing evils."

Then, as late as 1885, the same General Assembly adopted the following resolution :

"This General Assembly repeats the unvarying testimony of preceding assemblies against this wide-spread and destructive vice. That in the view of the evils wrought by this scourge of our race, this assembly would hail with acclamations of joy and thanksgiving the utter extermination of the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, by the power of the Christian conscience, public opinion, and the strong arm of the civil law."

No church can take a position more advanced and radical upon this subject than has steadily been taken by the Presbyterian Church.

In the matter of the anti-slavery reform the Presbyterian Church encountered peculiar difficulty because she was strong in the slaveholding States and the anti-slavery agitation divided the Church. But at a time when other churches had taken no strong general action upon this subject—namely, as early as 1818—the General Assembly took the following action:

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of slavery, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care. We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principle of the gospel of Christ, which enjoin that 'all whatsoever you would men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.' Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system : it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as to scarcely leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—conse-

quences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is ever exposed often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place,—as we rejoice to say, in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of the masters, they do not,—still, the slave is deprived of his natural right and degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest."

Surely this early declaration, repeatedly affirmed by subsequent assemblies, may be regarded as the moral seed which finally, through fire and flood, ended in the harvest of the emancipation.

In the various lines of moral reform, both in society and in the State, the Presbyterian Church is probably doing her full share. She is striving to apply the highest power of her principles to the deepest needs of man. The ethical possibilities of Christianity are about to be proven as never before. Strong men are rising up to attack the wild beasts of evil passions that so long have had their hands on the nation's throat—the beasts of intemperance, licentiousness, greed of money, prostitution of official position, tyranny of the strong over the weak. These beasts have made our fair cities bloody with their rage and assaulted the fair name of our country as the home of liberty and the friend of man. And these reforms are being pushed forward in the name of the Lord of hosts. And in this forward movement Presbyterian ministers and laymen have been, as they should be, conspicuous. They had been false to the historic glory of Presbyterians if they had not stood valiantly against every form of oppression and of unrighteousness.

CHARLES L. THOMPSON.

PRESIDENCY (UNITED STATES).—For the present constitutional functions of the office of the President of the United States, see article CONSTITUTION; for the present method of electing the President, see ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

We give in this article for conveniences of reference, first, the electoral and popular votes for Presidents at the different elections, and, secondly, a statement of various views as to the presidency and the prominent suggestions that have been made as to reforms in the office. We give, first, the electoral and popular votes from 1824 to 1892; second, the votes by States in the recent elections; and, third, the elections from 1789 to 1820.

It will be remembered that the President and Vice-President of the United States are chosen by officials termed "Electors" in each State, who are, under existing State laws, chosen by the qualified voters thereof by ballot, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November of every fourth year preceding the year in which the Presidential term expires.

The Constitution of the United States prescribes that each State shall "appoint," in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress.

The various votes have been as follows :

ELECTORAL AND POPULAR VOTES.

Year of Election.	Candidates for President.	States.	Political Party.	Popular Vote.	Plurality.	Electoral Vote.	
1824.....	Andrew Jackson.....	Tennessee.....	Republican.....	155,872	50,551	(a) 99	
	John Q. Adams*.....	Massachusetts.....	Republican.....	105,321		84	
	Henry Clay.....	Kentucky.....	Republican.....	46,587		37	
1828.....	William H. Crawford.....	Georgia.....	Republican.....	44,282	138,134	41	
	Andrew Jackson*.....	Tennessee.....	Democrat.....	647,231		178	
	John Q. Adams.....	Massachusetts.....	National Republican	509,097		83	
1832.....	Andrew Jackson*.....	Tennessee.....	Democrat.....	687,502	157,313	219	
	Henry Clay.....	Kentucky.....	National Republican	530,189		49	
	John Floyd.....	Georgia.....	Independent.....	.....		11
1836.....	William Wirt.....	Maryland.....	Anti-Mason.....	33,108	24,893	7	
	Martin Van Buren*.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	761,549		172	
	William H. Harrison.....	Ohio.....	Whig.....	.....		73
1840.....	Hugh L. White.....	Tennessee.....	Whig.....	736,656	.....	26
	Daniel Webster.....	Massachusetts.....	Whig.....			14	
	Willie P. Mangum.....	North Carolina.....	Whig.....			11	
1844.....	William H. Harrison*.....	Ohio.....	Whig.....	1,275,017	146,315	234	
	Martin Van Buren.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	1,128,702		60	
	James K. Birney.....	New York.....	Liberal.....	70,599		..	
1848.....	James K. Polk*.....	Tennessee.....	Democrat.....	1,337,243	38,175	170	
	Henry Clay.....	Kentucky.....	Whig.....	1,299,668		105	
	James G. Birney.....	New York.....	Liberal.....	62,300		..	
1852.....	Zachary Taylor*.....	Louisiana.....	Whig.....	1,360,101	139,557	163	
	Lewis Cass.....	Michigan.....	Democrat.....	1,220,544		127	
	Martin Van Buren.....	New York.....	Free Soil.....	291,263		..	
1856.....	Franklin Pierce*.....	New Hampshire.....	Democrat.....	1,601,474	220,896	254	
	Winfield Scott.....	New Jersey.....	Whig.....	1,380,576		43	
	John P. Hale.....	New Hampshire.....	Free Democrat.....	156,149		..	
1860.....	James Buchanan*.....	Pennsylvania.....	Democrat.....	1,838,169	496,905	174	
	John C. Fremont.....	California.....	Republican.....	1,341,264		114	
	Millard Fillmore.....	New York.....	American.....	874,538		8	
1864.....	Abraham Lincoln*.....	Illinois.....	Republican.....	1,866,352	491,195	180	
	Stephen A. Douglas.....	Illinois.....	Democrat.....	1,375,157		12	
	John C. Breckinridge.....	Kentucky.....	Democrat.....	845,763		72	
1868.....	John Bell.....	Tennessee.....	Union.....	589,581	407,342	39	
	Abraham Lincoln*.....	Illinois.....	Republican.....	2,216,667		(b) 212	
	George B. McClellan.....	New Jersey.....	Democrat.....	1,808,725		21	
1872.....	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Illinois.....	Republican.....	3,015,971	305,456	(c) 214	
	Horatio Seymour.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	2,709,615		80	
	Ulysses S. Grant*.....	Illinois.....	Republican.....	3,597,070		286	
1876.....	Horace Greeley.....	New York.....	Democrat and Labor	2,834,079	.....	(d) ..
	Charles O'Connor.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	29,408		..	
	James Black.....	Pennsylvania.....	Temperance.....	5,608		..	
1880.....	Thomas A. Hendricks.....	Indiana.....	Democrat.....	.....	.....	42
	B. Gratz Brown.....	Missouri.....	Democrat.....	.....		18
	Charles J. Jenkins.....	Georgia.....	Democrat.....	.....		2
1884.....	David Davis.....	Illinois.....	Independent.....	.....	.....	1
	Samuel J. Tilden.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	4,284,885		250,935	184
	Rutherford B. Hayes*.....	Ohio.....	Republican.....	4,033,950		(e) 185	
1888.....	Peter Cooper.....	New York.....	Greenback.....	81,740	.....	..
	Green Clay Smith.....	Kentucky.....	Prohibition.....	9,222		..	
	James B. Walker.....	Illinois.....	American.....	2,636		..	
1892.....	James A. Garfield*.....	Ohio.....	Republican.....	4,449,053	7,018	214	
	W. S. Hancock.....	Pennsylvania.....	Democrat.....	4,442,035		155	
	James B. Weaver.....	Iowa.....	Greenback.....	307,306		..	
1896.....	Neal Dow.....	Maine.....	Prohibition.....	10,305	.....	..
	John W. Phelps.....	Vermont.....	American.....	707		..	
	Grover Cleveland*.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	4,911,017		62,683	219
1884.....	James G. Blaine.....	Maine.....	Republican.....	4,848,334	.....	182
	John P. St. John.....	Kansas.....	Prohibition.....	151,809		..	
	Benjamin F. Butler.....	Massachusetts.....	People's.....	133,825		..	
1888.....	P. D. Wigginton.....	California.....	American.....	.....	.....	..
	Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	5,538,233		98,017	168
	Benjamin Harrison*.....	Indiana.....	Republican.....	5,440,216		233	
1892.....	Clinton B. Fisk.....	New Jersey.....	Prohibition.....	249,907	.....	..
	Alson J. Streeter.....	Illinois.....	United Labor.....	148,105		..	
	R. H. Cowdry.....	Illinois.....	United Labor.....	2,808		..	
1896.....	James L. Curtis.....	New York.....	American.....	1,591	380,810	..	
	Grover Cleveland*.....	New York.....	Democrat.....	5,556,918		277	
	Benjamin Harrison.....	Indiana.....	Republican.....	5,176,108		145	
1892.....	James B. Weaver.....	Iowa.....	People's.....	1,041,028	.....	22
	John Bidwell.....	California.....	Prohibition.....	264,133		..	
	Simon Wing.....	Massachusetts.....	Socialist Labor.....	21,164		..	

* The candidates starred were elected. (a) No candidates having a majority of the electoral vote, the House of Representatives elected Adams. (b) Eleven Southern States, being within the belligerent territory, did not vote. (c) Three Southern States disfranchised. (d) Horace Greeley died after election, and Democratic electors scattered their vote. (e) There being a dispute over the electoral votes of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina, they were referred by Congress to an electoral commission, composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, which, by a strict party vote, awarded 185 electoral votes to Hayes, and 184 to Tilden.

The following was the popular and electoral vote for President in 1896 by States :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULAR VOTE.							ELECTORAL VOTE.	
	Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.	Palmer, N. Dem.	Levering, Pro.	Bentley, Nat.	Matchett, S. Lab.	Pluralities.	Bryan, Dem.	McKinley, Rep.
Alabama	130,307	54,737	6,462	2,147	....	....	75,570 B	11	..
Arkansas	110,103	37,512	....	839	803	....	74,591 B	8	..
California	143,373	146,170	1,730	2,573	1,046	1,611	2,797 McK	1	8
Colorado	161,153	26,271	1	1,717	386	159	134,882 B	4	..
Connecticut	56,740	110,285	4,334	1,808	....	1,223	53,545 McK	..	6
Delaware	13,444	16,804	877	355	....	....	3,630 McK	..	3
Florida	32,736	11,288	654	1,778	....	....	21,448 B	4	..
Georgia	94,232	60,091	2,708	5,613	....	....	34,141 B	13	..
Idaho	23,192	6,324	..	179	....	....	16,868 B	3	..
Illinois	464,632	607,130	6,390	9,796	793	1,147	143,098 McK	..	24
Indiana	395,573	323,754	2,145	3,056	2,267	324	18,181 McK	..	15
Iowa	223,741	289,293	4,516	3,192	352	453	65,552 McK	..	13
Kansas	171,810	159,541	1,209	1,921	630	..	12,269 B	10	..
Kentucky	217,890	218,171	5,114	4,781	....	....	281 McK	1	12
Louisiana	77,175	22,037	1,834	....	....	....	55,138 B	8	..
Maine	34,588	80,465	1,870	1,570	....	....	45,777 McK	..	6
Maryland	104,735	136,959	2,507	5,918	136	587	32,224 McK	..	8
Massachusetts	105,711	278,076	11,749	2,998	....	2,114	173,265 McK	..	15
Michigan	236,714	293,582	6,879	5,025	1,995	297	56,868 McK	..	14
Minnesota	139,626	193,501	3,202	4,343	....	867	53,875 McK	..	9
Mississippi	63,859	5,130	1,071	485	....	..	58,729 B	9	..
Missouri	363,667	304,940	2,355	2,169	293	596	58,727 B	17	..
Montana	42,190	9,998	..	91	....	....	32,192 B	3	..
Nebraska	115,762	102,292	2,798	1,193	738	170	13,470 B	8	..
Nevada	8,377	1,938	....	....	....	....	6,439 B	3	..
New Hampshire	21,650	57,444	3,520	779	49	228	35,794 McK	..	4
New Jersey	133,675	221,367	6,373	5,614	....	3,985	87,692 McK	..	10
New York	551,369	819,838	18,950	16,952	....	17,667	268,469 McK	..	36
North Carolina	174,488	155,222	578	675	247	....	19,266 B	11	..
North Dakota	20,686	26,335	..	358	..	..	5,649 McK	..	3
Ohio	477,494	525,991	1,857	5,068	2,716	1,167	47,497 McK	..	23
Oregon	46,662	48,779	977	919	....	....	2,117 McK	..	4
Pennsylvania	433,228	728,300	11,000	19,274	870	1,683	295,072 McK	..	32
Rhode Island	14,459	37,437	1,166	1,160	5	558	22,978 McK	..	4
South Carolina	58,798	9,281	828	..	....	....	49,517 B	9	..
South Dakota	41,205	41,022	....	691	....	....	183 B	4	..
Tennessee	166,268	148,773	1,951	3,098	....	....	17,495 B	12	..
Texas	370,434	167,520	5,046	1,786	....	....	202,914 B	15	..
Utah	64,851	13,461	..	....	....	....	51,390 B	3	..
Vermont	10,637	51,127	1,331	733	....	....	40,490 McK	..	4
Virginia	154,709	135,368	2,129	2,350	....	108	19,341 B	12	..
Washington	51,557	39,124	1,499	805	111	....	12,433 B	4	..
West Virginia	92,927	104,414	677	1,203	....	....	11,487 McK	..	6
Wisconsin	165,523	268,135	4,584	7,509	346	1,314	102,612 McK	..	12
Wyoming	10,655	10,072	....	136	....	....	583 B	3	..
Total	6,454,943	7,105,959	132,870	131,748	13,873	36,260	.....	176	271

Popular vote, McKinley over Bryan	651,016
Popular vote, McKinley over all	336,265
Pluralities, McKinley	1,516,602
Pluralities, Bryan	965,586
Electoral vote, McKinley over Bryan	95
Straight Fusion vote for Bryan	6,304,300
Straight Populist vote for Bryan	150,643
Total Popular vote, 1896	13,875,653

It can be seen from the above table that 20,259 more votes for Bryan instead of McKinley would have given Bryan the election if thus distributed; 141 in Kentucky giving him 12 more electoral votes (he received 1 electoral vote in Kentucky); 1059 in Oregon with 4 electoral votes; 1399 in California giving him 8 more electoral votes (he received 1 electoral vote in California); 2825 in North Dakota with 4 electoral votes; 5744 in West Virginia with 6 electoral votes, and 9091 in Indiana with 15 electoral votes. Or 40,518 votes in those States for Bryan instead of some other candidate than either McKinley or Bryan would have elected Bryan.

McKinley carried 23 States and Bryan 22, besides gaining an electoral vote each in 2 States reckoned in McKinley's 23. The candidates in 1896 for Vice-Presidents were Garret A. Hobert, of New Jersey, Republican, who received 271 electoral votes, and was elected; Arthur Sewall, of Maine, Democrat, who received 176 electoral votes; Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, Populist; Hale Johnson, of Illinois, Prohibitionist; Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, National Democrat; Matthew Maguire, of New Jersey, Socialist Labor Party; James H. Southgate, of North Carolina, National (Free Silver Prohibition Party).

STATES.	* 1880.				† 1884.				‡ 1888.				§ 1892.			
	Rep. Garfield.	Dem. Hancock.	Grbk. Weaver.	Pro. Dow.	Rep. Blaine.	Dem. Cleveland.	Grbk. Butler.	Pro. St. John.	Rep. Harrison.	Dem. Cleveland.	Un. Lab. Streeter.	Pro. Fisk.	Rep. Harrison.	Dem. Cleveland.	Pro. Weaver.	Pro. Bidwell.
Alabama	56,221	91,185	4,642	.....	59,505	93,051	873	612	57,157	117,320	10,613	9,197	138,138	85,181	239
Arkansas	42,436	60,775	4,970	.....	50,805	79,027	1,847	.....	58,702	85,062	.....	46,974	87,752	11,831	113
California	80,340	80,426	4,302	.....	102,416	80,288	2,057	2,020	124,816	117,729	.....	118,027	118,151	18,331	8,066
Colorado	27,420	24,647	1,433	.....	30,299	27,723	1,958	761	59,774	37,567	1,266	38,620	.....	55,511	25,311
Connecticut	67,671	64,415	868	409	65,023	67,190	1,688	2,395	74,584	74,200	240	42,334	82,395	800	4,026	
Delaware	14,133	15,275	120	.....	12,951	16,964	6	55	12,973	16,414	.....	77,032	18,581	.....	564
Florida	23,654	27,064	.....	.....	28,031	31,766	.....	72	26,659	39,591	.....	18,977	30,143	4,843	570
Georgia	54,686	102,470	969	.....	48,603	94,667	145	105	49,446	100,449	.....	48,395	129,336	42,030	988
Iadah	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,599	.....	19,520	288
Illinois	318,637	277,321	26,358	443	337,474	312,355	10,010	12,074	370,475	348,371	7,134	390,288	456,281	22,207	25,870	
Indiana	282,947	205,845	12,086	.....	238,461	244,990	8,203	3,028	263,361	261,013	6,064	255,611	262,740	22,016	13,044
Iowa	283,947	195,812	32,701	592	197,086	177,316	17,316	4,472	211,058	179,877	9,105	219,373	196,367	20,618	6,222	
Kansas	105,846	59,808	19,851	25	118,122	69,132	16,341	4,495	182,994	102,745	37,788	157,241	.....	163,111	4,553
Kentucky	105,846	14,068	14,000	258	158,122	152,961	1,691	3,139	155,134	183,800	5,225	135,441	175,461	23,900	6,442	
Louisiana	38,037	65,177	4,408	.....	46,347	69,549	.....	.....	39,701	85,026	127	133,331	87,022	13,332	3,062
Maine	174,939	73,761	8,118	93	85,600	96,932	3,953	2,160	72,734	59,482	1,345	62,878	48,024	2,945	3,062	
Maryland	78,535	93,766	4,518	.....	85,600	96,932	531	2,704	90,086	106,168	.....	92,716	113,866	706	5,877
Massachusetts	165,205	119,060	4,518	682	116,724	122,481	24,443	10,026	183,862	151,855	8,701	202,814	176,813	3,210	7,530	
Michigan	185,341	131,597	34,805	942	102,665	140,835	42,243	18,493	236,387	213,400	4,555	222,708	202,206	10,802	14,066	
Minnesota	93,923	53,335	3,967	286	111,023	70,144	3,583	4,684	142,402	104,385	1,997	122,736	100,570	39,308	14,017	
Mississippi	34,654	58,759	5,792	.....	43,056	76,510	.....	2,153	39,096	85,471	222	1,406	40,237	10,250	610
Missouri	153,597	209,609	35,133	.....	202,929	235,988	.....	.....	236,325	261,954	4,540	226,762	268,628	41,183	4,208
Montana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18,838	17,534	7,359	517
Nebraska	58,979	28,533	3,950	.....	76,012	54,301	.....	2,899	108,425	80,552	4,226	94,220	24,943	83,134	4,902
Nevada	8,132	4,973	.....	.....	7,193	54,378	26	.....	7,238	5,326	.....	41	711	7,267	85
New Hampshire	44,852	49,793	528	180	43,249	39,768	552	1,571	45,728	43,456	42	45,658	42,081	293	1,297	
New Jersey	120,555	124,395	2,617	191	123,449	127,708	3,496	6,150	144,360	151,998	.....	7,933	150,080	985	8,134
New York	555,544	534,354	12,373	4,517	562,095	569,154	16,994	25,016	659,338	635,005	626	39,231	654,868	16,420	38,100	
North Carolina	115,974	124,208	14,126	.....	125,068	144,932	.....	454	134,784	147,002	47	100,346	132,951	44,732	2,636
North Dakota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17,650	.....
Ohio	375,948	340,821	6,155	2,616	400,862	368,280	5,179	11,060	416,054	396,455	3,496	405,187	494,115	14,850	26,012	
Oregon	20,039	69,948	.....	.....	26,866	24,604	726	492	33,201	26,522	363	35,002	14,243	26,875	2,281
Pennsylvania	444,704	497,448	20,669	1,939	473,804	392,781	16,992	15,283	523,585	444,327	3,877	29,708	516,011	8,714	25,123	
Rhode Island	18,695	14,679	296	26	21,039	12,301	422	928	21,966	17,530	1,251	27,060	452,264	297	1,195	
South Carolina	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,410	.....
South Dakota	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee	197,077	138,191	5,917	43	124,078	133,258	957	1,131	138,988	158,770	.....	99,973	136,477	23,622	4,856
Texas	57,693	56,436	27,695	.....	93,141	225,390	3,321	3,534	88,280	241,883	29,459	81,444	239,148	90,638	2,165
Vermont	55,397	38,366	4,215	.....	39,514	17,337	785	1,732	45,192	16,788	.....	14,599	16,325	4,124	.....
Virginia	84,020	128,386	.....	.....	139,356	145,497	.....	138	159,438	151,977	.....	113,256	163,977	12,473	2,708
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,105	2,553
West Virginia	46,443	9,979	.....	.....	63,696	67,317	810	939	78,171	78,677	1,598	80,285	84,468	4,165	2,130
Wisconsin	144,400	174,649	7,986	69	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,636	176,553	155,232	8,552	179,791	177,335	9,990	13,132	
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,722	.....
Total	4,454,416	4,444,952	398,578	10,395	4,851,081	4,871,086	175,370	159,360	5,446,708	5,536,242	146,883	5,175,202	5,554,226	1,042,631	262,799	
Per cent	48.31	48.20	.....	0.11	48.22	48.48	1.74	1.49	47.81	48.63	1.27	48.84	45.98	8.79	.....
Plurality	9,464	.....	.....	.....	.....	23,093	.....	.....	.....	95,531	.....	.....	379,025	.....	.....

* 1880.—Greenback, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,395; American, 707; imperfect and scattering, 989. All over Garfield, 311,115.
 † 1884.—Blank, defective, and scattering, 14,994. In consequence of the uncertainties in the count resulting from the "fusions" formed, the plurality shown for Cleveland must be considered an approximation to the actual result—not a definite result. All over Cleveland, 317,638.
 ‡ 1888.—Coward, United Labor, 3973; Curtis, American, 1591; Socialist, 2668; scattering, 7777. All over Harrison, 566,544.
 § 1892.—In the Harrison vote in Texas are included 3969 votes cast for a Republican electoral ticket known as the "Lilly White." In Alabama and Louisiana there were some Republican fusions with the People's party, and in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming there were Democratic fusions with the People's party. In each case the "fusion" vote is counted for Weaver, except in Louisiana, where it is equally divided between Harrison and Weaver. In Virginia, Connecticut, 329; Maine, 336; Maryland, 27; Massachusetts, 649; New Jersey, 1337; New York, 17,958; Pennsylvania, 898; total, 21,534; percentage, 0.17; scattering, blank, and defective, 21,266. All over Cleveland, 969,205.
 Per cent and Plurality are based on the total vote of 4,444,952.

The record of any popular vote for electors prior to 1824 is so meager and imperfect that a compilation would be useless. In most of the States, for more than a quarter century following the establishment of the Government, the State legislatures "appointed" the Presidential electors, and the people, therefore, voted only indirectly for them, their choice being expressed by their votes for members of the legislature. In this tabulation only the aggregate electoral votes for candidates for President and Vice-President in the first nine quadrennial elections appear.

1789. Previous to 1804, each elector voted for two candidates for President. The one who received the largest number of votes was declared President, and the one who received the next largest number of votes was declared Vice-President. The electoral votes for the first President of the United States were: George Washington, 69; John Adams of Massachusetts, 34; John Jay of New York, 9; R. H. Harrison of Maryland, 6; John Rutledge of South Carolina, 6; John Hancock of Massachusetts, 4; George Clinton of New York, 3; Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, 2; John Milton of Georgia, 2; James Armstrong of Georgia, Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, and Edward Telfair of Georgia, 1 vote each. Vacancies (votes not cast), 4. George Washington was chosen President, and John Adams Vice-President.

1792. George Washington, Federalist, received 132 votes; John Adams, Federalist, 77; George Clinton of New York, Republican,* 50; Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Republican, 4; Aaron Burr of New York, Republican, 1 vote. Vacancies, 3. George Washington was chosen President, and John Adams Vice-President.

1796. John Adams, Federalist, 71; Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68; Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina, Federalist, 59; Aaron Burr of New York, Republican, 30; Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, Republican, 15; Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, Independent, 11; George Clinton of New York, Republican, 7; John Jay of New York, Federalist, 5; James Iredell of North Carolina, Federalist, 3; George Washington of Virginia, John Henry of Maryland, and S. Johnson of North Carolina, all Federalists, 2 votes each; Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, Federalist, 1 vote. John Adams was chosen President, and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.

1800. Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 73; Aaron Burr, Republican, 73; John Adams, Federalist, 65; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 64; John Jay, Federalist, 1 vote. There being a tie vote for Jefferson and Burr, the choice devolved upon the House of Representatives. Jefferson received the votes of 10 States, which, being the largest vote cast for a candidate, elected him President. Burr received the votes of four States, which, being the next largest vote, elected him Vice-President. There were 2 blank votes.

1804. The Constitution of the United States having been amended, the electors at this election voted for a President and a Vice-President, instead of for two candidates for President. The result was as follows: For President, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 162; Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, 14. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 162; Rufus King of New York, Federalist, 14. Jefferson was chosen President, and Clinton Vice-President.

1808. For President, James Madison of Virginia, Republican, 122; Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina, Federalist, 47; George Clinton of New York, Republican, 6. For Vice-President, George Clinton, Republican, 113; Rufus King of New York, Federalist, 47; John Langdon of New Hampshire, 9; James Madison, 3; James Monroe, 3. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President, and Clinton Vice-President.

1812. For President, James Madison, Republican, 138; De Witt Clinton of New York, Federalist, 89. For Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Republican, 131; Jared Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, Federalist, 86. Vacancy, 1. Madison was chosen President, and Gerry Vice-President.

1816. For President, James Monroe of Virginia, Republican, 183; Rufus King of New York, Federalist, 34. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins of

New York, Republican, 183; John Eager Howard of Maryland, Federalist, 22; James Ross of Pennsylvania, 5; John Marshall of Virginia, 4; Robert G. Harper of Maryland, 3. Vacancies, 4. Monroe was chosen President, and Tompkins Vice-President.

1820. For President, James Monroe of Virginia, Republican, 231; John Q. Adams of Massachusetts, Republican, 1. For Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, Republican, 218; Richard Stockton of New Jersey, 8; Daniel Rodney of Delaware, 4; Robert G. Harper of Maryland, and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, 1 vote each. Vacancies, 3. James Monroe was chosen President, and Daniel D. Tompkins Vice-President.

As to the working of the present constitutional conception of the President's office, there are various views. Mr. James Bryce (*The American Commonwealth*, the first edition, chap. vii.) says:

"Altho the President has been, not that independent good citizen whom the framers of the Constitution contemplated, but, at least during the last 60 years, a party man, seldom much above the average in character or abilities, the office has attained the main objects for which it was created. Such mistakes as have been made in foreign policy, or in the conduct of the administrative departments, have been rarely owing to the Constitution of the office or to the errors of its holder."

Nevertheless he tells us that this must not make us overlook certain defects incidental to the American Presidency. He says:

"In a country where there is no hereditary throne nor hereditary aristocracy, an office raised far above all other offices offers too great a stimulus to ambition. This glittering prize, always dangling before the eyes of prominent statesmen, has a power stronger than any dignity under a European crown to lure them (as it lured Clay and Webster) from the path of straightforward consistency. One who aims at the Presidency—and all prominent politicians do aim at it—has the strongest possible motives to avoid making enemies. Now a great statesman ought to be prepared to make enemies. It is one thing to try to be popular—an unpopular man will be unimportant—it is another to seek popularity by courting every section of your party. This is the temptation of Presidential aspirants."

"A second defect is that the Presidential election, occurring once in four years, throws the country for several months into a state of turmoil, for which there may be no occasion. Perhaps there are no serious party issues to be decided, perhaps the best thing would be that the existing administration should pursue the even tenor of its way. The Constitution, however, requires an election to be held, so the whole costly and complicated machinery of agitation is put in motion; and if issues do not exist, they have to be created."

"Again, these regularly recurring elections produce a discontinuity of policy. Even when the new President belongs to the same party as his predecessor, he usually nominates a new cabinet, having to reward his special supporters."

"Fourthly. The fact that he is reeligible once, but (practically) only once, operates unfavorably on the President. He is tempted to play for a renomination by so pandering to active sections of his own party, or so using his patronage to conciliate influential politicians, as to make them put him forward at the next election. On the other hand, if he is in his second term of office, he has no longer much motive to regard the interests of the nation, because he sees that his own political death is near."

"Fifthly. An outgoing President is a weak President. During the four months of his stay in office after his successor has been chosen, he declines, except in cases of extreme necessity, to take any new departure, to embark on any executive policy which cannot be completed before he quits office. This is, of course, even more decidedly the case if his successor belongs to the opposite party."

"Lastly. The result of an election may be doubtful, not from equality of votes, for this is provided against, but from a dispute as to the validity of votes given in or reported from the States. This difficulty arose

*The first Republican Party is claimed by the present Democratic Party as its progenitor.

Defects.

between Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, disclosing the existence of a set of cases for which the Constitution had not provided. It will not recur in quite the same form, for provision has now been made by statute for dealing with disputed returns. But cases may arise in which the returns from a State of its electoral votes will, because notoriously obtained by fraud or force, fail to be recognized as valid by the party whose candidate they prejudice. No Presidential election passes without charges of this kind, and these charges are not always unfounded. Should manifest unfairness coincide with popular excitement over a really important issue, the self-control of the people, which in 1877, when no such issue was involved, restrained the party passions of their leaders, may prove unequal to the strain of such a crisis."

Another evil which Mr. Bryce refers to in another chapter has been recently much minimized by civil service reform (*q. v.*), but is yet a very great though perhaps to some extent a necessary evil—the presidential appointing power.

It is probably necessary that a president responsible to an extent for the whole federal administration should appoint his own Cabinet and heads of departments, subject to the approval of the Senate, as required by the Constitution; but it is not necessary that these offices should be looked upon as the natural rewards for party service, and that from the day of his election till long after his inauguration the time of a president should be almost wholly occupied by considering rival claims for office. Yet this is the almost inevitable result under the present Constitution, which gives the President so much power—a power far more in many respects than have most European monarchs. Says Mr. Bryce (*idem*, chap. vi.):

"Artemus Ward's description of Abraham Lincoln swept along from room to room in the White House by a rising tide of office seekers is hardly an exaggeration. From the 4th of March, when Mr. Garfield came into power, till he was shot in the July following, he was engaged almost incessantly in questions of patronage. Yet the President's individual judgment has little scope. He must reckon with the Senate; he must requite the supporters of the men to whom he owes his election; he must so distribute places all over the country as to keep the local wire-pullers in good humor, and generally strengthen the party by 'doing something' for those who have worked or will work for it. Altho the minor posts are practically left to the nomination of the Senators or Congressmen from the State or district, conflicting claims give infinite trouble, and the more lucrative offices are numerous enough to make the task of selection laborious as well as thankless and disagreeable. . . . No one has more to gain from a thorough scheme of Civil Service Reform than the President. The present system makes a wire-puller of him. It throws work on him unworthy of a fine intellect, and for which a man of fine intellect may be ill qualified. On the other hand the President's patronage is, in the hands of a skilful intriguer, an engine of far-spreading potency. By it he can oblige a vast number of persons, can bind their interests to his own, can fill important places with the men of his choice. Such authority as he has over the party in Congress, and therefore over the course of legislation; such influence as he exerts on his party in the several States, and therefore over the selection of candidates for Congress, is due to his patronage. Unhappily, the more his patronage is used for these purposes, the more it is apt to be diverted from the aim of providing the country with the best officials."

Professor E. J. James dissents on certain points from the views of Mr. Bryce. He says (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1896):

"The term 'responsible,' in political science and in constitutional discussions, has come to have a definite technical meaning which makes it improper to use it in describing the relations of the officials in the United States to the people.

"Looking for a moment at the President alone, there is no sense in which the term 'responsible' is used in the discussions of political science in which the President can be fairly said to be responsible to the people at all. He is elected for a period of four years and during that period is as completely and absolutely out of the reach of law and legal process, in his official capacity as President, as even the crowned heads of Europe. It is true that if the President desires to be reelected, he may shape his policy with reference to the impression it will produce upon the voters of the country, or, at least, upon the politicians; but, so the German Emperor, if he desires to secure the passage of a bill through the German legislature, will act in such a way as, in his opinion, will contribute to that end, but he is not for that reason responsible, in any political sense, to the people. Even if the President might be said, in a certain sense, to be responsible in his first term—that is, so far as he may be affected by the desire to influence public sentiment in favor of securing a second term—certainly this cannot be said of his conduct during his second term with reference to a third. He knows full well that no conduct of his would be likely to secure a third term in the present temper and with the present political traditions of the people of the United States.

"No power is given to individual citizens, or to the citizens taken collectively, or to the States individually, or to the States taken together, to control or supervise in any way the acts of the President. He is, so far as any of these elements in our political system are concerned, absolutely irresponsible. Nor can he be reached by any process of the court, and he is, therefore, in this sense, as truly above the courts and free from responsibility to them as any king in Europe. Indeed one may say that in a certain sense the crowned heads of Europe are more immediately responsible to some power outside of themselves than is the President."

Of Mr. Cleveland's bond issues, the *Detroit Tribune* says:

"Until Cleveland proved by trial what a President could do, few persons, doubtless, were aware that money could be borrowed upon the public credit, for the payment of the ordinary expenses of the Government, without consultation of the legislature of the people. It would appear incredible that an intelligent and watchful nation should let its Government get into such shape as that the matter of public expenditure was not controlled by the parliamentary assembly. It was incredible until the object-lessons compelled belief. . . . By the existing law the Executive is given a legal way of getting money without asking the people for it. If that is not a dangerous situation, it will be hard to find dangerous situations."

In the United States discussion as to constitutional reforms in regard to the Presidency have turned mainly upon the method of electing Presidents, their length of term, and their appointing power.

Concerning the method of electing Presidents it is proposed first that the President be elected by direct vote of the people. This is the plan advocated by two out of four contributors to a symposium on the subject in the *North American Review* (vol. cxi. p. 97). It would give every man a chance to express his wish, not compelling him to vote for nominees of a party. It is claimed that it would put the President in closer touch with the people, and make him more independent of party machines; that it would lessen the opportunity for corruption. On the other hand it is argued that, as there would have to be concert of action to elect a candidate, there would be practically no more freedom of personal choice than now, while secret and corrupt concerted action would have more chance. As to the objection that the present electoral system often elects a candidate who has not received the popular majority, it is answered

that a popular majority might often be a sectional majority and not represent the whole country any more truly. It is, therefore, secondly, suggested that the President be elected by the national legislature, as in France.

Mr. D. B. Eaton (*North American Review*, vol. cliv. p. 691) would lengthen the term of office from four to six years, making the elections less frequent, and then forbidding a second term.

Mr. George T. Curtis (*Century*, vol. vii. p. 124) would have the Electoral Commission meet as an electoral chamber, competent to judge of the qualifications and returns of its own members, and then allowing this body to elect the President as responsible men, not as the mere automata of parties.

Mr. Albert Stickney (*A True Republic*, chap. ix.) would make changes in the power to be given the office, and make the President responsible to the legislature, who should have direct power of removing him, without a hearing, if they think public interests demand it, by a two-thirds vote of both Houses sitting as one body. He asks if anyone ever heard of such a thing as insuring efficient work from a man who could not be removed instantly, so soon as, for any reason, he failed to do his work well. Mr. Stickney, through all portions of administrative departments, from the top to the bottom, would give all official responsibility for one work to one man. He would give the President the sole appointing and removing power for all heads of departments and no more. Each department head should be solely responsible for his department, each subordinate head being responsible for those under him; the President, finally, being responsible to the legislature. This system would take from the chief executive any voice in the appointment or removal of the great number of subordinate officials which he now has. It would free him to appoint his department heads without a two-thirds vote of the Senate. For any misconduct or failure he could himself be removed. If not removed, he could hold the office for life.

In the Swiss republic the executive power is not lodged with one man, but in a federal council (Bundesrath), elected for a term of three years by an assembly of the two Houses of legislature sitting together. This assembly also elects the President and Vice-President of the Bundesrath, but the President is given little more power than his colleagues, and can only serve one term. Rotation in the office is rigidly carried out. The main duty of the President, as distinguished from his colleagues, is to represent the Bundesrath and to receive the ministers of foreign powers.

Very many believe that the Presidents of the United States have too much power. At the time of the Pullman strike, when Mr. Cleveland called out the Federal troops to protect the mails, railroads, etc., Governor Altgeld publicly protested against the act; claiming that the State authorities were doing all that was necessary, and that if the President could send troops into a State which had not called for help, it made him a tyrant over the land.

Some radicals believe in the abolition of the Presidency. Says a memorial addressed to Congress:

"1. The Presidency is a copy of royalty: it is an essentially un-republican institution; for it exalts an individual into ruling power over all the rest of the population, bringing them into a relation of subjection toward him, and accustoming them to monarchical ideas.

"2. It is thoroughly anti-democratic in nature; for it does not only ignore the direct authority of the popular will, but opposes an independent and autocratic front to the representative thereof—the legislature.

"3. It maintains the false, illogical, disorganizing theory—born in monarchy, and principally denying democracy—of the 'partition of powers.' In the democratic polity, all powers are derived from the people, and are no more capable of partition from and against each other than are the people. . . .

"4. It is a constantly menacing, constantly growing cause of danger to the republic—whose eventual ruin it must inevitably occasion.

"5. If it do not cause such ruin by direct, violent subversion, it must effect the same through corruption; for the Presidential office is the source, the constantly growing source, of universal corruption. . . .

"To avoid these dangers, the undersigned suggest that Congress propose an Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing the Presidency, and transferring the executive functions to an administrative commission, or Congressional ministry, to be chosen by Congress from their own body, or from among other competent citizens; and to be supervised and instructed, during the adjournment of Congress, by a standing committee, who are to be in permanent session during that time, and who are to be authorized to call extra sessions of Congress when needed."

(See also ELECTIONS; ELECTORAL COLLEGE; CONSTITUTION.)

PRICE.—For a discussion of the important and much debated economic laws which govern price and value, see **VALUE**. For tables of prices, see **PRICES**. The whole subject of price, from the economic standpoint, is so involved with the subject of value that we cannot discuss it advantageously separately from that subject. When we speak of the *price* of an article we popularly mean the amount of money that we have to pay for it in open market; by *value* people usually mean an estimate of a commodity's usefulness or worth. But some economists use the word *value* in the sense not of any *estimate* of worth, but the amount an article will exchange for measured by any standard, while they use the word *price* of the value of a commodity measured by the standard of money. Price is thus a particular case of value, and there is here no distinction between price as a given fact in the market and value as an estimate. Both price and value are facts dependent on intricate laws. The so-called Austrian or psychologic school, which has a large hold in the United States, is differentiated from the orthodox economic school very largely by its concept of value, and the Fabian socialists differ from German socialists on the same point. We give here some representative definitions which show why the subject cannot be separated from that of value. Says Professor Fawcett (*Political Economy*, book iii. chap. i.):

"Price is a particular case of value. If the value of a commodity is estimated by comparing it with those precious metals which civilized countries employ as money, then it is said that the price, and not the value of a commodity, is ascertained."

Says John Stuart Mill (*Political Economy*, book iii. chap. i. § 2):

"The words value and price were used as synonymous by the early political economists, and are not always discriminated even by Ricardo. But the most accurate modern writers, to avoid the wasteful expenditure of two good scientific terms on a single idea, have employed price to express the value of a thing in relation to money; the quantity of money for which it will exchange. By the price of a thing, therefore, we shall henceforth understand its value in money; by the value or exchange value of a thing, its general power of purchasing, the command which its possession gives over purchasable commodities in general."

Says Professor Marshall (*Elements of Economics of Industry*, book i. chap. i. § 5):

"Civilized countries generally adopt gold or silver or both as money. Instead of expressing the values

of lead and tin, and wood and corn, and other things in terms of one another we express them in terms of money in the first instance, and call the value of each thing thus expressed its price. If we know that a ton of lead will exchange for 15 sovereigns at any place and time, while a ton of tin will exchange for 90 sovereigns, we say that their prices then and there are £15 and £90 respectively, and we know that the value of a ton of tin in terms of lead is six tons then and there."

PRICES.—For a discussion of prices, see VALUE. We give here from authoritative sources tables of the rise and fall of prices in recent times. Senate Report No. 1394, second session, Fifty-second Congress, gives the following table of relative prices in gold* for groups of articles in the United States, 1840-91:

YEAR.	GENERAL AVERAGE PRICES.								
	Food.	Cloths and clothing.	Fuel and lighting.	Metals and imple-ments.	Lumber and build-ing materials.	Drugs and chemicals.	House-furnishing goods.	Miscella-neous.	All articles.
1840.....	96.6	110.7	395.8	123.5	110.0	145.8	116.4	147.1	116.8
1841.....	94.4	113.4	208.9	123.7	111.8	141.3	116.4	147.1	115.8
1842.....	82.9	100.9	202.0	118.7	108.8	131.6	116.4	170.6	107.8
1843.....	79.3	99.9	187.5	114.7	105.4	121.4	100.3	123.5	101.5
1844.....	81.6	105.0	119.7	133.3	103.0	119.7	102.3	120.5	101.9
1845.....	87.3	97.1	239.6	110.8	106.7	121.0	102.3	114.8	102.8
1846.....	94.6	95.3	143.8	116.9	106.2	123.9	111.0	111.0	106.4
1847.....	94.7	97.6	110.7	120.6	108.2	112.5	120.3	121.7	106.5
1848.....	83.5	87.5	106.1	119.7	105.3	113.0	121.7	125.6	101.4
1849.....	79.0	82.2	100.0	124.9	97.6	111.0	120.5	100.8	98.7
1850.....	85.5	91.3	102.6	114.8	102.2	123.6	125.6	107.7	102.3
1851.....	90.6	94.7	93.3	119.2	97.2	125.8	120.0	102.7	105.9
1852.....	88.7	88.7	97.5	117.7	100.4	111.8	111.9	100.5	102.7
1853.....	101.2	98.6	101.6	122.8	103.2	107.0	118.7	109.2	109.1
1854.....	105.9	97.4	106.8	125.6	114.1	110.7	121.2	108.4	112.9
1855.....	111.8	94.7	121.1	117.8	103.4	129.2	121.2	115.2	113.1
1856.....	110.4	100.6	126.4	115.3	102.8	135.5	115.5	121.6	113.2
1857.....	117.5	106.0	113.3	110.4	105.0	126.8	116.8	110.0	112.5
1858.....	94.6	98.0	111.4	101.3	103.8	116.0	108.7	97.1	101.8
1859.....	98.8	101.1	98.8	100.1	98.7	104.2	103.2	100.8	100.2
1860.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1861.....	95.8	94.9	103.5	102.5	108.9	101.3	96.8	100.7	100.6
1862.....	107.7	121.1	94.8	114.3	145.6	113.6	87.3	101.2	114.9
1863.....	91.7	132.0	73.8	96.5	122.1	101.0	84.8	89.0	102.4
1864.....	106.6	167.7	115.9	115.6	142.3	164.3	105.9	99.3	122.5
1865.....	100.1	138.4	110.0	88.5	84.2	123.6	83.8	99.8	100.3
1866.....	124.1	161.7	200.2	122.1	133.4	164.3	132.3	122.1	136.3
1867.....	121.8	133.7	145.8	119.8	132.8	156.9	132.2	119.9	127.9
1868.....	118.6	106.0	157.9	108.7	125.8	128.4	97.4	118.5	115.9
1869.....	120.1	108.8	152.5	104.2	122.3	118.7	89.0	119.7	113.2
1870.....	126.8	114.9	162.0	105.4	122.3	123.3	100.2	122.6	117.3
1871.....	152.9	120.4	130.2	110.4	136.8	125.9	116.1	134.4	122.9
1872.....	122.2	131.1	136.8	117.3	153.0	122.8	112.9	121.6	127.2
1873.....	115.2	121.5	119.4	115.2	152.5	125.6	96.8	117.5	122.0
1874.....	118.0	114.8	134.3	108.7	139.0	131.8	98.3	116.5	119.4
1875.....	116.0	106.8	139.1	104.4	127.7	128.2	84.4	109.2	113.4
1876.....	109.1	95.3	128.2	96.1	121.7	108.0	77.3	101.2	104.8
1877.....	113.3	95.9	101.7	94.2	118.5	115.2	74.4	111.3	104.4
1878.....	105.5	91.9	91.7	90.8	115.2	112.6	73.3	110.2	99.9
1879.....	97.6	91.1	95.3	88.4	115.1	110.9	68.6	102.1	96.6
1880.....	107.6	104.5	100.2	96.3	130.9	113.1	85.2	109.8	106.9
1881.....	110.9	99.9	113.7	91.1	131.3	110.4	77.6	108.8	105.7
1882.....	118.8	98.7	110.1	91.2	137.5	107.6	78.1	114.6	108.5
1883.....	118.8	94.8	114.2	87.5	134.3	98.1	77.5	117.3	106.0
1884.....	108.9	88.9	102.4	81.0	129.5	95.7	76.3	111.9	99.4
1885.....	98.7	84.8	89.6	77.4	126.6	85.9	70.1	97.5	93.0
1886.....	99.5	85.1	86.2	75.8	128.5	83.9	68.4	91.3	91.9
1887.....	104.2	84.7	88.6	74.9	126.5	83.6	66.4	88.6	92.6
1888.....	109.4	84.7	94.9	74.9	124.8	86.0	66.9	89.3	94.2
1889.....	111.9	83.6	95.3	72.9	124.0	88.8	70.0	88.8	94.2
1890.....	104.6	82.4	92.5	73.2	123.7	87.9	69.5	89.7	92.3
1891.....	103.9	81.1	91.0	74.9	122.3	86.3	70.1	95.1	92.2

*In converting currency prices into gold we have used the value of \$100 gold in currency as given for January of each year in the *American Almanac* for 1878, as follows: 1862, 102.5; 1863, 145.1; 1864, 155.5; 1865, 216.2; 1866, 140.1; 1867, 134.6; 1868, 138.5; 1869, 135.6; 1870, 121.3; 1871, 110.7; 1872, 109.1; 1873, 112.7; 1874, 111.4; 1875, 112.5; 1876, 112.8; 1877, 106.2; and 1878, 101.4.

The *Statistical Abstract of the United States* for 1894, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, gives (p. 417) the following table :

PRICES OF LEADING ARTICLES OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTION EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES FROM 1870 TO 1894.

(The values of the goods represent their market value at the time of exportation.)

YEAR ENDING JUNE 30.	Corn, per bushel.	Wheat, per bushel.	Wheat flour, per barrel.	Cotton, per pound.*	Leather, per pound.	Illuminating oils, refined, per gallon.	Bacon and hams, per pound.	Lard, per pound.	Pork, salted, per pound.	Beef, salted, per pound.	Butter, per pound.	Cheese, per pound.	Eggs, per Dozen.	Starch, per pound.	Sugar, refined, per pound.	Tobacco, leaf, per pound.
	Dols.	Dols.	Dols.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.
1870.....	.925	1.29	6.11	23.5	28.5	30.5	15.7	16.6	13.2	7.3	29.3	15.5	30.6	8.2	12.6	11.4
1871.....	.759	1.32	6.59	14.9	25.3	25.7	14.4	13.2	10.9	8.7	21.5	13.7	28.5	6.6	13.2	9.2
1872.....	.605	1.47	7.11	19.3	23.7	23.9	8.6	10.1	7.2	7.0	19.4	11.7	20.3	5.0	12.6	10.3
1873.....	.618	1.31	7.57	18.8	25.3	23.5	8.8	9.2	7.8	7.7	21.1	13.1	26.6	5.0	11.6	10.7
1874.....	.719	1.43	7.14	15.4	25.2	17.3	9.6	9.4	8.2	8.2	25.0	13.1	22.1	5.0	9.6	10.7
1875.....	.848	1.12	5.97	15.0	25.0	14.0	11.4	13.8	10.1	8.7	33.7	13.5	25.6	5.0	10.8	11.3
1876.....	.672	1.24	6.22	12.9	26.2	14.0	12.1	13.3	10.6	8.7	23.9	12.9	28.0	5.4	10.7	10.4
1877.....	.587	1.17	6.49	11.8	23.9	21.1	10.8	10.9	9.0	7.5	20.6	11.8	25.9	5.2	11.6	10.2
1878.....	.562	1.34	6.36	11.1	21.8	14.4	8.7	8.8	6.8	7.7	18.0	11.4	15.8	4.7	10.2	8.7
1879.....	.471	1.07	5.25	9.9	20.4	10.8	6.9	7.0	5.7	6.3	14.2	9.8	15.5	4.2	8.5	7.8
1880.....	.543	1.25	5.88	23.3	8.6	6.7	7.4	6.1	6.3	17.1	9.5	10.5	4.3	9.0	7.7	8.3
1881.....	.552	1.11	5.67	11.5	22.6	10.2	8.2	9.3	7.7	6.5	19.3	11.1	17.2	4.7	9.2	8.3
1882.....	.668	1.19	6.15	11.4	20.9	9.1	9.9	11.0	9.0	8.5	19.3	11.0	19.2	4.3	9.7	8.5
1883.....	.684	1.13	5.96	10.8	21.1	8.8	11.2	11.9	9.9	8.5	18.6	11.2	20.9	4.6	9.2	8.3
1884.....	.611	1.07	5.59	10.5	20.6	9.2	10.2	9.5	7.9	7.6	18.2	10.3	21.2	4.5	7.1	9.1
1885.....	.540	.86	4.96	10.6	19.8	8.7	9.2	7.9	7.2	7.5	16.8	9.3	21.5	4.0	6.4	9.9
1886.....	.498	.87	4.70	9.9	19.9	8.7	7.5	6.9	5.9	6.0	15.6	8.3	18.3	4.1	6.7	9.6
1887.....	.479	.89	4.51	9.5	18.7	7.8	7.7	7.1	6.6	5.4	15.8	9.3	16.3	3.8	6.0	8.7
1888.....	.479	.85	4.58	9.8	17.3	7.0	8.6	7.7	7.4	5.3	18.3	9.9	15.9	3.5	6.3	8.3
1889.....	.550	.90	4.83	9.9	16.6	7.8	8.6	8.6	7.4	5.3	16.5	9.3	13.9	3.8	7.6	8.8
1890.....	.448	.83	4.66	10.1	16.0	7.4	7.7	7.1	6.0	5.4	14.4	9.0	15.4	4.1	7.0	8.6
1891.....	.374	.93	4.82	10.0	16.4	7.0	7.6	6.9	5.9	5.6	14.5	9.0	17.7	3.7	5.7	8.7
1892.....	.55	1.03	4.96	8.7	16.0	5.9	8.1	7.2	6.0	5.7	16.0	9.4	18.0	3.1	4.6	8.4
1893.....	.53	.80	4.54	8.5	15.0	4.9	9.1	9.5	7.8	5.4	19.0	9.4	23.2	3.2	4.7	9.0
1894.....	.46	.67	4.11	7.8	15.1	4.2	9.6	9.0	8.0	5.7	17.6	9.7	16.9	3.2	4.4	8.5

* Upland.

For Great Britain, Mr. Angus Sauerbeck, the eminent statistician, gives the following tables quoted in the special publication of the United States Bureau of Statistics for 1895.

MOVEMENTS OF 45 COMMODITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM (PRODUCTION AND IMPORTS).

YEARS.	Estimated actual value in each period.	Nominal values at average prices of 1867-77, showing increase in quantities.	Movement of quantities, 1848-50=100.	Movement of quantities from period to period.	Ratio of prices according to this table, 1867-77 = 100.
Average, 1848-50.....	£219,800,000	£294,800,000	100	.....	74.6
1850-61.....	350,100,000	382,700,000	130	30 per cent. over 1849	91.5
1860-71.....	456,600,000	484,600,000	164	27 per cent. over 1850	94.2
1874-76.....	537,800,000	538,400,000	183	.....	99.9
1879-81.....	489,700,000	578,500,000	196	19 per cent. over 1870	84.6
1884-86.....	445,700,000	610,100,000	207	.....	73.0
1889-91.....	504,100,000	685,200,000	233	18 per cent. over 1880	73.6
1892.....	482,900,000	686,500,000	233	.....	70.3
1893.....	445,800,000	655,300,000	223	.....	68.0
1894*.....	448,400,000	696,800,000	236	2 per cent. over 1890	64.3

* 1894 subject to correction after publication of the mineral produce returns.

Mr. Sauerbeck says :

"The nominal values at the uniform prices of 1867-77 show the exact movement of quantities in the aggregate. The quantities have remained practically unchanged on the average of the last six years; during the three years, 1889-91, they were 13 per cent. larger than in 1880, and 133 per cent. larger than in 1849. There was a considerable decrease in 1893, principally owing to diminished supplies of coals and cotton, while the figure for 1894 is barely 2 per cent. higher than in 1889-91. The actual value in 1894 was

less than the average of 1869-71, altho the quantities were 44 per cent. larger."

The following table shows the course of prices of 45 commodities during the last 17 years as compared with the standard period of 18 years, 1867-77, which in the aggregate is equivalent to the average of the 25 years 1853-77 (see the Royal Statistical Society's *Journal*, 1886, pp. 592 and 648, and 1893, pp. 220 and 247):

SUMMARY OF INDEX NUMBERS. GROUPS OF ARTICLES, 1867-77=100.

YEARS.	Vegetable food (corn, etc.).	Animal food (meat, etc.).	Sugar, coffee, and tea.	Total food.	Minerals.	Textiles.	Sundry materials.	Total materials.	Grand total.	Silver.*	Wheat harvest.†	Average price of consols.‡	Average Bank of England rate.‡
1878.....	95	101	90	96	74	78	88	81	87	86.4	108	95 ³ / ₈	3 ³ / ₈
1879.....	87	94	87	90	73	74	85	78	83	84.2	64	97 ¹ / ₈	2 ³ / ₈
1880.....	80	101	88	94	79	81	80	84	88	85.0	93	100	2 ³ / ₈
1881.....	84	101	84	91	77	77	86	80	85	85.0	97	100	3 ³ / ₈
1882.....	84	104	76	89	79	73	85	80	84	84.0	100	100 ¹ / ₂	4 ³ / ₈
1883.....	82	103	77	89	76	70	81	77	82	83.1	93	101 ¹ / ₈	3 ³ / ₈
1884.....	71	97	63	79	68	68	81	73	76	83.3	103	101	3
1885.....	68	88	63	74	66	65	76	70	72	79.9	108	99 ¹ / ₂	3 ³ / ₈
1886.....	65	87	60	72	67	63	69	67	69	74.6	93	100 ¹ / ₂	3
1887.....	64	70	67	70	60	65	67	67	68	73.3	110	101	3 ³ / ₈
1888.....	67	82	65	72	78	64	67	69	70	70.4	96	101	3 ³ / ₈
1889.....	65	86	75	75	75	70	68	70	72	70.2	103	98	3 ³ / ₈
1890.....	65	82	70	73	80	66	69	71	72	78.4	106	96 ¹ / ₂	4 ³ / ₈
1891.....	75	81	71	77	76	59	69	68	72	74.1	108	95 ¹ / ₂	3 ³ / ₈
1892.....	65	84	69	73	71	57	67	65	68	65.4	91	96 ¹ / ₂	2 ³ / ₈
1893.....	59	85	75	72	68	59	68	65	68	58.6	90	98 ¹ / ₂	3 ³ / ₈
1894.....	55	80	65	66	64	53	64	60	63	47.6	106	101	2 ³ / ₈
Average, 1885-94..	65	83	68	72	71	62	68	67	69	69.2	101	99	3 ³ / ₈
1878-87..	79	95	76	84	73	71	81	76	79	82.1	97	99 ¹ / ₂	3 ³ / ₈

* Silver 60.84d. per ounce=100.

† Wheat harvest in the United Kingdom, 1878-83, 28 bushels per acre=100; from 1884, 29 bushels=100.

‡ Consols and bank-rate actual figures, not index numbers; consols 2³/₈ per cent. from 1889.

The index number for all commodities was 63, against 68 in 1893, and was therefore 7½ per cent. below the preceding year, 9 per cent. below the average of the preceding 10 years, 20 per cent. below the 10 years 1878-87, and 37 per cent. below the standard period, 1867-77. The decline during the past year extended to all groups of commodities, and in no case was it less than 6 per cent. A number of articles showed records of lowest prices during the century; thus, wheat and flour, oats, rice, sugar, lead, cotton, jute, flax, manila, hemp, merino wool, silk, and soda, in fact, 16 out of 45 descriptions, while some others, such as tea, copper, and petroleum were on the average of the year as low or lower than in any preceding year.

PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.—According to some sociological writers, the present system of private ownership in land was preceded by a system of collective or communal ownership and cultivation. The main authorities for this view are Sir Henry Maine, in his *Ancient Law*; G. L. von Maurer, in his *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark, — Hof- Dorf- und Stadtverfassung* (1854); P. Viollet, in his *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1872), and Ém. Laveleye, in his *De la Propriété de ses Formes Primitives* (1874), well known to English readers in Marriott's translation, *Primitive Property* (1878). Maine says in the above work (p. 268):

"Property once belonged not to individuals, nor even to isolated families, but to larger societies." Maurer says (p. 93): "All land in the beginning was common land and belonged to all; that is to say, to the people." Viollet says (p. 503): "Land was held in common before it became private property in the hands of a family or an individual." De Laveleye says: "The arable land was cultivated in common; private property grew up afterward out of this ancient common ownership."

Maurer builds his argument from certain expres-

sions in Cæsar, Tacitus, and other Latin authors, and from certain words and phrases like *communio* and *ager publicus* in classic and mediæval formularies, laws, etc. He studies the subject simply in regard to Germanic peoples.

Viollet finds communal property described or referred to among the Greeks and Romans, by Plato, Vergil, Justin, Tibullus, and other writers. He sees a relic of it in the public meals of Sparta, the feasts of the Athenian *prytanes*, and of the Roman *curia*. De Laveleye traces such communal property in the Javan *desa*, the Russian *mir*, the Indian village community, the German *Mark*, the family communities of Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Champagne, and Auvergne, in the Swiss *Allmenden*, the Scotch township, the common lands of France, Belgium, and other countries. De Laveleye does not write as an admirer of the "primitive communism." He argues, in his introduction, that inequality overthrew Greece and Rome and threatens us in still more critical form, and then says: "The object of this book is not to advocate a return to the primitive agrarian community, but to establish historically the natural right of property as claimed by philosophers, as well as to show that ownership has assumed various forms and is consequently susceptible of progressive reform." According to De Laveleye, land was first unappropriated at all. Then certain tribes laid claim to certain portions of territory for grazing purposes. Next, portions began to be claimed for cultivation by the tribe. Then this was parceled out among the families of the tribe for cultivation. Next the parcels were claimed for occupation by patriarchal families. Finally, individual hereditary property appears. **De Laveleye.**

For a discussion of the Russian *mir*, see **MIR**; for the German *Mark*, see **MARK**; for the *Allmend*, see **SWITZERLAND**. Of the Slavic family communities De Laveleye gives a specially interesting account. Under this system land belongs to the *gmina*. (German *Gemeinde*, or commune), which divides the land among the patriarchal families, according to their size. At the head of each family is a *gospodar*. He is elected by the community and transacts its business. He is the executive, but acts only with the advice of the community. The wife of the *gospodar* or some other chosen woman is the *domatchica*, and regulates the domestic interests. The houses cluster around the central house of the *gospodar*. In this house all take their meals. Each community has 20 to 30 persons, and occasionally more. There are usually three generations. When the community becomes too large it divides. The young women usually pass into their husbands' family-community. The fruits of the agricultural labor are usually held in common, but of

industrial labor, individually. Each community owns about 40 acres. The aged and infirm are cared for in common. The women take turns in the common work. Communities aid each other. In the evenings, the community meets for songs and dance. Members are allowed to leave. The system allows of division of labor, union of capital and labor, and simple fraternal life. But it is dying before the forces of self-seeking and western individualism.

Similar communities, De Laveleye says, were developed all through Europe in the Middle Ages, and existed till our own day in Brittany, Auvergne, and various secluded territories.

This view of primitive property in land, however, has been severely criticized by other scholars; notably by Fustel de Coulanges in an essay on *The Origin of Property in Land*, first appearing in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for April 1889, and translated under the above title by Margaret Ashley (1891).

M. de Coulanges argues that Maurer and Viollet have forced the meaning of the classic authors they quote and that common meals and family communities by no means prove the communal ownership of land. De Coulanges says in summing up his essay (p. 149): "Are we to conclude from all that has gone before that nowhere and at no time was land held in common? By no means. To commit ourselves to so absolute a negative would be to go beyond the purpose of this work. The only conclusion to which we are brought by this prolonged examination of authors, is that community in land has not yet been historically proved."

M. Viollet has not brought forward a single piece of evidence which proves that the great cities ever practised agrarian communism. M. de Jubainville has not brought forward one which proves communism in Gaul. Maurer and Lamprecht have not produced one which shows that the *Mark* was common land. National communism has been confused with the common ownership of the family; tenure in common has been confused with ownership in common; agrarian communism with village commons.

Such are the two opposing schools. Some argue that the correct balance of truth is that property was not originally held either by individuals or communally, but by bodies of men under some "strong man"—despot, tyrant, or at best patriarch. This would be far from communism, but perhaps equally far from individual ownership.

Professor Ch. Letourneau in his *Property and its Origin and Development* (Contemporary Science Series, 1892) finds the origin of property in a biological root, which begins among the animals.

"The instinct of property," he says (p. 2), "is but one of the manifestations of the most primordial of needs—the need of self-preservation, of existing, and securing existence to offspring. The banquet of nature is very irregular, and sometimes very niggardly; the guests are numerous, hungry, and often brutal. Yet, under pain of death, a place must be gained there, defended, and, as far as possible, retained; for continually recurring needs must constantly be satisfied. The severity of the struggle for existence may be greater or less, but it goes on without a truce; therefore the more intelligent the organized being, whether man or animal, the more he takes thought for the future, the more he tries, by securing some sort of property, to reduce the element of chance in his life."

But this may be done in various ways: sometimes selfishly, in isolation, if the individual is gifted enough or well enough armed with force or cunning to suffice unto himself; sometimes collectively, if those concerned are sufficiently intelligent, sufficiently sociable, to supplement their native feebleness by combining, by creating a powerful cluster through the union of small individual energies. These two very different methods of understanding property are found in the animal kingdom, and each of them makes its own mark upon the manners, tendencies, and mentality of the species." Letourneau then goes on to trace the

development of the instinct of property in the animals which lay claim to certain tracts of territory, exactly as do nomadic tribes, or to dens, lairs, or nests, exactly like primitive men. Weaker animals, like bees and ants, have to think of the future. They develop sociability and intelligence, and organize armies and clusters, with officers and laws. From the animal, Letourneau passes to man and finds some men lower than the brute in the instinct of property. He notices the property of anarchic hordes, the savages of Borneo, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the sociability of the Bushmen, the solidarity of the Fuegians, the Australian clans. Among them all property is, as a rule, communal and not private, though the instinct of private property is developing in the private ownership of a weapon or an ornament. Often these are burned or buried with the dead owner. For the property in women, see FAMILY. Among the republican tribes of America, Letourneau finds the same, from the communism of the North American Indian to the developed kingdom of the Incas; see PERU. A step up we come to the monarchic tribes, where despotic heads develop caste and slavery. Here wives are made to toil as the property of the monarchs, and upon fields owned by the monarchs. In New Zealand there were three kinds of proprietors—the tribe, the family, and the individual. In Polynesia, generally, primitive equality has been wholly left behind, and property is owned by chiefs. In Africa the aborigines have developed out of equality, but the degrees are not fixed. In southern Asia we find the Javanese *desa* and Indian communal village. This is perhaps due to the necessity of collective irrigation of rice-fields. In ancient Egypt we have a kingdom something like that of the Incas; all nominally owned by kings, but divided into kings' lands, priests' land, and warriors' lands. Beneath these grades are herdsmen, artisans, and slaves. In China land is nominally owned by the king, but allotted to families. It must be tilled, or can be forfeited. Land is inalienable. Village communities are traceable. In nomadic Arabia, a system of combined individual and communal property exists. Among the Hebrews, land was divided among all, by families. The early Aryan races seem to have practised the village community, and this brings us to historic times.

References: See the books quoted above. (See also PROPERTY; LAND; COMMUNISM.)

PRISONERS.—For a study of the sociological questions connected with crime and prisoners, see CRIME; CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY; CRIMINOLOGY. For the treatment of prisoners, see PENOLOGY; CONVICT LABOR; ELMIRA REFORMATORY; JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.

We give here tables of statistics as to the number, distribution, and birthplace of prisoners in the United States, as reported by the census of 1890:

PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1890, CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND BY ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION.

ELEMENTS.	Aggregate.	Men.	Women.
The United States.....	82,329	75,924	6,405
White	57,310	52,894	4,416
Native	40,471	38,156	2,315
Both parents native.....	21,037	20,101	936
One parent foreign.....	2,881	2,729	152
Both parents foreign.....	12,601	11,766	835
One or both parents unknown.....	3,952	3,560	392
Foreign born.....	15,932	13,869	2,063
Birthplace unknown.....	907	869	38
Colored.....	25,019	23,030	1,989
Negroes.....	24,277	22,305	1,972
Chinese.....	497	406	1
Japanese	13	12	1
Indian.....	322	307	15

As to the nativity of 57,310 white prisoners (52,894 men and 4,416 women), 40,471 (38,156 men and 2,315 women) were born in the United States, 15,932 (13,869 men and 2,063 women) were born abroad, and the birthplace of 907 (869 men and 38 women) is unknown.

Omitting those whose nativity is not given, the percentage of native whites is 71.75, and of foreign whites 28.25.

The Chinese and Japanese were, of course, born abroad, while the negroes and Indians may be supposed to have been born in this country.

Of the 40,471 whites born in the United States, 21,037 (20,101 men and 936 women) had a native father and a native mother, 12,601 (11,766 men and 835 women) had both parents foreign born, 2881 (2729 men and 152 women) had one native and one foreign parent, and the parentage of 3952 (3560 men and 392 women) is unknown as to one or both parents.

Omitting the latter, the percentage of native whites of purely native origin is 57.61; of purely foreign origin, 34.50; and of mixed origin, 7.80.

References: See CRIMINOLOGY.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	PRISONERS OF ALL CLASSES.						Ratio per 1,000,000 of Population.	Inmates of Juvenile Reformatories.
	Penitentiaries,	County Jails.	City Prisons.	Work-houses.	Other.*	Total.		
The United States....	45,233	19,861	3,264	9,968	4,003	82,329	1,315	14,846
North Atlantic Division..	14,777	6,764	791	5,644	582	28,258	1,624	7,388
Maine.....	170	302	17	....	23	512	774	169
New Hampshire.....	116	113	79	....	13	321	853	102
Vermont.....	91	30	1	57	21	200	602	86
Massachusetts.....	1,530	954	101	2,553	89	5,227	2,335	698
Rhode Island.....	122	229	3	206	....	560	1,621	270
Connecticut.....	340	675	11	....	....	1,026	1,375	626
New York.....	8,190	1,292	470	1,217	299	11,468	1,912	3,675
New Jersey.....	1,557	783	37	....	78	2,455	1,699	608
Pennsylvania.....	2,361	2,386	72	1,611	59	6,489	1,234	1,154
South Atlantic Division..	6,466	3,019	670	695	559	11,409	1,288	1,293
Delaware.....	....	139	....	....	....	139	825	45
Maryland.....	690	486	3	323	....	1,502	1,441	1,061
District of Columbia...	....	213	11	269	3	496	2,153	187
Virginia.....	1,167	390	443	....	....	2,000	1,208	....
West Virginia.....	278	153	1	12	6	450	590	....
North Carolina.....	1,422	442	10	91	68	2,033	1,257	....
South Carolina.....	806	374	4	....	....	1,184	1,020	....
Georgia.....	1,729	552	179	....	478	2,938	1,599	....
Florida.....	374	270	19	....	4	667	1,704	....
North Central Division...	10,990	4,225	798	3,002	839	19,854	888	5,451
Ohio.....	1,652	502	119	627	9	2,909	792	1,529
Indiana.....	1,416	464	20	88	....	1,988	907	636
Illinois.....	2,057	727	108	955	121	3,936	1,029	383
Michigan.....	1,108	399	46	480	90	2,155	1,029	696
Wisconsin.....	530	345	5	230	8	1,118	663	591
Minnesota.....	432	268	169	211	21	1,041	800	284
Iowa.....	623	327	37	....	29	1,016	531	527
Missouri.....	1,701	505	214	411	2	2,833	1,057	360
North Dakota.....	65	25	....	....	97	97	531	....
South Dakota.....	97	72	....	....	7	178	541	....
Nebraska.....	391	219	39	....	6	655	610	237
Kansas.....	918	432	41	....	537	1,928	1,351	208
South Central Division...	9,241	4,118	582	323	1,820	16,084	1,466	359
Kentucky.....	1,235	646	55	....	174	2,110	1,135	273
Tennessee.....	1,484	654	62	240	11	2,451	1,387	....
Alabama.....	1,086	573	133	....	726	2,518	1,664	....
Mississippi.....	429	284	10	....	454	1,177	913	....
Louisiana.....	856	524	228	....	....	1,608	1,438	86
Texas.....	3,319	1,040	73	83	232	4,747	2,123	....
Oklahoma.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Arkansas.....	832	397	21	....	223	1,473	1,306	....
Western Division.....	4,059	1,735	423	304	203	6,724	2,221	355
Montana.....	225	103	11	....	3	432	3,269	....
Wyoming.....	10	50	3	....	2	74	1,210	....
Colorado.....	526	275	91	....	10	902	2,188	149
New Mexico.....	112	85	8	....	....	205	1,335	....
Arizona.....	144	97	2	....	7	250	4,193	....
Utah.....	180	43	44	....	2	269	1,204	....
Nevada.....	96	54	....	....	2	152	3,322	....
Idaho.....	102	45	....	....	3	150	1,778	....
Washington.....	251	141	57	....	3	452	1,204	....
Oregon.....	362	61	12	....	5	440	1,402	....
California.....	2,051	682	195	304	166	3,398	2,813	206

* Including prisoners "leased," in "military prisons," and in insane asylums.

PRODUCTION may be popularly defined as the creation of wealth. Strictly speaking, production is only the creation of utilities. Man can create no new matter. He can only

move things, and make them useful. This all producers do. The farmer is sometimes considered more really a producer than the manufacturer, but he is not. Both only move

things, and both produce utilities. We can go farther, says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, p. 57) :

"It is sometimes said that traders do not produce; that while the cabinet-maker produces furniture, the furniture-dealer merely sells what is already produced. But there is no scientific foundation for this distinction. They both produce utilities, and neither of them can do more; the furniture-dealer moves and rearranges matter so as to make it more serviceable than it was before, and the carpenter does nothing more. The sailor or the railway-man who carries coal above ground produces it, just as much as the miner who carries it underground; the dealer in fish helps to move on fish from where it is of comparatively little use to where it is of greater use, and the fisherman does no more. It is true that if there are more traders than are necessary there is waste. But there is also waste if there are two men to a plow which can be well worked by one man; in both cases all those who are at work produce, tho they may produce but little."

Professor Marshall says, elsewhere :

"Productive labor cannot generally be divided off by a clearly defined line from unproductive. A minister of religion is often classed as an unproductive laborer, but if by exerting moral influence he makes laborers more sober, honest, and efficient, he is so far productive of personal wealth. Again, since some recreation is necessary for the highest efficiency of labor, it is quite possible that a musician may indirectly increase the wealth of a nation, and be indirectly productive."

Nevertheless, most economists have undertaken to distinguish between productive and unproductive labor. Says Mill (*Political Economy*, book i. chap. iii. § 1) :

"Labor is indispensable to production, but has not always production for its effect. There is much labor, and of a high order of usefulness, of which production is not the object. Labor has accordingly been distinguished into productive and unproductive. . . .

"Many writers have been unwilling to class any labor as productive, unless its result is palpable in some material object, capable of being transferred from one person to another. There are others (among whom are Mr. McCulloch and M. Say) who, looking upon the word unproductive as a term of disparagement, remonstrate against imposing it upon any labor which is regarded as useful—which produces a benefit or a pleasure worth the cost. The labor of officers of government, of the army and navy, of physicians, lawyers, teachers, musicians, dancers, actors, domestic servants, etc., when they really accomplish what they are paid for, and are not more numerous than is required for its performance, ought not, say these writers, to be 'stigmatized' as unproductive; an expression which they appear to regard as synonymous with wasteful or worthless. But this seems to be a misunderstanding of the matter in dispute. Production not being the sole end of human existence, the term unproductive does not necessarily imply any stigma; nor was ever intended to do so in the present case. The question is one of mere language and classification."

More important is the discussion as to what compose the elements of production. Adam Smith divided the price of commodities and the revenue of the community into the wages of labor, the profits of stock, and the rent of land. J. B. Say, carrying out this idea, divided the requisites of production into labor, land, and capital, and this division ever since has prevailed all but universally. Professor Jevons (*Political Economy Primer*) tells us that there are, as is "commonly and correctly said, three requisites of production; before we can, in the present state of society, undertake to produce wealth, we must have land, labor, capital. In production we bring these things

together; we apply labor to the land, and we employ the capital in assisting the laborer with tools and feeding him while he is engaged on the work."

Nevertheless, all do not agree to this. Some make only labor and land the elements of production. Some say it is only labor that produces wealth. Says John Stuart Mill (*Polit. Econ.*, book i. chap. i. § 1) : "The requisites of production are two, labor and appropriate natural objects." This is the view usually taken by land reformers, and particularly by the advocates of the Single Tax. They do not deny the necessity of capital in production, but they say—correctly, undoubtedly—that capital comes from land, natural opportunities, and labor, so that fundamentally land and labor are the only requisites to production. This is unquestionably true; nevertheless, capital plays such a large and growing part in production, and the laws which govern its action are so different from those that govern the rent of land and the rewards of labor, that most economists, as stated above, believe it wiser to make it a distinct and separate element of production. They claim that while no one denies the fundamental truth that capital comes from human activity applied to natural opportunities, practically the Single-Tax men are led into errors and absurdities due to minimizing the importance of capital. Mill does not. He says (*idem*, book i. chap. iv. § 1) :

"Besides the primary and universal requisites of production, labor, and natural agents, there is another requisite without which no productive operations beyond the rude and scanty beginnings of primitive industry are possible; namely, a stock, previously accumulated, of the products of former labor. This accumulated stock of the produce of labor is termed capital. The function of capital in production it is of the utmost importance thoroughly to understand, since a number of the erroneous notions with which our subject is infested originate in an imperfect and confused apprehension of this point."

The statement sometimes made that labor is the only necessity to production is based on a peculiar use of the word wealth, identifying it with value, and can, therefore, best be discussed under Value (*q. v.*). No one denies that, in order to produce commodities and utilities, it is necessary to have natural objects to work upon.

For a discussion of the different elements entering into production, see LAND; LABOR; CAPITAL.

For the cost of production, see COST OF PRODUCTION.

For development in capacity for production, see PRODUCTIVITY.

PRODUCTIVITY.—General statistical statements as to the present industrial productive power of the world, and especially as to the enormous growth in productive power, have been repeatedly made, but it must be remembered that such statistics are apt to mislead, in regard to particular industries, because of the very great variations in productivity, and particularly, because of the still greater variations in the increase in productivity between industry and industry.

Elements of Production.

The following statement of the steam and water power of the United States, as based upon the census of 1880, appears in the *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* (1886, p. 87) :

"The mechanical industries of the United States are carried on by steam and water power, representing, in round numbers, 3,500,000 horse-power, each horse-power equaling the muscular labor of 6 men; that is to say, if men were employed to furnish the power to carry on the industries of this country, it would require 21,000,000 men, and 21,000,000 men represent a population, according to the ratio of the census of 1880, of 105,000,000. The industries are now carried on by 4,000,000 persons, in round numbers, representing a population of 20,000,000 only. There are in the United States 28,600 locomotives. To do the work of these locomotives upon the existing common roads of the country, and the equivalent of that which has been done upon the railroads the past year, would require, in round numbers, 54,000,000 horses, and 13,500,000 men. The work is now done, so far as men are concerned, by 250,000, representing a population of 1,250,000, while the population required for the number of men necessary to do the work with horses would be 67,500,000. To do the work, then, now accomplished by power and power machinery in our mechanical industries, and upon our railroads, would require men representing a population of 172,500,000, in addition to the present population of the country of 55,000,000, or a total population, with hand processes and with horse-power, of 227,500,000, which population would be obliged to subsist on present means. In an economic view the cost to the country would be enormous. The present cost of operating the railroads of the country with steam-power is, in round numbers, \$502,600,000 per annum; but to carry on the same amount of work with men and horses would cost \$11,308,500,000."

Mulhall, writing in the *North American Review* for June, 1895, says :

"The working-power of the United States was at various dates approximately as follows :

YEAR.	MILLIONS OF FOOT-TONS DAILY.			
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.
1820.....	753	3,300	240	4,293
1840.....	1,406	12,900	3,040	17,346
1860.....	2,805	22,200	14,000	39,005
1880.....	4,450	36,600	36,340	77,390
1885.....	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306

"The working-power, or number of foot-tons daily per inhabitant, has almost doubled since 1840, and the absolute effective force of the American people is now more than three times what it was in 1860. Of the three great elements of energy above enumerated that which shows the most rapid growth is steam-power, which consists of three classes, viz.:

	HORSE-POWER OF STEAM.			
	1840.	1860.	1880.	1895.
Fixed.....	360,000	800,000	2,186,000	3,940,000
Locomotives...	200,000	1,800,000	5,700,000	10,800,000
Steamboats...	200,000	900,000	1,200,000	2,200,000
Total.....	760,000	3,500,000	9,086,000	16,940,000

"In the above statement, the 'fixed' horse-power employed in mines and factories in 1880 is according to the census returns; the same item cannot be precisely ascertained for the other years, but if it existed in proportion to the number of operatives, as may be fairly supposed, it was as shown above. More than three-fourths of the total steam-power of the Union is employed for traction purposes, on railways and in steamboats, which is not surprising when we remember that the area of activity is as vast as Europe, and that the merchandise transported by rail in the United States is shown by official returns to be double the amount of land-carriage (at least by railway) of all the other nations of the earth collectively. If we would compare the energy or working-power of the United States with that of other nations, the following table would suffice to show it at a glance :

	MILLIONS OF FOOT-TONS DAILY.				FOOT-TONS PER INHABITANT.
	Hand.	Horse.	Steam.	Total.	
Unit'd St'tes	6,406	55,200	67,700	129,306	1,940
Gr't Britain.	3,210	6,100	46,800	56,110	1,470
Germany...	4,280	11,500	29,800	45,580	902
France.....	3,380	9,600	21,600	34,580	910
Austria.....	3,410	9,900	9,200	22,510	560
Italy.....	2,570	4,020	4,800	11,390	380
Spain.....	1,540	5,500	3,600	10,640	590

As to the productivity of agricultural labor in the United States, compared with other countries, Mr. Mulhall (*idem*) gives the following table :

	HANDS EMPLOYED.	TONS OF GRAIN.	TONS OF MEAT.	PRODUCTS PER HAND.	
				Grain, bush.	Meat, lbs.
United States...	8,760,000	76,600,000	4,830,000	350	1,230
United Kingdom.	2,469,000	7,330,000	1,140,000	110	1,090
France....	6,910,000	16,900,000	1,200,000	98	350
Germany...	8,120,000	15,100,000	1,370,000	75	380
Austria...	10,680,000	17,100,000	1,080,000	64	230
Italy.....	5,400,000	5,300,000	360,000	39	150

"An ordinary farm-hand in the United States raises as much grain as three in England, four in France, five in Germany, or six in Austria; which shows that an enormous waste of labor occurs in Europe, because farmers are not possessed of the same mechanical appliances as in the United States."

Edward Atkinson gives the following statements of the industrial productivity of the United States :

"One thousand barrels of flour, the annual rate of 1000 people, can be placed in the city of New York, from a point 1700 or 2000 miles distant, with the exertion of the human labor equivalent to that of only four men, working one year in producing, milling, and moving the wheat. It can then be baked and distributed by the work of three more persons, so that seven persons serve 1000 with bread" (*The Distribution of Products*, p. 15).

The United States.

"The average crop of wheat in the United States and Canada would give one person in every 20 of the population of the globe a barrel of flour in each year, with enough to spare for seed. The land capable of producing wheat is not occupied to anything like one-twentieth of its extent. We can raise grain enough on a small part of the territory of the United States to feed the world" (*Distribution of Products*, p. 22).

"The general conclusion at which I have arrived is that in the year 1880, the census year, when the population of the United States numbered a little over 50,000,000, the annual product had a value of nearly, or quite \$10,000,000,000, at the points of final consumption, including, at market-prices, that portion which was consumed upon the farm, but which was never sold. Omitting that consumed upon the farm, it was about \$9,000,000,000" (*Distribution of Products*, p. 27).

"At an average of 200 pounds per head in the United States, the largest consumption of iron of any nation, we may yet find that the equivalent of one man's work for one year, divided between the coal-mine, the iron-mine, and the iron furnace, suffices for the supply of 500 persons. One operator in the cotton factory makes cloth for 250; in the woolen factory for 300; one modern cobbler (who is anything but a cobbler), working in a boot and shoe factory, furnishes 1000 men, or more than 1000 women, with all the boots and shoes they require for a year" (*Distribution of Products*, pp. 77-78).

Of the comparative industrial productivity of the workmen in various countries, various calculations have been made.

Dr. Schulze-Gaevernitz (*Der Grossbetrieb*,

p. 151) gives the following comparison between Switzerland and Germany, England, and America as regards weaving :

	Weekly product per worker.	Cost per yard.	Hours of labor.	Weekly wage.	
	Yards.			s.	d.
Switzerland and Germany.....	466	0.303	12	11	8
England.....	706	0.275	9	16	3
America.....	1200	0.2	10	20	3

It will be noted that while wages in America are higher than elsewhere, they are not so much higher as the productivity of their labor exceeds that of other workmen. Mr. Hobson says upon this point (*Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 277) :

"Tho it may be better for a weaver to tend four looms during the English factory day for the moderate wage of 16s. a week than to earn 11s. 8d. by tending two looms in Germany for 12 hours a day, it does not follow that it is better to earn 20s. 1d. in America by tending six, seven, or even eight looms for a ten-hours' day, or that the American's condition would be improved if the eight-hours' day was purchased at the expense of adding another loom for each worker.

"The gain which accrues from high wages and a larger amount of leisure, over which the higher consumption shall be spread, may be more than counteracted by an undue strain upon the nerves or muscles during the shorter day. This difficulty, as we have seen, is not adequately met by assigning the heavier muscular work more and more to machinery, if the possible activity of this same machinery is made a pretext for forcing the pace of such work as devolves upon machine tenders."

Of another line of production, the *Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* (1890, pp. 590-591) says :

"The preceding tables also show quite clearly the variation in efficiency between different localities. In pig-iron in the northern district of the United States 43 of the 45 establishments have an efficiency of .08 of a ton or more, one ranging as high as .16 and under .17, 34 being concentrated in the four groups that begin with .08 and end under .12; while in the southern district of the United States 14 of the 21 have an efficiency under .08, and of the seven above this figure five are under .10. In the northern district for those of .08 and above, the average earnings per man per hour ranges from 14.1 cents to 18.7, increasing quite generally with the increase of efficiency, while those below .08 have earnings from 11.1 cents to 12.8. In the southern district the tendency of efficiency and earnings to move together is not so marked, tho the two most efficient have earnings above the average. In Great Britain three establishments are given, two of which have a high efficiency, both being between .12 and .14 tons and accompanied by earnings of 9 and 10 cents, while the remaining one, with an efficiency between .07 and .08 tons, has earnings of but 5.8 cents. The five establishments for the continent of Europe have an efficiency rather lower than the northern district of the United States, agreeing, perhaps, more nearly with the southern. No connection between efficiency and earnings is traceable in them. In muck bar iron the United States, Great Britain, and the continent of Europe are about on a par as to efficiency, tho the number of establishments from the foreign countries is too few for an emphatic conclusion. The connection with earnings is here readily apparent. In steel ingots five of the seven United States establishments have an efficiency between .10 and .13 tons, three being in the group of .12 and under .13, the same position as is occupied by one of the two for Great Britain and one of the three for the continent of Europe. The remaining three for the foreign countries stand very low in the scale, being under .07 tons, a position occupied by only one of the seven United States establishments. High earnings

are here also generally found with high efficiency. For steel rails the United States is represented by two concerns, the continent of Europe by five, and Great Britain by one. The difference in efficiency here is very marked. The two for the United States have an efficiency equal to between .12 and .13 tons of product per man per hour, and the five for the continent of Europe all fall under .06 tons, ranging down even to under .02 tons, while the single establishment for Great Britain shows an efficiency of between .08 and .09 of a ton. No connection between high productive power and high wages is apparent."

Mr. E. R. L. Gould, speaking of wages and productivity in the manufacture of bar iron in the United States (*Contemporary Review*, January, 1893), says :

"The wages of such skilled workmen as beaters and rollers are twice as great as in Great Britain and nearly threefold higher than in France and Belgium. The average wage to all classes of laborers in the establishment is also twice as great as in Great Britain, three times as high as in France, and four times larger than in Belgium. Compare these figures with the labor cost of a similar unit of manufacture and we find quite different proportions. It is only a trifle more than in France, where daily wages are about one-third as high; one-eighth dearer than in Great Britain, with wages only half as high, and 54 per cent. greater than in Belgium, where wages are down to one-fourth. In the manufacture of steel rails the same general law is evident. With the average wage of the establishment 40 per cent. greater than in England, the labor cost is only 10 per cent. more. In comparison with the continent of Europe wages are 90 per cent. and labor cost but 50 per cent. higher. We must note also that for bar iron the proportion of the labor cost to the total cost is less in the United States than in Great Britain and France, and for steel rails less than in England. What inferences are we to draw from the foregoing statistics? Unmistakably this, that higher daily wages in America do not mean a correspondingly enhanced labor cost to the manufacturer. But how so? Some say because of the more perfect mechanical agencies put into the hands of the workman in American rolling-mills. There is reason in this answer if we take the average conditions, but it does not represent the whole truth. Moreover, it cannot be used in a comparison between England and the United States, since in the former country mechanical processes have been perfected almost to the same degree as in the latter. . . . The real explanation I believe to be that greater physical force, as the result of better nourishment, in combination with superior intelligence and skill, make the working man in the United States more efficient. His determination to maintain a high standard of life causes him to put forth greater effort, and this reacts to the benefit of the employer as well as to his own. We should give the principal credit of the higher wage in America neither to the manufacturer, the tariff, nor any other agency but the working man himself, who will not labor for less than will enable him to live on a high social plane. That he can carry out his policy with little disadvantage to his employer in economic competition teaches a lesson of far-reaching importance. . . . There is one consideration we must not overlook. The American may not always equal the naturalized European in physical power, but he greatly surpasses him in nerve force. . . . It is a fact of common experience in the United States that, in a machine shop, for example, three-fourths of the fitters will be foreign born, while among the machinists 75 per cent. will be native Americans."

Of the recent development of industrial power, Mr. J. A. Hobson says (*Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, pp. 171-173) :

"The earlier inventions in the textile industries, and the general application of steam to manufacture, and to the transport services, have played the most dramatic part in the industrial revolution of the last hundred years. But it should be borne in mind that it is far from being true that the great forces of invention have spent themselves, and that we have come to an era of small increments in the growth of productive power. On the contrary, within this last generation, a number of discoveries have taken place in almost all the chief industrial arts, in the opening up

Comparative Productivity.

of new supplies of raw material, and in the improvement of industrial organization, which have registered enormous advances of productive power. In the United States, where the advance has been most marked, it is estimated that in the 15 or 20 years preceding 1886, the gain of machinery, as measured by 'displacement of the muscular labor,' amounts to more than one-third; taking the aggregate of manufactures into account. In many manufactures the introduction of steam-driven machinery and the factory system belongs to this generation. The substitution of machinery for hand labor in boot-making signifies a gain of 80 per cent. for some classes of goods; 50 per cent. for others. In the silk manufacture there has been a gain of 50 per cent.; in furniture some 30 per cent.; while in many minor processes, such as wood-planing, tin cans, wall-papers, soap, patent leather, etc., the improvement of mechanical productiveness per laborer is measured as a rise of from 50 to 300 per cent., or more. The gain is, however, by no means confined to an extension of 'power' into processes formerly produced by human muscle and skill. Still more significant is the increased mechanical efficiency in the foundational industries. In the manufacture of agricultural implements, the increase is put down at from 50 to 70 per cent.; in the manufacture of machines and machinery, from 25 to 40 per cent.; while 'in the production of metals and metallic goods, long-established firms testify that machinery has decreased manual labor 33 1/3 per cent.' The increase in the productive power of cotton mills is far greater than this. From 1870 to 1884 the make of pig-iron rose 131 per cent. in Great Britain, and 237 per cent. in the rest of the world. 'In building vessels an approximate idea of the relative labor displacement is given as 4 or 5 to 1; that is, four or five times the amount of labor can be performed to-day by the use of machinery in a given time that could be done under old hand methods.'

Increase of Productivity.

"In England the rise in productiveness of machinery is roughly estimated at 40 per cent. in the period 1850 to 1885, and there is no reason to suppose this is an excessive estimate. In the shipping industry, where more exact statistics are available, the advance is even greater. The diminution of manual labor required to do a given quantity of work in 1884, as compared with 1870, is put down at no less than 70 per cent.; owing in large measure to the introduction and increased application of steam-hoisting machines and grain elevators, and the employment of steam-power in steering, raising the sails and anchors, pumping, and discharging cargoes. In the construction of ships enormous economies have taken place. A ship which in 1883 cost £24,000, can now be built for £14,000. In the working of vessels the economy of fuel, due to the introduction of compound engines, has been very large. A ton of wheat can now be hauled by sea at less than a farthing per mile. Similarly with land haulage the economy of fuel has made immense reductions in cost. 'In an experiment lately made on the London and North Western Railway, a compound locomotive dragged a ton of goods for one mile by the combustion of two ounces of coal.'

Of the relation between productivity and wages, Dr. Schulze-Gaevernitz (*Der Grossbetrieb*, p. 132) gives the following tables, taking the spinning and weaving industries as wholes in England :

SPINNING.

	Product of yarn in 1000 lbs.	Number of workers in spinning mills.	Product per worker in lbs.	Cost of labor per lb.	Average yearly wages.
1819-21.....	106,500	111,000	968	6 d.	26 13 0
1829-31.....	216,500	140,000	1546	4 2	27 6 0
1844-46.....	523,300	190,000	2754	2 3	28 12 0
1859-61.....	910,000	248,000	3671	2 1	32 10 0
1880-82.....	1,324,000	240,000	5520	1 9	44 4 0*

WEAVING.

	Product in 1000 lbs.	Number of workers.	Product per worker in lbs.	Cost of labor per lb.	Average yearly income.
1819-21.....	80,620	250,000	322	5 s. 15 d.	20 18 0
1829-31.....	143,200	275,000	521	9 0	19 18 0†
1844-46.....	348,110	210,000	1658	3 5	24 10 0
1859-61.....	650,870	203,000	3206	2 9	30 15 0
1880-82.....	993,540	246,000	4039	2 3	39 0 0

* *Der Grossbetrieb*, p. 132. In regarding the advance of recent average wages it should be borne in mind that the later years contain a larger proportion of adults. In considering the net yearly wages, a deduction for unemployment should be made from the sums named in the table.

† Account must be taken of the depressed condition of hand-loom weavers, who had not yet disappeared.

The same holds good of the growth of the cotton-weaving industry in America, as the following table shows :

	Yearly product per worker.	Cost of labor per yard.	Yearly earnings per worker.
	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>Cents.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1830.....	4,321	1.9	164
1850.....	12,164	1.55	190
1870.....	19,293	1.24	240
1884.....	28,032	1.07	290

(See also WEALTH ; MANUFACTURES.)

PROFIT.—The word profit is used in political economy by different writers in different senses. It is not at all difficult to understand its different uses, but great care must be taken to be sure that one knows the sense in which an author uses it, before one can judge or understand the meaning. The failure to do this has led to endless popular confusion, and not seldom to inaccurate statements by economists themselves.

Adam Smith defines it as "the revenue derived from stock (capital) by the person who manages or employs it" (*Wealth of Nations*, i. 7). Mill defines it (*Polit. Econ.*, chap. xv. § 1) as "the gains of the person who advances the expenses of production—who, from funds in his possession, pays the wages of the laborers, or supports them during the work, who supplies the requisite buildings, materials, and tools, or machinery; and to whom, by the usual terms of the contract, the produce belongs, to be disposed of at his pleasure."

Jevons (*Primer of Political Economy*, p. 52) uses it of wages of superintendence, interest, and recompense for risk. He says :

"The proper share of the capitalist is interest; but this is usually a good deal less than what actually remains in the hands of the capitalist. Business is generally carried on by some capitalist who rents a piece of land, builds a factory, purchases machinery, and then employs men to work the machinery, paying them wages. The capitalist himself often acts as manager, and works every day almost as long as the workmen. When the goods are finished and sold, he keeps the whole of the money he gets for them; but then he has already paid out a large sum as wages, while the goods were being made; another part goes to

pay the rent of the land which he has hired. Having struck off these portions, there ought to remain a certain profit, part of which he uses to live upon. But even this profit consists of more than interest upon his capital. It should include also a payment for his labor in superintending the business. The manager

What Profit Is.

of a factory may seldom touch the cotton, flax, iron, or other material, which is manufactured; nevertheless, he works with his head and his pen, calculating the prices at which he can produce goods, inquiring where he can buy the materials most cheaply, choosing good workmen, keeping the accounts straight, and so on. Severe mental labor is really far more difficult and exhausting than manual labor; and in raising up a good business, and carrying it through times of danger, a manager has to undergo great anxiety and mental fatigue. Thus, it is necessary that a successful manager should receive a considerable share of the produce, so as to make it worth his while to give this labor. His share is called the wages of superintendence, and, although usually much larger than the share of a common laborer, it is really wages of the same nature.

"Another part of the capitalist's so-called profit ought to be laid aside as recompense for risk. There is always more or less uncertainty in trade, and even the most skillful and careful manager may lose money by circumstances over which he has no control. Sometimes, after building a factory, the demand for the goods which he is going to produce falls off; sometimes the materials cannot be bought; perhaps it is discovered, when too late, that the factory has been built in an unsuitable place; occasionally, too, the workmen are discontented, and refuse to work for such wages as the capitalist can afford to pay. Now, whenever any of these mistakes or misfortunes happen, it is the capitalist who mainly suffers, because he loses a great deal of money, on which he might otherwise have lived comfortably."

Professor Ely uses the word to exclude interest and wages of superintendence. He says (*Political Economy*, p. 217, first ed.):

"Whatever is left after paying interest, rent, and wages is profits. It is the return which is received for the organization and management of a business at one's risk. It is, strictly speaking, not 'wages of superintendence,' for that may be deducted, and often is deducted."

Profits then may be considered (1) to be what the stockholders or owners of a business receive after those who manage the business have received their "wages of management," after the capital invested or borrowed has received its due interest, and after payment has been made for risk; or (2) profit may be used in a larger sense to include one or more of all these items.

Of the law which governs profits we have many statements. John Stuart Mill says (*Political Economy*, fifth London edition, book ii, chap. xv.):

"The lowest rate of profit which can permanently exist is that which is barely adequate, at the given place and time, to afford an equivalent for the abstinence, risk, and exertion implied in the employment of capital. From the gross profit has first to be deducted as much as will form a fund sufficient on the average to cover all losses incident to the employment.

Law of Profits.

Next, it must afford such an equivalent to the owner of the capital for forbearing to consume it, as is then and there a sufficient motive to him to persist in his abstinence. How much will be required to form this equivalent depends on the comparative value placed, in the given society, upon the present and the future: (in the words formerly used) on the strength of the effective desire of accumulation. Further, after covering all losses, and remunerating the owner for forbearing to consume, there must be something left to recompense the labor and skill of the person who devotes his time to the business. This recompense, too, must be sufficient to enable at least the owners of the large capitals to receive for their trouble, or to pay to some manager for his, what to them or him will be

a sufficient inducement for undergoing it. . . . If the surplus is no more than this, none but large masses of capital will be employed productively, and if it did not even amount to this, capital would be withdrawn from production and unproductively consumed, until, by an indirect consequence of its diminished amount, to be explained hereafter, the rate of profit was raised.

"Such, then, is the minimum of profits; but that minimum is exceedingly variable, and at some times and places extremely low; on account of the great variableness of two out of its three elements. That the rate of necessary remuneration for abstinence, or, in other words, the effective desire of accumulation, differs widely in different states of society and civilization. . . . There is a still wider difference in the element which consists in compensation for risk. I am not now speaking of the differences in point of risk between different employments of capital in the same society, but of the very different degrees of security of property in different states of society.

"The remuneration of capital in different employments, much more than the remuneration of labor, varies according to the circumstances which render one employment more attractive, or more repulsive, than another. The profits, for example, of retail trade, in proportion to the capital employed, exceed those of wholesale dealers or manufacturers, for this reason among others, that there is less consideration attached to the employment. The greatest, however, of these differences is that caused by difference of risk. The profits of a gunpowder manufacturer must be considerably greater than the average, to make up for the peculiar risks to which he and his property are constantly exposed. . . .

"The portion, too, of the gross profit which forms the remuneration for the labor and skill of the dealer or producer, is very different in different employments. This is the explanation always given of the extraordinary rate of apothecaries' profit; the greatest part, as Adam Smith observes, being frequently no more than the reasonable wages of professional attendance. . . .

"But the profits thus vary, the parity, on the whole, of different modes of employing capital (in the absence of any natural or artificial monopoly) is, in a certain, and a very important sense, maintained. On an average (whatever may be the occasional fluctuations), the various employments of capital are on such a footing as to hold out, not equal profits, but equal expectations of profit, to persons of average abilities and advantages. By equal, I mean after making compensation for any inferiority in the agreeableness or safety of an employment. If the case were not so, if there were evidently, and to common experience, more favorable chances of pecuniary success in one business than in others, more persons would engage their capital in the business, or would bring up their sons to it. The expectations of profit, therefore, in different employments, cannot long continue very different; they tend to a common average, tho they are generally oscillating from one side to the other side of the medium."

Representing much later and, at present, far more generally accepted thought, Professor Marshall says (*Economics of Industry*, book vi, chap. viii.):

"The profits of a business are the excess of its receipts over its outgoings, and the annual rate of profits is the ratio which the yearly profits bear to the capital invested. We have next to inquire whether there is any general tendency of the rate of profits to equality.

"The first difficulty arises from the fact that the outgoings of a business, and therefore its profits, are not always estimated in the same way. This was well pointed out by Adam Smith, who said: 'The whole drugs which the best employed apothecary in a large market-town will sell in a year may not perhaps cost him above thirty or forty pounds. Tho he should sell them, therefore, for three or four hundred or a thousand per cent. profit, this may frequently be no more than the reasonable wages of his labor in the only way in which he can charge them, upon the price of the drugs. The greater part of the apparent profit is real wages disguised in the garb of profit. In a small seaport town a little grocer will make 40 or 50 per cent upon a stock of a single hundred pounds, while a considerable wholesale mer-

Professor
Marshall's
View.

chant in the same place would scarce make 8 or 10 per cent. upon a stock of ten thousand.'

"The greater part of the nominal inequality between the normal rates of profit in small businesses and in large would disappear if the scope of the term profits were narrowed in the former case or widened in the latter, so that it included in both cases the remuneration of the same classes of services. There are even reasons for thinking that the rate of profit, rightly estimated, on large capitals tends to be higher than on small. For of two businesses competing in the same trade, that with the larger capital can nearly always buy at a cheaper rate, and can avail itself of many economies in the specialization of skill and machinery and in other ways, which are out of the reach of the smaller business; while at most the only important advantage which the latter is likely to have consists of its greater facilities for getting near its customers and consulting their individual wants. In trades in which this last advantage is not important, and especially in some manufacturing trades in which the large firm can sell at a better price than the small one, the outgoings of the former are proportionately less and the incomings larger; and, therefore, if the profits be reckoned in the same way in both cases, the rate of profits in the former case must be higher than in the latter.

"But these are the very businesses in which it most frequently happens that large firms, after first crushing out smaller ones, either combine with one another and thus secure for themselves the gains of a limited monopoly, or by keen competition among themselves reduce the rate of profit very low. There are many branches of the textile, the metal, and the transport trades in which no business can be started at all except with a large capital; while those that are begun on a moderate scale struggle through great difficulties, in the hope that, after a time, it may be possible to find employment for a large capital, which will yield earnings of management high in the aggregate, the low in proportion to the capital.

"There are some trades which require a very high order of ability, but in which it is nearly as easy to manage a very large business as one of moderate size. In rolling-mills, for instance, there is little detail which cannot be reduced to routine, and a capital of £1,000,000 invested in them can be controlled by one able man. A rate of profits of 20 per cent., which is not a very high average rate for some parts of the iron trade, would give the owner of such works earnings of management amounting to more than £150,000 a year. And since iron-masters can with so little additional effort get the earnings of management on an increased capital, wealthy men remain in the trade longer than in most others; and the competition of the great iron-masters with one another is said to have reduced the average rate of profits in the trade below the ordinary level.

"The rate of profits is low in nearly all those trades which require very little ability of the highest order, and in which a public or private firm with a good connection and a large capital can hold its own against newcomers, so long as it is managed by men of industrious habits and sound common sense and a moderate share of enterprise. And men of this kind are seldom wanting either to a well-established public company or to a private firm which is ready to take the ablest of its servants into partnership.

"We may then conclude, firstly, that the true rate of profits in large businesses is higher than at first sight appears, because much that is commonly counted as profits in the small business ought to be classed under another head.

"Profits are exceptionally high where the wages bill is very large, relatively to the capital. . . . The least inaccurate of all the broad statements that can be made with regard to a general tendency of profits to equality in different trades, is that where equal capitals are employed, profits tend to be a certain percentage per annum on the total capital, together with a certain percentage on the wages bill. . . .

"It is obvious that wholesale dealers, who buy and sell large quantities of produce in single transactions,

and who are able to turn over their capital very rapidly, may make large fortunes, tho their average profits on the turnover are less than 1 per cent.; and, in the extreme case of large stock exchange dealings, even when they are

only a small fraction of 1 per cent. But a shipbuilder, who has to put labor and material into the ship, and to provide a berth for it, a long while before it is ready to sail, and who has to take care for every detail con-

nected with it, must add a very high percentage to his direct and indirect outlay in order to remunerate him for his labor and the locking up of his capital.

"Again, in the textile industries, some firms buy raw material and turn out finished goods, while others confine themselves to spinning, to weaving, or to finishing; and it is obvious that the rate of profit on the turnover of one of the first class must be equal to the sum of the rates of profit of one of each of the three other classes. Again, the retail dealers' profit on the turnover is often only 5 or 10 per cent. for commodities which are in general demand, and which are not subject to changes of fashion; so that, while the sales are large, the necessary stocks are small, and the capital invested in them can be turned over very rapidly, with very little trouble and no risk. But a profit on the turnover of nearly 100 per cent. is required to remunerate the retailer of some kinds of fancy goods which can be sold but slowly, of which varied stocks must be kept, which require a large space for their display, and which a change of fashion may render unsalable except at a loss; and even this high rate is often exceeded in the case of fish, fruit, flowers, and vegetables.

"To pass to another point, the number of those who succeed in business is but a small percentage of the whole; and in their hands are concentrated the fortunes of others several times as numerous as themselves, who have made savings of their own, or who have inherited the savings of others and lost them all, together with the fruits of their own efforts, in unsuccessful business. In order, therefore, to find the average profits of a trade we must not divide the aggregate profits made in it by the number of those who are reaping them, nor even by that number added to the number who have failed; but from the aggregate profits of the successful we must subtract the aggregate losses of those who have failed, and perhaps disappeared from the trade; and we must then divide the remainder by the sum of the numbers of those who have succeeded and those who have failed. It is probable that the true gross earnings of management—that is, the excess of profits over interest—is not on the average more than a half, and in some risky trades not more than a tenth part, of what it appears to be to persons who form their estimate of the profitableness of a trade by observation only of those who have secured its prizes. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the risks of trade are on the whole diminishing rather than increasing."

John Stuart Mill adds an important point. He says (*Political Economy*, book ii. chap. xv. § 5):

"To popular apprehension it seems as if the profits of business depended upon prices. A producer or dealer seems to obtain his profits by selling his commodity for more than it cost him. Profit altogether, people are apt to think, is a consequence of purchase and sale. It is only (they suppose) because there are purchasers for a commodity, that the producer of it is able to make any profit. Demand—customers—a market for the commodity, are the cause of the gains of capitalists. It is by the sale of their goods that they replace their capital and add to its amount.

"This, however, is looking only at the outside surface of the economic machinery of society. In no case, we find, is the mere money which passes from one person to another the fundamental matter in any economical phenomenon. If we look more narrowly into the operations of the producer, we shall perceive that the money he obtains for his commodity is not the cause of his having a profit, but only the mode in which his profit is paid to him.

"The cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. The reason why agricultural capital yields a profit is because human beings can grow more food than is necessary to feed them while it is being grown, including the time occupied in constructing the tools and making all other needful preparations; from which it is a consequence that, if a capitalist undertakes to feed the laborers on condition of receiving the produce, he has some of it remaining for himself after replacing his advances. To vary the form of the theorem: the reason why capital yields a profit is because food, clothing, materials, and tools last longer than the time which was required to produce them; so that if a capitalist supplies a party of laborers with these things, on condition of receiving all they produce, they will, in addition to reproducing

**Labor, the
Source of
Profit.**

Variations.

their own necessities and instruments, have a portion of their time remaining, to work for the capitalist. We thus see that profit arises, not from the incident of exchange, but from the productive power of labor; and the general profit of the country is always what the productive power of labor makes it, whether any exchange takes place or not. If there were no division of employments, there would be no buying or selling, but there would still be profit. If the laborers of the country collectively produce 20 per cent. more than their wages, profits will be 20 per cent. whatever prices may or may not be. The accidents of price may for a time make one set of producers get more than 20 per cent., and another less; the one commodity being rated above its natural value in relation to other commodities, and the other below, until prices have again adjusted themselves; but there will always be just 20 per cent. divided among them all."

All economists, however, do not agree with Mill that the cause of profit is that labor produces more than is required for its support. They deny the fact. Mr. Edward Atkinson, *e. g.*, argues that capital is as necessary to labor as labor to capital. He says (*The Industrial Progress of the Nation*, p. 147):

"Many an honest workmen now sincerely contests the equity of distribution by way of capitalists. What is the true answer? There is and there can be, but one reply to this question.

Part Played by Capital. Labor does not produce the entire product; it only shares in the work as it shares in the product. Without capital labor alone would be almost incapable of sustaining those who constitute the mere working classes in the narrowest sense. Capital is a force, and capitalists are those who direct this force. By the direction which the owners or the administrators of capital give to this force, which requires mental work of the most uncommon kind, the joint product of labor and capital is so much increased that even though the capitalist secures to his own use a large part of the joint product, what is left to the working man is more in quantity and in value than he could otherwise have attained by his own unaided efforts."

Mr. Atkinson says elsewhere (*The Distribution of Profits*, p. 38): "The late Cornelius Vanderbilt may be taken as an example of a communist in a true sense. He was the greatest communist of his age. He consolidated and perfected the railroad service in such a way that a year's supply of meat and bread can be moved one thousand miles from the Western prairies to the Eastern workshop at the measure of cost of a single day's wages of a mechanic or artisan in Massachusetts."

Says Mr. George Gunton (*Wealth and Progress*, chap. 1):

"The idea most prevalent, indeed, well-nigh universal, among working men regarding the production of wealth, to use the official language of the largest labor organization in the world,* is: (1) That labor creates all wealth. (2) That all wealth belongs to those who create it. From this it manifestly follows that all wealth rightfully belongs to the laborer. Hence, all who obtain wealth without his consent do so by cheating him out of the product of his labor, and are thieves and robbers.

"This is not merely the official dogma of a single society, but it constitutes the basis of nearly every proposition and the essence of nearly all economic literature put forth in the name of industrial and social reform. With financial reformers the robbery is labelled 'interest and usury'; with land reformers it is 'rent,' and with the socialists, in the language of their own economist, Karl Marx, it is 'surplus value,' which is more sweeping than any of the others, and includes all rents, profits, and interest.

"If this formula is correct, and all profits, interest, rents, etc., are 'exploitation'—mere plunder of the laborer—clearly the working men would be justified in using any means within their power to take possession of all the wealth in the community, as many of their leaders are expecting them some day to do.

* *Polity of the Labor Movement*, vol. i. p. 4, published by the Knights of Labor, 1885.

[The society to-day is very much reduced in size.—ED.]

"But is it correct? If the first proposition is true, the balance of the formula is indisputable; but if it is not true, then the whole fabric falls, and all efforts at social reformation based upon it must surely fail to produce the desired and expected result.

"A very little reflection will suffice to show that this proposition, while seemingly true, is essentially false. . . . There are clearly two sets of forces or two kinds of motor power that can be employed in producing wealth. One is labor power engendered and put forth by human beings; the other is natural power engendered and put forth by material objects, as capital (machinery, etc.). The former is slow, clumsy, and ineffectual, and capable of very little increase, while the latter is rapid, exact, and powerful, and is capable of indefinite increase.

"Accordingly, in proportion as wealth is produced by human labor is it scant and dear, and the masses are poor and barbarous; and according as it is produced by natural forces (steam, etc.) it is abundant and cheap, and the masses are materially prosperous and socially civilized. Thus, *e. g.*, in India, where wealth is produced mainly by human labor, the annual earnings are about £2 (\$10)* per capita of the population as against £33 (\$165) per capita in this country, where human labor supplies the smallest per cent. of the productive power of any country in the world.† The same is true of other countries.

"Hence we find that in England over 78 per cent. of the productive power is furnished by steam, as against 10 per cent. in Russia. In Spain, 24; Italy, 34, and Portugal, 42 per cent. of the productive power is furnished by human labor, as against 4 per cent. in England and America.

"In consequence of this difference in the use of natural and human forces in production, Mulhall tells us‡ that the united industrial power of six Englishmen and six Americans is equal to that of 24 Frenchmen or Germans, 32 Austrians, 50 Spaniards, 75 Italians, or 84 Portuguese." Accordingly we find the general rate of wages in England is nearly twice, and in this country three times that of the average in Continental countries.

"It is thus clear that the laborer is not robbed by capital, but that he always gains by the use of capital, not because of any generosity on the part of the capitalist, but by the inexorable operation of economic law, which prohibits the use of capital except upon the condition that it will yield increasing returns—in other words, that it will give more wealth to the community than it takes from it.

"Were this otherwise, social progress would be impossible, as the productive power of the human hand cannot, to any great extent, be increased. Hence, unless some other forces can be harnessed to the production of wealth, man would be doomed to eternal poverty and barbarism, as he has been for ages in those countries where natural forces (machinery) have not—except to the most limited extent—been employed. In short, it is only as capital produces more than it consumes that the laborer is enabled to consume more than he produces, and social progress becomes possible.

"It is, therefore, clear that human labor does not, except under the most primitive state of savagery, 'create all wealth,' and that the social condition of the laborer is not necessarily the best when he gets the whole product; but, on the contrary, wealth is produced by the combined effort of labor and capital, and that, according as the proportion of the total wealth produced by human labor diminishes, the actual amount the laborer receives increases."

The above quotations are given, not by any means as the last word upon the subject, but simply to show the important part played in production by capital, and therefore, if capital can only be gotten by giving it profits, the necessity and justice of paying the capitalist sufficient interest or profit. Even those who assert that labor produces all wealth do not deny this. (For a full discussion of their position, see VALUE.) They simply argue that under a cooperative civiliza-

Use of
Capital.

Socialist
View.

* See Mulhall's *Progress of the World*, p. 42.

† *Ibid.*, *History of Prices*, p. 53.

‡ *History of Prices*, p. 54.

tion capital will be furnished either by the community (under socialism) or by cooperating workmen (under an individualistic system), and that hence, when wages and profits are paid to the same persons, profits can become nil and wages all, and still the members of the community be willing and able to furnish the necessary capital. Most Fabian socialists do not hold that labor produces all wealth. They argue that wealth comes from land, labor, and capital. They agree, however, with the Marxian socialists that labor should get all the wealth, because they believe that all men should labor, and that it is neither wise nor just that one class in the community should own the land and capital and be paid for their use, and another class furnish the labor and be paid for their work. They would have the same men and women (the whole community) own the capital and land and furnish the labor, and so receive the whole product. The socialist's and the working man's quarrel is not with capital, but with the capitalist; that is, with the wage system where one class does the work and another class furnishes the capital.

Already the share that goes to capital as a whole is falling, even tho, by concentration, a few capitalists are gaining enormous wealth. The profits on capital may fall so low as to fail to induce men to furnish capital or allow them to live on the returns to capital; then a cooperative system will become necessary, or the whole community be compelled to work and be paid by a few successful capitalists who will get enormous returns, at very low rates, from still more enormous investments.

That the rate of profits is falling is not denied. Says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, book ii. chap. xii. §§ 7-8):

"The total amount of the earnings of management got by business men in a country may be found by subtracting interest on the whole amount of their own capital from their total net incomes after allowing for all expenses and losses; and, even after allowance has been made for insurance against personal risks, this amount certainly gives a very high rate of wage for the skill and ability of business men.

But this rate is not so high as at first sight appears; for great deductions must be made on account of those who have lost their capital in trade. The earnings of the labor that these men have wasted, together with all the capital that they have lost, must be deducted from the earnings of management got by successful men before the average earnings of management can be found. Those who fail are quickly lost from sight and memory; but their number is very great. It is said that in America three-fourths of those who engage in trade become insolvent in the course of the first five years (Bowen, *American Political Economy*, chap. x.).

"§ 8. The supply of skilled labor is increasing faster than that of unskilled labor, and the supply of business power is increasing faster than that of the lower kinds of skilled labor. Thus the competition of business power for the aid of the lower orders of labor in production is increasing. And, as a consequence, the earnings of management that can be got by doing work of a given order of difficulty—the *task-earnings* of management—are diminishing. The continual increase in the complexity of business, and the continual increase in the amount of capital that can be employed in business under a single management, are indeed giving to business ability of the highest order the opportunities of obtaining greater earnings of management than were ever heard of in earlier generations. But the total amount of the earnings of management is not so high in proportion to the amount of capital employed as it used to be. And

the ratio which the earnings of management of a business bear on the average to the capital employed goes on diminishing; and will probably continue to diminish. For the growth of education will increase rapidly the supply of business power that is competing for the aid of hired labor in production; and this competition will prevent the earnings of management from growing as fast as capital is likely to grow.

"Since the normal rate of interest is likely to fall, and the ratio which normal earnings of management bear to capital is likely to fall, and since profits are composed of interest and earnings of management, therefore the normal rate of profits is likely to fall. It will not fall rapidly for a time, and then remain stationary at a *minimum*. But subject to some oscillations its fall will probably be continuous, tho increasingly slow, so long as the world is inhabited by men of the same nature with ourselves."

So argues Mr. Edward Atkinson. He says (*The Industrial Progress of the Nation*, p. 305):

"Under existing institutions and laws the working classes, in the sense in which they use that word, have been securing to their own use and enjoyment an increasing share of an increasing product. ad. The richer classes controlling and using capital are securing to their use, control, and enjoyment a decreasing share of the same increasing product."

For Mr. Atkinson's proof of this, as also for contrary views, see articles WEALTH and WAGES.

PROFITS (NET). For a discussion of the principles involved, see PROFIT. We are concerned here simply with the facts. Statistics as to net profits, and conclusions deduced from them, must be suspiciously viewed. The *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor* reports on the net profits of 64 manufacturing industries in that State, but even this report has been most severely criticized. We give its conclusions, and some of the criticisms upon it. Says the report (pp. 623-630):

"We first bring forward the following general caution:

"No one should make use of these tables without careful consideration of the analyses for each industry which follow the tables. These analyses are intended to supplement the tabular presentations, as deductions drawn from the figures alone, without due regard to the analyses would, in many cases, be misleading.

"ESTABLISHMENTS AND CAPITAL INVESTED.

"In the returns as to net profits 10,013 establishments are represented, representing 75.45 per cent. of the grand aggregate of capital invested in all establishments in all industries, and in them was produced nearly 70 per cent. of the entire product turned out in the manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth. Of the 10,013 establishments, 9251, or 92.39 per cent., made a profit, while 762, or 7.61 per cent., did not make a profit. The establishments making a profit had 81.22 per cent. of the capital invested, and made 88.77 per cent. of the goods manufactured. The establishments not making a profit had 18.78 per cent. of the capital invested, and made 11.23 per cent. of the goods manufactured. The result for all industries was a net profit amounting to 3.90 per cent. of the selling price, and equivalent to 4.83 per cent. on the capital invested.

Capital Invested.

"CLASSIFIED CAPITAL.

"Out of the grand total of \$500,504,377 of capital invested in manufacturing and mechanical industries in the commonwealth, land, buildings, and fixtures are valued at \$118,885,643, or 23.74 per cent. of the total; machinery, implements, and tools at \$115,254,330, or 23.03 per cent.; cash at \$173,440,047, or 34.65 per cent.; and credit at \$92,012,457, or 18.58 per cent. For every \$100 invested the proportions of the details are as fol-

lows: Land, buildings, and fixtures, \$24; machinery, implements, and tools, \$23; cash, \$35; credit capital, \$18. The total plant values represent \$47, and the total cash and credit capital, \$53.

"COST OF PRODUCTION.

"As to cost of production, each \$100 of total cost includes the following elements: Stock (including raw or manufactured materials), \$67.67; salaries, \$1.08; wages, \$25.66; rent, 85 cents; taxes, 64 cents; insurance, 38 cents; freight, \$1.46; new equipments, 28 cents; repairs, 93 cents; other expenses, 15 cents; these items aggregating \$100, or 100 per cent., if the items are considered as percentages instead of dollars and cents. By total cost is meant the cost to the manufacturer of the completed product, ready for sale, but excluding profit.

"RELATION OF COST OF PRODUCTION TO SELLING PRICE.

"As to selling price, each \$100 of selling price includes the following elements: Stock, or materials, \$58.01; salaries, \$1.73; wages \$22.34; rent, 73 cents; taxes, 56 cents; insurance, 33 cents; freight, \$1.27; new equipment, 24 cents; repairs, 81 cents; expenses not previously enumerated, 13 cents. In each \$100 there is an excess of selling price above the cost of production amounting to \$12.95. This \$12.95 is the manufacturer's gross profit, and is equivalent to 16.01 per cent. on the amount of capital invested in, and needed to carry on his business. These items, as enumerated, including gross profit, aggregate \$100, or 100 per cent. if the items are considered as percentages of selling price instead of dollars and cents. By selling price is meant the price for which a given quantity of manufactured product is sold by the manufacturer, and it includes, as shown above, cost of production, and profit, if any.

"DISTRIBUTION OF EXCESS OF SELLING PRICE ABOVE COST OF PRODUCTION.

"Of the 64 industries considered in the investigation all but one, print works, dye works, and bleacheries, show an excess of selling price above the cost of production; that is, all but one made a gross profit. The net profit was determined by the following deductions, determined upon after careful consideration:

Interest on cash and credit capital.....	5 per cent.
Depreciation in the value of machinery, implements, and tools.....	10 per cent.
Allowance for selling expenses, losses, and bad debts.....	5 per cent.

"After these deductions were made, 58 out of 64 industries exhibited a net profit.

"The excess of selling price above the cost of production amounts, on an average, to \$12.95 in each \$100 worth of manufactured product. If from this \$12.95 excess are deducted the following: \$2.15 for interest, \$1.00 for depreciation on machinery, implements, and tools, and \$5.00 for selling expenses, and to make up for losses from bad debts, there will then remain as net profit \$3.90, which is equivalent to 4.83 per cent. on the amount of capital invested, or an annual return of \$4.83 upon each \$100 of invested capital.

"COMPARISON OF EARNINGS AND PROFITS.

"In private firms, each of 257,656 employes (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of \$362.23 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 12,553 partners in private firms, with an average investment of \$10,707, receives an average net profit of \$517 in return for his money investment and his labor.

"In corporations, each of 162,310 employes (including both sexes and all ages) receives an average of \$333.22 for annual earnings in return for his labor, while each of 30,967 stockholders in corporations, with an average investment of \$7857, receives an average net profit of \$379 in return for his money investment, mainly, as comparatively few stockholders render any personal service, unless paid salaries therefor, to the corporations in which they are financially interested.

"As a general result in all industries it appears that: First, in private firms, the percentage of the average yearly earnings of each employe of the average net profit to each partner is 70.02, or a little more than seven-tenths; second, in corporations, the per-

centage of the average yearly earnings of each employe of the average net profit to each stockholder is 87.86, or a little more than seven-eighths. These figures show the narrow money margin between the earnings of employes and the net profits of partners and stockholders.

"NET PROFITS TO LABOR.

"If net profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employes, the employes of private firms would receive, on the average, an increase of \$37.47, or 10.34 per cent. on their present average annual earnings; the employes of corporations would receive an advance of \$89.44, or 26.84 per cent., while the employes of all establishments, including both private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of \$57.55, or 16.40 per cent., on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

"GROSS PROFITS TO LABOR.

"Eliminating 71,025 partners and stockholders, and assuming that all the gross profits and the wages fund go to the employes, then each employe, regardless of sex or age, would receive \$541.85 for an annual income, or \$10.42 per week on the average. Of the employes now employed in manufacturing industries in Massachusetts 38.70 per cent. receive more than \$10 per week under the present application of the wage system.

"If gross profits are added to the wages fund, and the sum is divided equally among the employes, the employes of private firms would receive, on an average, an increase of \$124.24, or 34.30 per cent., on their present average annual earnings; the employes of corporations would receive an advance of \$296.55, or 80 per cent., while the employes of all establishments, including private firms and corporations, would receive an advance of \$190.81, or 54.7 per cent., on the average, above their present average annual earnings.

"SHARE AND SHARE ALIKE.'

"In the case of private firms, if net profits and wages are added together, and divided equally between the employes and partners, the employer thus sharing alike with each of his employes, the amount falling to each would be \$366.15; in the case of corporations, each employe and stockholder would receive \$334.57, while, as a grand aggregate for all establishments (including private firms and corporations), the wages fund and net profits combined would give \$349.47 to each employe, partner, or stockholder.

"THE GRAND BALANCE SHEET.

"On the share and share alike plan (or an equal division among employes, partners, and stockholders of the net profits and wages fund combined), the average annual earnings per employe would have been \$349.47 instead of \$351.02, or a decrease of 0.44 per cent.; the net profits per partner would have been \$349.47 instead of \$341.20, or an increase of 2.42 per cent.; and the net profits per stockholder would have been \$349.47 instead of \$339.71, or an increase of 2.87 per cent.

"Assuming that giving the entire net profits or the entire gross profits to labor would be more than just to labor, and consequently unfair to capital, and also assuming that the share and share alike plan is just and fair to both labor and capital, these results prove that the average financial condition of the employe shown under the wage system is slightly better, as a general average, than it would have been if the net profits had been added to the wages fund, and the sum equally divided between the employes and their employers.

"The average annual financial returns to the employe from the wage system, and from a plan in which the net profits and the wages fund, if combined, were divided equally between employes and their employers, are substantially the same, the variation being but \$1.55 per year, that sum being the excess paid by the wage system over and above what would have been derived from the share and share alike plan."

The report says further, pp. 629-630:

"The results of the investigation seem to warrant the inference that material improvement in the working man's condition is not to be expected from an increase of his money wages gained by adding thereto a portion of the net profits now absorbed by capital, but rather from an increase in his real wages, gained

Balance.

through materially increased production, accompanied by materially reduced prices, with consequent increased consumption; the rise in the standard of living implied by the increased consumption being accompanied and still further raised by reduced hours of labor.

"In the light of the results, too, it would seem that theories of industrial reform which relate chiefly to changes in the mode of distribution of the existing results of production should give place in importance to plans involving an increase in production itself, whereby both labor and capital may have more, without diminishing the amount which either now receives.

"So far as cooperation, profit-sharing, or any other scheme of industrial reform involves an increase of production, so far it moves in the right direction. But the success of any such scheme would seem to rest largely upon its power to augment production in the aggregate, by stimulating endeavor, diminishing waste, promoting harmony, simplifying management, or otherwise, rather than in the changes it might introduce in the mode of division of the fruits of production.

Conclusions.

"The general results of the investigation indicate average conditions—but no one sees such conditions. We see the exceptionally prosperous establishment, or the very rich manufacturer, and are apt to consider that all manufacturing is equally prosperous, and all manufacturers equally rich. The bankruptcy court shows the other side of the picture, but its records do not appeal to the eye or the imagination as does a large factory or an imposing mansion.

"The results, on the percentage basis, for net profits show that in few industries, if any, can the profits be called exorbitant, all things considered, for we find the largest percentages of net profit in the small industries, while large industries involve small profits, and, sometimes, large losses. As to the general result for all industries, no one, we think, will maintain that the percentage of net profit is excessive. While it is true that this conclusion is based upon an average, and may not show the condition in any one industry, it must be remembered that any of the proposed changes so frequently urged for the improvement of our industrial system must be measured by its effect upon average conditions, and that such changes may be fairly tested by comparing the new averages resulting from them with those based upon conditions now prevailing.

"Where are we, then, to look for the margin between cost of production and the price to the consumer? If neither the working man nor his employer is profiting unduly by the present system, may it not be possible that the middleman, or the distributor of wealth in its various forms, may be securing more than his rightful share, and is thus bearing down upon the two extremes between which he is placed? Are not the creators and the consumers of wealth suffering in common from the exactions of the distributors of wealth? This question cannot be answered from data now at hand, but it is evident that the mechanism of distribution, as well as the mechanism of production, must be brought to the statistical basis before the final solution of the question of profits will be secured."

This report, however, seems open to the severest criticism. Says the *Christian Union* for October 3, 1891:

"The Massachusetts returns were utterly untrustworthy. One large industry reported a net loss amounting to 28 per cent. of the value of the goods sold. Yet the returns of the manufacturers are much less misleading than the deductions of the commissioner who has edited them. The manufacturers in estimating their profits naturally deducted whatever they paid as rent, and this amounted to 4 per cent. upon the capital invested in lands and buildings. The commissioner obligingly supplements this deduction by a further one of 5 per cent. for 'interest' upon the cash and credit capital invested. The manufacturers in estimating their profits have naturally deducted 3 per cent. upon the value of the goods sold for 'salaries and freight.' The commissioner obligingly makes the further deduction of 5 per cent. for 'selling expenses and loss through bad debts.' The manufacturers in estimating their profits had naturally deducted for 'new equipments and repairs' an amount equal to 6 per cent. upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. The commissioner obligingly

makes a further deduction for 'depreciation' of an amount equal to 10 per cent. upon the capital invested in machinery and tools. By this means the profits are whittled down from 16 per cent., as reported by the manufacturers, to 4½ per cent. as returned by the commissioner. That this report should have been published by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor shows the direction which has been given to the work of this department. The figures leave no one wiser than before and could have been published only from a desire to help manufacturers by representing that, after all, their business is in a bad way, and that higher wages, shorter hours, and lower tariff are not to be thought of. The department might better be called the 'Bureau of the Statistics of Capital.'"

Mr. Frederick B. Hawley (*American Statistical Association Publications*, 1893, vol. iii. p. 38) also severely criticizes the Massachusetts report. He finds many suspicious points in the report, all pointing one way. The great cotton-goods industry, for example, is reported as selling at a net loss of 10.91 per cent. of the selling price. Says Mr. Hawley:

"The cotton-goods industry, like others, has its ups and downs, but I do not believe it ever had as bad a year as this. But if the figures are correct, then it follows that the choice of that year for gathering of the original data was an unfortunate one."

Yet it employed 27.33 per cent. of the capital and 11.55 per cent. of the whole output of the 10,013 establishments reported, and vitiates the final conclusion, Mr. Hawley calculates, by no less than 64.61. But this is not all. Says Mr. Hawley:

"All suspicions which naturally arise as to the accuracy of the original data, or as to their being representative of normal conditions, make in one direction. So far as they should be justified by a reexamination of the facts, the correction of the data would in every case go to swell 'net profits' and the 'excess of selling price above cost of production.'"

On the other hand a business man writes to the Statistical Association that, adding together the total dividends of all the larger manufacturing and other companies in Massachusetts which have not changed their capital from 1882 to 1892, he gets \$24,420,913, and he also says that January 1, 1892, their stocks could be bought for \$11,005,913 less than January 1, 1882, and that, deducting this from the dividends, we have \$13,415,446 as the net dividends, which would make only 2.68 per cent. a year.

Such contradictory statements as these show the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of making any correct general statements as to net profits. It depends very largely upon what is included under profits. (For a discussion of this, see PROFIT.) This is true of all industries. It is particularly true of mercantile establishments. Some great stores are said, on good authority, to make 25 per cent. profit on their capital; many make little or none, and vast numbers go into bankruptcy. Of the railroads it is almost as difficult to speak, because of the differences of book-keeping. Many railroads to-day are in the hands of receivers and declare small and often no dividends. The inference would seem to be that they are making low net profits or none at all. They often state this in their annual report to their stockholders. This, however, by no means necessarily follows. It is true, undoubtedly, of some roads, but of

many roads it is simply a matter of bookkeeping. Watered stock accounts for a part of it. Railroads with watered stock try to paid dividends on capital never paid in. (See STOCK WATERING.) Duplication in accounts explains much. Railroads absorb small roads, and in their accounts the capitalization and bonds of the smaller roads appear both separately and added to the capital of the main road. Salaries and jobs granted to the officers of the road account for much. Sums put down as expenses of maintenance really often mean immense profits for some favored few. Hence, roads nominally making nothing often immensely enrich some of their owners. Undoubtedly, however, facts prove that the *legitimate* net profits of many forms of investment are not large. Most of the large fortunes made in industrial investments are made in illegitimate gambling in stocks, bulling and bearing of railroads, or in monopolies, natural or the creatures of the law. (For a discussion of this, see WEALTH.)

Mr. F. C. Waite, special agent of the Eleventh Census, in charge of *True Wealth*, makes the following statement (in Professor John R. Commons' *The Distribution of Wealth*, p. 258) as to the gross and net earnings of important natural monopolies for the census year 1890 :

	GROSS EARNINGS.	NET EARNINGS.
Railroads :		
From operation.....	\$1,051,877,632	\$331,373,057
Other sources.....	126,767,064	
Unreported roads (about).....	50,000,000	
Express companies.....	53,000,000	11,000,000
Street railways.....	90,000,000	28,000,000
Water transportation.....	191,000,000	31,000,000
Telegraph companies....	25,000,000	7,000,000
Telephone companies....	16,404,583	5,260,712
Insurance companies :		
Life.....	90,000,000	59,000,000
Fire, etc.....	54,991,613	19,000,000
Banks :		
National.....	144,614,053	72,055,564
All others (estimated)..	200,000,000	
Artificial gas companies (estimated).....	25,000,000	

* Gross receipts less gross disbursements.

It follows from this view that, if social reformers would increase wages, and lower profits, thus equalizing distribution, what they must strive for is not so much the increase of wages in legitimate industry, as for a change in laws and customs allowing of the immense profits made to-day by speculation in natural or artificial monopolies. Most reformers believe, to-day, that a more equitable distribution must come from change of system rather than from mere generosity on the part of employers. That in some way immense net profits are made to-day, the facts of the distribution of wealth, both in England and America, abundantly prove (see WEALTH).

Mr. T. Lloyd, in the *London Statist* for June 27, 1895, asks whether "capital is about to depreciate so much that practically the business of banking threat-

ens to become unprofitable, and that it will require hundreds of thousands of pounds for a private family to live out of its investments in even moderate comfort." He says no. His argument is that it is true that to-day there is a plethora of money, and that, therefore, money commands small returns, but that this is due to special causes which stare us in the face. They are "the Baring crisis; the breakdown of the South American States, and subsequently, of Portugal and Greece; the difficulties of Italy and Spain; the banking collapse in Australasia; the currency crisis in the United States, and the currency troubles in India." All this has immensely reduced the call for investments. "From 1882 to 1890," he says, "investments in the Central and South American States alone had taken from Europe, and chiefly from London, £30,000,000 annually." (See PROFIT.)

Of the United States, he says: "European investments, and chiefly British investments, in the United States were at least as large as those in all the Central and South American countries taken together." About £15,000 annually, he estimates, were invested in the Australian colonies. All these investments have been very largely cut off. But he says this is only temporary. All these countries, he says, are growing, and will soon need capital. Of the United States, "for so long a time the greatest field of all for our investments," he says: "Whenever the currency there is restored to order, there is certain to be a great outburst of activity, and an immense investment of British capital. . . . It matters very little what policy is ultimately adopted. There may be a short period of crisis and panic, but once a definite policy is adopted and carried out, trade will revive, and enterprise will spring up again. . . . As they go, they will absorb more capital, and so tend to raise values in the money market."

PROFIT-SHARING.—This system of industrial remuneration has been defined as "the division of realized profits between the capitalist, the employer, and the employee, in addition to regular interest, salary, and wages"; and it is claimed by its advocates to be "the most equitable and generally satisfactory method of remunerating the three industrial agents."*

It has also been defined by the International Congress, held in connection with the Paris Exposition in the summer of 1889, as "a voluntary agreement under which the employee receives a share, fixed beforehand, in the profits of the business."

Participation of the workmen in the profits of business undertakings is, historically, a method first prominently associated with the name of the Parisian house-painter and decorator, Edme-Jean Leclair. The son of a poor shoemaker, he was born May 14, 1801, in a village about 100 miles southeast of Paris. As a youth he became an apprentice to a house-painter in Paris, and showed himself remarkably diligent in his work, and in supplying the defects in his education. He set up for himself in 1827, and his first great stroke of business was a contract for painting seven houses in 1829, by which he cleared 6000 frs.; he paid his men 5 frs. per day on this job, instead of the usual 4. His business increased steadily, and his men, noted for their skill and temperance, were kept steadily at work in winter, and were tided over times of low wages by Leclair's interest in their welfare. In 1838 he established a mutual aid society for them, which he found "a powerful means of moralization." But he desired, furthermore, to provide for his men in their old age, and in case of a change in the ownership

* *Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee*, by N. P. Gilman, p. 412.

of the business. A friend, M. Frégier, told him that he saw no solution to the problem except in the participation of the workmen in the profits of the master. "This was in 1835," writes Leclaire. "My head was too thoroughly crammed with all the ideas of the economists and reformers of the time to relish this proposition. It appeared to me entirely impracticable. I rejected it emphatically." But all at once, five years later, he perceived that he might have made a great mistake in his reasoning. He could not afford to take out from his average profits a sum sufficient to help his workmen much. But would not an industrial partnership "*create*, by the common effort, in view of the division of profit, and with the energy so called forth," a further return beyond the average, which would not only pay the workman a bonus, but might even increase the profits of the employer? Are there not, in the common workman, moral qualities to which the simple wages system makes slight appeal, because it leaves the inspiring word "profit" out of the workman's vocabulary, with all its implications of ambition, zeal, and persistence? Would not the prospect of a share in the profits of business advance the prosperity of the establishment by increasing the quantity of the product, by improving its quality, by promoting care of implements and machinery, and economy of materials, and by diminishing labor difficulties and the cost of superintendence? Leclaire tried the experiment cautiously, beginning in 1842, after due preparation; and he soon found that all these questions were answered by experience with a decided affirmative.

His workmen, despite his many efforts for their good and his careful preparations for the new scheme, were suspicious at first, but the first bonus changed their feelings. On the 12th of February, 1843, Leclaire distributed to 44 workmen 12,266 francs. When he was a candidate for the Constituent Assembly, in 1848, he stated in his electoral address that he had distributed in six years 112,588 francs. The number of participants had risen to 98. "This is what we can do without touching any one's property; this is what I have practised for six years; I have found my profit in it, and others also."

In 1853 Leclaire associated with himself M. Alfred Defournaux, the son of an overseer, who had grown up in the house, and the Mutual Aid Society was reconstituted for a second term of 15 years, its entire resources to consist of annual donations from the house. In 1860 the time limit was abolished, and retiring pensions established. In 1863 the Mutual Aid Society was incorporated and became a perpetual sleeping partner with limited liability in Leclaire et Cie. Of its accumulated capital, 116,442 francs, 100,000 francs were invested in the firm at 5 per cent. interest. It received 20 per cent. of the net profits, while 30 per cent. went to the workmen as a bonus calculated on wages. This was the result of 21 years' trial of profit-sharing. In 1865 Leclaire withdrew from active business; in 1869 the system was thoroughly revised, and in 1871 a resolution was passed admitting to a share

in the profits the apprentices and auxiliary workmen. Henceforth, even a single day's work entitled a transient employee to a share in the bonus. Leclaire died at Herblay, near Paris, in 1872, leaving a fortune of 1,200,000 francs, which he attributed largely to his system of participation.

The Maison Leclaire is now an elaborate and almost ideal industrial partnership. It has two managing partners and one sleeping partner, the Mutual Aid Society. The society holds half of the capital of 400,000 francs, and each partner a fourth. If, when a new partner is chosen by the men, he has not this amount of capital, the acquisition of it is rendered easy for him. The reserve fund is 100,000 francs. When it falls below this amount a first levy of 10 per cent. is to be made upon the profits of the year until it is restored to its normal size. Capital receives 5 per cent. interest, and each manager 1200 francs as salary for superintendence. After interest, salary for management, and any needed sum for the reserve fund have been taken from the gross profits of the year, the net profit is thus divided: One-quarter part goes to the two partners, a second to the society, and the remaining half to the working force in proportion to wages and the number of hours' work done. Between 1870 and 1886 the number of participants varied from 710 to 1125, the total of wages paid from 406,414 francs to 1,069,905, the total bonus from 61,625 francs to 240,050, and the ratio of bonus to wages from 12 to 24 per cent. The liability of the workmen is confined to their interest in the reserve fund, which has never yet been drawn upon to pay losses.

The *noyau*, or nucleus, is an important feature in the Maison Leclaire. The conditions of membership are five years' service in the house; age between 25 and 40; ability to read, write, and cipher; skill in work, and good moral character. The membership is kept at nearly the same figure; the members have a first claim to employment in bad times; it supplies men for vacancies in the clerical force, from which it elects a new partner on occasion. It chooses eight members of the committee of conciliation, the partners being the other two. This committee takes cognizance of any misconduct in the force, and examines candidates for admission. The *noyau* chooses the foremen each year from a list submitted by the managers. Membership in the *noyau* is a condition for admission to the Mutual Aid Society, which is thoroughly organized and generously administered, giving aid in sickness, at death, and in pensions and life insurance policies. In 1887 its property was 2,053,618 francs.

The workman in the Maison Leclaire receives the highest wages paid in his craft in Paris; a year's bonus varying from 12 to 24 per cent.; in case of sickness five francs a day; in case of permanent disability, a pension of 1200 francs, and he may retire on such a pension after 20 years' service. His sons are preferred as apprentices, and at his death 1000 francs of life insurance are paid to his

The Maison
Leclaire.

family and the funeral expenses defrayed. The standard of skill and character corresponds to these exceptional advantages. Peace and good-will reign in the establishment, and its long career of more than 50 years of prosperity has made it the classic instance of profit-sharing elaborately developed.

The profit-sharing firms of France are now some 125 in number. Among the more important cases, for size and length of trial of the system, are the noted Bon Marché of Paris, employing 3000 persons, and doing a business of thirty millions of dollars a year; the immense Chaix printing house of Paris; the great Godin foundries at Guise, with a capital of 6,000,000 francs, and the Laroche-Joubert paper works at Angoulême, with its thousand employees.

In England profit-sharing had a celebrated trial in the Briggs' collieries between 1865 and 1874; the experiment was highly successful for six years, but great fluctuations in the coal trade and difficulties with trade-unions caused its abandonment. (See the

England.

detailed accounts of this important case in the works of Sedley Taylor and N. P. Gilman on the general subject.) This result delayed any considerable extension of the system in England for some 15 years; but as the causes of the Briggs' failure became better known and information concerning the system more accessible, instances have multiplied. According to the list given by Mr. T. W. Bushill in *Profit-Sharing and the Labor Question*, there were in Great Britain, on the 1st of January, 1893, four industrial partnerships proper, with 700 employees, and 71 profit-sharing firms with some 19,000 employees. The number has since increased. Numerous cooperative productive societies also pay a bonus on wages, and many firms make a regular practise of it, without binding themselves to do so, at the beginning of the year. In the United States there were 37 cases of profit-sharing in 1889. Making allowance for the instance of discontinuance of the system, it is a conservative estimate that there are now half a hundred firms practising profit-sharing in America. No list of such firms has been published since 1889, including a number of instances in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and Italy, there are now, beyond doubt, 300 firms applying this principle of a division of profits with their employees.

The Peace Dale (R. I.) Manufacturing Company was the first to establish participation in profits in this country, in 1878. It still maintains its regulations on this subject, but the woolen manufacture has not been sufficiently prosperous there to allow the payment of a bonus; this will be paid, however, in any year in which the balance sheet will allow. The great Pillsbury flour mills at Minneapolis have been purchased by an English syndicate, but the Honorable Charles A. Pillsbury and his associates in the operation of the mills continue the plan of profit-sharing, with which they express their entire satisfaction.

The system which Mr. Alfred Dolge, the large manufacturer of piano felt and felt

shoes at Dolgeville, N. Y., has satisfactorily developed, includes provisions for pensions and life insurance, in addition to a division of profits, among the foremen chiefly. A clubhouse, a library, and a gymnasium are maintained (see DOLGEVILLE).

United States.

The manufacturing company the head of which is Mr. N. O. Nelson of St. Louis is, in several ways, the most conspicuous of all American profit-sharing enterprises.

The N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company is transferring its works gradually to a suburb of Edwardsville, Ill., situated within an hour's ride of St. Louis. In this village, Leclair (*q. v.*), the building of a home is rendered easy by the Cooperative Building Association and special facilities provided by the company; a large club-house is managed by a considerable number of men, who lodge and board in it at a moderate price; all the buildings are provided with water, steam-heat, electric light, good drainage, and nearly every other convenience of a city house; provision for amusements has not been overlooked.

The first year's dividend, paid by the company in 1887, was 5 per cent. on wages; the next, 10 per cent.; the third, 10 per cent.; the fourth, 8 per cent.; the fifth, 10 per cent.; the sixth, 7 per cent., and the seventh 4 per cent.; making 54 per cent. in seven years, or, practically, 8 per cent. a year. In 1893 the company succeeded in paying its full force full wages for full time (a nine-hour day), but earned no bonus. The dividends for the first five years were paid in cash, but employees were always at liberty to take it in stock, and about three-fourths did so. After having paid the dividends in cash for five years, the company took up the plan of paying only in stock; it has always been a rule to redeem the stock at par, when the holder leaves the company's employ.

Other cases of profit-sharing in the United States deserving attention are the Page Belting Company of Concord, N. H., the Yale & Towne Lock Company of Stamford, the Proctor & Gamble soap works of Cincinnati, the *Century Magazine* Company, the Riverside Press at Cambridge, Mass., and the De Vinne Press, New York.

The employees of the Bourne mill at Fall River have received their thirteenth semi-annual dividend in the profit-sharing plan that has been in use at the mill during the past 6½ years. One family received \$70 as its share of the profits for six months, and other families received from \$30 to \$50 each. Individual employees received from \$3 to \$10 each. The treasurer expresses himself as fully satisfied with the results, and he believes he has accomplished all he anticipated when he put the plan in operation.

The French Society for the Practical Study of Profit-sharing, founded in 1870, is a flourishing organization, of which M. Charles Robert (since 1865 the president of the Mutual Aid Society of the Maison Leclair, and director of the Union Insurance Company) has been the only president. Membership in the society is confined to business

Societies.

men practising the system; an octavo quarterly *Bulletin* is published. In England an Industrial Reform Society, which includes profit-sharing in its program, has lately been established; the Labor Association advocates the plan, and the Cooperative Union has gradually come to indorse it. An Association for the Promotion of Profit-sharing was formed in New York in January, 1892. Its object is "the promotion and extension of such methods of uniting the interests of employers and employees as 'profit-sharing,' 'industrial partnership,' 'gain-sharing,' 'earnings-sharing,' 'the premium system,' and kindred systems."

This association has published for four years a quarterly periodical, *Employer and Employed*, edited by the secretary (Boston: George H. Ellis, 141 Franklin Street; 40 cents per annum); here may be found the news of the movement, and the latest arguments in favor of it. The officers of the association are: President, Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C.; vice-presidents, President F. A. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass., and N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, Mo.; secretary and treasurer, N. P. Gilman, Chestnut Hill, Meadville, Pa.; executive committee, Messrs. R. Fulton Cutting and Alfred Dolge of New York, Henry R. Towne of Stamford, Conn., and George A. Chace of Fall River, Mass., and Professor F. H. Giddings of Bryn Mawr, Pa. The annual fee for membership is three dollars.

It is not on the ground of abstract justice or inherent right,—these are matters about which it is very easy to be mistaken,—but on the ground of ordinary human nature and actual experiment, that the advocate of profit-sharing bases his confidence on its gradual diffusion.

He can now appeal to a large body of experience in favor of his claim that a regular dividend to labor out of profits is one of the next steps which the evolution of industry is likely to follow in numerous quarters.

This position has been well stated by the United States Commissioner of Labor in his report for 1886.

"What is known as industrial copartnership, involving profit-sharing, and embodying all the vitality there is in the principle of cooperation, offers a practical way of producing goods on a basis at once just to capital and to labor, and one which brings out the best moral elements of the capitalist and the workman. This system has been tried in many instances, and nearly always with success. . . . Wherever the principle has been tried there have been three grand results: Labor has received a more liberal share for its skill, capital has been better remunerated, and the moral tone of the whole community involved raised. Employment has been steadier and more sure. The interest of all has been given for the general welfare. Each man feels himself more a man. The employer looks upon his employees in the true light, as associates. Conflict ceases, and harmony takes the place of disturbances."

As Commissioner Wright had previously declared:

"The dividend to labor is not usually an increase of pay, services remaining the same, but a form of extra pay for extra services, and an inducement calling them out. The extra services called out, and the manner in which they are called out, constitute an invaluable educational discipline. They develop the

whole group of industrial virtues: diligence, fidelity, care-taking, economy, continuity of effort, willingness to learn, and the spirit of cooperation."

The usual judgment of employees who have had a thorough trial of profit-sharing is given in these resolutions passed by the force of the Nelson Manufacturing Company in December, 1892:

"Whereas, The corporation of which we are a part has been practising profit-sharing longer than any other large concern in the United States; and,

"Whereas, There are daily evidences in the press that the system under which we operate is attracting the serious attention of business men, who, a few years ago, gave it only a passing thought as a thing Utopian, be it

"Resolved, That we record our increased confidence in, and appreciation of the business principles and business practise of cooperation

"Resolved, That, since seven years of experience under the system have resulted not only in the prosperity and exceptional growth of our company, but in an actual distribution of the benefits among the men at the bench, as well as among the capitalists, we commend the plan as a harmonizer of the interests and views of both classes, and as a powerful agent for the solution of the old and stubborn problem presented by the antagonism between capitalists and laborers.

"Resolved, That, since it has brought us to shorter working days, for the standard day, with the added benefit of an interest in the company's profits, and an opportunity not elsewhere enjoyed for investing our savings where there is a direct relation between the profits on our investment and the quantity and quality of the work we do, we observe with pleasure the disposition of railroad men, and other large handlers of capital, to adopt the method that has so much of humanity, and so much of common sense to commend it."

Conceived by a business man of uncommon sagacity, profit-sharing has received practically the unanimous indorsement of the political economists, from John Stuart Mill down to Professor Marshall of Cambridge, Eng- **Argument.** land. The economists heartily advise a wide and thorough trial of the plan, that its practical utility and its limitations may be determined by actual experience. The principle is very flexible, and admits of a great variety of forms and applications.

The objection invariably made to profit-sharing by the employer of labor who disregards the fact of its limitations, and its difference from cooperative production, is that it makes no provision for the sharing of losses by the employee. These limitations and this difference, however, make the scheme what it is, and the payment of losses out of wages received by the workmen would necessitate in equity other features which would revolutionize the scheme. This, the most common of all objections to the profit-sharing plan, appears superficial, and quite wide of the mark, when we consider that the partnership, into which the employer himself invites the men, is industrial, not commercial; that he surrenders in no manner or degree his absolute control over affairs; that he is just as much of an autocrat as he was before; that he keeps his books entirely free from troublesome inspection; that he fixes himself the percentage of the bonus on wages, after he has calculated the average profit of a series of years, good, bad, and indifferent; that he is to pay this bonus in prosperous times only, when it has actually been realized; and that he is not to

pay it in any year until a proper contribution has been made to a substantial reserve fund. When we attend to all these points, there appears a plain element of absurdity in the objection to industrial partnership, that it does not require the workman to contribute toward losses out of his savings or his wages. His responsibility must in reason and equity be measured by the power allowed him. If we give the body of workmen, in a shoe-factory or a flour-mill where they think of practising profit-sharing, the right to examine the books at any time; a powerful voice in shaping the business policy; the right to say when to buy and where to sell—then we can reasonably and equitably ask them in a bad year to bear a share of the money loss, out of the wages and the bonuses received. But, however such an arrangement might work, it is not the actual or historical system of profit-sharing or industrial partnership: it is an entirely different system.

Profit-sharing is a conservative movement. It attempts to recall, as far as is possible under the changed conditions of modern industry, the old sentiment of partnership felt when the shoe manufacturer in his small shop worked at the same bench with his few employees, or when

the farm was let on shares, or the catch of the fishing schooner was apportioned among the crew. We can no longer divide the actual products of industry among the workers. But we can modify the wage system, and strengthen it at a weak point, by adding to fixed wages a variable bonus, dependent on the workman's zeal. Industrial partnership, again, has this singular advantage over the socialisms of the day, and even over the more sober scheme of productive cooperation: it pays due respect to the two great principles of modern society which must find a *modus vivendi*—Democracy and Aristocracy. Those who would solve all industrial troubles by a resort to the easy but deceptive analogy of democratic government, and the erection of an "industrial republic," declare that profit-sharing is not a practical reform, that it is unjust to the workman, since the bonus is bestowed as a gift and not as a right, and that, in reality, it intensifies the evils of the wage system by making the working man more dependent on the employer. These objections by socialists and revolutionary reformers have the character usual in criticism of moderate and statesmanlike measures by theorists. The practicability of the system has been amply proved by many firms in long years of trial. The bonus tends steadily to become a fixed and regular addition to wages, dependent not on the mere will of the employer, but on a written agreement and the results of the year. In its developed and logical form, profit-sharing makes the transition to cooperative production more gradual, easy, and sure than any other method yet devised. Its advocates do not find any objection to it in the fact that the employer often profits by the system as well as the employee, but this fact seems sufficient to

stamp the plan as iniquitous in the eyes of so-called reformers who consider that the employer should either lose or, at least, not profit by any change in existing methods. A system advantageous to both parties fails to commend itself to such very partial thinkers! Profit-sharing, on the contrary, starting from the actual state of things, would modify this in the interest of both parties and to the injury of neither; and here is its recommendation to the enlightened employer and the sensible workingman.

For details of the history of profit-sharing and its present condition, and a full statement of the argument for it, see *Profit-sharing between Employer and Employee*; and chap. ix. of *Socialism and the American Spirit*, by N. P. Gilman (a bibliography may be found in the first work, continued in the second); *Profit-sharing between Capital and Labor*, by Sedley Taylor; *Profit-sharing and the Labor Question*, by T. W. Bushill (an employer); *Sharing the Profits*, by Mary W. Calkins; *La Participation aux Bénéfices*, the French translation of Dr. Victor Böhmer's work, with additions; *Guide Pratique pour l'Application de la Participation aux Bénéfices*, per A. Trombert; *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*, by D. F. Schloss (critical); *History of Cooperation in the United States*; the *Bulletin of the French Society*, and *Employer and Employed (passim)*.

N. P. GILMAN.

OBJECTIONS TO PROFIT-SHARING.

1. That it is not practical, not being suited to the times. The distinguishing economic characteristic of the present time is a tendency to combination. Firms that will not enter into combines, or are not themselves doing a very large business, are troubled not as to the way in which to share their profits, but as to their inability to make any profits to share. In the best times many firms make no profits. Profit-sharing is scarcely then applicable except to great monopolies and the strongest firms. Of the seven instances in New England cited by Professor Bemis (*Cooperation in New England*, by Professor Bemis, in publications of the American Economic Association, November, 1886), one, a shoe establishment of Brockton, Mass., was not a case of profit-sharing, but a percentage on capital paid in by workmen; one, the New Haven Wire Company, merely proposed the plan to the employees, which was *rejected*; and *only one of the entire seven had ever paid a dividend*. Mr. Paul Monroe states, in the *American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1896, that of 50 cases of profit-sharing only 12 continue. Its friends claim that in many cases of discontinuance the failure was due, not to anything inherent in the system, but to extrinsic causes. This is true and is the most damaging and conclusive testimony against the system. It is not suited to the times. Extrinsic causes usually prevent its successful operation. Its diagnosis of present evils does not go deep enough. Employers can rarely practise it, and employees care little for it.

2. Even when successful, as it is in a few strong firms, it is of questionable advantage to working men. *Unless coupled with other reforms*, which are not profit-sharing, it gives the worker no voice in the management. It does not develop the responsibility of the worker. Its advocates claim, indeed, that while it does not do everything, it is at least a practical first step to-day, toward industrial partnership. This, its critics say, is not the case. In their view it is not a step toward industrial democracy or fraternity. It intensifies paternalism. It says, "if you, the worker, will work a little harder, *we*, the management, will give *you* a slight share of your increased earnings." Mr. Monroe (see above) sums up the case as to profit-sharing by declaring it of some importance from a statistical point of view, but little, if any, from that of social progress.

3. Profit-sharing is unjust.

Says a recent writer—we abridge his words :

There is only one party to it, and that is the employer. He proposes it; he decides when a surplus of profits exists, and how much it is; he lays down rules for apportionment and distribution among employees; in a word, he manages the business and the books, without any right of interference or question by employees, and from his decision there is no appeal. All these things give profit-sharing the appearance of a gift bestowed, whereas it is a payment earned. It is not legally a gift which must take effect immediately; it is a mere promise without consideration, and cannot be enforced. Wage-workers demand not merely greater wages, which they have already obtained, but a *greater proportionate share of products* in accordance with the new ethics of social justice. Profit-sharing not only offers no balm for this, the real wound of industrial society, but aggravates the difficulty. Mr. Gilman, in the work above quoted (pp. 415-416), says that employers who have adopted profit-sharing "generally agree that the division of a bonus among the working men is good business policy; . . . in most cases they claim that their own share is greater than the whole profits were under the simple wage system." By what means has their share become "greater"? Through whose efforts are they enriched by extra profits? Says Mr. Gilman: "Out of this extra profit comes the share of men *whose diligence and care have created it*." The italics are ours.

Profit-sharing thus *reduces the proportionate share* of workmen. If extra profits, or, in other words, more goods, are produced solely by the "diligence and care" of employees, to them should belong the goods. No part of them should go to capital, for this has played no part in creating the surplus: no part should go to the employer, for he has done actually less. Every consideration of justice demands that laborers, who have by increased exertion produced more, should alone have the fruit of their labor. To bestow a part of this on the laborer, and a part on the employer, is what profit-sharing graciously offers to do!

4. Profit-sharing misleads. It has been before the world fifty years. Largely tried, it has to-day only 108 firms in all the United States and Great Britain. Meanwhile the social question is developing a crisis around the world. Society demands deeper remedies than what has accomplished so little in fifty years, and that of doubtful good.

PROGRESSIVE TAXATION. See TAXATION.

PROHIBITION.—The object of Prohibitionists is to obtain laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for the purpose of manufacturing industries, science, and art. They argue that this is ad-

visible, because vast sums of money are annually wasted by the people in the purchase of liquor, and its consumption reduces the productiveness of labor; because pauperism and crime are largely increased thereby; because the habit of drinking renders the citizen less able to serve in the defense of Government, when necessary; and because the Government should protect the defenseless women and children, who are most injured by drunkenness. The opponents of prohibition dispute some of the facts of its advocates; assert that drunkenness is rather the accompaniment than the cause of pauperism and crime, and argue that in any event, prohibitory laws cannot be enforced, and that some other system will be more effectual in restraining the sale of liquor. They also contend that prohibitory laws infringe the individual liberty of the citizen. On December 5, 1887, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered an important decision, holding that it is within the discretionary police powers of a State to protect public health, safety, and morals, even by the destruction of property, and that the Kansas laws, providing for the destruction, without compensation, of property used in connection with liquor-selling, do not violate the provision in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of . . . property, without due process of law." The Prohibitionists have been a factor of importance in the politics of some of the States since about the middle of the century. A prohibitory law was passed in Maine in 1846, and in 1851 a more stringent one, including the provision for the seizure and destruction of intoxicating liquors (known as the "Maine Law," and drafted by Neal Dow), was enacted, and has since been in force, except for the years 1856 and 1857. Vermont in 1852, New Hampshire in 1855, and Connecticut in 1854, passed the Maine law; the first has retained, and enforced it; the second has retained, and not enforced it; and the last never enforced it, and repealed it in 1872. New York had the Maine law on the statute books between 1855 and 1857. Ohio and Michigan, by their Constitutions, forbade the passage of a license law, thus leaving the mere alternative between free liquor and prohibition. This clause of Michigan's Constitution has been repealed; the question of replacing it was defeated in 1887, by a small popular majority. In Ohio attempts have been made to tax the sale of liquor by the "Pond Tax Law," and the "Scott Tax Law," but both of these were pronounced unconstitutional by the courts. A prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of Kansas was ratified by the people in 1890, and this has been enforced by legislation. A similar amendment was passed in Iowa in 1882, and had a large popular majority, but in the next year it was pronounced invalid because of informalities in its passage. In 1884 a prohibitory law was passed by the legisla-

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ture. In 1894 this was modified by a tax or "mulct" law. In North Carolina, in 1884, a prohibitory law, submitted to popular vote, was defeated (166,000 to 48,000, in round numbers). After several previous trials of prohibition, Rhode Island, in 1887, passed a stringent prohibitory law, which was repealed in 1889. In 1887, on the question of prohibitory amendments to the State Constitution, the Prohibitionists were defeated in Oregon, Tennessee, Texas, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, and Massachusetts. Most of the States have passed laws prohibiting the sale of liquors to minors, and on Sundays. Many States have adopted local option, and a few are trying high license.

Through the efforts of Colonel Eli F. Ritter of Indianapolis, Ind., the Indiana Supreme Court has recently affirmed that the owners of licensed saloons, and the owners of property in which they are kept, are liable for damages to adjoining property from the presence of the saloons. Movements are on foot to secure similar rulings in other States.

The following expositions of Prohibition are from the pens of prominent advocates of the movement.

I. WHAT PROHIBITION MEANS.

Prohibition, the opposite of permission, is not a synonym of annihilation. Those who say, "Prohibition does not prohibit"—a self-contradictory proposition—mean that prohibition does not annihilate. This is manifestly true of all kinds of prohibitions in this world—those of the divine government, of family government, and of civil government alike. Prohibition does not annihilate, not even when it forbids murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and Sunday-work. If a threefold alliance of man, woman, and the devil, to break a prohibitory law, and then hide away from justice, proves the law a "blunder," what is to be said of that first prohibition, given to man by God himself, in Eden? If prohibition is a "failure" when it does not at once destroy the evils which it forbids, then the prohibitory law of Sinai is the masterpiece of failures.

Prohibition does not define accomplishment, but only the aim and attitude of government toward wrong. License is a purchased truce—sometimes a surrender; Prohibition is a declaration of war. License is an edict of toleration—sometimes a certificate of "good moral character"; Prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. As murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and political corruption are outlawed, the ringleader of this "gang" ought also to be outlawed. The first requisite of law is justice. A law that sanctions wrong is not law at all, but legislative crime. It is not "public sentiment," but public conscience, out of which law should be quarried. Law is an educator. Dueling, and smuggling, and liquor-selling were once in the "best society." Gradually the law has made them disreputable. Rum-selling in Maine is a sneaking fugitive, like counterfeiting—not dead, but disgraced, and so shorn of power.

Prohibition of the liquor traffic is more than a standard or a flag to mark the height to which

we are marching. No other kind of prohibition, as I have said, has had greater victories. In Maine children grow up without ever seeing a drunken man. In most parts of Kansas and Iowa the law against the saloon is as effective as the law against the brothel or the burglar. To this fact testify a glorious company of witnesses—governors, senators, congressmen, pastors, physicians, manufacturers—against whose evidence scarcely a witness can be brought in rebuttal except "anonymous." The liquor-dealers have saved us the trouble of summing up this testimony. Their statement that more liquor is consumed under Prohibition than without it is canceled by actions that speak louder than words, by frantic efforts, at great cost, to defeat Prohibition wherever it is proposed. If, while canceling their license fees, it really increased their sales, and so gave them double gains, as they are sometimes able to make even Christians believe, they would hardly fight so helpful a friend.

The argument for Prohibition may be concisely stated in four propositions, the four strands of the halter with which the rum traffic is to be hung :

1. The business interests of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the saloon.
2. The homes of our country demand the suppression of their worst foe—the saloon.
3. The political liberty of our country demands the suppression of its worst foe—the saloon.
4. The conscience of the country demands that the attitude of Government toward this foe of business, home, and liberty, as toward other foes of the public good, shall be one of uncompromising hostility.

The prohibiting of maddening poison is not a "sumptuary law": that is, a law against luxury—but rather a law to promote luxury; to give every year to the impoverished families of those who waste their money for drink, in place of it, a billion dollars' worth of pianos, books, pictures, etc.

Prohibition is consistent with liberty in the same way as fire-escapes and quarantines are. A prohibitory liquor law is a law for the promotion of commerce, for the protection of labor, for the prevention of cruelty and crime, for the preservation of health, and home, and liberty.

The capital that is invested in the liquor business, if invested in legitimate forms of trade, would give employment to hundreds of thousands more people than are now employed by it. This added number of workers would be needed in mills and shops, if the money spent for drink were turned into those channels of trade where there is a "fair exchange," and so "no robbery."

Not only life, but liberty itself, is menaced by alcohol. In the words of the *Catholic Review*, "There is nothing fanciful in the assertion that in most of the large cities the saloon-keeping interest has as much representation in the Common Council as have all other interests combined—that is to say, the minor

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ity in numbers, intelligence, and decency, governs the majority in most of our large cities." It is this "spoils system" of the saloons that civil service reformers should strike at, if they would cure political corruption at the root. It is not so much examination of office-seekers as extermination of these office-brokers of the saloon that is needed. Municipal reformers also should learn that it is not by a change in the Mayor's office, but by a change in the saloon, that city politics is to be purified. If our city politics is in slavery to the saloons to-day, when the States are able to restrain them by their yeoman majorities in the legislatures, what of the time when the cities shall have the majority of our voters, as they will only eight Presidential elections from now—the third national campaign in which the babes now in your cradles will vote? In 1920, at the present rate of growth, cities of above 8000 inhabitants will have a clear majority of the voters of the country. The peril is not even so far off as that, for the cities have to-day a power out of proportion to their numbers as compared with country districts, because their forces are more concentrated, and better organized. And besides this, the saloon has carried city corruption into the country, except where local option, or some other form of Prohibition, has barred the way. "Ireland sober is Ireland free." So we may say of our own country: America's liquor or its liberty must go.

There is reason to believe that alcohol may be not only universally prohibited in our country, but also annihilated. The *Journal of Chemistry* has shown that the dangerous exceptions made for its use in medicine and the arts are unnecessary, since science has safer substitutes (see *The Temperance Century*, p. 87). It is also to be remembered that the passion for alcohol is not a natural passion, like sexuality, but wholly artificial, making it an evil like slavery, that may be wholly obliterated. It may not be wise to prohibit any but the beverage use of alcohol until a generation of physicians, intelligent enough to doctor without this dynamite, has been raised, but the goal which we should set before us should be, after Prohibition, annihilation. WILBUR F. CRAFTS (in the *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*).

A most observable fact in the temperance reform has been its constantly widening range. It started in individual action, but passed almost immediately into various kinds of association for mutual aid. Indeed, this transition may be looked on as the first step in temperance as a reform. From a guarded use of intoxicants, pressed by the exigencies of the case, it moved forward to their absolute rejection. In a similar way it was forced beyond individual abstinence into civic Prohibition. From Prohibition in towns and counties, it advanced to constitutional Prohibition in the State, and from this it is advancing to Prohibition by the general Government. Each of these steps has been taken because of the necessary widening of the conflict and the need for more resources in meeting it.

Some may look upon this constant increase of demands as evidence of the impossibility and futility of the entire movement. The believers in Prohibition regard it as the inevitable result of the breadth and unity of those social relations which inclose us. We cannot win our own without seeking like gifts for all. Each step of extension makes the previous position more secure. We are compelled to conquer a boundary, or lose what we have already gained, and that boundary is the world. A nation doubtless offers a fairly defensible unit in this strife, and yet, the moment we achieve this success, we shall become increasingly sensible of an outside pressure from other nations opposed to us in sentiment and action. International cooperation is necessary to make Prohibition effectual. This was recognized by the powers bordering on the North Sea, when, perceiving the dire consequences of intemperance among the fishermen in those waters, they joined in promulgating the celebrated prohibitory agreement of 1887. The absolute and sweeping prohibitory law for the Samoan Islands, against alcoholic beverages of all kinds, incorporated in the treaty for the government of those islands, drawn up in Berlin in 1889 by the plenipotentiaries of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany (and subsequently ratified by the three powers), is another instructive instance.

The most constant and obviously influential activity which unites us to other countries is that of commerce. Commerce is a chief medium to the better as well as to the worst influences that lie between different peoples and races. Notably, three forms of trade—that in slaves, that in opium, and that in rum—have carried with them the most terrible evils and drawn out the most brutish and diabolical passions. The black man is debauched immediately and completely by intoxication. For a nation like the United States to suffer such a commerce on the part of its subjects is to impose a collective responsibility on each citizen for a line of action which is simply devilish in every phase of it.

More than ten millions of gallons of liquor are annually sent to West Africa, where it is known to work mischief of the most unqualified, speedy, and unprovoked kind. Germany, the Netherlands, the United States, France, and Great Britain are engaged in the traffic—Germany well in the lead.

There is no complete redemption within the nation unless there is redemption beyond it. One reason why Massachusetts is not ready for Prohibition in her own borders is the profit attendant on the extended and thriving trade of Boston in New England rum. It is not possible that a State which is not prepared to protect its own feeblers citizens from the extreme danger of this traffic should be ready to shield savage life, hidden away in the dark recesses of Africa, from greater disorder. Nor is it any more possible that a temper, unscrupulous in places remote and secret, should become tender and conscientious at Home. JOHN BASCOM (in the *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*).

II. RESULTS OF PROHIBITION.

Benefits of Prohibition.—The practical trial of the Prohibition policy in the United States has been interfered with by many and serious difficulties. Great as is the extent of territory, in the aggregate, where experiments have been made since the agitation began, this policy has never had the advantage of a systematic introduction and broad foundation. The National Congress has never enacted general prohibitory legislation, and has never given support to or even recognized the prohibitory measures adopted in States and localities: indeed, the attitude of the Federal Government for nearly 30 years has been in formal antagonism to Prohibition. The States, with very few exceptions, have uniformly (or with but brief intervals of Prohibition) permitted license under certain conditions—conditions that, in

Not Fairly Tried. practise, have effectually excluded prohibitory law from most of the chief centers of population. Thus, in New England, while two States (Maine and Vermont) have been constantly under complete Prohibition for a long term of years, the other four States (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), though nominally prohibiting the traffic at times in that period, have so far inclined to license as to give continuance to liquor manufacture and commerce in such cities as Boston, Portsmouth, New Haven, Hartford, and Providence. Kansas and her complementary Prohibition State of Iowa have for years stood alone at the West; meantime the neighboring license States of Nebraska, Minnesota, Illinois, and Missouri, with their great cities—Omaha, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, Peoria, Kansas City, and St. Louis—have been aggressively hostile to prohibitory laws and diligently sought to flood the Prohibition districts with liquor. There is no Prohibition State or county, city, village, or township where the success of the policy is not or may not be at any time endangered by the interference of the liquor trade in license States, counties, or localities close at hand.

The police power, which is everywhere vested in the local governments and can always be supplemented and made more effective by cooperation from county and State authorities, is theoretically sufficient for the upholding of prohibitory as well as all other laws and for the correction of offenses committed by unscrupulous outsiders; indeed, there has been no serious limitation of the right of each political division having prohibitory law to fully enforce the law, except during the few months of 1890 in which the "Original Package" decision of the Supreme Court caused confusion—and the disturbance resulting from this decision was soon brought to an end by Congressional legislation. But though theoretically sufficient, the local police power is inadequate practically so long as liquor is produced, and is a legitimate article of commerce in other communities, counties, and States. All the conditions for a troublesome contraband traffic exist. Under the most stringent Prohibition there will always be some, and

oftentimes there will be many persons desiring drink or ready to purchase it if opportunity offers. Liquor is an article easily concealed, and the tricks and devices by which it can be peddled are numberless. The profits promised by illicit enterprise are large and are quickly won. Individual citizens who are not under suspicion may ship in supplies without very great risk, for the search and seizure clauses of prohibitory statutes, for manifest reasons, are not vigorously applied until there is good ground for believing that a particular person is actually disposing or preparing to dispose of liquor in violation of law. Above all, the highways of inter-State commerce are everywhere open to the smugglers. By a decision of the United States Supreme Court* no Prohibition State can, without the consent of Congress (not yet granted), prevent an inter-State railway or express company from carrying to any point within its borders liquor brought from another State. Shipments of liquor from Boston to Portland, for example, are held to be valid shipments by the courts, and if the shippers use careful disguises the "goods" may escape detection by the police officers of Portland and be delivered to citizens of that town. Once delivered they may be surreptitiously sold or given away, and have a more or less potent effect for neutralizing the law of Maine, in accordance with the shrewdness of the men into whose hands they come, and with various local conditions.

Unfavorable local conditions constitute the next great impediment to the success of Prohibition. Under this head, indeed, all the secondary difficulties fall: for all difficulties are secondary in comparison with the one already noticed—the presence of a legalized traffic in neighboring States and places. The chief of the local difficulties undoubtedly arises from the failure of the controlling political parties to earnestly identify themselves with the cause of Prohibition. This is not at all equivalent to saying that the people, as the source of parties and of government, are fundamentally responsible in cases of neglect or opposition; for the existence of Prohibition implies that popular consent and approval have already been granted. An indifferent or a hostile partizan attitude is frequently if not always taken without regard to genuine public sentiment—at least without regard to the sentiment of the best citizens; party action is controlled by designing leaders, and leaders are readily influenced against Prohibition by aggressive demands, bribes, threats, and promises of support from the liquor element. Thus it has happened nearly everywhere that Prohibition has not enjoyed the cordial political support necessary to its full success. Statutory provisions for enforcement have been lamentably defective; penalties have been inadequate and so adjusted, at times, as to render illicit trade scarcely more perilous than licensed trade would be under a stringent license system; men personally opposed to

* The famous decision, rendered in 1888, which became the foundation for the "Original Package" decision. *Bowman v. Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company*, 125 U. S. 465.

Prohibition, or deliberately pledged to its organized foes, have been chosen to fill the offices most intimately connected with the administration of law—as judges, prosecuting attorneys, mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, police authorities, etc.; juries have been packed with saloon adherents—in short, it has often seemed that the entire machinery of government has been given over to the outlawed traffic. The tireless persistence of all the violators of law, the encouragement shown them by an insinuating and sometimes incendiary press, the timidity of many friends of the law, the lack of determined leadership, and the coldness or reactionary tendencies of numerous good citizens (not excepting an element of the clergy) are other local impediments to the enforcement of Prohibition that are repeatedly encountered.

The admission that there have been partial or complete failures does not affect the vital question, Would thoroughly enforced Prohibition be beneficial?

Experience. But this admission suggests a practical question that cannot be ignored—in view of the many acknowledged disappointments, and of the above-considered difficulties, is the effort for thorough Prohibition practicable, and if not, are the benefits of partial Prohibition such as to justify enacting a prohibitory law that may be only partially effective?

In sifting the great mass of testimony that every patient inquirer may easily gather, it is difficult to adopt an entirely satisfactory method of classification. It is desirable, for instance, to make a separate and detailed comparison of results obtained under State laws with those secured under local option, high-license, and low-license systems; again, the reader will wish to have a separate and comprehensive analysis of the effects of Prohibition upon arrests for crime, and other distinct and equally extended exhibits of the influence that it exerts as a corrective of pauperism, etc.; again, it is proper to show separately how Prohibition has affected commercial prosperity, taxation, the interests of education, etc. But the results of Prohibition in one direction are closely associated with its results in all other directions, and a formal classification would involve endless repetitions. For the purposes of this article the testimony will be presented under two heads: (1) Diminution of the Consumption of Drink, and Effects upon Crime and Kindred Evils; (2) Economic and Other Effects.

In beginning an examination into the strictly temperance results of prohibitory laws nothing is more suggestive than the unanimity and the vigor with which such laws are opposed by all engaged in the liquor traffic. "*Resolved*, That we are unalterably opposed to Prohibition, general or local," said the National Protective Association at its first convention. "*Resolved*, That we are an anti-Prohibition Association, pure and simple," declared the New York State Brewers' and Maltsters' Association in 1883. "We have had a great deal of business in the State of Iowa, both before it was Prohibition and since," wrote the chief

distiller of Nebraska in 1888, "and we can say positively there is very little satisfaction in doing business in that State now. Ever so often the goods are seized, and it causes a great deal of delay and trouble to get them released; and there is a fear of not getting money for the goods, and all the forms we have to go through make it very annoying business. It is like running a railroad under ground. You don't know where you are going or what is ahead." Few will deny that the policy which is most hurtful to the liquor trade must be most instrumental in modifying the evils of intemperance. In the uncompromising hostility with which the "trade" meets every attempt to establish Prohibition lies a strong indication of Prohibition's effectiveness as a temperance measure.

MAINE.

Neal Dow, the "Father of the Maine law," describes the woful conditions prevailing in that State before the enactment of Prohibition. He says that immense quantities of rum were distilled and consumed there, and that the large home supply was supplemented by a great deal of rum imported from the West India Islands. In another place he has made this declaration: "I think I have seen nearly an acre of puncheons of West India rum at one time on our wharves, just landed from ships. All this time seven distilleries [in Portland] running day and night! Now I will venture to say that we have not had a puncheon of West India rum imported here in five years—yes, I will say ten years, and there is but one distillery in the State, and that not running, I think; but if it runs it is laid under \$3000 bonds to sell no spirit except for medicinal or mechanical purposes or for exportation."*

These statements are confirmed with the strongest emphasis by well-nigh all the eminent men of Maine. It is impossible in this article to make even a summary of all the important testimony.

The Voice for October 9, 1890, printed letters from the two United States Senators from Maine and other distinguished citizens. Senator William P. Frye wrote, in part:

"I can remember the time when in the State of Maine there was a grocery store at nearly every four corners in certain portions of the State, whose principal business was in the sale of New England rum; when the jails were crowded and poverty prevailed. To-day the country portions of the State are absolutely free from the sale of liquor; poverty is comparatively unknown, and in some of the counties the jails have been without occupants for years at a time. Wherever the laws have been rigidly enforced this condition of things has been the invariable result. The people who have tried and witnessed the result of these prohibitory laws adopted a few years since a Constitutional Amendment, prohibiting the sale or manufacture of liquor, by an overwhelming majority.

"The Democratic party for many years after Prohibition was adopted denounced it in every party platform, but for the last 12 or 15 years—such has been the progress of the temperance sentiment under the law—they have not dared to do so. This year they made a feeble attempt in that direction and were completely snowed under. . . .

"The law is not a failure; it has been, on the other hand, a wonderful success. I do not mean to assert, of course, that there is no liquor sold in our large cities

* *Alcohol and the State*, p. 352.

where evasions of law are so much more easily found than in the country. We have laws against murder and theft, but no man is so insane as to suppose that under their influence there will be no murder or stealing."

Senator Eugene Hale wrote :

"Throughout the State generally the prohibitory law has driven out the grog-shop, and while liquor is undoubtedly sold in the larger towns and cities, it is not done in an open way, and the amount of liquor-selling is smaller even in these larger towns and cities than in corresponding places elsewhere. Maine people believe in Prohibition because they are every-day witnesses to its good effect."

This letter received the unqualified indorsements of all the other members of Congress from Maine, of the two United States Senators, and of the Hon. James G. Blaine, as follows :

James G. Blaine: "On the point of the relative amount of the liquors sold at present in Maine and in those States where a system of license prevails, I am sure, from personal knowledge and observation, that the sales are immeasurably less in Maine."*

Hannibal Hamlin, United States Senator from Maine, and formerly Vice-President of the United States: "I concur in the statements made by Mr. Frye. In the great good produced by the prohibitory liquor law of Maine, no man can doubt who has seen its results. It has been of immense value."

Lot M. Morrill, United States Senator from Maine: "I have the honor unhesitatingly to concur in the opinions expressed in the foregoing by my colleague, Hon. Mr. Frye."

John Lynch, Member of Congress from Maine: "I fully concur in the statement of my colleague, Mr. Frye, in regard to the effect of the enforcement of the liquor law in the State of Maine."

John A. Peters and Eugene Hale, Members of Congress from Maine: "We are satisfied that there is much less intemperance in Maine than formerly, and that the result is largely produced by what is termed prohibitory legislation."

In 1874 the Governor-General of Canada, in accordance with a request from the Dominion Parliament, appointed a special commission "to inquire into the working of prohibitory liquor laws." This commission devoted much attention to the results in Maine, and the following questions were submitted by it to many citizens of that State, including both friends and opponents of the law: "Is the liquor law enforced, and if not, what is the hindrance to its working?" "What have been the results of a change from Prohibition to license, or *vice versa*?" Mr. E. J. Wheeler, in his *Prohibition* (p. 111), says: "In the replies received to these two questions, one thing is especially noticeable, namely, that while many, especially those resident in Portland and Bangor, admit that there is a lax enforcement of the law, yet all, without exception, testify to the good results of the law even when it is poorly enforced."

The original Maine law (with search and seizure clauses) was enacted in 1851. In 1856 it was repealed and a license law was substituted, which continued in force during the years 1857-58; and in 1859 Prohibition was readopted.

The history of the Maine law in Portland and Bangor proves that it caused a marked

* In 1882 Mr. Blaine added this declaration: "Intemperance has steadily decreased in Maine since the first enactment of the prohibitory law, until now it can be said with truth, that there is no equal number of people in the Anglo-Saxon world among whom so small an amount of intoxicating liquor is consumed as among the 650,000 inhabitants of Maine."

change for the better in those cities. Whenever it has been rigidly enforced the result has been no less wholesome. But it is recognized by the Prohibitionists that the administration of the law for some time has been unsatisfactory in Portland, Bangor, and (in a less degree) a few other towns. For these imperfections of execution the political managers are chiefly to blame: they find it profitable to permit rum-selling to a certain extent, since the illicit dealers are men of influence with a large element of the city voters, and as men who stand constantly in danger of arrest and punishment, they are subservient and most active supporters of the politicians upon whom they rely for protection.

KANSAS.

The results of State Prohibition in Kansas have been no less instructive and important than those in Maine. Kansas formerly contained some of the most notorious towns of the West, in which life was held at a very cheap rate and wild disorder was a characteristic condition. Vile saloons abounded in these places, and the consumption of liquor was appalling. In 1880 the Prohibitory Constitutional Amendment was adopted by a majority of less than 8000 in a total of 175,000 votes. This small majority gave no assurance of the successful enforcement of the policy, and the cities refused to regard it as binding and proceeded to treat the law with systematic defiance. An agitation for repeal immediately sprang up and it seemed to have reached a triumphant culmination when in 1882, chiefly on the question of the resubmission of the amendment, the large Republican majority in Kansas was wiped out, Governor John P. St. John, the man most prominently identified with the cause of Prohibition in the State, was defeated in his candidacy for reelection.

All these circumstances render the ultimate success of the prohibitory law the more significant. Despite the seeming reaction and the continued efforts of a desperate and powerful rum element, the measure was steadily winning its way to popularity because of the beneficial results that attended every honest attempt at enforcement. Previously to 1885 the legislation enacted was comparatively weak; but in that year stronger provisions were added, including injunction and nuisance clauses. In 1837 the celebrated Murray act was passed, prescribing severe penalties, with radical restrictions for the drug-store traffic. In the same year a law granting full municipal suffrage to women was secured. A metropolitan police law was another helpful measure. The Kansas legislation of 1885-89 constitutes, indeed, the most remarkable series of prohibitory statutes ever adopted, far outstripping the legislation of Maine. Meanwhile the State courts had thoroughly sustained every act. Some embarrassment was occasioned by the manifest hostility of the Federal judges having jurisdiction in Kansas, especially by Circuit Judge Brewer's famous decision (1886) in favor of compensation to liquor-manufacturers; but the friends of the law felt confident

that every disputed point would ultimately be decided against the traffic, and the general interests of enforcement did not suffer. Local judges in some of the worst rum cities, like Leavenworth, placed obstacles in the way of the cause locally; but even these exceptional difficulties were overcome in most instances. It was not until the "original package" trade of 1890 was developed that the enemies of the law enjoyed a general success; yet this success was short-lived.

There can be no better demonstration of Prohibition's good work in Kansas than the increasing stringency of the statutes and the growing cordiality of popular attitude. Against all the disadvantages to which we have alluded, and despite a reaction that appeared to be overwhelming; against the bitter opposition of the saloon people and the most persistent efforts at nullification—efforts in which the liquor power of the whole country and especially the dealers of neighboring States joined—the law has not only been maintained, but has been steadily strengthened. Moreover the benefits of the law have changed former foes into warmest friends: men of the highest position, governors, senators, mayors, and leading citizens of every class, who were intensely hostile or profoundly distrustful, have been constrained to testify in unequivocal and even enthusiastic language to the great good done by Prohibition.

The abundance of proof is bewildering, and only a small portion of it can be given in this article. Endeavor will be made to atone by careful selection for necessary faults of omission.

Bearing in mind the untrustworthiness of the United States Internal Revenue statistics as to the "liquor-dealers" in Prohibition States, the following table, showing the numbers of persons paying United States retail and wholesale special liquor taxes, with the numbers of distilleries operating, and brewers in Kansas, for each year, from 1880 to 1889, inclusive (compiled from official data), is instructive:

YEARS.	Retail Dealers.*	Wholesale Dealers.†	Distilleries Operating.	Brewers.	Totals.
1880.....	1907	56	4	39	2006
1881 ‡.....	1188	39	8	25	1260
1882.....	1512	34	2	22	1570
1883.....	1949	49	2	9	2009
1884.....	2025	46	4	17	2092
1885.....	2157	57	4	11	2223
1886.....	2401	46	2	8	2457
1887.....	2182	59	3	5	2249
1888.....	1396	34	1	4	1435
1889.....	1350	28	1	3	1382

*Including "retail liquor-dealers [distilled]" and "retail dealers in malt liquors."

†Including "wholesale liquor-dealers [distilled]" and "wholesale dealers in malt liquors."

‡Including Indian Territory for this year and subsequent ones.

Population of Kansas in 1880, 996,096; ratio between the number of "liquor-dealers," etc., and the total population, 1 to 496. Population in Kansas in 1890, 1,427,096; ratio between number of "liquor-dealers," etc., in 1889 and total population in 1890, 1 to 1033.

It is not, however, by showing a proportionate reduction in the number of persons connected (or nominally connected) with the traffic that the effects of Prohibition upon the liquor trade are to be demonstrated. High-license experiments have taught that the number of liquor establishments may be very materially diminished without disturbing the supply or the consumption.

From the Federal returns of the quantities of liquor manufactured,* the following table for the State of Kansas has been prepared:

YEARS.	Distilled Liquors Produced.	Malt Liquors Produced.
	Gallons.	Barrels.
1880.....	42,779	32,270
1881 *.....	65,086	25,872
1882.....	25,786	24,281
1883.....	2,859	25,103
1884.....	5,107	25,437
1885.....	6,730	19,274
1886.....	37,613	17,369
1887.....	9,133	16,458
1888.....	1,090	14,170
1889.....	751	8,290

* Including Indian Territory for this year and subsequent ones.

Production of spirits per capita in Kansas in 1880, 0.043 gallon; in 1889 (on the basis of the census of 1890), 0.0005 gallon. Production of beer per capita (reckoning 31 gallons to the barrel), in 1885, 1.004 gallon; in 1889 (census of 1890), 0.18 gallon.

The most competent observers have added specific evidence of the practical ruin of the retail business throughout the State. Surely no individuals are better qualified to speak concerning the extent of the traffic than the Probate Judges of the various counties. With them rests the responsibility for hearing and granting applications to sell liquor for the excepted purposes; and they are charged also with the duty of receiving and inspecting the returns of sales made by all lawful vendors. In 1889 *The Voice* (cf. New York City) applied to the Probate Judges of the 106 counties of Kansas for information as to the effects of the law; and, among other questions, the following were asked: "How successfully has Prohibition closed the saloons in your part of the State?" and "To what extent, in your judgment, has it diminished drunkenness and the consumption of intoxicants for beverage purposes?" There were replies from 97 counties; for 75 of the counties the answers were written by the Probate Judges personally, and for the other 22 counties, by county treasurers, or other officials, or by prominent private citizens. Every reply, whether favorable or unfavorable to Prohibition, was summarized by *The Voice*. Ninety-four of the writers declared positively that there were no open saloons, while the other three made qualified reports. Ninety-two stated that drunkenness and the consumption of drink had been greatly diminished. A majority, in estimating the extent of the diminution, placed it at from 75

* Internal Revenue Report for 1889, pp. 366-69.

to 90 per cent.; others said that drunkenness and drink had been "entirely eradicated" in their parts of the State, or "almost totally," or were "too small to estimate," etc.*

IOWA.

The original prohibitory law of Iowa (1855) was speedily modified, so as to practically permit the manufacture of all kinds of liquor, and the sale of beer and wine, tho the sale was made subject to local option. Special encouragement seems to have been given in Iowa to the manufacturers of liquor, especially beer. Many Germans were attracted to the State, and the brewing business steadily expanded until, in 1882, more than 286,000 barrels was produced. The distilling trade also acquired much importance; one of the greatest distilleries in the world was built at Des Moines, and in 1883 (the year of the adoption of the prohibitory amendment), more than 4,500,000 gallons of spirits was distilled in Iowa. Under such circumstances the majority of nearly 30,000, given by the people for constitutional Prohibition was a great victory for the principle. It was followed up by so vigorous a display of strength that, altho the State Supreme Court declared the amendment invalid on technical grounds, the legislature promptly enacted enforcement legislation, which was subsequently improved. The Clark law, with its nuisance and injunction features, and the Pharmacy law, take rank with the most rigid acts of Kansas. These measures have been retained intact, and during the largest part of the period since 1885, have had the moral support of the State Government. There has never been a reasonable doubt that an overwhelming majority of the people have fully sustained Prohibition in Iowa, and desired its complete enforcement; and the pressure brought by them has been so powerful that in most of the cities a marked progress toward the extermination of the traffic has been observable. But political complications, and the artful schemings of influential men, have had much more serious effect in Iowa than in Kansas. In 1894 a Mulct law was passed, the prohibitory statute remaining technically in force, but providing that the payment of a set tax would protect sellers from prosecution for violation of the law.

OTHER EXPERIMENTS IN STATE PROHIBITION.

In existing circumstances the decision of the question whether State Prohibition has wholesome practical effects, if executed with tolerable fairness, rests mainly upon the conclusions coming from a thorough study of Maine, Kansas, and Iowa experience; for these are the only States in which there has been anything like an adequate and a prolonged trial of the policy throughout a broad extent of territory embracing considerable cities and peopled by enterprising classes of citizens. In every other State that has tried Prohibition some or all of the elements essential to significant results have been lacking; generally the enforcement

legislation has been defective; in most instances even these feeble measures have lasted for only two or three years; discriminations have been made permitting the sale of wine and beer, and the manufacture of these and other liquors; political favor has rarely been exhibited, and nearly always there has been a general disposition to conspire for the law's nullification and repeal. Nevertheless, it will be seen that good has been done by even very imperfect and transitory Prohibition systems—good proportioned to the degree of the enforcement—and that conditions under the weakest prohibitory laws have been decidedly better, from the temperance and anti-liquor traffic point of view, than under any method of license in the same States.

Vermont.—Its prohibitory law was passed in 1852 and has never been repealed; therefore Vermont has had continuous Prohibition longer than any other State, not excepting Maine—for in Maine there has been an interval of license (1857–58). Besides, the statute has had the general support of the people, and has encountered little opposition from public men. But Vermont is not one of the representative States. Its commercial interests are not in a conspicuous way "diversified," its towns are relatively few and small, its citizens are conservative, and its population does not show a characteristic commingling of the varied elements of American life. Thus the results of Prohibition in Vermont are not decisive, because the circumstances do not bear the tests that are naturally applied.

The number of persons paying retailers' and wholesalers' special taxes varies slightly from year to year; even the Federal returns demonstrate that the traffic is not increasing. The average number of such payers for the eight years is 522. The population has been practically unchanged since 1880, and therefore, reckoning on the basis of the population in 1880, there was, on the average during this period, one special taxpayer for each 637 of the population. Vermont's showing is still more creditable when it is remembered that some of the so-called "liquor-dealers" were "town agents" selling for medicinal and similar purposes exclusively, and that many of the others were undoubtedly persons selling transiently, in a small way, and whose influence for evil in the community was not comparable with that exerted by even the petty dealers in the license States.

North and South Dakota.—These two States rank next in present importance, for both have complete Constitutional Prohibition. Previously to 1890 they were under a system of high license and local option, and in a majority of the counties the traffic was prohibited. The results of local prohibition, compared with those of high license, were so satisfactory that the farmers of South Dakota compelled the dominant party to pledge itself unequivocally to State and national Prohibition and to work for the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment; while in North Dakota the benefits of the policy were so clearly recognized that a Prohibition majority was given in 1889, notwithstanding a general

* *The Voice*, June 13, 1889.

feeling among the Prohibitionists that it was useless to strive for victory against the tactics and resources of their opponents.*

New Hampshire, permitting the manufacture of liquor and influenced in its politics to a great extent by wealthy brewers, is not strictly a Prohibition State. Even the prohibition of the retail sale did not finally become absolute until 1881, when the right granted to towns to tolerate the traffic in lager beer was withdrawn. As a matter of course, this partial prohibitory law has not operated so successfully or beneficially as the measures already noticed.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

The relation of the liquor traffic to economics, says James C. Fernald in his *Economics of Prohibition*, is one which the masters of the science have scarcely begun to touch. He says :

"Liquor selling does not pay. . . . Tell the lumbermen of Michigan how many thousands of drinking farmers will shingle their homes and barns, or build new ones, as soon as they 'quit their meanness,' and how many thousands of houses will be built in all our suburbs for the working men when none of them drink away the money that might pay the rent, or buy the cottage. Show the shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts what it means to take all the bare feet of drunkards' children off the ground. Let the iron men of Pennsylvania know that new stoves will be at once needed in a hundred thousand homes, when the saloon-keeper ceases to get the money. Tell the miners they will have work all winter through, getting coal enough to put into those stoves. Tell the cotton-planters of the South that there will be about 10,000,000 new calico dresses and aprons wanted as soon as the 2,000,000 tipplers cease to tittle, and go home with some spare change. Let the ranchmen of Dakota and New Mexico, and Armour's men in Chicago, know that there's going to be beef on thousands of tables, where now are a few cold potatoes, as soon as we can carry Prohibition. Tell the wool-grower of Ohio that everybody in this country is going to be wrapped in woolen and sleep under blankets when the blizzards blow, and the thermometer ranges about zero, and men no longer heat up with liquid fire in order to exterminate their families with atmospheric cold. Tell the grocer he can sell for cash, and say good-by to bad debts, when the dimes no longer go into the saloon till. Tell the farmer there is going to be an unheard-of demand for flour, and meal, and butter, and cheese, and eggs as soon as the bloated beer-holders cease fostering that industry, and begin filling out the hollow cheeks of wives and children."

In the chapter headed, "Paying the Piper," he says :

"The people of the United States are spending for intoxicants more than \$1,100,000,000, and increasing the expenditure at the rate of about \$50,000,000 a year. What nation can long endure such a drain? How can we help having poverty and distress?"

"The immensity of the outlay can be seen by considering the further fact that the total of imports of the United States in 1888 were but \$723,879,813, and the customs duties collected on the same were only \$219,031,173.

"This \$1,100,000,000, then, is the cost to the drinkers of the nation. From this we should deduct, according to Mr. E. J. Wheeler,* \$124,000,000 as the total receipts from all forms of tax and license paid by the liquor traffic to the nation and the States. This would bring the actual cash loss to the nation a little below \$1,000,000,000. But the selling price of both beer and whisky is estimated so low in the above table that we may claim the benefit of the margin, and safely hold the entire loss to be not less than \$1,000,000,000.

"A thousand million dollars in a single year, and this going on steadily year after year! It would have bankrupted the Roman Empire, when her nobles

dined luxuriously on peacocks' brains. It would have bankrupted Spain, when the wealth of the New World was pouring in, and her knights shod their steeds with silver. If any foreign power were to demand such a tribute, we would turn this whole country into an armed camp, and put a musket into the hand of every 14-year-old boy sooner than pay it. But we patiently hand it over to our 150,000 liquor barons, and only beg them to have a little mercy, and give us a rest for part of Sunday, and from midnight to daylight on other days.

"Still, this estimate only touches the outer edge of the deficit. Every man who drinks loses from labor a steadily increasing amount of time. It is probable that, from first to last, he loses an amount of time equal to the cost of his drinks. If this estimate were to be allowed, it would just double the \$1,000,000,000. But it would probably be challenged, and be thought weakest where it is strongest. Men would be cited who drink hard and work hard to the day of their death. But they die in the midst of their strength, and the loss is of all the years they might have lived. If the hard drinker lives much beyond 30, infirmities, sicknesses, and incapacity increase rapidly upon him, with their inevitable loss of working time and power. For the man who goes on 'sprees,' there will be days of lost labor from a few hours' debauch. By the most moderate computation, which, I believe, has not been challenged, there is lost the labor of 700,000 drunkards, amounting to \$175,000,000, and enough of the labor of 2,000,000 tipplers to make about \$225,000,000—a total of \$400,000,000 every year.

"But drinking men often become paupers, or pauperize those dependent upon them. Sixty-seven thousand inmates of almshouses were reported to the Census Office in 1880. Their support, by the average of many institutions, may be put at \$100 each per year, making a total of \$6,700,000. The amount of outdoor relief given can be only distantly approximated. In the State of New York, where the cost of maintaining paupers in county poorhouses is \$678,037.76, the outdoor relief given in the same counties is \$498,896.10, or about two-thirds. Supposing this ratio to exist throughout the country, that would give \$4,466,666 for outdoor relief. This is far below the true amount, for it makes no account of private charity as exercised by churches, lodges, and individuals, which would mount up to millions more.

"Adding the \$4,466,666 of estimated outdoor relief to the \$6,700,000 infirmity expenses, we have \$11,166,666 for National pauperism. Dr. Hargreaves ascribes nine-tenths of this to intemperance. We are willing to put it at three-fourths. It hardly can be less than that. . . . Three-fourths, then, of the total \$11,166,666 would be a little over \$8,000,000, which we may take as a thoroughly safe estimate of the pauperism due to intemperance.

"Drinkers often become criminals. Here, too, adequate statistics are exceedingly difficult to obtain. Mr. Wines says, in his pamphlet on *Crime, the Convict, and the Prison*: 'The problem involves many elements, some of which are very obscure.' He takes the number of inmates of prisons and reformatories, as given in the census of 1880, at 70,000, and remarks: 'Assuming that the charge for keeping up the prisons, including buildings and repairs, is not less than \$200 a year for each prisoner, this item of expense will amount to nearly, or quite, \$15,000,000 annually.' He adds an estimate of the cost of arrest and trial, and says: 'These three items, taken together, constitute the enormous sum of \$50,000,000 annually, raised by taxation, to defend the community against the ravages of crime.'

"Some question might be raised about institutions where the labor of prisoners is utilized, so that they are self-supporting. These are chiefly penitentiaries, where the prisoners are of adult age and sentenced for long terms. In jails, and juvenile reformatories, and workhouses this would not be the case. Even if we were to allow a deduction for this, it would probably be more than compensated by the fact which Mr. Wines states, that his estimate does not include the cost of the private detective force, the sums paid by the accused to their attorneys, nor the losses to individuals resulting from successful frauds or depredations.

"But this is not all. Mr. Wines says: 'It is startling to know that, of 50,000,000 inhabitants (in 1880), over 400,000 are either insane, idiots, or deaf-mutes, or are inmates of prisons, reformatories, or poorhouses. If to these we add the outdoor poor and the inmates of private charitable institutions, the amount will swell to nearly, or quite, 500,000, or one per cent. of

* *Prohibition, the Principle, the Policy, and the Party*, p. 73.

the population.' At that rate the number would now be about 600,000. But we will keep to the records of 1880, and consider only the 400,000 who were inmates of charitable institutions. Of that number, the 70,000 who were prisoners, and the 67,000 who were paupers, have been already considered. Those deducted would leave 263,000 'defective persons.' Assuming the average cost of their maintenance to be \$20 (and in many of these institutions it runs to nearly \$300 per capita, as skilled teachers and physicians must be employed at great expense), the cost of maintaining these 'defective persons' would exceed \$52,000,000. If we estimate one-third of these disabilities to be due to intemperance, actual or inherited, we shall have \$17,000,000 annual loss to the nation from the insanity, blindness, deafness, and other disabilities which intemperance produces. . . .

"Drink produces sickness. A careful computation gives about 150,000 persons simultaneously sick in the United States, as the result of using intoxicants, at a cost of more than \$50,000,000. This does not include the number who are sick, because some one else uses them—the women and children starved, chilled, beaten, heart-broken, crowded into filthy, malarial alleys and cellars, for whom simple Prohibition would have the effect of the best kind of fresh-air fund all the year round. The sickness which is thus the indirect result of intemperance is at least equal to that which directly results. It is probably far greater, but we will put it down at another \$50,000,000—in all, \$100,000,000.

"But there are those who will object, 'You are not counting the receipts from this industry. The liquor business gives employment to 500,000 men, including all who work about brewery, distillery, and saloon.' But from the standpoint of political economy these men produce nothing. No addition to the national wealth comes from their labor. They must be counted and reasoned about simply as non-producers.

"Adding these various items, we have for the United States the following bill :

Lost labor of drunkards and tipplers.....	\$400,000,000
Lost labor of sober men.....	40,000,000
Pauperism.....	8,000,000
Crime.....	37,500,000
Insanity and disability.....	17,000,000
Sickness.....	100,000,000
Lost labor of liquor-makers.....	300,000,000
Total.....	\$902,500,000

"It is to be observed that these estimates are almost all based on the census of 1880. At that time the direct cost of intoxicants, as estimated by Dr. Hargreaves, was but \$733,816,495 for the year. With the increase in the consumption of liquor from \$734,000,000 to \$1,100,000,000, it is certain that these indirect losses must have advanced in equal proportion. That would make these items amount to not less than the direct cost now, or another \$1,100,000,000."

For temperance views contrary to Prohibition, see HIGH LICENSE ; NORWEGIAN SYSTEM ; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ; SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.

For facts indicating that intemperance is not so far responsible for poverty as is here argued, see POVERTY. See also INTEMPERANCE.

References: *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*, New York, 1891; *Economics of Prohibition*, by James C. Fernald, New York; *Prohibition, the Principle, the Policy, and the Party*, by E. J. Wheeler, New York, 1889; *Alcohol and the State*, by Robert C. Pitman, New York, 1886; *The Foundation of Death*, by Axel Gustafson, New York; *The Liquor Problem in all Ages*, by Daniel Dorchester, D. D., New York, 1884; *Is License Constitutional?* Eli F. Ritter, New York, 1890.

PROHIBITION PARTY, THE.—The following account of the Prohibition Party is contributed by prominent leaders of the party.

The Prohibition party was established in 1869 on the basis of uncompromising opposition to the drink traffic and to all parties not harmoniously and unmistakably pledged against that traffic, and has been steadily

maintained since then (though with occasional slight changes of name).

In the early struggles for Prohibition (1850-60) it was generally agreed that the policy should stand or fall in accordance with the spontaneously expressed will of the people, and politicians found few inducements to manipulate or resist public opinion, for the liquor traffic was not a great organized political power. The question whether the Maine law should be adopted in a State was submitted in good faith to the electors for decision, and an affirmative vote was followed by the desired legislation, which was retained on the statute-book as long as there was good reason for believing that a majority of the people—even though a passive majority—would object to its removal. At times, as in New York and Maine, there were noticeable developments of political antagonism and conspiracy, but these were exceptional. In the Prohibition literature of that period we find little to suggest the present radical tactics. It is considered a memorable if not an unparalleled circumstance that Rev. Charles F. Deems published, before the war, a newspaper which especially urged the importance of independent political action by the advocates of Prohibition. This journal was printed at Greensburg, N. C., in 1854, and only a few numbers were issued.

In the Civil War (1861-65) all political questions save the supreme questions arising from that conflict were lost sight of.

The liquor traffic was given a new footing by the Internal Revenue **Origin.** legislation. Brought into political prominence and schooled in political arts by its close relations with the Federal Government, the liquor element gradually asserted itself in State politics. No new prohibitory measure was enacted at the North during the war. Rhode Island's statute was repealed in 1863, other State laws were weakened, and nearly all were flagrantly violated. Soon after the restoration of peace, it became evident that the liquor traffickers were bent on sweeping away, by political operation, all the prohibitory legislation of the Union. In Massachusetts, the most populous of the Prohibition States, the rum-sellers made an aggressive political canvass in 1867, resulting in the election of a legislature which rescinded the law the next year. In Connecticut, in 1860, an active agitation for repeal was begun. In the same year the National Brewers' Congress (at Chicago, June 5, 1860) adopted the following resolution :

"Whereas, The action and influence of the temperance party is in direct opposition to the principles of individual freedom and political equality upon which our American union is founded; therefore

"Resolved, That we will use all means to stay the progress of this fanatical party, and to secure our individual rights as citizens, and that we will sustain no candidate, of whatever party, in any election, who is in any way disposed toward the total abstinence cause."

These and other evidences of serious political dangers aroused the Prohibitionists. As early as February, 1867, the State Temperance Convention of Pennsylvania declared that "if

the adversaries of temperance shall continue to receive the aid and countenance of present political parties we shall not hesitate to break over political bands and seek redress through the ballot-box." The Grand Lodge of Good Templars of Pennsylvania, at Pittsburg, June 10, 1860, passed a similar resolution, and the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of Good Templars (the supreme body of the Order), in session at Richmond, Ind., May 28, 1868, recommended "to the temperance people of the country the organization of a national political party whose platform of principles shall contain Prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquor to be used as a beverage."

In 1869 (at Oswego, N. Y., May 20), the Grand Lodge expressed the opinion "That we esteem the present as an auspicious period in the history of our political affairs for the inauguration of this movement, and therefore recommend the calling of a National Convention for the purpose at an early day." On this occasion a meeting of these favoring separate political action was held, with Jonathan H. Orne of Marblehead, Mass., as president, and J. H. Spencer of Cleveland, O., as secretary. The duty of preparing a call for a National Convention to organize a National Prohibition Party was assigned to a committee of five, composed of Rev. John Russell of Detroit, Mich., Prof. Daniel Wilkins of Bloomington, Ill., J. A. Spencer of Cleveland, O., John N. Stearns of New York, and James Black of Lancaster, Pa.

The organizing convention met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, on the specified day (September 1, 1869), with nearly five hundred delegates in attendance. At first it was decided to call the new organization the Anti-Dramshop party, but the convention finally named it the National Prohibition Party. The following is the text of the platform of principles adopted:

"Whereas, Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties, and every citizen who yields obedience to the just commands of his Government is entitled to the full, free, and perfect protection of that Government in the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty, and private property; and

"Whereas, The traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a large mass of citizens, and renders private property insecure; and

"Whereas, The existing parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question; therefore

"We, in National Convention assembled, as citizens of this free Republic, sharing the duties and responsibilities of its Government, in discharge of a solemn duty we owe to our country and our race, unite in the following declaration of principles:

"1. That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States severally, and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers, but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of American Independence and our Federal Constitution.

"2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequalled enormity, subversive of the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever, but imperatively

demanding for its suppression effective legal Prohibition, both by State and National legislation.

"3. That in view of this, and inasmuch as the existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question, and absolutely refuse to do anything toward the suppression of the rum traffic, which is robbing the nation of its brightest intellects, destroying internal prosperity, and rapidly undermining its very foundations, we are driven by an imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with these political parties and organize ourselves into a National Prohibition party, having for its primary object the entire suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks.

"4. That while we adopt the name of the National Prohibition Party, as expressive of our primary object, and while we denounce all repudiation of the public debt, and pledge fidelity to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, we deem it not expedient at present to give prominence to other political issues.

"5. That while we recognize the good providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this nation from its establishment to the present time, we would not, in organizing our party for the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic, forget that our reliance for ultimate success must be upon the same omnipotent arm.

"6. That a Central Executive Committee of one from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia be appointed by the Chair, whose duty it shall be to take such action as, in their judgment, will best promote the interests of the party."

At the fall elections of 1869 Ohio was the only State returning votes for the Prohibition party as a distinct organization, 679 being reported from that State. But Maine and Minnesota each cast votes for "Republican-Prohibition" candidates—the former 4743 and the latter 1061.

In 1870 support was received at the polls in six States, as follows: Illinois, 3712; Massachusetts (Lieutenant-Governor), 8692; Michigan, 2170; New Hampshire, 1167; New York, 1459; Ohio, 2812—total, 20,012. In Massachusetts the Prohibition candidate for Governor this year was Wendell Phillips, and, being indorsed by the Labor party and Independent Republicans, he polled 21,946 votes—many more than were cast for the other candidates of the Prohibitionists.

Only a few of the States held elections in 1871. Five returned Prohibition votes: Massachusetts, 6598; New Hampshire, 314; New York, 1820; Ohio, 4084, and Pennsylvania, 3186—total, 16,002. In New York the party took the name of "Anti-Dram-shop." In Pennsylvania it appeared for the first time.

The first National Nominating Convention was held on Washington's Birthday (February 22), in 1872, at Columbus, O. James Black of Pennsylvania, and John Russell of Michigan, were unanimously nominated for President and Vice-President, respectively. Besides the planks on temperance there were planks favoring a sound currency, convertible into gold or silver, suffrage irrespective of color or sex, low rates of travel and transportation, direct vote for Presidency and Vice-Presidency, promotion of immigration, transportation, and purity of office. For the result of Presidential elections, see the end of this article.

Throughout these early years of independent political agitation, and for nearly 10 years more, there was practically no general

**First
Presidential
Nomination.**

acceptance of the claims of the National Prohibition Party. Operations were confined to separate States, and the results gained, while promising in a number of cases, were temporary and were not followed up. The election returns frequently describe the Prohibition votes of this period as "Temperance" or "Anti-Dram-shop." In Rhode Island the Prohibition question changed the face of politics for several years. A legislature and a Governor friendly to Prohibition were chosen in 1874, and a prohibitory law was accordingly enacted. A conspiracy to annul it was immediately instituted, and the parties were split into factions for and against repeal. In 1875, on the question of repeal, three candidates for Governor were nominated, and the candidate committed to the retention of the measure (Howard, Republican and Prohibitionist) received a plurality, but the liquor men carried the legislature and seated an anti-Prohibition Governor. The political complications growing out of the developments of 1875 continued until 1880, and in each year the Prohibition element polled a heavy vote, ranging above 6000.

The second National Nominating Convention met in Cleveland on the 17th of May, 1876. Green Clay Smith of Kentucky was nominated for President, and Gideon T. Stewart of Ohio, for Vice-President. "The National Prohibition Reform Party" was substituted for the old name.

Without resources or encouragement, the party conducted no canvass in 1876. This was the exciting Tilden-Hayes year, and electors were especially unwilling to break away from their old parties. But the Prohibition vote, the light, was distributed over 18 States; twice as many States as had furnished support in any former year.

The intention of continuing the national struggle was shown in 1877, when a national conference of the party was held in New York City (September 26 and 27).

The elections of 1877 were signalized by votes of 10,545 in Iowa (a State that had ignored the movement), and 16,354 in Massachusetts. Iowa's action proved to be of far-reaching importance; the bold step taken by her Prohibitionists alarmed the Republican leaders and prepared the way for the Constitutional Amendment agitation and the subsequent submission and legislation.

The third National Nominating Convention met at Cleveland, June 17, 1880. Neal Dow of Maine was nominated for President, and Rev. H. A. Thompson of Ohio, for Vice-President.

Sixteen States gave votes in 1880 as against 18 in 1876. Again the party was too feeble to make a formal campaign. Votes for State candidates in 1880: Connecticut, 488; Massachusetts, 1059; Michigan, 1114; New Jersey, 195; Ohio, 2815; Pennsylvania, 1898—total, 7489.

The years 1881 and 1882 mark a new epoch in the history of the National organization. At the Lake Bluff convocation (held near Chicago) in August, 1881, some of the influential

Prohibition leaders who had not been very actively identified with the party, or had held aloof from it, decided to secure, if possible, a more vigorous championship, and a stronger support for it. George W. Bain of Kentucky, A. J. Jenkins of Illinois, Miss Frances E. Willard of Illinois, and R. W. Nelson of Illinois, were appointed a committee to organize a so-called "Home Protection Party" as "a political party whose platform is based on constitutional and statutory Prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in the State and nation." A call for a National convention, joined in by the others interested, was issued, and the body met in Farwell Hall, Chicago, August 23 and 24, 1882; 341 delegates being present from 22 States. A new name, the "Prohibition Home Protection Party," was adopted.

"Home Protection Party."

There was substantial growth at the State elections of 1881, 1882, and 1883; the more encouraging because it was the consequence of steadily rising sentiment.

The Nominating Convention of 1884 was called to meet at Pittsburg, May 21. But it was desired by some of the new leaders, and by many who had not fully made up their minds, to make a final test of the tendencies of the other political parties before entering the field. The date was changed to July 23, and prominent representatives of the movement were sent to the Republican National Convention 1884 to 1888. (at Chicago, June 5), and the Democratic National Convention (at Chicago, July 10) to appeal to those bodies to favorably recognize the temperance question as one of the political issues of the day. The platform committees of the two conventions, after listening with scant courtesy to the advocates, ignored their requests. Many who had hoped that the Republican or the Democratic party would take up the cause in due time, were now convinced of the hostility of both these organizations, and when the Prohibition convention assembled at Pittsburg, on the 23d of July, it was evident that a profound impression had been made on the country. Thirty-one States and Territories (including the District of Columbia) sent 465 accredited delegates. The name of the party was once more changed, the original name of "Prohibition Party" being restored. John B. Finch of Nebraska was placed at the head of the National committee. The temperance women were given special representation in the committee, by the selection of Miss Frances E. Willard of Illinois, and Mrs. Stewart of Ohio, as members-at-large.

Woman suffrage, however, was left to the discretion of the States, and the platform devoted almost purely to Prohibition and the results of intemperance on the nation at large.

With the Presidential campaign of 1884, the National Prohibition party ceased to be a merely nominal organization, and began its active career. A headquarters was opened at Chicago, and an energetic canvass was made. Mr. St. John and numerous other able speakers addressed large audiences in many States.

The party was strengthened by cooperation from certain elements of voters who conscientiously opposed both Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Blaine, on grounds of personality, and who, recognizing in Mr. St. John a pure man, and in his cause a movement of good aspirations, sustained the Prohibition ticket because (from their points of view) no other acceptable one was presented.

This campaign brought fresh vigor to the Prohibition press. The first number of *The Voice* was issued September 25, 1884. After the November election it was suspended until the 1st of January, 1885, and since that date its publication has been continued without interruption, under the general

Journals. supervision of I. K. Funk, D. D., and, for the most of the time, the directing editorship of Mr. E. J. Wheeler. Among the other journals which have advocated the principles of the party are, *The Lever* of Chicago, *The New Era* of Springfield, O., *The Witness* of New York City, *The Constitution* of New York City, *The Indiana Phalanx*, Indianapolis, Ind.

Thirty-four of the 38 States yielded votes in 1884. There was a marked advance throughout the principal States of the North. New York decided the Presidential election in favor of Cleveland, but by a very small plurality (1040); and, assuming that the accessions to the Prohibition party came chiefly from the Republicans, it is evident that the result in the country at large would have been reversed if no Prohibition ticket had been run. As a result, the attacks upon the Prohibition party by Republicans at this time were very bitter. They aided the party, however.

After the election of 1884, it was a common remark among the advocates of the Prohibition party that they had "elected their issue" to a conspicuous place in national politics. Their hope was that it would soon be made the dividing issue, and that a reconstruction of parties would be accomplished. Many believed that the expected result would come to pass at the Presidential contest of 1888. But the rising interest in the tariff discussion interfered with their plans.

The party held its national convention at Indianapolis on the 30th and 31st of May. Forty-two States and Territories, and the District of Columbia, sent delegates. The nominations for President and Vice-President were given, respectively, to General Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey, and John A. Brooks of Missouri.

After a protracted struggle a woman's suffrage plank was put back into the platform; planks were also introduced on arbitration, restriction of immigration, civil service, uniform marriage and divorce laws, tariff for revenue only, defense of the Sabbath, etc.

Great energy and zeal characterized the Fisk and Brooks campaign. *The Voice* raised from its readers funds that enabled the publishers to send that paper to 60,000 clergymen of the country, and (for several weeks) to 500,000 farmers. Votes were polled in every State but South Carolina.

The convention of 1892 was held in Cincinnati, June 30. John P. St. John of Kansas was chosen temporary chairman, and Eli F. Ritter of Indiana permanent chairman. General John 1892 to 1896. Bidwell of California was nominated for President, and J. B. Cranfill of Texas for Vice-President. The platform declared for Prohibition, woman suffrage, currency reform, anti-monopoly laws, restriction of immigration. It contains, besides, the following planks :

All men should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven.

Arbitration is the wisest and most economical and humane method of settling national differences.

Speculations in margins; the cornering of grain, money, and products; and the formation of pools, trusts, and combinations for the arbitrary advancement of prices should be suppressed.

We pledge that the Prohibition party, if elected to power, will ever grant just pensions to disabled veterans of the Union Army and Navy, their widows and orphans.

We stand unequivocally for the American public school and opposed to any appropriation of public moneys for sectarian schools. We declare that only by united support of such common schools, taught in the English language, can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people.

Samuel Dickie was continued chairman of the National committee, and William T. Wardwell of New York made secretary.

Since 1893 there have been a number of important Prohibition victories in the election of municipal governments, notably in Norfolk, Va.; Williamsport, Pa.; Albion, Mich., and Wellsville, O.; all of these four cities having elected Prohibition mayors and councils.

Of late years there has been a growing dissension in the party over the attitude to be taken in respect to issues other than Prohibition. One division, styled "broad-gage," has contended for declarations on all the important political issues, while the other division, called "narrow-gage," has sought to confine the party's declarations more and more closely to the single issue. This controversy has made itself felt with more or less intensity in a number of national conventions, but culminated in that of 1896 in a split and the formation by seceding "broad-gagers" of the National party. The convention at which this occurred met in Pittsburg May 27 and 28, 39 States and Territories being represented by 810 delegates. A. A. Stevens of Pennsylvania was temporary, and Oliver W. Stewart of Illinois, permanent chairman. The committee on resolutions brought in two reports, and the real conflict came on the currency plank. The majority report ("narrow-gage"), presented by I. K. Funk, was silent on the currency question, while the minority report ("broad-gage"), represented by John P. St. John, included the following :

"That all money be issued by the Government only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation, or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability, and integrity of the nation, and be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of sufficient volume to meet the demand of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating all our outstanding coin obligations, we demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a ratio of 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation."

This plank was voted down by a vote of 387 to 427. Robert H. Patton of Illinois then offered, as a substitute for all that was before the convention from the committee on resolutions, a declaration for Prohibition alone, and this was adopted as the platform. It was as follows:

"The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, declares its firm conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages, has produced such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions, that the suppression of the same by a national party organized therefor is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance that it, of right, ought to control the political actions of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

"The urgency of this course demands the union, without further delay, of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition, by State and national legislation, of the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. That we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of Prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end, we deem it of right to leave every Prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the changes occasioned by Prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand."

STATE.	1872	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892
Louisiana.....				328	160	
Maine.....			93	2,160	2,601	3,062
Maryland.....			10	2,827	4,707	5,877
Massachusetts.....		84	682	9,923	8,701	7,539
Michigan.....	1,271	707	942	18,403	20,942	20,857
Minnesota.....		144	286	4,684	15,316	14,017
Mississippi.....					218	910
Missouri.....		64		2,153	4,539	4,298
Montana.....						549
Nebraska.....		1,590		2,809	9,429	4,902
Nevada.....					41	80
N. Hampshire.....	200		180	1,570	1,504	1,296
New Jersey.....		43	191	6,153	7,939	8,131
New York.....	201	2,329	1,517	24,999	30,231	38,193
North Carolina.....				454	2,787	2,636
North Dakota.....						899
Ohio.....	2,100	1,636	2,616	1,166	24,356	26,012
Oregon.....				492	1,077	2,281
Pennsylvania.....	1,630	1,310	1,310	15,283	20,447	25,123
Rhode Island.....		68	20	928	1,251	1,654
South Carolina.....						
South Dakota.....						
Tennessee.....				1,131	5,969	4,856
Texas.....				3,534	4,749	2,105
Vermont.....				1,752	1,460	1,424
Virginia.....				138	1,682	2,798
Washington.....						2,553
West Virginia.....				939	1,084	2,145
Wisconsin.....		151	69	7,656	14,277	13,132
Wyoming.....						530
Total.....	5,607	9,737	9,678	150,626	249,945	270,710

(See PROHIBITION.)

PROLETARIAT.—Derived originally from the Latin *proletarii*, the name given in the census of Servius Tullius to those who were only of value to the state as the rearers of offspring (*proles*); in other words, they were of no importance either for wealth, or position, or exceptional ability; hence the term has been applied to the common people. Formerly used as a term of contempt—as being of the lowest and meanest order of men—the term in its French form has latterly been given a distinct meaning, and is used by writers and speakers on social questions, to denote those who, destitute of land or accumulated wealth, are entirely dependent upon selling their labor; the working people, as opposed to the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. In the modern sense of the term, the proletariat is an outcome of the changed conditions of industry; it was not until the division of labor began, and one man became dependent on another for his living, that the condition was possible; and not until the latter part of the eighteenth century, after the great revolution caused in industry by the introduction of machinery and the factory system, was the separation of the great mass of working people from the land so complete as it is at present.

PROPERTY (from Latin *proprius*, own, peculiar) may be defined in its economic sense as "any object of value that a person may lawfully use, acquire, or hold" (*Standard Dictionary*). Says J. S. Mill, "Property denotes in every style of society the largest powers of exclusive use or exclusive control over things, and sometimes unfortunately over persons, which the law accords or which cus-

Joshua Levering of Maryland, and Hale Johnson of Illinois, were nominated for President and Vice-President. After the nominations, Mrs. Ella A. Boole of New York attempted to add a woman suffrage plank to the platform, but, objection being made, she offered it as a simple resolution, and in that form it was adopted by a large majority. The "broad-gage" element held a meeting on the night of May 30, and led by John P. St. John, R. S. Thompson, Helen M. Gougar, and L. B. Logan, formed the National Party, nominated Charles E. Bentley of Nebraska, and James H. Southgate of North Carolina, and adopted a platform containing, in addition to a Prohibition plank, one in favor of woman suffrage, the money plank discarded by the regular convention, and numerous others. The regular organization (National Prohibition Party) reelected Samuel Dickie chairman, and William T. Wardwell secretary of the national committee. The new organization (National Party) constituted L. B. Logan chairman and Dow J. Thomas secretary.

Revised by E. J. WHEELER.

The following is the Presidential vote of the Prohibition party from 1872 to 1892:

STATE.	1872	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892
Alabama.....				613	583	239
Arkansas.....					614	113
California.....			61	2,900	5,761	8,006
Colorado.....				761	2,191	1,652
Connecticut.....	205	378	409	2,305	4,334	4,026
Delaware.....				04	400	504
Florida.....				72	417	561
Georgia.....				168	1,808	988
Idaho.....						288
Illinois.....						25,870
Indiana.....	143	443	12,074	21,695	9,881	13,050
Iowa.....	38		3,028	9,881		6,340
Kansas.....	36	592	1,472	3,550		4,553
Kentucky.....	110		4,495	0,779		6,442
	818	258	3,139	5,225		

tom in that state of society recognizes" (*Essays on Socialism*).

The Roman law defines property as follows: *Dominium est jus utendi et abutendi re sua, quatenus juris ratio patitur.* The *code civil français* says,

Definitions. "Property is the right of disposing and of enjoying things in the most absolute manner, provided that no use is made of these prohibited by laws and regulations."

All these definitions imply the idea that the right of holding property is dependent upon law and therefore not superior to law. This is, however, not the view of all publicists. Very various views have been and are held as to what is the basis of property.

1st. Roman jurists, and many modern ones, consider the occupancy of things without an owner as the principal title conferring property. "*Quod enim nullius est, id ratione naturali occupanti conceditur,*" says the *Digest*. Grotius argues that God after the creation conferred on

the human race a general right to everything, and then says: "This was done that each might take for his use whatever he wished, and consume what it was possible for him to use. . . . Matters remained thus until, from the increase in the number of men, as well as of animals, the land, which was formerly divided by nations, began to be divided among families, and since wells are a supreme necessity in dry countries, and are not equal to supplying a large number, each appropriated what he was able to seize." This, as far as man goes (whatever one thinks as to creation), is undoubtedly a generally accurate account of the actual way in which property originated; it simply exalts an historic fact into a natural law. But whether a just title to ownership can be gained in this way is another thing. Law undoubtedly has recognized such a title, but whether it should raise other questions. J. S. Mill (*Political Economy*, book ii. chap. ii.) defends a title to possession which has not been legally questioned within a moderate number of years, but says this is no argument for unjust present laws. He says:

"It is necessary to the security of rightful possessors, that they should not be molested by charges of wrongful acquisition, when by the lapse of time witnesses must have perished or been lost sight of, and the real character of the transaction can no longer be cleared up. Possession which has not been legally questioned within a moderate number of years ought to be, as by the laws of all nations it is, a complete title. Even when the acquisition was wrongful, the dispossession, after a generation has elapsed, of the probably *bona fide* possessors, by the revival of a claim which had been long dormant, would generally be a greater injustice, and almost always a greater private and public mischief, than leaving the original wrong without atonement. It may seem hard that a claim, originally just, should be defeated by mere lapse of time; but there is a time after which (even looking at the individual case, and without regard to the general effect on the security of possessors) the balance of hardship turns the other way. With the injustices of men, as with the convulsions and disasters of nature, the longer they remain unrepaired, the greater become the obstacles to repairing them, arising from the after-growths which would have to be torn up or broken through. In no human transactions, not even in the simplest and clearest, does it follow that a thing is fit to be done now, because it was fit to be done sixty

years ago. It is scarcely needful to remark that these reasons for not disturbing acts of injustice of old date cannot apply to unjust systems or institutions; since a bad law or usage is not one bad act in the remote past, but a perpetual repetition of bad acts as long as the law or usage lasts."

2d. Many make labor the basis of property. This is the theory usually adopted by those economists who, like Adam Smith and his followers, both socialists and individualists, attribute to labor the production of all wealth. This theory, however, is far older than Adam Smith. Locke (*Civil Government*, chap. iv.) states this theory in brief, substantially as follows: Every one has an exclusive right over his own person. The labor of his body is, therefore, likewise his property. His labor, withdrawing objects from the state of community, makes them his. This, however, must be limited by reason and equity. "If any one exceeds the bounds of moderation and takes more than he has need of, he undoubtedly takes what belongs to others." Locke's great principle is, "Every one ought to have as much property as is necessary for his support."

The majority of writers try to base the whole right of property upon labor. Says Mill (*Political Economy*, book ii. chap. ii.):

"The institution of property, when limited to its essential elements, consists in the recognition in each person of a right to the exclusive disposal of what he or she have produced by their own exertions, or received either by gift or by fair agreement, without force or fraud, from those who produced it. The foundation of the whole is the right of producers to what they themselves have produced. It may be objected, therefore, to the institution as it now exists, that it recognizes rights of property in individuals over things which they have not produced. For example, it may be said that the operatives in a manufactory create, by their labor and skill, the whole produce; yet, instead of its belonging to them, the law gives them only their stipulated hire, and transfers the produce to some one who has merely supplied the funds, without perhaps contributing anything to the work itself, even in the form of superintendence. The answer to this is that the labor of manufacture is only one of the conditions which must combine for the production of the commodity. The labor cannot be carried on without materials and machinery, nor without a stock of necessaries provided in advance, to maintain the laborers during production. All these things are the fruits of previous labor. If the laborers were possessed of them they would not need to divide the produce with any one; but while they have them not, an equivalent must be given to those who have, both for the antecedent labor and for the abstinence by which the produce of that labor, instead of being expended on indulgences, has been reserved for this use. The capital may not have been, and in most cases was not, created by the labor and abstinence of the present possessor; but it was created by the labor and abstinence of some former person, who may indeed have been wrongfully dispossessed of it, but who, in the present age of the world, much more probably transferred his claims to the present capitalist by gift or voluntary contract.

"The right of property includes, then, the freedom of acquiring by contract. The right of each to what he has produced implies a right to what has been produced by others, if obtained by their free consent; since the producers must either have given it from good will, or exchanged it for what they esteemed an equivalent, and to prevent them from doing so would be to infringe their right of property in the product of their own industry."

But this basis for property is open at least to confusion. Labor to-day, even in its simplest forms, is largely a social process. A man builds a house with his own hands, but, even if

Property
Based upon
Labor.

he has no architect, he is largely indebted to his fellows for his ideas of house-building; government protects him from molestation during the process; he gets the wood or stone in one place, the nails or mortar in another, the paint in another. He uses gas which a company furnishes, or oil that somebody else has supplied. A man writes a book, but all his ideas, with much of the language, may be gotten from his neighbor's conversation or from other books in his library. It is easy to say that labor has produced the work, but whose labor?

"Nine hundred and ninety-nine parts out of the thousand of every man's produce are the result of his social inheritance and environment." So says Edward Bellamy (*Contemporary Review*, July, 1890); and Mr. Kidd adds, "This is so; and it is, if possible, even more true of the work of our brain than of the work of our hands" (*Social Evolution*, p. 267). All attempt, therefore, to divide produce according to individual contribution to the result must be impossible; or, if it were possible to say exactly what is produced by a man's own labor, is it just that a man, favored perhaps by circumstances for which he has no credit, is given favorable opportunity to labor and so produces much, should have property, while another equally willing and competent to labor, but deprived of the opportunity, due to circumstances over which he has no responsibility, should be left to starve and possess nothing?

3. Property is based on a convention, whereby men agreed to abandon the primitive community. Some, like Kant, do not claim that this is a historic fact, but speak of it as a juristic necessity, or a fact the justice of which demands respect. It is, however, as Kant admits, impossible to show that there ever was such a compact, while, as for the juristic necessity, the view leads to one of the two following views, a basis in law or in utilitarianism.

4. Many writers of many shades of thought maintain that property is the creature of law. Says Bossuet (*Petit Traité de l'Écrit*, sec. 1, art. 3, 4, propos): "Banish governments, and the earth and all its fruits are as much the common property of all mankind as the air and light." Montesquieu says (*Esprit des Lois*, lib. xxvi. chap. 15): "As men have renounced their natural independence to live under political laws, they have also renounced the natural community of goods to live under civil laws. The former laws give them liberty, the latter property."

Bentham says (*Treatise on Legislation*): "Property and the law were born together and will perish together. Before law there was no property; banish law, and all property ceases." But if the law justifies property, what justifies the law? This view, therefore, simply leads to the next view.

5. Certain economists, such as Roscher, Mill, Courcelle-Seneuil, say that human nature is such as to require property, for without this there would be no stimulus to labor or saving. But many deny this fact. The soldier, the scholar, the artist, continually labor and save, not in the least from any stimulus of hope of

property. They labor for the love of honor, it may be, and they save in order to labor more effectually. Again, heroes and the humane continually labor for the good of others. The utilitarian view can by no means be universally proven, if one be content with utilitarianism.

6. Some regard property as a natural right. Fichte says, in his book on the French Revolution, "The transformation of materials by our own efforts is the true juridical basis of property and the only natural one. . . . Every man has over the material world a primordial right of appropriation, and a right of property over such things only as have been modified by him." In his *Grundlage des Naturrechts* Fichte says every man has an inalienable right to live by labor, and consequently to find the means of employment. Hegel says (*Rechtsphilosophie*, § 49): "Every one has a right to be possessed of property." M. H. Ahrens in his *Naturrecht* says:

"Law consists in the group of conditions necessary for the physical and spiritual development of man, so far as these conditions are dependent on human will. . . . For every man's property is a condition of his existence and development. It is based on the actual nature of man, and should therefore be regarded as an original, absolute right, which is not the result of any outward act, such as occupation, labor, or contract. The right springing directly from human nature, the title of being a man is sufficient to confer the right of property."

But who knows about natural rights? Most publicists to-day have given up the theory of natural rights (*q. v.*). Some may maintain that man has a natural right to property, others may assert the contrary. Who can decide between them?

Thus something can be said against every basis for property. Says Professor Cunningham (in an essay on *The Church's Duty in Relation to the Sacredness of Property*):

"There are so many conflicting opinions; and the opposing parties, in regard to any proposal where the rights of property are affected, seem to have no ground in common. There hardly seems to be any recognized principle which is generally accepted, and on which it is possible to take a stand. Even the best established maxims on which property rests seem to be turned into new weapons to attack it. The title to property by right of conquest earns no respect. Why should not the man who took things violently, be violently dispossessed? The title by prescription, long and undisturbed possession, seems to have little weight. If you have enjoyed a large estate for a long time, it may be retorted, isn't it fair that some one else should have a turn? So the ground seems to be cut away from the old legal principles, and we are set adrift into a troubled sea where conflicting interests struggle to assert themselves and changing tides of sentiment prevail. Discussions are so apt to resolve themselves into arguments from expediency. The optimist and the pessimist make different forecasts as to the probable effects of some measure, and there seems to be no means of deciding between them, or of convincing either of right and wrong apart from considerations of consequences. We never seem to get to a firm foundation of any sort at all."

Professor Cunningham proceeds to argue as to religious duty. Most economists to-day, however, discuss the question as to property, simply on the basis of utility. For this see COMMUNISM; SOCIALISM; and INDIVIDUALISM. Some, however, argue from this conflict of views as to the basis of property against all property, and, like Proudhon, call property theft. For Proudhon's view, see PROUDHON. For the impor-

tant and especial form of property,—property in land,—see LAND.

References: Charles Letourneur's *Property, Its Origin and Development*, 1872; E. H. G. Clark's *Man's Birthright, or the Higher Law of Property* (1885); P. J. Proudhon's *What is Property?* (Tr.) 1876. (See also COMMUNISM; INDIVIDUALISM; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY.)

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.—John Stuart Mill wrote in his *Considerations on Representative Government* :

“The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people, by the whole people, equally represented. Democracy, as commonly conceived and hitherto practised, is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with the equality of all citizens; the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a government of privilege, in favor of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the State. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken, to the complete disfranchisement of minorities.”

No one, who has not analyzed the statistics of political elections, can realize how defective is the electoral machinery of most countries. The late Mr. Thomas Hare, who was known in England as the “Father of Proportional Representation,” calculated that no less than two-fifths of the voters were wholly unrepresented in Parliament, while in this country Mr. Salem Dutcher, to whom we owe an excellent work on “Proportional Representation,” curiously enough found the same proportion of two-fifths to be true also for the fortieth, forty-first, and forty-second Congresses of the United States. In Switzerland the statistics for the years 1881, 1884, and 1887 of the elections to the National Council, which corresponds to our House of Representatives, reveal the same unjust state of affairs. As matters now stand in these countries, the powers of government are intrusted to a majority of the majority, who may be a minority of the whole electorate. If, for instance, three-fifths of the electors only are represented in a certain legislature, and one-half plus one of the representatives, or say two-thirds, in order to leave a little margin, regulate the character of legislation, then the majority in that legislature, which frames the laws, represents a minority of the electors; for $\frac{3}{5} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{3}{10}$ or $\frac{3}{10}$, which is less than one-half. Mr. Garfield, while still a Congressman, described this unjust feature of our political machinery with characteristic clearness in a speech delivered before the House of Representatives on the 23d of June, 1870. “In my judgment,” he said, “it is the weak point in the theory of representative government, as now organized and administered, that a large portion of the voting people are permanently disfranchised. . . . Take my own district as an example; I have never been elected by less than 9000 majority.

Sometimes the majority has exceeded 12,000. There are about 10,000 Democratic voters in my district, and they have been voting there for the last 40 years, without any more hope of having a representative on this floor than of having one in the Commons of Great Britain.”

Every reader can supply illustrations of sim-

ilar injustices, either from his own electoral district or from the wider field of national politics.

To be more explicit, take the election of Congressmen in the United States in 1892. There were in round numbers twelve million votes polled; of these, six and a half million secured representation, while five and a half million were unsuccessful.

What do these figures reveal?

1. That a vast minority, including almost one-half of the voters, were disfranchised in that election. Nay, we can go further, and say that these five and a half million were not only unrepresented, but actually misrepresented by their opponents elected from their districts.

2. That the injustice of “taxation without representation” flourishes as unchecked as it did before the American Revolution, since five and a half million continue to pay taxes, altho unrepresented.

3. That majority rule is not in force in the United States, for the Democratic majority elected to Congress represented only 25 per cent. of the whole electorate, and a bare majority in Congress only 21.4 per cent., so that a small minority were actually making laws to govern the whole.

How hopelessly faulty voting in electoral districts can become may be seen from the results of this same election in Iowa: 219,215 Republican votes sent 10 Republican Congressmen to Washington, whereas 201,923 Democratic votes sent only one Congressman.

Undoubtedly the habit of manipulating the boundaries of electoral districts for party purposes also tends to aggravate these discrepancies. This abuse is called by the Germans *wahlkreisgeometrie*, or the geometry of electoral districts. In the United States it has been nicknamed the *gerrymander* (*q. v.*).

But even if dishonest electoral districts were never created, there would still remain a high percentage of unrepresented voters. The truth is, the whole system of electing representatives, as now practised the world over, cannot be made to produce accurate results. It is evident that a radical reform is demanded—one which shall make the vote of every elector effective, by applying the principle of proportional representation.

The various systems proposed are all based upon what is known technically as the electoral quota.

Suppose an imaginary State to contain 1000 voters, with 10 representatives to elect. Now, if 1000 votes elect 10 representatives, then $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1000 ought to elect 1 representative. Thus, $\frac{1000}{10}$, or 100, will be the electoral quota. Every candidate who can muster 100 votes will be declared elected, and every party will be entitled to as many representatives as 100 is contained in its total vote.

Basis of Proportional Representation.

To illustrate by actual example:

In the Congressional election of Indiana for 1892 the total vote was 549,405. Of these the Republicans cast 253,640; the Democrats, 259,184; the Populists, 24,223; and the Prohibi-

Injustice of Present Methods.

tionists, 12,358. There were 13 representatives to elect. Now, if 549,405 votes elect 13 representatives, $\frac{1}{13}$ of 549,405 ought to elect 1 representative. Thus, $42,261\frac{5}{13}$, or, for the sake of simplicity, 42,262 will be the electoral quota. The 253,640 Republican votes, divided by this quota, give six full quotas and a remainder of 68 votes; the 259,184 Democratic votes, six full quotas and a remainder of 5612. As neither of the remaining parties has enough votes to fill a quota, the thirteenth representative is taken from the part having the largest unfilled quota, the Populist. This would have made the Indiana delegation 6 Republicans, 6 Democrats, and 1 Populist, instead of the 2 Republicans and 11 Democrats who were actually elected.

The presence of unused fractions and remainders shows that the system of the electoral quota, without further provisions, is not infallible. But it guarantees an approximate accuracy which cannot be attained under present conditions, as the above example of the election in Indiana conclusively proves.

A variety of systems have been based upon this principle of the electoral quota, differing from each other in minor points:

Various Systems.

1. Personal Representation allows voters to select any candidates they may choose, irrespective of party or locality.

2. The Cumulative vote allows each elector to distribute his vote as he chooses, or cumulate them all upon one candidate.

3. The Limited vote gives the elector a less number of votes than there are candidates to elect.

4. The so-called Hare System works in the following manner: The voters receive ballots containing a greater number of names than there are representatives to be elected; say 12 instead of 6. The voters mark 6 names of the 12 in the order of their preference. In counting, the electoral quota is first ascertained by dividing the total number of ballots cast by the number of candidates to be elected. The candidates who have received at least the electoral quota are declared elected. The ballots of the successful candidates over and above the electoral quota are transferred to the candidates marked as second choice. When the surplus votes of successful candidates are exhausted, the ballots of candidates having least votes are transferred in the same manner to candidates marked upon them as second choice. Whenever the candidate marked as second choice is already elected, the ballot is transferred to the candidate marked as third choice, and so on until the necessary six representatives are elected. If the number of representatives should still remain incomplete after this process, the candidate receiving the number of ballots nearest to the electoral quota is declared elected. This method is far simpler in practise than any description of it can be. Miss Catherine H. Spence of Adelaide, South Australia, in using the Hare system with audiences at lectures, found that, out of a total of 3824 votes cast in about 50 trials, only 144 votes were unused, because they were for candidates either already elected or impossible to elect.

5. The so-called Grove system re-

sembles the foregoing, except that the candidates are required to announce before election to whom their possible surplus votes must be transferred.

6. The Free List system is in use in Switzerland. It has been adopted successfully by four cantons—Ticino, Neuchâtel, Geneva, and Zug. It differs from the Hare system in giving greater scope to party organizations, and is, therefore, a less radical departure from prevailing electoral methods.

The American Proportional Representation League assembled in Chicago at the Congress on Government in August, 1883, decided to advocate both the Hare and the Free List systems for experiment. (But see below.) On that occasion a sample bill was drawn up for the election of members of the United States House of Representatives by the Free List system. As the laws regulating the practise of this system in Switzerland contain much matter which is foreign to the methods in vogue in the United States, this sample bill will serve as a clearer illustration of the principle:

Resolved: "That the members of the House of Representatives shall be voted for at large in their respective States.

"A ticket composed of any number of candidates may be nominated by any body of electors in any State which polled at the last preceding election 1 per cent. of the total vote for Congressmen, or by a petition of voters amounting to 1 per cent. of such total vote. These tickets shall be printed on the official ballot.

"Each elector has as many votes as there are Representatives to be elected, which he may distribute as he pleases among the candidates, giving not more than one vote to any one candidate. Should he not use the entire number of votes to which he is entitled, his unexpressed votes are to be counted for the ticket which he shall designate by title.

"The votes given to candidates shall count individually for the candidates as well as for the tickets to which the candidates belong.

"The sum of all the votes cast in any State shall be divided by the number of seats to which such State is entitled, and the quotient to the nearest unit shall be known as the quota of representation.

"The sums of all the votes cast for the tickets of each party or political group nominating candidates shall be severally divided by the quota of representation, and the units of the quotients thus obtained will show the number of representatives to which each body is entitled; and if the sum of such quotients be less than the number of seats to be filled, the body of electors having the largest remainder—after division of the sums of the votes cast by the quota of representation, as herein specified—shall be entitled to the first vacancy, and so on until all the vacancies are filled.

"The candidates of each body of electors nominating candidates, and found entitled to representation under the foregoing rules, shall receive certificates of election in the order of votes received, the candidate receiving the highest number of votes the first certificate, and so on; but in case of a tie, with but one vacancy to be filled, the matter shall be determined by lot between the candidates so tied.

"If a member of the House of Representatives shall die or resign, or his seat become vacant for any reason, the remainder of his term shall be served by the candidate having the next highest vote of the body of electors to which such member belongs."

Enough has been said to show that the problem of proportional representation is by no means simple. The underlying principle that a legislature should reflect every phase of public opinion is undoubtedly just; the necessity for an electoral quota is self-evident—but the practical application of this reform requires careful methods. Absolute accuracy cannot probably be attained under any

system, but surely nothing could be worse than the rough-and-ready electoral machinery now in general use.

Some of the systems quoted above have been tried at various times in various countries, but on the whole the working of the Free List in Switzerland

Practical Working.

has, so far, proved the most successful in politics. For instance: before the adoption of proportional representation in the Canton of Ticino, the elections of 1889 to the Grand Council resulted as follows: There were 112 deputies to elect; of these, the Conservatives, with 12,653 ballots, returned 77, while the Liberals, with 12,008 ballots, *i. e.*, with only a few hundred less than their opponents, only 35. After the adoption of the Free List the two parties returned an almost equal number of deputies. Entirely satisfactory results have been obtained also in the other cantons, and the reform is, therefore, spreading to all parts of the Swiss Republic. No relief can come from merely rearranging electoral districts. Every redistricting bill must be a mere makeshift, for the time always comes when the work has to be done over again. How much better, then, to seek a permanent solution of the difficulty in some plan of proportional representation! Such a system is at once stable, because pivoted upon a great principle; and elastic, because, from its very nature, it expands with the growth of the State.

In that day, when minorities have their own spokesmen in our legislative halls, great reforms will no longer be ignominiously swept aside as rubbish by the so-called practical politicians. Every school of reformers, if they can muster a sufficient following, will have a chance to demonstrate the value of its ideas. Someone has said that the present representative system may be likened to that of protection of trade, in that it artificially protects majorities against the competition of minorities. In fact, the dead level of mediocrity which characterizes our legislatures would be effectually broken. Their whole tone would be raised by the introduction of new reforms at the hands of chosen champions; principles, not personalities, would become the chief issues; and men of talent, experts in certain branches of science, which are indispensable to the conduct of good government, would then willingly take up politics as a profession, instead of, as now, shrinking from serving their country, because it has become an occupation of evil repute. Proportional representation will, of course, like every great act of justice, be scouted as a wild theory. The wire-pullers of the party or parties, who may happen to be in power, will oppose its introduction with all the means at their disposal, for it would prevent them from perpetuating their rule by gerrymandering; but eventually it must be adopted, if the representative system itself is to stand. Let not John Stuart Mill's word of warning be forgotten: "It is an essential part of democracy that minorities should be adequately represented. No real democracy, nothing but a

false show of democracy, is possible without it." . . . W. D. McCrackan.

The following recent information is abridged from Professor John R. Commons' *Proportional Representation*. Copyright by Thomas Y. Crowell, Boston and New York. He says (pp. 237-264):

"In the third and fourth decades of the present century a remarkable wave of democracy culminated in our Western civilization. . . .

"The years 1844 in America and 1846 in Switzerland mark the first attempts of individual minds to inquire into the real basis of true representation. Mr. Thomas Gilpin published at Philadelphia, in the former year, his prophetic work, of which little notice was then taken, *On the Representation of Minorities of Electors to act with the Majority in Elected Assemblies*. In 1846 Victor Considérant, the distinguished leader of the socialist school of Fourier, addressed an open letter to the Grand Council of Geneva, entitled, *De la Sincérité du Gouvernement Représentatif, ou Exposition de l'Élection Véridique*. In this brochure M. Considérant proposed independently a plan of election almost identical with that of Thomas Gilpin. Each voter was to cast one vote for a party, and then to indicate the names of the candidates of his party whom he preferred. The proportion of representatives to which each party should be entitled was to be determined by the rule of three, and the successful candidates by the order of their preferences. Something akin to this plan had been suggested some twelve years before by Considérant's master, Charles Fourier; and its publication in 1846 preceded by one year the wide extension of the suffrage in Geneva. There was as yet no feeling of serious need for it, and it therefore lay dormant 15 years. . . .

History.

"In September, 1861, Professor Ernest Naville published his first brochure addressed to the Federal Council and the Swiss people, showing that the violence of the elections, which threatened the stability of Swiss institutions and inspired throughout Europe a dread of the new democracy of 1848, was but the natural outcome of the general ticket and exclusive majority rule. Professor Naville from that date has been the recognized leader of the reform in Switzerland; and his numerous publications, besides presenting cogent arguments, afford a complete history of proportional representation to the present time.

"In 1867 was formed l'Association Réformiste de Genève, composed of Professor Naville and six associates. But the time was not yet ripe. . . . The movement for the referendum and initiative as a decidedly practical and thoroughgoing deadlock upon their unrepresentative assemblies absorbed the thought of the people. . . . In the year 1876 the national Association Suisse pour la Représentation Proportionnelle was organized, with branches at Berne and Geneva. Hearings were obtained from time to time before legislative and constitutional assemblies. But it required a crisis to force public attention upon the reform.

"The crisis came in 1890 in the Italian canton of Ticino. The Conservative party in 1889, with 12,653 votes, elected 77 of the 112 members of the Grand Council while the Liberals, with 12,008 (a handful less), elected only 35. Out of a total vote of 24,671, it was calculated that 9157 were unrepresented. Finally, in 1890, an insurrection broke out. The Liberals seized upon the arsenal, and overthrew the Conservative Government. Federal troops were dispatched to put down the revolt. Then it was that the Federal Government recommended to the canton the adoption of proportional representation. The suggestion was acted upon, a commission was created, and in 1891 the Free List was adopted in the form approved by the Swiss Association.

"From Ticino the reform has spread rapidly to other cantons. The initiative and referendum have helped it very much. The French Protestant canton Neuchâtel adopted it in 1891; the large canton of Geneva in 1892; the Catholic Fribourg, for municipal elections, in 1894; the German Catholic Zug in 1894, which combined the 'free ticket' with cumulative voting; finally the German Catholic Solothurn in March, 1895, the first to introduce the Droop quota (the votes divided by the number of representatives increased by one). In a few cantons and cities the reform has been rejected by referendum. The city of Basle rejected it a few years ago, but the people are now demanding it anew

by initiation. . . . England and America, however, have actually preceded Switzerland by 20 to 25 years in the adoption of certain forms of minority representation. . . .

"In 1851, in the discussion of the second Reform Bill, Lord John Russell moved in Parliament, on the suggestion of Professor Fawcett, that in the newly created electoral districts returning three members no elector should vote for more than two candidates. . . .

"In 1854 Mr. James Garth Marshall published at London his *Majorities and Minorities: Their Relative Rights*, wherein he proposed for the first time the cumulative vote which has been so popular in English and American reforms. The limited vote of Lord Russell, however, did not find legislative enactment until 23 years after its first proposal; and the cumulative vote was first employed in 1870.

England.

Two events prepared the way for this adoption. The first was the discussion inaugurated by Mr. Thomas Hare in 1859, when he published his volume entitled *The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal*, which was followed in 1862 by John Stuart Mill's profoundly philosophical *Considerations on Representative Government*. Mr. Mill speaks of Thomas Hare as 'a man of great capacity, fitted alike for large general views and for the contrivance of practical details'; and of his plan as 'among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practise of government.'

"Certainly no discussions have equaled these treatises of Mill and Hare in placing before the thinking people of all countries the true nature of representation under universal suffrage and political parties. . . .

"In 1870, when the English Government began its wide extension of free schools, the cumulative vote was introduced in the election of the new local boards of education. This was by way of concession to the supporters of private and sectarian schools, who wished to retain their hold in the distribution of public funds, and in the administration of their schools.

"With this Act the progress of proportional representation in England ceased. When the suffrage was extended in 1884 to agricultural laborers, an attempt was again made to introduce the reform, but after considerable discussion the amendment was defeated. The next year was organized the English Proportional Representation Society, of which Sir John Lubbock is president, and several of the members of Parliament are members. The society advocates the Hare system in constituencies electing five to fifteen representatives.

"In the United States the work of Thomas Gilpin followed close upon the Act of Congress of 1842, which for the first time took the control of elections for Congressmen from the several States, and provided, among other things, that the single-membered district should be universal. This was an attempt to give representation in Congress to the minority, who were practically disfranchised by the laws of certain States wherein Congressmen were elected on a general ticket. Gilpin's essay grew out of the discussion upon this measure.

"Not until the period following the Civil War was public opinion ready to discuss the principles of representation, nor, indeed, was there any pressing occasion. The writings of Mr. Hare and Mr. Mill were widely read in the United States; and the pending reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion, and the agitation for the enfranchisement of the freedmen, brought the problems of representation suddenly to a focus. There were only two plans which reached practical adoption—the limited vote and the cumulative vote. . . . The most important action was that taken by the constitutional convention of the State of Illinois, which met December, 1859. The convention adopted the report of a committee of which Mr. James Medill was chairman, dividing the State into 51 senatorial districts, each electing a single senator, but creating a lower house of 153 members, to be elected in the senatorial districts by threes by the cumulative vote. This section was voted upon separately by

United States.

the people, July 2, 1870, and carried by a vote of 99,022 in favor, and 70,080 against.

"The action of the New York Legislature and the veto by Governor Hoffman in April, 1872, of the bill providing for the cumulative vote in the election of aldermen in New York City, mark the highest point attained in America in the discussion of minority representation. . . .

"The arguments of Governor Hoffman against mi-

nority representation in the Board of Aldermen are not altogether invalid, and his objections to a similar representation in the administrative departments are well considered. Later experience has shown that administrative boards are incompetent as compared with single heads of departments, and that bi-partizan boards are not superior to those composed of members of a single party. Minority representation in an executive department dissipates the energy and responsibility of administration; but minority representation in the legislative branch is necessary to enable the minority "to watch the governing body; to expose its wrong-doing, if any; to restrain it by this vigilance and exposure." Professor Commons here describes other similar movements, and then says: "These various experiments with crude forms of minority representation furnish in part an explanation of the entire subsidence of the movement since 1874. . . .

"A revival of interest in proportional representation has begun within the past five years. The civil service reformers of the country, with unanimity, have espoused it. This interest took definite shape in 1893, through the organization at Chicago of the American Proportional Representation League, and the launching of the *Proportional Representation Review*. Magazine articles have appeared, two or three books have been published, bills have been introduced into legislatures and Congress, and an enthusiastic and capable agitation has been inaugurated.

"In 1891 the people of South Dakota voted upon a minority representation clause to their constitution, copied after the Illinois system, which they rejected by a vote of 46,200 against 24,161.

"The cumulative vote has been applied by the constitutions of the 11 States of Illinois, Nebraska, California, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Missouri, Mississippi, Idaho, Kentucky, North Dakota, and Montana, to the election of directors of private corporations."

Of the various systems of proportional representation Professor Commons says:

"The single transferable vote has become the classical form of proportional representation, from the great ability with which it was presented by its author, Mr. Thomas Hare, and advocated by John Stuart Mill. It was also devised independently by the Danish statesman, M. Andrae, and introduced by him into the election of a portion of the members of the 'Rigsraad' in 1855, and for the 'Landsting' in 1867. It is advocated by the English Proportional Representation Society, of which Sir John Lubbock is president.

"There is a practical difficulty, almost insurmountable, in the application of this system to large constituencies, in the fact that all the votes of the entire constituency must be brought together to the central bureau for counting. They cannot be counted by the various precinct officials, leaving only the totals to be handled by the central board. The Hare system doubtless works well in a constituency of a thousand voters, as in the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, where it has been successfully employed in three elections, or in constituencies electing only three to seven candidates by a restricted suffrage, as in the Danish law of M. Andrae; but when ten thousand, or a hundred thousand, or a half million votes are to be counted, and a large number of the ballots must be recounted to make the proper transfers, the task is too heavy.

"The Hare system is advocated by those who, in a too doctrinaire fashion, wish to abolish political parties. They apparently do not realize the impossibility of acting in politics without large groupings of individuals; nor do they perceive that the Hare system itself, tho apparently a system of *personal* representation, would, nevertheless, result in *party* representation. And this from the fact that voters who act rationally, and wish to see their own views most strongly represented in legislation, would always transfer their secondary choices to candidates of the same party as the ones who receive their first choices. The only way in which the system could lessen party cohesion would be to require the names of candidates to be printed in alphabetical order, as in the present Massachusetts and California ballot laws, and not by party tickets, so that the voters would be compelled to search through the entire ballot for the candidates of their own party. This would doubtless encourage independent voting, but would by no means abolish parties. . . .

Hare System.

"With the present organization of parties in the

United States, and with the customary method of printing party tickets on the so-called Australian ballot, there is reason to believe that the Hare system would be forced into the service of parties.

"In 1870 M. Borély of Nîmes, France, proposed that each elector should himself indicate his preferences by numbering the candidates 1, 2, 3, etc. In this form the plan was adopted in 1871 by the Association Réformatrice of Geneva, Switzerland, and became known as the *liste libre*, or 'free ticket.' . . .

"This combination of the cumulative vote and the 'free ticket' answers in most respects the ideal of electoral reform. It gives to the voter the widest freedom of choice between all the individual candidates on all the tickets, avoids the waste and the consequent 'machine' supremacy of the simple cumulative vote, and opens the way for independent movements within and without the dominant parties. There are, however, two minor objections. If voters are allowed to write on their ballots the figures 1, 2, 3, etc., against individual candidates, it becomes easy to make those 'distinguishing marks' which the laws against bribery seek to prohibit. This objection would not hold against a plan by which the voter gives but one vote to a candidate or one to a ticket. Again, the cumulation involves a waste of votes between the groups or factions within the party corresponding to the waste which the simple cumulation permits between parties. Voters of a given faction who cumulate on their own first choices of their party candidates, and who fail to distribute their votes so as to aid the secondary candidates of the same faction, would be at a disadvantage, and minor but shrewder factions would secure disproportionate influence in the party representation. The cumulative vote with the 'free ticket' amendment has been adopted by the Canton Zug in Switzerland, and is favored by Professor Ernest Naville, the leading advocate of proportional representation in that country. It is simpler than the plan finally agreed upon by the Swiss and American advocates of the reform, and would, perhaps, secure all the advantages of the latter."

Swiss System.

References: Thomas Gilpin, *The Representation of Minorities of Electors to act with the Majority in Elected Assemblies*, Philadelphia, 1844; Victor Considérant, *De la Sincérité du Gouvernement Représentatif, ou Exposition de l'Élection Véridique*, Genève, 1846; Thomas Hare, *The Machinery of Representation*. London, 1857 (Mr. Hare's first publication); *The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal*. Third Edition, Philadelphia, 1867, 350 pages, the classical treatise; John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, New York, 1882; C. R. Buckalew, *Proportional Representation*, Philadelphia, 1872; J. R. Commons, *Proportional Representation*, New York, 1896. Contains a full discussion of the subject and the most recent information, also texts of bills, and lists of books and periodicals on the subject. *Proportional Representation Review*, published quarterly by the American Proportional Representation League, Stoughton Cooley, secretary, Chicago; 50 cents a year.

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PROSTITUTION is not an evil peculiar to any age, country, or civilization. Herodotus tells us of an extent and infamy of prostitution in ancient Babylon almost beyond belief. Prostitution in terrible and unnatural forms was a part of the religious cultus of goddesses or gods worshiped under different names in Phœnicia, Syria, Phrygia, Egypt, and the adjacent countries. Similar rites entered into the idolatry which repeatedly led the children of Israel astray, and are connected with the "groves" and "pillars," and other terms under which the English Old Testament covers the literal meaning of the Hebrew original. In Greece and at Athens, as well as in Corinth, we find the same sexual worship and prostitution made a matter of civic glory and religious gain. Unnatural vice we find openly practised and defended by Greece's sages, heroes, and statesmen. Prostitution was taught as an art. The most

educated women of Greece were courtesans. In Rome, if vice was made less beautiful, it was more unbridled. Women of the highest rank, even of the imperial purple, enrolled themselves as common prostitutes. Orgies took place in the baths and in the temples. Obscenity ruled the stage.

We find the evil in every portion of the globe; in India, in Japan, in Hawaii, and everywhere about in proportion to our knowledge of the life of the age and country. We find it in the Middle Ages alike in hovel and in palace; in cloister and in hall. If under the Puritan régime it was temporarily restrained, it broke out in the Restoration in a wilder carnival of vice. (See CRIME.) It exists to-day in modern Babylons as in the old; if it is now publicly condemned and the number of the pure is enormously increased, there are those who believe that it is eating to-day under the surface far more than is generally known. At the National Purity Congress in Baltimore (October, 1895), it was stated that the number of prostitutes in the United States was 230,000, and that this implied at least 1,150,000 prostitutes, which is probably far under the truth. Prostitutes are mainly found in the cities. Their male companions live not only in the cities, but also in the towns and villages, whose residents go to the cities for business, or pleasure, or both.

When Dr. Sanger wrote of prostitution in 1858, the number of women living as prostitutes in the city of New York, from information given by the then chief of police, and obtained from other reliable sources, was estimated to be 6000. In a paper prepared for the World's Congress on Social Purity, held in Chicago in June, 1893, Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry states that Superintendent Byrnes, of the police department, and himself compared notes with exactly the same result, and, viewing the matter from two different standpoints, they were agreed that the present number of prostitutes in New York city is at least 40,000.

Some think this estimate too high. The Rev. F. M. Goodchild, writing in *The Arena* for March, 1896, says:

"It has been declared that in New York city there are between 40,000 and 50,000 such women. That would make one habitual prostitute for every nine mature men in the city. As it is estimated that every fallen woman means on an average five fallen men to support her, it would appear that more than half our men are regular contributors to the brothel, which I should hesitate very much to believe. Eight years ago the superintendent of the Florence Night Mission estimated that there were then 15,000 prostitutes in New York city. The number has not increased by more than 10,000 certainly, probably not by more than 5000. An army of 20,000 such hapless creatures is ghastly enough not to need exaggeration."

Mr. Goodchild, however, appears to forget that prostitutes in New York city are not supported by residents of that city alone, so that there may be 40,000. Nor is there any reason for believing that New York is much, if any, worse than other places in proportion to their size.

A volume entitled *Chicago's Dark Places*,

which is the result of careful investigations, made by a corps of specially appointed commissioners, men and women of large experience in mission work among the degraded and criminal classes of the city, says :

"There are several sections in Chicago almost entirely devoted for whole blocks to houses of prostitution. One of these localities is known as the Black Hole, and it does not belie its name." The details given of the ways in which young girls are victimized and enslaved in these vile places, and of the hard pressure brought to bear upon dependent working girls, making them an easy prey to the seducer, are harrowing in the extreme. But this shameless vice is not confined to the slums. One section of the south side is mentioned in which sundry localities are devoted entirely to houses of prostitution. The major portion of these houses, says the commissioner, "are 'gilded palaces.' They are elegantly decorated and elaborately furnished, and to these the visitors generally come in carriages"; 14 carriages having been counted by the commissioner at one time on a single block. The reports upon the lower type of theaters, concert halls, and museums, are remarkable chapters, showing a close and direct connection between these so-called 'amusements,' strong drink, and social vice. In one of them in exterior a cheap theater, the commissioners, in a circuitous way, were introduced to girls 'in *accolite* costume,' who invited them 'down stairs' to 'see the can-can danced by 12 naked young ladies.' The exhibition consisted of 'a most disgusting dance, performed by over a dozen girls in a state of absolute nudity,' and ended, when the dance was over, with open and personal solicitations from these abandoned women.' In this vile place, where was also a 'bar, which did a thriving business,' they found on their arrival 'some 10 or 12 men, most of them respectable looking, some of them young and some old, all in eager expectancy awaiting the arrival of the 'ladies.'

"The reports on the 'immoral dives' and 'obscene pictures, books, and advertisements,' are striking exhibits of the numerous and ingenious ways in which the young of both sexes are systematically corrupted, and vice promoted."

Of Philadelphia Mr. Goodchild writes (see above) :

"There are not less than 1000 houses of ill fame in the city, and as many as 5000 women live among us by the sale of their bodies. I wish I might have confidence that the estimate is too high; but nearly six years of observation make me fear that the figures are much too low. This does not include, of course, the vast multitude of poor girls whose labor yields scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, many of whom fall victims to the lecherous men who are always on the watch for 'new cases.'"

But the older cities of Europe are probably even worse. General Booth of the Salvation Army in his *Darkest England* chart estimates the number of prostitutes in London at 30,000. They have been estimated at from 60,000 to 80,000. On certain squares and streets at midnight they literally crowd and block the sidewalks for square after square.

In Berlin a commission appointed by the Society of Medicine, with Professor Virchow as president, found 4364 prostitutes in that city recognized by the police, and estimated the total number at from 40,000 to 50,000.

Europe. (*Addresses of National Purity Congress*, Baltimore, pp. 250-252). The prefect of police of Paris is quoted as saying that there were in Paris over 100,000. (*Addresses*, as above, p. 310.)

Of the evils connected with prostitution there is scarcely need to speak. Many careful students are coming to believe that the sexual

evil, in its various forms, is greater even than that of intemperance. Says Professor A. G. Warner (*American Charities*, p. 66), "Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly effects degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes. . . ." Intemperance is, however, all but universally the companion of prostitution. It has been frequently said that girls rarely can, and men rarely do, continue a fast life without drink. If the saloon is often literally the entrance to a brothel, the brothel as frequently leads to the saloon. An eminent lawyer is quoted, on p. 121 of the published *Addresses of the National Purity Congress at Baltimore (1895)*, as saying: "It is my deliberate conviction, based upon facts coming to my knowledge in the course of 20 years' practise, that more boys are converted to drinking habits in houses of ill fame than in the saloons."

Of the physical evils attendant upon prostitution, perhaps more than enough has been said. Yet an evil that at any time may, and repeatedly does, reduce youth to premature, helpless, old age; transform the body into a rotten shell; affect not only the sinner, but his posterity; make the kiss of love the means of carrying contagion and foul disease to pure brides and innocent children, it is difficult to describe too strongly. Yet the extent of the evil may be seen by the following quotations from a paper read by Dr. A. F. Currier before the Section on Public Health and Legal Medicine of the New York Academy of Medicine, and published in the *Philanthropist* for May, 1891.

"In the class for diseases of women at the Outdoor Poor Department of Bellevue Hospital, 1802 new cases were received from February 1, 1890, to January 1, 1891. In this number there were 63 cases of syphilis and 191 of other forms of venereal disease. In the class for diseases of the skin and venereal disease there were at least as many more cases. Approximately there were 260 cases of venereal disease among 260 women. There are more than 30 dispensaries in New York in which such diseases are treated, and the average number of cases of venereal disease for each would not fall far short of 250 cases. Thus there are probably 6000 to 7000 cases of this kind which are annually receiving dispensary treatment. Probably as many more cases are treated in hospitals, in private practise, or receive no medical attention. A very large number of these cases include prostitutes with diseases which are in a contagious condition. It would hardly be unreasonable to say that there are 10,000 women in New York City who are in a condition to propagate actively venereal diseases. There are probably as many more men who are in the same condition. This grand army of disease producers represents a portion of the baneful results of prostitution in our midst, with no laws to restrict or regulate the evil. In countless cases sexual intercourse is indulged in by those who are aware of the infectious character of their disease. In many other individuals there is ignorance that they are the subjects of infectious disease."

One of the most atrocious evils connected with prostitution are the abominations of child prostitution. Says the Hon. E. T. Gerry (*Ad-*

dresses, as above, p. 340): "Few have the remotest idea of the extent to which sexual vice exists among children at the present time. I use the word

Child Prostitution.

'sexual vice' as including both self-abuse and prostitution. . . . Nothing but the vigilance of parents and guardians can detect the solitary vice, and hence statistics are very difficult to obtain, excepting when the one vice leads up to the other. But in the other case, the figures show a frightful prevalence, at the present time, of juvenile prostitution. True, under the stringent laws which have been enacted in the various States of our Union, at the instance of Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, those who utilize little children for the simple gratification of lust are made to suffer a felon's imprisonment, and while the effect has been to practically denude the brothels of youthful victims, still the vice exists, more especially among the lower classes, to a degree hardly credible in this civilized country. A large number of the brothels, at the present time, are replenished by juvenile prostitutes, rather than by those who have fallen but once. . . . That the disease is spreading is unquestioned."

In a paper on the subject of Child Prostitution, read at the World's Social Purity Congress in Chicago in 1893, Mr. Gerry states that there is a fearful theory existing in this country, the more particularly among foreigners, according to which, if any male who has contracted disease through indulgence, can secure a perfectly pure child as his victim, the disease will pass from him to the child. Nor is it only among the poor that these grosser evils exist. If one is to credit the sad whispers of grave officials of the Church as to the morals in boy choirs, or in private and public schools, one finds fearful evidence of the existence, in all ranks of society, of various forms of unnatural vice. As for prostitution itself, the head of a well-known university settlement in an Eastern city names a prominent fashionable avenue lined with the apartments of the kept mistresses of business men. A writer in the *Westminster Review* (May, 1895) significantly gives among the causes of prostitution :

"The luxurious and semi-idle lives led by many members of the well-to-do classes.

"The fact that certain forms of immorality are reckoned among what may be called *fashionable* vices. Drunkenness is gone out of fashion, and some of the lower forms of sport; but it is still by no means unfashionable for the so-called 'man of the world' to have his experiences in the 'half-world,' tho it is true that its inhabitants can no longer hope to bask, as formerly, in the sunshine of good society."

Akin to this evil is that of the organized traffic in girls, which is declared by all who have investigated the subject, to be carried on around the world. A few years ago it was stated to the House Committee which was investigating the immigrant question in New York, by the President of the Woman's National Industrial League, that "syndicates exist in New York and Boston, for the purpose of supplying fresh young girls from immigrants arriving in this

country, for houses of ill fame; agents of the business go abroad and assist in this nefarious business. Immigrants arriving in New York furnish 20,000 victims annually." If this is an exaggeration it is at least the exaggeration of a very great evil. In very many cities agents of houses of ill fame meet girls coming to the cities on the railroads and on the boats. They advertise for girls wanted for light work and good pay. When the girls come they are detained. Agents go out to solicit boys and men as patrons.

A book, *The Traffic in Girls and Florence Crittenton Missions*, exposes many of the traps laid for unwary girls. The schools, private as well as public, are often made the main place for promoting child prostitution, disseminating obscene literature, and obtaining fresh victims.

Mrs. Charlton Edholm said at the Baltimore Congresses (*Addresses*, p. 153): "I stand here in the presence of God, to say that of the 230,000 erring girls in this land, three-fourths of them have been snared and trapped, and bought and sold."

When one realizes that the average life of a prostitute is said to be but five years, one can understand what a traffic it must be to obtain the 230,000 for the United States alone, while alike in Germany and Japan, in France and in England, the traffic goes on.

It is now necessary to ask what are the causes of prostitution, as a means to asking how the evil can be met. Dr. Sanger, in the book referred to above, attributes out of 2000 cases, 525 to destitution, 513 to inclination, 258 to seduction, 181 to drink.

Causes.

Different writers differ from this. The most thorough statistical study was made by the Bureau of the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts in 1888. It says:

"The statistical method is not the best under which to determine moral conditions; yet, as an auxiliary, it has great efficiency. Statistical science can only be employed to show the results of the lives of the people; it cannot show the inner motives which lead to results. . . .

"Observation is not sufficient, and personal interviews might lead to difficulties greater than those belonging to observation alone. The force of statistics in such conditions is rather negative than positive, and this negative quality is brought into use here.

"It is often flippantly asserted that the shopgirls, those comprising the class under investigation, recruit the ranks of prostitution. . . . Of course, such a charge cannot be entirely removed when applied to any class. The only question here is, Does it apply to the class against which it is brought?"

"A few statistics of a negative character have been collected, relating to prostitution. This partial investigation has been made as to how far the ranks of prostitution are recruited from girls belonging to the industrial classes. It should be distinctly borne in mind that this partial investigation was applied only to what may be called professional prostitutes; for non-statistical investigation can disclose the amount of immoral conduct of any class of people. So that quiet, unobtrusive, and unobserved prostitution, which exists in all communities, has no place in the present consideration.

"Original investigation was made in the following cities: Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Louisville, Newark, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, St. Louis, and San Francisco.

"In 1884, the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made a report as to the previous occupations of 170 professional prostitutes in the city of Boston, and

the facts then given have been incorporated in this report.

The number of prostitutes as stated in the following table, for any one of the cities named, falls far below the total number of prostitutes in that city, but the number and variety of those from whom information has been received are sufficient to insure representative results. Thus in Chicago, for example, there are, or were at the time of the investigation of the department, 302 houses of ill fame, assignation houses, and 'rooming' houses, known to the police, containing 1007 inmates. This investigation involved 557 of this number. . . .

The facts as to marriage are shown by the following brief table, which gives the number of prostitutes furnishing information in the cities referred to, the number reporting themselves as having been married, and the per cent. of the total number who were married:

CITY.	Number of prostitutes furnishing information.	Number of prostitutes reported as having been married.	Per cent. of married of total number.
Boston.....	170	13	7.65
Chicago.....	557	143	25.67
Cincinnati....	382	77	20.16
Louisville.....	263	70	26.62
New Orleans...	167	4	2.40
Philadelphia...	100	3	3.00
San Francisco	323	81	25.08

It is hardly worth while to take space at this time to give the occupations of all those who have entered prostitution from the different cities involved.

The number of prostitutes giving information was 386, and the following summary exhibits the occupations of this number preceding their entry upon their present life. For this purpose, occupations similar in character have been grouped, and no occupation or group containing less than 10 persons has been included in the classification—those numbering under 10 being put into the general classification of 'various occupations':

Actresses, ballet girls, circus performers, singers, etc.....	52
Bead-trimming makers, embroiderers, lace-workers.....	21
Bookbinders.....	18
Bookkeepers, clerks, copyists, stenographers, typewriters, etc.....	31
Candy factories.....	10
Cigarette, cigar, and tobacco factories.....	78
Corset factories.....	16
Dressmakers, seamstresses, employees of cloak and shirt factories, button-hole makers, etc.....	505
Hair-dressers and hair-workers.....	15
Housework, hotel-work, table-work, and cooking	1155
Laundry-work.....	70
Milliners and hat-trimmers.....	71
No previous occupation (home).....	1236
Nurses (hospital and house), and nursegirls.....	22
Paper-box factories.....	32
Rope and cordage factories.....	12
Saleswomen and cashiers.....	126
Shoe factories.....	43
Students (at schools or convents).....	14
Teachers, governesses, etc.....	23
Telegraph and telephone operators.....	11
Textile factories.....	94
Various occupations.....	211

The following list shows the character of the more important occupations, omitted from the foregoing summary, with the number of women who had been employed in each, and which are included under 'various occupations':

Artificial flower-makers.....	9
Button factories.....	9
Farmwork.....	9
Canning establishments.....	8
Necktie-makers.....	8
Housekeepers.....	7
Straw sewers.....	7
Hat and cap factories.....	6
Bag factories.....	5
Canvassers.....	5

Clock and watch factories.....	5
Box factories (wooden).....	4
Chewing-gum factories.....	4
Florists.....	4
Father curlers and sewers.....	4
Restaurant.....	4

The preceding figures are exceedingly instructive. By them it will be seen that the largest number coming from any occupation has been taken from those doing housework, hotel-work, and cooking; this number, 1155, being 29.88 per cent. of the whole number comprehended in the statement.

The next largest number, so far as occupation is concerned, ranks with the seamstresses, including the dressmakers, employees of cloak and shirt factories, etc., this number being 505.

A fact which strikes one sadly is the large number who enter prostitution directly from their homes. This number is 1236, being 31.97 per cent. of the whole number comprehended.

It cannot be said, therefore, so far as this investigation shows, that the employees in workshops are to be burdened with the charge of furnishing the chief source whence the ranks of prostitution are recruited.

The experience of the writer in making an examination in many cities, both in the United States and in Europe, sustains the statement, but more strongly than the figures here given, that working women do not recruit the houses of prostitution.

Nor does the investigation show that employers of labor are guilty of reducing their employees to a condition of prostitution, as is often alleged. Only in the rarest cases can one meet with a whisper that this is the case. And these whispers, followed to their source, have rarely disclosed any facts which would lead to the conclusion that employers make bargains based on the loss of character of their employees. . . .

Working women are not street-walkers. They could not carry on their daily toil and walk the streets too. A captain of police expressed the matter well when he said that people who charge the working women with walking the streets at night for evil purposes do not know what they are talking about. Night-walkers are, all of them, hardened professionals. The prostitutes, some of them, may have been hard-working women, but no working woman ever walks the streets as a prostitute. This captain said that, when a girl falls from virtue, she has first to graduate as a 'parlor' girl, and then serve some time in a still lower house, before she is hardened enough to take to the streets."

Before, however, drawing inferences from this table, it must be remembered that it is only drawn from the facts as to girls in houses of ill fame. Shop-girls, working girls, are, as a rule, **Economic Cause.** not there. If investigation was made of girls occupying rooms by themselves, quite another story might be found. Even of the bagnios there is another side. Mr. Stead, in his *If Christ Came to Chicago*, gives the testimony of Dora Claffin, the "Madam" of a house of ill fame. She says:

"Prostitution is an effect, not a careless, voluntary choice on the part of the fallen. Girls do not elect to cast themselves away. They are driven to the haunts of vice. The more distinctively womanly a girl is—and I mean by that the more she has beauty, delicacy, love of dress and adornment, feminine weakness—the easier a mark she is for the designing. And the designers are not wanting.

Girls, and I say this emphatically, are not seducers. They have innate delicacy and refinement. I say honestly that I do not believe that one woman in 10,000 would cast herself at the feet of lust except under duress or under the force of circumstances.

The recruiting grounds of the bagnio are the stores, where girls work long hours for small pay; the homes that have few comforts, and practically no pleasure; the streets, where girls are often cast, still unknown to sin, but in want and without shelter; in a word, places outside the levee, where distress and temptation stand ever present as a menace to purity and rectitude; behind every effect there is a cause. In the case of prostitution, the real cause lies not in the girls who fall, but in the social conditions that

make the fall easy, and the men who tempt to the step and furnish the money to support degradation after the step has been taken. Before reform in the levee is possible, there must be reform in the home, on the mart."

All writers on the subject agree in the fact that poverty leads to much prostitution, and that in stores, factories, and offices, salesgirls, working girls, and typewriters are drawn or lured by the lack of money or the desire for money. One speaker at the Baltimore congress considered the factory a mill for the production of prostitutes. Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*The Arena*, March, 1896):

"The money returns furnish a very great temptation to girls to part with their virtue. Some fall because they cannot find work; some because they do not wish to work. Many a girl who is strong, and healthy, and comely, and lazy, learns that there is a market for such as she; that she can earn more in a night by sin than she can in a week or a month by work, and she sells herself accordingly. Mr. Stead reminded the Woman's Club of Chicago that the peculiar temptation of a woman is that her virtue is a realizable asset. This vice costs a man money; to a woman it yields money. Mr. Booth says that the number of young women who receive \$2500 in one year for the sale of their persons is larger than the number of women of all ages, in all businesses and professions, who make a similar sum by honest industry. In sin the prizes come first; in honest callings only after long and painful toil. Even in the common houses on Bainbridge Street, at a 50-cent rate, girls often make \$20 or more a week."

Yet, on one point, one must be guarded in reading these facts. Even if it be true, of which we are not sure, that women of impure life average \$20 a week by their vice, it by no means proves that the average woman can get \$20 per week. A few women of the *demi monde*, mistresses, and even prostitutes, have hundreds, and, perhaps, thousands of dollars squandered on them in a brief while. This enormously raises the average income of their class, but the great mass of these women may get vastly less. At best, their income is but for a few years, and vast, vast multitudes never live in luxury, but in utter want. Perhaps few things have done more harm than the painting of the average life of the prostitute as one of luxury. Such is only exceptionally the case. Many of their homes, many houses of ill fame are said, on the best authority, not only not to be attractive, but to be often poorly furnished, and not seldom loathsome. It must be remembered that the wages of sin rise and fall with the market, and with the conditions of different countries. If in "good times" men throw money away recklessly; in hard times, when women are most tempted to prostitution for profit, they do not. Instances are not unknown where girls have left situations with low wages for the reported "high wages" of the prostitute, and have found, as actual fact, that, as prostitutes, they earned even less than before. Prostitutes starve; prostitutes are "unemployed," even as in any trade. All this must not be forgotten, even while it remains true that an enormous amount of prostitution is due to the economical conditions which often make it next to impossible for a single woman to earn a decent living, and throw thousands of women on the streets, and bring immorality within easy reach of almost any man.

The throwing of the sexes together in fac-

tory and in store, and quite as much in private counting-rooms and offices, has its dangers. Co-education in the halls of learning is winning its way. Working together in communication, where morals are often at their lowest, is another thing. The evil lies not in the mingling of men and women, but in the evil environment.

The stage, the concert hall, and the ball, bear a large responsibility. From the spectacular play and from the ball, with the under-dressed women at the one, and the under-dressed women and the wine at the other, men hurry to the brothel. It by no means follows that the cure lies in the abolition of the theater or the dance (tho some think so), yet the part in this matter played by the present stage and fashionable society cannot be denied. The supreme social cause of prostitution, however, we believe, has not yet been mentioned. This is the crowded tenement. When boys and young girls have no attractive home, and no healthy playground, they *must* be on the streets. A child cannot be kept in the house all day, and live. When a girl comes from a school or from the store, to the crowded living room or flat, and finds the narrow quarters redolent with the steam of washing and the fumes of cooking, she *must* (in the cities) go on the street for fresh air. There bad company captures more girls than in any other one way. Not many girls, we are convinced, sell themselves, *for the first time*, for money; after the first great downward step, money directly plays its part, but the supreme social cause of prostitution we believe to be the bad housing of the poor, resulting from low wages, and the poverty of the great masses in our cities.

REFORM.

There is a very general consensus of opinion that licensing and inspecting houses of ill fame do no good, even in protecting the community from venereal diseases.

M. Lecour, the official head of the Police des Mœurs of Paris, says:

"The administration has redoubled its activity; it has multiplied its acts of repression with regard to prostitutes, and it has definitely succeeded in maintaining a satisfactory condition of the sanitary state of public registered girls, and yet *sanitary statistics prove that prostitution is increasing, and that it is becoming more dangerous to the public health.*" Probably no European official has ever had a more extended experience in the administration of the regulation system than M. Lecour in Paris, and his practical condemnation of it is as significant as it is emphatic. In Berlin, the German Emperor himself being witness, regulation is a most conspicuous failure, intensifying the evils incident to social vice. Indeed, one of the most important and influential moral movements of modern times in European countries is the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, of which the late Emile de Laveleye of Belgium was for several years the official head. At the Geneva congress of this international federation, Professor Stuart, M. P. of London, thus summarized the progress of the European movement for the abolition of the regulation system: "In England it is clean gone altogether; in most of the English colonies it is gone; in India it is under sentence of death; in Paris it is in ruins; in Italy we have gained a step—the compulsory examination and registration of women are abolished; in Holland repeal has been gained in many towns,

**Licensing
and Inspect-
tion a
Failure.**

and in the whole country the system totters wherever it is retained. In Sweden and Norway, and Denmark and Belgium, the question is before the parliaments of each country, and repeal is at last within measurable distance."

It was in 1864 that by act of Parliament, supplemented by additional legislation in 1866, and again in 1869, the regulation system was introduced in Great Britain, under the name of the "Contagious Diseases Acts." They were applied to sundry military districts,

In England.

ostensibly to promote the health of the army, but with the purpose on the part of their projectors, later avowed, ultimately to extend them also to the civil population. When their real character and object became known, a vigorous repeal agitation was begun, under the leadership of a gifted, noble woman, Mrs. Josephine E. Butler, which was continued for 20 years. At the end of the two decades the repeal movement was triumphant, and the acts were swept from the statute-books. During the prolonged contest the battle of statistics was many times fought, and with great earnestness on both sides. Figures were employed to prove both the hygienic success and failure of the acts.

It was quite clearly shown that at some of the military stations, under the acts, there was a decline in the percentage of venereal maladies after their adoption. But it was quite as clearly shown, also, that this decline, from other causes, had begun prior to the passage of the acts, and that it was even greater after their passage in sundry districts not under their control. Dr. John Chapman, in the *Westminster Review*, in an able summary of the testimony given before a royal commission on this subject, says: "The average annual ratio of admissions to hospital on account of primary venereal sores was lessening at 10 out of 14 stations under the acts before they became operative; and in the course of definite periods before they did so, equal in length to the periods which have elapsed since the acts were put in force, the average annual ratio of admissions at those 10 stations lessened 2.8 per cent. more rapidly than it did during the corresponding periods since the acts were applied."

In the districts under the acts it was claimed by the advocates of regulation, and figures were cited to verify the claim, that there was a generally decreasing number of registered prostitutes and of houses of prostitution. On the other hand, it was shown that, while regular prostitutes decreased, clandestine prostitutes increased; that prostitutes in the districts under the operation of the acts, who refused to register, migrated in large numbers to the adjacent districts, wherein the acts were not in force, and continued to ply their vocation. More absolute power was asked for, over the persons of all single or suspected women, to the end that prostitution might thus be controlled.

But the acts were opposed, and their repeal was demanded by many distinguished men and women. John Stuart Mill spoke strongly against them and the irresponsible power delegated by them, declaring: "It is wrong to give men powers liable to abuse, and then assume that they will not be abused."

Dr. Nevins, after a most careful and exhaustive examination of the whole subject, summarizes the sanitary results of the acts, as follows: "After 16 years' adoption, the rate of improvement in the primary venereal sores, in the subjected portion of the home army, was reduced from 6.7 per cent. yearly for the 6 recorded years before the acts, to 0.65 per cent. yearly during the 16 years of the acts."

"Inefficiency in the navy (20,000 strong), increased from 172 men daily, to 230 men daily."

"Venereal disease rose among the registered prostitutes by above 30 per cent. (from 121.6 to 169.5)."

In America there have been attempts to introduce the registration system in almost all the larger cities, but only in St. Louis has it ever been tried for any length of time, and was there given up after about four years.

"It was in 1870 that the license system was inaugurated in St. Louis. The authority for it was obtained by a legislative trick: the interpolation, without debate, of the two words, "or regulate," into an amendment of the city charter, intended, as was generally supposed, to suppress prostitution. The legal effect of this amendment, as was

In America.

subsequently decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, was to repeal all State laws prohib-

iting prostitution, so far as St. Louis was concerned, and to give to it a business status as a legitimate industry. A German municipal office-holder was deputed to visit Europe, to familiarize himself with regulation laws there. An ordinance was subsequently adopted, requiring the registry of prostitute women.

"The regulationists of St. Louis, especially those connected with its Board of Health, attempted to show by the figures of the earlier registrations, made at intervals of a few months, a diminution in the number of prostitutes. Dr. William G. Eliot, the honored president of Washington University of St. Louis, who made a most thorough, impartial investigation of the whole matter, says of this claim of a diminished number of prostitutes, that: 'In fact, they had scotched the snake, not killed it, and in all probability the number of prostitutes had not been diminished at all. To scatter a nest of hornets,' he says, 'is a very different thing from its destruction.'

"The results during the progress of the experiment proved an increase of 34 per cent. in the number of brothels, and an increase in the number of registered women of more than 35 per cent. There was also an undoubted increase, meanwhile, of clandestine prostitution. Concerning the sanitary aspect, Dr. Eliot says: 'What is still more startling, when the stamping out process is examined, it appears that while the number of diseased women under treatment in 1871 was 18 out of 480, or 3 3/4 per cent., it has risen now [1873] to an average of 40 out of 653, or over 6 per cent., showing the remarkable fact, to which, however, we can find a parallel in Paris itself, that even among the registered and regularly inspected prostitutes the hateful disease may increase, a result which, though unexpected, ought not to surprise us so long as the male prostitutes are themselves exempt from medical inspection.' How incomplete was the registration, and of how little practical value, in a sanitary point of view, the system of medical inspection was, may be seen from the significant figures presented by Dr. Eliot, taken from the reports of the chief of police of St. Louis, for the years 1871 and 1872. He says: 'The year 1871, ending March 31, shows that out of 3722 females arrested 1526 were prostitutes, and 218 keepers of bawdy houses (the Board of Health report of the same date shows 480 registered prostitutes and 99 keepers) being a total of 1744, or 46 per cent. of all females arrested. The year 1872 shows that out of 3187 females arrested, 2613 were prostitutes and 71 keepers of houses, or a total of 2684, being over 64 per cent. of all females arrested, and an increase of 940 prostitutes arrested, or 18 per cent. more than the previous year.'

"When it was discovered what had been accomplished by legislative legerdemain, a vigorous agitation for repeal began. A petition for repeal was signed by four thousand women of St. Louis, and presented to the Missouri legislature. The archbishop, bishop, and Catholic clergy, nearly all the Protestant clergy, and a majority of the St. Louis bar were enlisted in the cause of repeal, over 150 lawyers and physicians.

"The legislature of 1873-74, after a prolonged and embittered discussion, finally voted the repeal by a vote of three-fourths of all the members of the Senate, and the House by 90 to 1."

The Philanthropist, to which we are indebted for the above details, thus sums up some of the evils of the license system:

"1st. It confers the sanction of law upon the barbarous trade in women.

"2d. It subjects these tempted and often coerced helpless women to the atrocity of continuous compulsory examination by men, and the conspicuous posting of their names as having been thus systematically outraged.

"3d. It fosters vice instead of 'preventing' it, in that it contemplates opportunity, facilities, and safety for the 'guests,' who are more than equal participants.

"4th. It fails to protect health for the community, because it does not adopt any precaution against the spread of venereal contagion by the 'guests' for whose indulgence it provides. It makes no provision for their examination and cure, tho they are much more numerous and dangerous than their victims, as transmitters of disease.

"5th. It makes a permitted trade of the cruel and dastardly occupation of the procurer and procurers.

"6th. It grants permits at a price that will not prohibit the dreadful trade, but will invite to it."

On the other hand there seems little use in the mere effort to suppress houses of prostitution.

In New York City, owing to the agitation conducted by Dr. Parkhurst, hundreds of prostitutes have been turned out of their houses and the houses closed by the police. It is considered a triumph of morals, and other cities are following the example.

But where have the women gone? Have they been redeemed to virtue? If they have, have their male partners in vice been redeemed? If not, even if the women have been redeemed, these men remain to *seduce other women to take the place of their victims that have been rescued from them.* But no informed mind fancies that closing disorderly houses redeems their inmates to virtue. Where then are they? In the flats of the upper middle class and among the tenements of the poor. Formerly they were brought little in contact with home life and childhood. Now they are scattered among the homes and children of New York. Is this a triumph of virtue? Driving sinful women to continue their trade among homes and children, and letting men go free,—is this reform? Dr. Rainsford well says that you might just as well take cases of smallpox, and say they should not be allowed in houses by themselves, and therefore scatter them around among homes.

Nor are these results imaginary. Says the report of the New York Tenement-House Committee of 1894 (p. 88):

"The presence of many immoral women in the tenement-houses, where they are thrown in contact with respectable people, and, worse than that, with large numbers of ignorant and innocent children, forms a most deplorable condition. There has been a manifest increase in this condition during the past year or eighteen months, and there is no doubt that the influx of prostitutes into actual residence in tenement-houses is due to the police raids, which have closed most of the houses of ill fame in the tenement-house districts. Under the old order of things, no matter what its evils may have been, the immoral women occupied houses by themselves. At present they form a part of the life of the great tenement-houses, and thus their contaminating influence is felt far more directly by the general public than was formerly the case. The tenements always have had, and probably always will have, their share of immoral women—of a class peculiar to them and separate from the professional prostitutes driven of late into them, from houses of ill fame. Most of this tenement class consists of women who have been abandoned by their husbands, and who, in order to support themselves and their legitimate children, are driven to depend to some extent upon evil sources of income. Such abandonment is distressingly common among certain foreign nationalities. Probably so cases have been brought to your secretary's attention. These women, however, generally work when they can, and turn to prostitution only as a last resource. They are surrounded by none of the glamour of the professional prostitute; do not ordinarily live or dress more elaborately than other inmates of the house in which they live, and are generally regarded with more pity than envy or resentment by their neighbors and their neighbors' children. Thus they are not so especially dangerous to the morals of the house. But an apartment full of such prostitutes as have now been driven into the tenements, where they are surrounded by comparative luxury, and live lives of apparent ease, in the midst of a houseful of adults and children, whose frugal, honest living is obtained only by the hardest of work and the most rigid economy, can scarcely be less dangerous to the moral health of the house than an apartment full of cholera-infected persons would be to the physical welfare."

Mere Raiding a Failure.

Some persons, therefore, like Dr. Rainsford, would not license or inspect houses of ill fame, but simply, if they do not become too bold, allow them within certain limits by themselves and try to fight the evil by lifting up the general standard of the community.

But the complete districting of the evil seems impossible, if desirable. Mr E. T. Gerry, in *The Philanthropist* (March, 1895),

thus describes the results of the two main experiments in this direction:

"In the winter of 1886-87, while at the City of Rome, Italy, I had a personal interview with Cardinal Simeoni, which lasted over two hours, chiefly in reference to the course pursued by the Italian Government while in the hands of the Vatican, in the matter of regulating prostitution. The Cardinal stated to me that the experiment of attempting to confine sexual vice within a specified district had been most thoroughly tried. A portion of the city, remote itself and not particularly attractive for purposes of residence, had been selected. . . . At the same time a very strict cordon of police was placed around the geographical boundary, and any attempt on the part of females who had once entered the district to escape therefrom was followed by prompt and immediate arrest. The idea was so novel that at first quite a number of registered prostitutes entered the district, hired and occupied the houses, and attempted to ply their vocation there. But the district soon became very notorious. The thieving, the lawless, and the seditious found their way there, and became permanent residents. They brought with them very little money, and as the sole means which the inmates of the district had of supporting themselves was by the sale of their persons, it was obvious that their custom must come from without and not from within, as men generally did not care to be known as inhabitants of the district. And as soon as the fact of its establishment was made public, men were very wary about entering the district for fear of identification. . . . It was not long before the storekeepers complained that they could not make a living. Even the women found that the money did not flow in upon them as it did when they practised their calling unrestricted by geographical limits, and it was not long before escapes from the district became impossible of prevention by the police, and some of the most notorious women in Rome, after having been put there, and sent there, made their escape and were found in other quarters, plying their trade. . . .

"The Cardinal stated to me that the attempt to district vice was in his judgment a stupendous failure; that the Church had used every effort to reclaim the fallen when so environed by the police and placed in a locality where it could put its hand upon them, but to no purpose.

"One further effort for localization of the social evil deserves to be noticed, that of the Yoshiwara in Japan. For a long time previous to the contact of Japan with the enlightened nations of the earth, the social evil was looked upon as one necessary and unavoidable, and the government took entire charge of the matter. In a suburb adjacent to the Capital (Tokio) large houses were built for the purpose, some of them elaborate in construction, and the whole guarded most thoroughly by the soldiery. The number of prostitutes in Tokio alone is said to be about 5000. The children of the poor are usually utilized for the purpose and sold by their parents, who receive a stipulated income as the result. It is not an unusual thing for these girls to marry, and they are not looked upon as outcasts or pariahs of society by any means. The girls in these establishments range in age from 10 to 18, and owing to the developing influences of the climate, at the latter age they are as mature as most of our women at 25 to 30. These are the regular, so to speak, licensed or recognized prostitutes. The women are permitted to leave and marry when they choose. This number of course does not include the kept mistresses of foreigners or others, who occupy small houses at the expense of their maintainers. Of these districts, which are known as Yoshiwara, there are five in Tokio and two in Yokohama, the latter possessing probably the largest and best known. The government has entire charge of the system, derives extensive revenue as the result, and under the Japanese code of morals, from which sexual morality is practically excluded, it is said to be a success so far as engendering public peace and quietness. Such a course naturally destroys all appreciation of the vice as vice."

Yet, on the other hand, there seems little hope in leaving the evil alone.

In London there is neither license, examination, nor practical restriction. After sunset there are certain streets in the most public part of London, notably Regent Circus, where not only a seething throng of

Districting a Failure.

prostitutes openly solicit from that time up to midnight and even later, but where a decent woman can hardly walk with a male escort without being insulted, and often an effort made to separate them. The police usually limit their attempt to keep the peace to requiring these women to move on, and as passers-by do not care to make complaints against them, they simply do move on. A large number of the brothels are situated on the outskirts of London, in such places as St. John's Wood, Pimlico, and the like, which are easy of access by cabs and the railways. Most of these street prostitutes are said to be discharged from the Continent, because infected with disease. So far as New York city is concerned its streets are absolutely decent, compared with those of either London or Paris.

It is thus easier to show what not to do than what to do. With the means of reaching the evil through personal work, religious or ethical, we are not, in this encyclopedia, concerned. Many, however, believe that this is the main thing to do, to raise a higher standard of personal purity, and, above all, an equal standard of purity for both sexes.

Ethical Means.

The writer of the article in the *Westminster Review*, quoted above, says:

"One aim most, if not all, schemes of reform have in common, and that is the establishment of an equal standard of sexual morality for both sexes. On all sides it seems to be agreed that the existing dual standard of morality is, or will be, doomed, now that society, and especially the female portion of it, is becoming so keenly alive to its evils. It is also felt that unless masculine morality is raised to a higher level, feminine morality may fall from the exalted position it has held for so long, as it awakes to the full value of the fact that its purity is only playing into the hands of the impurity which it encounters in the other sex. The proposed paths toward the desired goal are very wide apart, but there are a few main ideas on the subject which can be briefly described.

"First, there is the movement started by those persons who believe that the purification of our social morals can only be attained by setting up for men the same high standard of chastity and pureness of living as that which has been hitherto considered as binding only upon women of the protected and wife-supplying classes.

"Then there are those who take an exactly opposite view, and who believe that the end is to be reached by some extension of sexual freedom to all classes of women. They regard the attempt to raise men to that high level of morality hitherto reserved for women as a natural impossibility or utopian dream, and they would seek for equality by lowering the standard for women, and thus bridge over the wide gulf which now exists between the average sensual man and the average chaste woman, and still more between the average chaste woman and the woman of the streets."

The writer sympathizes with neither of these extreme views, and favors what he regards as the middle course, *viz.*: reform of sexual morality through more liberal divorce laws. He believes that erring humanity ought to have the opportunity of retrieving even its matrimonial mistakes and failures, and that the sacrifice of individuals to an absolute system is neither moral nor expedient. The current objections to liberal divorce laws he regards as based on religious prejudices rather than on utilitarian social considerations.

For the contrary view, see **DIVORCE**.

The resolutions adopted at the Baltimore Congress were as follows:

"That chastity, a pure, continent life alike for men and women, is consonant with the best condition of physical, mental, and moral health.

"That prostitution is a fundamental violation of the laws of health, is degrading and destructive to the individual, a menace to the home and to the nation.

"That State or municipal regulation of prostitution is morally wrong; is worse than a sanitary failure; is cruel and unjust to woman, creates a shocking traffic in girlhood.

"That all possible effort should be made to educate public opinion and maintain a high equal standard of morals for both men and women.

"That facilities should be provided for the treatment of venereal diseases, as readily as all other diseases, in all hospitals under the control of municipalities or other public bodies, as well as in those supported by voluntary contributions.

"That homes should be everywhere established by municipal and State, as well as by voluntary aid, as agencies for the reclamation and rehabilitation of erring girls.

"That the State should punish by imprisonment rather than fine, organized prostitution, procurism, the keepers of the houses of prostitution, and the rental of houses or other dwellings for such purposes."

Various speakers emphasized the responsibility of parental teaching. Said the Rev. S. S. Steward, "We must begin in the earliest infancy." The whole of his valuable address (see *Addresses*, as above, p. 202) gives most practical suggestions to parents. Says the Rev. F. M. Goodchild (*Arena*, March, 1896):

"The first thing to do, probably, is to arouse the people to a sense of the enormity of the evil as it exists among us. . . ."

"The best mitigation, probably, must come from our homes. Parents have been criminally negligent. Ignorant innocence leads most girls astray. A prudish silence lands many a girl in the brothel, and provides her customers as well.

It ought to be possible to impart to our children some instruction about these most important relations of life, without mantling the cheeks of parent or child with a blush. It is little short of criminal to send our young people into the midst of the excitements and temptations of a great city with no more preparation than if they were going to live in Paradise.

"And I cannot escape the conviction that women hold in their hands the key to the solution of this problem. They are cruel in their severity toward their fallen sisters, but they are criminally indulgent toward the men who cause their fall. The woman sinner is reprobated. But the man sinner is made a hero, is welcomed into respectable homes, is permitted to marry a pure girl and make her the mother of children, cursed before they are born with lecherous appetites. Let woman's attitude be changed."

Yet, undoubtedly, organized society can do something. It can prohibit solicitation on the street alike for men and women. It can arrest and expose men as well as women in disorderly houses, condemning them to punishment and exposure, and not merely to a fine. It can change the laws and make them bear equally on men and women (see **AGE OF CONSENT**; **MARRIAGE**; **DIVORCE**; **WOMAN**). There is no question that fear of exposure does deter many men from visiting these houses.

Yet many reformers, all socialists, all extreme individualists, and a growing number of earnest men and women of all schools of thought, believe that none of these legislative reforms go to the bottom social cause of prostitution. As they find the cause of prostitution in poverty

they would remove prostitution by attacking poverty. (See **EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY**; **SINGLE TAX**; **SOCIALISM**; **TRADE-UNIONS**; **UNEMPLOYMENT**; **COOPERATION**.) If the supreme social cause of prostitution is, as we have stated above, the crowded home—the supreme social means of attacking the evil is by improving the dwellings of the masses in our cities, and giving well-paid work to all. (See **SOCIALISM**; **MUNICIPALISM**; **SINGLE TAX**; **TENEMENTS**; **FAMILY**; **DIVORCES**; **MARRIAGE**; **AGE OF CONSENT**.)

The Home.

Economic Reform.

References: *The History of Prostitution, its Extent, Causes, and Effects*, by W. W. Sanger, M. D. (1858), last edition, with an appendix for facts as to New York down to date (1895); *The National Fertility Congress, its Papers and Addresses*, edited by A. N. Powell (1895); *The Female Offender*, by C. Lombroso (1895). (See also FAMILY; WOMAN; WOMAN'S WAGES; SLUMS, etc.)

PROTECTION.—An opinion prevails in some circles that, while free trade is scientific and founded upon natural law, protection is artificial, devoid of philosophy, and but a scheme of selfishness. Protectionists claim that this is untrue; that the theory of protection is, to say the least, as philosophical as that of free trade; that it is more natural, because built upon self-defense, which is the first law of nature; that it promotes, rather than hinders, the development and enjoyment of natural business opportunities; that it coordinates national existence, and forms the chief reason for it; that it is less selfish than free trade, because it is necessarily cooperative, and that it is more universal, because it is applicable to all the industries of a people, while free trade unavoidably sacrifices some to others.

I. HISTORY.

The history of protection is the history of civilization. Every group of humanity that has risen a degree above barbarism has adopted some form of protection. Preparations for war, the sometimes provocative of war, are generally regarded as protective to peace. Washington advised this precaution in his farewell address. Anciently a nation's commerce, industry, and existence depended upon its readiness for instant defense; nowadays strength in all the resources for war is more important than weapons in hand. An industrial policy which makes the unit man self-reliant and resourceful, and not dependent upon others, is commended by free traders; it is equally claimed by protectionists in its applicability to groups. The people who purchase ore, or wheat, or wool, because it is temporarily easier or cheaper to exchange for them lumber, or fish, or furs, than it is to raise them, never become strong for either peace or war. A few individuals, engaged in trade or transportation, may thrive. But the laws of business are not confined to the handling of merchandise. Production is more important than distribution. The nations which have attained highest development are those which have made the most of their natural endowments. Without a single exception they have done this by protection in some of its varied forms. The only free-trade nation on the earth to-day, Great Britain, attained greatness through centuries of protection, and maintains maritime supremacy still by that means.

Commerce between the nations of antiquity was almost exclusively in dissimilar or non-competing articles. The most instructive and eloquent description of this commerce is found in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of Ezekiel, in which the prophet portrayed the glories of Tyre. The peculiar products of all lands were brought to Tyre—fine linen from Egypt; purple from the Greek islands; silver, iron, tin, and lead from Tar-

shish; brass from the Taurus; horses and mules from Armenia; horns of ivory and ebony from many isles; wheat, honey, oil, and balm from Israel, and sheep and lambs from Arabia, all of which were traded for Tyrian wares, "by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks," and "when thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou fillest many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise." So all this commerce appears to have been mutually beneficial; hence there was no occasion for protection against any part of it by Tyre, or by the other nations. Competition, in the modern sense, was practically unknown. Whenever it appeared war resulted, and one nation or the other was reduced to vassalage.

Ancient Times.

There is no record of the revenue laws applicable to commerce. "Ships of Tarshish" (that is, ocean vessels in contradistinction from the smaller craft that sailed interior waters) were built in the time of Solomon, upon both the Mediterranean and the Red seas, the former trading as far west as Tartessus, in Spain (whence the name Tarshish), and the latter bringing to the country of the great king the gold of Ophir, an unknown region of the Orient, which is supposed to have been India. Without doubt, these commercial enterprises rendered tribute to the Government, but upon what principle it would be useless to speculate, since history does not tell. At the time of Christ, industry had become more varied and commerce more extensive. Phœnicia, Greece, Carthage, and Rome had long been maritime nations, while caravans of camels, those "ships of the desert," which formerly bore the traffic of Nineveh and Babylon, Philadelphia and Petra, continued to cross the ranges between Damascus and Tyre, or to Jerusalem and Joppa, and between Persia and Egypt. When Matthew was called to the discipleship, he was "sitting at the receipt of customs," on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, but whether he collected from the caravans, or whether the term "customs" was used indiscriminately for tax or tribute, external or internal, there is nothing to show.

There is almost equal obscurity as to the customs laws of later Rome. Some of the time, at least, protection was applied on land, along the great roads, where traffic was often competitive. This was the case under the illustrious reign of Theodoric, the greatest of the Gothic kings, whose chief desire seems to have been to "restore to Italy its long-lost material prosperity and plenty." He repaired highways and aqueducts; drained lands; opened mines; built vessels; restored the coinage to its proper value; established a uniform standard of weights and measures, and put a stop to the extortions of the custom-house officers, which "foreign merchants had dreaded more than shipwreck" in the days of the empire. But in doing away with this abuse of administration, he apparently failed to perpetuate, by higher

Rome After the Empire.

and uniform duties, the protection which it had afforded. Reviving prosperity caused extensive importations of luxuries from the East. They were purchased by the upper classes in such quantities as to drain the nation of its gold, sometimes at the rate of \$4,000,000 a year, and thus unemployment and decay set in. The people took alarm at this, and in A. D. 535, Theodoric having died nine years before, a law was enacted forbidding senators, who had been the greatest importers, to own vessels of burden. This put a ban of plebeian degradation upon all commerce, and this was followed by agricultural decay for want of industrial variety. The Romans were invaders, settlers, builders, warriors, mariners, farmers, but they did not excel as merchants and manufacturers. When conquest ceased to add to their riches, their economic science was not far enough advanced to supply the deficit from their own resources. So long as they could thrive at the expense of others, their thrift was great; left to themselves, they failed.

Venice and Later Italy.—But after 300 years, those who had fled before the Goths and Huns to the marshes of the Adriatic began to develop the wonderful city and commerce of Venice. Forced to a seafaring life, they became familiar with the productions, and, gradually, with the processes of other peoples. To commerce they added manufacture, and soon became famous for ingenuity. They excelled all but the Orientals in the manufacture of textiles, metals, and glass; and as this brought them into direct competition with the artisans of the East, laws were enacted to encourage home production, and to prevent workmen from carrying their arts to

foreign countries. Other Italian cities—Florence, Naples, Genoa, Milan—followed the example of Venice, and became seats of fine production, from which Europe drew supplies. After centuries of

unexampled prosperity, Venice became involved in foreign wars, and fell into decay, but United Italy is enjoying greater thrift than ever before, as the result of the wise industrial policy which Venice started, and which, extended and improved, is the national policy to-day.

The Hanseatic League.—It has been claimed that the manufactures and commerce of the 85 free cities of the Hanseatic League, which flourished in western Europe from 1241 to 1575, were built up without protection, and were greatly promoted by free trade. The fact is otherwise. The League itself was for protection from the cupidity and oppression of the monarchs of those countries; from piracy; from the cornering of raw materials; from trespass upon the field or specialty of one member by another; from the theft of their processes by aliens, and for the encouragement of guilds, apprenticeships, invention, and progress in handicraft. To be sure, there was no protective tariff, in the modern sense, but this was because there was little or no foreign competition, and because nearly all commerce was an exchange of dissimilar articles, pecu-

liar to different countries. It is precisely this kind of commerce which the protective reciprocity of the United States tariff of 1890, and the French minimum schedules of that same year, applicable to trade with nations making similar concessions, sought to promote.

Flanders and Holland.—What has been said of the Hanse towns applies equally to the Flemish and Dutch a little later. They attained supremacy in manufactures, first, by supplying the home market, and then foreign markets, with goods that were different from what others offered. They did not attempt to compete with Venice in silks, or with India in cottons, but they became the best spinners and weavers of flax and wool in the world, and their cutlery, armor, and leather equaled the famous products of Damascus and Calcutta, which were then more expensive. About the year 1400 both Spain and England sent their wool to the Netherlands to be worked, and some 40,000 looms (all hand-loom, of course) were in constant operation in each of the cities of Lille, Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges. Naturally such employment made agriculture profitable, and built up a large commerce. During the fore part of the sixteenth century Antwerp was the commercial emporium of the western world, from 2000 to 3000 vessels often crowding its harbor at a time. In the latter part of that century the Dutch republic became the chief money market and maritime power of Europe, as a result of the domestic employment, the skill and frugality of its people. Having become strong enough to enter upon foreign enterprise, the republic chartered the Dutch East India Company, with a capital of about 6,000,000 guilders (about \$2,400,000), which preyed upon the commerce of the Portuguese, Spanish, and English, and gained complete control of the commerce between Europe and the Orient. For some years this proved enormously profitable, but two evils grew out of it—first, impairment of some of the home industries, and, second, perpetual conflict, with a final loss of the trade to the French and English. With this exception, the Flemish and Dutch manufacturers sustained no competition until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when the English and French, under government patronage, hired their most skilled artisans, and built up competition which soon left them no assured market but their own, and that was saved only by a protective tariff. A recent writer says: "The people of France were wearing the woolen clothing made by the Flemish, and did not establish woolen factories until Robais, a Hollander, was invited to France, and induced to establish a woolen factory at Abbeville, under the protection of the Government. The people of England had shipped their wool to Flanders, where it was carded, dyed, made into cloth, and returned to them to clothe their people. They did not establish woolen factories until Edward III. invited John Kemp with his weavers into England to set up their industry, prohibited the export of wool, and gave the woolen manufacturers the protection of the Government."

Until England had been twice invaded and

conquered by foreigners, and until the foreign and domestic trade had all fallen into their hands, no attempt was made to recover for Englishmen their natural opportunities. King after king had sold concessions to aliens, and the native population, almost exclusively farmers and miners, with no home market of any value, and

Protection in England. dependent upon other countries for all the products of industrial art, was kept in hopeless poverty and weakness. Finally the Anglo-Saxon spirit rose. There was a revolt against the aliens. It took the form, under Edward I., of higher duties on goods imported by strangers than by Englishmen. Under Edward II. this policy was abandoned, but in 1337, a statute of Edward III. "laid the foundation of the liberties of the people, by providing for the diversity of their employment, and the development of individual faculties." This famous statute prohibited the exportation of wool and the importation of woolen cloth, and required Englishmen to wear domestic cloth. Such a statute could be called drastic and tyrannical now, but it was absolutely necessary then; in no other way could domestic manufactures have been established in the face of all the advantages held by the aliens. The policy was strengthened in subsequent reigns. Under Richard II. it was "ordered and assented that no merchant stranger alien shall sell or buy merchandise within the realm with another stranger merchant alien, to sell again," and under Edward IV. the first of the corn laws "prohibited the import of foreign-grown grain when the price of wheat at the port of entry did not exceed six shillings and eight pence to the quarter." In 1463 a statute prohibited the importation of 67 manufactured articles in most common use; really more than that, for some of them were classes of articles; in 1488 Henry VII. induced skilled laborers to come from the Continent and instruct his people, and in 1552 a general act was passed for the regulation, control, and encouragement of the woolen industries of the realm. Navigation laws were enacted under Mary and Elizabeth, which gave such preference to English shipping as to drive foreign ships from the internal, coastwise, and foreign trade of the realm. Thus, in 200 years, by the most rigid policy of protection ever before or since set up by any nation, England rose from practical vassalage to one of the most independent, prosperous, and powerful countries in the world, and gained the ascendancy in manufactures, trade, commerce, and wealth, which, in many respects, is maintained to this day, and which in no way has been surpassed, save by other protective nations. Those who attribute Britain's greatness to free trade, which did not begin until 1846, when her industrial primacy was of itself protective, and was sure to remain so for many years, must have forgotten all her earlier history, and must have attached more importance to the cramp and hindrance of the gilds which were a part of the protective policy, and to some of the prohibitions, which, however necessary and useful in the beginning, afterward became a

hindrance, than they attached to the great and necessary acts which emancipated England from industrial, monetary, and commercial servitude, and made her factories and her artisans, her merchants and her ships, the wonder and the envy of the world.

Until near the close of the sixteenth century the condition of the people of France was similar to that of the English a century before. But in 1592 Henry of Navarre became king, and with a purpose to develop the country, Sully, who was appointed Minister of Finance, studied conditions in all parts of the realm, and soon the nobles

were prohibited from taxing the people; the royal treasury became **Protection in France.** plethoric; roads, bridges, and canals were built; mines were opened, and manufactures were introduced by giving protection to artisans who were induced to come from Holland and Venice. Slow progress was made under the next reign, that of Louis XIII. and Cardinal Richelieu, but in the latter part of the long reign of Louis XIV., with the great Colbert as Minister of Finance, not only was Sully's system of internal improvement continued, but the first general tariff of duties upon imports was enacted. This was in 1664. The principles upon which this tariff were based were: "1. To reduce the duties on the importations of all articles required for the manufactures of the kingdom, and 2, to exclude foreign manufactures by raising the duties." In 1667 duties were much increased on such articles of foreign production as competed with the new industries; towns sprang up where there had been but wastes; the people turned from discontent to occupation, and the country grew great and strong. After the death of Colbert the king committed the fatal blunder of persecuting the Huguenots, with the result that nearly 400,000 of the people, most skilled in industry, fled the kingdom, and spread over countries that soon became rivals in peace and enemies in war. The next century was one of many wars and abuses which culminated in the Revolution. An experiment in fiat money had been tried, with disastrous results, of course. Fully one-half of the people belonged to the privileged classes, and paid no taxes. Agriculture, thus doubly burdened, fell into decay. Such conditions had not been favorable to the growth of manufactures, and what protective laws remained were all but inoperative. And what was even more to be deplored, they were confused by a school of French economists which became known as physiocrats, which was formed by Quesnay, the physician of Louis XV., and which first promulgated the free-trade doctrine of *laissez-faire*, "let things alone," with the abuses of power which were tyrannical on the one hand, and paternal on the other. These so-called economists failed to see the difference between a government's protecting the natural opportunities of its people and the exemption of favorites from taxation, or between promoting the growth of industries which would afford employment, yield wealth, and reduce the cost of necessities, and the granting of mo-

nopolies, farming the collection of revenue at excessive profits, and the placing of duties upon exports as a means of replenishing the plundered treasury. In the presence of so many abuses of power, every act of government that related to revenue, or to the industries of the people, seemed to them alike a wanton interference. It is easy to excuse them for the failure to discriminate, but the motto which they coined for their place and time, and which has been accepted as the fundamental principle of free trade, is seen in the light of the subsequent history of France, and of all other nations, to have its limitations. "Let alone" may well be said to a blacksmith who would tinker a watch, but what man of sense would cry it to a general about to repel an invasion; a board of health redeeming a marsh, or a government whose people are competing against the export bounties and subsidized ships of other nations? Napoleon Bonaparte, who, if he had known when to stop his foreign wars, would have been the greatest statesman as well as the greatest conqueror of his time—he of whom Byron wrote

"A single step into the right had made,
This man the Washington of worlds betrayed"—

did not forget the industries of France, and did not neglect the means for their promotion. "Duties," said he to Las Casas, at St. Helena, "which were so severely condemned by political economists, . . . should be the guaranty and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. . . . Foreign trade, which, in its results, is infinitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign trade is made for agriculture and home industry, and not the two latter for the former." During, and since his reign, France made its greatest progress in the arts of peace, for protection has been its policy, with the exception of a partial abandonment, which Cobden persuaded Louis Napoleon to make, and which was one of the causes that led to the downfall of that emperor, and the humiliation of his country. During the 20 years of the Cobden treaty French commerce declined 65 per cent., and many industries barely lived, thanks only to the partial protection that remained. On the 26th of January, 1876, M. Thiers, afterward the first president of the French republic, and one of the greatest statesmen of any country, ancient or modern, in speaking upon tariffs to the Assembly, drew this instructive and most prophetic contrast between France and England. After complimenting England for its civil liberty, and other great characteristics, he said :

"But I may be allowed to say that it has in its industrial greatness that which is not so solid as the situation of France. France has her consumers within itself. Its market does not depend upon a cannon-shot fired in Europe. And for exportations she has her beautiful products. England, on the contrary has an artificial existence. She depends upon the days of the United States; upon the doings of her colonies, which already oppose her with hostile tariffs. May not the day come when its immense production will find no purchasers? She produces ten times as much

as her consumption. This little island, in the words of Fox, embraces the world. True; but when she embraces the world, she is vulnerable everywhere. Such was the situation of Holland in the seventeenth century, which had realized a prodigy almost as marvelous. What was needed to make Holland, which gave laws to France, descend from this lofty place? It needed only 50 years. It needed only a Navigation Act in England; it needed only a Colbert in France. God forbid that I should predict for England such a destiny! but I repeat it, her existence, which depends upon consumers which she seeks everywhere without herself, is less solid than that of France, which has her consumers in her own bosom."

Germany is no less interesting than France. The first progress in manufactures began with the coming of the Protestant refugees from France after Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes. Under Frederick the Great, from 1746 to 1786, the economic policy of Prussia embraced duties on imports, bounties on exports, premiums on production, and **Protection in Germany.** exemptions of new manufactures from taxation, and the result was an unprecedented development of all the industries of the kingdom. The smaller German states presented a less encouraging picture. Governed expensively, their exactions of revenue were burdensome to industry and restrictive of trade in its natural field. Later their industries were nearly crushed by the Napoleonic wars and the inundation of French and English goods after the battle of Waterloo, but in 1818, Prussia leading, they adopted a vigorous policy of protection. It abolished State monopolies and special privileges to individuals, gave all citizens equal chances, admitted necessary raw materials free, and adhered to the system of duties and bounties established under Frederick. Subsequently it was found that most of the states were too small for each to set up a national policy of this kind. They needed each other's markets. In 1833 six of them formed a Zollverein, or customs union, with no duties between themselves and with a division of outside duties according to population. By 1842 the other German states had come in. The basis was the Prussian tariff of 1818. The administration was by a Zollverein Parliament, which was succeeded by the German Reichstag when the Empire was formed in 1871. From time to time duties had been raised to meet aggressive importation, but the production of fine goods had hardly been attempted, and the classes which consumed them were easily persuaded by Mr. Cobden that they ought to have them free of duty. Those classes were influential. The result was that a free-trade wave swept over Germany, first in the form of lower duties in 1865, then in a commercial reciprocity with Austria in 1868, and by successive annual reductions until the full English policy was reached, when everybody felt rich and grew extravagant and careless under the payment of the French indemnity in 1871. The result of open ports was to close the factories. There was failure upon failure. Wages and prices fell, but taxes rose. Foreign corn depressed agriculture. The people wore the fabrics of England and France, and labor began to starve. A powerful reaction set in. Bis-

marck, after profound study, began in 1878 to advocate protection. In 1879 the Reichstag returned to it by a vote of 217 to 117. In two years the exports of manufactures increased 33 per cent.; in eight years the number of artisans in iron and steel increased 30 per cent., their aggregate wages increased 27 per cent., and the average wages in all industries increased 12 per cent. The payment of a bounty on the exportation of sugar caused production to increase from less than 200,000 tons in 1871 to more than 1,000,000 tons in 1891. There was activity in all employments. Machinery improved and skill increased. Wages, though from 98 to 226 per cent. higher than in 1848, were still so much lower than in England that German goods found an increasing market there, to the depression of many British industries and to the ruin of some, and they were even able to overcome many of the duties of the United States and undersell the products of some of the best established industries in this country. From 1875 to 1886 the exports of manufactures of silk increased 884 per cent.; woolens, 296; cottons, 302; glass, 264; paper, 322; spirits, 258; beer, 446; and machinery, 260 per cent. Industries became diversified as never before in any country, and from 1878 to 1896 schools for technical and manual training were established in 328 places. All these marvelous figures utterly disprove the theory of free trade that protection dulls and dwarfs the individual and cramps and curtails the aggregation.

Russia, the wonderland of two continents, affords a most striking example of the influence of protection to convert barbarism into civilization and transform deserts into cities and gardens. Russia entered upon its career as a modern power with the reign of Peter the Great, which began in 1689. That enlightened monarch worked *incognito* in the ship yards of Holland, that he might teach his people how to build ships. When he visited

Protection in Russia.

England, though tendered kingly honors, he took private lodgings and studied the laws and industries. Through "dropping pearls and vermin," and leaving evidence in his lodgings that "a barbarism had been there," he took away about all that was to be learned, at that time, of national development. This knowledge was applied at home under the disadvantages of popular ignorance, but in a thousand ways Russia was transformed. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce became established. In treaties and decrees the protective principle was carefully observed. Near the close of the seventeenth century, or contemporaneously with the United States, Russia adopted a tariff of protection, and in many cases of prohibition. Again, as in the United States, this policy was relaxed in 1816-19, but returned to in 1822 and maintained until 1849. In the revisions of 1851 and 1854 prohibitions were generally abolished and the duties made discriminating, as suggested by economic changes. The same policy was adhered to in the revisions of 1867 and 1876; the last increasing the protection. A new revision, on the

same lines, was begun in 1887 and completed in 1891. In these later and scientific tariffs, Napoleon's idea of subordinating revenue to protection prevailed. The general results of a century of protection were progress in every domestic industry, a favorable balance of trade, and a steady gain in employment and wages. In 1894 Russia produced nearly two billion bushels of grain, and more than one and a quarter billion pounds of cotton. In 1890 the output of the mines and factories was valued at \$828,000,000. Of the European countries, Russia is second to only England in cotton manufacturing; having 6,000,000 spindles in 1892. Woolen, silk, leather, lumber, flour, and tobacco are all important and growing industries. There are 65,000 factories of all kinds, employing 1,000,000 people. From 1884 to 1896 the sugar industry increased 100 per cent., iron 68, steel 59, coal 129, and petroleum, 1475 per cent. Wages have advanced, but are still low; being from \$80 to \$150 a year for men in the cotton mills, and but a trifle more than half that for women. Most of the mills are run from 9 to 12 hours a day.

Other Europe.—The progress of other European countries under protection compares favorably with that of the great countries named. Apparently protection is their settled policy. All their self-governing colonies in every part of the world have adopted it also, and in all of them progress has been relatively greater than before. Schemes for an imperial customs union between the United Kingdom and the Colonies of Great Britain have for several years been under discussion; the proposed basis being protection against the world and preferential duties or free trade among themselves. The manufacturing Colonies shrink from it on account of England's supremacy, and England shrinks from it because of not being ready to abandon free trade.

II. PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The agitation for protection began in the Colonial period, partly because of England's oppressive laws to prevent manufacturing in the Colonies, and partly because of the depression of industry from the use of foreign goods. In 1767 the inhabitants of Boston voted in town meeting, and afterward signed a pledge not to buy the "foreign superfluities" mentioned in a long list. The Articles of Confederation, under which the country was governed from 1781 until the ratification of the Constitution in 1787, permitted each State to regulate its own commerce, and this made a general tariff impossible. The States were deluged with foreign goods. Distressed working men and merchants in the principal cities united in great petitions for protection. To meet this want was one of the chief reasons (Daniel Webster said it was "the leading cause") for forming the "more perfect Union" spoken of in the preamble to the Constitution. The second act of the First Congress which assembled under the new Constitution was a tariff, the object of which, as declared in the preamble, was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States,

and for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." This passed the House by a vote of more than five to one, and the Senate by a unanimous vote, and was approved by George Washington, July 4, 1789. From that time to 1896 fifty general tariff laws were enacted, all of them in some degree protective. There was no departure from the protective policy until 1816, and the new duties of that year were intended to be ample, but they

Early History.

proved insufficient against the destructive commercial war which England determined to wage. In a speech in Parliament, Lord Brougham declared that "it is worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order, by the glut, to stifle in the cradle those infant manufactures in the United States which the war has forced into existence." While in 1813 imports were only \$13,000,000, in 1818 they had risen to \$121,750,000. An adverse balance of trade of \$229,000,000 had been created, and industry was everywhere depressed. In 1824 a more protective tariff was passed, and it was strengthened in 1828. Under both tariffs the country prospered. But meanwhile the tariff had become a sectional question. The cotton-planters of the South, whose principal market was in England, were led to adopt the free-trade ideas of Sir Robert Peel, and under the lead of Mr. McDuffie of South Carolina, they advanced the strange theory that, by selling cotton to be manufactured in England, they were manufacturers themselves, and as much entitled to government favor by exemption from duties on the imports with which they were paid as the cotton manufacturers of New England were by the imposition of duties upon competing goods. Resentful of Northern hostility to slavery, they favored England instead of New England; reasoned that protection is paternalism; decried the tariff as "a local question," and threatened to secede from the Union. Wishing to avert this calamity, Henry Clay, the greatest of the protective statesmen except Daniel Webster, proposed a compromise tariff, which became a law in 1833, which took the form of a sliding scale of biennial reductions to uniform duties of 20 per cent., to be reached in 1842. Of course, such disregard of discrimination, which varying costs of production require in a protective tariff, as well as the lower duties, proved disastrous to both revenue and business, and this, complicated with a banking question, produced a great panic in 1837. In the tariff of 1842, the country returned to protection, but in 1846 the South again prevailed, and the "Walker tariff" of that year made heavy reductions in the duties that protected manufactures. The disastrous effects were referred to by Presidents Fillmore in 1852, and Buchanan in 1857, but owing to causes other than the tariff, the country enjoyed some measure of prosperity. When those causes

War Tariff.

ceased to operate a panic ensued in 1857, and in 1861 the "Morrill tariff," which returned to protection, was enacted a short time before the outbreak of the Civil War. During the war many

duties were increased, the prime object being revenue, because the war itself proved a great stimulus to industries. When peace was restored free traders raised a clamor for the abolition of the war tariffs. Changes were made in 1867, 1870, and 1872, most of which were extensive reductions. Importations, which had already become large as a result of extravagance, incident to an inflated currency, then increased, the country had an adverse balance of trade, and in 1873 there was another panic. In 1875 a more protective tariff was enacted and prosperity returned. In 1883 what was supposed to be a scientific readjustment of duties, recommended by a commission of experts, was made, but economic changes which they did not anticipate caused it to practically fail, like the tariff of 1816. Again business suffered, but the McKinley tariff, of more discriminating duties, and with a reciprocity clause and improved administrative features, was enacted in 1890, and during its three years' operation both production and commerce prospered as never before. More people were employed, and at higher wages, the public debt was reduced \$252,000,000, new industries sprang into existence, there was a favorable balance of trade, the public credit reached its highest figure. But the extensive free-trade propaganda denounced the duties as excessive and misled enough voters with the false statement that "prices had advanced all along the line," to reverse the policy at the next elections. The Democratic party promised to introduce free trade, but its candidate promised that nothing should be done to hurt the industries. Both promises failed. The Wilson bill of 1894 did not even pretend to frame schedules on free-trade principles; it was simply a reduced McKinley tariff, but so much reduced that Southern senators from coal and iron producing States refused to accept it, and raised certain rates. President Cleveland denounced this as an act of "perfidy and dishonor," and allowed the bill to become a law without his approval. Some of its duties proved fairly protective; others invited increasing imports, and when the market became flooded with foreign goods, domestic industry collapsed. A deficiency in revenue, coupled with an intimation by a Secretary of the Treasury, with an unsound financial record, that public obligations might be paid in depreciated silver, caused a panic in the early summer of 1893, and though that was soon over, there has been no general prosperity since. The public debt has increased by nearly \$300,000,000, the public credit has fallen to a humiliating figure, there is an adverse balance of trade, unemployment has increased in nearly all industries, wages have fallen, trade has declined, general discontent prevails, and there is every evidence that the elections this year will restore the protective policy with instructive emphasis. During 106 years the United States had about 75 years of effective protection. In every protective period it prospered, and as a result it has become the first nation in agriculture, mining, and manufactures, and its industrial population is the best conditioned of any in the world.

III. THE PRINCIPLES OF MODERN TARIFFS.

These are easily understood. The difference between a free-trade tariff and a protective tariff is not so much one of low or high duties, as it is the choice of articles to which duties shall be applied. England's free-trade tariff raises approximately as much revenue as America's protective tariff. But free trade applies duties to articles which must be imported, because they are wanted and are not produced in the country; protection admits such articles free, so as to cheapen their cost, and applies duties to articles which do not need to be imported, because they are or can be produced in the country. England derives a large revenue from tea and coffee, not a pound of which is raised at home; the United States has admitted them free of duty since 1872. England admits cottons and woolens free, although producing them; the United States subjects them to duty, so that more of them may be produced here. If England's need of revenue requires a duty to be placed upon an imported article like what is produced in the country, an excise is put upon the domestic product to countervail the duty, so that the duty will not be protective. In the United States, if duties fail after due trial to develop a domestic supply in quantities adequate to reduce the price to a fair level, they are removed, so as not to increase the cost of living. It is claimed by protectionists that the duty is never added to the price, except when the people are dependent upon foreign supply. When they are dependent, the duties on goods sent here to compete are paid by the foreigners in a form of a lower price. This claim is not only admitted by exporters to protective countries, but is proved by prices, most of which are as low as those abroad, all of which are lower after than before protection, and many of which are actually lower than the duties themselves. In the last case the duty might be dispensed with, but it does no harm to consumers, and protects producers from bankrupt stocks or from the destructive prices that Lord Brougham advised.

There has been much misleading talk about "high tariff" and "low tariff." A tariff may be very high and yet not in the least protective, or very low and yet sufficiently protective. All this depends upon the objects to which duties are applied and the conditions of their production and distribution. And since the duty cannot be added to the price when there is strong domestic competition, no consumer need care how high it is. But if it falls below the line of protection, domestic competition is crushed, and then the importer can add the duty to his price.

Under both free trade and protection duties are either specific or *ad valorem*, and sometimes both. A specific duty is so many cents per pound or yard, or other unit of quantity. An *ad valorem* duty is such a percentage of value. The former requires only counting or weighing at the custom-house, but the latter requires appraisal. It is difficult to ascertain the value of foreign goods, and they are often invoiced far below their true value, so as to

cheat the customs. This deprives the Treasury of part of its expected revenue and deprives domestic producers of a part of their promised protection. The tariffs of all foreign countries are now almost wholly specific. In America protectionists favor specific duties, but free traders generally favor *ad valorem*s. *The effect of tariffs upon wages* has long been a subject of dispute. Perhaps the most accurate statement is that they neither raise nor lower wages except as they increase or diminish employment. If the goods we consume are made abroad, we do not make them ourselves, therefore labor suffers. Wages in Europe average from one-third to two-thirds those in the United States; in India, China, and Japan, from one-tenth to one-fifth the rates paid here. These comparisons are based on the relative productivity of labor and machinery. And as the cost of ocean transportation is now but a small percentage on the cost of the goods, the only way to secure employment and good wages in this country is to have duties that will at least equal the difference in the labor cost of production between those countries and this. Thus the tariff question is largely a labor question.

Effect upon Wages.

References: There are many works on protection, but the latest and most complete is *Protection and Prosperity*, by George B. Curtiss (The Pan-American Publishing Co., New York). This is a library of itself. Others of great value are *Protective Philosophy* by David Hall Rice (George B. Reed, publisher, Boston); *History of the Protective Tariff*, by ex-Secretary of the Navy R. W. Thompson (R. S. Peale & Co., publishers, Chicago); *A Short Tariff History of the United States*, by David H. Mason (Chicago); *Manual of Social Science*, by Henry C. Carey (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *Political Economy*, by Professor W. D. Wilson (same publishers); *Protection to Home Industry*, by Professor Robert Ellis Thompson (D. Appleton & Co., New York); *Rudimentary Economics*, by George M. Steele, LL. D. (Leach, Shewell & Sanborn, Boston); *Political Economy for American Youth*, by Professor Jacob Harris Patten (A. Lovell & Co., New York); *Wealth and Progress*, by Professor George Gunton (D. Appleton & Co.); *Principles of Social Economics*, by George Gunton (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York); *Conversations on Political Economy*, by William Eider (H. C. Baird & Co., Philadelphia); *The Political Economy of Natural Law*, by Henry Wood (Lee & Shepard, Boston); *Political Economy*, by Horace Greeley (*The Tribune*, New York); *Farm and Factory*, by J. R. Dodge, ex-Statistician in the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.; *Records of the Fifty-first and Fifty-third Congresses*; files of the *Home Market Bulletin*, the *American Economist*, and the *Manufacturer*, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; and free pamphlets of the Home Market Club, Boston, and American Protective Tariff League, New York; also the lives and speeches of Madison, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Harrison, and McKinley.

ALBERT CLARKE.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

—For a statement of one view of social reform held in the Protestant Episcopal Church, see ANGLICAN POSITION. For a statement of the activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church in social reform, see CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR; CHURCH SOCIAL UNION; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES. Many believe that the Protestant Episcopal Church leads among the religious societies of the United States in its activities in social reform. The existence of the above-mentioned

societies, the activities and utterances of such men as Bishop Huntington of Central New York, Bishop Potter of New York, Bishop Sessums of Louisiana, with such clergymen as the Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D. D.; Rev. R. Heber Newton, D. D.; Rev. R. H. Holland, S. T. D.; Rev. James Huntington, O. S.; Rev. J. D. Peters, D. D.; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Rev. Philo Sprague, with such laymen and women as Professor Ely, Miss Vida D. Scudder, and many others, go far to substantiate this view. Referring to the above articles for details, we give here a significant extract from the pastoral letter of the Bishops of the Church in 1889:

"In a country such as ours, distinguished among the nations by institutions which presuppose the liberty, intelligence, and civic virtue of the citizen, it is of the utmost importance that men should feel and recognize their political responsibility. And while the Church of God—the kingdom not of this world—does not undertake to wage the warfare of the partizan, it is nevertheless charged with the duty of establishing and maintaining principles which shall find expression in the political as well as in the social and family life. The Incarnation would be emptied of a large part of its significance if it were supposed to leave untouched and uninfluenced the life of men under the ordered polity of the commonwealth. To 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's' is surely more than the due payment of the tribute-money which supports the public action of the State. It is, no less, the righteous and godly exercise of all the functions of the citizen. On account of the dangers which beset all government, the far-seeing founders of the republic rested their hopes for its welfare and success upon the civic fidelity of the people—not upon the excellence of our governmental methods. Those methods make possible among us gross and shameful perversions of political right and authority. It has come to pass, in the heat and eagerness of party struggle, that vicious and corrupt conduct is largely condoned, and the standards of political morality are sensibly and dangerously lowered. We are confronting a great peril—and one which must excite the fears of Christian men—lest character fashioned in the working of free institutions be irretrievably damaged, and the poison, entering here, spread itself throughout the entire life of the nation. Purity and integrity in the administration of public affairs are strenuously demanded by the religion of Christ, as well as by all patriotic aspiration. Official place, in morals and in politics, is not the prize won by a vulgar selfishness, nor the refuge of patronized incompetence, nor yet the barter price promised or paid for political influence, but the place in which a righteous man may serve his fellow-men and advance the reputable interests of his country. The emoluments of

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office are derived from a fund contributed to the State by the loyal obedience and patient toil of the industrious masses; to say the very least, it should be distributed so as to secure the most efficient and economical conduct of public affairs. The honors of office are legitimate rewards bestowed by popular confidence upon upright citizenship. It must be an evil day for our country when both emoluments and honors are made the prey of a partizan activity which often discards all honesty in its methods and renounces all shame in its corrupt and corrupting success. The religion of Christ is 'for the healing of the nations' sick with sin and wrong; and the Church of Christ, while holding itself aloof from the strife of faction and party, is yet called upon, in the persons of its members, to guard jealously the great heritage which God's providence has bestowed, and to maintain earnestly the beneficent ideals of political life and action. To answer that call with ready mind and will is the becoming office of faithful men who would promote the righteousness which 'exalteth a nation,' and invite still further blessings from Him who 'hath brought us forth into a wealthy place' among the peoples of the earth.

"We pass on to a kindred topic. It is inevitable that the Church of God shall be profoundly concerned at the disturbed relations of what are commonly called the 'industrial classes'—the wage-workers and

the employers of human labor. The spirit of our holy religion forbids indifference, on our part, to any actual trials, oppressions, or sufferings of men, and its due practical operation has tended always to do away with jealousies, suspicions, and antagonisms between the children of the One Father of us all. We may confidently claim for the Church of Him who by His presence consecrated the carpenter shop of Nazareth that, however, at any time or place it may have been tempted to shelter itself under the patronage or protection of earthly power and wealth, nevertheless its deep, constant purpose has been to soften asperities of feeling, to promote mutual good will, to curb injustice, as between man and man. And if there be, as unhappily there often is, a forgetfulness by many of the blessed changes wrought in human conditions by Christ's religion, we may not ignore the significant truth that the unchallenged claim of men of our day to considerate justice and all righteous recognition by their human brothers rests finally and completely upon the dignity and sacredness of the humanity taken into the Godhead by the Word made Flesh, and by Him redeemed unto the liberty of the children of God.

"It is painfully evident that the existing industrial system is subjected not only to vehement criticism, but to perilous strain; and one of the most discouraging elements of the situation seems to be the hopeless or despairing tone of those who deal with the overshadowing questions which throng so persistently upon the mind and heart of our generation. It seems scarcely to be expected, by many, that a solution of the problems can be reached by applying to them any devices of human sagacity or any reconciling principles of economic science.

"It is often assumed without question, alike by reckless passion and thoughtful earnestness, that there is no soothing for the uneasy world; that opposing interests and aims are here met in mortal strife. We do not venture to intimate that we have any swift and potent cure for the evils which we must and do deplore. But we are confident that it is a fallacy in social economics, as well as in Christian thinking, to look upon the labor of men, and women, and children, as a mere commercial commodity to be bought and sold, as an inanimate and irresponsible thing. It is the employer who seeks and finds the inner soul of the operative, who respects his manhood, and perhaps translates for him into fact the inarticulate longings of his better nature; it is the master whose watchful sympathy finds room and play in the cottages of his wearied workmen, and in all the life which has its centers there—it is he who has found the open secret of a wisdom that is 'peaceable' because it is 'from above,' and is 'pure,' 'gentle,' and 'easy to be entreated.' Any social philosophy which eliminates from its consideration the value and significance of human feeling, or human susceptibility to the influence of kindness, justice, and loving manliness, has surely left itself fatally maimed and incomplete. The heart and soul of a man cannot be bought or hired for money in any market, and to act as if they were not needed, in the doing of the world's vast work, is as unchristian as it is unwise. We may not therefore omit to urge, upon all those to whom our words may come, the profound need of a righteous and full appreciation of the moral and spiritual factors which enter into industrial questions. To bear in mind the hardships and heavy cares of our brother men; to remember our common kinship in the great family of God; to ponder their necessities; to stand ready and glad to plead their cause; to brighten their lot and comfort their distresses—this is the exalted office of Christian men—it is the hopeful method of peace and good will. And let it never be forgotten that there is here a reciprocal obligation laid upon labor—a duty defined by every principle of righteousness and truth. That duty—a duty fully and fitly recognized by large numbers of Christian working men—plainly is to treat the employer, in his most difficult position, with all considerate and thoughtful regard. His legitimate interests may not be ignored, and it should be the steadfast will and purpose of his working associates to protect those interests and defend them against all unjust aggressions. He is frequently placed in situations of great embarrassment, and the kindly patience and sympathy of his workmen may bring relief. He is always entitled to that, and there is grave injustice when it is withheld. Combinations which cripple or hinder his rightful freedom of action, unreasonable demands concerning

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the hours and compensation and division of labor—these are not in the way of substantial right, and any temporary or passing triumph for them is but the delusive promise of a method, bad in morals, which really invites and compels disaster. The stars in their courses through God's sky of truth fight against ungodliness and wrong, and they who would claim equity must do equity. In considering these relations between employers and employed, we desire to express our profound interest in the provisions that may be and should be made for penetrating the life of the great masses of men with positive Christian influence. If the world's exacting labor is to be done in any accord with the principles of the Kingdom of God, there must of necessity be, on the part of employers, a distinct and unqualified recognition of the spiritual needs and claims of the workmen whose toil they control or direct.

"In the law of God there is a day which he calls his own, and by the declaration of the Lord Jesus Christ it was 'made for man.' It is doubly protected then by the sovereignty of God and by the everlasting sanctity of a human right; the Holy Day—thus guarded and shielded against invasion—is the day for worship and for rest. To rob it of its character at the demand of greed; to make labor so weary under its daily burden that it is tempted and almost forced to change its day of high and holy refreshment into a day of reckless indulgence or soulless apathy, is grievous sin. We are enabled to thank God for the good examples of some of our brethren, who have been forward to minister graciously and helpfully to large bodies of operatives in their employ. They have provided for needed rest, for helpful and elevating recreation, for due demands of human frame and human spirit. Let the examples be multiplied, and let the Church of God interpose its protest against oppressive wrong."

PROUDHON, PIERRE JOSEPH, was born the 15th of January, 1809, in Besançon, France. His father worked in a brewery; his mother was a peasant servant. The boy herded cows and did the humblest work. He early, however, displayed a love of study, and, borrowing books from the town library, he read, and went to the day-school when his work allowed. At 16 he entered the college of his native place, tho he still could not buy the necessary books, and had to borrow them from his mates in order to copy the lessons. There is a story of the young Proudhon returning home laden with prizes, but to find that there was no dinner for him. At the age of 19 he found work in a printing house, and, by correcting proof, he acquired knowledge on many lines, though particularly in theology; learning Hebrew too, as well as Greek and Latin. He was thus enabled to contribute some articles to an *Encyclopedie Catholique*. In 1836 he established, with a friend, a small printing-office in Besançon, but his partner committing suicide, he had to wind up the business in 1838. In 1837, however, he had written an *Essay on General Grammar*, and he now obtained the Suard pension of 1500 frs., granted by the Academy of Besançon. This enabled him to go for a while to Paris, and to compete, unsuccessfully, for a prize essay on the subject of *The Celebration of Sunday*, in which he first broached liberal social ideas.

In 1840 he published his first work, *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété?* giving his famous answer to the question, "La Propriété, c'est le Vol" (Property is Theft). It attracted little notice, and the sole results to its author were the withdrawal of his pension by the Academy, on the score of his noxious opinions, and the threat of a prosecution. In 1842, for a repeti-

tion of offense in his *Avertissement aux Propriétaires*, he was prosecuted before the Cour d'Assises of Besançon, but succeeded in obtaining an acquittal. From 1843 to 1847 he was employed at Lyons, in the superintendence of a scheme of water-transport on the rivers Saône and Rhône; publishing during this time at Paris the two works entitled *De la Création de l'Ordre dans l'Humanité*, and *Système des Contradictions Économiques*, his most important works, and written under the influence of Hegel, Adam Smith, and the Bible. In 1847 he left this employment and finally settled in Paris, where he was now becoming celebrated as a leader of innovation. He regretted the sudden outbreak of the revolution of February (1848), because it found the social reformers unprepared. But he threw himself with ardor into the conflict of opinion, and soon gained a national notoriety. He was the editor of the *Représentant du Peuple* and other journals, in which the most advanced theories were advocated in the strongest language; elected member of assembly for the Seine department by 77,094 votes, he brought forward a proposal to exact an impost of one-third on interest and rent, which was rejected. He had various political struggles with the Mountain and other political factions, whom he accused of favoring socialism only in pretense. He fought a duel with Félix Pyat and denounced Louis Bonaparte, who was already preparing his *coup d'état*. He succeeded only in being prosecuted himself and condemned to a fine of 10,000 frs. and three years' imprisonment. He fled to Belgium. This broke up an attempt he had made to found a bank which should operate by granting gratuitous credit. Of the 5,000,000 frs. which he required, only 17,000 were offered, and the bank was closed by the authorities, instigated by the hostility of the moneyed class. Proudhon only remained in Belgium a few days. Returning to Paris in disguise, he was discovered, arrested, and imprisoned three years. During this time he married a young working woman. He wrote during these years his *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire* (1849), *Actes de la Révolution* (1849), *Gratuité du Crédit* (1850), and *La Révolution Sociale Démontrée par le Coup d'État* (1852); the last of which is remarkable for the clearness with which he states the alternative of *l'Anarchie ou le Césarisme*, as expressed in Louis Napoleon, then President. In June, 1852, he was set at liberty, and lived, writing, in comparative quiet, till the publication of his work, *De la Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église* (1858), in which he attacked the Church and other existing institutions with unusual fury. This time he fled to Brussels to escape imprisonment. On his return to France his health broke down, tho he continued to write. He died at Passy, January 19, 1865.

Thomas Kirkup says of Proudhon (article *Proudhon*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed.):

"Personally Proudhon was one of the most remarkable figures of modern France. His life was marked by the severest simplicity and even Puritanism; he was affectionate in his domestic relations, a most loyal friend, and strictly upright in conduct. He was strongly opposed to the prevailing French socialism of his time because of its utopianism and

immorality; and, though he uttered all manner of wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions, he was remarkably free from feelings of personal hate. In all that he said and did he was the son of the people, who had not been broken to the usual social and academic discipline; hence his roughness, his one-sidedness, and his exaggerations; but he is always vigorous, and often brilliant and original.

"It would, of course, be impossible to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form. In later years Proudhon himself confessed that 'the great part of his publications formed only a work of dissection and ventilation, so to speak, by means of which he slowly makes his way toward a superior conception of political and economic laws.' Yet the groundwork of his teaching is clear and firm; no one could insist with greater emphasis on the demonstrative character of economic principles as understood by himself. He strongly believed in the absolute truth of a few moral ideas, with which it was the aim of his teaching to mold and suffuse political economy. Of these fundamental ideas, justice, liberty, and equality were the chief. What he desiderated, for instance, in an ideal society was the most perfect equality of remuneration. It was his principle that service pays service; that a day's labor balances a day's labor—in other words, that the duration of labor is the just measure of value. He did not shrink from any of the consequences of this theory, for he would give the same remuneration to the worst mason as to a Phidias; but he looks forward also to a period in human development when the present inequality in the talent and capacity of men would be reduced to an inappreciable minimum. From the great principle of service as the equivalent of service is derived his axiom that property is the right of *aubaine*. The *aubain* was a stranger not naturalized; and the right of *aubaine* was the right in virtue of which the sovereign claimed the goods of such a stranger who had died in his territory. Property is a right of the same nature, with a like power of appropriation in the form of rent, interest, etc. It reaps without labor, consumes without producing, and enjoys without exertion. Proudhon's aim, therefore, was to realize a science of society resting on principles of justice, liberty, and equality thus understood; 'a science absolute, rigorous, based on the nature of man and of his faculties, and on their mutual relations; a science which we have not to invent, but to discover.' But he saw clearly that such ideas, with their necessary accompaniments, could only be realized through a long and laborious process of social transformation. As we have said he strongly detested the prurient immorality of the schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier. He attacked them not less bitterly for thinking that society could be changed off-hand by a ready-made and complete scheme of reform. It was 'the most accursed lie,' he said, 'that could be offered to mankind.' In social change he distinguishes between the transition and the perfection or achievement. With regard to the transition he advocated the progressive abolition of the right of *aubaine*, by reducing interest, rent, etc. For the goal he professed only to give the general principles; he had no ready-made scheme, no utopia. The positive organization of the new society in its details was a labor that would require 50 Montesquieus. The organization he desired was one on collective principles; a free association, which would take account of the division of labor and which would maintain the personality both of the man and the citizen. With his strong and fervid feeling for human dignity and liberty, Proudhon could not have tolerated any theory of social change that did not give full scope for the free development of man. Connected with this was his famous paradox of *anarchy*, as the goal of the free development of society, by which he meant that through the ethical progress of men government should become unnecessary. 'Government of man by man in every form,' he says, 'is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and *anarchy*.'

Proudhon is considered the father of the school of the philosophical anarchists (see ANARCHISM), tho he held their views only in the germ and not in their developed form, and he has found, as he predicted, his chief following in the United States.

The principal works of Proudhon have already been mentioned. A complete edition,

including his posthumous writings, was published at Paris, 1875. See, also, *P. J. Proudhon: sa Vie et sa Correspondance*, by Sainte-Beuve (Paris, 1875), an admirable work, not completed.

Mr. B. R. Tucker, now of New York, published a translation of Proudhon's *What is Property?* in 1876, and is slowly publishing a translation of all his main works. (See also ANARCHISM.)

PUBLIC DOMAIN (UNITED STATES).

—The total amount of lands acquired by the United States Government by treaty, conquest, cession by States, and purchase, from 1781 to 1867, is 2,889,175.91 square miles, or 1,849,072,587 acres. Of this amount 404,995.91 square miles, or 259,171,787 acres, were ceded to the Government by the States between the years 1781 and 1803. The remainder of the public domain was acquired from foreign governments at the times, and for the considerations, given in the subjoined table:

From whom bought.	Date of purchase	Number of acres.	Amount of consideration.
France.....	1803	756,961,280	\$27,267,621.98
Spain.....	1810	37,931,520	6,489,768.00
Mexico.....	1848	334,443,520	15,000,000.00
Texas.....	1850	61,892,480	16,000,000.00
Mexico.....	1853	29,142,400	10,000,000.00
Russia.....	1867	369,529,600	7,200,000.00
Totals.....		1,589,900,800	\$81,957,389.98

In estimating the total purchase of land by the Government, the Georgia cession of 1802, comprising 56,689,920 acres, and costing \$6,200,000 should be added to the above table. Including this item, our public domain has cost the National Government \$88,157,389.98, which is about 4 7-10 cents per acre.

"A Congressional ordinance, enacted on May 20, 1785, gave the Board of Treasury, or what is now the Treasury Department, the power to dispose of all public lands remaining after the land bounties granted to members of the Continental army had been satisfied. A price to the public of not less than \$1 per acre was prescribed by the ordinance. In addition to the sales made by the Board of Treasury, Congress, by special enactment, effected sales of lands for particular objects. The act of May 10, 1800, established four district offices to dispose of lands, with an officer for each, called a register. An act dated April 25, 1812, established the General Land Office as a bureau in the Treasury Department. In 1836 the General Land Office was placed under the control of the President, and the duties of the office were increased. In 1849 it was placed under the control of the Secretary of the Interior, where it has since remained."

The lands open to sale and settlement by the public are classed as agricultural, mineral, coal, desert, timber, saline, stone, and town-site lands. In addition to the conveyances of land to private individuals, lands have been set apart for occupancy by the Indian tribes, and vast tracts have been granted to States and corporations for purposes set forth in subsequent paragraphs of this article.

Up to June 30, 1892, the total cost of the public domain was \$378,002,688.14; land to the amount of 784,647,308.77 acres has been disposed of, and the receipts therefor were \$319,123,159.34. Thus, on June 30, 1892, the public

domain had cost \$58,879,528.80 more than had been realized from it.

The lands disposed of were distributed as follows :

	<i>Acres.</i>	
Lands conveyed to individuals under the various laws requiring settlement and improvement.....	482,672,984.27	
<i>Grants to States.</i>		
Education purposes.....	81,294,658.82	
Saline lands.....	560,764.93	
Swamp lands.....	59,520,313.49	
Wagon roads.....	1,790,889.54	
Canals.....	4,133,158.06	
Internal improvements.....	7,858,592.70	
<i>Grants to Corporations.</i>		
Railroad lands, certified and patented (part of the lands embraced in this total was granted to States, and by them granted to railroad corporations).....	56,483,894.37	
<i>Miscellaneous Grants.</i>		
Indian allotments and special grants; largely the former.....	90,332,142.59	
Total grants.....	301,974,324.50	301,974,324.50
Total disposals.....	784,647,308.77	

From the 1,064,425,278.23 acres remaining in the public domain on July 1, 1892, these deductions should be made: Selections under railroad grants awaiting examination, 28,846,961.60 acres; wagon-road selections pending, 313,406.37 acres; State selections for educational purposes pending, 1,093,168.52 acres; and railroad selections approved by the General Land Office, but awaiting the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, 1,117,591.88 acres; total, 31,371,128.37 acres; leaving 1,033,054,149.86 acres available to settlers. Some of these pending claims may be rejected by the General Land Offices, and if they are the lands called for will be restored to the public domain. Of the land yet open to settlers, it is estimated that there are 10,000,000 acres in arable lands; 70,000,000 acres in coal and mineral lands, and that a large portion of the remaining area is made up of desert lands that will have no value until a greater density of population, years hence, renders the occupancy of them necessary.

Since June 30, 1880, the Government has disposed of 209,279,805.02 acres. If the disposals continue at the same rate, all the lands possessing any real or prospective value, including portions of Alaska, will be private property within 50 years.

In the table giving disposals of land up to June 30, 1892, 482,672,984.27 acres are given as having been conveyed to persons under the laws requiring settlement and improvement. But the reader should hesitate before assuming that all this amount of land was conveyed to *bona fide* settlers. An inquiry into the net results of the laws named will dispel any such pleasing supposition.

The Preemption Act of 1841, which remained in force until March 3, 1891, required settlement, inhabitation, and improvement of the land desired for not less than six months, and then the payment of the minimum price, generally \$1.25 per acre, for it. If the land was subject to "private cash entry," the settler was entitled to 12 months credit; if it was "unoffered"

land, he was entitled to 33 months credit. No more than 160, nor less than 40 acres, were subject to entry under this law. The law required that the preemptor be a citizen of the United States, or have declared an intention to become such; the head of a family, a widow, or a single man over 21; and not the proprietor of 320 acres anywhere in the United States. The law was evaded by making false affidavits as to the quality of the land, and as to inhabitation and improvement. The objects sought by evasion of the law were (1) to obtain title to large quantities of land; (2) to obtain valuable coal or iron lands at less than the Government price; (3) to obtain valuable timber lands; (4) to control the ranges in grazing districts by obtaining title to valleys, or to shores of streams and water-courses, and (5) to control the land under color of claim of record, and hold the same for sale or speculation. The report of the Public Land Commission, appointed by the Forty-sixth Congress, contains (on p. 540) this assertion:

"It is stated by land officers that more than one-half of all the entries under the Preemption Act are fraudulent."

The report of the Commission of the General Land Office for 1885 states that the fraudulent entries under this law range, in some States, from 75 to 90 per cent. Vast quantities of land have, under the preemption system, passed into the hands of speculators, capitalists, and "bonanza" farmers; contiguous tracts having been obtained by collusive entries. Mythical names have been signed to the entry papers, and in some cases the names of an entire family, including infants, have been utilized. Inhabitants of near-by towns, and even temporary sojourners, are known to have selected lands, and after erecting unsubstantial houses, plowing a few furrows, and paying occasional visits to the claims, have demanded and secured their patents. Very often the preemptor did not take any steps to secure his final papers, but held the claim until he found some one to pay him a good price for relinquishment of it. The act of March 3, 1891, repealed this law, but all claims initiated before the passage of the act were dealt with as provided by the old law.

The original Homestead Act (7. 2.) has been amended several times. It gives, for a nominal fee, to the head of a family, a widow, or a single man over the age of 21 years, a citizen of the United States, or one who has declared an intention to become such, the right to locate upon 160 acres of unoccupied public land, to live upon, and cultivate the same for five years, and upon proof of compliance with the law, to receive a patent therefor, free of cost or charge for the land. Full citizenship is requisite to obtain final title. The act of March 3, 1891, prohibits an owner of 160 acres in any part of the United States from acquiring any right under the Homestead Law, and requires proof of residence and cultivation for 14 months after entry before a homestead can be "commuted" or purchased at the regular rate of \$1.25 or \$2.50 per acre. Any settler who, at the end of three years' residence on his homestead, shall have had under cultivation for two years one acre of timber, in a thrifty condition, for every 160 acres of the tract, may, upon proving the fact, receive a patent for the homestead. Only non-mineral lands are subject to entry under the preemption and homestead laws, and prices have ranged from 12½ cents to \$2.50 per acre. Fraudulent entries have prevailed under this law for purposes, and by means, similar to those under the Preemption Law. Persons have alleged settlement prior to the date of entry, and at the time, or soon after, have given 'final proof,' and in this way have secured title earlier than in ordinary homestead entries, and in some instances, before the discovery of the fraud. In many cases investigated, it has been shown conclusively that no improvement was ever made, the premises showing no evidence of residence or cultivation. William A. J. Sparks, the commissioner of the General Land Office for the years 1886-87, estimated, in his report for 1885, that 40 per cent. of the entries under the Homestead Law are fraudulent, and he ascribed most of the frauds to laxity of official regulations.

The Timber-Culture Law was enacted in 1873, amended in 1874, and again in 1878. Under it any male or female adult, being the head of a family, a citizen of the United States, or having declared an intention to become such, may enter not less than 40 nor more than 160 acres of non-mineral or unreserved land. One-fourth part of the tract must be devoted to

The Pre-emption Act.

The Homestead Act.

timber-growing for eight years; after eight years, on proof of the facts, a patent for the land will be issued. Residence on the land is not required. The act of March 3, 1891, repealed this law so far as future entries are concerned; and it allows the commutation of a timber-culture claim after four years' compliance with the law, at \$1.25 per acre, to any claimant who is a bona-fide resident of the State or Territory in which the land is located. The Public Land Commission of the Forty-sixth Congress states: "Thus far the act has been used mostly by speculators intent on acquiring large tracts of public lands."

The Timber-Culture Law.

March 3, 1877, Congress enacted the "Desert-Land Act," which applies to California, Oregon, Nevada, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas, and the Territories of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. The act of March 3, 1891, limits the amount of land obtainable by one person under the Desert-Land Law to 320 acres; requires that at the time of filing the application a plan of the proposed irrigation must be filed, and it calls for proof of an expenditure in irrigation improvements of \$3 per acre for the whole tract within the three years. Uses of the law have chiefly been to secure possession of lands by the mere formalities of entry, and largely of lands that are well watered or cultivable without irrigation. There is abundant evidence that stock-raising companies have freely availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them by this law to secure good grazing grounds for three years, at the total cost of 25 cents per acre. Possession of lands that are irreclaimable, and are valuable only for timber, has been obtained by persons under this law. The limitation of quantity has been evaded by collusive entries and subsequent assignments to the person or persons instigating the fraud.

An act authorizing the sale of timber land unfit for cultivation in California, Oregon, Nevada, and Washington, at \$2.50 per acre, was passed by Congress on June 3, 1878. The benefits of this law are open only to citizens or those who have declared their intention to become citizens, and the quantity of land is limited to 160 acres for any one person or association of persons. Proof of the non-mineral and non-agricultural character of the land desired must be shown. This act also provides for the sale of lands that are valuable chiefly for stone, in the same quantity and on the same terms as timber lands. It also provides that all bona-fide residents of Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, the Dakotas, Idaho, Montana, and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and all mineral districts of the United States, shall be permitted to fell and remove the timber on the lands that are subject to mineral entry only. This law has operated to place vast and valuable forests in the possession of wealthy corporations or individual operators, and, sometimes, foreign syndicates. The report of the commissioner of the General Land Office for 1887 tells of a Scottish syndicate that fraudulently obtained possession of 64,000 acres (valued at \$6,400,000) of the most valuable timber belt in California. The wholesale destruction of forests allowed by this act has served, in some sections of the country, to induce sudden and disastrous floods in streams that have their rise along the watersheds denuded of their timber, and in other sections the destruction of the forests has decreased the rainfall to such an extent as to render extensive tracts of land almost worthless for agricultural purposes. The act of June 3, 1878, on its face, condemns itself, and the reader will marvel at the public indifference that permitted it to become a law. Why, as a plain business proposition, the Government should sell valuable timber lands that are worth at least \$25 to \$100 per acre, for \$2.50 per acre, no man living will ever be able to explain.

The Desert-Land Act.

Lands containing coal are subject to private entry and sale, the price being \$10 per acre where the land is situated more than 15 miles from any completed railroad, and \$20 per acre where the land is within 15 miles of such road. An individual may purchase 160 acres; an association of not less than four persons, 320 acres. The individual purchaser and each of the persons comprising an association must be 21 years of age and a citizen of the United States, or have declared his intention to become a citizen. Owner-

ship of other land does not disqualify one from purchasing coal lands. Any association of not less than four qualified persons, who have expended not less than \$5000 in working and improving any coal-mine or mines, may enter 640 acres, including such mining improvements. This law has been defeated by fraudulent entries under the homestead and pre-emption laws of coal lands as agricultural lands, and the uniform failure of the land laws to provide for a proper inspection of claims by government agents. In Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, and doubtless other States, corporations have secured possession of immense coal-fields by falsely representing them to be agricultural lands, and by having them entered as such in the names of mythical personages. The existing law relative to public lands that are valuable principally for minerals provides for sales of "lands bearing gold, silver, iron, cinnabar, lead, tin, copper, or other valuable deposits" to citizens of the United States, or those who have declared their intention to become such, at \$2.50 to \$5 per acre or fraction of an acre. The maximum of a quartz lode or vein claim is 1500 by 600 feet, and the minimum 1500 by 50 feet, or 20.66 acres maximum and 1.72 acres minimum. A placer claim made by an individual must not exceed 20 acres, and must be paid for at the rate of \$2.50 for each acre or fraction of an acre. Between July 9, 1870, and May 10, 1872, a placer claim to the amount of 160 acres could be taken by any one individual. Owners of mining claims who run tunnels are entitled to the possessory right of all "blind lodes" discovered and intersected by such tunnels. The prices asked for these lands barely cover the expense of making out titles or patents. But the purchaser may reap millions of dollars from the land. The 20 acres of lode mineral land embraced in the Consolidated Virginia and California mines have yielded nearly \$100,000,000. It will be observed that this law does not limit the number of lode claims one person may obtain title to, nor does it require an affidavit that a claim is in good faith and for himself. As may be expected speculators, by using "dummy" names in profusion, acquire large tracts of mineral land, which they in many cases dispose of at a good profit to foreign capitalists. A law for which no good reasons have been assigned is the act of March 3, 1883, by which all the public lands in Alabama were exempted from the operations of the mineral-land laws and thrown open to purchase at public sale, in unlimited quantities, at \$1.25 per acre. These lands now embrace over 800,000 acres, and they contain valuable minerals, such as iron and coal, and much valuable timber. Both home and foreign capitalists have taken advantage of this act, and have secured large tracts of the best land in Alabama at a ridiculously low price.

Another law that seems to have been enacted for the benefit, and possibly by the instigation of speculators and capitalists, is the act of June 22, 1876, by which all the public lands in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi were thrown open to public sale, in unlimited quantities, at \$1.25 per acre. All the advertised lands that are not taken at the time of the public sale may be obtained thereafter at private sale at \$1.25 per acre. The results of former public offerings of these lands are such that any person, citizen or alien, can at this moment buy 1,000,000 or more acres of timber, mineral, and agricultural lands in the States named. On June 30, 1892, the vacant public lands in these States amounted to 30,856,783 acres.

The Timber-Land Law.

Of the total disposals of land to June 30, 1892, 482-672,984.27 acres have been given as being disposed of under the laws requiring settlement and improvement. It is probable that less than one-half of this amount of land was conveyed to bona-fide settlers. This estimate is justified, not only by the abuses described, but by the general failure of the land laws to provide for the limitation of the amount of land acquirable by any one person. Under the settlement and improvement laws, as they stood prior to March 3, 1891, any person above the age of 21 years, whether an actual or an intended citizen of the United States, could legally acquire 1120 acres of land, as shown in the appended table:

Under the pre-emption act..... 160
Under the homestead act..... 160
Under the timber-culture act..... 160
Under the desert-land act..... 640

ship of other land does not disqualify one from purchasing coal lands. Any association of not less than four qualified persons, who have expended not less than \$5000 in working and improving any coal-mine or mines, may enter 640 acres, including such mining improvements. This law has been defeated by fraudulent entries under the homestead and pre-emption laws of coal lands as agricultural lands, and the uniform failure of the land laws to provide for a proper inspection of claims by government agents. In Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, and doubtless other States, corporations have secured possession of immense coal-fields by falsely representing them to be agricultural lands, and by having them entered as such in the names of mythical personages. The existing law relative to public lands that are valuable principally for minerals provides for sales of "lands bearing gold, silver, iron, cinnabar, lead, tin, copper, or other valuable deposits" to citizens of the United States, or those who have declared their intention to become such, at \$2.50 to \$5 per acre or fraction of an acre. The maximum of a quartz lode or vein claim is 1500 by 600 feet, and the minimum 1500 by 50 feet, or 20.66 acres maximum and 1.72 acres minimum. A placer claim made by an individual must not exceed 20 acres, and must be paid for at the rate of \$2.50 for each acre or fraction of an acre. Between July 9, 1870, and May 10, 1872, a placer claim to the amount of 160 acres could be taken by any one individual. Owners of mining claims who run tunnels are entitled to the possessory right of all "blind lodes" discovered and intersected by such tunnels. The prices asked for these lands barely cover the expense of making out titles or patents. But the purchaser may reap millions of dollars from the land. The 20 acres of lode mineral land embraced in the Consolidated Virginia and California mines have yielded nearly \$100,000,000. It will be observed that this law does not limit the number of lode claims one person may obtain title to, nor does it require an affidavit that a claim is in good faith and for himself. As may be expected speculators, by using "dummy" names in profusion, acquire large tracts of mineral land, which they in many cases dispose of at a good profit to foreign capitalists. A law for which no good reasons have been assigned is the act of March 3, 1883, by which all the public lands in Alabama were exempted from the operations of the mineral-land laws and thrown open to purchase at public sale, in unlimited quantities, at \$1.25 per acre. These lands now embrace over 800,000 acres, and they contain valuable minerals, such as iron and coal, and much valuable timber. Both home and foreign capitalists have taken advantage of this act, and have secured large tracts of the best land in Alabama at a ridiculously low price.

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Under the pre-emption act..... 160
Under the homestead act..... 160
Under the timber-culture act..... 160
Under the desert-land act..... 640

The Mineral-Land Law.

No Limitation of Ownership.

In addition to the 1120 acres the individual citizen, or intended citizen, could purchase 1,000,000 or more acres in the Southern States, 160 acres of timber land, 160 acres of coal land, and at least 40 acres of mineral lands.

Under the laws as they stand now, a citizen of the United States can legally acquire land as follows:

	<i>Acres.</i>
Under the homestead act.....	160
Under the desert-land law.....	320
Total.....	480

One who has declared his intention to become a citizen can legally acquire 320 acres under the desert-land law; and either citizen or intended citizen can still purchase over 1,000,000 acres, as is shown in a paragraph above.

An adult foreigner, immediately upon landing in the United States, and declaring an intention to become a citizen of our country, can file a claim for public lands. The report of the Public Land Commission of the Forty-sixth Congress says:

"It is not a rash estimate to say that almost one-third of our public lands now go to persons who are not citizens of the United States, and, under many laws, need not be to perfect title."

When the report was written (in 1883), 620,000,000 acres of our public lands had been disposed of.

The custom of granting lands to the States for educational purposes and such internal improvements as canals, wagon-roads, and railroads, was inaugurated by Congress in 1802. It has proved to be a fertile field for the schemes of speculators and land-grabbers. Having become impatient of the comparatively light

The Land Grants.

restrictions and prices imposed by the various settlement and improvement laws, corporations and speculators have operated through the State governments to secure grants or gifts of land, ostensibly for State purposes.

Most of the claims for land presented by the State governments have been acceded to by Congress, and there is reason for believing that much of the land so obtained by the States has been sold at nominal prices, and, presumably, to the persons instigating the claims. All the forms of granting land to the States are open to suspicion; but only in regard to the grants of swamp lands, grants for educational purposes, and for railroads, do the Government reports furnish positive assertions and indubitable facts.

The avowed object of granting all the swamp lands within the borders of the State to the State government, is to secure their reclamation or drainage for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. How genuine many of the State claims for lands of this character are may be surmised from the fact that, altho the total area of the swamp lands in the States amounted in 1848, according to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, to only 20,785,337.75 acres, the claims for swamp lands aggregated, on June 30, 1852, 80,271,541.13 acres. Up to June 30, 1852, Congress had approved these claims to the extent of 59,520,313.49 acres, and the General Land Office had issued patents for 57,793,549.93 acres. On March 2, 1855, and March 3, 1857, Congress provided indemnity, in cash to the States, for swamp and overflowed lands disposed of by the United States between the date of the first grant (March 2, 1849), and March 3, 1857, and despite the fact that the sales and selections of such lands by the United States are estimated to amount to only 840,000 acres, the States, up to June 30, 1852,

The Swamp Grants.

have received in land indemnity 857,108.40 acres of good agricultural lands, and, in addition, a cash indemnity of \$1,599,365.26. The State governments have fostered fraud in connection with these grants, by appointing agents to select swamp lands and secure the indemnity, promising the agents 10, 15, and in some cases as high as 50 per cent. of such indemnity as might be recovered from Congress. To give an example of the frauds perpetrated, it may be stated that while the area of the State of Florida is 37,931,520 acres, the swamp claims of that State amounted, in 1871, to 20,259,380 acres, the selections embracing whole townships. The unscrupulous persons who have robbed the United States Government by means of these grants reached the height of their audacity a year or two ago, when they made an effort to induce Congress to allow indemnity for the lands sold by the Government between 1857 and the present date.

Prior to September 29, 1830, when Congress passed a bill forfeiting all unearned railroad grants, it was estimated that, if the roads were completed as required by the granting acts, they would receive patents for 155,504,994.59 acres.

But up to June 30, 1852, according to the General Land Office reports, the roads had earned and received patents for only 56,483,804.37 acres. Of this amount about 37,685,731.88 acres were granted to the States and were by them distributed to corporations; the remainder, 18,798,072.49 acres, being granted directly to corporations. Prior to 1861 all grants for railroad purposes were made to the States.

The Railroad Grants.

The first right of way for a railroad was granted to Florida in 1835. The grant conceded 30 feet of land on each side of the railroad line, and the use of the timber within 300 feet on either side, and 10 acres of timber at the terminus. The width of the "right of way" steadily increased in subsequent grants until, in 1850, the State of Illinois was granted alternate or even-numbered sections of land for six sections, or six miles, in width on each side of the proposed railroad and its branches. The act authorizing the last-named grant provided that the railroad company might select "indemnity lands" within 15 miles of its line for such lands within the original grant as might be occupied by settlers at the time of the definite location of the route. The act also provided for the forfeiture of the lands granted in the case of failure to construct the road within a specified time. The indemnity provision was initiated by this act. The forfeiture provision was established in 1836.

It is estimated that the average amount of land granted for every mile constructed of the land-grant railroads is 15 sections or 9600 acres, the Government reserving the even-numbered, and in some cases, the odd-numbered sections within the limits of the grants for private cash entry at not less than \$2.50 per acre. A conservative estimate places the value of the lands conveyed to the roads at \$4 per acre, or \$38,400 worth of land for every mile of road constructed. The actual practical value, to the roads, of these land subsidies, may be seen by referring to the reports regarding the cost of the Pacific railroads. The subsidized railroads have also been allowed to use the timber on the public lands to aid in the construction of the roads.

The reports of railroad construction show that 18,071 miles have been constructed under the land-grant system, and that over 100,000 miles have been built without the aid of Congressional subsidies. Many of the latter have been constructed through undeveloped country, while many of the former were not built until the settlements outside the railroad limits had grown sufficiently to make construction profitable without the public subsidies; the extensions of time granted the roads having made the delay in construction possible.

As a rule, none of the roads could legally claim lands until the line of a road was definitely located, all the land along a proposed line remaining subject to settlement and entry until the time of definite location. But the General Land Office has, according to ex-Commissioner Sparks and others, from time to time illegally withdrawn from settlement and entry lands within the granted limits, and even within the indemnity limits, and have generally denied the legal rights of settlers on the illegally withdrawn lands. Failing to have their rights recognized by the General Land Office, the settlers have been obliged to purchase from the railroad companies waivers or relinquishments of the lands occupied. But where a settler's entry on withdrawn lands has been permitted by the General Land Office, and a subsequent decision has declared the railroad claim to be superior in point of time, the companies have, under the act of June 22, 1874, reaped a double profit. They sell a relinquishment to the settler, and then select lien land for the land relinquished; the lien land generally being selected from the most valuable localities in the reserved Government sections. This act of June 22, 1874, was restricted to lands within granted limits, but it has also been applied to lands taken by settlers within indemnity limits, thus giving the company extra indemnity or three profits. These illegal withdrawals have given the companies the power to appropriate valuable timber and coal, to dominate town sites and monopolize water privileges.

The railroad companies have avoided the payment of State and county taxes on their lands by failing to take out patents until they had secured purchasers for the lands. They have held that for all purposes save taxation, the lands are railroad lands; when taxes are

called for the lands are represented to be Government property, and they are legally such until patents are issued.

In a table in the first portion of this article, 784,647,308.77 acres were given as the total amount of public land disposed of to June 30, 1892. Of this amount, it may be estimated

**Consequences
of the
Waste.**

safely that not less than 350,000,000 acres were conveyed, by means of the evasions of the land laws and the abuses of the land-grant system, into the hands of speculators and corporations. These 350,000,000 acres—enough to give every man, woman, and child of our present population five acres, or sufficient land to support life with comfort—were held, as a rule, until land values had greatly increased and then either sold to settlers or transferred to persons who made a business of renting them to settlers. The prices asked for the lands were, in many cases, beyond the immediate means of intending settlers, and, as a consequence, tenant-farming and the system of borrowing purchase money on mortgages began. All the baneful consequences of the profligate disposition of our public lands will never be revealed. (See MORTGAGES.)

WILLIAM H. KETLER.

PULLMAN is the name of the town in Illinois, owned, built up, and ruled by the Pullman Palace Car Company for its employees.

In 1880 the company bought 500 acres of land, and upon 300 acres of it built its plant, and also a hotel, arcade, churches, athletic grounds, and brick tenements suitable for the use of its employees. The town is well laid out, and has a complete sewerage and water system. It is beautified by well-kept open spaces and stretches, flower-beds, and lakes. The whole is at all times kept in neat order by the company. The main object was the establishment of a great manufacturing business upon a substantial and money-making basis. Efficient workmen were regarded as essential to its success, and it was believed that they could be secured, held in contentment, and improved as much for their own sakes as for the benefit of the company by the accommodations and surroundings that were provided.

The principal church and its parsonage are very attractive structures, but often are not occupied, because the rental required to be paid is higher than any church society is willing to pay to obtain the gospel privileges to be thereby secured. In the arcade is a tasteful library of books, carefully selected and cared for by the company. Three dollars per year is charged for its use, and only some 250 persons a year, out of from 4000 to 5000 employees and residents, have, as stated by the librarian in charge, availed themselves of its opportunities. Says the report of the commissioners appointed by the President in 1894 to investigate the Pullman strike (*q. v.*):

"It is possible that the air of business strictly maintained there, as elsewhere, and their exclusion from any part in its management, prevent more universal and grateful acceptance of its advantages by employees. Men, as a rule, even when employees, prefer independence to paternalism in such matters.

"The company provides and pays a physician and surgeon by the year to furnish to injured employees necessary treatment and drugs. It is, however, also a part of his employment to secure from the injured party a written statement as to the causes of injury, and it is his custom to urge the acceptance of any offered settlement. If suit follows, the doctor is usually a witness for the company. We have no evidence that the doctor has ever abused his confidential relation toward the injured employees; but the system is admirably conceived from a business standpoint to secure speedy settlement of claims for damages upon terms offered by the company, and to protect the company from litigation and its results.

"Prior to June, 1893, all went well and as designed; the corporation was very prosperous, paid ample and satisfactory wages, as a rule, and charged rents which caused no complaint. During this period those defects in the system which have recently come to the surface and intensified differences, such, for instance, as the refusal to permit the employees to buy land in Pullman and build homes there, caused no disturbance. . .

"If we exclude the esthetic and sanitary features at Pullman, the rents there are from 20 to 25 per cent. higher than rents in Chicago or surrounding towns for similar accommodations. The esthetic features are admired by visitors, but have little money value to employees, especially when they lack bread. The company aims to secure 6 per cent. upon the cost of its tenements, which cost includes a proportionate share for paving, sewerage, water, parks, etc. It claims now to receive less than 4 per cent. It has some brick-makers' cottages upon which, at \$8 per month, it must obtain at least 40 per cent. return upon their value. These are, however, exceptional. The company makes all repairs, and heretofore has not compelled tenants to pay for them. Under the printed leases, however, which tenants must sign, they agree to pay for *all repairs* which are either necessary (ordinary wear and damages by the elements *not* excepted) or which the company *chooses* to make.

"The company's claim that the workmen need not hire its tenements, and can live elsewhere if they choose, is not entirely tenable. The fear of losing work keeps them in Pullman as long as there are tenements unoccupied, because the company is supposed, as a matter of business, to give a preference to its tenants when work is slack. The employees, believing that a tenant at Pullman has this advantage, naturally feel some compulsion to rent at Pullman, and thus to stand well with the management. Exceptional and necessary expert workmen do not share this feeling to the same extent and so can own homes elsewhere.

"Prior to the so-called 'truck' law in Illinois, rent was deducted from the wages. Since then a check is given for the amount of the rent and another for the balance due for wages. There is nothing to prevent the payee of the check from cashing it outside of the bank, but as the bank is rent collector, it presses for the rent, and is aided in collecting it by knowledge on the part of the tenant that by arrears he may lose his job. At the time of the strike about \$70,000 of unpaid rents had accumulated. It is fair to say that this accumulation of unpaid rent was due to leniency on the part of the company toward those who could not pay the rent and support their families."

The statements thus far are from the report of the Commission. For the authorities for its statements, see the report. Mr. Pullman said in his own statement before the Commission:

"The object in building Pullman was the establishment of a great manufacturing business on the most substantial basis possible, recognizing as we did, and do now, that the working people are the most important element which enters into the successful operation of any manufacturing enterprise.

"We decided to build, in close proximity to the shops, homes for working men, of such character and surroundings as would prove so attractive as to cause the best class of mechanics to seek that place for employment in preference to others. We also desired to establish the place on such a basis as would exclude all baneful influences, believing that such a policy would result in the greatest measure of success, both from a commercial point of view, and also, what was equally important, or perhaps of greater importance, in a tendency toward continued elevation and improvement of the condition not only of the working people themselves, but of their children growing up about them.

"It was not the intention to sell workmen homes in Pullman, but to so limit the area of the town that they could buy homes, at convenient distances from the works, if they chose to do so. If any lots had been sold in Pullman, it would have permitted the introduction of the very baneful elements which it was the chief purpose to exclude from the immediate neighborhood of the shops and from the homes to be erected about them.

"The plan was to provide homes in the first place for all people who should desire to work in the shops, at reasonable rentals, with the expectation that as they became able, and should desire to do so, they would purchase lots and erect homes for themselves within convenient distances, or avail themselves of the opportunity to rent homes from other people who should build in that vicinity. As a matter of fact, at the time of the strike, 563 of the shop employees owned their homes, and 467 of that number are now employed in the shops, 560 others at the time of the strike lived outside, and in addition, an estimated number of from 200 to 300 others employed at Pullman were owners of their homes. The company neither planned nor could it exercise any municipal powers in Pullman."

Mr. Stead in his *If Christ Came to Chicago*, writes of Pullman :

"Pullman is a great achievement, of which not only Chicago but America does well to be proud.

"It was not a philanthropic, but a business experiment, and none the worse on that account. The great principle of *quid pro quo* was carried out with undeviating regularity. If every resident of Pullman had gas laid to his house, he was compelled to pay for it at the rate of \$2.25 a thousand feet, although the cost of its manufacture to the Pullman Company was only 33 cents a thousand feet. Ample water supply was given, with good pressure, but of this necessary of life the Pullman Company was able to extract a handsome profit. The city of Chicago supplied the corporation with water at four cents a thousand gallons, which was retailed to the Pullmanites at 10 cents per thousand, making a profit large enough to enable the corporation to have all the water it wanted for its works for nothing. Thus did the business instinct of Mr. Pullman enable his right hand to wash his left, and thereby created at the very threshold of Chicago are object lessons as to the commercial profits of municipal socialism. But between municipal socialism, representing the cooperative effort of a whole community voluntarily combining for the purpose of making the most of all monopolies of service, and the autocratic exploiting of a whole population of a city, such as is to be found in Pullman, there is a wide gulf fixed.

"As a resident in the model town wrote me, Pullman was all very well as an employer, but to live and breathe and have one's being in Pullman, is a little bit too much. The residents in the city, he continued, 'paid rent to the Pullman Company, they bought gas of the Pullman Company, they walked on streets owned in fee simple by the Pullman Company, they paid water-tax to the Pullman Company. Indeed, even when they bought gingham for their wives or sugar for their tables at the arcade or the market-house, it seemed dealing with the Pullman Company. They sent their children to Pullman's school, attended Pullman's church, looked at but dared not enter Pullman's hotel with its private bar, for that was the limit. Pullman did not sell them their grog. They had to go to the settlement at the railroad crossing south of them, to Kensington, called, because of its long row of saloons, 'bumtown,' and given over to disorder. There the moral and spiritual disorder of Pullman was emptied, even as the physical sewage flowed out on the Pullman farm, a few miles further south, for the Pullman Company also owned the sewerage system, and turned the waste into a fluid, forced through pipes and conducted underground to enrich the soil of a large farm. The lives of the working men were bounded on all sides by the Pullman Company; Pullman was the horizon in every direction.'

"All this provoked reaction, and a feeling of resentment sprang up in the model city against the too paternal despotism of the city-builder, and so it came to pass that the citizens by a vote annexed themselves to Chicago, of which it is now part and parcel. This was a sore blow and a great discouragement to Mr. Pullman. But no annexation can destroy his control over the town. It is still the property of the corporation of which he is the chief and controlling mind."

PULLMAN STRIKE, THE.—This strike, sometimes also called the Chicago strike because, tho it began in Pullman, it extended very widely and centered mainly in Chicago, is declared by Mr. Carroll D. Wright (*Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 313) to be "probably the most expensive and far-reaching labor controversy which can properly be classed among the historic controversies of this generation."

Our account of the strike is based upon the findings of the report of the Commission appointed by the President July 26, 1894, to investigate the strike.

It began May 11, 1894, and grew out of a demand of certain employees of the Pullman Company for a restoration of the wages paid during the previous year. During 1893 the wages of the employees had been considerably reduced. How much is a matter of dispute. According to the statement before the Commission of Mr. T. H. Wickes, the second vice-president of the company :

Cause of
Strike.

"The average reduction of wages between April, 1893, and April, 1894, for journeymen mechanics was 22½ per cent., and the average reduction for all other shop employes, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop office force, was 11½ per cent. The average reduction for all shop employes, excluding all the superintendents, foremen, and shop-office force, was 19 per cent."

According to the finding of the Commission the cut in wages averaged 25 per cent. on an average pay for the year ending July 1, 1893, of \$613.86 for 4497 employees. At the Company's figures the reduction was a very serious one. Says the report: "Some witnesses swear that at times for the work done in two weeks the employees received in checks from four cents to one dollar over and above their rent. The company has not produced its checks in rebuttal."

The cause for the cut down assigned by the company was the depressed state of business. Said Mr. Wickes before the Commission :

"From August 1, 1893, to May 1, 1894, our net loss on accepted bids was \$52,069.03, and the net estimated loss on unaccepted bids was \$18,303.56. We had tried to get work for our employes by bidding for work the estimated shop cost of which was \$2,775,481.81, and we only got contracts for work the estimated shop cost of which is \$1,421,205.75. We had been underbid on work the estimated shop cost of which was \$1,354,276.06, notwithstanding that our bids on \$1,057,355.97 of that amount not only excluded all profit, but showed a loss, based as they were on the reduced scale of wages."

Says the Commission's report :

"Some reduction of wages in all departments was of course proper under the circumstances, but a uniform reduction as between departments so differently situated in reference to revenue as the car-building and repair departments was not relatively just and fair toward the repair-shop employes. . . .

"During all of this reduction and its attendant suffering none of the salaries of the officers, managers, or superintendents were reduced. Reductions in these would not have been so severely felt, would have shown good faith, would have relieved the harshness of the situation, and would have evinced genuine sympathy with labor in the disasters of the times. . . . While reducing wages the company made no reduction in rents. Its position is that the two matters are distinct, and that none of the reasons urged as justifying wage reduction by it as an employer can be considered by the company as a landlord.

"The company claims that it is simply legitimate

business to use its position and resources to hire in the labor market as cheaply as possible, and at the same time to keep rents up regardless of what wages are paid to its tenants or what similar tenements rent for elsewhere; to avail itself to the full extent of business depression and competition in reducing wages and to disregard these same conditions as to rents. No valid reason is assigned for this position except simply that the company had the power and the legal right to do it."

The company, as a whole, was prosperous. The Commission's report says the corporation was

"organized in 1867, with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has grown until its present paid-up capital is \$36,000,000. Its prosperity has enabled the company for over twenty years to pay 2 per cent. quarterly dividends, and, in addition, to lay up a surplus of nearly \$25,000,000 of undivided profits. From 1867 to 1871 dividends ranging from 0½ to 12 per cent. per annum were paid. For the year ending July 31, 1893, the dividends were \$2,520,000, and the wages \$7,223,719.51. For the year ending July 31, 1894, the dividends were \$2,880,000, and the wages \$4,471,701.39."

The reply of the company is that it did allow rents to accumulate in arrears, and that as to the business depression and loss it did bear

"its full share by eliminating from its estimates the use of capital and machinery, and in many cases going even below that and taking work at considerable loss, notably the 55 Long Island cars, which was the first large order of passenger cars let since the great depression, and which was sought for by practically all the leading car-builders in the country" (Statement of Mr. Pullman, Chicago *Herald*, June 26, 1894).

Of the development of the strike the Commission's report says:

"The reductions at Pullman after September, 1893, were the result of conferences among the managers; the employees for the first time knew of them when they took effect. No explanations or conferences took place until May 7 and 9 in regard thereto between the employees and the officers of the company. For the reasons stated the employees at Pullman were during the winter in a state of chronic discontent. Upon May 7 and 9 a committee of forty-six from all the departments waited upon the management and urged the restoration of wages to the basis of June, 1893. The company refused this, and offered no concession as to wages whatever, maintaining and explaining that business conditions did not justify any change. The company based its entire contention as to every department upon the facts in reference to car-building to which we have alluded, and offered to show its books and figures as to the cost and selling prices of cars. This offer, on account of the strike intervening, was not acted upon. . . . The purpose of the management was obviously to rest the whole matter upon cost, etc., in its most seriously crippled department, excluding from consideration the facts as to wages in the repair department to which we have alluded.

"The demand of the employees for the wages of June, 1893, was clearly unjustifiable. The business of May, 1894, could not pay the wages of June, 1893. Reduction was carried to excess, but the company was hardly more at fault therein than were the employees in insisting upon the wages of June, 1893. There was little discussion as to rents; the company maintaining that its rents had nothing to do with its wages, and that its revenue from its tenements was no greater than it ought to receive. . . .

"The company had a legal right to take this position, but as between man and man the demand for some rent reduction was fair and reasonable under all the circumstances. Some slight concession in this regard would probably have averted the strike, provided the promise not to discharge men who served upon the committee had been more strictly regarded.

"The next day, May 10, three of the committee were laid off by foremen for alleged lack of work, not an unusual proceeding. Those who made the promise had nothing to do with this action, and deny knowledge of it at the time. The foremen who did it are suspected by the employees of concluding that some laying off of committeemen just at that crisis would have a good effect, and would accord with the policy and general views of the company. The foremen, however, deny this. This incident was inopportune and unfortunate, to say the least, and ought to have

been more carefully guarded against by the company. An explanation of this occurrence was not asked for by the employees, as it ought to have been, before striking.

"On the evening of May 10, the local unions met and voted to strike at once. The strike occurred on May 11, and from that time until the soldiers went to Pullman, about July 4, three hundred strikers were placed about the company's property, professedly to guard it from destruction or interference. This guarding of property in strikes is, as a rule, a mere pretense. Too often the real object of guards is to prevent newcomers from taking strikers' places by persuasion, often to be followed, if ineffectual, by intimidation and violence. The Pullman Company claims this was the real object of these guards. The strikers at Pullman are entitled to be believed to the contrary in this matter, because of their conduct and forbearance after May 11. It is in evidence, and uncontradicted, that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3 no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military against even anticipated disorder.

"Such dignified, manly, and conservative conduct in the midst of excitement and threatened starvation is worthy of the highest type of American citizenship, and, with like prudence in all other directions, will result in due time in the lawful and orderly redress of labor wrongs. To deny this is to forswear patriotism and to declare this Government and its people a failure.

"As soon as the strike was declared the company laid off its 600 employees who did not join the strike, and kept its shops closed until August 2. During this period the Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of eminent citizens in all kinds of business and from all grades of respectable society, called upon the company twice to urge conciliation and arbitration. The company reiterated the statement of its position and maintained that there was nothing to arbitrate; that the questions at issue were matters of fact and not proper subjects of arbitration. The Civic Federation suggested that competition should be regarded in rents as well as in wages. The company denied this. Wages and rents were to it separate matters; the principles applicable to one had no relation to the other. Later it gave the same answer to a committee of its employees. Upon June 15 and 22 it declined to receive any communication from committees of the American Railway Union; one proposition of that body being that the company select two arbitrators, the court two, and these four a fifth, to determine whether there was anything to arbitrate. The company also refused to consider any arbitration at the solicitation of the common council of Chicago, and repeated its stereotyped answer that there was nothing to arbitrate when appealed to by Mayor Pingree of Detroit, himself a large manufacturer, whom Mayor Hopkins accompanied to Pullman. At that interview Mayor Pingree claimed to have telegrams from the mayors of over fifty of the largest cities, urging that there should be arbitration."

This leads us, however, to consider the relation of the strikers at Pullman to the American Railway Union and the general railway strike that resulted.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION (*q. v.*).

This is an association of railroad employees, organized at Chicago on the 20th of June, 1893, for the purpose of including all railway employees born of white parents in one great brotherhood. Under the leadership of Mr. Eugene V. Debs it had grown very strong, particularly by winning a strike on the Great Northern. In March, 1894, the Pullman employees voted to join the American Railway Union. The Commission report says this was not wise, but adds:

"It is undoubtedly true that the officers and directors of the American Railway Union did not want a strike at Pullman, and that they advised against it, but the exaggerated idea of the power of the union, which induced the workmen at Pullman to join the order, led to their striking against this advice. Having struck, the union could do nothing less, upon the theory at its base, than support them."

There was, however, to say the least, some excuse for the A. R. U. to secure the Pullman men. The railways around Chicago were banded together. Wages were being systematically reduced. If all railroad employers were to band together, it seemed necessary for all railway employees to band together. To the Pullman employees, to join the A. R. U. seemed their one chance of victory. Alone they were helpless and hopeless. Wages were being steadily reduced, below the level of existence. Those who criticise the general strike must remember that it was a battle for life, and the one hope of success. A mere local strike was absolutely without hope, and therefore more foolish than a general strike. The General Managers' Association, representing 24 roads centering or terminating in Chicago, was organized in 1886, long before the American Railway Union.

Beginning its "active life" in 1886, its main business was to determine a common policy toward the public as to freight rates, etc., but it dealt incidentally with wages.

Strengthened thus by mutual aid, various roads made reductions of wages here and there.

Of this association the Commission says :

"The association is an illustration of the extent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters and not obtainable from the people or their legislators. An extension of this association, as above suggested, and the proposed legalization of 'pooling' would result in an aggregation of power and capital dangerous to the people and their liberties as well as to employees and their rights. The question would then certainly arise as to which shall control, the Government or the railroads, and the end would inevitably be Government ownership. Unless ready for that result and all that it implies, the Government must restrain corporations within the law, and prevent them from forming unlawful and dangerous combinations. At least, so long as railroads are thus permitted to combine to fix wages and for their joint protection, it would be rank injustice to deny the right of all labor upon railroads to unite for similar purposes.

"It should be noted that until the railroads set the example a general union of railroad employees was never attempted. The unions had not gone beyond enlisting the men upon different systems in separate trade organizations. These neutralize and check each other to some extent and have no such scope or capacity for good or evil as is possible under the universal combination idea inaugurated by the railroads and followed by the American Railway Union. The refusal of the General Managers' Association to recognize and deal with such a combination of labor as the American Railway Union seems arrogant and absurd when we consider its standing before the law, its assumptions, and its past and obviously contemplated future action."

Thus, to say the least, there was some excuse for the railroad employees of the country banding together. It was not a question of Pullman alone. The strike affected the interests of every railroad man in the country. Without the general resistance they made, wages everywhere, under the depressed condition of business, would have been lowered much more than they were.

"Until June, 1894, the association dealt incidentally and infrequently with wages. There were few railroad controversies as to wages during its active life, dating from January 20, 1892. Hence its possibilities as a strike fighter and wage arbiter lay rather dormant. The following are instances of its action as to wage questions. Its roads fixed a 'Chicago

scale' for switchmen, covering all lines at Chicago. In March, 1893, the switchmen demanded more pay from each road. The association concluded that they were paid enough—if anything, too much. The roads so informed the men. The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America wrote to Mr. St. John, as chairman, acquiescing. He, as chairman of the General Managers' Association, concluded his reply as follows:

"The association approves the course taken by your body and desires to deal fairly with all employees, and believes that our switchmen are receiving due consideration."

"This seems to show that employees upon association roads are treated as under subjection to the General Managers' Association. Mr. St. John, the president of the association, testifies as follows:

"The result of this declaration on the part of the various companies directly to their own committees was a threat on the part of some that a strike would occur, and in times of trouble of that kind, or anticipated trouble, it would be the most natural thing in the world for the association, or any line member of it, to arrange to protect the interests of the company he represented. He could not do otherwise. Arrangements were made by which agencies were established and men employed to come to Chicago in case of necessity."

"This association likewise prepared for its use elaborate schedules of the wages paid upon the entire lines of its 24 members. The proposed object of these schedules was to let each road know what other roads paid. Finding that the men upon some lines urged increase to correspond with wages paid elsewhere, a committee of the association prepared and presented a uniform schedule for all membership roads. It was deemed wise not to act upon the report. It was distributed to members in November, 1893. This distribution alone enabled the report to be used with efficiency as an 'equalizer.' As the result, during 1893—it being then well understood that as to wages, etc., it was an *incident* of the General Managers' Association to 'assist' each road in case of trouble over such matters, one form of assistance being for the association to secure men enough through its agencies to take the places of all strikers—reductions were here and there made on the different roads, the tendency and effort apparently being to equalize the pay on all lines."

"It is admitted that the action of the association has great weight with outside lines, and thus tends to establish one uniform scale throughout the country."

The Pullman Car Company, however, refused to recognize the A. R. U. Of the result the Commission's report says :

"Between June 9 and June 26 a regular convention of the American Railway Union was held with open doors at Chicago, representing 465 local unions and about 150,000 members, as claimed. The Pullman matter was publicly discussed at these meetings before and after its committees above mentioned reported their interviews with the Pullman Company. On June 21 the delegates, under instructions from their local unions, unanimously voted that the members of the union should stop handling Pullman cars on June 26 unless the Pullman Company would consent to arbitration. On June 26 the boycott and strike began. The strike on the part of the railroad employees was a sympathetic one. No grievances against the railroads had been presented by their employees, nor did the American Railway Union declare any such grievances to be any cause whatever of the strike. To simply boycott Pullman cars would have been an incongruous step for the remedy of complaints of railroad employees. Throughout the strike the strike was simply over handling Pullman cars, the men being ready to do their duty otherwise. . . .

"After June 26 the officers and agents of the union managed and urged on the strike at every available point upon the railroads centering at Chicago, until it reached proportions far in excess of their original anticipations, and led to disorders beyond even their control. Urgent solicitations and appeals to strike and to stand firm continued in the many public meetings held each day in and about Chicago, and appear in the telegrams sent about the country. . . .

"According to the testimony, the railroads lost, in

**General
Managers'
Association.**

**The General
Strike.**

property destroyed, hire of United States deputy marshals, and other incidental expenses, at least \$685,308. The loss of earnings of these roads is estimated at \$4,672,916. Some 3100 employees at Pullman lost in wages, as estimated, at least \$350,000. About 100,000 employees upon the 24 railroads centering at Chicago, all of which were more or less involved in the strike, lost in wages, as estimated, at least \$1,899,143. Many of these employees are still adrift and losing wages.

"Beyond these amounts very great losses, widely distributed, were incidentally suffered throughout the country. The suspension of transportation at Chicago paralyzed a vast distributive center, and imposed many hardships and much loss upon the great number of people whose manufacturing and business operations, employment, travel, and necessary supplies depend upon and demand regular transportation service to, from, and through Chicago.

"During the strike the fatalities, arrests, indictments, and dismissal of charges for strike offenses in Chicago and vicinity were as follows:

Number shot and fatally wounded.....	12
Number arrested by the police.....	515
Number arrested under United States statutes, and against whom indictments were found'....	71
Number arrested, against whom indictments were not found.....	119

"The arrests made by the police were for murder, arson, burglary, assault, intimidation, riot, inciting to riot, and lesser crimes."

Bradstreet's estimates the losses to the country at large to be about \$80,000,000. The city police, the county sheriffs, the State militia, United States deputy marshals, and regulars from the United States Army were all brought into the controversy. The United States troops were sent to Chicago to protect Federal property and to prevent destruction in the carrying of the mails, to prevent interference with interstate commerce, and to enforce the decrees and mandates of the Federal courts. They took no part in any attempt to suppress the strike, nor could they, as such matters belong to the city and State authorities. The police of the city were used to suppress riots and protect the property of citizens, and the State militia was called in for the same service. The total of these forces employed during the continuance of the strike was 14,186. It was claimed by some that the calling out of the Federal troops was unnecessary and an invasion of State rights; they being called out simply to please the corporations and intimidate the strikers. Says the Commission's report:

"Some railroads charged the police with inefficiency and with failing to discharge their duties through sympathy with strikers. These charges have not been proved. The Mayor directed suspension and discharge for any such cause, and some suspensions occurred on charges; but investigation disclosed no evidence to sustain them. The disorders at Blue Island were outside the city of Chicago. Appropriate orders for the police to cooperate with the troops were issued. That policemen sympathized with strikers rather than with the corporations cannot be doubted, nor would it be surprising to find the same sentiment rife among the military. These forces are largely recruited from the laboring classes. Indeed, the danger is growing that in strike wars between corporations and employees military duty will ultimately have to be done by others than volunteers from labor ranks.

"The military and police confined themselves to their duty of arresting criminals, dispersing mobs, and guarding property. United States deputy marshals, to the number of 3600, were selected by and appointed at request of the General Managers' Association, and of its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads, and acted in the double capacity of railroad employees and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so

ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any Government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the Government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent, that might well lead to serious consequences."

Another element that entered into the matter was the issue of injunctions (*q. v.*). Says the report:

"On July 7 the principal officers of the American Railway Union were indicted, arrested, and held under \$10,000 bail. Upon July 13 they were attached for contempt of the United States Court in disobeying an injunction issued on July 2, and served on the 3d and 4th, enjoining them, among other things, from compelling, or inducing by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence, railroad employees to refuse or fail to perform their duties. It is seriously questioned, and with much force, whether courts have jurisdiction to enjoin citizens from 'persuading' each other in industrial or other matters of common interest. However, it is generally recognized among good citizens that a mandate of a court is to be obeyed until it is modified and corrected by the court that issued it."

As a result, Debs and his comrades were convicted of contempt of court, and, without jury trial, imprisoned (see DEBS); the friends of the railroads believing that it "served the strikers right"; others believing it a dastardly and dangerous attack on the right of every man to trial before jury.

Says the report :

"There is no evidence before the Commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence, or destruction of property. They knew, and fully appreciated that, as soon as mobs ruled, the organized forces of society would crush the mobs, and all responsible for them in the remotest degree, and that this meant defeat. The attacks upon corporations and monopolies by the leaders in their speeches are similar to those to be found in the magazines and industrial works of the day.

"Much stress has been laid upon the following dispatch, which Mr. Debs denies sending. It went, however, from the headquarters of the union, and that body is responsible for whatever it means:

"CHICAGO, July 2, 1894.

"TO COURTHHEAD, *South Butte, Mont.*
 "The G. M. are weakening. If strike not settled in 48 hours, complete paralysis will follow. Potatoes and ice out of sight. Save your money and buy a gun."
 "E. V. DEBS."

"The union insists that a young clerk named Benedict sent this dispatch to a friend; that the expression 'buy a gun' was one used between them, and had no reference to the strike. Nothing like this is found elsewhere among the dispatches before the Commission."

The Commission, however, finds that some of the strikers were guilty of violence. The report says :

"The strikers' experience and training were to be seen in the spiking and misplacing of switches; removing rails; crippling of interlocking systems; the detaching, side-tracking, and derailing of cars and engines; placing of coupling-pins in engine machinery; blocking tracks with cars, and attempts to detach and run in mail cars. The Commission is of opinion that offenses of this character, as well as considerable threatening and intimidation of those taking strikers' places, were committed, or instigated, by strikers.

"The mobs that took possession of railroad yards, tracks, and crossings after July 3, and that stoned, tipped over, burned, and destroyed cars, and stole their contents, were, by general concurrence in the testimony, composed generally of hoodlums, women,

a low class of foreigners, and recruits from the criminal classes. Few strikers were recognized or arrested in these mobs, which were without leadership, and seemed simply bent upon plunder and destruction. They gathered wherever opportunity offered for their dastardly work, and, as a rule, broke and melted away when force faced them. In the view that this railroad strike was wrong; that such mobs are well known to be incidental to strikes, and are thereby given an excuse and incentive to gather and to commit crime, the responsibility rests largely with the American Railway Union; otherwise that association, its leaders, and a very large majority of the railroad men on strike are not shown to have had any connection therewith. . . .

"July 13, and for some days previous, the strikers had been virtually beaten. The action of the courts deprived the American Railway Union of leadership; enabled the General Managers' Association to disintegrate its forces, and to make inroads into its ranks. The mobs had worn out their fury, or had succumbed to the combined forces of the police, the United States troops and marshals, and the State militia. The railroads were gradually repairing damages, and resuming traffic with the aid of new men, and with some of those strikers who had not been offensively active, or whose action was laid to intimidation or fear. At this juncture the refusal of the General Managers' Association to treat with the American Railway Union was certainly not conciliatory; it was not unnatural, however, because the association charged the American Railway Union with having inaugurated an unjustifiable strike; laid at its door the responsibility for all the disorder and destruction that had occurred, and, as the victor in the fight, desired that the lesson taught to labor by its defeat should be well learned.

"The policy of both the Pullman Company and the Railway Managers' Association, in reference to applications to arbitrate, closed the door to all attempts at conciliation and settlement of differences. The Commission is impressed with the belief, by the evidence, and by the attendant circumstances, as disclosed, that a different policy would have prevented the loss of life and great loss of property and wages occasioned by the strike." The End.

July 26, 1894, the President appointed a commission consisting of Carroll D. Wright, John D. Keenan of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington of Illinois, who heard evidence and testimony as to the causes, facts, and lessons of the strike. The report so favored the strikers that it was described in *Harper's Weekly*, November 24, 1894, as "Revolutionary Statesmanship." As a result a bill for arbitration in railway strikes was laid before Congress, for an account of which see STRIKES.

References: *Report on the Chicago Strike of June and July, 1894*, by the United States Strike Commission, 1895; *The Pullman Company's Statement* (1894). Both of these, and an analysis by Professor W. J. Ashley of Harvard, with a complete bibliography of the strike, were collected and published by the Church Social Union in 1895.

(See also STRIKES; RAILROADS; INJUNCTIONS; LABOR LEGISLATION, etc.)



QUELCH, HENRY, was born at Hungerford, Berkshire, in 1858. He became a blacksmith, but in 1872 came to London, and soon interested himself in social reform. In 1881 he joined the Social Democratic Federation (almost from its start), and in 1884 commenced writing for its organ, *Justice*, since 1892 giving it all his time, and becoming its responsible editor. In 1889 he was elected secretary of the Southside Labor Protection League. He has been sent to three trades-union congresses and international socialist congresses, at Roubaix (1887), Brussels (1891), and Zurich 1893. He has been several times arrested for socialist utterances, but has been acquitted.

QUESNAY, FRANÇOIS, was born at Mérey, France, in 1694. Studying medicine at Paris, he became first physician to Louis XV., but was even more famous as an economic thinker, and one of the principal founders of the school of the physiocrats (*q. v.*) and coiner of the term *political economy*. He died at Versailles in 1774. Dr. Ingram says of Quesnay in his *History of Political Economy*:

"The publications in which Quesnay expounded his system were the following: Two articles, on *Ferriers* and on *Grains*, in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert (1756, 1757); a discourse on the law of

nature in the *Physiocratie* of Dupont de Nemours (1768); *Maximes Générales de Gouvernement Economique d'un Royaume Agricole* (1758), and the simultaneously published *Tableau Economique avec son Explication, ou Extrait des Economies Royales de Sully* (with the celebrated motto, 'pauvres paysans, pauvre royaume; pauvre royaume, pauvre roi'); *Dialogue sur le Commerce et les Travaux des Artisans*; and other minor pieces. The *Tableau Economique*, tho on account of its dryness and abstract form it met with little general favor, may be considered the principal manifesto of the school. It was regarded by the followers of Quesnay as entitled to a place among the foremost products of human wisdom, and is named by the elder Mirabeau, in a passage quoted by Adam Smith, as one of the three great inventions which have contributed most to the stability of political societies, the other two being those of writing and of money. Its object was to exhibit by means of certain formulas the way in which the products of agriculture, which is the only source of wealth, would in a state of perfect liberty be distributed among the several classes of the community (namely, the productive classes of the proprietors and cultivators of land, and the unproductive class composed of manufacturers and merchants), and to represent by other formulas the modes of distribution which take place under systems of governmental restraint and regulation, with the evil results arising to the whole society from different degrees of such violations of the natural order. It follows from Quesnay's theoretic views that the one thing deserving the solicitude of the practical economist and the statesman is the increase of the net product; and he infers also what Smith afterward affirmed on not quite the same ground, that the interest of the land-owner is 'strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society.'

R

RAILWAYS.—We consider this subject under the following heads: (I) The United States; (II) Foreign Countries; (III) Railway Problems; (IV) Proposed Reforms.

I. THE UNITED STATES.

A. HISTORY.

On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll, last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, laid the first rail of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; the first railroad of this country to assume a comprehensive scale. Mr. Carroll said he considered the event "second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if even second to that." The first tram road in America was the Quincy road (1827) for hauling stone for the Bunker Hill monument. The first locomotive in America was imported from England in 1829, for use on the Carbondale and Honesdale Railroad, built by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. On the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, chartered in 1827 and opened 1830, steam was not definitely chosen for the motive power till 1831, horse-power, and even sails, having been tried first. The West Point foundry works built the first American locomotive in 1830, for use on the South Carolina Railroad then being constructed. By 1835 the Baltimore and Ohio had a length of 115 miles. Pennsylvania had nearly 200 miles of road, mainly coal roads; South Carolina, 137 miles open for traffic; Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey,

nearly 100 each. The panic of 1837 temporarily checked railroad **Beginnings.** building, but the whole line of the Boston and Albany was complete by 1842, the first road operated as a THROUGH route. New York and Philadelphia were connected by rail in 1840; New York and Boston in 1849; New York and Lake Erie, by the Erie road, in 1851; New York and Albany the same year; New York and Chicago in 1853. The first line to reach the Mississippi was the Chicago and Rock Island in 1854.

The rapid growth of the roads in the United States will be best appreciated by giving the figures. In 1828 there were three miles of railroad in the country; in 1830, 41 miles; in 1840, 2800 miles; in 1850, 9000 miles; in 1860, 9800 miles; in 1870, 50,000 miles; in 1880, 82,000 miles; in 1890, 163,420 miles; and June 30, 1894, there were 178,708 miles.

The first roads were very moderately successful. They were rude, cumbersome affairs, with flat rails, often of wood, needing constant repairs. Flat rails were not wholly removed from the New York Central road till 1850.

Legislatures were suspicious of them. The Illinois Central received the first land grant in 1851, though, after that, land grants were given freely. (See PUBLIC DOMAIN.) The first charters were very cautious, and there were

no general bills for condemning property to give railroads the right of way, but in 1850 the New York Legislature granted railroad corporations the right to run their lines wherever they saw fit, subject only to certain conditions in the cities. This was a complete surrender on the part of the State of every attempt to supervise, regulate, and control the operations of railroad corporations, but it seemed productive of such immediate benefits that State after State followed the example.

No evil results of this lack of State supervision were apparent until 1857, when a financial crisis brought bankruptcy to many of the roads. To prevent the insolvent roads being closed to satisfy the bondholders or first mortgagees, the lawyers for the second mortgagees and the stockholders devised a plan of "reorganization." Under this policy of reorganization the first mortgage holders were given bonds representing a first lien on the roads and bonds representing accrued interest. The junior mortgagees were recognized by preferred stock, and the former stockholders, after paying something to defray the expenses of the readjustment, were given common stock to represent their former interest in the roads. This accumulated debt was called "increased capital," but in latter-day parlance has developed stock watering. (See WATERED STOCK.)

The crisis of 1857 put an effective stop to railroad and land grants, and this was followed by the war. The war, however, gave land grants a wider scope. A railroad to California was a political necessity. (See PACIFIC RAILROADS.) The first effective bill for the Union Pacific was passed in 1864, and the last rail laid in 1860. It led to railroad favoritism, upon the part of Government, in colossal proportions.

From 1835 to June 30, 1892, railroad corporations received from Congress, directly and through the States, grants of land aggregating 56,483,804 acres, or an average of 9600 acres for every mile of road constructed under the terms of the granting acts. In addition to these gifts of land the roads received subsidies of money from Congress, the States, counties, townships, cities, and villages. The five Pacific railroads (the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific, the Atlantic and Pacific, the Southern Pacific, and the Texas Pacific) alone received subsidies of United States bonds amounting to \$64,623,512, and the interest paid on the same by the United States Government amounted, up to June 30, 1891, to \$90,241,379.22. (See art. PUBLIC DOMAIN.)

According to *Poor's Manual* for 1884, the average cost per mile of the railroads in the United States did not exceed \$30,000. The early railroads were purely local, chartered and built by local communities. The New York Central was consolidated from eleven different railroads in 1853. Vanderbilt, till

Land
Grants.

then one of the foremost steamboat owners in the world, did not go into railroads to any extent till 1864. In 1867 he secured control of the New York Central and consolidated it with the Hudson River in 1869, and virtually at the same time obtained a Chicago connection. Mr. Scott entered the service of the Pennsylvania R. R. in 1850. He became vice-president of it in 1860, and president in 1874. As a result of his management the Pennsylvania R. R. owns to-day thousands of miles of the most valuable railway property in the United States. Next to these great systems were developed the Grand Trunk in the north, the Erie in the middle, and the Baltimore & Ohio in the south, they being hindered respectively by disadvantage of situation, by speculation, and by the war.

The next development of combination was the development of sleeping-car companies, express companies, and freight transportation companies, which ran through cars over many roads. The last rapidly developed into the cooperative fast-freight line which has since prevailed all but universally, and is nothing more than a system of looking after cars and keeping accounts between companies. The first railroad pools were probably developed in a small way in New England. The first to have important public history

was the Chicago-Omaha pool, in 1870, between three roads. The first great inter-railway association was the Southern Railway and Steamship Association, first begun under the lead of Albert Fink, in 1873. In 1875 it established a clearing-house to settle through traffic accounts.

The first great railway war began in 1869, when rates from Chicago to New York fell to 25 cents per hundred pounds. At first the New York Central could not compete on long-distance freight with the Erie Canal and Hudson River. In 1871 the canal was helpless. The war of 1869 lasted only a little while; 1874-76 saw bitter railway wars. The fight ended in 1877, not because anything was settled but because all parties were exhausted. The first trunk-line pool on West-bound traffic was formed in 1877, and on East-bound in 1879. Meanwhile a joint executive committee had been formed, with Albert Fink as its head. It arranged as to differentials between cities, as to percentages of traffic between different trunk lines, as to general arrangements, rates, etc., etc. This peace lasted till 1881, when a fierce war raged for eight months, followed by a short peace; war and peace alternating at short intervals down to the present.

As we have seen, railroad legislation was all in favor of railroads. The only fear was that roads would not be built fast enough. Railroads were variously taxed, and liabilities only slightly enforced. The first popular feeling of any force against railroads was the Granger movement (1870-77). Nowhere had railroad subsidies been more recklessly voted than in the Upper Mississippi valley. Between 1865 and 1871, \$500,000,000 had been invested in Western railways. The price of wheat began to fall. With transportation charges at former

figures, the farmers could not pay their debts; with charges reduced, the roads could not pay theirs. Roads under competition cut down rates to nearly nothing between competing points, and, where there was no competition, charged what they would. The feeling among the farmers ran high. They talked it over in the Grange

Granger Movement.

(*q. v.*). The first tangible results were reached in Illinois. The Constitutional convention of 1870 made an important declaration concerning State control of rates, on the basis of which a law was passed in 1871, establishing a system of maxima. Judge Laurence pronounced the bill unconstitutional. At the next election he was defeated. The law of 1873 avoided the issues raised by Judge Laurence. Similar laws were immediately passed by Iowa and Minnesota, and a much more stringent law, the so-called Potter law, which the railroads favored because so stringent, hoping thus to kill it. The roads appealed to the courts, but were defeated. Finally in 1877 the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the constitutionality of the Granger laws. But the laws defeated themselves. Railroad construction came to a standstill. In Wisconsin some existing roads could not be kept up. The men who passed the Potter law in 1874 hurriedly repealed it after two years' trial. Since then, however, the hostility to railroads has grown more general.

The Hepburn committee was appointed in New York "to investigate alleged abuses in railroad management," the hearings before which form the most important evidence in the railway question. In 1877 the strikes called universal attention to the subject. Railway commissions were everywhere established, that of Massachusetts—perhaps the most successful—as early as 1869. The commission of Iowa, perhaps the next most successful, dates from 1878. California gave its commission almost unlimited power. As a result the railroads found it necessary to get control of the commission.

In 1885 the United States Senate appointed a committee to investigate railroad abuses. As a result of that report, Congress enacted a law which went into effect in April, 1887, and the

Railway Commissions.

has been a public institution ever since. During the debates on that bill, the railroad lobby was energetic and active. The intent of the framer of the bill was that the law should give control of the railroads to the Commission to be appointed; but the combined railroad interests of the country went to work to change the bill, and it received the signature of the President in such a form as to be almost worthless. The Commission has been at work for six years; and with the exception of the arrest and punishment, by fine, of minor offenses, no punishment has been meted out. Unjust discrimination still continues, reckless combinations are entered into; passes are issued to legislators, judges, county officials, governors, and clergymen; and where it is deemed nec-

essary to silence the voice of opposition, blocks of railroad stocks are bestowed in liberal quantities. In nearly every State where railroad commissions have been established, they have proved to be failures. Where a determined stand has been taken against encroachments of railroads by a commission, the courts have set aside the verdict of the commissioners.

The Commission itself recognizes the failure of its efforts. It has repeatedly asked Congress for increased power, "but," as it says in its report for December 1, 1795 (pp. 10-12), "for one reason and another the measures heretofore recommended have failed of adoption. . . . The special weakness of the law, as it now stands, is the want of finality and binding force to the decisions of the Commission. . . . The Commission is not a court and has no means of its own for enforcing its order. . . . If a carrier can simply ignore the findings of the Commission and wait for a new trial in the courts. . . . the delay alone substantially defeats the remedy. . . . Until such a result is practically made impossible, the work of the Commission, in its most valuable aspects, must be more or less a disappointment." (See INTER-STATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.)

This brings us down to the present time. For more recent railroad developments, such as railroad combinations, receiverships, etc., see the third portion of the article, Railroad Problems.

B. STATISTICS FOR THE UNITED STATES.

"The report of the statistician to the Commission for the year ending June 30, 1894, contained in Appendix E, was submitted to the Commission on June 1, 1895.

"*Mileage.*

"This report shows that the total of railway mileage in the United States on June 30, 1894, was 178,708.55 miles, an increase during the year of 2247.48 miles. The increase during the previous year was 4897.55 miles. The percentage of increase in 1894 was less than for any preceding year for which reports had been made to the Commission.

"The total number of railway corporations on June 30, 1894, was 1924, an increase during the year of 34. Of this number 745 were independent operating companies, and 945 maintained separate operating accounts. The number of companies maintaining financial accounts only was 895, of which 338 were operated under lease for a fixed money rental, and 188 for a contingent money rental; 243 were controlled through the ownership of stock by the operating company; the remaining 36 returned no information as to the form of control. The number of roads not in operation was 76, of which 60 were independent roads; 10 were subsidiary roads, parts of systems, and 6 were private roads. In addition to the roads already referred to, there were 98 private roads, operated in connection with logging, milling, and mining industries. The movement of consolidation, during the year, on the basis of mileage involved, has been greater than for the year previous; 15 roads, representing 1734.64 miles, have been merged; 22 roads, representing 2351.99 miles, have been reorganized; and 14 roads, representing 1590.34 miles, have been consolidated.

"A classification of railroads on the basis of operated mileage shows that 90 roads operate 72.90 per cent. of the entire mileage of the country, and 44 roads operate 56.30 per cent.

"On June 30, 1894, the total number of locomotives was 35,492, an increase during the year of 704. Of these, 9893 were passenger locomotives; 20,000 were freight locomotives; 5086 were switching locomotives, and 513 were unclassified. The total number of cars reported was 1,278,078. Of these, 33,018 were in passenger service; 1,205,169 were in freight service; and 30,891 were caboose, derrick, gravel, officers', pay, and other cars in the companies' service. These figures do not include cars owned by the shippers or private individuals. The increase in the number of cars during the year was 4132, as against an increase of 58,854 during the previous year. This

Equipment.

falling off in the ratio of increase is due to the fact that the railways have, during the year, destroyed a

large number of old, worn-out cars. The number of passengers carried per passenger locomotive was 54,654, and the passenger miles per passenger locomotive were 1,444,400.

"The law requires that all equipment shall be supplied with train-brakes and automatic couplers by January, 1898, and all cars with grab irons by July 1, 1895, but 74.80 per cent. of the total equipment is still without train-brakes, and 72.77 per cent. without automatic couplers.

"The total number of railway employees on June 30, 1894, was 779,608, a decrease, as compared with the number on June 30, 1893, of 93,994, or 10.76 per cent. This is a smaller number employed than in any year since 1890. This decrease is, of course, due to the heavy falling off in traffic, and the endeavor of the railways to economize. On the basis of four persons being dependent on each wage-earner, it shows that over one-third of a million of people have been deprived of their regular means of support. The class of employees showing the greatest decrease are trackmen, the decrease for this class being 29,443, or 16.34 per cent.; the next largest decrease is 19,890, or 18.91 per cent., for laborers and unclassified employees.

"For 1894 the average daily compensation was, for general officers, \$9.71; other officers, \$5.75; general office clerks, \$2.34; station agents, \$1.75; other station men, \$1.63; engineers, \$3.61; firemen, \$2.03; conductors, \$3.04; other trainmen, \$1.89; machinists, \$2.21; carpenters, \$2.02; other shopmen, \$1.69; section foremen, \$1.71; other trackmen, \$1.18; switchmen, flagmen, and watchmen, \$1.75; telegraph operators and dispatchers, \$1.93, and employees of floating equipment, \$1.97.

"*Capitalization.*

"The total amount of reported railway capital on June 30, 1894, was \$10,796,473,813, or \$62.951 per mile of line. This is an increase in the amount outstanding during the year of \$290,238,403. The amount of capital stock was \$4,834,075,659, of which \$4,103,584,166 was common stock, and \$730,491,493 was preferred stock. The funded debt was \$5,356,583,019, classified as follows: Bonds, \$4,593,931,754; miscellaneous obligations, \$456,277,380; income bonds, \$242,403,681, and equipment trust obligations, \$63,979,204. The amount of current liabilities was \$605,815,135. The amount of railway securities held by the railways as an investment was \$1,544,958,670, a decrease during the year of \$18,963,563.

"The amount of stock paying no dividend was \$3,066,150,094, or 63.43 per cent. of the total amount. Of the stock paying dividends, 4.31 per cent. of the total stock paid from 4 to 5 per cent.; 10.12 per cent. paid from 5 to 6 per cent.; 5.12 per cent. paid from 6 to 7 per cent.; and 5.42 per cent. paid from 7 to 8 per cent. The total amount of dividends was \$95,515,226, or an average rate on the dividend-paying stock of 5.40 per cent. The amount of bonds paying no interest was \$650,573,789, or 14.17 per cent. The amount of miscellaneous obligations paying no interest was \$53,426,264, or 11.71 per cent., and the amount of income bonds paying no interest was \$210,757,554, or 86.94 per cent.

"*Public Service.*

"The number of passengers carried was 540,688,199, a decrease under the previous year of 52,872,413; but passenger mileage, which is the most significant figure, shows an increase of 60,344,809, the total being 14,289,445,893. This increase in passenger mileage was almost wholly occasioned by the World's Fair travel. The average number of passengers in a train was 44, and the average distance traveled by each passenger was 26.43 miles. The passenger mileage per mile of line, which indicates the density of passenger traffic, was 81,333, a slight decrease as compared with the previous report. There was a large decrease in freight traffic. The number of tons carried being 638,186,553, as against 745,119,482 in 1893, a decrease of 106,932,929 tons. The ton mileage was 80,335,104,702, a decrease of 13,253,007,131 from the previous year, and the ton-miles per mile of line decreased from 551,232, in 1893, to 457,252 in 1894, a decrease in density of traffic of 93,980 ton-miles. The average number of tons in a train was 170.80, a decrease of 4.17 tons, showing a decrease of economy in the use of freight equipment. The average haul of one ton was 125.88 miles.

"*Earnings and Expenses.*

"The gross earnings of the railways for the year ending June 30, 1894, were \$1,073,361,797; a decrease, as compared with the previous year, of \$147,390,077, or 12.07 per cent. Passenger revenue decreased \$16,142,258, or 5.35 per cent., and the revenue from freight

traffic decreased \$129,562,948, or 15.63 per cent. The amount of operating expenses was \$731,414,322, a decrease of \$66,506,977, or 11.66 per cent. The largest per cent. of decrease was in the operating expenses assigned to maintenance of way and structure, and to maintenance of equipment, which show, respectively, a decrease of 15.12 and 17.52 per cent. The net earnings were \$341,947,475, a decrease of \$59,883,100 as compared with the previous year. The income derived from sources outside of operations was \$142,816,805. The amount of fixed charges and other deductions from income was \$429,008,310, leaving a net income of \$55,755,979 available for dividends, a decrease, as compared with the previous year, of nearly 50 per cent. The amount of dividends paid was \$95,515,226, a decrease of only \$5,414,659 from the amount paid the previous year. The fact that nearly the normal amount of dividends was paid, notwithstanding the great decrease in income available for them, and that the payment of the amount stated entailed a deficit from the operations of the year of \$45,851,294, is suggestive. The revenue derived from the carrying of passengers was \$285,349,558, or 26.58 per cent. of gross earnings, and the revenue derived from freight traffic was \$699,490,913, or 65.16 per cent. of gross earnings.

A report of the statistician to the Commission on the earnings and expenses of the railways of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1895, was submitted on November 18. It includes the returns from 650 roads, whose reports were filed on or before November 9, 1895, and covers the operations of 164,529.38 miles of line, or 92 per cent. of the total mileage in the United States. The gross earnings were \$1,003,022,853, of which \$293,465,792 were from passenger service, \$683,022,988 from freight service, and \$26,217,595 were other earnings from operation, covering earnings from telegraph, car mileage balances, switching charges, etc. The operating expenses were \$677,667,635, leaving net earnings of \$325,355,218.

"Accidents.

"During the year, 1823 railway employees were killed, and 23,422 were injured, as compared with 2727 killed, and 31,729 injured in 1893. This marked decrease in casualty is in part due to the decrease in the number of men employed, and the decrease in the volume of business handled. The increased use of automatic appliances on railway equipment also may have rendered railway employment less dangerous, and it may be that the grade of efficiency of employees has been raised.

"The number of passengers killed was 324, an increase of 25, and the number injured was 3034, a decrease of 105. Of the total number of fatal casualties, 257 were due to coupling and uncoupling cars; 439 to falling from trains and engines; 50 to overhead obstructions; 145 to collisions; 108 to derailments, and the balance to various other causes, not easily classified. To show the ratio of casualty, it may be stated that 1 employee was killed out of every 428 in service, and 1 injured out of every 33 employed. The trainmen perform the most dangerous service; 1 out of 156 having been killed, and 1 out of every 12 having been injured.

"The ratio of casualty to passengers is in striking contrast to that of railway employees, 1 passenger having been killed out of each 1,668,791 carried, or for each 44,103,228 miles traveled, and 1 injured out of each 178,210 carried, or for each 4,709,771 miles traveled."

II. FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

A. GREAT BRITAIN.

The distinguishing characteristics of the English railroad are its stability and its management by great companies and vested interests. Watts made the use of steam-engines practicable in 1769. Richard Trevithick patented the first steam-carriage in 1802. The first chartered line of rails was laid in 1801—a short horse railroad from Wandsworth to Croyden, in the suburbs of London. Trevithick made the first engine that drew cars on the Merthyr Tydvil Railway in 1804. Locomotive power was first made actually efficient by George Stephenson in 1814. The first locomotive that drew passengers, George Stephenson's "Rocket," was used on the Stockton and

Darlington Railway, which was completed in 1829.

The great period of English railway building began in 1845. Parliament since then has constantly been busied with railroad legislation. Various commissions have been appointed, but without great success. The English roads have sometimes openly defied them, and have even been sustained in the courts in their defiance. Says Mr. Adams: "As a result of forty years of experiment and agitation, Great Britain has on this head come back very nearly to its point of commencement. It has settled down on the doctrine of *laissez-faire*." Says Professor Hadley: "This is not quite right. It might better be said that it has settled down on the policy of specific laws for specific troubles." Competitive rates exist in England, but are not common. In 1886 the rate from Glasgow to London on the beef of American cattle slaughtered on the wharf was 45s. per ton. On Scotch meat it was 77s. Foreign hops were charged 17s. 6d. per ton from Boulogne to London. English hops from intermediate points were charged 35s. Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of the last United States census, in a syndicate letter, which appeared in a number of papers December 9, 1894, gives an interview with James Hole, secretary of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, representative of vast financial interests.

"'You may safely state,' said Mr. Hole, 'that to-day some score of persons, linked together by a common interest, control nearly one thousand millions sterling of capital and 20,000 miles of the most important communication of the country.'

"'When we want to compete on the Continent we find ourselves driven out of our old markets by lower foreign rates. Girders from Belgium were sent through Grimsby for a lower rate per ton, though there is loading and unloading twice over, than from Sheffield to Grimsby, with one loading and unloading. The Northumberland farmer says, 'It will cost me more to send cattle to Liverpool than to send them from Chicago or New York.' It costs more to send grain from the Eastern counties to Birmingham than it does from Odessa, and it costs more to send cheese from Cheshire to London than to take it from New York right past the Cheshire stations to London.'

But bad as are the conditions in England, Mr. Hole declare that they are much worse in Ireland, as he shows by the following particulars:

"'In the recent inquiry [1889-90] one witness after another gave evidence of the shortcomings of the Irish railways. Throughout Ireland there was the strongest complaint of the inadequacy of station accommodation, especially for cattle, which lay about in the road, waiting for wagons. The high coal and mineral rates of the local lines check all enterprise and are prohibitive to the industry of the country. It was cheaper to send cattle by road than by rail; cheaper to take coal from Scotland to a seaport than to get it 10 miles inland; cheaper to carry goods to England and have them reshipped to Ireland at through English rates than to pay the local rates. Goods are often shipped from the eastern seaboard for Sligo and Ballina via Glasgow. The rates from Belfast and Drogheda are as high as between Belfast and English towns. The high charges have injured the woolen, the flax, and the milling interests, yet the new schedule proposed to give power to raise them from 40 to 70 per cent. A parcel travels 500 miles in England for half the price it costs for 30 miles in Ireland. Average passenger fares in England are 8½d.; Scotland, 10½d.; but in Ireland, 15, 3½d. Such are some of the items in the indictment of the Irish railways.

"'Yet the total 2500 miles of Irish railway have to

look after them 303 directors, 97 secretaries, engineers, and managers, and about 60 auditors and solicitors..”

The causes that have led to these unbearable conditions are summed up by Mr. Porter in the statement of the following facts furnished him by J. S. Jeans, secretary of the British Iron-Trade Association :

“ There seem to be two causes : first, the excessive cost of English railways, and secondly, the fact that the shareholders must receive at least 5 per cent. for their investments. The railway system of England and Wales has cost £55,000 per mile (\$267,657.50). This, I suppose, is more than double the cost of the railways of any other country. To pay a dividend of 5 per cent. on their capital stock the railways of England and Wales must earn £2750 (\$13,382.87) per mile.”

But there is a good side to the cost of English railroad-building. Professor Hadley says of the English railway system in substance (see his *Railroad Transportation*, 1885).

“ The traveler sees its massive roadbed, its absence of grade crossings, its tunnels and viaducts. The statistician sees the fact that it cost \$200,000 per mile, compared with the American cost of \$60,000 per mile. The humanitarian sees the lessened loss of life. The railroad man sees permanent traffic agreements and a smooth-working railway clearing-house, compared with American pools and fights. The legislator sees the obstinate and blustering tone of the railroads in talking of their vested rights.” America built her roads for the present, England hers for the present and future. England built with plenty of capital, and with double tracks and no grade crossings, from the start. Stock-watering is largely absent. The rail-

roads have had no great excuse to enlarge their capital for ‘improvements.’ English roads do all the work connected with the roads. They provide sleeping-cars, do their own expressage and their own city collection and delivery of freight. They provide hotels, etc.”

The following statistics of railways in Great Britain and Ireland are from the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1896 :

YEAR.	LINE OPEN.	AVERAGE YEARLY INCREASE.
	<i>Miles.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>
1850.....	6,621	165
1860.....	10,433	381
1870.....	15,537	510
1880.....	17,933	240
1890.....	20,973	214
1894.....	20,908	209

Of the total length of lines open January 1, 1894, there belonged to England and Wales 14,536 miles, to Scotland 3328 miles, and to Ireland 3044 miles.

The following table gives the length of lines open, the capital paid up, the number of passengers conveyed, and the traffic receipts of all the railways of the United Kingdom in 1878, and each of the last seven years :

YEAR.	LENGTH OF LINES OPEN AT THE END OF EACH YEAR.	TOTAL CAPITAL PAID UP (SHARES AND LOANS) AT THE END OF EACH YEAR.	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CONVEYED (EXCLUSIVE OF SEASON-TICKET HOLDERS).	RECEIPTS.		TOTAL, INCLUDING MISCELLANEOUS.
				From Passengers.	From Goods Traffic.	
	<i>Miles.</i>					
1878....	17,333	£698,545,154	565,024,455	£26,889,614	£33,564,761	£62,862,674
1888....	19,812	864,695,963	742,499,164	30,984,090	38,755,780	72,894,665
1889....	19,943	876,595,166	775,183,973	32,630,724	41,086,333	77,025,017
1890....	20,073	897,472,026	817,744,046	34,327,965	42,220,382	79,948,702
1891....	20,191	919,425,121	845,463,668	35,130,916	43,230,717	81,860,607
1892....	20,325	944,357,320	864,435,388	35,662,816	42,866,498	82,092,040
1893....	20,646	971,323,353	873,177,952	35,899,449	40,994,637	80,631,892
1894....	20,908	985,387,355	911,412,926	36,495,488	43,379,078	84,310,831

The capitalization at the end of 1894 was £811,814,465 for England, £131,418,959 for Scotland, and £39,154,831 for Ireland. The receipts were £71,934,167 for England and Wales, £8,981,077 for Scotland, and £3,395,587 for Ireland. The total expenditures were £47,208,313 or 56 per cent of the total receipts.

B. BELGIUM.

In England and America the maxim is, says Professor Hadley, that “ whatever can be done without Government, should be thus done.” On the Continent it is, that “ whatever can be done by Government, should be.” Belgium led in this. She began as early as 1833. King Leopold was familiar with English business, and built the roads to compete for through freight from Germany, that hitherto had gone through Holland down the Rhine. The system was complete by 1850. The State allowed private companies to build lesser and branch lines. The private companies were freer to make rapid improvements, and so gained for a while on the State, but finally the State competed with them, and won. Pro-

fessor Hadley, in 1886, though not a believer in State roads, says the Belgian passenger rates are lower than anywhere in the world except a few East Indian roads.

The length of railroads open in Belgium January 1, 1895, was :

Lines worked by the State.....	<i>Miles</i> 2025
Lines worked by the companies.....	795
	2820

Up to the end of 1894 the State had spent 1,392,564,484 frs. on the first cost of the railways. The net receipts were 1,441,156,021 frs., and the financial charges were 1,380,589,684 frs.; leaving 60,567,337 frs. The number of passengers conveyed in 1894 was 74,773,172 for the State, and 22,165,605 for the companies. The gross receipts in 1894 were : for the State, 152,974,889 frs., and for the companies, 41,591,780 frs. The expenses for the State were 86,537,469 frs., and for the companies, 20,086,984 frs.

Every possible improvement is being introduced on the Belgium railways. Iron rails are gradually being replaced by steel ones,

and the latest improvements in other respects are being adopted. The Westinghouse brake has not yet been applied to all trains, but the reform is being rapidly effected.

As showing the exceptional care with which the lines are worked by the State, the following figures may be given. Since the origin of the State railways in 1835, to 1891, there have been 93 persons killed in collisions and "derailments"; namely, 33 passengers and 60 employees. The number of passengers killed in stations, in consequence of their imprudence or inattention, figures at 147, and the number of employees of the administration, at 1885. Besides travelers and employees, 1062 persons have lost their lives in crossing the lines when trains were in motion. An additional 461 are put down as having been victims to drink or suicide.

A 20 per cent. reduction is allowed on all return tickets. The amount taken for single tickets in 1891 was 15,699,297 frs.; the amount for return tickets, 26,168,012 frs.; making a total of 41,867,209 frs. This amount is exclusive of the amount received from contract ticket holders, members of societies, and emigrants, excursion trains, circular tours, children, and soldiers, etc., which bring the total receipts up to 67,432,178 frs. As all these latter categories go at reduced rates, 49,732,981 frs., or 73.8 per cent. of the total, traveled at reduced rates. The proportion was 75.7 per cent. in 1890.

The workmen generally are contented; their wages are slightly above the average of Belgian workmen, and they enjoy many privileges. In many cases they have cottages free, or at a minimum rental; they have certain articles of clothing free and their children are carried free to and from school when that is necessary. A workman on the railway is a fixture for life if he behaves himself and attends to his work. He enjoys a pension when no longer fit for service.

C. FRANCE.

French railroads were late in development. While other nations went ahead, the French watched. When they did build, they built a whole carefully planned system. There was no competition from the start. The plan they adopted then they largely follow to-day.

The first line worked by steam had previously, for many years, been worked by horses. This was the St. Étienne line, opened as a railroad in 1828. A few other incorporated lines were built between that time and 1833, when the Government began a comprehensive system of surveys, and laid down a general scheme of railroad development for the whole country.

The plan was settled in 1842. Thiers was its author. The State was to contribute \$50,000 per mile and own the roadbed. Private enterprise was to do the rest. Dividends on investment were guaranteed by the State. After 40 years the whole was to revert to the State. Under this plan 33 companies were chartered, tho by 1852 they had consolidated to 11, and soon after to 6. Railroad-building went on rapidly from 1842 to 1848, and then

again after the Revolution and the accession of Napoleon III., from 1851 to 1857. This increase was caused by changing their charters to last 99 years, so that they are now to revert to the State about 1950.

By 1875 a considerable number of local lines had been built, on which the Government guaranteed interest at 4 per cent. and a trifle over to form a sinking fund. In 1875-76 efforts were made by speculators to amalgamate these district lines and form them into systems which should compete with the old systems. The State was asked to purchase them, but the vested interests of the older companies prevented this, and so, like the rest, they came under State supervision.

In 1877 there was a strong movement toward State ownership. The cause was mainly a desire to rival Germany. The railroads of the southwest were taken under direct State management. The State still operates the roads in the southwest, but only exerts control over the rest. It favors local traffic rather than competition for through freight, and thus develops the country for the future.

The Government has a highly trained staff of engineers, whose duty it is to supervise the lines. In addition, there are about 800 officials, costing, together with the engineers, \$800,000 per annum. The Government has its agents at all the principal stations, and the time-tables, as well as the tariffs, are subject to its approval. The accounts of the companies, also, are subject to annual examination. "There are all the disadvantages of extreme officialism without the advantage of public ownership," says Waring in his *State Purchase of Railways*.

The system of monopoly is good for the shareholders, but bad for the nation as a whole. There are several thousands of rates which are a burden and a weariness to the community, and from which they pray daily to be delivered. The express trains are so only in name, few of them reaching so high a speed as 40 miles an hour. The long-distance traffic is subject to many disadvantages. These things show the difficulties under which the dual system works. The Government, however, is by no means blind to what is needed, and from time to time introduces a modicum of reform. Still less fortunate are the financial relations between the Government and the subsidized corporations. For the years 1884-90, alone, the French Government was obliged to supplement the dividends to the amount of 369,000,000 frs., under the law of November 20, 1883, which established their relations anew. At the end of 1883, the claims of the State against the railway companies amounted to 673,000,000 frs.

To these criticisms on the French railroad system, it ought to be added that many of the technical arrangements of the French lines are admirable, and can hardly be excelled in any country in the world. The lines are carefully worked, the percentages of accidents and of deaths from accidents are relatively low, and on the whole their employees are well treated and well cared for.

The report on France of the (English) Royal

Commission on Labor gives the wages paid by one company as, in 1892, 6¼ frs. for engineers with an annual increase of 6*d.* a day until it has reached 9 frs. (\$1.80). Guards and brakemen received from \$260 to \$410 per year, laborers from \$200 to \$310. Sunday labor is paid at the rate of time and a half. A pension fund is established to which the company and the employees contribute equal proportions. Aid is granted by the company to employees in need.

D. GERMANY.

The German railroads have no one system. They were built by the local States, and were in this sense State roads. There was a federation of railroads but no national policy. About 1842 the policy of subsidies came into vogue. In 1848 Prussia built the first really State built and managed German road, a railroad toward Russia, and down to 1860 the Prussian Government quietly pushed this policy, buying and building railroads. When Bismarck came into power in 1861, military reasons thrust industrial arguments into the background. The French war showed the military advantage of State roads. Roads were developed rapidly till the crisis of 1873, but the system was effectually "mixed," State roads competing with private ones. Prussia in 1874 owned about one-third of her roads. A railroad department was established in 1873. Bismarck then commenced a strong agitation for a national or imperial system, but was largely foiled through States-right doctrines and jealousy of Prussia. Prussia then went ahead alone. By 1881 the State owned 7000 miles of road and virtually managed 2000 more. In 1885 there were 13,000 miles of State roads and only 1000 miles of private roads. The prices paid in buying roads were high. The stockholders of the Berlin-Hamburg road secured an income of over 16 per cent. on their investment. The Government could have taken the roads at valuation, but preferred to raise no hostility. Meanwhile other German States were moving.

In the Middle German States the principle of State ownership had received an early recognition. The Baden and Würtemberg Governments became owners of their railways almost from the moment of their construction. The Bavarian railways on the right bank of the Rhine have belonged to the State since 1875, but private ownership prevails to a certain degree in the rest of Bavaria. The Saxon Government began to purchase their railways in 1876, and are now owners of a complete system.

The great majority of the German railways are now owned by the Imperial or State Governments. Out of 27,871 miles of railway completed and open for traffic, only 3170 miles belong to private companies, and of these 368 are worked by Government. Narrow-gage lines measure 832 miles (Government lines 362 miles).

The total capital in 1894 was 11,105,722,000 marks, the annual expenditure 863,309,000 marks, the receipts 1,413,523,000 marks, the percentage of the surplus on the capital 4.95.

In the *Journal of Political Economy*, Professor Gustave Cohen says:

"Each year the railways not only paid in full the interest on the railway debt, but that on the entire State debt; in addition they yielded a very substantial surplus, which in the fiscal year from April 1, 1889, to March 31, 1890, reached the maximum amount of 145,000,000 marks. Since then this surplus has, it is true, diminished; but it still amounted for the last year (1891-92) to about 90,000,000 marks. Moreover, in accordance with the law of March 27, 1882, more than 550,000,000 marks of the railway debt has been extinguished. Altho one might justly feel satisfied if the railways paid the interest on their own capital, expectations were so raised by the abundance of the surplus that the demand was now not merely for a surplus, but for a great surplus, constantly increasing with the constant increase in the needs of the general administration of the State."

In a word, the result has been so satisfactory in Prussia that no one outside of the radical's position ventures to attack the policy. The chief defects of the present system of management are to be found in the administrative organization.

The railway staff on the State railways is composed of government officials with workmen paid by the day. A number of posts on the State railways, which do not require special technical training, are filled with soldiers of the reserve. The total force employed on all railways amounts, in round numbers, to 110,000 officials and 200,000 laborers. The hours for workmen in the railway workshops are given in one set of working rules as from 6:50 a. m. to 6:30 p. m. with an interval of 1 hour and 40 minutes at mid-day. As a rule the actual working hours are 10. Wages are paid twice a month and in cash only.

E. ITALY.

Italy has some of the best built railroads in the world (at least as far as difficult engineering goes), but her railroads have not been financially successful, perhaps because of constant variations in her Government. In 1878 a railroad commission was appointed to investigate, and they collected what is considered, by some, the most valuable body of information in the world concerning the railroads of all countries. They decided against State railroads as being more expensive and in danger of being used for political purposes. As a result the lines owned by the State were leased to private companies at contracts for 60 years, but which may be terminated before. Professor Hadley considers this strong argument against State railroads, but cheaply built and managed railroads, others argue, are not always the best.

January 1, 1891, there were 5246 miles of State railway, 2794 of companies' roads, and 96 of joint State and companies' roads. In 1890 the receipts were 255,687,108 lire, and the expenses, 193,879,424 lire; 50,855,569 passengers were carried.

F. SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland does not possess State railroads, yet her whole system is under the direct control of the Government.

Railroad construction in Switzerland began in 1844.

Nothing can exceed the skill with which en-

gineering difficulties have been overcome on all these Alpine lines. The St. Gothard, which was an international undertaking between Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, is the most conspicuous of these successes. It was begun in 1872 and finished in 1880, and is $9\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length.

A still greater piece of engineering work—the construction of a railroad tunnel through the Simplon—was resolved on in 1891.

All legislation respecting the construction and working of railroads, belongs to the Confederation.

The rate of speed is about the same on the Swiss railroads as on other Continental lines, on most of which 29 miles an hour is regarded as express rate, whereas in England nothing under 40 miles an hour is called "express" speed. But there is more excuse for this slowness on the Swiss lines than on Continental lines generally, the curves having frequently to be sharper and the grades greater.

The cost of the roads, up to the end of 1893, was 1,090,103,050 frs. The receipts in 1893 were 101,482,318 frs., and the expenses, 60,190,897 frs.

According to the report on Switzerland of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, the wages of Swiss engineers average 1970 frs., guards from 1080 to 1380 frs., and brakemen 900 to 960 frs.

G. RUSSIA.

September 1, 1895, Russia had in Russia, Poland, Siberia, and Caucasia, 13,506 miles of State roads, and 7427 of private roads; in Finland, Turkistan, etc., there were 1487 miles more, with 8106 miles being built. The Trans-Siberian road of 4950 miles it is proposed to complete in 1905, at an estimated cost of 150,000,000 rubles. The total capital spent on Russian railroads to January 1, 1894, exclusive of Finland and the Trans-Caspian roads, was 2,145,000,000 metallic r. (\$1,683,750,000). The share of the State in private roads was 2,006,000,000 metallic r., or 94 per cent. of their total cost. In 1893 the State paid 6,497,578 r. to private, and 8,736,223 r. to State roads. The revenue from the State roads was 81,098,371 r., but 80,733,350 r. were paid in interest on borrowed capital and for purchasing new lines. A zone tariff was adopted in 1894, and now a journey of 1089 miles can be made for 16 rubles and 80 copecks. The roads are wonderfully well kept, but the employees, 20 per cent. of whom may be women, are poorly paid.

II. OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Austria had, January 1, 1895, 4950 miles owned and worked by the State, 589 owned by companies and worked by the State, 4561 owned and worked by companies.

Hungary had 6725 State and 1492 private roads.

The total cost of the Austrian roads down to 1893 was 2,974,905,000 florins. The receipts of the Austrian roads in 1893 were 242,672,000 florins, and of the Hungarian, 102,591,000 florins; the corresponding expenses were 137,142,000 and 53,702,000 florins. See ZONE SYSTEM for an account of the Hungarian system.

In Austria, according to report on Austria of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, engineers receive 500 florins and an allowance of 200 florins for house rent, guards and porters receive 400 florins, and an allowance of 150 florins, besides uniform, fuel, aid in sickness, etc.

Denmark in 1894 had 1332 miles of road, 1067 of this belonging to the State, the cost of which, up to March 31, 1895, was 190,080,660 kroner. Holland in 1894 had 1667 miles of railway, of which the State owned 891. The State roads in 1894 received 19,880,000 guilders and expended 18,244,000. The private roads received 14,140,000 guilders and spent 11,061,000. The total expenditure on the State roads up to 1898 was 266,181,000 guilders. Spain, January 1, 1894, had 6708 miles of railway, all owned by private companies, with government gratuities or subsidies. Sweden at the end of 1894 had 5734 miles of road, 1899 belonging to the State. The receipts in 1893 were 51,112,740 kroner, and the expenses 31,987,328 kroner. The total cost of construction on State roads to the end of 1893 was 276,839,156 kroner. Norway had in 1890 960 miles of State roads and 42 miles of private road. The receipts of the State roads, 7,607,755 kroner, and the expenses were 6,303,137 kroner.

I. ENGLISH COLONIES.

Canada had 15,768 miles of railway completed June, 1894, with concessions for 4000 miles more. The receipts in 1894 were \$49,552,528, and the expenses \$35,218,433, leaving a net profit of \$14,334,095 on a paid-up capital of \$887,975,020. The Cape of Good Hope, December, 1894, had 2253 miles of State and 188 miles of private railways. The capital expended on the State roads to the end of 1894 was £20,296,943. The earnings in 1894 were £2,713,735, and the expenses £1,483,771.

In India and dependencies there are 18,855 miles of railway: 5377 owned and worked by the State; 8767 owned by the State and invested by private companies; 20,586 worked by guaranteed companies; the rest owned by native States and worked by them or companies. Up to 1895 the State had spent on roads, including those under survey, 255,253,039 rs. The total earnings in 1894 were 25,508,856 rs., and the total expenditures, 11,983,920 rs., or 96.78 per cent. of the gross earnings.

In Australasia almost all the railways are State roads. At first, however, this was not the case. The first roads were private, but with little capital at their command. Unable to obtain land grants, and with weak credit, poor management, and small traffic, the private roads one after another fell into the hands of the Government to satisfy the claims which arose under the guarantee of interest. Most of the roads were acquired by the Government soon after their completion.

The first step in the direction of a State-road system was the purchase of the Melbourne, Mount Alexander, and Murray River Railway (running into the gold-mining regions) in

India.

Australasia.

1856. The Geelong, Melbourne, and other roads followed soon after. In 1857 came legislation looking to the continuance of railway construction by the Government. But the general intention at that time was to lease the roads as soon as possible to private companies. Despite abuses and mismanagement in the government offices for the operation and extension of the roads, the advantages of government ownership and operation became clearer as time went on; so that by 1868 the State-road system may be said to have been finally decided upon.

The policy was begun in Victoria, but has spread through all Australasia. Says Mr. Dilke in his *Problems of Greater Britain*: "It has now become an axiom of Australian policy that the State should own all the railways" (vol. i. pp. 272-273).

There have been obstacles, but they have been gradually overcome. Mr. Dilke says:

"It is generally admitted in Victoria that there were many blots on the system of State control of railways until the appointment of a board of three commissioners independent of political influence. It is confessed that the management of a large department, spending a vast amount of money upon labor, when in the hands of political ministers, is often worked for political ends. 'Log-rolling,' in the construction of railways for private advantage, admittedly existed. It was sometimes found in Victoria that weak ministries, clutching at straws to save themselves from drowning, were willing to risk the future prosperity of the system for a little temporary help in the hour of trouble. Yet, even under political management, the railways of Victoria seem not to have been badly managed on the whole, and to have given a fair amount of satisfaction to the people. They were worked at a slight loss, but railways were constantly being pushed out into sparsely peopled districts, and the State was willing to look forward to the time when, the population having followed the railroads, the land near them would be well settled, and the railroads no longer a charge upon the State. That time has come. The commissioners are now working the lines upon a commercial basis, and the railway system of Victoria is self-supporting; the average rate of profit on capital expended having reached 4 1/4 per cent. The railways could have been made to pay a better return upon the capital invested, but the object of the State in the colonies has never been to make money directly from the railroads, but rather to encourage industry and to render service to the people. Fares and freights have been constantly lowered, so as to keep the revenue at a figure which would just pay all expenses. The profit that would elsewhere have gone into the pockets of shareholders, with no check save that supplied by the competition of other lines—a competition which in itself implies the creation of unnecessary lines, and the sinking of unnecessary capital—has in Victoria been converted into a means of lightening the load upon the farmers, and permitting graziers at great distances from Melbourne to supply that city with beef at moderate prices" (vol. i. pp. 196-197).

"The railways are used for the spread of education, and in New South Wales and some other colonies the school children are carried free of charge. In Victoria remissions of fares are made in the case of students in the schools of mines and in the schools of design. Specially low rates exist in all the colonies for suburban traffic. The fares in the neighborhood of Melbourne, for a district nearly 30 miles across, are, for single journeys, 1*d.* a mile, first class, and 3/4*d.* a mile, second class; and return tickets are given at 3/2*d.* a mile first class, and 1/2*d.* a mile second class; while monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and yearly tickets are granted at great reductions even upon these low rates. The result is a wonderful spread of suburban railroad traveling, and the custom in Victoria is so developed that, out of the large number of persons working in Melbourne who come in by train every day, a considerable proportion come to the town a second time in the evening, to visit the theaters. The lowness of railway fares in Victoria is the more striking when we remember that wages

are twice as high for shorter hours as they are in England, and that coal costs nearly twice as much. No one in Victoria now advocates private ownership of railroads" (p. 198).

Not everybody admits this. Some individualists claim that Australian State roads have not paid, and it is true that they have not always paid, but this may be because the policy has been pursued of low rates in order to develop the commerce of the country. On the whole, however, they have paid. The following figures for Australasia are from the *Statesman's Year Book* for 1896:

COLONIES.	Miles of Rail-way.	Cost of Con-struction.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Percentage of Expenditure to Revenue.
New South Wales.....	2,531	£36,611,336	£2,878,204	£1,567,589	54.46
New Zealand.....	2,168	16,142,667	1,150,852	732,160	63.62
Queensland.....	2,379	16,469,721	931,903	580,477	62.28
South Australia.....	4,792	....	....	....	....
Victoria.....	3,020	37,558,563	2,726,159	1,639,419	60.00
Western Australia.....	1,150	....	....	....	....

These statistics are for financial years closing in 1894.

III. RAILROAD PROBLEMS.

Perhaps the most serious railroad problem in the United States and elsewhere is the relation of the railroad to the State. A railroad under present laws must receive a charter from the State, and usually it looks to the State for valuable concessions and grants, which are given because railroads are supposed to aid, and beyond all possible doubt have uncalculably aided, the material development of the community. They are thus in one sense creatures of the State. In another sense they threaten to be masters of the State; and this condition has grown, it should be remembered, not out of any special evil or tyrannical intent or conspiracy on the part of railroad corporations, but almost inevitably out of the present situation. Railroad business in perfectly legitimate channels assumes vast proportions; a charter or a certain bill, or the defeat of a certain bill, may be worth to a railroad thousands or even millions of dollars. The legislators know this. They see an immense possibility for personal gain. Even a single vote for or against a bill may be worth to a railroad corporation many thousands of dollars, for the bill may turn upon a few votes, perhaps upon a single vote. The temptation to the legislator to sell that vote and the temptation to the railroad to gain votes by direct, or by indirect yet equally effective corruption, becomes almost irresistible to average human nature. In a country like the United States especially, where the tendency has been to minimize the function of the State and to magnify the function of the private individ-

The Nation and the State.

ual or corporation, government has not as a rule attracted the best men to its service. Legislators are often composed of second or third rate men. Opportunities for corruption in public life, and the very complexity and frequency of elections, have attracted to it politicians of the worst sort. They have not been superior to the enormous temptations to grant franchises and other railroad legislation for a consideration. The system once established, it has become almost impossible for a railroad corporation to be pure, if it desired to be. To secure an honest franchise or measure, honest means have become well-nigh impracticable. If one corporation will not buy its legislation another will, and the honest corporation is handicapped. Legislation goes to that corporation able and willing to give the most, not to the State or to the community, but to the legislature. The railroad lobby, by no peculiar viciousness of railroad men, but by the very necessary magnitude of its interests, becomes the worst and most corrupt lobby. This attracts to the business the shrewdest and least conscientious men. The public denounces the railway and the railway magnate. It forgets that the men are but the perfectly natural and almost inevitable result of the situation. Companies are formed to secure legislation, and bills introduced, with no thought of securing action, but to gain a franchise or a grant to be sold, or with which to blackmail some existing corporation. The situation becomes complicated and corrupt in the last degree. For some detailed evidence, see PLUTOCRACY. Of the United States, said Charles Francis Adams in 1880:

"I consider the existing system nearly as bad as any can be. Studying its operations, as I have done long and patiently, I am ready to repeat now, what I have repeatedly said before, that the most surprising thing about it to me is that the business community sustains itself under such conditions."

The report of the Hepburn Committee in New York State says of railroad abuses, that they are "so glaring in their proportions as to savor of fiction rather than actual history."

Such conditions have occasioned the efforts for the State to control the railroads. Interstate commissions have been created, but these have failed (see Section I. of this article; also see INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION). They have often but given the occasion, and under the present system almost the necessity, of the railroads to ignore the Commission, to violate the laws, or, more frequently, to secure representation in the legislatures, and sometimes to make restraining laws of no effect. Meanwhile other problems spring up. The railways are combining. Finding competition disastrous and railway pools ruinous, the inevitable result is consolidation and combination.

The following table, taken from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission for the given dates, shows the statistics of consolidation:

RAILROADS.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Abandoned	15	16	9	19	16	14
Merged	34	53	19	28	15	9
Consolidated.....	50	39	16	16	14	28
Owned by	7	5	1	11	3	1
No longer in existence	2	1	1	6	1	11
Total.....	108	114	46	80	49	63

Thus in six years 460 railways have disappeared as separate roads, an average of 75 a year. There were in 1894 only 745 independent operating companies. Nor does even this show the real situation, for according to the report of 1895, 43 roads in the United States, or scarcely 2 per cent. of the whole number of railroads reported, owned 100,714 miles of road, or 55.67 per cent. of the total mileage. Over one third of the total mileage had been swallowed up by other roads in six years, besides the large amount of mileage which has been "reorganized," and very often virtually consolidated in the process.

That the tendency of the times, as well as the law, is toward the still more rapid accumulation of the vast railroad interests in the hands of the few, is evidenced in the statements of the most experienced of railroad managers themselves. Mr. McLeod, president of the Reading Combine, in his testimony before the committee of the New York Legislature, admitted that the competition of the roads that were not consolidated with the Reading was the only thing that could prevent the combine from advancing the price of coal to such figures as its managers saw fit to name. He also emphatically stated that freight rates had in no way been regulated or interfered with by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that the logical consequences would be that if all the roads in the country were under the practical management of one corporation, the public would be correspondingly benefited. C. P. Huntington recently expressed the opinion that all roads in the United States should be under the management of one syndicate having absolute control. With such governmental control as we have had, there is nothing, except the will of the railway directors, to prevent the consolidation of all railroad interests under one management.

How widespread and universal is the restraint of competition by railway corporations may be seen by the following pithy words, penned by Charles Francis Adams, president of the Union Pacific Railway:

"Irresponsible and secret combinations among railways always have existed, and, so long as the railroad system continues as it now is, they unquestionably always will exist. No law can make two corporations, any more than two individuals, actively undersell each other in any market, if they do not wish to do so. But they can only cease doing so by agreeing, in public or private, on a price below which neither will sell. If they cannot do this publicly, they will assuredly do it secretly. This is what, with alternations of conflict, the railroad companies have done in one way or another; and this is what they are now doing, and must always continue to do, until complete change of conditions is brought about. Against this practice, the moment it begins to assume any character of responsibility or permanence, statutes innumerable have been aimed, and clauses strictly interdicting it have of late been incorporated into several State constitutions. The experience of the last few years, if it has proved nothing else, has conclusively demonstrated how utterly impotent and futile such enactments and provisions necessarily are."

Nor, *economically*, is the combination of roads in all ways to be deplored. No one can travel on small roads absorbed by large ones without realizing that accommodations are improved, new and better depots built, fares at least frequently reduced. Few economists to-day look to competition as the means of lowering railway fares. In the first place, competition, for the large majority of railway stations, cannot exist. Says C. W. Baker, in his *Monopolies and the People*:

"There are now [1889] in the United States about 37,000 railway stations where freight and passengers are received for transportation. Now, from the nature of the case, not more than 10 per cent. of these are or can be at the junction of two or more lines of railway. (By actual count, on January 1, 1887, 8 per cent. of existing stations were junction points). Therefore, the shippers and buyers of goods at nine-tenths of the shipping points of the country must always be dependent on the facilities and rates offered by a single railway. Such rates of transportation as are fixed, be they high or low, must be paid, if business is carried on at all. And when we consider the 10 per cent. of railway stations which are, or may be, junction points, we find that at least three-fourths of them are merely the junction of two lines owned by the same company. Consolidation of railway lines has gone on very rapidly within the past few years, and is undoubtedly destined to go much further. Of the 153,000 miles of railway in the country, about 80 per cent. is included in systems 500 miles or more in extent; and a dozen corporations control nearly half of the total mileage. The benefits which the public receive from this consolidation are so vast and so necessary that no one who is familiar with railway affairs would dream of making the suggestion that further consolidations be stopped or that past ones be undone.

"Assuming that the total number of railway junction points in the United States is 3000, we find, on examination, that at about two-thirds only two lines meet, and at more than half the remainder only three lines meet. It is plain that in the vast majority of cases where two roads intersect, and in many cases where three or four come together, the lines meet perhaps at right angles and diverge to entirely different localities. The shipper bringing goods to the station, then, may choose whether he will send his goods north, or east, perhaps; but only in the few cases where two lines run to the same point does he really have the choice of two rates for getting his produce to market. Practically, then, there are not, and never can be, more than a few hundred places in the country where shippers will be able to choose different routes for sending their goods to market. We say there never can be, because the building of a line of railway to parallel an existing line able to carry all the traffic is an absolute loss to the world of the capital spent in its construction, and a constant drain after it is built in the cost of its operation. This fact is now, fortunately, generally appreciated."

Competition, too, implies great waste. In his *Questions of the Day*, Professor Richard T. Ely, referring to the building of great railways with closely paralleled roads, makes this point, and says of two of these roads alone—the Nickel Plate and the New York, West Shore, and Buffalo:

"It is estimated that the money wasted by these two single attempts at competition amounts to \$200,000,000. Let the reader reflect for a moment what this means. It will be admitted that, taking city and country together, comfortable homes can be constructed for an average of \$1000 each. Two hundred thousand homes could be constructed for the sum wasted, and two hundred thousand homes means homes for one million people. I suppose it is a very moderate estimate to place the amount wasted in the construction of useless railroads at \$1,000,000,000, which, on the basis of our previous calculations, would construct homes for five millions of people. But this is probably altogether too small an estimate of even the direct waste resulting from the application of a faulty political economy to practical life. When the indirect losses are added, the result is something

astounding, for the expense of a needless number of trains, and what would otherwise be an excessively large permanent force of employees, must be added. Of course, nothing much better than guess-work is possible, but I believe that the total loss would be sufficient to provide the greater portion of the people of the United States with homes."

Of this Mr. Baker says:

"But it seems quite possible to make a closer estimate of the wealth wasted by the construction of unneeded railways than the general one above. There are now, in round numbers, 158,000 miles of railway in the United States. The two lines named above have a total extent of nearly 1000 miles; and while they are the most flagrant examples of paralleling in the country, there is no small number of other roads in various parts of the country which, except for their competition with roads already constructed, would never have been built. Considering the fact that the paralleling has been done in regions where the traffic was heaviest and where the cost of construction was greatest, it seems a conservative estimate to say that 5 per cent. of the capital invested in railways in the United States has been spent in paralleling existing roads. But the total capital invested in the railways of the United States is about \$9,200,000,000; 5 per cent. of which is \$460,000,000. It is also to be remembered that this 7500 miles of needless road has to be maintained and operated at an average expense per mile per annum of \$4381, or a total annual cost of nearly \$33,000,000. Taking Professor Ely's estimate of \$1000 as the cost at which an average-sized family can be provided with a comfortable home, and we find that the cost of these unneeded railways would have provided 450,000 homes, sufficient to accommodate 2,300,000 people. Say that 3 per cent. of the cost of these homes is required annually to keep them in repair; then this could be furnished by the \$33,000,000 now paid for the operating expenses of needless railways, and an annual margin of about \$19,000,000 would be left, or enough to provide each year homes for nearly 100,000 more people in addition. Of course, this is merely a concrete example of what possible benefits we have been deprived by wasting our money in building needless railways.

"As a matter of fact, the money we have spent on unprofitable railways, as well as those totally useless, has wrought us an amount of damage far in excess of their actual cost. It is generally agreed by financiers that the periods of industrial depression during the past score of years have been largely due to excessive railway-building; for, in a period of active railway construction, roads are built whose only excuse for existence is that they will encroach upon the territory of some rival."

Akin to this problem is the question of railway pools and railway discriminations. The history of the early railway pools has been referred to above. Latterly the law has endeavored to prevent pooling, and popular prejudice has been strong against it.

The fifth section of the Interstate Commerce Act attempts to perpetuate competition by making it illegal for any carrier operating over a rail or rail-and-water route to enter into any combination or agreement with other carriers for the pooling of freights or the division of all or any portion of the gross or net earnings from competitive traffic.

The law has been occasionally evaded but has generally been observed, perhaps because it has seemed impossible to bind the roads to any published rates. This year, however, the Joint Traffic Association, composed of 32 great railroad systems, has effected an agreement, and Judge H. H. Wheeler of the Circuit Court Southern District Court of New York, has ruled that it does not violate any Federal statute. Appeal will probably be taken to the Supreme Court, and it is uncertain how the case will come out. But it is by no means clear that pooling is against the public interest.

**Railway
Pools.**

The New York *Tribune* quotes Chauncey M. Depew on the decision, in part as follows :

"This is the best agreement for the people, the railroads, the business men, and every one in general that has ever been effected. It helps the Interstate Commerce Commission, if they would only see it.

"Under the old system of cutting rates, the traffic was distributed unequally, and transportation facilities were disorganized. When the railroad presidents of this country took hold of the matter last summer they found the country demoralized as far as transportation was concerned, and everything in a chaotic condition. The cutting of rates was such that a small shipper could not get the benefit of lower rates, but it was the heavy shipper, who shipped great quantities, that could demand and get a lower rate. The railroads suffered, the people suffered, and the whole tendency was to build up great trusts and tear down the small dealer. By this cut rate the heavy shipper could undersell the man with a small capital and a small business. The producer was also in a bad plight. He could go but to one market—that of the trust—and get only what they chose to pay, and the trust in turn could sell for what they wished. It was ruinous to the small but honest dealer, and bad for the producer, and in turn it was centralizing the capital and trade. While the trusts do not control the Interstate Commerce Commission, yet it was the trusts that were indirectly behind this attempt to tear down the agreement. It is a good thing all around that the agreement stands. It gives the railroads a fair and equitable toll for carrying freight; it gives the man with a small business and a small capital the same chance that any great organization has; it gives the producer the chance to sell his goods at a price buoyed up by legitimate competition, and keeps things normal. The conditions are ironclad and will stand. It is far and away the best thing for the country, as far as transportation goes, that the country has ever seen."

Mr. H. T. Newcomb in the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, 1896 (p. 203), says the insertion of the clause against pooling in the Interstate Commerce Act "is now generally considered to have been a serious mistake."

Nevertheless there is another side to railway pools. They may prevent discriminations and so put the small shipper on equality with the large, but usually, *as a matter of fact, they do not.* Says Mr. Hudson (*Railways and the Republic*, p. 221): "In practise the pool simply strengthens the arbitrary and unrestrained power of railway officials over part of their traffic, and thus facilitates all vital and injurious forms of discrimination. . . . It is their exemption from competition, too, which enables them to establish arbitrary and unjust differences between shippers whose traffic is extended and strengthened by the pool." He quotes the New York Court of Appeals as saying of a pool, "that the freighters and passengers would be ill-served just in proportion that carriers would be well paid." Competition is regarded by few to-day as a possible panacea for railway ills, but it does not follow that it is safe to trust the commerce of the country to a sovereign and irresponsible private railway pool.

Unjust discrimination, however, between shippers is a worse evil than railway pools. Says Mr. Hudson (*idem*, p. 38): "Discrimination between different localities or cities involves the daily exercise by railway officials who adjust freight tariffs of a power greater than that possessed by any civilized government, except, perhaps, that of Russia." Mr. Hudson instances rates against cities that made it

cheaper at one time for merchants of Pittsburg, in shipping freight to Texas or California, to ship it first to New York and then to the West. Butter, he says, was at one time charged 65 or 75 cents per tub from a point 165 miles from New York, and 30 cents from Elgin, Ill., 1000 miles away. Special rates to favored shippers is even a grosser evil.

Says Mr. H. T. Newcomb (*Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1896, p. 209):

"Prior to the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law so common was the practise of granting special rates to particular shippers that instances in which full published rates were charged have been declared by a high authority to have been the exception rather than the rule. Where the traffic was of great importance and the competition between rival roads exceptionally strenuous, each railway has been known to select a particular shipper, with whom arrangements for reciprocal favors were made. By means of such an arrangement a single firm was able practically to control for a considerable period all shipments of corn over a great trunk railway and to one of the principal ports from which that cereal is forwarded to foreign countries. The number of discriminations of this kind is known to have been materially reduced in consequence of the operation of the Interstate Commerce Law. They continue, however, to be one of the most effective weapons in competition for traffic between particular points, and will be an important factor in the railway situation as long as competition is a controlling element in rate-making. It is not even certain that they are not more harmful now than when more common; and it may be found that their baneful effects are accentuated by the fact that instead of being made, as formerly, for nearly every applicant, concessions from established rates are now granted only to powerful traders who are able to control vast shipments, and to traffic that yields a revenue that is of almost vital importance to the carrying companies. That such discriminations were a principal factor in the development of the petroleum monopoly, is generally understood. How far other great monopolies, such as those controlling beef and pork products and the sugar supply, have been so favored, is problematic, tho their ability successfully to demand such aid is undoubted. . . .

"The whole region south of the Potomac and Ohio, and east of the Mississippi, has continuously suffered from discriminations of this kind, through the system of making charges to a few selected cities the basis for through rates to all other points. Through rates are made to and from about two hundred of the larger towns, including Atlanta, Birmingham, Chattanooga, Meridian, Vicksburg, New Orleans, and Mobile, and traffic shipped from or to all other points is charged the rate to one of these basing points plus the local rate from such basing point to final destination."

Says the Hon. Thomas M. Cooley, formerly chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission :

"When the number of railroads which are now merely subsidiary to other and stronger lines, either through being brought into the same interest or from being leased or otherwise effectually controlled, are left out of account, there are something like five hundred in this country still remaining whose boards have the power to make rates for the carriage of passengers and property. These boards are by the law left to exercise in the first instance what is practically a free and unlimited authority in the making of rate sheets. They may make them high or low, just or unreasonably discriminating as between persons and property, or different classes of property, or between different centers of trade, at pleasure. . . . It was at first thought by those who made the laws for the building and management of roads that to leave the authority thus unrestricted was the best possible condition of things; that it would lead to active competition in rates, of which the general public would have the benefit; that the competition would, as a matter of course, force the rates down to a reasonable point; in short, that the competition would act precisely as it does in other lines of business. Experience has shown that this idea of railroad competition is a mistaken one; that it cannot be

Railway Discriminations.

compared with competition in the channels of commerce in general; that there are no such tests of the value of railroad service as can fix the limit down to which a road may go without inevitable loss upon its business as an aggregate; that it may carry some classes of its business at impolitic if not in fact at losing rates, and yet make profits upon its whole operations by charging to other classes of its business rates which may perhaps seem excessive and yet cannot clearly be shown to be so because of the absolute impossibility of making distinct apportionment between the cost of service rendered to one class and that rendered to the other. . . . But so inextricably are the railroads of the country intermingled in interest; in so many ways do they form routes from business center to business center, from the Lakes to the Gulf and from ocean to ocean; so easy is it for almost any seemingly unimportant road to be made a part of some direct or indirect route which shall constitute a great channel of commerce, that any considerable change in the rate sheets by any one of these 500 boards is not only likely to affect the business and the rate sheets of the roads which are its immediate rivals, but to reach out also in its influence from road to road in all directions, not over small neighborhoods, but from State to State, until what seemed to be the action, and was, perhaps, the hasty and reckless action of a mere local board may become almost of continental importance. . . . This then is the railroad problem." (Address to Third Annual Convention of Railroad Commissioners.)

It should be remembered, however, that railroads can often afford to carry a commodity from a large center at half the price for carrying the same commodity a far less distance from a smaller place. From the center cars are going continually, and a commodity can be carried on a train, and perhaps in a car that would have to be hauled in any case. To carry the commodity from the small place means, perhaps, an extra car; perhaps, even an extra train. It may be, too, that empty cars have to be returned to certain central points, and can carry goods back in them at scarcely any extra cost. This rarely happens in small places. Similarly, railroads can afford to carry large orders at cheaper rates than small orders. Discrimination against small shippers and small places is thus often natural, and in this sense just. Competition *must* favor the large shipper and the central point. The question of railway discriminations, then, is more complex than it at first seems.

Some railway men even claim that the real railway problem is how to earn anything at all. Such men say that the great trouble with the railroad business is the hostility of the public in trying to tax them more than the business will allow, and in seeking through legislation to prevent combinations and pools, with the result that competitive rates drive them into bankruptcy or fraudulent understandings and arrangements. Says Mr. T. B. Blackstone, president of the Chicago and Alton Railroad, one of the more conservative roads, in his Thirty-second Annual Report (February, 1895, pp. 10-11):

"It is now from 30 to 40 years since a majority of the railroads of this country were constructed by, and at the expense of corporations, to whom the several States had, by a covenant in their respective charters, or by general laws, granted the right to charge and collect reasonable rates for transportation, and it is about 25 years since such States, especially in the West, inaugurated the policy of reducing railway rates by the instrumentality of parallel and competing lines, for which there is not now, and has never been, a public necessity.

"The several States, by reason of having authorized the construction of such lines, are morally responsible for conditions which have caused reasonable rates to be unattainable.

"Many laws have been enacted by State legislatures and by Congress during the last-named period, which provide for rules, regulations, and reduced rates, under which, in combination with the subdivision of traffic which has naturally been caused by the construction of the parallel and competing roads, above referred to, a large majority of Western roads have been forced to bankruptcy. . . .

"As to about three-fourths of the railroads in the United States, no comparison can be made between the amount of taxes and earnings available for dividends, for the reason that there are no such earnings.

"From the statistics published by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year ending June 30, 1893, it appears that the owners of railroad stocks, to the amount of more than two thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine millions of dollars (\$2,859,334,572), or 61.7% per cent. of all such stocks, received no dividends, and that the owners of more than four hundred and ninety-two millions of dollars (\$492,276,999), or 10.7% per cent. of all railroad bonds, received no interest in that year.

"We learn from the same source that taxes amounting to \$36,514,689 were paid by railroad companies, which sum is equal to 36.1% per cent. of the amount of all dividends paid to railroad shareholders in that year, which was a year of at least an average volume of business in all parts of the country."

The report of the Commission of December, 1895, shows the number of roads in the hands of receivers. It says:

"Never in the history of transportation in the United States has such a large percentage of railway mileage been under the control of receiverships as on June 30, 1894. There were on that date 192 railways in the hands of receivers, of which 126 had been consigned to receiverships during the previous 12 months, and 35 during the year ending June 30, 1893. These 192 roads may be classified as follows: Thirty-one were roads operating over 300 miles of line; 37 were roads operating from 100 to 300 miles of line; 69 were roads of less than 100 miles in length; 4 were roads not in operation, and the remaining 51 were subsidiary roads, parts of systems. The mileage of line operated by these defaulting companies was 49,818.81 miles. Seventy-eight per cent. of this mileage is accounted for by the 31 important lines, each operating over 300 miles of line. The total capitalization of roads in the hands of receivers was about \$2,500,000,000; that is to say, one-fourth of the total railway capitalization of the country. This, as a record of insolvency, is without a parallel in the previous history of American railways, except it be in the period from 1838 to 1842. It is undoubtedly a result of the general business depression through which the country is passing."

There is, however, another side to this. In the *Banker's Magazine* appears an article on *Railroads in Default*, in which the writer, presumably the editor, seeks to correct the impression current throughout this country and Europe that a large proportion, not less than one-third, of the railroads of the United States are in default on their bonds. The writer furnishes figures to show that this impression is erroneous, and that the number of separate companies in default is 109 out of 679, being thus only 16 per cent. of the steam railroads in the country, while the total amount of bonds now in default is about \$976,000,000, out of some \$5,600,000,000 railroad bonds outstanding in 1894, or less than 17½ per cent. of the whole.

The following table gives a summary of the number of roads classified territorially and the amount of bonds in default.

It will be seen that the main roads in default are lesser roads in the South and West, while the large amount of bonds in default are the Pacific roads.

	NUMBER OF ROADS.	AMOUNT OF BONDS.
New England States.....	1	\$15,000,000
Middle States.....	8	92,529,400
Middle Western and Western States.....	32	100,921,200
Southern States.....	39	129,385,175
Southwestern States.....	7	29,907,000
Pacific Railroads.....	17	579,765,000
Pacific States.....	5	28,515,000
Grand Total.....	109	\$976,022,865

Says the writer :

"On June 30, 1894, the report of the Interstate Commerce Commissioners gave the railroads in receivers' hands at 156, of which 106 had failed during 1893-94 and 28 during the year ending June 30, 1893. The mileage operated by these defaulting companies was 38,860, of which 80 per cent. was operated by 28 companies.

"In such times of panic and depression as this country has passed through during the past two years there is an unfortunate tendency to exaggerate evils, and to overstate figures purporting to represent the extent of the troubles, especially in those branches of business where there are no government figures, nor any other statistics kept up with a reasonable degree of accuracy. It may, therefore, be somewhat reassuring to investors to know that only about 18 per cent. of the United States railroad bonds are now failing to yield promptly their interest as it falls due, and even this overstates the case, for the interest on quite a number of bonds embraced in the table above is paid a few months after it becomes due, and the default in each instance is only temporary."

All the facts contradict the "poverty" talk of the roads, Van Oss' *American Railroads as Investments* says upon this point (pp. 138 and 139):

"The mere fact that American railroad bonds pay an average of 4.36 per cent. suffices to show that water is not detrimental to the investor of to-day. These bonds represent no par investment; the average price at which they reached the first investor did not exceed 67, no matter what somebody who buys them to-day must give for them. Hence American bonds now actually return an average of 6.50 upon the real investment. . . . The above relates only to bonds, but we will show that the same conclusion must be arrived at concerning shares. Shares, according to *Poor's Manual*, now pay 1.80 per cent. on the average—apparently no high figure. . . . But for \$4,650,000,000 shares now in existence, the original investors certainly paid not more than \$465,000,000, or 10 per cent. of their face value, and probably less. Hence shares now return at least 18 per cent. per annum upon the actual investment."

The italics are not ours. Mr. Van Oss writes, not as a Western anti-monopolist, but as an English investigator who approves of the methods by which American railroads conceal their profits from the general public.

When railroads fail it is usually because of speculation, the bulling and bearing of railroad stock, financial railroad-wrecking, or the depreciating of stock in order to buy it up, etc., etc. Says Professor R. T. Ely (*The Independent*, August 28, 1890):

"Private railways are to be condemned because they have been so managed that they have defrauded thousands upon thousands of their property. Bankruptcies of railway corporations are an every-day occurrence; and there is not a town of any size in the United States where you cannot find people whose hard-earned savings have been swallowed by rail-ways; often the widow and orphan are sufferers. From 1876 to 1889 nearly 450 railroads in the United States were sold under foreclosure. When one person has suffered from dishonest or inefficient government

management of finances, 100 have suffered from dishonest or inefficient management of railways.

"American railways have frequently been managed by those who wished to bankrupt them for one purpose or another. I have a concrete instance in mind. A railway was recently, as was brought out by certain business transactions, purposely losing something like a thousand dollars a day to bankrupt it. It is often desired to bankrupt a railway to buy it in cheap and to 'freeze out' certain interests. Sometimes towns, cities, and States contribute to the expense of railway construction and take stock; now if the company becomes bankrupt and is sold at auction to the bondholders for the amount of the bonds, the stockholder is 'frozen out' and has lost his entire investment. Some farmers not long ago took stock for the land they sold to a railway company, and in the foreclosure proceedings all stockholders were 'frozen out.' It was considered a good joke!"

We have not, however, exhausted all the problems of the railway. Thus far we have been considering the relations of the railroads to the public. There is, however, the question of the relation of the railway to its employees. United States railroads have won, in the first place, an unsavory reputation for murdering their employees. If this seems a strong phrase, it is unfortunately justified by the facts. For proof of this, see RAILWAY ACCIDENTS. Next to the question of the lives of employees comes that of the wages of employees.

Wages of railroad employees in the United States are higher than those in Europe, but not so much higher as is sometimes thought, and not so much higher as first appears. According to the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1894, the wages of engineers in the United States were \$3.61 per day; of conductors, \$3.04; of firemen, \$2.03; of switchmen, flagmen, and watchmen, \$1.75. The Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1889, comparing English and United States wages, says the English engineer receives only from \$1.34 to \$1.95 per day, and the fireman only from 85 cents to \$1.10 per day. This is certainly lower, and yet deceptive. According to the commissioner's report itself, by no means all employees on American roads have work all the year. Fifty-eight and eight-tenths per cent. of them, it says, were employed less than half the year. For the 58.8 per cent. of employees, therefore, this would reduce their wages more than one-half, or below the English rates, and reduce the wages of all considerably. Doubtless English wages would have to be somewhat similarly reduced, but by no means to the same extent. On some English roads, if an engineer is not given 60 hours' work a week, he can complain to the foreman. The amount of employment is often a more serious question to a wage-earner than his rate of wage. Other questions, too, come in—as to general treatment, etc. Most of the great railroad strikes of the United States have turned on other questions than the rate of wages.

Wages.

In the United States, in 1894, wages were slightly lowered, and many employees discharged, because of the hard times, yet, at the very same time, the salaries of the general officers were raised. *The Statistics of Railways in the United States for 1894* (p. 37), published by the Interstate Commerce Commission, gives the facts as follows :

AVERAGE DAILY WAGES.

	1892.	1894.
General officers.....	\$7.62	\$9.71
General office clerks.....	2.20	2.34
Station agents.....	1.81	1.75
Conductors.....	3.07	3.04
Engineers.....	3.68	3.61
Firemen.....	2.07	2.03
Laborers.....	1.67	1.65

In France, according to a United States consular report, dated May 31, 1894, engineers, on the Paris, Lyons, and Mediterranean road, as a sample road, receive from \$33 to \$50 per month; firemen, from \$23 to \$28; switchmen, \$21.75, but besides this the company maintains a pension fund, to which the men contribute somewhat, but the company considerably more. English railways have had relief departments for their employees since 1850. In the United States the Baltimore and Ohio road organized such a relief organization in 1880. It was compulsory upon its employees, like the Canadian and European relief departments. Since then the Pennsylvania, Reading, and Burlington roads have organized relief departments, while the Northern Pacific and Lehigh Valley, and some lesser roads, have relief funds. The general principle is of a fund contributed to by both employees and the roads, from which sick, accident, and death benefits are paid. The four great railways having relief departments operate one-eighth of the total railroad mileage of the country, and their departments include 92,275 men, somewhat over one-tenth of the employees of the country. Some of the roads also maintain physicians, hospitals, etc., for their men. By the railway employees' organizations these railway relief departments are usually opposed, as tending to make the employees too dependent on the railroads, and preventing independent unions, which can agitate for higher wages or shorter hours.

In no country are the wages suited to the long hours often required. The mental strain of long hours of duty, where men are kept continually on the road, with little or no opportunity to rest, and the irregular hours for sleep and rest, even under the most favorable conditions, makes the life of a railway employee a hard one.

Nevertheless, in realizing these evils, the reader should not forget the good that railroads have accomplished, and, above all, the good accomplished by the great through roads. Without them modern commerce would be impossible. They have developed cities; opened up large tracts of territory; turned deserts into gardens. They bind together States and countries. They unite friends, and are the arteries of public life.

Mr. Atkinson calls Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt a communist, because of his service to the public, and says of American railroads:

"They have reduced the cost of moving a barrel of flour a thousand miles to so small a sum that it can hardly be measured in a loaf of bread, at a margin of profit which is less than the value of the empty barrel at the end of the line."

And again:

"The commerce of the world now turns from one side of the globe to the other on a margin of a cent on a bushel of grain, a dollar a ton of metal, a quarter of a cent on a textile fabric, or the sixteenth of a cent a pound on sugar. A cube of coal which would pass through the rim of a quarter of a dollar will drive a ton of food two miles on its way from the producer to the consumer."

Benefits to Commerce.

Yet in realizing what American railroads have done, it must not be fancied that they lead the world in public service. American freight rates are lower than those of Europe, but passenger fares are cheaper in Europe, especially on the State-owned roads. Mr. W. M. Acworth of England, comparing English and American Railways (Paper 16, in *Compendium of Transportation Theories*), puts the average third-class railway fare in England, which is used by the overwhelming majority of English travelers, and which he considers fully as comfortable as the average American car, at 1.8 cents per mile, compared with the American average of over two cents. On the other hand, the extra price for Pullman cars in America he considers considerably lower than the difference between first and third class fares in England. Professor Hadley gives in *Johnson's Cyclopaedia*, the following average rates for 1887.

COUNTRY.	PASSENGER : CENTS PER MILE.	FREIGHT : PER TON PER MILE.
United States.....	2.16	.94
Great Britain.....	about 2	less than 2
France.....	1.30	1.77
Prussia.....	1.22	1.43
Austria.....	1.54	1.85
India.....	.54	1.36

But the average American haul is 127 miles, and the English under 25; so that terminal expenses per ton-mile enter five times as much into the English rate as the American. Besides, a large proportion of English rates include cartage and delivery, even of rough goods, which in New York cost a dollar or two per ton. Again, English rates are essentially retail, at high speed and frequent intervals. American rates are essentially wholesale, at such speed and intervals as suit the railways.

Fares and Freight Rates.

According to United States Consular reports dated in 1894, railway fares in France also are cheaper than in America, and freight rates higher. Fares are, first class, 3.6 cents per mile; second class, 2.6, and third class, 1.6. Goods weighing under 88 lbs. are charged 8.5 cents per ton per mile; up to 6614 lbs., 13.6 cents; up to 40,492 lbs., 27 cents. Coal, timber for building purposes, are charged 2.03 cents per ton per mile.

In Germany, fares on the Prussian state roads are 3.09 cents per mile (first-class); 2.01 (second class); 1.29 (third class); 1.08 (fourth class); wheat and flour cost for 1000 kilometers (621 miles), \$10.99 per ton; iron plates, machinery, etc., \$8.61; pig-iron and coal, \$5.52.

For one kilometer, they all cost 20 cents, varying in proportion to the distance. Fares on Belgium's state roads, according to Professor Hadley, are the lowest in the world, save those in India. Since Professor Hadley's book Hungary's state zone system has lowered rates there to a marked degree.

As for the speed of trains, America probably runs a few of the fastest trains in the world. Nevertheless, one or two English trains occasionally run faster, and the average express trains in England, with their fine road-beds and lack of grade crossings, exceed the speed of American expresses.

Speed.

According to Mr. Theodore Voorhees, General Superintendent of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad (Paper 17, *Compendium of Transportation Theories*), that road has one train (the Empire State Express) which covers 440 miles at 52 miles an hour, but the average express between New York and Chicago, Boston, etc., makes about 41 miles per hour, while England has many trains at over 50 miles per hour. On the Continent few trains make 40 miles per hour, while 30 is nearer the express average.

The following table gives the comparative railway mileage of different countries :

	MILES OF RAILROAD.	MILES PER 1000 INHABS.
America.....	225,582	
Europe.....	148,230	
Asia.....	24,102	
Australasia.....	13,067	
Africa.....	7,695	
Total.....	418,676	
United States.....	178,709	26.7
Germany.....	27,863	5.5
France.....	24,455	6.4
Russia and Finland...	20,785	2.1
Great Britain and Ireland	20,641	5.3
British India.....	18,268	0.6
Austria Hungary.....	18,119	4.2
British North America...	15,768	31.1
The Argentine.....	8,357	19.3
Victoria.....	2,974	25.4
New South Wales.....	2,564	20.8
Queensland.....	2,379	55.1
New Zealand.....	2,101	31.3
South Australia.....	1,822	52.5

IV. RAILWAY REFORMS.

The ways in which it is proposed to meet the above problems are very diverse. Some argue for the maintenance of the present system, with more and wiser public control ; others, for a nationalization of the road-beds of railways, with private operation ; still others for complete nationalization.

A. IMPROVED PRIVATE MANAGEMENT.

The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1895 says (p. 15) :

"The tendency toward railway federation is very marked, and indicates a future combination of carriers wielding such extraordinary power as to constitute, in the estimation of many people, a serious menace to commercial freedom. That power will be deprived of its principal danger if the authority of the State to prevent excesses and inequalities finds ample expression in enforceable methods for fixing the standard of charges. The business in which railway carriers are

engaged is a public service of universal and constant necessity, and public authority is bound to see that the terms upon which that service is rendered are not burdensome or unequal. This implies vastly more than enforcing conformity to the published tariff and the prevention of discriminations between persons entitled to like treatment ; it involves the determination of what the tariff shall be, due regard being had to the rights of shippers and carriers alike."

But see p. 131.

"The Commission is not to be understood as advocating at this time an enlargement of the general scope of the act, or as asking any radical change in its general structure. Those who have given most reflection to the subject of government regulation are aware that the laws now in force are more or less tentative and experimental, and such persons anticipate that the evolution of railway control by public agencies will sooner or later result in a more comprehensive and direct exercise of the power possessed by Congress to regulate our internal commerce. But the time has probably not arrived for new departures in this field of legislation, and the Commission is careful to confine its recommendations within the limits and aims of the original enactment. The distinct object, therefore, of the amendments now urged upon your attention is to give to the statute the degree of completeness and effectiveness which it was designed to have, and to provide the means whereby its purposes can be fairly accomplished. It certainly cannot be believed that Congress, having once assumed to exercise a measure of control over railway carriers, will allow that control to become ineffectual by withholding the legislation found necessary to secure the results expected. We desire to make it specially plain that the amendments asked for at this time are intended simply to make the substance of the law mean what it was supposed to mean at the time of its passage. Experience has demonstrated the respects in which the statute is inadequate, and that demonstration discloses, we submit, the duty of Congress to correct its proven deficiencies. If the policy of regulating railroads by public authority is to be permanently continued, it is obvious that laws should be provided to make that regulation efficient and useful."

The objections to this plan, however, are numerous, but mainly based on the impossibility of controlling private railroads. Says the Hon. Thomas V. Cator in a tract on railroads :

"How then can the public control them without owning them? It is idle to say you will favor ownership by the Government if control fails, because every effort to control them has, and of necessity must, fail, until the people own and operate them. How can you expect to join such inconsistent things as private ownership and public control? The right to control, to fix rates, is the very essence of property and of ownership. He who cannot control does not in fact own property. If we seek, by boards, commissions, legislatures, congresses, or courts, to frame methods and sources to control railroads, the inevitable law of self-interest will immediately induce the owner to own also these boards of control, by which, as we have seen, all such commissions, legislatures, congresses, and courts are elected, packed, owned by that monopoly."

Objections.

Mr. C. W. Davis says in *The Arena* for August, 1891 :

"The president of the Union Pacific tells us that 'The courts are open to redress all real grievances of the citizen.'

"There is probably no man in the United States better aware than is Sidney Dillon that no citizen, unless he has as much wealth as the president of the Union Pacific, can successfully contest a case of any importance in the courts with one of these corporations which make a business, as a warning to other possible plaintiffs, of wearing out the unfortunate plaintiff with the law's costly delays ; and, failing this, do not hesitate to spirit away the plaintiff's witnesses, and to pack and buy juries—retaining a special class of attorneys for this work—the command of great corporate revenues enabling them to accomplish their ends, and to utterly ruin nearly every man having the hardihood to seek Mr. Dillon's lauded legal redress, and when they have accomplished such nefarious object, the

entire cost is charged back to the public and collected in the form of tolls upon traffic."

"Referring to traffic associations, and their vain endeavors to keep the corporations within sight of commercial ethics, the Interstate Commerce Commission says: 'But the most important provisions of the law have not so often been directly violated as they have been nullified through devices, carefully framed with legal assistance—here is one of the places where the high-priced lawyer gets in his work—with a view to this very end, and in the belief that when brought to legal test the device hit upon would not be held by the courts to be so distinctly opposed to the terms of the law as to be criminally punishable.'"

There is also serious reason to doubt whether the courts will to-day allow the Government to fix rates. Says Mr. Cator in the tract quoted above:

"The courts have emphatically decided that neither Congress nor the States, by legislation or commission, can provide for or put into operation any schedules of rates or tolls to bind a railway which cannot be restrained by injunction, and declared void either by a State or United States court, if, upon hearing, such court deems it unreasonable. The courts say that if the schedules fixed by the power of law are not, in the opinion of the court, reasonable, then it amounts to a taking of private property for public use without just compensation, and is forbidden by the Constitution of the United States. This has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Stone vs. The Farmers' Company*, 116 U. S. Rep., p. 307, and in *Dow vs. Beidleman*, 125 U. S. Rep., p. 680; also in United States Circuit Court, in 35 Fed. Rep. 880-886; also by decisions of the courts of last resort of many States, which are quoted in the late case of *Water Works vs. San Francisco*, 82 Cal. Rep., p. 286, where it was held that even where the constitution empowered a board to fix rates absolutely, it could be restrained by the court if it thought other and higher rates proper.

"The final absolute decision of our courts, therefore, is that the power to fix rates is in the courts, and cannot be placed elsewhere. What, then, is the rule adopted by the courts? It is this: That the rates must pay—first, the interest on the railway debts; second, all its operating expenses; and third, a fair dividend on its capital stock as fixed or increased; fourth, the expenses of operation shown by the books of the company—because no one is in a position to disprove these books, even if falsely kept, as to operating accounts.

"This amounts therefore to allowing the company to fix its own rates, despite and in defiance of any attempt to regulate. So if the Farmers' Alliance were in possession of every branch of government in States and nation, it would be helpless to regulate or control railways. Every law or schedule would be immediately stayed by the injunction of a court.

"This was done when Judge Brewer, by injunction, forbade the State of Iowa to put its schedule of rates into operation, at the suit of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company. It was done when the Supreme Court of California prohibited the city of San Francisco from putting its schedule of water rates into operation—and that such is to be the course, wherever control is attempted, is squarely asserted by C. P. Huntington in an interview published in the *Examiner* at San Francisco on April 4, 1892. When he was asked what would be done if any political action should be taken by the Merchants' Traffic Association to compel a reduction of rates, his answer was as follows: 'I will say that the association may or may not draw the company into politics. I think not; but if the legislature of the State passes acts tending to destroy the value of our property, we shall have to call for protection upon the judicial arm of the Government.'

"This proves that henceforth the above doctrine established by the courts is to be the shield of monopolies. They can increase stock and bonds at pleasure, so that no income would be so large but that they could show that it was required to pay interest, operating expenses, and dividends. They have the Supreme Court of the United States committed to this doctrine."

B. NATIONALIZED ROAD-BEDS.

It is proposed that competition be attempted in another form; that the nation own the roads, and, under proper conditions, allow

competing parties to run cars upon them, treating our railroads exactly as highways. The best plan for this has been presented by James H. Hudson in his *The Railways and the Republic*. He says in substance:

"Under this plan the trains may be owned, loaded, and forwarded by different carriers, but all trains would be under the control of a train dispatcher. The carrier wishing to run a train of his own could be required to run a regular train on schedule time, or to follow a regular train with an extra, just as extra trains are now run on every road in the country.

"With the right of all carriers to transport freight over any railroad fully recognized, it might be permissible to leave the movement of trains in the control of the railroad corporation. The company might be allowed to inspect the rolling stock sent over its road, and to exclude all rolling stock that did not meet the requirements of safety and dispatch.

"Even a small capital could compete on fair terms with the greatest. An engineer and a conductor, being qualified and licensed, could buy a locomotive, and engage in the business of hauling loaded cars belonging to one or a dozen shippers. Repeatedly, even now, more than one railroad company have used a track jointly for a term of years.

"The question of tolls under this plan of free competition presents but little practical difficulty. The toll should be a reasonable and uniform rate per ton per mile for freight, and per car per mile for empty cars; such as will, in the aggregate, yield revenue enough to repair and maintain the track, to pay fixed charges, and leave a fair dividend upon the *bona fide* capital invested.

"If any one carrier, or all the carriers, were to grant special rates and train accommodations to certain shippers, the shippers discriminated against could, by investing a few thousand dollars, secure the carriage of their freight at nearly first cost. Any community discriminated against by the projectors of a railroad could construct a short line of its own to the discriminating railroad, and freely use the tracks of the latter. Whatever differences of rates arise, under the natural and legitimate conditions of transportation, would remain under free competition. Whatever differences are produced by the monopoly of the railroads as carriers would be abolished."

The objections to this plan are many. It would produce most of the evils of the complete national ownerships of roads, without many of its advantages. If the nation owned and managed the road-beds, and controlled the running of the trains, as it would have to, in order to secure safety, it would have in its employ, and under its control, vast numbers of men, where all the evils of political corruption could creep in, and yet not owning the rolling stock, and allowing any one to run trains, it would have only a partial responsibility; that is, less power to prevent corruption. It is hard to imagine conditions more favorable to corruption. Divided responsibility is invariably the corruptor's opportunity. Again, it would hardly be possible, under this system, to prevent the combination that produces the evils of to-day. Large companies could own large quantities of rolling stock, and could easily, in a hundred ways, drive out small competitors. If competition could be easily and cheaply commenced, it could also be easily and cheaply bought up. In the very nature of the case, to secure safety, speed, and economy, there would have to be such an agreement as to the dispatching of trains as to make combination almost a necessity. Other difficulties could be mentioned.

C. RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION.

A growing number of persons favor complete railroad nationalization. This is favored

by socialists, but it is not necessarily socialist. (See SOCIALISM.) Says Professor Ely (*The Independent*, August 28, 1890) :

"Government ownership of railways must be regarded as a part of a general scheme for public ownership of all monopolies. It is in the direction of individual liberty, and does not lead to socialism. It may be regarded even as anti-socialistic. It has shown no tendency to promote socialism where it has been tried. It is, to be sure, a part of the scheme of socialists, but it is likewise desired by many anti-socialists. It does not of necessity mean centralization of power, but it is compatible with an extension of the sphere of States and local political units."

There are many arguments in favor of nationalizing railroads. First, it would be cheaper. Professor Frank Parsons says in the *American Fabian* for February, 1896 :

"The cheap transportation of persons and products is of the utmost importance to every people. It means an increase of travel and traffic, which adds to intelligence, sympathy, freedom, strength, safety, and wealth.

"Traffic increases in geometric ratio with the reduction of rates. Public enterprise serves the people at cost, reducing the rates to the lowest practicable figure, while private enterprise keeps prices up to the highest practicable limit.

"If the postal service had been left in private hands we probably would still be obliged to pay 25 cents on a letter or book, as we do to the private express companies, no matter how small the package. If, on the other hand, the business of the railroads had been turned over to the nation, freight rates and passenger rates would have been reduced from time to time, as the postal rates have been, and we would now be enabled to ride at a cost of one-tenth of a cent a mile, or less, and send our freight at one-half a cent per ton per mile. With the increase of traffic which is sure to follow low rates, it is probable that the cost of transportation would fall even lower than this.

"Trains have been run in this country at even a lower cost than one-tenth of a cent a passenger mile.

"If the nation owned the railways we could go from New York to San Francisco and return, for a five-dollar bill. These things would be possible, because of the great economies that would be effected by public ownership—economies that would save the people more than half of what they pay for railway service and reduce the actual cost of operation by at least a third. Here are the items :

Savings.	In Millions.	Authority.
By abolishing all but one of the presidents with their staffs.....	25	C. Wood Davis.
By abolishing the high-priced managers and their staffs.....	4	" "
By abolishing attorneys and legal expenses...	12	" "
By abolishing competitive advertising.....	5	" "
By abolishing traffic associations employed to adjust matters between competing roads.....	4	" "
By exclusive use of the shortest routes.....	25	" "
By consolidation of working depots, offices, and staffs.....	20	" "
By uniformity of rail cars, machinery, etc., cheapening their manufacture, etc.....	5	Parsons.
By avoiding strikes and developing a better spirit among employees.....	10	" "
By abolishing railway corruption funds.....	30	Thomas V. Cater.
By having no rent or interest to pay.....	300	Poor's Manual.
By having no dividends to pay.....	90	" "
By putting the surplus in the people's treasury..	20	" "

"Total savings by public ownership of railways, 661,000,000 a year—a saving of more than half the \$1,200,000,000 yearly paid to the railways by the people.

Second. Public safety demands public ownership of the railways.

Says Professor Parsons in the same article :

"It is seven times as dangerous to be a railroad employee in the United States as in Austro-Hungary, and eight times as dangerous to be a passenger in the United States as in Germany. It was less of a risk to your life to enlist in the Union armies during the Rebellion than to enlist in the railway train service of the United States to-day. One train man out of 12 is injured every year in the United States, and one out of 10 in the South. The managers are too anxious for dividends to care much about buying safety couplers or automatic brakes for freight cars, or even to provide for the safety of their crossings. The railway murders at the crossings in Chicago alone foot up to over 400 a year.

"A railway strike is a public calamity; paralysis playing about the heart of the nation. The great strike of '87, destroying millions of property and tying up hundreds of miles of road, opened the eyes of the people to some extent, but it took the Chicago strike to show our people the real quality of the institution. Since that, nine men out of ten I talk with are ready for public ownership. And no wonder: that strike cost the roads \$5,358,000, and the strikers \$1,730,000.

"The interests of employees are always better cared for in public employment than in private employment of similar nature. Eighty-five per cent. of all railway employees get less than \$2 a day. Baggage men average \$1.50, switchmen the same, flagmen \$1.13, and railway laborers \$1.24. On the other hand, Uncle Sam's mail carriers get \$600 the first year, \$800 the second, and \$1000 the third, and work but eight hours, while railway men work 10 to 14, and brakemen often 16 hours a day."

Third. Perhaps the main argument for nationalizing the railroads is that it would take out of industry the great combined interests that are to-day dominating commerce and threatening democratic institutions. Says the Interstate Commerce Commission Report for 1895 (p. 63): "Few persons appreciate the extent to which railway corporations are engaging in business outside the legitimate service of transportation." For further statements of how railroads control to-day the coal business, the oil business, the lumber trade; of how they own vast tracts of territory in the West, and are buying real estate in the East, see articles WEALTH; PLUTOCRACY; MONOPOLY; TRUSTS. Says E. P. Alexander in *Railway Practise*; "The great majority of the phenomenal fortunes of the day are the result of what may be called lucky gambling. . . . Wall Street is its headquarters, and millions upon millions of dollars are accumulated there to meet the wants of the players. Railroad stocks are its favorite cards to bet upon, for their valuation is liable to constant fluctuation on account of weather, crops, new combinations, wars, strikes, deaths, and legislation. They can also be easily affected by personal manipulations." (See PLUTOCRACY. For the extent to which they dominate and corrupt legislation, see the same article.) They own many legislators and some legislatures. They control Senators, are represented in the cabinet, and on the judicial bench. (For proof of all these statements, see PLUTOCRACY.) They laugh at the laws of States and the Interstate Commerce Commission confesses that it is powerless before them. (See INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT.) The one supreme reason for nationalizing railroads, is that control without ownership

is impossible, so that, if the country does not own the roads, the roads will own the country.

Says Professor R. T. Ely (*The Independent*, August 28, 1890):

"No government railways in the world are so thoroughly in politics as the American private railways. You cannot turn in any direction in American politics without discovering the railway power. It is the power behind the throne. It is a correct popular instinct which designates the leading men in our railways, railway magnates, or kings. If not already the real rulers of the country, they are becoming so; and already in the industrial world they wield a power which the ordinary political king does not possess. It is no wonder that they look upon Government with a certain contempt; for have they not their agents in all departments of Government? The danger which is to be dreaded is that of all despotic power; and, out of all despotisms, that which finds its source in the control of indispensable economic resources is most dangerous. In other words, if the ascendancy of private railways becomes complete, it will be worse than the despotisms of history in several respects. It is more secret and insidious in its operations. Its power ramifies in every direction, its roots reaching counting-rooms, editorial sanctums, schools, and churches, which it supports with a part of its revenues, as well as courts and legislatures. It is not an open, avowed power, but an underhanded one, which unawares throws its coils about us. . . . It can safely be said that no department of our Federal Government could long be managed so dishonestly as our railways. Public management is necessarily open. It comes before the people; the minutest details are dragged into the light. Now people are afraid to say what they know about railways; but under ownership by Government there is always a powerful party, supported by a strong press, whose interest it is to search out every abuse and make it appear even worse than it is. Practices which may now be indulged in with impunity would then send a man to the penitentiary. There would not, under public management, be the same temptation to dishonesty.

"An elevation of the character of our civil service must inevitably result from government ownership of railways. Private employment would no longer offer all the great prizes to business talent. Probably nearly all the present able managers, who are in so many respects an admirable class of men, would remain in railway service, but they would then exercise their talents in the interest of the public, and not for private interests, and, after all, public service tends to enable character in a morally sound community. Public ownership would necessarily be the death of the spoils system in politics, for it could not live when its real significance would become so plain. All would see what the nature of the spoils system is. Where Government does most, as a matter of fact, we find the best civil service, the least interference of civil servants in elections, and the greatest individual liberty of civil servants. We may expect something like a military organization of the railway department of the public service, and that kind of organization is the one needed in railways. Private corporations seek it and desire it; but it is dangerous in their hands, and cannot be allowed, even if it would prevent strikes."

The result of the last national election could have been changed by a change of 21,000 votes in California, Oregon, North Dakota, West Virginia, and Indiana. (See *PRESIDENCY*.) That enough political influence in those States was cast by the railroads to secure those votes for Mr. McKinley, no one acquainted with the facts will deny. We do not refer of necessity to corrupt influence, but to the natural influence of vast corporations employing so many men. Railroads in the United States employ directly 800,000, and according to O. D. Ashley of the Wabash Railroad, railroads support and therefore have a controlling power over 1,200,000. The federal armies of the United States at the end of the war numbered only 1,000,516 men. Is it safer to trust such armies to the national government responsible to the people, or to

private corporations largely irresponsible? And railroad corporations kill. In the terrible battle of Gettysburg, 2834 Union men were killed and 13,713 wounded; in the year 1894, 2147 persons were killed by railroad accidents (1823 of these being employees, mainly brakemen) and 26,476 were injured. The main power of the railroads is, however, financial. Their capitalization, June 30, 1894, was \$10,796,473,813, or over six times the national debt. This enormous power is practically controlled by a few men controlling a few ruling corporations.

"In America," says the English writer Acworth, "the railway rate is a matter of life and death. In America rates vary from day to day as wildly as the price of fish at Billingsgate. An Oriental despot, a Baber, or an Aurungzebe did not make and unmake cities with more absolute and irresistible power than did an American railway king.

"We are told that the American railways have ruined the English farmer; people forget that they have ruined the American farmer also."

X Says Mr. Stickney:

"This power, like a government, has authority to make tariffs and to enforce their collection. It claims a right which no civilized government claims, and no sovereign has dared to exercise for centuries, of rebating a portion of its tariff, and thus discriminating between its subjects in the collection of its revenues. It is safe to say that if the Congress of the United States should enact a law which established on any commodity one impost duty for the city of New York and a different duty for other cities, or one duty for one firm and another duty for another firm, no matter how slight the difference, the people would resort to arms, if need be, rather than submit." (See A. B. Stickney's *Railway Problem*, page 31.)

Says Mr. Bryce:

"These railway kings are among the greatest men, perhaps I may say are the greatest men, in America. They have power, more power—that is, more opportunity to make their will prevail, than perhaps any one in political life, except the President or the Speaker, who, after all, hold theirs only for four years and two years, while the railroad monarch holds his for life. When the master of one of the great Western lines travels toward the Pacific in his palace car, his journey is like a royal progress. Governors of States and Territories bow before him; legislatures receive him in solemn session; cities and towns seek to propitiate him, for has he not the means of making or marring a city's fortunes?" (Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, 1st ed., vol. ii., page 515.)

Says Mr. J. L. Cowles (*A General Freight and Passenger Post*, p. 38):

"According to the *Railroad Gazette* of March 20, 1896, the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad now owns all Southern New England, with its fast-growing cities, as in fee simple. It has not only absorbed our principal lines of land transportation; it has also obtained nearly complete control of almost every important wharf in our chief New England harbors and of almost every competing steamboat line that plies along our coast. It has already seized more than one of the trolley lines which were built to secure to local travel a reasonable service, at reasonable rates, and a decree has gone forth from the railroad capital, in the city of New Haven, that not another electric tramway shall ever be laid down on any of the highways which the people of Connecticut have built and which the tracks of this road parallel. There is to be no avenue of escape from the burdensome taxes which this corporation sees fit to levy upon its subjects. Recent events would seem to indicate that even the church is not to be free from its encroachments.

"Henceforth the presiding council of this Imperial Railroad Government are to regulate all the conditions of life in New England. The wages of New England labor, the profits of New England business, are to be determined by their will. Her cities, towns and villages are to wither and dry up or to grow and flourish

at their pleasure. It will be of no avail for the factories of the interior to move to the seaboard, for this railroad despotism rules the sea as well as the land. It completely dominates the navigation of Long Island Sound, the great ship canal that bathes our southern border. A view taken from the top of Bunker Hill monument will show that almost every dock in Boston Harbor is in its control. From Eastport, Me., to New York City the tariff laws of this *de facto* consolidated government have infinitely more influence upon life and upon business than have the tariff laws of Congress.

"Notwithstanding the fact that the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, with its comparatively level track and few curves, can haul the heaviest loads at the lowest cost of almost any road in the country, its average freight rate per mile is among the highest in the country. It is nearly double the average rate in the United States; it is more than double the average rate in the Middle States, in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. . . .

"The passenger fares on the various lines of this consolidated road are, in most cases, nearly as high as they were in 1850, and in some cases consolidation has very much increased the fares."

These great corporations, too, are, as many believe, one of the great causes of the development of other trusts and monopolies. Says Albert J. Stickney in his *Railway Problem*:

"A railway manager finds it more convenient to deal with one man or one corporation than to deal with a number of individuals; the manager therefore commences operation by giving to some enterprising party an advantage over his neighbor in rates. The favored individual, of course, soon obtains a complete monopoly in his particular trade; it may be in the product of mines or of oil wells, of farms or of factories. After a time the grantees of these monopolies become rich, and instead of receiving rebates as a favor, they become masters of the railways, and, by playing one against another, they practically dictate the rates they pay."

Says Mr. Depew:

"They parcel the United States out among themselves, and they send their products by any railway they see fit. To-day they send it over the New York Central; to-morrow they arbitrarily change it to the Pennsylvania Railroad. One of these privileged dealers, for instance, is able to send 5 or 10 cars of first-class goods per day from Chicago to New York. The regular rate is 75 cents per 100, but in order to get his trade, the railways offer him a rate of 35 or 40 cents."

Says Mr. Cowles (as above, pp. 28-29):

"Taking a carload of first-class freight at 10 tons, this great firm, at a rate of 35 cents, receives an advantage over its competitors of \$30 per car, from \$400 to \$300 a day, and from \$125,200 to \$250,400 for the working year of 313 days, according as it ships 5 or 10 cars a day. In November, 1891, the Federal grand jury returned an indictment against Swift & Co., dressed-beef shippers of Chicago, for having received \$30,000 in rebates in the previous six months from the *Nickel Plate Road alone*. Is it any wonder that in a short time the competitors of such a firm are wiped out?"

To put such power in private hands makes talk of liberty in America almost absurd. On the other hand, Mr. J. L. Cowles shows how cheap freight and passenger transportation could be if the railroads were managed as is the postal service by the nation. He says (Preface, xi.-xii.):

"With the transportation business pooled under the control of the post-office, with a demurrage limit of eight hours—the demurrage limit of Holland and Belgium—and with trains sent from the starting point to destination over the shortest and most level routes, a uniform prepaid rate of \$1 a ton on box-car freight and 40 cents a ton on products carried in open cars would furnish an ample revenue from freight traffic. And is it not also reasonable to believe that \$1 would pay the full cost of the service for the average trip by ordinary cars on the fastest express, and that five cents a trip would meet the cost by way trains?"

To prove this he says (p. 76):

"The essential facts to be considered in the railway

business are as follows: When once a railroad is built, trains must run, and it makes very little difference in the cost of the business whether the cars go full or empty, or whether a locomotive runs alone or with a long and heavily laden train behind it; neither does it make a measurable difference in the cost whether a part of the train-load is left at one station or at another. Are the rates so high that only a royal personage can purchase a ticket? Then that single individual must bear the entire expense of the train that carries him. On the other hand, are the rates so low that 100 persons can avail themselves of the opportunity to travel? Then each traveler will be obliged to pay but a hundredth part of the cost of the train, and that cost will be increased only by the interest and wear and tear of one additional car during the trip. The expense of moving the train will be practically the same in either case, and it will hardly make a whit difference whether one passenger or all the passengers leave the train at the first station at which it stops or go through to the end of the journey. When once a train has started from Boston to San Francisco, there is not a man living can tell the difference in the cost of running that train, whether a passenger gets off at the first station out of Boston or goes through to the Golden Gate. At every station some passengers will leave the train, others will take their places. One traveler in 1000, perhaps, will go the whole journey. . . .

"Mr. Wellington (in his *Economic Theory of Railway Location*) estimates that the addition of 30 tons dead weight (and live weight is no heavier than dead weight) to a train of five cars will not increase the cost for coal in this country over one cent a mile; and since all the passengers that can be squeezed into five cars will not weigh 30 tons, it therefore follows that the variation in the haulage cost of a five-car train carrying 300 or 400 passengers and an empty five-car train is but one cent a mile. . . .

"Taking the entire expenses of an eight-car passenger train, on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad main line, at \$1 a mile (the cost of the average passenger train on that road for the year ending June 30, 1893, was less than 98 cents a mile), the total cost for a 100-mile trip is \$100, or less than 20 cents for each of its 520 seats for the whole distance. The average trip of the traveler on this road, however, is but 17.04 miles, so that the average train empties itself five and eight-tenths times on a 100-mile journey, and therefore the actual seating capacity of an eight-car way-train on such a trip is over 3000, and the cost of each seat for the average ride of 17.04 miles, some of the travelers going the whole distance, others but from one station to the next, is less than three and one third cents; and even if the train is but half filled, the cost per passenger per trip is but seven cents. But the modern locomotive can haul a twelve-car train on this road at almost the same speed that it can haul eight cars, and with an additional expense, including extra brakemen and use of the extra cars, of certainly less than \$15 for the 100-mile trip, and these cars will afford accommodation for 1500 more passengers for the average 17-mile ride at a cost to the railroad of less than one cent for each seat.

"These figures are astonishing enough, but the following statement made by the conservative William M. Acworth, the highest railway authority in England, goes far beyond my estimates. Mr. Acworth says that if a passenger who would otherwise have stayed at home were induced to go from London to Glasgow by the offer of a first-class ticket for 3d (six cents), the company would, unless indeed there was no first-class seat available on the train, secure a net profit of two and three quarter pence (five and one half cents), for the remaining farthing (one half a cent) is an ample allowance for the cost of haulage. The exact figures in detail are as follows: For coal, three sixteenths of a penny; the remaining one sixteenth of a penny is more than sufficient to pay for the extra oil, and stores, and water consumed, making a total of one fourth of an English penny or one half of an American cent. Add, say, another half a cent for the wear and tear of the seat, and you have one cent. Up to the capacity of the railway trains of a country, the cost of the additional passengers who could be induced to travel by low fares would not be over one cent for a distance of 410 miles. (See "Taxes on Transport," *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, January, 1892.) . . .

"As to freight, the *Railroad Gazette* tells us that at times during the summer of 1895 the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad hauled grain from Buffalo to New York (440 miles), for 3.96 cents per 100

Cost of
Transportation.

pounds, less than 80 cents a ton, and these low rates resulting in train-loads of 1800 tons, 60 cars of 30 tons each earned for the road over \$3.24 a train mile, or more than double the average earnings per freight-train mile of the country, \$1.55744, in 1894, and far more than the earnings per mile of its own average freight train. It is safe to say that even now grain can be transported from Buffalo to New York over the New York Central and Hudson River Road for 50 cents a ton at a very handsome profit; 1800 tons at 50 cents a ton equals \$900. The cost of running the average freight train on this road in 1893 was \$1.38654 per mile, and for 440 miles, \$610.08, leaving a profit on trains of 1800 tons, at 50 cents a ton, of nearly \$300 per train trip.

"But if this be true now, what will not be possible with the new locomotives of Mr. Westinghouse, which promise to do the same amount of work as the present engines, with but one eighth the amount of fuel? . . .

"The statement of H. T. Newcomb, in the *North American Review* of July, 1896, that the average freight car of this country now does little over 12 full days' work in the course of a year, goes far in the support of these conclusions. With a reasonable system of classification, it would seem possible to reduce the transportation tax on coal and products of its class to 25 cents per ton per haul.

"Four days out of five our freight cars lie absolutely idle, obstructing side-tracks and rotting under the influence of sun and wind and rain. They will not average 73 paving hauls a year, and they earn less than \$500 a year. The average car-movement of the country is absurdly small," says the editor of the *Railway Review*, "and it is so mainly because of the misuse of the cars by the railways themselves." The car accountant of the West Shore Road, Mr. W. W.

Possible Freight Charges.

Wheatly, estimates the waste of capital in this misused equipment at over \$124,000,000, with an interest account of at least \$5,000,000 and an annual expenditure of about \$10,000,000, to say nothing of track room to hold them, locomotives to move them, and the other minor but necessary expenses which their existence involves.

"Our total railroad freight revenues for the year ending June 30, 1894, were \$699,490,013, less than \$1.10 per ton for the 638,186,553 tons handled.

"If the 1,205,169 cars belonging to the railroads had made but two paying hauls a week in that year, at \$7 per car per haul, they would have earned over \$877,000,000, and an average load of 12 tons, at an average rate of but 60 cents a ton, would have produced \$7.20 per car.

"Is there anything so very wild in a plan that leaves first-class freight at \$1.20 a ton, second-class at 80 cents, and the cheapest service at 40 cents a ton?"

Of possible passenger fares, Mr. Cowles says :

"The people of the United States take hardly half as many railroad trips during the year as do their English brethren. Our 60,000,000 people, with their 170,000 miles of railway, took less than 532,000,000 railway trips in 1891, as against over 845,000,000 by the English, with less than half our population, and with less than one eighth of the railway facilities. Will you have the reason for it? Is it not manifestly due to the cheap fares on the English working men's trains and to their numberless excursion trains? . . .

"It is to be remembered that even now, with average train-loads of but 44 persons, the average passenger fare of the country is but 53 cents, and the same locomotive that hauls these 44 persons can haul 500 at practically the same cost. (The excursion trains on the Cleveland, Canton, and Southern Railroad, in August, 1895, hauled 700 passengers at very little more cost than that of their average passenger trains and at practically the same speed.) The average

Possible Passenger Fares.

passenger train, moreover, can easily make twice as many trips during the year as at present. The present average train-load of 44 persons earns on its average 26.43-mile trip about \$23. A train of 100 first-class passengers at 20 cents a trip, and of 100 second-class passengers at 5 cents would earn \$25 in the 26.43-mile journey; but these rates would so stimulate the short-distance travel that under such conditions the train would probably empty itself every 13 miles, and the return would probably be nearer \$50 than \$25.

"Palace-car travelers, we are told, do not pay one half the cost of their transportation, and yet these are the travelers best able to bear the burden of railway

expenditure; their cars weigh at least a third more than ordinary cars; they cost a third more, while they carry hardly half as many passengers. Palace-car fares ought certainly to be from four to six times ordinary fares. Even in this case, however, this class of fares will probably be lower than they are to-day. If palace cars and sleeping cars do not pay there are two reasons for it: first, the unnecessarily high prices paid by the railways to such private concerns as the Pullman Car Company for the use of its cars; and, second, the fares which are so high that only one seat in six, perhaps, is occupied. Those whose 'good-will' is lightly regarded by our railway managers cannot afford to travel in palace cars.

"It was for the common interest, however, that railways were built, and the common interest demands the extension of the sphere of the post-office to cover this whole business, with passenger and freight schedules, something as follows:

PASSENGER SCHEDULE.	Fares per Trip.
Way trains, ordinary or second-class cars	\$.05
Palace or first-class cars	\$.20 to .30
Baggage, per piece, regulation size and weight or less, per railway trip.	\$.05
Baggage, domicile to domicile, by post.	\$.10 to .20

The objection most frequently raised to national ownership is that to put 700,000 people into government service would give infinite opportunity for political corruption, through the ap-

Objections.

pointing power and through the political power that an unprincipled administration might gain by compelling its employees to vote in one way. But the appointing power could be abolished, the believers in nationalizing the roads say, through a rigid civil service, which is to-day being adopted in all government departments; while the political danger might be avoided by refusing to allow public employees to vote. If there should be evil, it must be remembered that there is evil to-day when private corporations frequently practically compel their employees to vote in one way. Says Mr. C. Wood Davis in *The Arena* for July, 1891 :

"The second objection is that there would be constant political pressure to make places for the strikers of the party in power. . . .

"That this objection has much less force than is claimed is clear from the conduct of the postal department, which is, unquestionably, a political adjunct of the administration; yet but few useless men are employed, while its conduct of the mail service is a model of efficiency, after which the corporate-managed railways might well pattern. Moreover, if the railways are put under non-partizan control, this objection will lose nearly, if not quite, all its force."

Professor Parsons sums up the matter in a word when, to the objection that public ownership would put the roads in politics, he says: "They are in politics now, in the worst possible way." One advantage of public ownership would be publicity of management and of accounts. To day no one knows about railroad management.

The second objection to nationalized railroads is that they might be too costly. Says Mr. Davis on this point :

"Possibly this would be true, but they would be much better built and cost far less for maintenance and 'betterments,' and would represent no more than actual cost; and such lines as the Kansas Midland, costing but \$10,200 per mile, would not, as now, be capitalized at \$53,024 per mile; nor would the president of the Union Pacific (as does Sidney Dillon in

the *North American Review* for April) say that 'A citizen, simply as a citizen, commits an impertinence when he questions the right of a corporation to capitalize its properties at any sum whatever,' as then there would be no Sidney Dillons who would be presidents of corporations, pretending to own railways built wholly from government moneys and lands, and who have never invested a dollar in the construction of a property which they have now capitalized at the modest sum of \$100,000 per mile.

"The seventh objection to State-owned railways is that they are incapable of as progressive improvements as are corporate-owned ones, and will not keep pace with the progress of the nation in other respects. There may be force in this objection, but the evidence points to an opposite conclusion. When the nation owns the railways, trains will run into union depots, the equipment will become uniform and of the best character, and so sufficient that the traffic of no part of the country would have to wait while the worthless locomotives of some bankrupt corporation were being patched up; nor would there be the present difficulties in obtaining freight cars, growing out of the poverty of corporations which have been plundered by the manipulators, and improvements would not be hindered by the diverse ideas of the managers of various lines in relation to the adoption of devices intended to render life more secure or to add to the public convenience. Instead of national ownership being a hindrance to improvement and enterprise, the results in Australia prove the contrary, as in Victoria the government railways are already provided with interlocking plants at all grade crossings, and one line does not have to wait the motion of another, but all are governed by an active and enlightened policy which adopts all beneficial improvements, appliances, or modes of administration that will add either to the public safety, comfort, or convenience."

The third objection is that it would cost the people too much to buy the roads. To this those who favor the nationalization of roads answer that it need not cost the people a dollar. Says Professor Ely (in the article quoted above):

"Existing lines should be purchased, and a good, fair price, to be settled by arbitration, ought to be paid. There is no reason why an attempt should be made to get this property for less than its present value; on the contrary, there is every reason why a just price should be paid. The Government should build parallel lines only in case an honest price is refused. Thus the railways could be brought to terms. A sinking fund to repay the bonds issued must be a part of any scheme of government purchase, and charges for freight and passenger traffic should be high enough to pay all expenses and make payments to the sinking fund, and should be reduced from time to time to prevent a surplus. It is interesting to notice that in Prussia the financial success of government ownership has surpassed anticipations."

Professor Ely believes in paying a good price for the roads; firstly, in justice to the stockholders, who have honestly bought railroad stock; secondly, from reasons of expediency, in that a contrary policy would throw the interests of present railroad corporations, as well as the stockholders, so strongly against railroad nationalization that it is doubtful if the measure could be carried save by revolution. Most nationalizers agree with this view. Even so, however, the purchase would cost the country nothing, as the railroads would earn enough to more than pay interest on the purchase.

Some, however, favor more radical methods of purchase. They at least believe that the Government should be very careful what it pays for the railroads, since so much of their present valuation is watered.

According to Mr. Henry V. Poor, in *Poor's Manual of Railroads* for 1884, the average cost per mile of the railroads in the United

States did not exceed \$30,000. Accepting that estimate, the 178,708 miles in the United States, according to the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission of December, 1895, represented \$5,361,240,000, instead of \$10,796,473,813. That is, the capitalization was more than one-half water.

If the Government bought the roads at their cost value by issuing bonds, and paid interest at 3 per cent. on the bonds, the annual charge would be \$160,000,000. In the depressed year ending June 30, 1894, the gross earnings of the roads were.....\$1,073,361,797 and the gross expenses..... 731,414,322

leaving.....\$341,947,475
Subtracting the interest from this, the nation could pay the interest on the bonds and clear \$180,000,000 a year, which, applied to a sinking fund, would pay off the principal in 30 years and enable the nation, without a dollar's expense, to have a net income of \$340,000,000 annually. This is based on the depressed profits of 1894, and makes no allowance for economy through nationalization, which is estimated above at hundreds of millions of dollars, and makes no allowance for putting the sinking fund at interest.

References: C. F. Adams, Jr., *Railroads, their Origins and Problems* (1878); also his *Chapters on Erie* (1872); E. Atkinson's *The Railway, the Farmer, and the Public* (1885); Albert Pink's *Various Reports, Arguments, and Testimonies*, before Congressional and other committees; A. T. Hadley's *Railroad Transportation* (1885); J. F. Hudson's *The Railways and the Republic* (1886); *Poor's Manuals*; Ex-President Stickney's *Railway Problems*; reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, etc., etc.; *Compendium of Transportation Theories* (1893); George Findlay's *Working and Management of an English Railway* (1891); J. L. Cowles' *A General Freight and Passenger Post* (1896)

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—In the year closing January 30, 1894, there were killed in the United States by railway accidents, 324 passengers and 1823 railway employees; 3034 passengers were injured and 23,422 employees. One out of every 156 employees was killed and one out of every 12 injured. One passenger was killed out of every 1,668,791 carried, or one for each 44,103,228 miles traveled, and one passenger injured for every 178,210 passengers, or one for each 4,709,771 miles. In Great Britain in 1894, 479 employees were killed and 2711 injured, or one for every 796 and every 140 employees. That is, it was five times as safe to be a railroad employee in Great Britain, as far as life was concerned, and eleven times as safe as far as life and limb were concerned. And this was a favorable year for the United States, due, says the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, from which the facts for the United States are taken, partly, it is hoped, to the increased use of safety appliances, but partly to the decreased number of men employed. Hazell's *Annual* for 1896, from which our facts for Great Britain are taken, says: "Relative to the total train movement, the railways of the United Kingdom have in six years killed about four and one-half times fewer passengers than those of the United States, but our lines cost something like five times as much to construct." This is not, however, to

say that railroad fares or running expenses in England are so much more than in the United States. (See RAILWAYS.)

In Belgium, under State management, only 93 passengers and employees have been killed by collisions or derailments, from 1835-91, 2032 have been killed in stations, and 1062 have lost their lives by being run over; 3187 in 56 years—less than in the United States in two years. As the United States has about five times as many miles of road for her population as Belgium has for hers, 3187 accidents in Belgium would be equivalent to about 16,000 in the United States, so that Belgium has killed in 56 years, proportionately, what the United States has in eight years; both employees and passengers taken together. For employees alone, the figures are far worse.

In France, according to the *Annuaire de l'Economique Politique*, there were killed on French railways, in 1893, 514 persons to the United States 34,556 in that year.

The United States has about four times as many miles of road for her population as France has for hers, so that 514 accidents in France correspond to 2056 in the United States.

Germany in 1889-90, according to the report on Germany of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, killed 1 employee to every 500 on her railways to the United States 1 for every 156 in the favorable year of 1894.

The cause for these enormous differences is that the railroads of Europe are far better built than those of the United States, far better manned, and far more carefully managed. The only advantage on the part of the United States is that her roads cost less to build and have cheaper freight rates.

As far as passengers are concerned, the safety in England as compared with America is mainly due to the absence in England of grade crossings and the general adoption of the block system, which is now being introduced in the United States. As far as employees are concerned, the slaughter of men in the United States is mainly of brakemen, who couple freight cars with inadequate and antiquated couplings. In 1894 only 27 per cent. of the freight cars of the United States had automatic couplers, and only 22 per cent. train brakes.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' ORGANIZATIONS.—Under this head we consider the organizations of railway employees of all kinds, from the conservative Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to the American Railway Union.

The first railway men to organize were the engineers. After early ineffectual efforts at organization, May 8, 1863, 12 engineers at

Detroit formed a Brotherhood of the Footboard, which has since grown into the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. By August 1863 a Grand National Division was organized, with W. D. Robinson, sometimes called the Father of the Brotherhood, as Grand Chief Engineer. The first strike of the Brotherhood took place in 1864, on the Fort Wayne

and Chicago road, and was defeated. In 1864 the name Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was adopted. In 1866 *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal* was established, and in the ensuing years various orphans' and disabled members' funds. In 1872 the Brotherhood voted to expel all members engaging in a strike without the direction of their divisions. In 1874 Mr. P. M. Arthur (*q. v.*) was chosen chief of the Brotherhood, and has held the office down to the present time. His policy has been to manage the Brotherhood on purely "business" principles, strictly in the interests of its members alone, and not to unite with any other labor organization unless it could be shown directly for the interests of the Brotherhood. This policy has often gained for him the hostility of other organizations and the praise of business men for his conservatism. Nevertheless the Brotherhood has had a number of strikes. The Brotherhood, as its records abundantly show, first exhausts all pacific means, and then stops the trains at such hours as to cause as little inconvenience as practicable to the traveling and business public. The Brotherhood has been generally successful in securing a compliance with its requests without much delay. Sometimes the struggle has been protracted, the officials refusing at first to even recognize the Brotherhood. But eventually they have been compelled to do so. In a few instances strikes have been unsuccessful, owing usually to the assistance rendered by other companies. In commenting on the result of one strike, which cost the company at least half a million dollars, Chief Arthur said:

"It is not the money that has been paid the engineers that has bankrupted so many railroads. It is the speculation, fraud, and mismanagement of those high in authority. If all the legitimate earnings of the railroad companies found their way into their treasury, they could afford to pay their employees liberal wages and declare a fair dividend to their stockholders."

According to the third biennial report of the Minnesota Bureau of Labor Statistics (p. 335), the Brotherhood has paid out through its mutual life assurance associations, from the organization of this fund in 1867 to March 31, 1892, \$3,778,169. In 1892 the receipts of the Brotherhood, with about 33,000 members, were \$118,663, and its disbursements \$82,270, the grand dues of the Brotherhood being \$2 per year.

In 1868 the Order of Railway Conductors of America was organized at Mendota, Ill. It has a mutual insurance department which in 1890 received \$724,317 for 4680 members, and paid out \$680,078. The total membership of the order in 1890 was 15,769.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was organized in an old car-shed at Port Jervis, N. Y., December 1, 1873. By 1877 there were 78 lodges, but its growth was checked by the railroad strikes of that year. (See STRIKES.) It has since, however, grown. It has now 472 lodges, and a strong insurance system, with 26,000 members, in 1892. Its official head is F. P. Sergeant of Terre Haute, Ind.

Other
Railway
Organiza-
tions.

The first lodge of Railroad Trainmen was organized September 23, 1883, at Oneida, N. Y. By 1885 it had nearly 7000 members, and 20,409 members in 1890.

The Switchmen's Railroad Aid Association of North America was organized in Chicago in 1886, and had 6453 members in 1891.

All of these organizations have well-managed insurance departments.

The American Railway Union is a new organization, and much more radical than the others. It was organized in Chicago, June 20, 1893, under the lead of Eugene V. Debs (*q. v.*). The report of the Commission on the Pullman strike (see PULLMAN) says of this union :

"The theory underlying this movement is that the organization of different classes of railroad employees (to the number of about 140,000) upon the trade-union idea has ceased to be useful or adequate; that pride of organization, petty jealousies, and the conflict of views into which men are trained in separate organizations under different leaders, tend to defeat the common object of all, and enable railroads to use such organizations against each other in contentions over wages, etc.;

The American Railway Union.

that the rapid concentration of railroad capital and management demands a like union of their employees for the purpose of mutual protection; that the interests of each of the 850,000 and over railroad employees of the United States, as to wages, treatment, hours of labor, legislation, insurance, mutual aid, etc., are common to all, and hence all ought to belong to one organization that shall assert its united strength in the protection of the rights of every member.

"In the American Railway Union there are departments of literature and education, legislation, cooperation, mediation, insurance, etc. The organization consists of a general union and of local unions. The general union is formed by representatives of local unions, who elect a board of nine directors quadrennially. This board has authority to 'issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the order.' Any ten white persons employed in railway service, except superintendents, etc., can organize a local union. Each local union has its board of mediation, and the chairmen of the various local boards upon a system of railroads constitute a general board of mediation for that system.

"The constitution provides that :

"All complaints and adjustments must first be taken up by the local union; if accepted by a majority vote, it shall be referred to the local board of mediation for adjustment, and, if failing, the case shall be submitted to the chairman of the general board of mediation; failing in which, they shall notify the president of the general union, who shall authorize the most available member of the board of directors to visit and meet with the general chairman of the board of mediation and issue such instructions as will be promulgated by the directors.

"Under these provisions it is claimed that no strike can be declared except by order of a majority of the men involved."

The union is said to number about 150,000. (For an account of the relation of the A. R. U. to the Pullman strike, see PULLMAN STRIKE.)

Such are the main organizations of railway employees in the United States. There are others, and there are continual efforts to get these organizations to unite, but as yet no permanent union has been effected. At times of strikes they often, however, act together. (See STRIKES.)

The great English railway employees' organizations are the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and the Railway Workers' Union.

The former, established in 1872, is a trade

friendly society of the old type, with high dues and extensive benefits. It had 30,000 members in 1891. The latter, established in 1889 as a rival to the Amalgamated, represents the new trade-unionism. It voted, November, 1890, "That the union shall remain a fighting one, and shall not be encumbered with any sick or accident fund."

Besides these is the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, established in 1880, and with 7000 members. (See also FRANCE; GERMANY.)

RAILWAY STRIKES. See STRIKES.

RAU, KARL HEINRICH, was born in Erlangen in 1792. In 1818 he became professor at Erlangen, and in 1832 at Heidelberg. From 1837 to 1840 he was in the first chamber of the Grand Duchy of Baden, and later a counsellor of the Duchy. He died in 1870.

His *Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie* (1864) was until 1874 recognized in Germany as an authority, and almost an encyclopedia in economic studies.

RECEIVERS are persons appointed by the courts to receive rents, issues, or profits of land, or other property which is in question between the parties to a litigation, or which belongs to one who is legally incompetent, as an infant. They are appointed in justice as a benefit for all concerned. Railroad receivers are given power which receivers of all corporations are not, since railroad corporations are of quasi-public character. They are allowed to borrow money to conduct the railroad. But this trust is not unfrequently abused. Says the Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1894 (1895), (pp. 84-85) : "The conduct of many receivers in the management of railroad property justifies such reliance in a very slight degree."

RECIPROCITY in trade is an agreement made between two countries, whereby they agree to make reciprocal or equivalent reductions in the duties on certain articles. This policy has been considerably advocated in the United States, and prominently by James G. Blaine. By the third section of the act of Congress of 1890, called the McKinley act, it was provided that, "with a view to secure reciprocal trade," sugars not above 16 Dutch standard, molasses, coffee, and hides should be admitted into the United States free of duty, unless the President should become satisfied that reciprocal favors will not be granted to the products of the United States." Arrangements of this character were concluded with Brazil, Honduras, Salvador, Guatamala, Nicaragua, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Spain (for Cuba and Porto Rico), and Great Britain (as to British Guiana and certain of the British West Indies). These arrangements were superseded by the tariff act of August, 1894.

RECLUS, JACQUES ÉLISÉE, was born at Sainte Foy la Grande in 1830, and studied in Rhenish Prussia, and at Berlin. Coming to

Paris, his extreme republican views caused him to leave the country after the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851. Till 1857 he traveled in England, Ireland, the United States, and New Granada, and in 1857 returned to Paris, and published his geographical researches. He wrote various scientific works, contributing, however, as well to anarchist and radical journals. Taking part with the Paris Communards in 1871, he was arrested, and tho defended by eminent scientists, was sentenced to transportation for life, a sentence afterward changed to one of banishment. Going to Switzerland, he was admitted to the benefits of amnesty in 1879. In 1882 he initiated the anti-marriage movement, his two daughters marrying without religious or civil ceremony. In 1892 he was appointed professor of comparative geography at the University of Brussels. The first volume of his *Geographie Universelle* was published in 1875, the seventeenth in 1891. His main anarchist writings are *Anarchy by an Anarchist* (1884), and *Evolution and Revolution* (1891). In 1878 he wrote to a congress of anarchists at Freiberg: "We are revolutionaries because we desire justice. . . . Progress has never resulted from mere peaceful evolution. . . . We are anarchists who recognize no one as our master. . . . There is no such thing as morality without liberty. . . . We are also International Collectivists, for we are aware that the very existence of human beings necessarily implies a certain social grouping."

RED CROSS SOCIETY, THE, was organized in Europe, at Geneva, in Switzerland, in 1866; in the United States in 1884. Its organization in Switzerland was due to the efforts of Mr. Henri Dunant. The name comes from its flag, a red cross on a white field.

"It is a confederation of relief societies in different countries, the aim of which is to ameliorate the condition of sick and wounded soldiers in time of war; and its operations extend over nearly the entire civilized world." This is from the original constitution of the society in Europe. In this country, comparatively exempt from the danger of war, its scope is enlarged. The constitution contains an article in that of no other of the 39 nations organized under this treaty. It is "that our society shall have for one of its objects aid to the suffering in times of great national calamities, such as floods and cyclones—visitations to which we are peculiarly liable—great fires, pestilence, earthquake, local famines." Its work has been almost exclusively in line of these calamities.

During our Civil War the first organized work in this line commenced, and, with Miss Clara Barton at its head, did noble service in alleviating the suffering of the sick and wounded. It was not, however, until after the close of our war, when Miss Barton, broken in health, was ordered to Europe to recuperate, that the question of our joining in the Red Cross movement with foreign nations was seriously considered. A committee of the "International Society of Switzerland," the

original society, waited upon Miss Barton to ask why our country held aloof from the Red Cross movement. She had not before heard of it, became very much interested, and, as soon as possible after her return to the United States, presented the matter to the Government, and it was favorably acted upon.

Twelve great national calamities have claimed the services of the Red Cross in the United States. After the great forest fires of Michigan came the floods in Ohio and Mississippi in 1882; the Mississippi cyclone; the floods of 1884; the Virginia epidemic; the Texas drought; the Charlestown earthquake; the Mount Vernon (Illinois) cyclone; and the great Johnstown disaster. The society also ministered to the peasants of Russia during the great famine there, and, at this writing, Miss Barton is in Turkey, aiding the Armenians, tortured and plundered by the Turks. As soon as a calamity becomes known, the president of the society and her associate helpers start for the scene of the disaster, taking with them supplies of every sort—food, clothing, materials, and tools for building, household utensils, etc.

REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE, THE.—For the general principles involved in the Referendum and the Initiative, and for the reasons for their advocacy, see **DIRECT LEGISLATION**.

The Referendum may be defined in general as the referring of legislation to the people for final rejection or acceptance; the Initiative, as the giving to the people the right of proposing legislation to be acted upon.

According to the Referendum, as it is now generally advocated, no law, save a strictly defined class of urgent measures for the public peace, health, and safety, which require a two-thirds or three-quarters majority to pass, would go into effect without waiting a fixed time, say 90 days. If, during this time, a part of the voters, say 10 per cent., sign a petition for the Referendum on that law, it would not go into effect till the next regular election, when the people would vote on it, and if a majority voted no, it would not be a law.

By the Initiative, if a certain percentage of the voters, say 10 per cent., sign a petition for a law and file it with the proper official, it must come before the legislature, and perhaps be referred to the people. Sometimes the law requires that legislation be referred to the people, whether they petition for it or not. This is called the compulsory Referendum. Where the Referendum is taken only when a certain number petition for it, it is called the optional Referendum. Together the Referendum and the Initiative furnish direct legislation.

Says Mr. J. W. Sullivan (*Direct Legislation*, p. 17):

"There is a radical difference between a democracy and a representative government. In a democracy, the citizens themselves make the law and superintend its administration; in a representative government, the citizens empower legislators and executive officers to make the law and to carry it out. Under a democracy, sovereignty remains uninterruptedly with the citizens,

or rather a changing majority of the citizens; under a representative government, sovereignty is surrendered by the citizens, for stated terms, to officials. In other words, democracy is direct rule by the majority, while representative government is rule by a succession of quasi-oligarchies, indirectly and remotely responsible to the majority."

Says Mr. W. D. McCrackan (*The Swiss Referendum*):

"This Swiss Referendum must not be confounded with the French plebiscite, and deserves none of the odium which attaches to that destructive institution. The latter is a temporary expedient, illegal and abnormal, used only at moments of great national excitement when the popular vote has been carefully prepared and ascertained by unscrupulous adventurers. The plebiscite has invariably proved itself to be a device invented by tyrants to entrap the people into giving assent to their usurpations, whereas the Referendum acts through regular channels, established by law, sanctioned by the people and therefore constitutional."

The home of the Referendum and the Initiative is the Swiss Republic, where from times almost immemorial the people of at least some of her cantons, and notoriously of Uri and Appenzell and the two Unterwalds, have met, in assemblies, or *landsgemeinden*, in the open, and decided laws by a direct popular vote. As however the cantons (see SWITZERLAND) grew in population, and the confederation took in towns and cities, this was not always possible, tho the custom still

History in Switzerland.

obtains in Uri, Appenzell, Glarus, and the two Unterwalds. Yet even in the cities at various times all the citizens were asked to vote on certain measures, as in Berne and Zürich at the time of the Reformation, to see how many were Protestants. Berne, from 1469 to 1524 is said to have taken 60 Referendums. The Referendum appears too in a rudimentary form as early as the sixteenth century in the cantons of Graubünden or Grisons and Valais, before those districts had become full-fledged members of the Swiss confederation, and while they were still known as *Zugewandte Orte*, or Associated States. Delegates from their several communes met periodically, but were always obliged to refer their decisions to the communes themselves for final approval. In the same manner the delegates from the various cantons to the old Federal Diet, or assembly of the Swiss confederation, referred their votes to these States. In 1802 the constitution of the Helvetic Republic was referred to a popular vote. Most of the Swiss cantonal constitutional changes have been made by the Referendum, and their constitutions now usually require that all such changes be thus made. St. Gall gave the people the right to prevent a law coming into force in 1831; rural Basle in 1832; Valais, 1839; Lucerne, 1841. Valais in 1842 passed a measure referring all laws to the people, but the people voted against the law. Vaud in 1845, and Berne in 1846, adopted the optional Referendum. In 1868, after an agitation largely led by the socialist, Karl Bürkli (*q. v.*), the compulsory Referendum was adopted and the Initiative, if one-third of the members of the Great Council, or 3000 citizens, demanded it. Thurgau, Berne, Schaffhausen, soon followed, till the Referendum exists today in all the Swiss cantons except Fribourg.

Ten have the compulsory, eight the optional Referendum, six the *Landsgemeinde*.

The Federal Referendum was established in 1874. It is optional. The demand for it must be made by 30,000 citizens or by eight cantons. The petition for a vote under it must be made within 90 days after the publication of the proposed law. It is operative with respect either to a statute, as passed by the Federal Assembly, or a decree of the executive power. Of 149 Federal laws and decrees subject to the Referendum, passed up to the close of 1891 under the constitution of 1874, 27 were challenged by the necessary 30,000 petitioners, 15 being rejected and 12 accepted. The Federal Initiative was established by a vote taken on Sunday, July 5, 1891. It requires 50,000 petitioners, whose proposal must be discussed by the Federal Assembly and then sent, within a prescribed period, to the whole citizenship for a vote. The Initiative is not a petition to the legislative body; it is a demand made on the entire citizenship.

Federal Referendum.

The Federal constitution may be revised at any time. Fifty thousand voters petitioning for it, or the Federal Assembly (Congress) demanding it, the question is submitted to the country. If the vote is in the affirmative, the council of States (the Senate) and the National council (the House) are both dissolved. An election of these bodies takes place at once; the Assembly, fresh from the people, then makes the required revision and submits the revised constitution to the country. To stand, it must be supported by a majority of the voters and a majority of the 22 cantons.

From its establishment in 1874, to January, 1895, the Federal Assembly passed 180 bills of a general character. For these the Referendum was demanded for 18; the people accepted 6, and rejected 12.

The Federal Initiative was adopted by a vote taken July 5, 1891.

The following is the Swiss Federal Referendum and Initiative Law (from United States Consular Report, vol. xlvi. No. 170):

I. The Referendum.

"ARTICLE 1. Federal laws, as well as federal enactments which are binding, if not of an urgent nature, shall be submitted to the vote of the people on the demand of at least 30,000 Swiss citizens, or of the governments of at least eight cantons.

"ART. 2. The Federal Assembly will decide whether a federal act is binding or urgent, and the decision has in every case to be expressly incorporated in said act. In such case, the Federal Council will provide for the execution of the law, and have it entered on the statute book.

"ART. 3. All federal laws, as well as acts, which do not conflict with Article 2, are to be published immediately after their enactment, and a sufficient number of copies must be sent to the cantonal governments.

"ART. 4. If the referendum is demanded by the people, or by the cantons, the same must be filed within 90 days, counting from the day of the publication of the law or the enactment, in the official organ of the confederation.

"ART. 5. The demand for an election is to be in writing and addressed to the Federal Council; citizens who wish to sign the demand must do so in person; any one signing another's name shall be subjected to punishment for forgery; the authorities of the respective communities must certify as to the voting right of electors whose signatures are appended to the referendum demand; no fee shall be collected for such certificates.

"ART. 6. If a number of cantons make the demand (referendum), it has to be made through the canton councils, provided that the cantonal constitution does not prescribe other rules.

"ART. 7. If, after the expiration of the 90 days dating from

The Swiss Law.

the first publication of a federal law or enactment in the official federal organ, no demand for an election has been made by the people, or if such demand has been made within the period named, but the official count shows that the requisite 30,000 signatures, or eight cantonal governments, have not been obtained, the Federal Council will declare the respective law or enactment in force, and will order the same incorporated in the statutes.

"The signatures asking for a referendum will be published in the federal organs, showing the number of signatures from each canton or community; further, the demands made by the cantonal governments in accordance with Article 6 will be published. Moreover, the Federal Council will report the result to the Federal Assembly at its next meeting, and submit the records relating thereto.

"ART. 8. If, on the other hand, it is found upon examination of the application, that the request has been signed by the requisite number of cantons, then the Federal Council will order the question submitted to the vote of the people. It will also inform the cantonal governments thereof, and order the enactment referring thereto to be published without delay.

"ART. 9. All the citizens of Switzerland will cast their vote on the same day, which will be named by the Federal Council.

"ART. 10. Every male Swiss citizen, who has attained his 20th year, is entitled to vote, provided he is not debarred therefrom by the law of the canton of which he is a resident.

"ART. 11. Each canton has to provide for the election within its territory, in accordance with the federal prescriptions relative thereto.

"ART. 12. A record of the vote shall be kept in each community or each district. Such record must contain the exact number of persons entitled to vote, and the number of yeas and nays that have been cast for or against the law in question.

"ART. 13. The cantonal governments must send these tally lists, within 10 days, to the Federal Council, holding the ballots at the disposal of said Council. By these records the Federal Council will determine the result of the election.

"ART. 14. The federal law or the federal enactment is to be regarded as in force if a majority of the votes cast have been found in favor of the same. In such cases, the Federal Council will order the same enacted and incorporated in the federal statutes.

"ART. 15. If, on the contrary, a majority is found to be against the law, the same will be declared rejected, and, therefore, void.

"ART. 16. In both cases the Federal Council will publish the result of the election, and inform the Federal Assembly thereof at its next meeting.

"ART. 17. The Federal Council is charged with the execution of the present law."

II. The Initiative.

"ARTICLE 1. A revision of the federal constitution, as a whole or in part, can at any time be demanded by way of the initiative. (See Articles 118, 120, and 121 of the constitution.)

"ART. 2. If any one desires to use this franchise, an application signed by at least 50,000 voters, who must be Swiss citizens, is to be addressed in writing to the Federal Council, who will submit the same to the Federal Assembly. This application must contain the subject of the initiative.

"ART. 3. Any citizen wishing to make such application must sign it personally. Any one signing another's name will be indicted for forgery and punished accordingly.

"ART. 4. Each list containing the signatures must name the canton and the community of which the applicants are residents. To be valid it must also specify: (1) The text of the initiative; (2) the text of Article 3 of this law; (3) a certificate of the city authorities, properly dated, showing the applicants to be entitled to vote on federal laws, and that they are qualified electors in their communities. No fee shall be collected for this certificate.

"ART. 5. Having received the revision demand, the Federal Council will canvass the signatures and determine the number entitled to vote. Debarred from voting will be: (1) Those whose signatures have not been

certified to, within the period of six months, dating retrogressively from the day on which the revision demand is received by the Federal Council; (2) the signatures contained in an unvalid list (see Article 4); (3) those signatures, the registration of which is missing, incomplete, or incorrect. Any signatures showing to be in the same handwriting are classed as invalid, and will not be counted. The Federal Council will issue reports in its official organ showing the result of the investigation, and will submit the same to the Federal Assembly at its first meeting, together with all other acts relating thereto.

"ART. 6. If a demand for a revision, or an initiative requiring a total revision of the constitution is found valid, the question whether this revision shall take effect must be determined by the vote of the whole Swiss people. If the majority is in favor of revision, both the State Council and the National Council must be reelected, and the new incoming councils must proceed to revise the constitution *in toto*.

"ART. 7. If the initiative demands the repeal, abolition, or change of certain articles of the constitution, and if the same is framed in the form of a general bill, both councils will have to decide within one year whether they agree with the demand or not. If they agree, they will provide for the necessary legislation in accordance with Article 121 of the constitution. If they reject the demand, or cannot come to a decision within the stated period, the Federal Council will then call a general election. If the majority of Swiss citizens vote in favor of the demand, the Federal Assembly shall, without delay, take the matter in hand and make the required revision, after which the revised articles will be again submitted to the vote of the whole Swiss voters.

"ART. 8. If, on the other hand, the demand is in the form of an elaborate project, the two councils shall decide, within a period not exceeding one year, whether they agree with this project or not.

"ART. 9. If the two councils cannot come to a unanimous conclusion regarding said project, it will be subjected to the vote of the people, and the vote of the cantons, as also is the case if the Federal Assembly concludes to agree to the project.

"ART. 10. If the Federal Assembly decides not to agree to the demand, the people will vote on the question. The Federal Assembly has a right, however, to recommend to the people the rejection of the project, or propose a new one prepared by the Assembly.

"ART. 11. In case the Federal Assembly proposes a special elaborate project, in opposition to the demand for revision, the people will have to vote on the two questions, as follows: (1) Do you accept the project for revision demanded by the Initiative? or (2) Do you accept the project of the Federal Assembly?

"ART. 12. The blank and invalid ballots are not counted in determining the result of the vote. Ballots which answer one question with "yes," and the other with "no," or both questions with "no," are valid. Ballots which answer both questions with "yes" are void.

"ART. 13. The project which is accepted by the majority of the voters and the majority of the cantons will become a law.

"ART. 14. The records of the vote must contain the number of residents in the community entitled to vote, the number of ballots, the number of invalid votes, and, finally, the number of yeas and nays for each of the questions.

"ART. 15. If, on the same article of the constitution, several demands for revision have been made, they must be voted on separately in accordance with the date of their filing.

"ART. 16. As for the rest, the prescriptions of the federal law of June 17, 1874, relative to federal election laws and regulations, must be followed.

"ART. 17. The federal law of December 5, 1867, relative to the constitutional revision demand, is hereby repealed, as well as the Federal Council's prescriptions dated May 2, 1870.

"ART. 18. The Federal Council shall publish this law and the date of its enactment in accordance with the prescriptions of the federal law of June 17, 1874, relative to federal election laws and decisions of the Federal Council."

Few people who have not made special study of this question, realize how firmly the principles of direct legislation are rooted in the United States.

The New England town meeting in itself is at once the simplest and best known example

of the principle underlying the Initiative and Referendum. Constitutional amendments are referred to the people in every State of the Union, except Delaware. Local Option is a form of the Referendum.

In 15 States no law changing the location of the Capital is valid until submitted to a popular vote; in seven, no laws establishing banking corporations; in 11, no laws for the incurrence of debts, excepting such as are specified in the Constitution, and no excess of "casual deficits" beyond a stipulated sum; in several, no rate of assessment exceeding a figure proportionate to the aggregate valuation of the taxable property. Without the Referendum, Illinois cannot sell its State canal; Minnesota cannot pay interest or principal of the Minnesota railroad; North Carolina cannot extend the State credit to aid any person or corporation, excepting to help certain railroads unfinished in 1876. With the Referendum, Colorado adopted woman suffrage and may create a debt for public buildings. Texas may fix a location for a college for colored youth; Wyoming may decide on the sites for its State university, insane asylum, and penitentiary.

It is becoming more and more the custom to seek popular ratification for popular measures, as in the Massachusetts State elections of November, 1893, the so-called Aldermanic and Rapid Transit Bills were voted upon at the polls. For a number of years past, many of the labor unions have used the Initiative and Referendum in their organizations.

The working of the Referendum and Initiative, many believe, has been on the whole toward conservatism rather than radicalism. In Switzerland the Federal Referendum has rejected more legislation than it has accepted. Says Professor Wuarin of the University of Geneva (*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1895):

"The right of initiative, it is alleged, has thus far only resulted in federal matters—and, cantonally, it must work in much the same way—in bringing about strange results. In its first operation, two years ago, it introduced a law against the Jewish mode of slaughtering cattle; in the second one, on the 3d of June, 1894, it endeavored to have the 'right to employment' acknowledged by the Constitution; this was rejected. Before coming to the third and last operation, let us pause a moment. Here our answer, in presence of such facts, is that the right of initiative, especially at the outset, was expected to have some awkward consequences. But where is the serious harm it may be instrumental in doing? It can incorporate in the Constitution things of a queer appearance, such as the butchery ordinance of 1893,* but these apparently awkward measures happen to be in accordance with the popular wish. This is democracy. It can also deal with proposals of an impractical, dangerous, socialistic character, as the right to labor, but in an enlightened community such schemes are sure to meet with a decisive opposition, and in such circumstances the resort to the plebiscite has the effect of

Conservative Tendencies.

* A short explanation may here be required. In spite of an undeniable dash of antisemitism to be regretted, that regulation, now a constitutional amendment sanctioned by the citizens, must be regarded as an important step in a new direction. The Swiss people declared that public law should not neglect questions of humanity, even toward animals. If local or cantonal authorities had in that respect given satisfaction to the feeling of the people, the strange ordinance would never have been thought of.

purging the political atmosphere of chimerical and distracting elements. This clearing the ground has been generally acknowledged to be most useful.

"But let us come now to the third and last case in which, up to the present time, the right of popular initiative was resorted to. The question at issue originated among the Catholic and some Protestant Conservatives, and was soon known under the very appropriate name of the 'Spoils Campaign' (*Beutesug*). The bill framed on this occasion by the initiators aimed at obtaining money from the Federal Treasury for the different cantons, which was to be apportioned at the rate of two francs per head of population.

"The chances of success for the new crusade were great at the start. The Federal Government had caused some dissatisfaction by exaggerated expenses and by somewhat undemocratic conduct toward the wishes of the people. A few days before the popular vote, there appeared in one of our periodicals a discussion of the question by M. Numa Droz, late president of the Swiss Confederation. He said that the Referendum was good for the welfare of our commonwealth as a means of controlling the work of the law-makers, but he considered the introduction of the right of initiative as the beginning of the era of demagoguery. If the 'Spoils Campaign' should succeed, said he, the basis of our public law would be altered and shaken, and no other resource would remain to the friends of democracy than to call together a convention in order to frame a new Swiss constitution, doing away with such exaggerations of democracy. Never since the agitation of 1848 had Switzerland experienced such a vital crisis.

"But the 'Spoils Campaign' was defeated by more than two to one in the vote of the 4th of November last. The atmosphere suddenly cleared. The fears expressed by M. Droz vanished. Every one felt that the Swiss people was ready for direct democracy. The *Temps* of Paris echoed such views and said that the Swiss democratic institutions were now proven safe."

Indeed the working of the Initiative and Referendum in Switzerland has been so "safe" that many socialists believe it reactionary. Says a resolution printed in the (English) *Fabian News* for April, 1896, to be presented to the Socialist Congress of 1896:

"Resolved, That this Congress warns associations of the working classes throughout the world to scrutinize with great care all proposals for transferring direct legislative and administrative power, including the appointment of public officials, from representative bodies to the mass of the electors. The people can only judge political measures by their effect when they have come into operation: they cannot plan measures themselves, or foresee what their effect will be, or give precise instructions to their representatives; nor can any honest representative tell, until he has heard a measure thoroughly discussed by representatives of all other sections of the working class, what form the measure should take so as to keep the interests of his constituents in due subordination to those of the community. It is to be considered, further, that intelligent reformers, especially workmen who have grasped the principles of socialism, are always in a minority: they may address themselves with success to the sympathies of the masses and gain their confidence; but the dry detail of the legislative and administrative steps by which they move toward their goal can never be made interesting or intelligible to the ordinary voter. For these reasons the Referendum, in theory the most democratic of popular institutions, is in practise the most reactionary, and is actually being strenuously advocated in England by noted leaders of anti-socialist opinion with the openly declared intention of using it to stop all further progress toward social-democracy."

Nevertheless, the reasons for favoring direct representation within reasonable limits are all but overwhelming. Its advocates believe it to be the deathblow of corrupt legislation, which is so frightfully prevalent in modern democracies. (See DIRECT LEGISLATION.)

References: See DIRECT LEGISLATION.

REFORMATORIES. See PENOLOGY ;
CRIMINOLOGY ; ELMIRA REFORMATORY ; JUVE-
NILE REFORMATORIES.

REFUNDING. See CURRENCY.

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

—One of the most difficult problems, and one arousing to-day most bitter animosities in all countries not under the complete domination of one State Church, is that of religion in the public schools. Radical minds usually hold that the public schools should have nothing to do with religion. Most Christians, however, contend that the State is lost unless it teach morality, and that morality cannot be taught unless it teach religion ; while the majority of Roman Catholics, some Anglicans, and a few of other religious communions go still further and say that morality cannot be taught except by giving the definite religious teaching of their respective churches. There are thus at least three distinct views held, and an indefinite variety of shades of opinion and of intensity of conviction. To each party (radicals not excepted) it is to a large extent a matter of faith or of principle to carry out their view. From time to time various compromises are effected, such as allowing representatives of different faiths to teach in the public schools the children of their communion, or dividing the public funds between denominational schools. But these compromises rarely satisfy any party, and bitter feeling continually breaks out, as at present in Manitoba, Canada, in the A. P. A. (*q. v.*) movement in the United States, and over the Education Bill, now before Parliament, in Great Britain (1896). The lines on which the question will ultimately be settled no one can tell. Each party to the controversy appears to think that ultimately the world will be converted to its view, and the problem be settled in its favor. In the mean while the best that can be hoped now is for each side to try and understand the feelings of its opponents, and submit to the action taken by the majority in power.

The radical view is that the province of the State is wholly secular ; that its true attitude is of absolute neutrality toward all forms of religious belief and unbelief ; and that to teach religion in any form is to do violence to the rights of certain classes of citizens.

The Jewish Exponent for August 16, 1889, quotes Rabbi Calisch as saying :

“The public schools are an outgrowth of our broad American republicanism, which, in the interest of freedom, forbids any union or partnership of Church and State. Hence, in the name of the Jewish brotherhood all over this country, and in the name of persons of differing views on religious matters everywhere, I wish to protest against the manner in which our public schools are conducted. It is a favorite claim of the churches,” he continues, “that this is a Christian country, and this, so far as it is confined to the church instruction or family instruction, is unobjectionable and right. The idea of Christ, however, is not confined to such teaching. It is, with all its religious dependencies, made a part of our public-school instruction. It is to be denounced as in violation of the fundamental theory of our government. I demand, in the name of justice, that the principle of law, designed to protect all in their religious freedom, be recognized.”

Radical View.

The platform of the Liberal League of the United States contains the following :

“We demand that all religious services now sustained by the Government be abolished, and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.”

This is the view held by almost all socialists and by radicals of almost every description. They hold that religion is a personal matter, to be taught in the family or the home. They do not admit that this prevents ethical and moral teaching in the schools.

The view of Roman Catholics, and other believers in parochial or denominational schools, is that morals cannot be taught without religion ; that religion cannot be taught in public schools, since it is unjust to tax a Jew to support the teachings of Christianity, or *vice versa*, and that therefore the only way out is to have parochial schools where morals and religion can be taught. Such advocates usually claim that money should be raised for education by the school authorities and then that in some way it should be divided among the various denominational or secular schools in proportion to the pupils in each.

Said Archbishop Ireland, in his address to the National Educational Association (St. Paul, July, 1890, :

“There is and there can be no positive religious teaching where the principle of non-sectarianism rules.”

Says the *Catholic Review* of August 31, 1889 :

“The parochial school is necessary because Catholic children cannot be brought up Catholic and attend the public school. This is a recognized fact. . . . At the present moment the Catholic Church in America depends more on the faith of the Catholic immigrant than on the faith of the generation which has received its education in the public schools. . . . We see no way of making them (young Americans) Catholics than by the parochial school. Our conscience forces us to take up the work.”

Dr. Josiah Strong (*Our Country*, revised edition, p. 74) gives authoritative utterances defining the Roman Catholic attitude to public schools :

“Pius IX says it is an error to hold that, ‘The entire direction of public schools . . . may and must appertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies. . . . or the choice and approval of teachers.’* And again : ‘It is an error that, ‘The best theory of civil society requires that popular schools . . . should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference, and should be fully subject to the civil and political power in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinion of the age.’† Again : ‘It is an error, that ‘This system of instructing youth, which consists in separating it from the Catholic faith and from the power of the Church . . . may be approved by Catholics.’‡ Bishop McQuaid, in a lecture at Horticultural Hall, Boston, February 13, 1876, declared :

* *Syllabus of Errors*, December 8, 1864. Proposition No. 45. Allocution, *In Consistoriali*, November 13, 1850.

† *Ibid.*, Proposition No. 47. Letter to the Archbishop of Fribourg, *Quum non sine*, July 14, 1864.

‡ *Ibid.*, Proposition No. 48. Letter to the Archbishop of Fribourg, *Quum non sine*, July 14, 1864.

Roman Catholic View.

'The State has no right to educate, and when the State undertakes the work of education it is usurping the powers of the Church.'

There are various ways or compromises in which it has been proposed to meet the Roman Catholic position, but the fundamental proposition is always the same.

On the other hand, another school of thought claims that, while the public schools cannot teach denominational religion, they should teach religion. Says Dr. Strong (*Our Country*, p. 101):

"In his 'Institutes of International Law,' Judge Story says, 'One of the beautiful traits of our municipal jurisprudence is that Christianity is part of the common law from which it seeks the sanction of its rights, and by which it endeavors to regulate its doctrine.' Says the great interpreter of the Constitution, Webster: 'There is nothing we look for with more certainty than the general principle, that Christianity is part of the law of the land . . . general, tolerant Christianity, independent of sects and parties.'*

"Undenominational Religious Views."

ties.* Many other authorities to the same effect might be cited.

"When the fathers added to the Constitution the principle of strict separation of Church and State, they did not intend to divorce the State from all religion. Says Judge Story, speaking of the time when the Constitution was adopted, 'The attempt to level all religions, and make it a matter of State policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation if not universal indignation.'† The principle of the separation of Church and State undoubtedly forbids sectarian instruction in the State schools; but we have the highest legal and judicial authority for saying that it does not forbid undenominational religious teaching. . . . Why does the State take money from your pocket to educate my child? Not on the ground that education is a good thing for him, but on the ground that his ignorance would be dangerous to the State. . . . In like manner the State must teach in its schools fundamental religious truths, not because the child should know them in preparation for a future existence—the State is not concerned with the eternal welfare of its citizens—but because immorality is perilous to the State, and popular morality cannot be secured without the sanctions of religion."

"The philosopher Cousin, in a report upon public instruction in Germany, referring to the fact that it is based on the Bible, says: 'Every wise man will rejoice in this; for, with three-fourths of the population, morality can be instilled only through the medium of religion.'"

Daniel Webster in a Fourth of July oration said:

"To preserve the Government we must also preserve morals. Morality rests on religion. If you destroy the foundation, the superstructure must fall. When the public mind becomes vitiated and corrupt, laws are a nullity and constitutions are waste paper. . . ."

"Of course parents and the Church may give as much added instructions as they wish, but for the State to go beyond the inculcation of the fundamental truths common to all monotheistic religions would probably lead to the division of the school fund, which would be a great calamity. On the other hand, to secularize the schools is to invite the corruption of popular morals and thus endanger the very foundations of our free institutions."

In the United States various ways of compromise with the Roman Catholic view have been tried. As early as 1823 in New York, a conflict arose about the division of public funds. In 1831 a grant of \$1500 was made for a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum. In 1868 in New Haven, Conn., a Roman Catholic

school taught by Sisters of Charity was sustained by public funds. Roman Catholic schools were sustained in the same way in Waterbury, Conn., Manchester, N. H., and notably at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. New York in 1888 spent \$1,672,000 for sectarian charities, \$989,000 for Roman Catholic charities. Recently a liberal movement has appeared among the Roman Catholics in the United States. Of this movement Dr. Lyman Abbott said in a sermon preached in Plymouth Church, January 22, 1893:

"It maintains that the Roman Catholic Church can be an American Church; that the Roman Catholic Church is adapted to American institutions; that Roman Catholic children shall learn the American language; and now it has gone further, and insists that they shall be received into the public schools, and that the public schools shall be maintained with the sanction and the moral support of the Roman Catholic Church. In August, 1891, this proposition first appeared in a practical form, in what is now known as the Faribault experiment. The Faribault experiment, deriving its name from the town in Minnesota where the event took place, was simply this: Under the auspices and with the approval of Archbishop Ireland, a parochial school belonging to the Church of the Immaculate Conception, was handed over to the school authorities of the State for a rental of one dollar; all the teachers, all the text-books, all the work of the school to be carried on under the authority of the State, without any limitation or qualification of any kind whatever. I desire to put this very emphatically before you, because, in a great deal of discussion that has gone on, it has been assumed that there was a kind of agreement that the public-school authorities should appoint Roman Catholic teachers, and so maintain in some way Roman Catholic discipline. Both the official documents and the positive assertion by the Roman Catholic father on the one hand and the school authorities on the other, negative this assertion."

Faribault Plan.

This action has aroused intense excitement, and not least among Roman Catholics. It was defended and condemned. The Pope, therefore, sent a papal legate who came before a meeting of the archbishops and bishops gathered to discuss this educational question, and submitted to them certain propositions, apparently with the approval of the Vatican. These propositions include such as these—that the Church of Rome does not disapprove of the public schools; that it absolutely forbids priests or bishops to excommunicate parents because they send their children to the public schools, or to deprive their children of the sacraments because they go to the public schools; that, so far from disapproving of public schools, it approves them, provided they can be carried on in such a way that the moral and religious training of the children can be provided for. Three ways are suggested by which that provision can be made: First, by religious education by the Church in the school building out of school hours; secondly, by religious education by the Church, not in the school building, but in a building provided for the purpose; and, finally, where neither of these methods are practicable, then in the family.

This position was attacked notably, if secretly, by Archbishop Corrigan of New York city, but the legate seems to have been supported by the Pope.

Such is the present position, complicated by the recent movement of the A. P. A. (*q. v.*),

* Webster's Works, vi. p. 176.

† Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States. Boston, 1833. Subject discussed at length, pp. 680 seq.

leading to violence in Boston, Mass., and bitter feeling elsewhere.

In Canada, in England, and in Continental Europe, the situation is even more complicated on account of the relations of Church and State. On the Continent, State grants to the various religious bodies for various purposes are the rule, but are denounced by most socialists and radicals.

In England, where "Board" [Public] Schools are just developing, the situation is at this writing too uncertain to allow of characterization. (For the condition that has prevailed, see EDUCATION.)

(See also AMERICAN PROTECTION ASSOCIATION and ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

RENT (F. *rente*; It. *rendita*, income; Latin *rendare*, to return) is used, in political economy, specifically for "that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil" (Ricardo, *Political Economy*, chap. ii.). The word is sometimes used, even in political economy, in other senses, but in that case the use is explained by the author as something different from the ordinary use, as when one speaks of the rent of ability, the rent of money, the rent of a piano, etc. In this sense, rent is simply payment for the use of any natural or other commodity. When, however, the word rent is used, without explanation, in political economy, it means invariably only the price paid to a landlord for the natural and undestructible powers of the soil. The word "soil," however, must not be taken too strictly. It is meant to include all the surface of the earth and that which is beneath or within the soil. It includes all the "natural" advantages of the earth, unimproved by labor. It includes, therefore, mines, streams, water-power, harbors (so far as they are natural), and what is often of greatest importance, it includes the natural advantages of situation, as land for example in the heart of a great city, or at the corner of two great thoroughfares.

Such being the economic use of the word, we pass on to consider the laws and principles which affect rent, and how these are variously conceived by representative writers.

Rent appears on the pages of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* almost incidentally, and not always consistently treated. It is considered as "naturally a monopoly price" (bk. i. chap. xi. pp. 66-67 a) to be taken as a matter of course rather than to be explained. Adam Smith says elsewhere, "as soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural production" (bk. i. chap. vi. p. 23 a). Rent, he argues, depends on prices; the fact that the rent of land varies with its fertility and situation he treats as an obvious commonplace, needing little consideration. We have here some of the elements of the Ricardian doctrine of rent, but wholly undeveloped. Beginning,

Adam Smith,

however, with Anderson and continuing through Buchanan, Malthus, and Ricardo, we have the development of that theory of rent, which is usually associated with Ricardo's name and has played so large a part in economic science (see RICARDO). It is not, however, Ricardo's. Dr. Ingram, in his *History of Political Economy*, says Ricardo

"distinctly states in the preface to the *Principles*, that 'in 1835 Mr. Malthus, in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent*, and a fellow of University College, Oxford, in his *Essay on the Application of Capital to Land*, presented to the world, nearly at the same moment, the true doctrine of rent.' The second writer here referred to was Sir Edward West, afterward a judge of the supreme court of Bombay. Still earlier than the time of Malthus and West, as M'Culloch has pointed out, this doctrine has been clearly conceived and fully stated by Dr. James Anderson in his *Inquiry into the Nature of Corn Laws*, published at Edinburgh in 1777. That this tract was unknown to Malthus and West we have every reason to believe; but the theory is certainly as distinctly enunciated and as satisfactorily supported in it as in their treatises; and the whole way in which it is put forward by Anderson strikingly resembles the form in which it is presented by Ricardo."

It is this theory which has entered into all modern discussions and affected the theory of wages and profits and lies at the basis, not only of the *laissez-faire* economics, but of Henry George's Single Tax and most modern socialism. John Stuart Mill says of this theory:

"It is one of the cardinal doctrines of political economy; and until it was understood, no consistent explanation could be given of many of the more complicated industrial phenomena."

Of the critics of the theory, Mills says:

"A remark is often made, which must not be omitted here, tho, I think, more importance has been attached to it than it merits. Under the name of rent, many payments are commonly included which are not a remuneration for the original powers of the land itself, but for capital expended on it. The additional rent which land yields in consequence of this outlay of capital should, in the opinion of some writers, be regarded as profit, not rent. But before this can be admitted, a distinction must be made. The annual payment by a tenant almost always includes a consideration for the use of the buildings on the farm; not only barns, stables, and other out-houses, but a house to live in, not to speak of fences and the like. The landlord will ask, and the tenant will give, for these whatever is considered sufficient to yield the ordinary profit, or rather (risk and trouble being here out of the question) the ordinary interest, on the value of the buildings; that is, not on what it has cost to erect them, but on what it would now cost to erect others as good; the tenant being bound, in addition, to leave them in as good repair as he found them, for otherwise a much larger payment than simple interest would of course be required from him. These buildings are as distinct a thing from the farm as the stock or the timber on it; and what is paid for them can no more be called rent of land than a payment for cattle would be, if it were the custom that the landlord should stock the farm for the tenant. The buildings, like the cattle, are not land, but capital, regularly consumed and reproduced; and all payments made in consideration of them are properly interest."

"But with regard to capital actually sunk in improvements, and not requiring periodical renewal, but spent once for all in giving the land a permanent increase of productiveness, it appears to me that the return made to such capital loses altogether the character of profits, and is governed by the principles of rent."

"Some writers, in particular Mr. H. C. Carey, take away still more completely than I have attempted to do the distinction between these two sources of rent, by rejecting one of them altogether and considering all rent as the effect of capital expended. In proof of this Mr. Carey contends that the whole pecuni-

ary value of all the land in any country, in England, for instance, or in the United States, does not amount to anything approaching to the sum which has been laid out, or which it would even now be necessary to lay out, in order to bring the country to its present condition from a state of

Carey's Views.

primeval forest. This startling statement has been seized on by M. Bastiat and others as a means of making out a stronger case than could otherwise be made in defense of property in land. Mr. Carey's proposition, in its most obvious meaning, is equivalent to saying that if there were suddenly added to the lands of England an unclaimed territory of equal natural fertility, it would not be worth the while of the inhabitants of England to reclaim it; because the profits of the operation would not be equal to the ordinary interest on the capital expended. To which assertion, if any answer could be supposed to be required, it would suffice to remark that land not of equal but of greatly inferior quality to that previously cultivated is continually reclaimed in England, at an expense which the subsequently accruing rent is sufficient to replace completely in a small number of years. The doctrine, moreover, is totally opposed to Mr. Carey's own economical opinions. No one maintains more strenuously than Mr. Carey the undoubted truth that, as society advances in population, wealth, and combination of labor, land constantly rises in value and price. This, however, could not possibly be true if the present value of land were less than the expense of clearing it and making it fit for cultivation; for it must have been worth this immediately after it was cleared, and according to Mr. Carey it has been rising in value ever since. When, however, Mr. Carey asserts that the whole land of any country is not now worth the capital which has been expended on it, he does not mean that each particular estate is worth less than what has been laid out in improving it, and that, to the proprietors, the improvement of the land has been, on the final result, a miscalculation. He means, not that the land of Great Britain would not now sell for what has been laid out upon it, but that it would not sell for that amount plus the expense of making all the roads, canals, and railways. This is probably true, but is no more to the purpose, and no more important in political economy, than if the statement had been that it would not sell for the sums laid out upon it plus the national debt, or plus the cost of the French Revolutionary war, or any other expense incurred for a real or imaginary public advantage. The roads, railways, and canals were not constructed to give value to land; on the contrary, their natural effect was to lower its value by rendering other and rival lands accessible; and the landholders of the southern counties actually petitioned Parliament against the turnpike roads on this very account. The tendency of improved communications is to lower existing rents by trenching on the monopoly of the land nearest to the places where large numbers of consumers are assembled. Roads and canals are not intended to raise the value of the land which already supplies the markets, but (among other purposes) to cheapen the supply by letting in the produce of other and more distant lands; and the more effectually this purpose is attained the lower rent will be. If we could imagine that the railways and canals of the United States, instead of only cheapening communication, did their business so effectually as to annihilate cost of carriage altogether, and enable the produce of Michigan to reach the market of New York as quickly and as cheaply as the produce of Long Island—the whole value of the land of the United States (except such as lies convenient for building) would be annihilated; or, rather, the best would only sell for the expense of clearing, and the government tax of a dollar and a quarter per acre; since land in Michigan, equal to the best in the United States, may be had in unlimited abundance by that amount of outlay. But it is strange that Mr. Carey should think this fact inconsistent with the Ricardo theory of rent. Admitting all that he asserts, it is still true that as long as there is land which yields no rent, the land which does not yield rent does so in consequence of some advantage which it enjoys, in fertility or vicinity to markets, over the other; and the measure of its advantage is also the measure of its rent. And the cause of its yielding rent is that it possesses a natural monopoly; the quantity of land, as favorably circumstanced as itself, not being sufficient to supply the market. The propositions constitute the theory of rent laid down by Ricardo, and if

they are true, I cannot see that it signifies much whether the rent which the land yields at the present time is greater or less than the interest of the capital which has been laid out to raise its value, together with the interest of the capital which has been laid out to lower its value."

Professor Marshall, representing the later political economy, accepts the Ricardian theory in the main, but with some qualifications. He states his view thus (*Economics of Industry*, bk. ii. chap. iii.):

"Suppose a farmer to have £500 which he is thinking of applying in extra cultivation of his farm, and to have calculated that it will only just answer his purpose to do so. He has calculated, that is, that if he applies this extra £500 he will, after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc., get an extra net produce of the value of £40; *i. e.*, at the rate of 8 per cent. on the extra outlay. This is, we suppose, just sufficient to remunerate him; so that if he expected to get less, the chance of the improvement turning out unsuccessful and the prospect of additional trouble in working it, would induce him to invest the money in railroad stock or some other securities.

"He hears at this time that a small adjacent farm of 50 acres is to let, and he is asked what rent he would be willing to pay for it. His £500 would be just enough for working this farm, and he could work it with the same trouble that it would give him to apply the extra £500 to the farm he already has. He calculates that taking one year with another he may expect to get from it £100 worth of net profit after paying for labor, seed, taxes, etc.

"So he will pay just £60 rent for the use of this land. If he can get the land for this he will take it; but he will not give any more for it, and it will not be likely to be worth any one else's while to offer more. So the landlord cannot get more than this for it. If he puts up the farm to competition and plays off one farmer against another, he may just get £60: and this is then the competition rent, or, as it is sometimes called, the economic rent of the farm. Many disturbing circumstances, such as custom, the absence of an active spirit of competition on the part of the farmers, generosity or sluggishness on the part of the landlord may cause the actual rent to be less than this. But £60 is the rent that will be obtained if there is a perfectly good market for the hire of the land; that is, if on the one hand the landlord exerts himself to get the best rent he can for the land, and, on the other hand, there are competent men in the neighborhood who are ready to rent farms.

"This illustration shows us that the economic rent of a piece of land is found by subtracting from the value of its annual produce an amount sufficient to return the farmer's outlay with profits.

"Of course allowance must be made for the risk of bad harvests. This is done by assuming that the harvest is an average one. It must also be supposed that the farmer has neither more nor less skill and enterprise than most others in his neighborhood, or, as we may say, that he is an average farmer. The rent, then, is the surplus return which the land gives in an average harvest, after repaying the average farmer's outlay with profits, provided he has applied so much capital to it as to make this surplus return as large as he can. If he has applied less than this amount of capital some one else who intends to apply more than he has done, and thus obtain a larger surplus return, may offer to pay a higher rent.

"Further, the above illustration shows that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, can be discovered by observing what amount of additional return is just sufficient to induce him, or another farmer in the same neighborhood, to apply extra capital to his land. . . .

"It may happen that there is in the neighborhood land for which no rent can be obtained, because the return to the capital applied to this land remunerates, but only just remunerates, the farmer. In this case we may say that the amount of produce which a farmer must retain, in order to be remunerated for his outlay, is equal to the produce that could be raised by the same amount of capital from an adjacent piece of land that pays no rent, but yet is cultivated.

"The law of rent may therefore be stated thus: The rent of a piece of land is the excess of its produce over

Economic Rent.

the produce of an adjacent piece of land which is cultivated with an equal amount of capital, and which would not be cultivated at all if rent was demanded for it."

Of one important deduction from the Ricardian law of rent Professor Fawcett has made a clear explanation. He says (*Manual of Political Economy*, bk. ii. chap. iii.):

"From Ricardo's theory of rent there can be deduced the very important proposition, that rent is not an element of the cost of obtaining agricultural produce. A no less eminent writer than the late Mr. Buckle has assured his readers that the proposition just stated can only be grasped by a comprehensive thinker; we, however, believe that it may be made very intelligible by a simple exposition. If rent is not an element of cost of production, food would be no cheaper if all land were arbitrarily made rent free. Let us, therefore, inquire if this would be the case. It has been frequently stated in this chapter that there is always some land in cultivation so poor that it can only afford to pay a nominal rent; the produce it yields being no more than sufficient to reimburse the expenses of cultivation.

"Let us now suppose that all land is made rent-free by an arbitrary edict of the Government. Such an act of spoliation, altho it would unjustly interfere with property, would not cause any diminution in the consumption of food; the same quantity of agricultural produce would be required as before; the same area of land would, therefore, have to be cultivated. That land would still require to be tilled which previously only paid a nominal rent; but if food was rendered cheaper, by making land rent-free, this land, which before only paid nominal rent, would be cultivated at a loss. No person, however, will continue to apply his labor and capital if he does not obtain in return the ordinary rate of profit, and, therefore, if food became cheaper, such land as we have just described would cease to be cultivated; but this cannot be, because the demand of the country for food is such that the produce which this land yields cannot be dispensed with. It is therefore manifest that food would not become cheaper, even if land were made rent-free. Rent consequently is not an element in the cost of production. The value of food is, *ceteris paribus*, determined by the demand for it, because the demand for food regulates the margin of cultivation. Altho the payment of rent does not influence the cost of producing food, yet the amount of rent paid indicates the position of the margin of cultivation, and the value of food must rise as this margin of cultivation descends."

(For a discussion of this, see PRODUCTION. For the facts of modern rent and the important part played by rent in commercial and industrial life, and for land reforms, see articles LAND, and SINGLE TAX.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, THE.—The Republican party was formed to oppose the extension of slavery. The policy of compromise of the Whig party (*q. v.*) no longer satisfied the strong sentiment against slavery that had sprung up in the free States, and the Whigs met with utter defeat in the elections of 1852. The Free-soil party (*q. v.*) had obtained prominence in the election of 1848, and became the natural predecessor of the Republican party. Events favored a new party.

The Democrats, during the administration of President Pierce, took the important step of repealing "the Missouri Compromise." Under this law Kansas, which lay north of the parallel of 36° 30', would have been, of necessity, a free Territory. But the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which repealed the compromise, was passed by Congress in 1854. It asserted the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in States or Territories. Thus all the public domain was left open to slavery,

and, in Kansas, anarchy and civil war followed. The slave-holders and the free-state party fought with each other for the control of the Territory. In 1859 Kansas finally adopted a constitution which excluded slavery, but she was not admitted to the Union as a State till 1861, when the Republicans had come into power. There was felt to be need of a new party, which should take up the old Federal and Whig policy, favoring a strong Federal government and protection, but utterly opposed to slavery. The Michigan State Convention of 1854 is generally admitted to have first used the name Republican, from a suggestion of Horace Greeley (*q. v.*), but it was quickly caught up, and, in 1854, enough "Republicans" were elected to Congress to control the House and choose Nathaniel Banks speaker.

The first Republican National Convention was held at Pittsburg, February 22, 1856; the first nominating convention at Philadelphia, June 18, 1856. The plan was to unite in one organization the opponents of the proslavery Democracy, without regard to former party ties. Hence, the new organization was made up of antislavery Whigs, whom the Kansas-Nebraska bill had driven from the party, of Abolitionists, Independent Democrats, and, in fact, of all those who were opposed to the extension of slavery. The platform adopted was reported by David Wilmot, and denied that there was any authority competent to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States. The only planks not referring to slavery favored national aid to a Pacific Railway and liberal river and harbor appropriations. John C. Fremont of California was nominated for President, and W. D. Dayton for Vice-President. The leading rival to Dayton was Abraham Lincoln. The result of the elections greatly encouraged the new party, for, altho Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, was elected, Fremont had a large plurality over him on the popular vote, and 114 electoral votes.

Public sentiment in favor of Republican principles continued to grow, and events favored the party. The Dred-Scott decision of the Supreme Court in 1857 intensified Northern feeling. It made void all prohibitions of slavery in the public domain, and recognized the right of every citizen to carry slaves there. During Buchanan's administration the Southern leaders were preparing for secession. On the other hand, the famous Douglass-Lincoln debate in 1859 helped to commit the Republican party to a refusal of all compromise, while the John Brown raid had a strong influence on the public mind of the North.

Campaign of 1860.

The antislavery sentiment became thoroughly consolidated, and the Democrats hopelessly split. The Republican Convention met at Chicago, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. William H. Seward of New York had been the first choice of many, but some in the East, led by Greeley, with the Western men, nominated

Lincoln. He was triumphantly elected with 180 electoral votes.

In their platform the Republicans declared the new dogma, that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, to be a dangerous political heresy. They reaffirmed the positions of the convention of 1856. A declaration was made also in favor of such an adjustment of imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country—the party thus definitely committing itself to a policy of protection.

Soon after the election South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, and other Southern States quickly followed. When Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861, the government of the Confederate States of America, so called, had already been organized. The efforts of President Lincoln for reunion were fruitless, and with the bombardment of Fort Sumter by Southern troops in April, 1861, the Civil War began.

As the Republican party now controlled all branches of the Government, upon it fell the responsibility of prosecuting the war. It was distinctively the war party, tho sustained by the general sentiment of the North. In the treatment of the great questions that had to be decided its policy became settled, and its future was determined. The Morrill tariff was early enacted—a high protection measure, which successfully raised a large revenue for carrying on the war. Acts were also passed which provided for the issuing of bonds and of a legal-tender paper currency. At the end of the war the national debt amounted to \$2,700,000,000.

At first the Republicans had no intention of interfering with slavery in the rebellious States. The preservation of the Union was the aim of the war.

Slavery.

But it soon became clear to President Lincoln that, to obtain this object, slavery must be attacked. Accordingly he issued, January 1, 1863, the famous Emancipation Proclamation, by which all slaves in the rebellious States were declared free. This action was taken only "as a necessary war measure," but it was heartily indorsed by Republicans, and later enforced by civil legislation.

In June, 1864, President Lincoln was re-nominated, with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice-President, on a platform declaring it necessary that slavery should be utterly exterminated from the soil of the republic. The party pronounced in favor of continuing the struggle with the South until it should submit. The Democrats, on the other hand, declared that efforts should be made for a cessation of hostilities. The elections of 1864 resulted in the indorsement of the Republican policy, and President Lincoln secured 212 out of 233 electoral votes. Soon after his second inauguration the main army of the Confederacy surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox.

The work of reconstruction had now to begin, and it was known that President Lincoln would pursue a liberal policy toward the rebellious States. But on April 15 he was assassinated.

His loss plunged the nation into mourning, and deprived his party of its greatest leader.

An amendment to the Constitution—the Thirteenth—abolishing slavery, was passed by Congress, and finally became a law December 18, 1865. The Fourteenth Amendment, which gave citizenship to the negro, was submitted to the people in June, 1866, and became a law July 28, 1868. Vice-President Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, quarreled with the Republican party in Congress, and was finally impeached. But on his trial before the Senate, the votes for conviction lacked one of the necessary two-thirds. Notwithstanding the veto of the President, a Reconstruction Act was passed March 2, 1867, admitting the seceded States to their former standing in the Union under certain conditions. Each State, for example, was obliged to adopt the Fourteenth Amendment, and to elect representatives who had not been concerned in the rebellion. President Johnson favored less stringent conditions. Under such provisions the seceded States were restored to their former position, so that all but three of them took part in the campaign of 1868, when the Republicans nominated and elected General Grant and Schuyler Colfax.

Early in Grant's administration the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave the suffrage to the negro, was adopted March 30, 1870. This was a purely Republican measure, and was generally opposed by the Democrats. To insure the carrying out of its provisions in the South, additional legislation was passed in 1871, and again in the next Congress—the Forty-second—the so-called Force Bill was enacted. This legislation greatly increased the powers of the Federal courts and officers, and also of the President. The Democrats being more numerous in the Forty-second Congress than in the previous ones, brought forward an Amnesty bill. Under a compromise with the Republicans it was finally passed May 22, 1872, certain prominent Confederate leaders being excepted. Grant's administration was dissatisfactory to many Republicans who connected it with "carpetbag" corruption in the South and connivance with political scandals in the North. As a result, a Liberal Republican convention met and nominated Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, the nomination being accepted by the Democrats. The regular Republicans nominated Grant, with Henry Wilson for Vice-President. The platform contained declarations in favor of civil-service reform, of a speedy return to specie payments, and against any repudiation of public debts. General Grant was reelected. His second term was marked by the struggle over the "inflation" policy, which was that of issuing more paper money and postponing a return to specie payments (see CURRENCY). Trouble having arisen in Louisiana from the existence of two State governments, Congress recognized the Kellogg, or Republican government.

Owing partly to the corruption in office that had been for some years prevalent, the Demo-

General Grant.

cratic party developed great strength in the elections of 1876, and both sides claimed the victory, the Republicans having nominated R. B. Hayes and W. A. Wheeler, the Democrats S. J. Tilden and T. A. Hendricks. The Democrats unquestionably had the majority of the popular votes. The House of Representatives having now a Democratic majority, some compromise between the parties had to be effected. An electoral commission was agreed upon which, by a strictly party vote, declared Hayes, the Republican candidate, to have 185 votes, and Tilden 184. By this decision bloodshed was probably averted. President Hayes was not in full accord with his party, owing to his policy of concession to the South, and of civil-service reform. Nevertheless he withstood the attempts of the Democratic House to force a modification of Federal election supervision by adding political riders to appropriation bills. The most notable act of his administration was the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879.

Campaign of 1876.

In 1880 the Republicans nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York, and succeeded in electing their candidates. In the respective platforms of the parties the question of the tariff comes into prominence. The Garfield-Conkling quarrel followed the new President's inauguration, and soon after this occurred the assassination of Garfield, and the administration of President Arthur, who succeeded to the Presidential chair. His policy was acceptable to the Republican party; nevertheless, James G. Blaine was nominated for the Presidency in 1884, in preference to him, with General Logan for Vice-President. The issues were largely the same as before; yet, for various reasons, the principal among which was the opposition to Blaine of ex-Senator Conkling in New York, the Democratic candidate, Cleveland, was elected.

The executive department of the Government had been controlled by the Republicans for 24 years. Now they had only the Senate, the House being Democratic. Under the circumstances, however, no Democratic measures could be enacted. Yet the Mills bill, a radical tariff-reform measure, passed the House of Representatives, and the tariff became the leading issue of 1888. The Democratic party declared for radical reform of the tariff on the basis of less protection, and renominated President Cleveland. The Republicans asserted the necessity of a policy of "protection to home industry." The Republican candidates, Benjamin Harrison and Levi P. Morton, received 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168, and the party also secured the House of Representatives.

During the Fifty-first Congress, the Republicans, being in power in all branches of the Government, passed a number of important bills. First among them is the so-called McKinley tariff bill, which enacted a high tariff. The McKinley bill became a law, October 1, 1890. The Dependent Pension bill, largely increasing the class of pensioners, and a silver

bill, providing for the purchase of silver, and the issue of Treasury notes thereon, were passed. Parliamentary practise in the House was reformed by the rulings of Speaker Reed. In 1890, however, the Democrats secured a large majority in the House, and Republican legislation ceased with the expiration of this Congress.

The Presidential campaign of 1892 was hotly contested and the issue, as before, was chiefly the tariff, the Democratic convention going so far as to declare all protection unconstitutional. The Republicans renominated General Harrison, with Whitelaw Reid for Vice-President.

Campaign of 1892.

The result of the struggle was the election of Mr. Cleveland. The House and Senate being now in its hands as well, the Democratic party had full control of the Government for the first time since before the war. Its most important legislation has been the so-called Wilson bill, a tariff measure which lowered duties, and put many articles on the free list. It was, however, so altered by conservative Democrats in the Senate, that President Cleveland repudiated all responsibility for it, and it became a law without his signature. A terrible wave of depression in business came over the country early in the year 1893 and has not yet passed (1896). As a result, in the elections of November, 1894, when the Democratic tariff legislation was the issue, the Republicans won an overwhelming victory, and secured the next House of Representatives by a large majority.

For the campaign of 1896, the Republican party managers thought it best to make the tariff the issue, and consequently Mr. McKinley, the stoutest Protectionist, was generally favored, and by astute political maneuvering received the support of the majority of the representatives elected by the States to the St. Louis convention of June 18, and was there nominated for the Presidency on the first ballot, with Mr. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President. Meanwhile the silver issue (see SILVER) more and more forced itself upon the attention of the country and became the engrossing theme in all conventions. The gold monometallists being in a large majority at St. Louis, some of the silver delegates, headed by Senator Teller, bolted the convention and issued a declaration to the country, condemning the Republican party as selling the interests of the producers of the country to the interests of the "gold bugs" of Wall Street. (See SILVER.) For the platform adopted at St. Louis see Appendix.

REPRESENTATIVES, HOUSE OF, IN THE UNITED STATES.—The United States Constitution says of the House of Representatives :

"ART. I, SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

"No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been

seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

"[Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.]* The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

"When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

"The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment."

(For articles bearing both on the Senate and the House, see article CONGRESS.)

Article xiv. of the Amendments, Section 2, Clause 1, says: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed."

The original Constitution included in this basis of representation three-fifths of the slaves. Here was one of the compromises between the free States and the slave States in the formation of the Constitution.

The first Congress went into operation March 4, 1789; the members of the House holding their seats for two years. On the 4th of March, therefore, in every second year,—in other words, in all the odd years,—a new Congress begins its term.

The number of representatives, which is fixed by a law of Congress once in 10 years, has increased from 65, in 1789, to 360 for the decade 1893 to 1903. The population for one representative has increased from 33,000 in 1789 to 173,901, in 1893.

The salary of representatives is \$5000 a year, \$125 a year additional for stationery, and mileage at the rate of 20 cents a mile to and from Washington at every session of Congress. Unexcused absence causes a deduction from the salary. The House of Representatives chooses its Speaker and other officers. The power of the Speaker is enormous. Unless otherwise ordered by the House (which is seldom the case) he appoints all committees, and the method of the House in transacting its business renders the committees of first importance. All measures are referred to the standing committees, and their power over the life or death of a bill is practically unlimited. A majority of the members elected constitutes a quorum. The House has sole power of impeachment; all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House, and on it falls the duty of electing the President

* The clause included in brackets is amended by the XIVth Amendment, 2d section.

of the United States when the vote of the electors fails to result in a choice.

According to the apportionment of 1893 the representation of the separate States was as follows:

Ratio of Representation.....	173,901
Alabama.....	9
Arkansas.....	6
California.....	7
Colorado.....	2
Connecticut.....	4
Delaware.....	1
Florida.....	2
Georgia.....	11
Idaho.....	1
Illinois.....	22
Indiana.....	13
Iowa.....	11
Kansas.....	8
Kentucky.....	11
Louisiana.....	6
Maine.....	4
Maryland.....	6
Massachusetts.....	13
Michigan.....	12
Minnesota.....	7
Mississippi.....	7
Missouri.....	15
Montana.....	1
Nebraska.....	6
Nevada.....	1
New Hampshire.....	2
New Jersey.....	8
New York.....	34
North Carolina.....	9
North Dakota.....	1
Ohio.....	21
Oregon.....	2
Pennsylvania.....	30
Rhode Island.....	2
South Carolina.....	7
South Dakota.....	2
Tennessee.....	10
Texas.....	13
Vermont.....	2
Virginia.....	10
Washington.....	2
West Virginia.....	4
Wisconsin.....	10
Wyoming.....	1
Territories*.....	4
Total.....	360

* Without a vote.

The Speaker is the presiding officer of the House, and the other officers are: (1) clerk; (2) sergeant-at-arms; (3) door-keeper; (4) postmaster; (5) chaplain.

The following critical review of the House is condensed from Professor Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (chaps. 13 and 14):

"The House of Representatives, usually called for shortness the House, represents the nation on the basis of population, as the Senate represents the States.

"But even in the composition of the House the States play an important part. . . Congress allots so many members of the House to each State. . . leaving the States to determine the districts within its own area for and by which the members shall be chosen. These districts are now equal, or nearly equal, in size; but in laying them out there is ample scope for the process called 'gerrymandering' (*q. v.*), which the dominant party in a State rarely fails to apply for its own advantage. Where a State legislature has failed to redistribute the State into congressional districts, after the State has received an increase of representatives, the additional member or members are elected by the voters of the whole State on a general ticket, and are called 'representatives at large.'

"Setting extraordinary sessions aside, every Congress has two sessions, distinguished as the First, or Long, and the Second, or Short. The long session begins in the fall of the year after the election of a

Congress, and continues, with a recess at Christmas, till the July or August following. The short session begins in the December after the July adjournment, and lasts till the 4th of March following. The whole working life of a House is thus from 10 to 12 months. Bills do not, as in the English Parliament, expire at the end of each session; they run on from the long session to the short one. All, however, that have not been passed when the fatal 4th of March arrives perish forthwith, for the session, being fixed by statute, cannot be extended at pleasure. There is consequently a terrible scramble to get business pushed through in the last week or two of a Congress.

"The number of bills brought into the House every year is very large, averaging over 7000. In the Thirty-seventh Congress (1861-63) the total number of bills introduced was 1026, viz.: 613 House bills, and 433 Senate bills. In the Forty-sixth it had risen to 9481, of which 7257 were House bills, 2224 Senate bills; showing that the increase has been much larger in the House than in the Senate. In the Forty-ninth Congress (1885-87) the number was rising still further, the number up to July, 1886, being 12,906, exclusive of 277 joint resolutions. In the British House of Commons the total number of bills introduced was, in the session of 1885, 481, of which 202 were public, and 279 private bills. America is, of course, a far larger country, but the legislative competence of Congress is incomparably smaller than that of the British Parliament, seeing that the chief part of the field, both of public bill and private bill legislation, belongs in America to the several States. By far the larger number of bills in Congress are what would be called in England 'private' or 'local and personal' bills; *i. e.*, they establish no general rule of law, but are directed to particular cases. Such are the numerous bills for satisfying persons with claims against the Federal Government, and for giving or restoring pensions to individuals alleged to have served in the Northern armies during the War of Secession. It is only to a very small extent that bills can attempt to deal with ordinary private law, since nearly the whole of that topic belongs to State legislation. It is needless to say that the proportion of bills that pass to bills that fail is a very small one; not one-thirtieth. One is told in Washington that few bills are brought in with a view to being passed. They are presented in order to gratify some particular persons or places, and it is well understood in the House that they must not be taken seriously. The Speaker has immense political power, and is permitted, nay expected, to use it in the interests of his party. In calling upon members to speak he prefers those of his own side. He decides in their favor such points of order as are not distinctly covered by the rules. His authority over the arrangement of business is so large that he can frequently advance or postpone particular bills or motions in a way which determines their fate. Although he does not figure in party debates in the House, he may and does advise the other leaders of his party privately; and when they 'go into caucus' (*i. e.*, hold a party meeting to determine their action on some pending question) he is present and gives counsel. He is usually the most eminent member of the party who has a seat in the House, and is really, so far as the confidential direction of its policy goes, almost its leader. His most important privilege is, however, the nomination of the numerous standing committees already referred to. In the first Congress (April, 1789), the House tried the plan of appointing its committees by ballot; but this worked so ill that in January, 1790, the following rule was passed: 'All committees shall be appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise specially directed by the House.' This rule has been readopted by each successive Congress since then."

(For the working of these committees, and how bills are often practically passed or rejected by these committees of which the public knows little, rather than by Congress, see CONGRESS.)

REVENUE.—For the principles involved in problems of revenue, see FINANCE; TAXATION; FREE TRADE; PROTECTION; SOCIALISM; STATE. We give in this article an outline of the development of the revenues of the United States.

The American colonies gained their revenues in various ways: the proprietary States,

such as Pennsylvania and Delaware, paid heavy land duties to the proprietaries, raising other revenues by various direct taxes, excise, light customs, and tonnage duties. Rum, tobacco, and slaves were generally taxed. Quit-rents were a general source of revenue. In Colonial New England taxation was levied on all property without distinction.

Colonial Revenues.

An *ad valorem* 5 per cent. duty was levied on all imports. The expenses of government, except in New York, were very low. Additional expenditures were, however, frequently necessary, and the custom developed of meeting these by the issue of credit notes (see CURRENCY), and these gradually came to be relied on for the growing expenses of the colonies. The War of Independence was met by means of the issue of the Continental currency (see CURRENCY). The States contributed somewhat, but fitfully, and in small amounts. Loans were obtained from abroad. In the latter part of the war the Bank of North America was established, and loaned money to the Government. The successful management of these loans was mainly due to Robert Morris, elected Superintendent of Finances. After the close of the war and the adoption of the Constitution, Hamilton (*q. v.*), elected Secretary of the Treasury, was mainly influential, against no little opposition, in instituting a strong national policy; assuming the State debts, and funding the main portions of the national and State debts; paying a heavy interest, and yet slowly reducing the principal by import duties and by internal revenue taxes. Jefferson's administration repealed the internal taxes, but imports increased. The war of 1812 was fought under the guidance of Gallatin, by making new loans, doubling import duties, which, however, brought in little more revenue, and levying internal revenue taxes again. Treasury notes were also issued. After the war debt was renewed, and in 1834 the last debt was extinguished. The internal revenue system was repealed in 1817 and not revived until 1861. After the discharge of the debt, there was a surplus (\$337,468,819), which in 1837 Congress voted to distribute among the States in proportion to their population. Three-fourths of the amount were paid when a financial panic swept over the land (see BANKS and BANKING), and the Government was left unable to pay its ordinary bills. Once more Treasury notes were issued, and during the Mexican war loans were contracted; the import duties, however, soon repaid the Treasury again. In 1857 the tariff was lowered, the revenues were reduced, and by the close of Buchanan's administration there was a debt of \$60,000,000.

The War of Independence.

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The expenses of the War of the Rebellion were met partly by loans, partly by the issue of Treasury notes (see CURRENCY), in small part by direct taxes, with a large development of duties and taxes of various kinds. September, 1865, deducting the amount in the Treasury the debt of the nation was \$2,756,431,571. (For the discussions and important problems

connected with the Treasury notes, loans, etc., see CURRENCY.) The general policy followed was to replace temporary loans by long loans at lower interest. In 1870 a funding law was passed whereby the Treasury department was able to do this. Two hundred and fifty million dollars was sold at 4 per cent.; later, Mr. Sherman, as Secretary of the Treasury, sold \$737,691,550 at 4 per cent.; then a portion was continued in 1881 at 3½ per cent., and again

in 1882 a large quantity was sold at 3 per cent. After 1873, for a short period reduction of the debt was slow, but later went on more rapidly. (See DEBT.) Since 1892 financial ills have reduced the income, while expenses have not declined. The policy of keeping a gold reserve has been sustained by loans, for an account of which see SYNDICATE LOANS.

The following tables, from the reports of the Treasurer of the United States, give the best résumé of the state of the revenue since 1870:

RECEIPTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—1870 TO 1895.

YEAR.	Customs.	Internal Revenue.	Direct Tax.	Public Lands.	Premiums.	Loans.	Gross Receipts.
1870.....	\$194,538,374.44	\$184,899,756.49	\$229,102.88	\$3,350,481.76	\$15,295,613.76	\$285,474,496.00	\$606,729,973.63
1871.....	206,270,408.05	143,098,153.63	589,355.37	2,388,646.68	8,802,839.95	268,768,523.47	626,024,468.36
1872.....	216,370,286.77	130,612,177.72	....	2,575,714.19	9,412,637.95	305,047,654.00	679,153,921.56
1873.....	188,089,522.70	113,720,314.14	315,254.51	2,882,312.38	11,560,530.89	214,931,077.00	548,669,221.67
1874.....	163,103,833.60	102,409,784.90	....	1,852,428.93	5,037,665.22	439,272,535.46	744,251,291.52
1875.....	157,167,722.35	110,007,493.58	....	1,413,640.17	3,979,279.69	387,971,556.00	665,971,667.10
1876.....	148,071,984.61	116,700,732.03	93,798.80	1,129,466.95	4,029,280.58	397,455,808.00	661,551,673.28
1877.....	139,956,493.07	118,630,497.83	....	976,253.68	405,776.58	348,871,749.00	630,278,167.58
1878.....	130,170,680.20	110,581,624.74	....	1,079,743.37	317,102.30	404,581,261.00	662,345,079.70
1879.....	137,259,047.70	113,561,610.58	....	924,781.06	1,595,047.63	792,807,643.00	1,066,634,827.46
1880.....	186,522,064.60	124,009,373.92	30.85	1,016,506.60	110.00	211,814,103.00	545,349,713.98
1881.....	198,159,676.02	135,264,385.51	1,516.89	2,201,893.17	....	113,759,534.00	474,532,826.57
1882.....	220,410,730.25	146,497,595.45	160,141.69	4,753,140.37	....	120,945,724.00	524,479,074.28
1883.....	214,706,496.93	144,729,368.98	188,156.60	7,055,864.42	....	555,094,564.00	954,230,145.00
1884.....	195,067,489.76	121,586,072.51	79,720.75	9,810,705.01	....	206,877,886.00	555,397,755.00
1885.....	181,471,939.34	112,498,725.54	....	5,795,986.44	....	245,106,303.00	568,887,209.38
1886.....	192,095,023.44	116,805,936.48	108,239.91	5,630,990.34	....	116,314,830.00	452,754,577.06
1887.....	217,286,893.13	118,823,391.22	32,892.05	9,254,286.42	....	154,440,900.00	525,844,177.66
1888.....	210,091,173.63	124,296,871.68	1,565.82	11,202,017.23	....	285,016,650.00	664,282,724.76
1889.....	223,832,741.69	130,881,513.92	....	8,038,651.79	....	245,111,350.00	632,161,408.84
1890.....	220,668,584.57	142,606,705.81	....	6,358,272.51	....	245,293,650.00	648,374,632.63
1891.....	219,522,295.23	145,686,249.44	....	4,029,535.41	....	373,208,887.75	765,821,395.06
1892.....	177,452,964.15	153,971,072.57	....	3,261,875.58	....	381,463,512.00	736,401,296.24
1893.....	203,355,016.73	161,027,623.93	....	3,182,089.78	....	347,951,586.00	732,871,214.78
1894.....	131,818,530.62	147,111,232.81	....	1,673,637.39	8,633,295.71	417,651,223.50	724,006,538.46
1895.....	152,749,495.53	143,567,463.78	....	1,103,347.00	....	....	....

EXPENDITURES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT—1870 TO 1895.

YEAR.	War.	Navy.	Pensions.	Premiums.	Interest.	Principal of Debt.	Gross Expenditures.
1870.....	\$57,655,675.40	\$21,780,229.87	\$28,340,202.17	\$15,996,555.60	\$129,235,498.00	\$393,254,282.13	\$702,907,842.88
1871.....	35,799,991.82	10,431,027.21	34,443,894.88	9,016,794.74	125,576,565.93	399,593,670.65	691,680,838.90
1872.....	35,372,157.20	21,249,809.99	28,533,402.76	6,958,266.76	117,357,839.72	495,007,307.54	682,525,270.21
1873.....	46,323,138.31	23,526,256.79	29,359,426.86	5,105,919.99	104,759,688.44	233,669,352.58	584,944,597.91
1874.....	42,313,927.22	30,932,587.42	29,038,414.66	1,395,073.55	107,119,815.21	422,065,060.23	724,608,933.99
1875.....	41,120,645.98	21,497,626.27	20,256,216.22	....	103,093,544.57	497,377,492.48	682,000,885.32
1876.....	38,070,888.64	18,963,309.82	28,257,395.62	....	100,243,271.23	449,345,272.80	714,446,357.39
1877.....	37,082,735.90	14,959,935.36	27,993,752.27	....	97,124,511.58	323,965,424.05	565,299,898.91
1878.....	32,154,147.85	17,365,301.37	27,137,019.08	....	102,500,874.65	353,676,944.90	596,641,271.70
1879.....	40,425,660.73	15,125,126.84	35,121,482.39	....	105,327,949.00	699,445,809.16	666,393,692.69
1880.....	38,116,916.22	13,536,984.74	56,777,174.44	2,795,320.42	95,577,575.11	432,590,280.41	700,233,238.10
1881.....	40,466,460.55	15,686,671.66	50,959,279.62	1,061,248.78	82,568,741.18	165,152,335.05	425,865,222.64
1882.....	43,570,494.19	15,032,046.26	61,345,193.95	....	71,077,206.70	271,646,299.55	599,627,736.13
1883.....	48,911,382.03	15,283,317.17	66,012,573.64	....	59,160,131.25	590,083,829.96	855,401,997.56
1884.....	49,209,630.36	17,022,601.44	55,249,228.06	....	54,578,378.48	260,520,690.50	504,646,931.83
1885.....	42,670,578.47	16,029,079.67	56,102,267.49	....	51,386,245.97	211,760,353.43	471,987,288.54
1886.....	34,324,152.74	13,907,887.74	63,404,864.03	....	59,580,145.97	205,216,709.36	447,699,847.86
1887.....	38,561,025.85	15,141,126.80	75,029,101.79	....	47,741,577.25	271,901,321.15	539,833,501.12
1888.....	38,522,436.11	16,926,437.65	80,288,508.77	8,270,842.46	44,715,007.47	249,760,258.05	517,685,059.18
1889.....	44,435,270.85	21,378,809.31	87,624,779.11	17,292,362.65	41,001,484.29	138,924,412.35	618,211,390.60
1890.....	44,582,838.08	22,006,206.24	106,936,855.07	30,204,224.66	35,999,284.05	312,206,367.50	630,247,078.16
1891.....	48,720,578.01	26,113,806.46	124,415,951.40	10,401,220.61	37,541,535.37	365,352,470.87	731,126,376.22
1892.....	46,805,456.30	29,174,138.98	134,583,052.79	....	23,378,116.23	338,995,958.98	684,019,289.56
1893.....	49,641,773.47	30,136,084.43	159,355,557.87	....	27,264,392.18	389,530,044.50	773,007,999.99
1894.....	54,567,929.85	31,701,293.70	141,177,284.96	....	27,841,405.64	331,383,272.95	698,908,552.78
1895.....	51,820,304.58	28,800,335.11	141,391,623.64	....	30,915,919.88	....	....

The following table gives the government receipts, expenditures, and gold reserve by months—1893, 1894, 1895.

[All figures in millions of dollars.]

MONTHS.	1893.				1894.				1895.			
	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Balance.	Gold Reserve.	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Balance.	Gold Reserve.	Receipts.	Expenditures.	Balance.	Gold Reserve.
January.....	35.0	38.3	-3.3	108.2	24.1	31.3	-7.2	65.7	27.8	34.5	-6.7	44.7
February.....	29.7	30.9	-1.2	103.3	22.3	26.7	-4.4	106.5	22.9	25.7	-2.8	87.1
March.....	34.1	31.6	2.5	106.9	24.8	31.1	-6.3	106.1	25.5	25.7	-0.2	90.5
April.....	28.4	33.2	-4.8	97.0	22.7	32.1	-9.4	100.2	24.2	33.0	-8.8	91.2
May.....	30.9	30.2	.7	95.0	23.1	29.8	-6.7	78.7	25.3	28.6	-3.3	99.2
June.....	30.7	28.8	1.9	95.5	26.5	25.6	.9	64.9	25.6	21.7	3.9	107.5
July.....	30.9	39.7	-8.8	99.2	44.8	36.6	-1.8	55.0	29.1	38.5	-9.4	107.2
August.....	23.9	33.3	-9.4	96.0	50.4	31.7	8.7	55.2	28.9	32.6	-3.7	100.3
September.....	24.6	25.5	-0.9	93.6	22.6	30.3	-7.7	58.9	27.5	24.3	3.2	92.9
October.....	24.6	29.6	-5.0	84.4	19.1	32.7	-13.6	61.4	27.9	34.5	-6.6	92.9
November.....	24.0	31.3	-7.3	83.0	19.4	28.5	-9.1	105.4	26.0	27.2	-1.2	79.3
December.....	22.3	30.1	-7.8	80.9	21.9	27.1	-5.2	85.2	26.3	25.8	.5	63.3
Year.....	339.1	382.5	-43.4	..	301.7	363.5	-61.8	..	317.0	352.1	34.1	..

The total receipts of the United States from the beginning of the Government, 1789, to 1895 have been: From customs, \$7,415,871,509; internal revenue, \$4,716,760,904; direct tax, \$28,131,994; public lands, \$289,726,501; miscellaneous, \$763,202,129; total, excluding loans, \$13,223,944,756.

The total expenditures of the United States from the beginning of the Government, 1789, to 1895 have been: For civil and miscellaneous, \$2,767,599,284; war, \$4,980,773,259; navy, \$1,327,407,789; Indians, \$309,200,401; pensions, \$1,950,403,063; interest, \$2,791,537,714; total, \$14,126,891,510.

The following table from the report of the Treasurer gives the details for the fiscal year 1894.

The revenues of the Government from all sources for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, were:

From internal revenue.....	\$147,111,232.81
From customs.....	131,818,530.62
From the District of Columbia.....	3,745,422.83
From fees—consular, letters patent, and land.....	2,765,699.41
From sinking fund for Pacific railways..	1,916,314.11
From sales of public lands.....	1,673,637.30
From tax on national banks.....	1,610,867.56
From sale of navy-yard lands, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	1,190,531.01
From navy pension and navy hospital funds, etc.....	1,059,964.64
From repayment of interest by Pacific railways.....	926,420.09
From profits on coinage, bullion deposits, and assays.....	870,016.78
From miscellaneous sources.....	772,148.18
From customs fees, fines, penalties, and forfeitures.....	682,041.48
From sales of Indian lands.....	399,811.36
From bequest of General Cullum for Memorial Hall, West Point.....	237,500.00
From immigrant fund.....	214,142.47
From sales of Government property.....	1,673,637.30
From Soldiers' Home, permanent fund..	191,382.15
From sale of old custom-house, Milwaukee, Wis.....	107,680.00
From deposits for surveying public lands.....	103,424.87
From sales of ordnance material.....	60,159.91
From reimbursement by International Union of American Republics.....	26,243.75
From sale of abandoned military reservations.....	22,202.14
From depredations on public lands.....	8,774.05
From sales of condemned naval vessels..	5,400.85
From tax on sealskins.....	500.00
From postal service.....	75,080,479.04
Total receipts.....	\$372,802,498.29

The expenditures for the same period were:

For the civil establishment, including foreign intercourse, public buildings, collecting the revenues, deficiency in postal revenues, refund of direct taxes, bounty on sugar, District of Columbia, and other miscellaneous expenses.....	\$101,943,884.07
For the military establishment, including rivers and harbors, forts, arsenals, and seacoast defenses.....	54,567,929.85
For the naval establishment, including construction of new vessels, machinery, armament, equipment, and improvements at navy-yards.....	31,701,293.79
For Indian service.....	10,293,481.52
For pensions.....	141,177,284.96
For interest on the public debt.....	27,841,405.64
For postal service.....	75,080,479.87
Total expenditures.....	\$442,605,758.04

For the receipts and expenditures of other nations, see the different nations.

REYBAUD, MARIE ROCHE LOUIS, was born in Marseilles in 1799. He went to Paris in 1829, and became the leading historian of the socialist school. A novelist as well as an historian, in 1850 he was elected a member of the Academy. His *Études sur les Réformations ou Socialistes Modernes* (2 vols. 1840-47) was the first work to bring the word *socialism* into general use.

RICARDO, DAVID, was born in London in 1772, the son of a Jewish member of the Stock Exchange. At the age of 14 he entered his father's office; but, when 21, he separated from his father's family and entered the Church of England. Commencing business for himself, he was a man of wealth at 25. In 1799 he became interested in Adam Smith's great work, and henceforth devoted himself mainly to economic studies. In 1809 he wrote a series of articles on monetary questions to the *Morning Chronicle*, which led to considerable controversy. In 1815 he published an essay on the Influence of the *Low Price of Corn, or the Profit of Stock*, in which he first stated the views as

to rent afterward connected with his name, but which he explicitly states he derived mainly from Malthus (see RENT). In 1817 appeared Ricardo's great work, his *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*. In 1819 he entered Parliament, and was soon recognized as an authority in economics, and a strong supporter of the battle for free trade. In 1822 he published a tract on *Protection to Agriculture*, and in 1824 was published, after his death, his *Plan for the Establishment of a National Bank*. Ricardo died September 11, 1823, James Mill saying of him, that he knew not a better man.

Professor Ingram says of Ricardo (*History of Political Economy*):

"A sort of Ricardo-mythus for some time existed in economic circles. It cannot be doubted that the exaggerated estimate of his merits arose in part from a sense of the support his system gave to the manufacturers and other capitalists in their growing antagonism to the old aristocracy of land-owners. The same tendency, as well as his affinity to their too abstract and unhistorical modes of thought, and their eudæmonistic doctrines, recommended him to the Benthamite group, and to the so-called philosophical radicals generally. Brougham said he seemed to have dropped from heaven—a singular avatar, it must be owned. His real services in connection with questions of currency and banking naturally created a prepossession in favor of his more general views. But, apart from those special subjects, it does not appear that, either in the form of solid theoretic teaching or of valuable practical guidance, he has really done much for the world, while he admittedly misled opinion on several important questions. De Quincy's presentation of him as a great revealer of truth is now seen to be an extravagance. J. S. Mill and others speak of his 'superior lights' as compared with those of Adam Smith; but his work, as a contribution to our knowledge of human society, will not bear a moment's comparison with the *Wealth of Nations*."

Of Ricardo's views he says:

"The principle which he puts first in order, and which is indeed the key to the whole, is this—that the exchange value of any commodity, the supply of which can be increased at will, is regulated, under a régime of free competition, by the labor necessary for its production. Similar propositions are to be found in the *Wealth of Nations*, not to speak of earlier English writings. On this basis Ricardo goes on to explain the laws according to which the produce of the land and the labor of the country is distributed among the several classes which take part in production. [Professor Ingram then goes on to show where Ricardo got his theory of rent, and then says:]

"The essence of the theory is that rent, being the price paid by the cultivator to the owner of land for the use of its productive powers, is equal to the excess of the price of the produce of the land over the cost of production on that land. With the increase of population, and therefore of demand for food, inferior soils will be taken into cultivation; and the price of the entire supply necessary for the community will be regulated by the cost of production of that portion of the supply which is produced at the greatest expense. But for the land which will barely repay the cost of cultivation, no rent will be paid. Hence, the rent of any quality of land will be equal to the difference between the cost of production on that land and the cost of production of that produce which is raised at the greatest expense. . . .

"The great importance of the theory of rent in Ricardo's system arises from the fact that he makes the general economic condition of society to depend altogether on the position in which agricultural exploitation stands. This will be seen from the following statement of his theory of wages and profits. The produce of every expenditure of labor and capital being divided between the laborer and the capitalist, in proportion as one obtains more the other will necessarily obtain less. The productiveness of labor being given, nothing can diminish profit but a rise of wages, or in-

crease it but a fall of wages. Now, the price of labor, being the same as its cost of production, is determined by the price of the commodities necessary for the support of the laborer. The price of such manufactured articles as he requires has a constant tendency to fall, principally by reason of the progressive application of the division of labor to their production. But the cost of his maintenance essentially depends, not on the price of those articles, but on that of his food; and, as the production of food will in the progress of society and of population require the sacrifice of more and more labor, its price will rise; money wages will constantly rise, and with the rise of wages profits will fall. Thus it is to the necessary gradual descent to inferior soils, or less productive expenditure on the same soil, that the decrease in the rate of profit which has historically taken place is to be attributed (Smith ascribed this decrease to the competition of capitalists, tho in one place, bk. i. chap. ix., he had a glimpse of the Ricardian view). This gravitation of profits toward a minimum is happily checked at times by improvements of the machinery employed in the production of necessaries, and especially by such discoveries in agriculture and other causes as reduce the cost of the prime necessary of the laborer; but, here again, the tendency is constant. While the capitalist thus loses, the laborer does not gain: his increased money wages only enable him to pay the increased price of his necessaries, of which he will have no greater and probably a less share than he had before. In fact, the laborer can never for any considerable time earn more than what is required to enable the class to subsist in such a degree of comfort as custom has made indispensable to them, and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. That is the 'natural' price of labor; and if the market rate temporarily rises above it, population will be stimulated, and the rate of wages will again fall. Thus, while rent has a constant tendency to rise and profit to fall, the rise or fall of wages will depend on the rate of increase of the working classes. For the improvement of their condition, Ricardo thus has to fall back on the Malthusian remedy, of the effective application of which he does not, however, seem to have much expectation. The securities against a superabundant population to which he inclines are the gradual abolition of the poor-laws—for their amendment would not content him—and the development among the working classes of a taste for greater comforts and enjoyments.

"It will be seen that the socialists have somewhat exaggerated in announcing, as Ricardo's 'iron law' of wages, their absolute identity with the amount necessary to sustain the existence of the laborer and enable him to continue the race. He recognizes the influence of a 'standard of living' as limiting the increase of the numbers of the working classes, and so keeping their wages above the lowest point. But he also holds that, in long-settled countries, in the ordinary course of human affairs, and in the absence of special efforts restricting the growth of population, the condition of the laborer will decline as surely, and from the same causes, as that of the landlord will be improved."

"RINGS."—The New York *Nation* (xiii. 333) says "a [political] ring is, in its common form, a small number of persons who get possession of an administrative machine and distribute the offices or other good things connected with it among a band of fellows of greater or less dimensions, who agree to divide with them whatever they make." The most famous rings in America have been the Tweed ring (*q. v.*), the Whisky ring, and the Philadelphia gas ring. To the Philadelphia gas ring, which he treats as a typical ring, Professor Bryce devotes an especial chapter in his *American Commonwealth*. According to this account the Republican party in Pennsylvania during the war fell into the control of obscure and corrupt citizens, in part, at least, because the best citizens were absorbed in national issues. A clique developed with ramifications

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at Washington, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia. In the latter city they gave it complete control. Says Mr. Bryce:

"They sometimes placed men of good social standing in the higher posts, but filled the inferior ones, which were very numerous, with their own creatures. The water department, the highway department, the tax department, the city treasurer's department, the county commissioner's office, fell into their hands. A mayor appointed by them filled the police with their henchmen till it became a completely partizan force. But the center of their power was the gas trust, administered by trustees, one of whom, by his superior activity and intelligence, secured the command of the whole party machinery, and reached the high position of recognized Boss of Philadelphia. This gentleman, Mr. James M'Manes, having gained influence among the humbler voters, was appointed one of the gas trustees, and soon managed to bring the whole of that department under his control. It employed (I was told) about 2000 persons, received large sums, and gave out large contracts. Appointing his friends and dependents to the chief places under the trust, and requiring them to fill the ranks of its ordinary workmen with persons on whom they could rely, the Boss acquired the control of a considerable number of votes and of a large annual revenue. He and his confederates then purchased a controlling interest in the principal horse-car (street tramway) company of the city, whereby they became masters of a large number of additional voters. All these voters were of course expected to act as 'workers,' *i. e.*, they occupied themselves with the party organization of the city, they knew the meanest streets and those who dwell therein, they attended and swayed the primaries, and when an election came round, they canvassed and brought up the voters. Their power, therefore, went far beyond their mere voting strength, for a hundred energetic 'workers' mean at least a thousand votes. With so much strength behind them the gas ring, and Mr. M'Manes at its head, became not merely indispensable to the Republican party in the city, but in fact its chiefs, able therefore to dispose of the votes of all those who were employed permanently or temporarily in the other departments of the city government—a number which one hears estimated as high as 20,000. Nearly all the municipal offices were held by their nominees. They commanded a majority in the Select Council and Common Council. They managed the nomination of members of the State legislature. Even the Federal officials in the custom-house and post-office were forced into a dependent alliance with them, because their support was so valuable to the leaders in Federal politics that it had to be purchased by giving them their way in city affairs. There was no getting at the trust, because 'its meetings were held in secret, its published annual report to the city councils was confused and unintelligible, and (as was subsequently proved) actually falsified.* Mr. M'Manes held the pay rolls under lock and key, so that no one could know how many employees there were, and it was open to him to increase their number to any extent. The city councils might indeed ask for information, but he was careful to fill the city councils with his nominees, and to keep them in humor by a share of whatever spoil there might be, and still more by a share of the patronage. . . .

* See *Report of the Committee of One Hundred*, published November, 1834. A leading citizen of Philadelphia, from whom I have sought an explanation of the way in which the gas trust had managed to intrench itself, writes me as follows: "When in 1835 gas was first introduced in Philadelphia, it was manufactured by a private company, but the city reserved the right to buy out the stockholders. When this was done, in 1841, with the object of keeping the works 'out of politics,' the control was vested in a board of twelve, each serving for three years. These were constituted trustees of the loans issued for the construction and enlargement of the works. Their appointment was lodged in the hands of the city councils; but when, on more than one occasion, the councils endeavored to obtain control of the works, the courts were appealed to and decided that the board, as trustees for the bondholders, could not be interfered with until the last of the bonds issued under this arrangement had matured and had been paid off. Thirty-year loans under these conditions were issued until 1855, so that it was not until 1855 that the city was able to break within the charmed circle of the trust."

"But how was reform to be effected? Three methods presented themselves. One was to proceed against the gas trustees and other speculators in the courts of the State. But to make out a case the facts must first be ascertained, the accounts examined. . . . The powers which should have scrutinized them, and compelled a fuller disclosure, were vested in the councils of the city, acting by their standing committees. . . . But these councils were mainly composed of members or nominees of the ring, who had a direct interest in suppressing inquiry, because they either shared the profits of dishonesty or had placed their own relatives and friends in municipal employment by bargains with the speculating heads of departments. They therefore refused to move, and voted down the proposals for investigation made by a few of their more public-spirited colleagues.

"Another method was to turn out the corrupt officials at the next election. The American system of short terms and popular elections was originally due to a distrust of the officials, and expressly designed to enable the people to recall misused powers. The astuteness of professional politicians had, however, made it unavailable. Good citizens could not hope to carry candidates of their own against the tainted nominees of the ring, because the latter, having the 'straight' or 'regular' party nominations, would command the vote of the great mass of ordinary party men, so that the only effect of voting against them would at best be to let in the candidates of the opposite, *i. e.*, the Democratic party. These candidates were usually no better than the Republican ring. . . . The third avenue to reform lay through the action of the State legislature. . . . But this avenue was closed even more completely than the other two by the control which the city ring exercised over the State legislature. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives was notoriously a tainted body, and the Senate no better, or perhaps, as some think, worse."

Only by a long, desperate struggle of the better citizens, who were aroused to disgust, was the ring finally overthrown by the formation of a Committee of One Hundred, the ceaseless efforts of a few citizens, the rousing of a general feeling, leading at last to the election of a reform Democrat, and the final conviction of some of the officials in the courts. On the situation Professor Bryce quotes two eminent Philadelphians. One says:

"Those who study these questions most critically, and think the most carefully, fear more for the republic from the indifference of the better classes than the ignorance of the lower classes. We hear endless talk about the power of the labor vote, the Irish vote, the German vote, the granger vote, but no combination at the ballot box to-day is as numerous or powerful as the stay-at-home vote."

The other, Mr. Henry C. Lea, the distinguished historian, says:

"Your expression of surprise at the maladministration of Philadelphia is thoroughly justified. In existing social conditions it would be difficult to conceive of a large community of which it would appear more safe to predicate judicious self-government than ours. Nowhere is there to be found a more general diffusion of property or a higher average standard of comfort and intelligence—nowhere so large a proportion of land-owners bearing the burden of direct taxation, and personally interested in the wise and honest expenditure of the public revenue. In these respects it is almost an ideal community in which to work out practical results from democratic theories. I have often speculated as to the causes of failure without satisfying myself with any solution. It is not attributable to manhood suffrage, for in my reform labors I have found that the most dangerous enemies of reform have not been the ignorant and poor but men of wealth, of high social position and character, who had nothing personally to gain from political corruption, but who showed themselves as unfitted to exercise the right of suffrage as the lowest proletariat, by allowing their partizanship to enlist them in the support of candidates notoriously bad who happened, by control of party machinery, to obtain the 'regular' nomination. "The nearest approach which I can make to an explanation is that the spirit of party blinds many, while still more are governed by the mental inertia

which renders independent thought the most laborious of tasks, and the selfish indolence which shrinks from interrupting the daily routine of avocations."

(See also CORRUPTION; ELECTIONS.)

RISK. See INTEREST.

RITCHIE, DAVID G., was born at Jedburgh, Scotland, in 1853, and received his school education there. He was graduated with honors from the University of Edinburgh in 1874, and the same year matriculated at Balliol College, at Oxford, attending, among other lectures, those of Professor T. H. Green. He was elected to an open fellowship in Jesus College, and since 1879 he has been college lecturer and tutor in logic (in the widest sense of the term).

In politics Professor Ritchie has been a Radical, largely favoring State socialism.

Besides many review articles and essays, he has written *Darwinism and Politics* (Sonnenschein, 1889); second edition, with two additional *Essays on Human Evolution* (1891); of this little book, in its original form, two unauthorized reprints (one of them under the same cover with Professor Huxley's *Administrative Nihilism*) have appeared in the United States of America; *The Principles of State Interference; Four Essays on the Political Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill, and T. H. Green* (Sonnenschein, 1891); *Darwin and Hegel*, with other philosophical studies (1893).

ROADS.—The importance of good roads to a community is evident, tho not always remembered. Traffic, industry, communication, are dependent upon them.

The roads of the Roman empire were expensive and have endured, but can be improved upon by modern engineering. Twenty-nine military roads centered at Rome, and had, according to Antoninus, a total length of 52,964 Roman miles. Ancient Peru and Mexico had good roads. In the Middle Ages roads were neglected. In 1350, in England, certain roads were given to private companies, to repair and collect tolls. In the eighteenth century, in the United States, turnpikes were maintained by private companies, and this custom still remains in some places, tho with poor results. In 1796 an act of Congress authorized a road from Baltimore westward, which was completed for 650 miles.

In Europe roads to-day are very much better than in America, tho an agitation has now commenced in the United States for better roads. Where the roads are cared for by the farmers their time and money are often wasted. Civil engineering is at first expensive, but in the long run cheaper, and far better. The cost of macadamized roads varies from \$3000 to \$9000 per mile. An organization has been effected, called the National League for Good Roads, which publishes useful literature.

References: *Streets and Highways in Foreign Countries*, a collection of consular reports (1897); *Byrne's Highway Construction* (1892); *Good Roads*, a monthly magazine published in New York; see also COXEY.

ROCHDALE PIONEERS, the name given to the weavers of Rochdale (England), who started the great Rochdale cooperative movement. A rainy night in November, 1843, 12 men met in the back room of a mean inn, and commenced this cooperative movement by organizing themselves as "The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers." They agreed to pay 20 pence a week into a common fund, tho only a few of the 12 were able to pay their pence that evening.

They began by buying a little tea and sugar at wholesale prices, which they sold to their members at little more than cost. In a year their number had grown to 28, and they had collected £28, with which they rented a little store, and stocked it with £15 worth of flour. For their after history, and the success of the cooperative movement which has grown out of this beginning, see COOPERATION.

RODBERTUS, KARL JOHANN (or Rodbertus-Jagetzow, as he is sometimes called, from his estates), was born in 1805 at Griefswald; his father being a professor. He was educated at Berlin, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. After practising law, and traveling, he bought, in 1836, the estate of Jagetzow in Pomerania. Here he devoted himself to economic and other studies, and became prominent in Prussian politics. In June, 1848, he was for a fortnight Cabinet Minister for Public Worship and Education; but differences in opinion caused him to resign. He was elected in 1849, once for the First Chamber, and twice for the Second. Defeated as a candidate for the first North German Diet, he retired from politics, and Lassalle, who wrote him, could not induce him to combine his socialism with a political agitation. His first great work, published in 1842, *Zur Kenntnis unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände*, outlines his position. He was a Ricardian, and from this position, before Marx, deduced socialistic economics. Many modern economists call him a greater socialist economist than Marx. He died on his estates, 8th December, 1875. Professor Wagner calls Rodbertus "the first, the most original, and the boldest representative of scientific socialism in Germany," and "the most distinguished theorist of the purely economic side of scientific socialism."

Rodbertus speaks of his economic theories as a "logical development of the proposition introduced into science by Smith, and established more firmly by Ricardo's school, that all commodities can only be considered economically as the product of labor, and cost nothing but labor." This proposition he places at the beginning. He argues that, however the productivity may increase, the laborers are ever thrown back by the force of trade upon a rate of wages which does not exceed the necessary subsistence. He defines rent as that income which is derived by virtue of a possession, and without labor, and he divides rent into rent from land and rent from capital. The food and means of subsistence paid to the laborers from the produce of the land are their wages, and the rest of the commodities produced are the rent retained by the owner of the land; this is land-rent. Similarly, capital-rent is all the income which remains to the capitalist after deduction of wages paid to his laborers. But all produce is the produce of labor, and with free competition the value of every commodity gravitates

toward the value of the labor expended upon it; so that the relationship between the values of the raw and manufactured products is, on the whole, only regulated by the amount of labor expended upon each. Rodbertus points out that a change in the sum of a nation's productive force; in other words, a change in the number of laborers—apart, of course, from an alteration

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in productivity, or in the division of the produce—only changes the sum of the national produce and the amounts (not the proportions) which fall to rent and wages. According as the sum of the productive forces employed increases or decreases, will more or less rent be received by the land-owners, and more or less profit by the capitalists. Wages will not be higher with increased production, because, productivity and division being supposed the same, the increased produce falling to the laborers will be shared by the larger population. There can be no rent, then, first, unless the labor produce more than is necessary in order that the laborer may continue his labor, and second, unless institutions exist for depriving the laborer of this surplus, wholly or in part, and giving it to others, who do not themselves work, since the laborer is primarily in possession of the produce of his labor. This is especially seen in the case of slave-labor, where the laborer is allowed just so much of the produce as is necessary to the continuation of his labor. In modern times the arbitrary measures of the slave-owner have been replaced by the wage system or contract; but, says Rodbertus, "this contract is only formally and not actually free, and hunger fully takes the place of the whip. What used to be called food is now called wages. . . . A very large part of the people is no longer able to live upon its own means, but is in some way or other thrown on the support of the other part of society. . . . This fact runs parallel with another equally indubitable, and making the first still more striking; the national wealth has simultaneously increased. Not only has the national income become greater, because the population has increased, and the increased population has therefore produced more; but if the increased national wealth be divided between the increased population there is a larger sum per head." These remarkable facts go together:

- (1) the impoverishment in a nation increases out of proportion to the growth of population, while simultaneously
- (2) the national income increases at greater ratio than the population, and the national wealth also tends to grow. This phenomenon Rodbertus holds to be unique in history.

The Present.

The social condition of the working classes should be raised to the level of their political condition; but all that has been done so far has been to press it lower down. Rodbertus has no patience with the egotism which, "clothing itself too often in the garb of morality," says that the vices of the working classes are the causes of their misery and of pauperism. People call out to the laborer, *Ora et labora*, and enjoin upon him the duty of temperance and providence; but the fact is, says Rodbertus, that thrift is an impossibility, and to preach thrift where there is no chance of saving is pure cant and cruelty. Not, indeed, that morality is not to be enjoined on the working classes. Morality should never cease to enforce its categorical imperative everywhere, powerless as the human will is to attain to perfection; but the policy of merely reiterating the duty of morality is useless. He who gives bread to the hungry man, he remarks, protects him far more surely from stealing than he who repeats the command, "Thou shalt not steal." Nor has he much more respect for the *laissez-faire* school of economists. He sneers at the argument of "natural laws." Only in nature do natural laws act of themselves intelligently. For society, which is not natural, laws must be made.

Rodbertus proposes to abolish the present wage-contract and to introduce in its place a normal work-day with a normal form of wages; then to introduce labor-note money, the issue of which should be entirely in the hands of the State; and finally to establish a system of warehouses for commodities to be paid as wages. These contrivances would provisionally leave property in

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land and capital as at present, except that for the future the laboring classes would share in the ceasing productivity; but the ultimate goal is the replacement of this form of property by a property of income alone, which would inaugurate a new and a higher State order than any that has gone before. But Rodbertus' work-day does not mean with him what it means with most socialists—a legally deter-

mined number of hours' work daily. He expressly says in one place that the expectation that such a normal work-day will protect the laborers from the greed of their employers, and secure them fair wages, is entirely without foundation. Nor does he regard the legal limitation of the period of labor in the case of adult males as tenable on practical grounds, or defensible when regarded from the standpoint of personal right, though he makes an exception with females and children. "As much as I am for the subordination of the individual to the State," he says, "I still maintain that the State has no right to say to a free man, 'You shall work no more than so and so many hours.'" The proper thing is to increase wages, and then, if the workman finds that he can earn in four hours enough to keep him for the day, there will be little fear of his working twelve. Even if the State were to restrict the hours of labor to eight, and to decree that wages should not be reduced, the material position of the working classes would not be improved. "Legislation which *only* restricts the hours of labor merely lops the branches of a poison tree. Legislation which at once fixes a definite amount of labor, or rather a definite performance (*Leistungsquantum*), lays the ax at its roots, plants in its place a healthy, fruitful tree, which it can then allow to shoot and blossom as freely as it will." "The way is long," he remarks in one of his letters, but for that reason it is desirable that the journey shall be begun without delay. Justice and prudence alike urge the necessity for movement, since the social question is fast taking this form: "Are the proprietors of the soil to be driven out, as in a migration of the nations, by those who are without property?" But the cost! "Certainly, the solution of the social problem will cost more than the printer's ink of a police order, simply because it *is* the social problem." He is confident that this problem will never be settled "in the street by means of strikes, paving-stones, or petroleum;" that social ills will not be "relieved, much less healed, by camomile tea." Permanent social peace, a strong executive power, enjoying the confidence and attachment of the working classes, and extensive preparations made in quiet and order, are all necessary preliminaries to the final settlement of a difficulty which becomes more dangerous the longer it is ignored.

Rodbertus' most important works, besides the above named, are *Soziale Briefe an v. Kirchmann* (1850-51); *Zür Erklärung und Abhülfe der heutigen Kreditnoth des Grundbestandes* (1868-69); *Der normale Arbeitstag* (1871).

The best English account of Rodbertus is to be found in W. H. Dawson's *Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle*, from which our account is abridged.

ROGERS, JAMES EDWIN THOROLD, was born in Hampshire, England, in 1823. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1842, and was graduated in 1846. He took holy orders, but later renounced them. In 1862 he was elected professor of Political Economy at Oxford, but failed of reelection in 1868, owing to his radical views. From 1880 to 1886 he sat in Parliament, and was reinstated professor at Oxford in 1888, where he died in 1890. Commencing as an economist of the orthodox economic school, he devoted himself to economic historical research, and his investigations soon convinced him that orthodoxy in this case was very radically wrong; and this conviction grew still more upon him, and was stated with still greater force, as years went on.

With the conclusions that he drew from his labors in social and industrial history, later economists have felt themselves often compelled to disagree, but his learning and capacity for research none can question.

Professor Rogers' main results are found in

his 1-vol. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (1885), and more comprehensively and minutely in his 6-vol. *History of Agriculture and Prices* (1836-88). Twenty years of patient investigation he put into his *History of Agriculture and Prices*. He has collected thousands and thousands of records of prices actually paid for different commodities, or for various kinds of labor; has put together the records of the different kinds belonging to the same year; has averaged these, has then averaged these averages for decades, and finally these decade averages for period averages; and has thus obtained results it is impossible to question, because based on statements written with no thought of the use to which they would be put.

Professor Rogers found these records in old exchequer bills, the college records, the manor rolls, the farm accounts preserved, as it were by accident, in the state, university, and municipal archives of English libraries. It was almost by accident that Professor Rogers discovered them and saw their unique value.

His other works were *The Economic Interpretation of History* (1888) and *The Industrial and Commercial History of England* (1892), edited by his son.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.

—As the best statement of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to social reform, we print in full the Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII., dated May 15, 1891, on the condition of the working classes, and a portion of the Encyclical of January 10, 1890, on the chief duties of Christians as citizens. For the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church in education, see article, RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. For the contributions of the Roman Catholic Church to social reform in the past, see articles, CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; MIDDLE AGES; USURY; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES, etc. The text of the following translations is taken from the volume, *The Pope and the People*, edited by the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S. J., and approved by the Archbishop of Westminster, London:

"THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

"That the spirit of revolutionary change, which has long been disturbing the nations of the world, should have passed beyond the sphere of politics and made its influence felt in the cognate sphere of practical economics is not surprising. The elements of the conflict now raging are unmistakable, in the vast expansion of industrial pursuits and the marvelous discoveries of science; in the changed relations between masters and workmen; in the enormous fortunes of some few individuals and the utter poverty of the masses; in the increased self-reliance and closer mutual combination of the working classes; as also, finally in the prevailing moral degeneracy. The momentous gravity of the state of things now obtaining fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men are discussing it; practical men are proposing schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and rulers of nations are all busied with it—and actually there is no question which has taken a deeper hold on the public mind.

"Therefore, Venerable Brethren, as on former occasions when it seemed opportune to refute false teaching, we have addressed you in the interests of the Church and of the common weal, and have issued letters bearing on *Political Power, Human Liberty, The Christian Constitution of the State*, and like mat-

ters, so have we thought it expedient now to speak on *The Condition of the Working Classes*. It is a subject on which we have already touched more than once, incidentally. But in the present letter the responsibility of the Apostolic office urges us to treat the question of set purpose and in detail, in order that no misapprehension may exist as to the principles which truth and justice dictate for its settlement. The discussion is not easy, nor is it void of danger. It is no easy matter to define the relative rights and mutual duties of the rich and of the poor, of capital and of labor. And the danger lies in this, that crafty agitators are intent on making use of these differences of opinion to pervert men's judgments and to stir up the people to revolt.

"But all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes.

"For the ancient working men's Guilds were abolished in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the very laws have set aside the ancient religion. Hence, by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been surrendered, all isolated and helpless, to the hard-heartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition. The mischief has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different guise, but with the like injustice, still practised by covetous and grasping men. To this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals; so that a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the laboring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.

"To remedy these wrongs the socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, are striving to do away with private property, and contend that individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies. They hold that by thus transferring property from private individuals to the community, the present mischievous state of things will be set to rights, inasmuch as each citizen will then get his fair share of whatever there is to enjoy. But their contentions are so clearly powerless to end the controversy that, were they carried into effect, the working man himself would be among the first to suffer. They are moreover emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring State action into a sphere not within its competence, and create utter confusion in the community.

Socialism.

"It is surely undeniable that, when a man engages in remunerative labor, the impelling reason and motive of his work is to obtain property, and thereafter to hold it as his very own. If one man hires out to another his strength or skill, he does so for the purpose of receiving in return what is necessary for sustenance and education; he therefore expressly intends to acquire a right full and real, not only to the remuneration, but also to the disposal of such remuneration, just as he pleases. Thus, if he lives sparingly, saves money, and, for greater security, invests his savings in land, the land, in such case, is only his wages under another form; and, consequently, a working man's little estate thus purchased should be as completely at his full disposal as are the wages he receives for his labor. But it is precisely in such power of disposal that ownership obtains, whether the property consist of land or chattels. Socialists, therefore, by endeavoring to transfer the possessions of individuals to the community at large, strike at the interests of every wage-earner, since they would deprive him of the liberty of disposing of his wages, and thereby of all hope and possibility of increasing his stock and of bettering his condition in life.

Private Property.

"What is of far greater moment, however, is the fact that the remedy they propose is manifestly against justice. For every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own. This is one of the chief points of distinction between man and the animal creation, for the brute has no power of self-direction, but is governed by two main instincts, which keep his powers on the alert, impel him to develop them in a fitting manner, and stimulate and determine him to action without any power of choice. One of these

instincts is self-preservation, the other the propagation of the species. Both can attain their purpose by means of things which lie within range; beyond their verge the brute creation cannot go, for they are moved to action by their senses only, and in the special direction which these suggest. But with man it is wholly different. He possesses, on the one hand, the full perfection of the animal being, and hence enjoys, at least as much as the rest of the animal kind, the fruition of things material. But animal nature, however perfect, is far from representing the human being in its completeness, and is in truth but humanity's humble handmaid, made to serve and to obey. It is the mind, or reason, which is the predominant element in us who are human creatures; it is this which renders a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and generically from the brute. And on this very account—that man alone among the animal creation is endowed with reason—it must be within his right to possess things not merely for temporary and momentary use, as other living things do, but to have and to hold them in stable and permanent possession; he must have not only things that perish in the USE but those also which, though they have been reduced into use, continue for further use in after time.

"This becomes still more clearly evident if man's nature be considered a little more deeply. For man, fathoming by his faculty of reason matters without number, and linking the future with the present, becoming, furthermore, by taking enlightened forethought, master of his own acts, guides his ways under the eternal law and the power of God, whose Providence governs all things. Wherefore it is in his power to exercise his choice not only as to matters that regard his present welfare, but also about those which he deems may be for his advantage in time yet to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the very soil, inasmuch as from the produce of the earth he has to lay by provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; although satisfied to-day, they demand fresh supplies for to-morrow. Nature accordingly owes to man a storehouse that shall never fail, affording the daily supply for his daily wants. And this he finds solely in the inexhaustible fertility of the earth.

"Neither do we, at this stage, need to bring into action the interference of the State. Man precedes the State, and possesses, prior to the formation of any State, the right of providing for the sustenance of his body. Now to affirm that God has given the earth for the use and enjoyment of the whole human race is not to deny that private property is lawful. For God has granted the earth to mankind in general, not in the sense that all without distinction can deal with it as they like, but rather that no part of it has been assigned to any one in particular, and that the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry, and by the laws of individual races. Moreover, the earth, even though apportioned among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all, inasmuch as there is no one who does not sustain life from what the land produces. Those who do not possess the soil contribute their labor; hence it may truly be said that all human subsistence is derived either from labor on one's own land, or from some toilsome calling, which is paid for either in the produce of the land itself, or in that which is exchanged for what the land brings forth.

"Here, again, we have further proof that private ownership is in accordance with the law of nature. Truly, that which is required for the preservation of life, and for life's well being, is produced in great abundance from the soil, but not until man has brought it into cultivation and expended upon it his solicitude and skill. Now, when man thus turns the activity of his mind and the strength of his body toward procuring the fruits of nature, by such act he makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his individuality; and it cannot be just that he should possess that portion as his very own, and have a right to hold it without anyone being justified in violating that right.

"So strong and convincing are these arguments that it seems amazing that some should now be setting up anew certain obsolete opinions in opposition to what is here laid down. They assert that it is right for private persons to have the use of the soil and its various fruits, but that it is unjust for any one to possess outright either the land on which he has built, or the estate which he has brought under cultivation. But those who deny these rights do not perceive that they

are defrauding man of what his own labor has produced. For the soil which is tilled and cultivated with toil and skill utterly changes its condition; it was wild before, now it is fruitful; was barren, but now brings forth in abundance. That which has thus altered and improved the land becomes so truly part of itself as to be in great measure indistinguishable and inseparable from it. Is it just that the fruit of a man's own sweat and labor should be possessed and enjoyed by any one else? As effects follow their cause, so is it just and right that the results of labor should belong to those who have bestowed their labor.

"With reason, then, the common opinion of mankind, little affected by the few dissentients who have contended for the opposite view, has found in the careful study of nature, and in the laws of nature, the foundations of the division of property, and the practise of all ages has consecrated the principle of private ownership, as being preeminently in conformity with human nature, and as conducing in the most unmistakable manner to the peace and tranquillity of human existence. The same principle is confirmed and enforced by the civil laws—laws which, so long as they are just, derive from the law of nature their binding force. The authority of the Divine Law adds its sanction, forbidding us in severest terms even to covet that which is another's: *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; nor his house, nor his field, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything which is his.**

"The rights here spoken of, belonging to each individual man, are seen in much stronger light when considered in relation to man's social and domestic obligations. In choosing a state of life, it is indisputable that all are at full liberty to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to observing virginity, or to bind themselves by the marriage tie. No human law can abolish the natural and original right of marriage, nor in any way limit the chief and principal purpose of marriage, ordained by God's authority from the beginning. *Increase and multiply,†* Hence we have the family: the 'society' of a man's house—a society limited indeed in numbers, but no less a true 'society,' anterior to every kind of State or nation, invested with rights and duties of its own, totally independent of the civil community.

"That right of property, therefore, which has been proved to belong naturally to individual persons, must likewise belong to a man in his capacity of head of a family; nay, such a person must possess this right so much the more clearly in proportion as his position multiplies his duties. For it is a most sacred law of nature that a father should provide food and all necessities for those whom he has begotten; and, similarly, nature dictates that a man's children, who carry on, so to speak, and continue his own personality, should be by him provided with all that is needful to enable them to keep themselves honorably from want and misery amid the uncertainties of this mortal life. Now, in no other way can a father effect this except by the ownership of lucrative property, which he can transmit to his children by inheritance. A family, no less than a State, is, as we have said, a true society, governed by a power within its sphere, that is to say, by the father. Provided, therefore, the limits which are prescribed by the very purposes for which it exists be not transgressed, the family has at least equal rights with the State in the choice and pursuit of the things needful to its preservation and its just liberty.

"We say, at least equal rights; for inasmuch as the domestic household is antecedent, as well in idea as in fact, to the gathering of men into a community, the family must necessarily have rights and duties which are prior to those of the community, and founded more immediately in nature. If the citizens of a State—in other words the families—on entering into association and fellowship were to experience at the hands of the State hindrance instead of help, and were to find their rights attacked instead of being upheld, such association should be held in detestation, rather than be an object of desire.

"The contention, then, that the civil government should at its option intrude into and exercise intimate control over the family and the household, is a great and pernicious error. True, if a family finds itself in exceeding distress, utterly deprived of the counsel of friends, and without any prospect of extricating itself, it is right that extreme necessity be met by public

* Deuteronomy v. 21.

† Genesis i. 28.

The Family.

aid, since each family is a part of the commonwealth. In like manner, if within the precincts of the household there occur grave disturbance of mutual rights, public authority should intervene to force each party to yield to the other its proper due, for this is not to deprive citizens of their rights, but justly and properly to safeguard and strengthen them. But the rulers of the State must go no further; here nature bids them stop. Paternal authority can be neither abolished nor absorbed by the State; for it has the same source as human life itself. 'The child belongs to the father,' and is, as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and, speaking strictly, the child takes its place in civil society, not of its own right, but in its quality as member of the family in which it is born. And for the reason that 'the child belongs to the father,' it is, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, 'before it attains the use of free will, under power and charge of its parents.*' The socialists, therefore, in setting aside the parent and setting up a State supervision, act *against natural justice*, and break into pieces the stability of all family life.

"And not only is such interference unjust, but it is quite certain to harass and worry all classes of citizens, and subject them to odious and intolerable bondage. It would throw open the door to envy, to mutual invective, and to discord; the sources of wealth themselves would run dry, for no one would have any interest in exerting his talents or his industry; and that ideal equality about which they entertain pleasant dreams would be in reality the leveling down of all to a like condition of misery and degradation.

"Hence it is clear that the main tenet of socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it only injures those whom it would seem meant to benefit, is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and would introduce confusion and disorder into the commonweal. The first and most fundamental principle, therefore, if one would undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property. This being established, we proceed to show where the remedy sought for must be found.

"We approach the subject with confidence, and in the exercise of the rights which manifestly appertain to us, for no practical solution of this question will be found, apart from the intervention of religion and of the Church. It is we who are the chief guardian of religion, and the chief dispenser of what pertains to the

Religion.

Church, and we must not by silence neglect the duty incumbent on us. Doubtless this most serious question demands the attention and the efforts of others besides ourselves—to wit, of the rulers of States, of employers of labor, of the wealthy, aye, of the working classes themselves, for whom we are pleading. But we affirm without hesitation that all the striving of men will be vain if they leave out the Church. It is the Church that insists, on the authority of the Gospel, upon those teachings whereby the conflict can be brought to an end, or rendered, at least, far less bitter; the Church uses her efforts, not only to enlighten the mind, but to direct by her precepts the life and conduct of each and all; the Church improves and betters the condition of the working man by means of numerous useful organizations; does her best to enlist the services of all ranks in discussing and endeavoring to meet, in the most practical way, the claims of the working classes; and acts from the positive view that for these purposes recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the intervention of the law and of State authority. Let it, then, be taken as granted, in the first place, that the condition of things human must be endured, for it is impossible to reduce civil society to one dead level. Socialists may in that intent do their utmost, but all striving against nature is in vain. There naturally exist among mankind manifold differences of the most important kind; people differ in capacity, skill, health, strength; and unequal fortune is a necessary result of unequal condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous, either to individuals, or to the community. Social and public life can only be maintained by means of various kinds of capacity for business, and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which suits his own peculiar domestic condition. As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from the *state of innocence*, he would not have remained wholly unoccupied; but that which would then have been his free choice and his

delight became afterward compulsory, and the painful expiation for his disobedience. *Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life.** In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must accompany man so long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let them strive as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people the boon of freedom from pain and trouble, and undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they delude the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only one day bring forth evils worse than the present. Nothing is more useful than to look upon the world as it really is—and at the same time to seek elsewhere, as we have said, for the solace to its troubles.

"The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion that class is naturally hostile to class, and that the wealthy and the working men are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view that the direct contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human frame is the resultant of the disposition of the bodily members, so in a State is it ordained by nature that these two classes should dwell in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, groove into one another, so as to maintain the balance of the body politic. Each needs the other; capital cannot do without labor, nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness of life and the beauty of good order; while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian institutions is marvelous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the poor bread-winners together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and, especially, of the obligations of justice. Thus religion teaches the laboring man and the artisan to carry out honestly and fairly all equitable agreements freely entered into; never to injure the property, nor to outrage the person, of an employer; never to resort to violence in defending their own cause, nor to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and excite foolish hopes which usually end in useless regrets, followed by insolvency. Religion teaches the wealthy owner and the employer that their work people are not to be accounted their bondsmen; that in every man they must respect his dignity and worth as a man and as a Christian; that labor is not a thing to be ashamed of, if we lend ear to right reason and to Christian philosophy, but is an honorable calling, enabling a man to sustain his life in a way upright and creditable; and that it is shameful and inhuman to treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power. Again, therefore, the Church teaches that, as religion and things spiritual and mental are among the working man's main concerns, the employer is bound to see that the worker has time for his religious duties; that he be not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he be not led away to neglect his home and family, or to squander his earnings. Furthermore, the employer must never tax his work people beyond their strength, or employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal duty is to give every one a fair wage. Doubtless, before deciding whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but wealthy owners and all masters of labor should be mindful of this—that to exercise pressure upon the indigent and the destitute for the sake of gain, and to gather one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine. To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of Heaven. *Behold, the hire of the laborers . . . which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth aloud; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.*† Lastly, the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workmen's earnings, whether by force, by fraud,

**Class
Should Help
Class.**

* St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2a 2æ Q. x. Art. 12.

* Genesis iii. 17.

† St. James v. 4.

or by usurious dealing; and with all the greater reason because the laboring man is, as a rule, weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should, in proportion to their scantiness, be accounted sacred.

"Were these precepts carefully obeyed and followed out, would they not be sufficient of themselves to keep under all strife, and all its causes?"

"But the Church, with Jesus Christ as her Master and Guide, aims higher still. She lays down precepts yet more perfect, and tries to bind class to class in friendliness and good feeling. The things of earth cannot be understood or valued aright without taking into consideration the life to come, the life that will know no death. Exclude the idea of futurity, and forthwith the very notion of what is good and right would perish; nay, the whole scheme of the universe would become a dark and unfathomable mystery. The great truth which we learn from Nature herself is also the grand Christian dogma on which religion rests as on its foundation—that when we have given up this present life, then shall we really begin to live. God has not created us for the perishable and transitory things of earth, but for things heavenly and everlasting; he has given us this world as a place of exile, and not as our abiding-place. As for riches and the other things which men call good and desirable, whether we have them in abundance, or lack them altogether—so far as eternal happiness is concerned—it matters little; the only important thing is to use them aright. Jesus Christ, when he redeemed us with plentiful redemption,* took not away the pains and sorrows which in such large proportion are woven together in the web of our mutual life. He transformed them into motives of virtue and occasions of merit; and no man can hope for eternal reward unless he follow in the blood-stained footprints of his Savior. *If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him.*† Christ's labors and sufferings, accepted of his own free will, have marvelously sweetened all suffering and all labor. And not only by his example, but by his grace, and by the hope set forth of everlasting recompense, has he made pain and grief more easy to endure; for that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory.‡

"Therefore, those whom fortune favors are warned that freedom from sorrow and abundance of earthly riches are no warrant for the bliss that shall never end, but rather are obstacles;|| that the rich should tremble at the threatenings of Jesus Christ—threatenings so unwonted in the mouth of Our Lord§—and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for all we possess. The chief and most excellent rule for the right use of money is one which the heathen philosophers hinted at, but which the Church has traced out clearly, and has not only made known to men's minds, but has impressed upon their lives. It rests on the principle that it is one thing to have a right to the possession of money, and another to have a right to use money as one will. Private ownership, as we have seen, is the natural right of man; and to exercise that right, especially as members of society, is not only lawful, but absolutely necessary. 'It is lawful,' said St. Thomas of Aquin, "for a man to hold private property; and it is also necessary for the carrying on of human existence."¶ But if the question be asked, How must one's possessions be used? the Church replies without hesitation in the words of the same holy doctor: 'Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without hesitation when others are in need. Whence the Apostle saith, *Command the rich of this world. . . to offer with no stint, to apportion largely.*'** True, no one is commanded to distribute to others that which is required for his own needs and those of his household; nor even to give away what is reasonably required to keep up becomingly his condition in life: 'for no one ought to live other than becomingly.'†† But when what necessity denies has been supplied, and one's standing fairly taken thought for, it becomes a duty to give to the indigent out of what remains over. *Of that which remaineth, give alms.*‡‡ It is a duty, not of justice (save in extreme cases), but of Christian charity—a duty not enforced by human law. But the laws and judgments of men must yield place to the laws and judgments of Christ, the true God, who in many ways urges on his followers the practise of alms-

giving—*It is more blessed to give than to receive;** and who will count a kindness done or refused to the poor as done or refused to himself—*As long as you did it to one of my least brethren, you did it to me.*† To sum up then what has been said: Whoever has received from the Divine bounty a large share of temporal blessings, whether they be external and corporeal, or gifts of the mind, has received them for the purpose of using them for the perfecting of his own nature, and, at the same time, that he may employ them, as the steward of God's Providence, for the benefit of others. 'He that hath a talent,' says St. Gregory the Great, 'let him see that he hide it not; he that hath abundance, let him quicken himself to mercy and generosity; he that hath art and skill, let him do his best to share the use and the utility thereof with his neighbor.‡'

"As for those who possess not the gifts of fortune, they are taught by the Church that in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in one's seeking one's bread by labor. This is enforced by what we see in Christ who himself, whereas he was rich, for our sakes became poor.¶ and who, being the Son of God, and God himself, chose to seem and be considered the son of a carpenter—nay, did not disdain to spend a great part of his life as a carpenter himself. *Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?*§ From contemplation of this Divine exemplar, it is more easy to understand that the true worth and nobility of man lies in his moral qualities, that is, in virtue; that virtue is moreover the common inheritance of men, equally within the reach of high and low, rich and poor; and that virtue, and virtue alone, wherever found, will be followed by the rewards of everlasting happiness. Nay, God himself seems to incline rather to those who suffer misfortune; for Jesus Christ calls the poor 'blessed';¶ he lovingly invites those in labor and grief to come to him for solace; ** and he displays the tenderest charity toward the lowly and the oppressed. These reflections cannot fail to keep down the pride of those who are well-to-do, and to embolden the spirit of the afflicted; to incline the former to generosity, and the latter to meek resignation. Thus the separation which pride would set up tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.

"But, if Christian precepts prevail, the respective classes will not only be united in the bonds of friendship, but also in those of brotherly love. For they will understand and feel that all men are children of the same common Father, who is God; that all have alike the same last end, which is God himself, who alone can make either men or angels absolutely and perfectly happy; that each and all are redeemed and made sons of God, by Jesus Christ, the first-born among many brethren; that the blessings of nature and the gifts of grace belong to the whole human race in common, and that from none except the unworthy is withheld the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. *If sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God, and co-heirs of Christ.*††

"Such is the scheme of duties and of rights which is shown forth to the world by the Gospel. Would it not seem that, were society penetrated with ideas like these, strife must quickly cease?"

"But the Church, not content with pointing out the remedy, also applies it. For the Church does her utmost to teach and to train men, and to educate them; and by the intermediary of her bishops and clergy diffuses her salutary teachings far and wide. She strives to influence the mind and the heart so that all men may willingly yield themselves to be formed and guided by the commandments of God. It is precisely in this fundamental and momentous matter, on which everything depends, that the Church possesses a power peculiarly her own. The agencies which she employs are given to her by Jesus Christ himself, for the very purpose of reaching the hearts of men, and derive their efficiency from God. They alone can reach the innermost heart and conscience,

The Poor.

The Church Serves Society.

* Acts xx. 35.
 † St. Matthew xxv. 40.
 ‡ St. Gregory the Great, Hom. ix. in *Evangel.* n. 7.
 § 2 Corinthians viii. 9.
 ¶ St. Mark vi. 3.
 ** St. Matthew v. 3: *Blessed are the poor in spirit.*
 *** *Ibid.*, xi. 28: *Come to me all you that labor and are burdened, and I will refresh you.*
 †† Romans viii. 17.

* 2 Timothy ii. 12.
 † 2 Corinthians iv. 17.
 ‡ 2 Corinthians iv. 17.
 § St. Matthew xix. 23, 24.
 ¶ St. Luke xi. 41.
 § St. Luke vi. 24, 25.
 ¶ 2a 2e Q. lxxvi. Art. 2.
 ** *Ibid.*, Q. lxxv. Art. 2.
 †† *Ibid.*, Q. xxxii. Art. 6.

and bring men to act from a motive of duty, to resist their passions and appetites, to love God and their fellow-men with a love that is singular and supreme, and to break down courageously every barrier which impedes the way of a life of virtue.

"On this subject we need but recall for one moment the examples recorded in history. Of these facts there cannot be any shadow of doubt; for instance, that civil society was renovated in every part by the teachings of Christianity; that in the strength of that renewal the human race was lifted up to better things—nay, that it was brought back from death to life, and to so excellent a life that nothing more perfect had been known before, or will come to be known in the ages that have yet to be. Of this beneficent transformation, Jesus Christ was at once the first cause and the final end; as from him all came, so to him was all to be brought back. For when the human race, by the light of the Gospel message, came to know the grand mystery of the Incarnation of the Word and the redemption of man, at once the life of Jesus Christ, God and Man, pervaded every race and nation, and interpenetrated them with his faith, his precepts, and his laws. And if society is to be healed now, in no other way can it be healed save by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions. When a society is perishing, the wholesome advice to give to those who would restore it is to recall it to the principles from which it sprang; for the purpose and perfection of an association is to aim at and to attain that for which it was formed; and its efforts should be put in motion and inspired by the end and object which originally gave it being. Hence to fall away from its primal constitution implies disease; to go back to it, recovery. And this may be asserted with utmost truth, both of the State in general, and of that body of its citizens—by far the great majority—who sustain life by their labor.

"Neither must it be supposed that the solicitude of the Church is so preoccupied with the spiritual concerns of her children as to neglect their temporal and earthly interests. Her desire is that the poor, for example, should rise above poverty and wretchedness, and better their condition in life; and for this she makes a strong endeavor. By the very fact that she calls men to virtue and forms them to its practise, she promotes this in no slight degree. Christian morality, when adequately and completely practised, leads of itself to temporal prosperity, for it merits the blessing of that God who is the source of all blessings; it powerfully restrains the greed of possession and the thirst for pleasure—two plagues, which too often make a man who is void of self-restraint miserable in the midst of abundance;* it makes men supply for the lack of means through economy, teaching them to be content with frugal living, and further, keeping them out of the reach of those vices which devour not small incomes merely, but large fortunes, and dissipate many a goodly inheritance.

"The Church, moreover, intervenes directly in behalf of the poor, by setting on foot and maintaining many associations which she knows to be efficient for the relief of poverty. Herein again she has always succeeded so well as to have even extorted the praise of her enemies. Such was the ardor of brotherly love among the earliest Christians that numbers of those who were in better circumstances despoiled themselves of their possessions in order to relieve their brethren; whence *neither was there any one needy among them.*† To the order of deacons, instituted in that very intent, was committed by the Apostles the charge of the daily doles; and the Apostle Paul, though burdened with the solicitude of all the churches, hesitated not to undertake laborious journeys in order to carry the alms of the faithful to the poorer Christians. Tertullian calls these contributions, given voluntarily by Christians in their assemblies, deposits of piety; because to cite his own words, they were employed 'in feeding the needy, in burying them, in the support of youths and maidens destitute of means and deprived of their parents, in the care of the aged, and the relief of the shipwrecked.'‡

"Thus by degrees came into existence the patrimony which the Church has guarded with religious care as the inheritance of the poor. Nay, to spare them the shame of begging, the common Mother of rich and poor has exerted herself to gather together funds for the support of the needy. The Church has aroused everywhere the heroism of charity, and has

established congregations of religious and many other useful institutions for help and mercy, so that hardly any kind of suffering could exist which was not afforded relief. At the present day many there are who, like the heathen of old, seek to blame and condemn the Church for such eminent charity. They would substitute in its stead a system of relief organized by the State. But no human expedients will ever make up for the devotedness and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity, as a virtue, pertains to the Church; for virtue it is not, unless it be drawn from the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ; and whosoever turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ.

"It cannot, however, be doubted that to attain the purpose we are treating of, not only the Church, but all human agencies must concur. All who are concerned in the matter should be of one mind and according to their ability act together. It is with this, as with the Providence that governs the world; the results of causes do not usually take place save where all the causes cooperate.

"It is sufficient, therefore, to inquire what part the State should play in the work of remedy and relief.

"By the State we here understand not the particular form of government prevailing in this or that nation, but

The State.

the State as rightly apprehended; that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right reason and natural law, and to those dictates of the Divine wisdom which we have expounded in the Encyclical on *The Christian Constitution of the State*. The foremost duty, therefore, of the rulers of the State should be to make sure that the laws and institutions, the general character and administration of the commonwealth, shall be such as of themselves to realize public well-being and private prosperity. This is the proper scope of wise statesmanship and is the work of the heads of the State. Now, a State chiefly prospers and thrives through moral rule, well-regulated family life, respect for religion and justice, the moderation and equal allocation of public taxes, the progress of the arts and of trade, the abundant yield of the land—through everything, in fact, which makes the citizens better and happier. Hereby, then, it lies in the power of a ruler to benefit every class in the State, and among the rest to promote to the utmost the interests of the poor; and this in virtue of his office, and without being open to any suspicion of undue interference—since it is the province of the State to consult the common good. And the more that is done for the benefit of the working classes by the general laws of the country, the less need will there be to seek for special means to relieve them.

"There is another and deeper consideration which must not be lost sight of. As regards the State, the interests of all, whether high or low, are equal. The poor are members of the national community equally with the rich; they are real component living members which constitute, through the family, the living body; and it need hardly be said that they are in every State very largely in the majority. It would be irrational to neglect one portion of the citizens and favor another; and therefore the public administration must duly and solicitously provide for the welfare and the comfort of the working classes; otherwise that law of justice will be violated which ordains that each man shall have his due. To cite the wise words of St. Thomas of Aquin: 'As the part and the whole are in a certain sense identical, the part may in some sense claim what belongs to the whole.'* Among the many and grave duties of rulers who would do their best for the people, the first and chief is to act with strict justice—with that justice which is called by the schoolmen *distributive*—toward each and every class alike.

"But altho all citizens, without exception, can and ought to contribute to that common good in which individuals share so advantageously to themselves, yet it should not be supposed that all can contribute in the like way and to the same extent. No matter what changes may occur in forms of government, there will ever be differences and inequalities of condition in the State. Society cannot exist or be conceived of without them. Some there must be who devote themselves to the work of the commonwealth, who make the laws or administer justice, or whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace, and defend it in war. Such men clearly occupy the foremost place in the State, and should be held in highest estimation, for their work concerns most nearly and

* *The desire of money is the root of all evils.*—1 Timothy vi. 10.

† Acts iv. 34.

‡ *Apologia Secunda*, xxxix.

* 2a 2æ Q. lxi. Art. 1 ad 2.

effectively the general interests of the community. Those who labor at a trade or calling do not promote the general welfare in such measure as this; but they benefit the nation, if less directly, in a most important manner. Still we have insisted that, since the end of society is to make men better, the chief good that society can possess is virtue. Nevertheless, in all well-constituted States it is in no wise a matter of small moment to provide those bodily and external commodities *the use of which is necessary to virtuous action.** And in order to provide such material well-being, the labor of the poor—the exercise of their skill, and the employment of their strength, in the culture of the land and in the work-shops of trade—is of great account and quite indispensable. Indeed, their cooperation is in this respect so important that it may be truly said that it is only by the labor of working men that States grow rich. Justice, therefore, demands that the interests of the poorer classes should be carefully watched over by the administration, so that they who contribute so largely to the advantage of the community may themselves share in the benefits which they create—that being housed, clothed, and enabled to sustain life, they may find their existence less hard and more endurable. It follows that whatever shall appear to prove conducive to the well-being of those who work should obtain favorable consideration. Let it not be feared that solicitude of this kind will be harmful to any interest; on the contrary, it will be to the advantage of all; for it cannot but be good for the commonwealth to shield from misery those on whom it so largely depends.

"We have said that the State must not absorb the individual or the family; but should be allowed free and untrammelled action so far as is consistent with the common good and the interests of others. Rulers should, nevertheless, anxiously safeguard the community and all its members: the community, because the conservation thereof is so emphatically

State Interference.

the business of the supreme power that the safety of the commonwealth is not only the first law, but it is a government's whole reason of existence; and the members, because both philosophy and the Gospel concur in laying down that the object of the government of the State should be not the advantage of the ruler, but the benefit of those over whom he is placed. The gift of authority derives from God, and is, as it were, a participation in the highest of all sovereignties; and should be exercised as the power of God is exercised—with a fatherly solicitude which not only guides the whole, but reaches also to details.

"Whenever the general interest or any particular class suffers, or is threatened with mischief which can in no other way be met or prevented, the public authority must step in to deal with it. Now, it interests the public, as well as the individual, that peace and good order should be maintained; that family life should be carried on in accordance with God's laws and those of nature; that religion should be revered and obeyed; that a high standard of morality should prevail, both in public and private life; that the sanctity of justice should be respected, and that no one should injure another with impunity; that the members of the commonwealth should grow up to man's estate strong and robust, and capable, if need be, of guarding and defending their country. If by a strike, or other combination of workmen, there should be imminent danger of disturbance to the public peace; or if circumstances were such as that among the laboring population the ties of family life were relaxed; if religion were found to suffer through the operatives not having time and opportunity afforded them to practise its duties; if in work-shops and factories there were danger to morals through the mixing of the sexes or from other harmful occasions of evil; or if employers laid burdens upon their workmen which were unjust, or degraded them with conditions repugnant to their dignity as human beings; finally, if health were endangered by excessive labor, or by work unsuited to sex or age—in such cases, there can be no question but that, within certain limits, it would be right to invoke the aid and authority of the law. The limits must be determined by the nature of the occasion which calls for the law's interference—the principle being that the law must not undertake more, nor proceed further, than is required for the remedy of the evil or the removal of the mischief.

"Rights must be religiously respected wherever they exist; and it is the duty of the public authority

to prevent and to punish injury, and to protect every one in the possession of his own. Still, when there is question of defending the rights of individuals, the poor and helpless have a claim to especial consideration. The richer class have many ways of shielding themselves, and stand less in need of help from the State; whereas those who are badly off have no resources of their own to fall back upon, and must chiefly depend upon the assistance of the State. And it is for this reason that wage-earners, who are undoubtedly among the weak and necessitous, should be specially cared for and protected by the Government.

"Here, however, it is expedient to bring under special notice certain matters of moment. It should ever be borne in mind that the chief thing to be realized is the safe-guarding of private property by legal enactment and public policy. Most of all it is essential, amid such a fever of excitement, to keep the multitude within the line of duty; for if all may justly strive to better their condition, neither justice nor the common good allows any individual to seize upon that which belongs to another, or, under the futile and shallow pretext of equality, to lay violent hands on other people's possessions. Most true it is that by far the larger part of the workers prefer to better themselves by honest labor rather than by doing any wrong to others. But there are not a few who are imbued with evil principles and eager for revolutionary change, whose main purpose is to stir up tumult and bring about measures of violence. The authority of the State should intervene to put restraint upon such firebrands, to save the working classes from their seditious arts, and protect lawful owners from spoliation.

"When work-people have recourse to a strike, it is frequently because the hours of labor are too long, or the work too hard, or because they consider their wages insufficient. The grave inconvenience of this not uncommon occurrence should be obviated by public remedial measures; for such paralyzing of labor not only affects the masters and their work-people alike, but is extremely injurious to trade and to the general interests of the public; moreover, on such occasions, violence and disorder are generally not far distant, and thus it frequently happens that the public peace is imperiled. The laws should forestall and prevent such troubles from arising; they should lend their influence and authority to the removal in good time of the causes which lead to conflicts between employers and employed.

"But if owners of property should be made secure, the working man, in like manner, has property and belongings in respect to which he should be protected; and foremost of all, his soul and mind. Life on earth, however good and desirable in itself, is not the final purpose for which man is created; it is only the way and the means to that attainment of truth and that practise of goodness in which the full life of the soul consists. It is the soul which is made after the image and likeness of God; it is in the soul that the sovereignty resides in virtue whereof man is commanded to rule the creatures below him and to use all the earth and the ocean for his profit and advantage. *Fill the earth and subdue it; and rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures which move upon the earth.** In this respect all men are equal; there is no difference between rich and poor, master and servant, ruler and ruled, *for the same Lord is over all.*† No man may with impunity outrage that human dignity which God himself treats *with reverence*, nor stand in the way of that higher life which is the preparation for the eternal life of heaven. Nay, more; no man has in this matter power over himself. To consent to any treatment which is calculated to defeat the end and purpose of his being is beyond his right; he cannot give up his soul to servitude; for it is not man's own rights which are here in question, but the rights of God, the most sacred and inviolable of rights.

"From this follows the obligation of the cessation from work and labor on Sundays and certain holy-days. The rest from labor is not to be understood as mere giving way to idleness; much less must it be an occasion for spending money and for vicious indulgence, as many would have it to be; but it should be rest from labor, hallowed by religion. Rest (combined with religious observances) disposes man to forget for a while the business of his every-day life, to turn his thoughts to things heavenly, and to the worship which he so strictly owes to the Eternal Godhead. It is this, above all, which is the reason and

* St. Thomas of Aquin, *De Regimine Principum*, i. 15.

* Genesis i. 28.
† Romans x. 12.

motive of Sunday rest; a rest sanctioned by God's great law of the Ancient Covenant—*Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day,** and taught to the world by his own mysterious 'rest' after the creation of man: *He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had done.†* If we turn now to things external and corporeal, the first concern of all is to save the poor workers from the cruelty of greedy speculators, who use human beings as mere instruments for money-making. It is neither just nor humane so to grind men down with excessive labor as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies. Man's powers, like his general nature, are limited, and beyond these limits he cannot go. His strength is developed

The Regulation of Labor.

and increased by use and exercise, but only on condition of due intermission and proper rest. Daily labor, therefore, should be so regulated as not to be protracted over longer hours than strength admits. How many and how long the intervals of rest should be, must depend on the nature of the work, on circumstances of time and place, and on the health and strength of the workman. Those who work in mines and quarries and extract coal, stone, and metals from the bowels of the earth should have shorter hours in proportion as their labor is more severe and trying to health. Then, again, the season of the year should be taken into account, for not unfrequently a kind of labor is easy at one time which at another is intolerable or exceedingly difficult. Finally, work which is quite suitable for a strong man cannot reasonably be required from a woman or a child. And, in regard to children, great care should be taken not to place them in work-shops and factories until their bodies and minds are sufficiently developed. For just as very rough weather destroys the buds of spring, so does too early an experience of life's hard toil blight the young promise of a child's faculties, and render any true education impossible. Women, again, are not suited for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family. As a general principle it may be laid down that a workman ought to have leisure and rest proportionate to the wear and tear of his strength; for waste of strength must be repaired by cessation from hard work.

"In all agreements between masters and work-people, there is always the condition expressed or understood that there should be allowed proper rest for soul and body. To agree, in any other sense, would be against what is right and just; for it can never be just or right to require on the one side, or to promise on the other, the giving up of those duties which a man owes to his God and to himself.

"We now approach a subject of great and urgent importance, and one in respect of which, if extremes are to be avoided, right notions are absolutely necessary. Wages, as we are told, are regulated by free consent, and therefore the employer, when he pays what was agreed upon, has done his part and seemingly is not called upon to do anything beyond. The only way, it is

The Living Wage.

said, in which injustice might occur would be if the master refused to pay the whole of the wages, or if the workman should not complete the work undertaken. In such cases the State should intervene, to see that each obtains his due—but not under any other circumstances.

"This mode of reasoning is, to a fair-minded man, by no means convincing, for there are important considerations which it leaves out of account altogether. To labor is to exert oneself for the sake of procuring what is necessary for the purposes of life, and chief of all for self-preservation. *In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread.‡* Hence a man's labor bears two notes or characters. First of all, it is *personal*, inasmuch as the exertion of individual strength belongs to the individual who puts it forth, employing such strength to procure that personal advantage on account of which it was bestowed. Secondly, man's labor is *necessary*; for without the result of labor a man cannot live; and self-preservation is a law of nature, which it is wrong to disobey. Now, were we to consider labor so far as it is *personal* merely, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatsoever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not, so is he free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all.

But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labor of the working man is not only his personal attribute, but it is *necessary*; and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of one and all, and to be wanting therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than through work and wages.

"Let it be then taken for granted that workman and employer should, as a rule, make free agreements, and in particular should agree freely as to the wages; nevertheless, there underlies a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that the remuneration must be sufficient to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear of a worse evil the workman accept harder conditions because an employer or contractor will afford him no better, he is made the victim of force and injustice. In these and similar questions, however,—such as, for example, the hours of labor in different trades, the sanitary precautions to be observed in factories and work-shops, etc.—in order to supersede undue interference on the part of the State, especially as circumstances, times, and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to societies or boards such as we shall mention presently, or to some other mode of safe-guarding the interests of the wage-earners; the State being appealed to, should circumstances require, for its sanction and protection.

"If a workman's wages be sufficient to enable him to maintain himself, his wife, and his children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he be a sensible man, to study economy; and he will not fail, by cutting down expenses, to put by some little savings and thus secure a small income. Nature and reason alike would urge him to this. We have seen that this great labor question cannot be solved save by assuming as a principle that private ownership must be held sacred and inviolable. The law, therefore, should favor ownership, and its policy should be to induce as many as possible of the humbler class to become owners.

"Many excellent results will follow from this; and first of all, property will certainly become more equitably divided. For the result of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. On one side there is the party which holds power because it holds wealth; which has in its grasp the whole of labor and trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply, and which is even represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, broken-down and suffering, and ever ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the consequence will be that the gulf between vast wealth and sheer poverty will be bridged over, and the respective classes will be brought nearer to one another. A further consequence will result in the greater abundance of the fruits of the earth. Men always work harder and more readily when they work on that which belongs to them; nay, they learn to love the very soil that yields, in response to the labor of their hands, not only food to eat, but an abundance of good things for themselves and those that are dear to them. That such a spirit of willing labor would add to the produce of the earth and to the wealth of the community is self-evident. And a third advantage would spring from this: men would cling to the country in which they were born; for no one would exchange his country for a foreign land if his own afforded him the means of living a decent and happy life. These three important benefits, however, can be reckoned on only provided that a man's means be not drained and exhausted by excessive taxation. The right to possess private property is derived from nature, not from man; and the State has the right to control its use in the interests of the public good alone, but by no means to absorb it altogether. The State would therefore be unjust and cruel if, under the name of taxation, it were to deprive the private owner of more than is fitting.

"In the last place—employers and workmen may of themselves effect much in the matter we are treating, by means of such associations and organizations as afford opportune aid to those who are in distress, and which draw the two classes more closely together. Among these may be enumerated societies for mutual help; various benevolent foundations established by private persons to provide for the workman, and for his widow

Association.

* Exodus xx. 8. † Genesis ii. 2. ‡ Genesis iii. 19.

or his orphans, in case of sudden calamity, in sickness, and in the event of death; and what are called "patronages," or institutions for the care of boys and girls, for young people, as well as homes for the aged. "The most important of all are working men's unions; for these virtually include all the rest. History attests what excellent results were brought about by the artificers' guilds of olden times. They were the means of affording not only many advantages to the workmen, but in no small degree of promoting the advancement of art, as numerous monuments remain to bear witness. Such unions should be suited to the requirements of this our age—an age of wider education, of different habits, and of far more numerous requirements in daily life. It is gratifying to know that there are actually in existence not a few associations of this nature, consisting either of workmen alone, or of workmen and employers together; but it were greatly to be desired that they should become more numerous and more efficient. We have spoken of them more than once; yet it will be well to explain here how notably they are needed, to show that they exist of their own right, and what should be their organization and their mode of action.

"The consciousness of his own weakness urges man to call in aid from without. We read in the pages of Holy Writ: *It is better that two should be together than one, for they have the advantage of their society. If one fall he shall be supported by the other. Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth he hath none to lift him up.*" And further: *A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city.* It is this natural impulse which binds men together in civil society; and it is likewise this which leads them to join together in associations of citizen with citizen; associations which, it is true, cannot be called societies in the full sense of the word, but which, notwithstanding, are societies.

These lesser societies and the society which constitutes the State differ in many respects, because their immediate purpose and aim are different. Civil society exists for the common good, and hence is concerned with the interests of all in general, albeit with individual interests also in their due place and degree. It is, therefore, called *public society*, because by its agency, as St. Thomas of Aquin says, "Men establish relations in common with one another in the setting up of a commonwealth." But societies which are formed in the bosom of the State are styled *private*, and rightly so, since their immediate purpose is the private advantage of the associates. "Now, a private society," says St. Thomas again, "is one which is formed for the purpose of carrying out private objects; as when two or three enter into partnership with the view of trading in common." Private societies, then, altho they exist within the State, and are severally part of the State, cannot nevertheless be absolutely, and as such, prohibited by the State. For to enter into a 'society' of this kind is the natural right of man; and the State is bound to protect natural rights, not to destroy them; and if it forbid its citizens to form associations, it contradicts the very principle of its own existence; for both they and it exist in virtue of the like principle, namely, the natural tendency of man to dwell in society.

"There are occasions, doubtless, when it is fitting that the law should intervene to prevent association; as when men join together for purposes which are evidently bad, unlawful, or dangerous to the State. In such cases public authority may justly forbid the formation of associations, and may dissolve them if they already exist. But every precaution should be taken not to violate the rights of individuals and not to impose unreasonable regulations under pretense of public benefit. For laws only bind when they are in accordance with right reason, and hence with the eternal law of God."

"And here we are reminded of the Confraternities, societies, and religious orders which have arisen by the Church's authority and the piety of Christian men. The annals of every nation down to our own days bear

witness to what they have accomplished for the human race. It is indisputable that on grounds of reason alone such associations, being perfectly blameless in their objects, possess the sanction of the law of nature. In their religious aspect, they claim rightly to be responsible to the Church alone.

Ecclesiastical Association.

The rulers of the State accordingly have no rights over them, nor can they claim any share in their control; on the contrary, it is the duty of the State to respect and cherish them, and, if need be, to defend them from attack. It is notorious that a very different course has been followed, more especially in our own times. In many places the State authorities have laid violent hands on these communities, and committed manifold injustice against them; this has placed them under control of the civil law, taken away their rights as corporate bodies, and despoiled them of their property. In such property the Church had her rights, each member of the body had his or her rights, and there were also the rights of those who had founded or endowed these communities for a definite purpose, and, furthermore, of those for whose benefit and assistance they had their being. Therefore, we cannot refrain from complaining of such spoliation as unjust and fraught with evil results; and with all the more reason do we complain because, at the very time when the law proclaims that association is free to all, we see that Catholic societies, however peaceful and useful, are hampered in every way, whereas the utmost liberty is conceded to individuals whose purposes are at once hurtful to religion and dangerous to the State.

"Associations of every kind, and especially those of working men, are now far more common than heretofore. As regards many of these there is no need at present to inquire whence they spring, what are their objects, or what the means they employ. There is a good deal of evidence, however, which goes to prove that many of these societies are in the hands of secret leaders, and are managed on principles ill according with Christianity and the public well-being; and that they do their utmost to get within their grasp the whole field of labor, and force working men either to join them or to starve. Under these circumstances Christian working men must do one of two things: either join associations in which their religion will be exposed to peril or form associations among themselves—unite their forces and shake off courageously the yoke of so unrighteous and intolerable an oppression. No one who does not wish to expose man's chief good to extreme risk will for a moment hesitate to say that the second alternative should by all means be adopted.

"Those Catholics are worthy of all praise—and they are not a few—who, understanding what the times require, have striven, by various undertakings and endeavors, to better the condition of the working class without any sacrifice of principle being involved. They have taken up the cause of the working man, and have spared no efforts to better the condition both of families and individuals; to infuse a spirit of equity into the mutual relations of employers and employed; to keep before the eyes of both classes the precepts of duty and the laws of the Gospel—that Gospel which, by inculcating self-restraint, keeps men within the bounds of moderation and tends to establish harmony among the divergent interests and the various classes which compose the State. It is with such ends in view that we see men of eminence meeting together for discussion, for the promotion of concerted action, and for practical work. Others, again, strive to unite working men of various grades into associations, help them with their advice and means, and enable them to obtain fitting and profitable employment. The bishops, on their part, bestow their ready good will and support; and with their approval and guidance, many members of the clergy, both secular and regular, labor assiduously in behalf of the spiritual and mental interests of the members of such associations. And there are not wanting Catholics blessed with affluence, who have, as it were, cast in their lot with the wage-earners, and who have spent large sums in founding and widely spreading benefit and insurance societies, by means of which the working man may without difficulty acquire through his labor not only many present advantages, but also the certainty of honorable support in days to come. How greatly such manifold and earnest activity has benefited the community at large is too well known to require us to dwell upon it. We find therein grounds for most cheering hope in the future, provided always

* Ecclesiastes iv. 9, 10.

† Proverbs xviii. 19.

‡ Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem, ii.

§ Ibid.

§ Human law is law only by virtue of its accordance with right reason; and thus it is manifest that it flows from the eternal law. And in so far as it deviates from right reason it is called an unjust law; in such case it is no law at all, but rather a species of violence.—St. Thomas of Aquin, *Summa Theologica*, 1a 2æ Q. xciii. Art. 3.

that the associations we have described continue to grow and spread, and are well and wisely administered. Let the State watch over these societies of citizens banded together for the exercise of their rights; but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization; for things move and live by the spirit inspiring them, and may be killed by the rough grasp of a hand from without.

"In order then that an association may be carried on with unity of purpose and harmony of action, its organization and government should be firm and wise. All such societies, being free to exist, have the further right to adopt such rules and organization as may best conduce to the attainment of their respective objects. We do not judge it expedient to enter into minute particulars touching the subject of organization; this must depend on national character, on practise and experience, on the nature and aim of the work to be done, on the scope of the various trades and employments, and on other circumstances of fact and of time—all of which should be carefully considered.

Catholic Associations.

"To sum up, then, we may lay it down as a general and lasting law, that working men's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at, that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind, and property. It is clear that they must pay special and chief attention to the duties of religion and morality, and that their internal discipline must be guided very strictly by these weighty considerations; otherwise they would lose wholly their special character, and end by becoming little better than those societies which take no account whatever of religion. What advantage can it be to a working man to obtain by means of a society all that he requires, and to endanger his soul for lack of spiritual food?

*What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?** This, as Our Lord teaches, is the mark or character that distinguishes the Christian from the heathen. *After all these things do the heathens seek. . . . Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.*† Let our associations, then, look first and before all things to God; let religious instruction have therein the foremost place, each one being carefully taught what is his duty to God, what he has to believe, what to hope for, and how he is to work out his salvation; and let all be warned and strengthened with special care against wrong principles and false teaching. Let the working man be urged and led to the worship of God, to the earnest practice of religion, and, among other things, to the keeping holy of Sundays and holydays. Let him learn to reverence and love Holy Church, the common Mother of us all; and hence to obey the precepts of the Church, and to frequent the sacraments, since they are the means ordained by God for obtaining forgiveness of sin and for leading a holy life.

"The foundations of the organization being thus laid in religion, we next proceed to make clear the relations of the members one to another, in order that they may live together in concord and go forward prosperously and with good results. The offices and charges of the society should be apportioned for the good of the society itself, and in such mode that difference in degree or standing should not interfere with unanimity and good will. Office-bearers should be appointed with due prudence and discretion, and each one's charge should be carefully mapped out. Hereby no member will suffer injury. Let the common funds be administered with strict honesty, in such mode that a member may receive assistance in proportion to his necessities. The rights and duties of the employers, as compared with the rights and duties of the employed, ought to be the subject of careful consideration. Should it happen that either a master or a workman believe himself injured, nothing would be more desirable than that a committee should be appointed, composed of reliable and capable members of the association, whose duty would be, conformably with the rules of the association, to settle the dispute. Among the several purposes of a society, one should be to try to arrange for a continuous supply of work at all times and seasons; as well as to create a fund out of which the members may be effectually helped in their needs, not only in cases of accident, but also in sickness, old age, and distress.

"Such rules and regulations, if willingly obeyed by all, will sufficiently insure the well-being of the poor; whilst such mutual associations among Catholics are certain to be productive in no small degree of prosperity to the State. It is not rash to conjecture the future from the past. Age gives way to age, but the events of one century are wonderfully like those of another; for they are directed by the providence of God, who overrules the course of history in accordance with his purposes in creating the race of man. We are told that it was cast as a reproach on the Christians in the early ages of the Church that the greater number among them had to live by begging or by labor. Yet, destitute tho they were of wealth and influence, they ended by winning over to their side the favor of the rich and the good-will of the powerful. They showed themselves industrious, hard-working, assiduous, and peaceable; ruled by justice, and, above all, bound together in brotherly love. In presence of such mode of life and such example, prejudice gave way, the tongue of malevolence was silenced, and the lying legends of ancient superstition little by little yielded to Christian truth.

"At the time being, the condition of the working classes is the pressing question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes of the State than that it should be rightly and reasonably adjusted. But it will be easy for Christian working men to decide it aright if they will form associations, choose wise guides, and follow on the path which, with so much advantage to themselves and the common-weal, was trodden by their fathers before them. Prejudice, it is true, is mighty, and so is the greed of money; but if the sense of what is just and rightful be not debased through depravity of heart, their fellow-citizens are sure to be won over to a kindly feeling toward men whom they see to be in earnest as regards their work, and who prefer so unmistakably right dealing to mere lucre and the sacredness of duty to every other consideration.

"And further great advantage would result from the state of things we are describing; there would exist so much more ground for hope, and likelihood even, of recalling to a sense of their duty those working men who have either given up their faith altogether, or whose lives are at variance with its precepts. Such men feel in most cases that they have been fooled by empty promises and deceived by false pretexts. They cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with great inhumanity and hardly care for them outside the profit their labor brings; and if they belong to any union, it is probably one in which there exists, instead of charity and love, that intestine strife which ever accompanies poverty when unresigned and unsustainable by religion. Broken in spirit and worn down in body, how many of them would gladly free themselves from such galling bondage! But human respect, or the dread of starvation, makes them tremble to take the step. To such as these, Catholic associations are of incalculable service, by helping them out of their difficulties, inviting them to companionship, and receiving the returning wanderers to a haven where they may securely find repose.

"We have now laid before you, Venerable Brethren, both who are the persons, and what are the means, whereby this most arduous question must be solved. Every one should put his hand to the work which falls to his share, and that at once and straightway, lest the evil which is already so great become through delay absolutely beyond remedy. Those who rule the State should avail themselves of the laws and institutions of the country; masters and wealthy owners must be mindful of their duty; the poor, whose interests are at stake, should make every lawful and proper effort; and since religion alone, as we said at the beginning, can avail to destroy the evil at its root, all men should rest persuaded that the main thing needful is to return to real Christianity, apart from which all the plans and devices of the wisest will prove of little avail.

"In regard to the Church, her cooperation will never be found lacking, be the time or the occasion what it may; and she will intervene with all the greater effect in proportion as her liberty of action is the more unfettered. Let this be carefully taken to heart by those whose office it is to safe-guard the public welfare. Every minister of holy religion must bring to the struggle the full energy of his mind and all his power of endurance. Moved by your authority, Venerable Brethren, and quickened by your example, they should never cease to urge upon men of every

Conclusion.

* Matthew xvi. 26.

† Matthew vi. 32, 33.

class—upon the high-placed as well as the lowly—the Gospel doctrines of Christian life; by every means in their power they must strive to secure the good of the people; and above all must earnestly cherish in themselves, and try to arouse in others, charity, the mistress and the queen of virtues. For the happy results we all long for must be chiefly brought about by the plenteous outpouring of charity; of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for others' sake, and is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self; that charity whose office is described and whose Godlike features are outlined by the Apostle St. Paul in these words: *Charity is patient, is kind, . . . seeketh not her own, suffereth all things, . . . endureth all things.** "On each one of you, Venerable Brothers, and on your clergy and people, as an earnest of God's mercy and a mark of our affection, we, lovingly in the Lord, bestow the Apostolic Benediction."

ON THE CHIEF DUTIES OF CHRISTIANS AS CITIZENS.

A portion of the Encyclical Letter of January 10, 1890.

"From day to day it becomes more and more evident how needful it is that the principles of Christian wisdom should be ever borne in mind, and that the life, the morals, and the institutions of nations should be wholly conformed to them. From the fact of these principles having been disregarded, mischiefs so vast have accrued that no right-minded man can face the trials of the time being without grave solicitude, nor contemplate the future without serious alarm. Progress, not inconsiderable indeed, has been made toward securing the well-being of the body and of material things; but all natural advantages that administer to the senses of man, while bringing in their train the possession of wealth, power, and limitless resources, may indeed greatly avail to procure the comforts and increase the enjoyments of life, but are incapable of satisfying the soul created for higher and more glorious benefits. To fix the gaze on God, and to aim earnestly at becoming like him, is the supreme law of the life of man. For we were created in the Divine image and likeness, and are vehemently urged, by our very nature, to return to him from whom we have origin. But not by bodily motion or effort do we make advance toward God, but through acts of the soul, that is, through knowledge and love. God is, in very deed, the primal and supreme truth, and truth the food on which alone the soul is nourished; and God is holiness in perfection and the sovereign good, to which solely the will may aspire and which it may attain, when virtue is its guide.

"But what applies to individual men applies equally to society—domestic alike and civil. Nature did not fashion society with intent that man should seek in it his last end, but that in it and through it he should find suitable aids whereby to attain to his own perfection. If then a civil government strives after external advantages merely, and the attainment of such objects as adorn life; if in administering public affairs it is wont to put God aside, and show no solicitude for the upholding of moral law; it deflects wofully from its right course and from the injunctions of nature; nor should such a gathering together and association of men be accounted as a commonwealth, but only as a deceitful imitation and make-believe of civil organization.

"As to what we have termed the well-being of the soul, which consists chiefly in the practise of the true religion and unswerving observance of the Christian precepts, we perceive that it is daily losing esteem among men, either by reason of forgetfulness or disregard, in such wise that the greater the advance made in the well-being of the body, the greater is the falling away in that of the soul. A striking proof of the lessening and enfeebling of Christian faith is seen in the insults that are, alas! so frequently, in open day, and before our very eyes, offered to the Catholic Church—insults, indeed, to which an age cherishing religion would on no account have submitted. For these reasons how great a multitude of men is involved in danger as to their eternal salvation surpasses belief; but more than this, nations and even vast empires themselves cannot long remain unharmed, since, upon the lapsing of Christian institutions and morality, the main foundations of human society must necessarily be uprooted. Force alone

will remain to preserve public tranquillity and order; force, however, is very feeble when the bulwark of religion has been removed; and being more apt to beget slavery than obedience, it bears within itself the germs of ever increasing troubles. The present century has encountered notable disasters, nor is it clear that some equally terrible are not impending. The very times in which we live are warning us to seek remedies there where alone they are to be found—namely, by reestablishing in the family circle and throughout the whole range of society the doctrines and practises of the Christian religion. In this lies the sole means of freeing us from the ills now weighing us down, of forestalling the dangers now threatening the world. For the accomplishment of this end, Venerable Brothers, we must bring to bear all the activity and diligence that lie within our power. Altho we have already, under other circumstances, and whenever occasion required, treated of these matters in other letters, we deem it expedient, in this message to you, to define more in detail the duties of Catholics, inasmuch as these would, if strictly observed, avail with wondrous power to save society in all its length and breadth. We are engaged, as regards matters of highest moment, in a violent and well-nigh daily struggle, wherein it is hard at times for the minds of many not to be deluded, not to go astray, not to yield. It behooves us, Venerable Brothers, to warn, instruct, and exhort each of the faithful with an earnestness befitting the occasion; *that none may abandon the way of truth.*

"It cannot be doubted that duties more numerous and of greater moment devolve on Catholics than upon such as are either not sufficiently enlightened in relation to the Catholic faith, or who are entirely unacquainted with its doctrines. Considering that forthwith upon salvation being wrought out for mankind, Jesus Christ laid upon his apostles the injunction to *preach the Gospel to every creature*, he imposed, it is evident, upon all men the duty of learning thoroughly and believing what they were taught. This duty is intimately bound up with the gaining of eternal salvation: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned.** But the man who has embraced the Christian faith, as in duty bound, is by that very fact a subject of the Church as one of the children born of her, and becomes a member of that greatest and holiest body, which it is the special charge of the Roman Pontiff to rule with supreme power, under its invisible Head, Christ Jesus. Now, if the natural law enjoins to love devotedly and to defend the country in which we had birth, and in which we were brought up, so that every good citizen hesitates not to face death for his native land, very much more is it the urgent duty of Christians to be ever quickened by like feelings toward the Church. For the Church is the holy City of the living God, born of God himself, and by him built up and established. Upon this earth indeed she accomplishes her pilgrimage, but by instructing and guiding men, she summons them to eternal happiness. We are bound then to love dearly the country whence we have received the means of enjoyment this mortal life affords, but we have a much more urgent obligation to love, with ardent love, the Church to which we owe the life of the soul, a life that will endure forever. For fitting it is to prefer the good of the soul to the well-being of the body, inasmuch as duties toward God are of a far more hallowed character than those toward men.

"Moreover, if we would judge aright, the supernatural love for the Church and the natural love of our own country proceed from the same eternal principle, since God himself is their Author and originating Cause. Consequently it follows that between the duties they respectively enjoin, neither can come into collision with the other. We can, certainly, and should love ourselves, bear ourselves kindly toward our fellow-men, nourish affection for the State and the governing powers; but at the same time we can and must cherish toward the Church a feeling of filial piety, and love God with the deepest love of which we are capable. The order of precedence of these duties is, however, at times, either under the stress of public calamities, or through the perverse will of men, inverted. For instances occur where the State seems to require from men as subjects one thing, and religion, from men as Christians quite another; and this in reality without any other ground, than that the rulers of the State either hold the sacred power of the Church of no ac-

The Catholic Church.

Godless Government.

* 1 Corinthians xiii. 4-7.

* Mark xvi. 16.

count, or endeavor to subject it to their own will. Hence arises a conflict, and on occasion, through such conflict, of virtue being put to the proof. The two powers are confronted and urge their behests in a contrary sense; to obey both is wholly impossible. *No man can serve two masters.** for to please the one amounts to contemning the other. As to which should be preferred no one ought to balance for an instant. It is a high crime indeed to withdraw allegiance from God in order to please men; an act of consummate wickedness to break the laws of Jesus Christ, in order to yield obedience to earthly rulers, or, under pretext of keeping the civil law, to ignore the rights of the Church; *we ought to obey God rather than men.*† This answer, which of old Peter and the other apostles were used to give the civil authorities who enjoined unrighteous things, we must, in like circumstances, give always and without hesitation. No better citizen is there, whether in time of peace or war, than the Christian who is mindful of his duty; but such a one should be ready to suffer all things, even death itself, rather than abandon the cause of God or of the Church.

The State.

Hence they who blame, and call by the name of sedition, this steadfastness of attitude in the choice of duty, have not rightly apprehended the force and nature of true law. We are speaking of matters widely known, and which we have before now more than once fully explained. Law is of its very essence a mandate of right reason, proclaimed by a properly constituted authority, for the common good. But true and legitimate authority is void of sanction, unless it proceed from God the supreme Ruler and Lord of all. The Almighty alone can commit power to a man over his fellow-men; nor may that be accounted as right reason which is in disaccord with truth and with divine reason; nor that held to be true good, which is repugnant to the supreme and unchangeable good, or that wrests aside and draws away the wills of men from the charity of God.

Hallowed therefore in the mind of Christians is the very idea of public authority, in which they recognize some likeness and symbol as it were of the Divine Majesty, even when it is exercised by one unworthy. A just and due reverence to the laws abides in them, not from force and threats, but from a consciousness of duty, *for God hath not given us the spirit of fear.*‡
 "But if the laws of the State are manifestly at variance with the divine law, containing enactments hurtful to the Church, or conveying injunctions adverse to the duties imposed by religion, or if they violate in the person of the supreme pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then truly, to resist becomes a positive duty; to obey, a crime; a crime moreover combined with misdemeanor against the State itself, inasmuch as every offense leveled against religion is also a sin against the State. Here anew it becomes evident how unjust is the reproach of sedition; for the obedience due to rulers and legislators is not refused; but there is a deviation from their will in those precepts only which they have no power to enjoin. Commands that are issued adversely to the honor due to God, and hence are beyond the scope of justice, must be looked upon as anything rather than laws. You are fully aware, Venerable Brothers, that this is the very contention of the Apostle St. Paul, who, in writing to Titus, after reminding Christians that they are to be subject to princes and powers and to obey at a word, at once adds, *And to be ready to every good work.*|| Thereby he openly declares that if laws of men contain injunctions contrary to the eternal law of God, it is right not to obey them, in like manner the Prince of the Apostles gave this courageous and sublime answer to those who would have deprived him of the liberty of preaching the Gospel; *if it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.*§

Wherefore, to love both countries, that of earth below and that of heaven above, yet in such mode that the love of our heavenly surpass the love of our earthly home, and that human laws be never set above the Divine law, is the essential duty of Christians, and the fountain-head, so to say, from which all other duties spring. The Redeemer of mankind of himself has said: *For this is I born, and for this*

*came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth.** In like manner *I am come to cast fire upon earth, and what will I but that it be kindled?†* In the knowledge of this truth, which constitutes the highest perfection of the mind; in divine charity which, in like manner, completes the will, all Christian life and liberty abide. This noble patrimony of truth and charity intrusted by Jesus Christ to the Church, she defends and maintains ever with untiring endeavor and watchfulness."

Laws Invalid which are Against those of God.

* Matthew vi. 24. † Timothy i. 7.
 † Acts v. 29. † Titus iii. 1.
 § Acts iv. 19, 20.

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE, was born in New York City in 1858. From private schools in New York he went to Harvard University and was graduated in 1880. Traveling in Europe and making some hunting expeditions in the West, he returned to New York and took part in the politics of his own ward and was sent to the Assembly in 1883, 1884, and 1885, where he made a record as an independent Republican and a relentless foe of political jobbery and corruption. He procured the Roosevelt investigation and some administrative reforms. In 1886 he was Republican candidate for mayor against Abram S. Hewitt and Henry George. In 1889 he was appointed Civil Service Commissioner and he threw himself actively into the work, which he continued till 1895, when he accepted a position on the city police board, thinking that the "storm center" was there. By his vigorous enforcement of Sunday-closing laws he has made many friends and also bitter enemies. Among his published writings are *Naval War of 1812* (1881); *The Winning of the West* (4 vols., 1889-1895); *Essays on Practical Politics* (1892).

ROSCHER, WILHELM GEORG FRIEDRICH, was born in 1817, in Hanover, and studied at Göttingen and Berlin. In 1838 he took the degree of doctor of philosophy at Göttingen, where, in 1840, he became privatdocent for history and economics. In 1843 he was appointed extraordinary, and 1844, ordinary professor. In 1848 he was called to Leipzig, where he remained, tho with repeated calls to other universities—Münich, Vienna, and Berlin—till his death in 1894.

Dr. Roscher has achieved a lasting fame as the founder of the historical school of political economy, and many learned associations have delighted to do him honor. Professor Cohn says of him:

"In the foremost rank we must place a man, who shortly before had acquired a reputation by a philological-historical work, and then turned to political economy, Wilhelm Roscher. His *Vorlesungen über Staatswirtschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode* (Lectures on State Economy on Historical Method) were only the outlines of his lectures. . . . but the one happy analogy by which Roscher applied the results of the historical school to political economy was a scientific achievement. The conclusions which he drew from this analogy, in regard to the mission of the historical school of political economy, are the same which the historical school of law had drawn for their science a generation previous—even his quotations from Justus Möser and Bacon are borrowed from Savigny; nevertheless, the service he rendered to our science is a great and lasting one.

"Roscher's conclusions as to the mission of political economy were as follows:

"(1) The study of the economy of the State is a political science, whose mission is to understand men, and control men. . . . (2) We need an investigation of the earlier stages of civilization in order to under-

* John xviii. 37.

† Luke xii. 49.

stand the nature of modern civilization; and further of (3) the economic development of different nations, with especial reference to the nations of classic antiquity, whose development lies before us in its totality. (4) Out of all this arises the practical demand which the science makes upon us, viz.: the task of constructing modern measures of economic policy on an historical basis, or in other words, learning what is suited for the present time by studying the historical growth of individual institutions."

Among Roscher's most important works are *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode* (1843); *System der Volkswirtschaft*, vol. i.; *Die Grundlagen der Nationalökonomik* (1854); vol. ii., *Nationalökonomie des Ackerbaues und der verwandten Urproduktionszweige* (1859); vol. iii., *Nationalökonomie des Handels und Gewerbetreibendes* (1881); vol. iv., *System der Finanzwissenschaft* (1886); *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkte* (1861).

ROSS, EDWARD ALSWORTH, was born in 1866, in Illinois. He was graduated from Coe College, Iowa, in 1886. After teaching two years, he went abroad in 1888, studying in Berlin. In 1890 he entered Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, from which he received the degree of Ph. D. in 1891. In 1891-92 he was professor of economics and social science in Indiana University and during 1892-93 associate professor of political economy in Cornell University. In 1893 he was appointed professor of finance and administration in Leland Stanford, Jr., University, which position he now holds. He has written numerous articles; among others: *Sinking Funds* (American Economical Association, vol. vii. Nos. 4, 5); *A New Canon of Taxation* (*Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1892); *The Standard of Deferred Payments* (*Annals of American Academy*, November, 1892); *Total Utility Standard of Deferred Payments* (*Annals*, November, 1893); (Seligman's) *Shifting and Incidence of Taxation* (*Annals*, January, 1893); (Argyll's) *Unseen Foundations of Society* (*Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1893).

ROUSSEAU, JEAN JACQUES, was born at Geneva, June 28, 1712, of French parentage. His mother dying when he was very young, his dissipated father abandoned him and he was taken charge of by a relative and placed under the tutorship of a clergyman at Bossey. In his twelfth year he was apprenticed to a notary, and a year later to an engraver. But in 1828 he ran away, and in Savoy came under the protection of Mme. de Warens, but soon left and went through a variety of experiences, for a short time being footman to Mme. de Vercellis in Turin. Later he returned to Mme. de Warens and became her lover as well as her protégé. His tendency to wander took him away from her for a time; returning to find her gone, he resumed his wanderings and adventures. In 1732 he went to Paris and secured a position in the service of Sardinia, but found Mme. de Warens again and was installed in her household, and when his health failed he went with her to Chambray,

passing the time with music and reading. In 1778 he went to Montpellier, and in 1780 became tutor to the children of M. de Mably, the writer. In 1741 he returned to Paris and read a paper on the theory of music before the Academy of Sciences, but being unfavorably received, he was for a year and a half secretary to M. de Montagne, French ambassador at Venice. He then returned to Paris, still a wanderer, now and again led into immorality, yet making friends and earning a precarious living by copying music and acting as secretary to Mme. Dapin. At this time, however, he married a servant girl, Thérèse Levasseur. Five children were born to them, but all were committed to the foundling hospital. He now gained some literary notoriety. An opera of his, *Les Muses Galantes*, was privately represented. Diderot accepted him as a contributor to his *Encyclopédie*. In 1749 he won the prize offered by the Academy of Dijon for an essay on the effect of the progress of civilization, arguing the superiority of the state of nature. Its publication in 1750 made him famous. His *Divin du Village* was produced at Fontainebleau in 1752, and he was invited at court, but he declined.

Having embraced the Catholic faith in 1754, he returned to Protestantism and went to Geneva as a free citizen, but in 1756 returned to Paris and occupied the "Hermitage" for a year, during which time he wrote *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, which appeared in 1760. He quarreled with his friends and left, going to Montmorency. Here he wrote against the drama, attacking also Voltaire and Diderot. In 1762 he produced at Amsterdam *Le Contrat Social*, for which he received 1000 louis, and the same year *Émile*, a treatise on education, for which he received 6000 louis. He was now generally attacked, by the Conservatives for his *Le Contrat Social*, by the moralists for his *Nouvelle Héloïse*, by the Church for his *Émile*. In 1762 he fled from a threatened arrest and escaped to Switzerland and then to Prussia, where Frederick II. seemed willing to protect him, and from whence he wrote letters denouncing his enemies. But here he was attacked by the populace and he fled to Isle St. Pierre in the Lake of Burme till ordered to leave by the Swiss government. He eventually went, invited by David Hume, to England, which he reached in 1766. Partly lionized and partly condemned in London, he went to Derbyshire, where he wrote most of his *Confessions*. He quarreled, however, with Hume and other English friends, and being made to believe that he was being plotted against by the King of Prussia he fled to France in 1767, where he wandered from place to place, finishing his *Confessions*, and at last going to Paris and earning a living by copying music. He was welcomed and aided by the Marquis de Mirabeau and others, but quarreled with all friends and was thought by some to be at this time half insane. He died in a fit of apoplexy July 2, 1778, leaving many smaller writings besides the above-mentioned works and a mass of correspondence.

(For a review of his social teachings, see article NATURAL RIGHTS.)

RUGE, ARNOLD, was born at Bergen, island of Rügen, in 1802. He studied philology and philosophy at Halle, Jena, and Heidelberg, but in 1824 was imprisoned for five years at Colberg, for membership in a secret political society. In 1831 he was appointed professor of esthetics at Halle, and attracted much attention as a philosophical critic. In 1843 he joined Karl Marx (*g. v.*) in Paris, and they published the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher* (1843-45). He was elected to the German Parliament in 1848, and the same year founded the paper *Reform* at Berlin. This was soon suppressed, and after attempts at revolutionary intrigue in Dresden and Carlsruhe he went to London in 1849 and formed a European Democratic committee with Ledru-Rollin and Mazzini in London. He died at Brighton December 31, 1880. Besides the above-mentioned works he published *Zwei Jahre in Paris* (1845); *Poetische Bilder* and *Politische Bilder* (1847); *Unser System* (1850); *Ausfrüherer Zeit* (1862-67); *Manifest an das deutsche Volk* (1886).

RUSH, BENJAMIN, was born at Byberry near Philadelphia, in 1746. He studied medicine in Philadelphia, Edinburgh, London, and Paris, and began practice in Philadelphia in 1769, and was made professor of chemistry in the medical college there. In the provincial conference in Pennsylvania he moved the resolution to formulate its sentiments for a Declaration of Independence, was chosen to the Continental Congress, and became one of the signers to the Declaration of Independence. He was married the same year to Julia Stockton. Dr. Rush was made surgeon-general of the middle department of the army, and soon after physician-general.

In 1778 he resigned his position because of wrongs done to the soldiers in regard to the hospital stores, and resumed practise in Philadelphia. About 1785 he planned there the first dispensary in the United States.

In the State convention he was a staunch supporter of the Federal Constitution. He was a member of the convention of Pennsylvania to form a State Constitution.

While the yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia in 1793, Dr. Rush was estimated by Dr. Ramsay to have saved 6000 persons in Philadelphia from death by that disease, and received many honors therefor from Europe as well as America. He was president of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery and of many other moral and religious societies, and a frequent writer on reform themes. He was treasurer of the United States Mint from 1799 till his death in 1813.

RUSKIN, JOHN, was born in London in 1819, the son of a wealthy wine merchant. He was educated at home and at Christ Church, Oxford. He then devoted himself to painting, under J. D. Harding and Copley Fielding. In 1843 he published the first volume of *Modern Painters*, the noted defense of Turner's art. He published the second volume in 1846; and the remaining volumes in 1856 and 1860, after a residence in Italy and

a careful study of Italian art. In 1849 appeared the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and from 1851 to 1853, the three volumes of the *Stones of Venice*. In 1869 he was elected Slade professor of fine arts at Oxford, and re-elected in 1876 and 1883; failing health compelled him to resign in 1884, since when he has lived in retirement at Brantwood, Coniston. His first writing on economic subjects was *Unto this Last*, essays republished from the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1862. This, with *Munera Pulveris* (1862-63), *The Crown of Wild Olive* (1866), and the letters to working men, *Fors Clavigera* (1871-84), embody his economic teachings. He and Carlyle may be said to be the prophets of the modern English socialist movement.

The essence of his social teaching may, perhaps, be put in one of his own phrases: "There is no wealth but life; life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration."

From this teaching springs all else. Because noble life is wealth it follows, with Ruskin, that that country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; that that man is wealthiest, who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

Moreover, because life is wealth, it follows that only that which contributes life has a right to return in wealth; hence *interest*, the return of money for the use of dead money, is wrong—only those have a right to share in the products of industry who have put into the operation some industry themselves, some outgo of their own life.

These two conceptions, the law of wealth and the law of service, run through all of Ruskin's works. He teaches that wealth is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant"; that service bids English men and women to become "Soldiers of the Plowshare as well as Soldiers of the Sword."

Ruskin taught from these principles, *first*, the law of "Property to whom proper"—or that land and tools belong to those who can use them; *secondly*, that he who can, should use his tools—use his tools to develop life, the highest life in himself and others; *thirdly*, that this highest life can only be by cooperation instead of competition, the thought of what we can give rather than of what we can get, the thought of what we are rather than of what we have. This, added to Ruskin's teaching as regards art, constitutes Ruskin's social system. His theory of art and his theory of society he never divorces, because they are both part of his one theory of life. Of art he taught—he himself tells us, first, that the life of art is in religion; secondly, that its food is in the ocular and passionate love of nature; thirdly, that its health is in the humility of the artists. Applying this to his social teaching, his outcome was that society should be a cooperation or communism of artists, submitting themselves humbly to the law of love, and in the joy of beauty working to produce the highest and the noblest that is in them.

Ruskin calls himself a Communist—in his own phrase, “the reddest of the red.” Yet, in equality of property he did not believe. In creating his St. George’s Guild he distinctly says that there should be “no equality upon it, but recognition of every betterness, and reprobation of every worseness.” This certainly is opposed to communism, but is in accord with some socialism. In almost all things Ruskin is a socialist. He believes in government, in the State; he believes in the cooperation of workers in the State; he believes in award for worth; he does not believe in interest; he does not believe in the capitalist; he is the bitterest foe of the wage system and of the *laissez-faire* political economy.

Ruskin is not, however, a socialist in all things. He is politically (in his writings) a conservative. His socialism is paternal, not fraternal. He would not seek for reform through political action. He shrinks from the rough and prosaic machinery of politics. The Gospel of Art has rarely been married to the Gospel of the Ballot Box. Hence, politically, Ruskin becomes reactionary.

Yet Ruskin attempted the concrete, altho this not so much for the value of the concrete itself, as because, in trying to carry out his ideas, he could alone be consistent. His St. George’s Guild was an inevitable consequence of his teaching.

“The more I see of writing,” he says, “the less I care for it; one may do more with a man by getting to words spoken to him, face to face, than by the black-lettering of a whole life’s thought.”

A valuable account of the Guild may be found in Edward Cook’s *Studies in Ruskin*:

“It was in May, 1871,” says Mr. Cook, “that the scheme was first made public. In the *Fors* for that month Mr. Ruskin called on any landlords to come and help him who would like better to be served by men than by iron devils, and any tenants, and any workmen who could vow to work and live faithfully for the sake of the joy of their home. All who joined St. George’s standard were to do as Mr. Ruskin undertook to do; to give the tenth of what they had and what they earned, not to emigrate with, but to stay in England with, and to make a happy England of her once more.”

The Guild had an agricultural, an industrial, and an artistic character. On land bought by the Guild, to which Ruskin himself largely contributed, an attempt was made to carry on an agricultural community according to Ruskin’s *Law of Life*. Mr. Cook says of this:

“The agricultural experiments of the St. George’s Guild have not been a brilliant success. Perhaps they have not been given a fair chance. Perhaps the times and seasons have been unpropitious. But whatever explanations or excuses there may be, the fact remains that the St. George’s farms have produced very little except a plentiful crop of disappointments. Mr. Ruskin has drawn many charming pictures of his ideal settlements; but the realities have for the most part been either grim or grotesque, or (more often) both. The Guild is, however, the owner of several acres of land in different parts of the country, and there is some reason to hope that past failures will lead to future successes.”

Other industrial experiments of Mr. Ruskin have been in the way of fostering village industries. He writes: “Whatever may be the destiny of London, or Paris, or Rome in the future, I have always taught that the problem of right organization of country life was wholly independent of them.”

Mr. Ruskin’s aim was not to organize industrial villages, but to revive, in existing villages, village industry.

Foremost in work in this direction stands Mr. Albert Flemming’s attempt, under Ruskin’s influence, to

bring back the old industry of the spinning-wheel to the homes and villages of Westmoreland. In a measure it has succeeded, as one can see by reading Mr. Flemming’s own account of it, printed in *Studies in Ruskin*.

Another experiment was the making of “St. George’s cloth” in the Isle of Man, undertaken with Ruskin’s help by Mr. Egbert Rydings. A mill was built in romantic architecture by the St. George’s Guild, the motive power being water and not steam. This still exists, tho it has passed into other hands than those of the Guild.

The main concrete result of the St. George’s Guild, has, however, not unnaturally, been artistic, in the creation and maintenance of the unique and beautiful Ruskin Museum at Meresbrook Hall, Sheffield.

Besides these industrial experiments Ruskin has largely used his inheritance of some £200,000, by aiding Miss Octavia Hill (see TENEMENTS) in her model tenement experiments, in making loans without interest, and in other philanthropic ways.

Reference: *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, by W. G. Collingwood (2 vols., 1893).

RUSKIN COOPERATIVE COLONY.—

In 1893 Mr. J. A. Wayland, editor of *The Coming Nation*, conceived the idea of establishing a cooperative colony to be operated as nearly upon the plans laid down in Bellamy’s *Looking Backward* as the present competitive system would permit. From among the great number of *Coming Nation* workers he selected a few cooperators, formulated a set of by-laws, and in May, 1894, was ready to seek the colony’s location. One thousand acres of land near Tennessee City, Tenn., were finally chosen, and in July the movement from Greensburg, Ind., took place. On August 24, 1894, the colonists formally organized as the Ruskin Cooperative Association under the joint-stock corporation laws of the State of Tennessee.

A temporary printing house had been erected at Tennessee City, and in October the erection of temporary homes for the colonists was commenced upon the land, which lies two miles north of Tennessee City.

All prospered, but in 1895 differences arose and Mr. Wayland left the colony, and the colony later removed to a more favorable location called Cave Mills, six miles from Tennessee City. Its declared objects are to own and operate manufactories, to acquire land, to build homes for its members, to insure protection against want or the fear of want, to provide educational and recreative facilities of the highest order, and to promote and maintain harmonious social relations on the basis of cooperation.

According to its rules, a share of stock costs \$500. All members must hold one share but cannot hold more. For the benefit of those who cannot pay at one time a plan of instalments has been adopted, which will be mailed on application. The stock is non-transferable, except to the association.

The colony publishes *The Coming Nation*, a socialist journal, with probably the largest circulation of any social reform paper in the United States.

RUSSIA AND SOCIAL REFORM.—The most important social reform movement in

Russia is Nihilism (*q. v.*). See also MIR. Here we consider, first,

I. STATISTICS.

The Government is an absolute hereditary monarchy. The administration is intrusted to boards or councils: (1) *The Council of State*, established in 1810, with members appointed by the Emperor, and whose chief function is to examine into laws and budgets; (2) *The Ruling Senate*, established in 1711, which is partly deliberative and partly executive, which promulgates laws and acts as a high court of justice; (3) *The Holy Synod*, which superintends religious affairs; (4) *The Committee of Ministers*, consisting of 12 ministers, 4 grand dukes, and 6 other functionaries.

The empire is divided into general governments or vice-royalties: Finland, Poland, Wilna, Kieff, Moscow, Caucasus, Turkestan, Steppeno, Irkutsk, and Amur, with 78 governments and many hundred districts. European Russia has 107,676 communes, with a large degree of self-government and election by the Mir (*q. v.*), composed of householders, men or women. These communes are united into cantons or *Volosts* (in Poland *Graina*, which, however, has less authority than the *Voloste*). In 1890, chiefs of the district, nominated by the administration from the nobility, took the places of former justices of the peace elected by the peasantry. *Zemstvos* or district assemblies of representatives of peasantry, households, and nobles have still some power, but by laws of 1890 and 1894 are being replaced by governors nominated by the emperor.

Area and Population. The empire composes one-seventh of the land surface of the globe, and covers 8,644,000 English square miles. The total population was estimated in 1895 at 129,595,000. In 1722 it was estimated at 14,000,000; 1812 at 41,000,000; 1851 at 68,000,000; 1867 at 81,000,000; 1886 at 113,000,000. It was divided as follows in 1892:

	AREA IN SQ. MILES.	POPULATION.	PER SQ. M.
European Russia (1892).....	1,902,029	91,212,888	48
Poland (1893).....	49,157	8,982,253	182
Finland (1893).....	144,255	2,431,953	19
Siberia.....	4,833,496	4,993,281	1
Total Asia.....	6,564,778	19,234,687	3

The birth rate in all portions of the empire largely exceeds the death rate.

Fourteen million live in towns, 102,000,000 in the country; St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, and Odessa being the largest cities. The established religion is that of the Greek Church; the Emperor is its head, and appoints to every office. Seventy-three millions of the inhabitants are said to be of this church, 8,000,000 Roman Catholics; 3,000,000 each Protestants and Jews;

2,500,000 Mohammedans. There are 3 metropolitans, 12 archbishops, and 47 bishops, with 63,171 churches.

Education is under control of the Minister of Education, with about 9 universities, 25 higher schools, 368 professional, 1026 middle schools, and 46,880 primary schools.

In 1894 the ordinary revenue was 1,153,785,812 r. and the ordinary expenditure 991,197,437 r., the ruble being worth about 50 cents; the extraordinary revenue was 84,056,130 r. and the extraordinary expenditure 163,944,225 r.

Finances. The budget for 1896 estimates the total revenue at 1,361,547,994 r. Direct taxes were estimated at 104,000,000 r.; customs, 153,000,000 r.; excise and stamp duties, 451,000,000 r. (spirits, 284,000,000 r.); mints, mines, post, and telegraph, 44,000,000 r.; State domains, 294,000,000 r.; reimbursement of railway loans, 60,000,000 r.

The ordinary expenditures were estimated at 1,219,088,414 r., with 139,459,580 r. for extraordinary railway and post expenditures. Two hundred and fifteen

million rubles were estimated for interest on debts; 28,000,000 r. for war; 13,000,000 r. for the Imperial household; 106,000,000 r. for ways and communications.

In 1892 in European Russia the State owned 410,000,000 acres, the Imperial family 10,000,000, the peasants 373,000,000, and other private owners 294,000,000. Twenty-six per cent was arable; 15 per cent, was grazing; 38 per cent, forests, and 19 per cent, unfit for culture, or in roads, etc. In 1893 exports were 613,000,000 r., and the imports were 463,000,000 r. Grain forms about one-half the exports to Europe. The chief imports were raw cotton, machinery, and metal goods.

Industries. In 1890 the value of gold mined was \$25,802,175, of pig-iron in 1892, \$16,968,000; coal, \$9,648,000; petroleum, \$7,288,275.

(For railways see RAILWAYS.) Manufacturing (including mining) amounted in value in 1890 to 1,656,000,000 r., irrespective of the smaller industries, of which 487,100,000 r. was in the cotton industry, the number of spindles in Russia being one-fourth of those in Europe. The merchant sea fleet of Russia numbers 2870 sailing vessels on foreign seas; steamers 486. There are 398 fairs, of which the greatest is Nijni Novgorod, to which in 1890 goods were shipped and nearly all sold, valued at 181,256,830 r.

II. SOCIAL REFORM.

In 1861 Alexander II. decreed the emancipation of the serfs, but under such conditions that it was a doubtful blessing. Only one-third of the land was divided among the serfs; one-sixth was left to the landed nobility, and one-half was kept for the State. The result is that the peasants do not have enough to support themselves upon, while they are at the same time heavily taxed on the little land they have. They are thus deprived of the old feudal rights, and not given economic basis enough to support them under modern individualism. The result is that they are often compelled to sell what little land they have to the landed nobility, while many escape as "illegal men" to beg, or seek a precarious existence in the cities. Sometimes a whole village will decamp in the night to the steppes to avoid the tax-collector. It has been estimated that 20,000,000, or a third of the rural population, are absolutely proletarians. It is this condition that has produced Nihilism (*q. v.*), which is growing into a tendency toward modern socialism, tho many look for social reform, not through the ideals of Western socialism, but from the old communism of Holy Russia and her ancient Mirs freed from the subjection to the Tatar czars. Meanwhile, the condition of the people is desperate. According to the report on Russia of the Royal (English) Commission on Labor, the wages of the Russian miners were from 1 ruble to 1.45 per day; of railroad employees, many of whom are women, only from 30 kopecks to 1 ruble, and agricultural wages only about 60 kopecks, the ruble being equal to about 77 cents, and the kopeck one-hundredth of a ruble. In St. Petersburg wages are higher, but large multitudes can get no work at any price.

References: *The Industries, Manufactures, and Trade of Russia*, prepared by the Russian Minister of Finance, for the World's Columbian Exposition, an English translation being edited by J. M. Cranford, U. S. Consul-General to Russia (5 vols., 1893); also, the Report on Russia of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor. See also NIHILISM.

S

SAINT-SIMON, CLAUDE HENRI COMTE DE, was born in Paris in 1760, of a noble family tracing its origin to Charlemagne. He entered the army at the age of 16, and a year afterward came to America and fought under Washington. He took part in the siege of Yorktown, and distinguished himself for bravery. Upon returning to France he was made colonel, but soon resigned his position and gave up the military career. He visited Mexico and started a project for uniting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a canal. A few years later he formed designs for a canal from Madrid to the ocean, but the French Revolution drew him to France. In spite of his family traditions, he sided with the people; and was elected president of the commune where his property was situated. He renounced his title of count, saying that he regarded it as inferior to that of citizen; and refused an office that was offered him, for fear it should be thought he owed it to his rank. All this, however, did not prevent his imprisonment for nearly a year on account of his nobility. Acquiring some money by speculation he contracted an unhappy marriage, which was later dissolved. He began scientific studies, and in order to acquire a complete knowledge of life he plunged deliberately on occasions into dissipation. When his money was spent and his health broken, he changed his mode of life and became a copying clerk, working nine hours a day for less than \$200 a year. It was not till his forty-ninth year that he felt himself fully qualified to appear as a social reformer. He wrote two works—*Sur la Science de l'Homme* and *Sur la Gravitation Universelle*. His characteristic socialist views were first developed in *L'Industrie* (1817) and further developed in *L'Organisation* (1819), *Du Système Industriel* (1821), *Catechisme des Industriels* (1823), and most important of all, *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825). In the latter work, having previously called in vain upon the Pope to head a new Crusade of the Church against poverty and suffering, he outlines a new Christianity where with religious fervor the world should be exploited in a scientific way, and society organized for the benefit of the poor and of all classes. His works, however, at first elicited little attention.

At 60 years of age his marvelous tenacity gave way, and, influenced by despondent thoughts, he attempted suicide. This brought dilatory friends to his side, and he rallied and set to work again. In 1825 he died in the midst of his followers. One of them has chronicled his last words. Calling his friends around him, he said:

"You have arrived at a period when, by your combined efforts, you will achieve a great success. The fruit is ripe; you are able to gather it. The last of my labors, the *New Christianity*, will not be immediately understood. It has been thought that every religious system ought to disappear because men have succeeded in proving the weakness and insufficiency of Catholicism. People are deceived in this. Religion cannot disappear from the world; it can only be changed. . . ."

"He paused for a few moments, then, in the final struggle, added: 'The Party of Laborers will soon be formed; the future is ours.' After having said these words, he raised his hand to his head and died."

Professor Ely says, in speaking of Saint-Simon:

"Saint-Simonism is the first example of pure socialism, by which I understand an economic system in which production is entirely carried on in common, and the fruits of labor distributed according to some ideal standard, which appears to the promoters of the scheme just. The Saint-Simonians held that men were by nature unequal, and that it was right to reward superior power, when exerted for the general good. Their idea was that each one should labor according to his capacity and be rewarded according to the services rendered. They wished to organize civil society on the plan of an army. This thought is distinctly expressed by one of their leaders in these words: 'In the army gradations in rank and authority are already established, while in civil life that is precisely what is wanting; and in an enterprise conducted upon the principle of association, a central administration is imperiously required.' The officers are the directing authority in the scheme, and they decide on the value of the services rendered to society and reward the citizens accordingly. As society consists of priests, savants, and industrials—the industrials comprising those engaged in manufactures, agriculture, and commerce—so the Government consists of the chiefs of the priests, the chiefs of the savants, and the chiefs of the industrials. All property belongs to the Church, *i. e.*, to the State, and every profession or trade is a religious exercise and has its rank in the social hierarchy."

After Saint-Simon's death his followers became numerous, especially about 1830, under the leadership of Enfantin and Bazard (*q. v.*). The *Globe*, their organ, attracted much attention. Brilliant men like Comte and Thierry belonged for a while to their school. They attempted a community at Menilmontant, but it broke up finally in a split on the subject of marriage (see BAZARD).

The Saint-Simonians regarded all idlers as thieves. They therefore rejected inheritance, and asserted that every man's property at death should become common. All should start with equal advantages. Land, capital, and all the instruments of labor should be held in common. They believed in monogamy, that woman is the equal of man, and that the social unit should not be man, but man and woman. They believed that "the exploitation of man by man" should be replaced by the exploitation of the globe by man associated with man. They would organize society on scientific lines to develop the globe scientifically. Several of the school after its break up became civil engineers and took part in opening the Isthmus of Suez and other works.

SALVATION ARMY, THE SOCIAL REFORM WORK OF THE.—The Salvation Army, which was organized under that name in 1878 by General Booth (*q. v.*) as an outgrowth of the Christian Mission he had established in East London in 1865, commenced in 1890 a social reform movement, which we outline here. With the strictly religious portion of the work of the Salvation Army we do not deal in this Encyclopedia, tho it should be recognized that the Army never divorces its social from its

more strictly spiritual work, and believes that to do so would be fatal. It believes that the social work needs the spiritual element, even as practical experience convinced General Booth that the spiritual work needed the social reform element and could not be continued without it.

It was in this thought that in 1890 General Booth wrote and published his *In Darkest England*, a book which at once arrested attention around the world; partly because of its revelations of the destitution and wretchedness in London and all England, and even more because of the plan for social work that the book proposed in clear, businesslike form.

General Booth prefaced his plan by laying down seven propositions, which in his opinion should govern such a plan, which we abridge from his book (p. 85), as follows:

"The first essential that must be borne in mind as governing every scheme that may be put forward is that it must change the man, when it is his character and conduct which constitute the reasons for his failure in the battle of life.

Principles.

No change in circumstances, no revolution in social conditions, can possibly transform the nature of man. Some of the worst men and women in the world, whose names are chronicled by history with a shudder of horror, were those who had all the advantages that wealth, education, and station could confer, or ambition could attain.

"The supreme test of any scheme for benefiting humanity lies in the answer to the question, What does it make of the individual?"

"*Secondly.* The remedy, to be effectual, must change the circumstances of the individual, when they are the cause of his wretched condition and lie beyond his control.

"Favorable circumstances will not change a man's heart or transform his nature, but unpropitious circumstances may render it absolutely impossible for him to escape, no matter how he may desire to extricate himself. The first step with these helpless, sunken creatures is to create the desire to escape, and then provide the means for doing so.

"*Thirdly.* Any remedy worthy of consideration must be on a scale commensurate with the evil with which it proposes to deal. It is no use trying to bail out the ocean with a pint pot. The evil is one whose victims are counted by the million. There must be no more philanthropic tinkering, as if this vast sea of human misery were contained in the limits of a garden pond.

"*Fourthly.* Not only must the scheme be large enough, but it must be permanent. That is to say, it must not be merely a spasmodic effort, coping with the misery of to-day.

"*Fifthly.* But while it must be permanent, it must also be immediately practicable. Any scheme, to be of use, must be capable of being brought into instant operation with beneficial results.

"*Sixthly.* The indirect features of the scheme must not be such as to produce injury to the persons whom we seek to benefit. It is no use conferring sixpenny-worth of benefit on a man if, at the same time, we do him a shilling's worth of harm.

"*Seventhly.* While assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet.

"It is no use saying we could build a bridge across the Tay if the wind did not blow, or that we could build a railway across a bog if the quagmire would afford us a solid foundation. The engineer has to take into account the difficulties, and make them his starting point. The wind will blow, therefore the bridge must be made strong enough to resist it. Chat Moss will shake, therefore we must construct a foundation in the very bowels of the bog on which to build our railway. So it is with the social difficulties which confront us. If we act in harmony with these laws we shall triumph; but if we ignore them they will overwhelm us with destruction and cover us with disgrace."

We come thus to the statement of the plan. Says General Booth (p. 90):

"What, then, is my scheme? It is a very simple one, although, in its ramifications and extensions, it embraces the whole world. In this book I profess to do no more than to merely outline, as plainly and as simply as I can, the fundamental features of my proposals. I propose to devote the bulk of this volume to setting forth what can practically be done with one of the most pressing parts of the problem, namely, that relating to those who are out of work, and who, as the result, are more or less destitute. I have many ideas of what might be done with those who are at present cared for in some measure by the State, but I will leave these ideas for the present. . . .

The Plan.

"The scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of cooperative society, or patriarchal family, governed and disciplined on the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army.

"These communities we will call, for want of a better term, colonies. There will be:

"(1) The city colony.

"(2) The farm colony.

"(3) The over-sea colony.

"By the city colony is meant the establishment, in the very center of the ocean of misery of which we have been speaking, of a number of institutions to act as harbors of refuge for all and any who have been shipwrecked in life, character, or circumstances. These harbors will gather up the poor destitute creatures, supply their immediate pressing necessities, furnish temporary employment, inspire them with hope for the future, and commence at once a course of regeneration by moral and religious influences.

"From these institutions, which are hereafter described, numbers would, after a short time, be floated off to permanent employment, or sent home to friends happy to receive them on hearing of their reformation. All who remain on our hands would, by varied means, be tested as to their sincerity, industry, and honesty, and as soon as satisfaction was created, be passed on to the colony of the second class.

"This would consist of a settlement of the colonists on an estate in the provinces, in the culture of which they would find employment and obtain support. As the race from the country to the city has been the cause of much of the distress we have to battle with, we propose to find a substantial part of our remedy by transferring these same people back to the country; that is, back again to 'the garden!'

"Here the process of reformation of character would be carried forward by the same industrial, moral, and religious methods as have already been commenced in the city, especially including those forms of labor and that knowledge of agriculture which, should the colonist not obtain employment in this country, will qualify him for pursuing his fortunes under more favorable circumstances in some other land.

"From the farm, as from the city, there can be no question that large numbers, resuscitated in health and character, would be restored to friends up and down the country. Some would find employment in their own callings, others would settle in cottages on a small piece of land that we should provide, or on cooperative farms which we intend to promote; while the great bulk, after trial and training, would be passed on to the foreign settlement, which would constitute our third class, namely the over-sea colony. . . .

"The scheme, in its entirety, may aptly be compared to a great machine, founded in the lowest slums and purlieus of our great towns and cities, drawing up into its embrace the depraved and destitute of all classes; receiving thieves, harlots, paupers, drunkards, prodigals, all alike, on the simple conditions of their being willing to work and to conform to discipline. Drawing up these poor outcasts, reforming them, and creating in them habits of industry, honesty, and truth; teaching them methods by which alike the bread that perishes and that which endures to everlasting life can be won. Forwarding them from the city to the country, and there continuing the process of regeneration, and then pouring them forth on to the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands; keeping hold of them with a strong government, and yet making them free men and women; and so laying the foundations, perchance, of another empire to swell to vast proportions in later times. Why not?"

General Booth, on condition of the public furnishing him £1,000,000, or £100,000 in cash and £30,000 yearly, being the interest on £1,000,000 at 3 per cent., bound himself and the Salvation Army to demonstrate the entire practicability of the scheme. He soon received the £100,000 required. The account of the first year's work of the scheme, issued by the Salvation Army, shows for London the following: For men—8 shelters, 7 food depots, 3 poor man's Metropoles (superior lodging-houses), 1 labor bureau, 6 workshops and labor factories. For women—8 rescue homes, 1 help and inquiry department, 8 registries, 1 shelter and food depot, 1 lodging-house, 1 bookbinding factory, 1 knitting factory, 1 laundry, and 21 slum officers' posts.

In the year 1889-90 the trading operations of the army were carried on with the net profit for the year of £12,800, of which £10,365 was paid over to the general funds of the army.

All sorts of the most suffering and degraded took advantage of the food depots; the farthing meals were especially beneficial to the children. The rescue homes recorded 1300 girls.

The scheme has steadily progressed. By 1892 there was a National Labor Exchange at Queen Victoria Street, with 10 branches. In 1892, 10,743 registered. Only 421 were found permanent situations, but 3010 were given temporary work in the elevators or workshops, and a considerable number were found temporary outside work. In 1895 employment was found for 19,372 persons.

The furniture and certain other articles produced are partly used by other departments of the Salvation Army. Other products are sold in the open market.

A farm colony was opened May 1, 1891, on the Thames, 37 miles from London, consisting of 3 farms with 1150 acres, of which 800 acres are devoted to the dairy and ordinary farming, while the remaining 300 acres are laid out in extensive fruit and market gardens.

The colony is not intended to furnish a permanent home for the men who pass through it, but was established for the purpose of furnishing a training ground for any workless man who wishes to be trained for service in the colony over the sea (in Australia), irrespective of the class of unemployed to which he belongs. He may have been a deserving man, or he may have been a very undeserving man who now wishes to do well. The colony, subject to certain conditions, is open to all classes and there are all classes upon it. Their behavior is good. Only ten per cent. of the whole have had to be sent away for persistent idleness or drunkenness. There has been no disorder during the whole time the colony has been in existence. There has never been any occasion to call in a policeman to settle any disturbances or disputes, or fights, or anything of the kind. The majority of the men work and are fairly thankful for the efforts that are made on their behalf. They improve in their physique. They become better to look at, and they improve morally. Even those who do not at all accept the religious influences, and who pay very little attention to the religious work car-

ried on (the attendance at which is entirely voluntary), improve.

The principal buildings upon the colony are as follows:

(1) Dormitories, for 350 colonists, consist of seven distinct buildings. (2) Officers' and employees' residences—four houses and 16 cottages. (3) The hospital, capable of accommodating 20 patients, and medically furnished. (4) The Salvation Army barracks, with seating for 600 people. (5) Reading-room, library, etc. (6) Covered yard and cowhouse, covering half an acre of ground. (7) Pig sties. Four pig sties, with accommodation for 500 pigs. (8) Stores. Stone and brick building used as warehouse and store. (9) Bakery, with the usual fittings and accessories. (10) The offices, originally erected as a dairy, adapted and used for the present as offices. (11) The railway running from the landing stage to the foot of the hill, where it communicates with the steam wire elevator. (12) The wharf and landing-stage. Here steam cranes raise the contents of the barges, and put them on the railway trucks. (13) Brickyards. Two valuable beds of clay are being worked. (14) Sorting shed (erecting), where the colonists can work in wet weather. (15) Market garden stores. Brick building, 120 feet by 30 feet.

The development of the over-sea colony has naturally come latest. Some beginnings, however, have been made in India and elsewhere.

General Booth's latest scheme, and one which he considers to be the largest and most important he has ever evolved, is that for the establishment of peasant settlements in India.

We quote from the *Conqueror*, the monthly organ of the Salvationists in the United States, the following outline of the general's plans for India:

"1. There is enough surplus land to support the surplus population for many years to come.

"2. When that is exhausted there will be vast tracts of tropical Africa, Asia, and America which can be colonized from India.

"3. To meet the existing difficulty it is proposed by General Booth to organize at once an Indian Peasant Settlement Scheme.

"4. The operation of the scheme will be fourfold, embracing: (a) Peasant settlements, (b) land agency, (c) village loan agency, and (d) agricultural schools.

"(1) It is proposed to ask the Indian Government and the native States at once for, say, 50,000 acres of land, in suitable blocks of from 500 to 5000 or more acres, free of taxes, for five years. It is calculated that on the 50,000 acres there can be settled (at the rate of five acres per family) 10,000 families (say, 50,000 people, including children); but it is proposed to begin with only half that number, in order to allow for expansion. The capital expenditure required for commencing operations, breaking up land, sinking wells, building houses, buying cattle, and settling first colonists is calculated to be about \$250,000, at \$5 per acre, or \$50 per family. This sum it is proposed to raise: (a) in donations, (b) in loans from private sources, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and repayable within a given term of years; (c) in loans from Government, under what is known as the 'Takkavi,' or agricultural loan law.

"(2) Connected with each colony will be an agency for acquiring waste land in or near the overpopulated towns and villages. This land would be cultivated by the labor of the adjoining villagers, thus saving all preliminary outlay for houses, wells, support of colonists, etc.

"(3) To combat the usurious money-lender, an agency will be established in connection with the farm colonies for making loans on easy terms, acting as (a) the go-between for government in obtaining for the depressed classes loans under the Takkavi law; (b) as the agents for banks, firms, philanthropists, and others, who may be desirous of investing sums of money in this way at a fair rate of interest, and (c) on the cooperative village loan system.

"(4) Agricultural schools for thousands of children will in course of time be established, where, combined with a sufficient education, they will be taught the best forms of agriculture, and ultimately sent out to form settlements and colonies in distant countries and

provinces. Meanwhile, they would be largely, if not entirely, self-supporting; growing their own food, building their own huts, and living at a minimum of expense."

General Booth estimates that, worked on purely native lines, if once the initial outlay is provided, the scheme will not only become self-supporting, but will supply considerable profit for extension, besides vastly increasing the government revenue, by the occupation of land at present uncultivated, and the establishment of a happy and prosperous peasantry.

In carrying out his plans for peasant settlements in India, he will have the support of the Indian Government.

The Salvation Army in the United States has developed no such social work as in London, yet it is commencing and preparing to work on these lines in this and all other countries. The size, and strength, and discipline of its international organization help this. Already the social work in the United States embraces 2 shelters for women and 5 for men, with sleeping accommodation for about 1100; 8 rescue homes for fallen women, accommodating about 200; 1 home for 20 ex-criminals; 2 day-nurseries for infants; and 2 farms, one of 40 and the other of 350 acres.

More than 100 officers are entirely set apart for carrying on these various operations, including 60 slum officers, who live entirely in the slums of our great cities, nursing the sick, visiting the saloons, and exercising a reforming influence over some of the worst neighborhoods.

Arrangements are now being made for the establishment of farm colonies, potato patches (on Mayor Pingree's plan), and the usual shelters, food depots, and homes in connection with most of the principal cities throughout the United States.

According to the last published report, there were, in 1895, 284 institutions in operation as parts of General Booth's scheme, 156 of which are outside of Great Britain. The total number of officers engaged is 1155, of whom 694 labor in the British Isles. The number of slum posts is 82; of rescue homes, 60; of ex-criminals' homes, 12; of food and (or) shelter depots, 68; of labor bureaus, 29; of labor factories, 25, and of farm colonies, 8.

These, of course, are aided in their work of finding employment, reuniting families, etc., by the whole organization of the army, of which the following are the most recent statistics: Corps 3200, outpost 1216, officers 11,588 in 34 countries, weeklies 27 and monthlies 15, circulating 50,000,000 copies, besides 4,000,000 copies of books and pamphlets. The total sum raised annually by the Salvation Army is about \$2,250,000; 2002 officers in 1895 were in the United States. Considerable criticism has been raised against Mr. Booth's scheme. He was accused at one time of having appropriated funds given for his social scheme to further his religious army work, including support for his own family, but after full investigation by a competent committee, this was absolutely disproved.

(See UNEMPLOYED.)

Revised by F. DE L. BOOTH-TUCKER.

SANITATION.—The progress of modern science, particularly of physiology, biology, hygiene, etc., has called increasing attention to the importance not only to the individual, but also to the community, of proper sanitary conditions. Early social sanitary arrangements were of the most primitive type, and down to the present century consisted mainly of systems of quarantines for contagious diseases, unless the provisions of public baths and gymnasia in most ancient cities be included under this head. (See BATHS.) In 1850 the first International Sanitary Convention was held at Paris, and it did much to spread ideas of municipal hygiene in place of useless quarantines. The destruction of sources of infection and the inspection of dwellings was strongly advocated. In the United States various yellow fever and other epidemics called attention to the subject. In 1866, in New York City, a Metropolitan Health Board was established, organized on the lines of the English Sanitary Acts. In 1869 Massachusetts established a State board, and other States and cities rapidly followed. March 3, 1879, Congress created a National Board of Health. To-day municipal hygiene is receiving much attention. It includes the study of (1) The climate, and how to render its vicissitudes less dangerous. (2) Telluric conditions, and how to render the land and air dryer by drainage. (3) The site or location of dwellings, the material of which they are built, their heating, lighting, and ventilation. (4) The arrangements of streets and alleys, their paving, cleansing, and repair. (5) The water supply, its quality and quantity, and the disposal of house-waste and sewage. (6) The food supply, markets, slaughter-houses, bakeries, canned and condensed food factories. (7) The effects of trades, manufactures, and other pursuits or employments. (8) The location, construction, internal arrangements, and condition of tenement-houses and public buildings, including churches, schoolhouses, hospitals, and prisons. (9) The management of contagious and infectious diseases, vaccination, isolation, disinfection, and house-to-house sanitary inspection. (10) Vital statistics, registration of births, marriages, and deaths. (11) Disposal of the dead, inhumation, cremation, coking, embalming, and electro-plating.

In Europe municipal hygiene has been carried to a much further degree than in the United States. (See BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; PARIS.) England has expended within a few years over \$600,000,000 on public health, and lowered death rates from 22 per 1000 in 1875 to 17 in 1889. Dr. W. E. Boardman shows, in the sixth report of the Massachusetts board of health, that that State loses \$13,000,000 by preventible diseases.

J. S. Billings, M. D., of the United States Army, in addresses delivered before and published by the American Academy of Political Science in 1891, on *Public Health and Municipal Government*, says that the average shortening of life connected with poverty is from 10 to 15 years. Of Philadelphia he says:

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"The annual death rate of Philadelphia ought not to be as great as that of London, which is about 20 per 1000—indeed, I think it is safe to say that with a constant pure water supply, good sewerage, and clean and smooth streets, this rate should not exceed 18 per 1000. During the last five years its death rate has been 22.5 per 1000, which means that there have been each year over 4000 deaths and 7000 constant cases of sickness which were unnecessary.

"Allowing \$25 as the cost of each death for funeral expenses, etc., and \$200 per year as the cost of medicines, medical attendance, food, and nursing for a sick person, we find that about \$1,500,000 were lost to the citizens in this way."

The same authority said in the *Forum* for May, 1893:

"The most important factor in municipal sanitation is the general water supply. For all our large cities this is abundant in quantity, since over half of it goes to waste, through leaky fittings, in trickling drops and tiny streams which do not even serve to cleanse the waste-pipes. The quality is also generally good. Nevertheless, almost every city has present or prospective difficulties in preventing dangerous or offensive pollutions of its supply, and the recent possibilities of an invasion of cholera have drawn attention to the matter almost everywhere.

"With a general water supply comes the necessity for means of prompt removal of the water which has been fouled by use, that is, of sewerage. All of our large cities, with the exception of Baltimore, are provided with sewers, but these are in some cases unsatisfactory, having been badly planned, worse constructed, and too much uncared for; and everywhere there is much work to be done in this respect to meet the needs arising from growth and extension of the municipalities.

"Public wash- and bath-houses are to be found in many European cities, and are of great value in promoting cleanliness of clothing and of the person among the poor. To them poor women can take their bundles of soiled clothing and bedding, and by the payment of a small fee can have the use of tubs, tables, hot and cold water, and drying facilities, and can also have a bath. In the evening, men can also obtain baths there. Some of our cities have waterside swimming-baths for summer use, but public washhouses under municipal management and control are practically unknown in this country. Abattoirs, or public slaughter-houses, where all animals are examined by skilled inspectors before being killed, where the meats can be inspected, and where all the nuisances and dangers connected with private slaughter-houses can be either done away with or reduced to the lowest limits, are to be found in only three or four of our cities.

"In the constant struggle of health officials to prevent the spread of such contagious diseases as diphtheria and scarlet fever there are few things for which they find a more urgent need than hospitals specially calculated and set apart for the reception of this class of cases; yet very few cities are provided with them.

Most of our cities are also in need of one or more public disinfection stations under skilled management; provided with the best modern means of disinfecting bedding, clothing, etc., and also with portable apparatus which can be sent to and used in an infected house. Another important means of aiding to check the spread of contagious disease, as well as of helping the very poor in their struggle to maintain a decent existence in the midst of sore trouble, is a public mortuary—a simple building, in or near the poor quarter, where the bodies of the dead can be taken immediately after death and properly cared for, and where funeral ceremonies can be performed. The desire to preserve the dead mother or the dead child for two or three days, in order to allow time to apprise friends and arrange for the funeral, is no less strong in the poor family than it is in the rich one; but when there are only one or two rooms, and the living must cook, eat, and sleep in the presence of the dead, this natural wish produces unnatural and sometimes dangerous results. All large European cities, and many of the smaller ones, have public mortuaries, and their privileges are highly valued. They are not connected with pauper administration, a small fee is charged for their use, and they are used by transient visitors of the well-to-do classes when occasion comes. They are not morgues, although sometimes one room, with a separate entrance, may be set apart for this purpose. They have a separate room for the care of the bodies of those dying of contagious disease, and

special means of preventing infection therefrom. I do not know of any public mortuary belonging to any city in this country, although it is possible that there may be such."

One of the most important portions of public hygiene is the disposal of the sewage. Science has pointed out a healthy way, but the adoption of it in the United States is very slow. It is simply to collect the excrementitious products (feces and urine) in suitable vessels, and either use them as a fertilizer, or destroy them by cremation. The former plan is much the cheaper and is said to be almost self-supporting. In Japan it is done at a profit to the householder, who is paid for the deposit. The latter is safer on account of the possible propagation of such diseases as cholera and typhoid fever by the "germs" finding their way back into the drinking water of outlying villages or farms where the fertilizer is used. Omitting the pneumatic system of Liernur, which requires water-closets, soil-pipes, and fecal reservoirs, there are two plans which have been approved by sanitarians as satisfactory for securing the fecal deposits for fertilizing purposes: the "pail" system, better known as the "Rochdale"; and the earth or ash-closet system ("commode"), first introduced by Rev. Henry Moule of England.

Some English and German cities make considerable profit for the city by sewage farms, the sale of fertilizers, etc.

(See BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW.)

References: *Municipal Government in Great Britain and Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, by Albert Shaw.

SANBORN, FRANKLIN BENJAMIN, was born at Hampton Falls, N. H., in 1831. Graduating at Harvard College, he interested himself in the anti-slavery cause and was secretary of the Massachusetts-Kansas Committee in 1856. He has been a leading member of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, secretary of the Social Science Association, and of the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. He has written lives of Thoreau and John Brown, besides numerous articles on sociological subjects.

SAUNDERS, WILLIAM, was born at West Lavington, England, in 1823. He entered business as proprietor of stone quarries, but became interested in public questions, and in 1860 founded the *Western Morning News*, and later the Central News Agency. He traveled in the United States, and wrote *Through the Bright Continent*. Always a Radical, he became, by reading *Progress and Poverty*, one of the staunchest supporters in England of the Single Tax, and contributed largely to the spread of this idea, by giving it financial and literary support. He was returned as a Radical for East Hull in 1885, defeated the next year, but returned for Walworth some time in 1892. He died May 1, 1895.

SAVINGS-BANKS.—The first savings-bank is said to have been founded in Brunswick, Germany, in 1765, and to have been followed by several in Germany and Switzerland. In England Jeremy Bentham (*g. v.*) proposed a well-devised system of "frugality banks" in

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1797. Various plans followed his for encouraging savings among the poor, but the first savings-bank of the modern type in Great Britain was organized by the Rev. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, Scotland, in 1810. In 1817 two acts were passed by Parliament, encouraging savings-banks. Since then they have grown rapidly. In 1861, postal savings-banks (*q. v.*) were begun. The savings-banks system of France dates from 1818. The following is an unofficial estimate of the savings-banks statistics of Europe :

COUNTRIES.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Deposits.
Austria.....	1,850,000	\$613,000,000
Belgium and Netherlands.....	310,000	82,000,000
France.....	4,150,000	559,000,000
Germany.....	5,000,000	.....
Great Britain.....	3,715,000	535,000,000
Italy.....	1,970,000	345,000,000
Switzerland.....	1,600,000	118,500,000

In the United States the first savings-bank was organized in 1816, in New York City, tho a savings-bank seems to have been actually opened in Philadelphia before the New York bank was really under way. The first incorporated savings-bank was opened in Boston the same year. The following statistics for the United States are compiled from the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1895 :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Number of Depositors.	Amount of Deposits.
Maine.....	155,704	\$54,531,223
New Hampshire.....	163,702	26,745,703
Vermont.....	94,994	26,433,697
Massachusetts.....	1,247,090	416,778,018
Rhode Island.....	131,623	67,444,117
Connecticut.....	337,254	136,628,858
New York.....	1,615,173	643,873,574
New Jersey.....	144,160	36,149,920
Pennsylvania.....	264,642	68,522,217
Delaware.....	18,648	3,765,784
Maryland.....	148,342	45,499,279
District of Columbia.....	1,359	95,300
West Virginia *.....	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	169,039	291,744
South Carolina.....	174,118	4,578,838
Georgia.....	5,747	745,596
Florida.....	11,148	205,710
Alabama *.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	9,918	2,687,934
Texas *.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	8,703	1,112,419
Ohio.....	86,183	34,753,222
Indiana.....	15,639	3,607,312
Illinois.....	94,724	24,357,400
Wisconsin.....	1,439	179,877
Iowa.....	177,809	28,158,488
Minnesota.....	42,777	9,471,799
Oregon.....	1,803	662,229
Utah.....	6,271	1,142,215
Montana.....	2,844	812,910
New Mexico.....	217	37,951
Washington.....	15,512	1,148,104
California.....	1168,638	126,830,513
Total.....	4,875,519	\$1,810,597,023

* No returns for 1894-95. Returns for previous year: West Virginia, depositors, 3522; amount of deposits, \$236,025. Alabama, previous year: Depositors, 2500; amount of deposits, \$102,347. Texas, previous year: Depositors, 2450; amount of deposits, \$301,648.
† Partially estimated.

SAVINGS-BANKS, DEPOSITORS, AND DEPOSITS IN THE UNITED STATES EVERY TEN YEARS SINCE 1820.

YEAR.	Number of Banks.	Number of Depositors.	Deposits.
1820.....	10	8,635	\$1,138,570
1830.....	36	38,085	6,973,304
1840.....	61	78,701	14,051,520
1850.....	108	251,354	43,431,130
1860.....	278	693,870	149,277,504
1870.....	517	1,630,846	549,874,358
1880.....	629	2,335,582	819,106,973
1890.....	921	4,258,893	1,524,844,406
1801.....	1,011	4,533,217	1,623,079,749
1892.....	1,059	4,781,605	1,712,769,026
1893.....	1,039	4,830,599	1,785,159,957
1894.....	1,024	4,777,687	1,747,961,280
1895.....	1,017	4,875,519	1,810,597,023

The investments of savings-banks of the United States in 1892-93 was: Real estate loans, \$763,000,000; loans on other securities, \$283,000,000; United States bonds, \$129,000,000; State stocks and bonds, \$503,000,000; railway securities, \$121,000,000; bank-stock, \$44,000,000; real estate, \$34,000,000.

In studying savings-banks statistics, however, great care must be exercised before accepting them as evidences of prosperity among the working classes. The *Outlook* for September 7, 1895 :

"In the last number of the *Yale Review* Professor Farnam follows the same line of argument as did Secretary Carlisle in his Memphis speech, and attempts to show that the public is mistaken in supposing that the interests of the creditor class are the interests of the comparatively rich. In his argument he lends the weight of his authority to Secretary Carlisle's savings-bank statistics. He says :

"The total deposits in 1890 were \$1,524,844,506, distributed among 4,258,893 persons, making an average of \$358.03 for each depositor. The savings-bank deposits alone represent more than half as much again as the farmers' debt, owned by five times as many persons."

"If it is true that there are over 4,000,000 savings-bank depositors among our 12,000,000 families, then it is true that a large portion of our small property owners belong to the creditor class. But the fallacy in this has been repeatedly exposed in official reports. The official reports are for deposits and not depositors. Three millions and a half of the deposits are in New York and New England, where there are only 2,000,000 families altogether, and not to exceed 1,000,000 depositors. But this is not all. The working-class depositors nowhere furnish the bulk of the deposits. The large depositors and the multiple depositors belong to an entirely different class. In Massachusetts, where $\frac{1}{2}$ of the deposits are made in sums less than \$100 (and presumably belong to the working classes), the aggregate of these is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total amount deposited. These conclusions from the Massachusetts investigations are strikingly confirmed by the present investigation in Baltimore. In Baltimore, also, there are more savings-bank deposits than families, yet in Baltimore only one family in three possesses personal capital of any description, while the aggregate holdings of $\frac{2}{3}$ of these is but 6 per cent. of the total."

This subject was most fully investigated in Massachusetts as early as 1872; by the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor in 1872, 1873 and 1874.

On returns from 39 banks the report for 1872 (p. 316) found that $\frac{1}{10}$ of the deposits was nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the amount in those banks, the remaining $\frac{9}{10}$ depositing only a little over $\frac{1}{3}$. The $\frac{1}{10}$ of the deposits were those of \$300 or over, and it was the argument of the report that since, except in the rarest instances, and under the most exceptional circumstances, no ordinary wage-worker could possibly save more than \$300 a year from his earnings (see WAGES), the amount deposited by that $\frac{1}{10}$, or nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total amount,

could not have been deposited by wage-workers. This conclusion was supported by abundant quotations from various reports of the Bank Commissioners of the State, who say, in 1870: 'These institutions are becoming still more the favorite place of deposit, not only for persons of small means, but also for those seeking investment for very considerable amounts.' Governor Claflin is quoted as saying in his message for 1871: 'It is very evident that a large share of this increase is not the savings of labor. Each year shows more deposits by capitalists.' Repeated instances were found of men having in each of many banks deposits to the limit of the law. Still more instances were found of one man or woman having deposits under several accounts, as for himself, or herself, and as trustees for children, etc., indicating again depositors not of the wage-working class. One man was reported to have a deposit in each bank of the State; another will deposit for each member of his family, and a part of the alphabet. From this, and other similar evidences, the report concluded (p. 332): 'It is evident from these returns that the great bulk of depositors is from the wage classes, and it is equally evident that the great sums, generally credited to them, are not the savings of wage labor, but are the results of profits upon labor in some form.'

This report made somewhat of a sensation in Boston and in Washington. From the report of 1873 we learn that in Congress, during a discussion of the tariff, certain Western Congressmen, opposed to protection, made use of the report before it had been officially presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, to show that Massachusetts wage-workers were not as well off as was claimed by the protectionists. This incensed some Massachusetts capitalists, and the Committee on Banks and Banking of the Massachusetts legislature, the majority of the committee being connected with savings-banks, undertook to disprove the offensive report. A hearing was called. The Bureau of Labor was invited to come before it 'in order that it might make suggestions'; but, when the hearing took place, the bureau found itself, with little or no warning, confronted with a hired counsel who called witnesses from 11 banks to disprove the bureau's report, based on 39 banks, the counsel arguing that the bureau's report was untrue, because it was based on reports from only 39 banks.

The bureau ably defended its report, and demanded that if the committee questioned its conclusions, it was only fair, before they condemned it, to have a fuller examination, and not condemn, on picked evidence from 11 banks, a report carefully based on returns from 39 banks. The committee, however, would not hear, and voted the report a mere 'matter of inference,' and not reliable. The personnel of the bureau, too, was changed that year. Mr. H. K. Oliver (chief) and G. E. McNeill (*q. v.*), who had formed the bureau publishing the offensive report, were displaced, and Messrs. Carroll D. Wright and Geo. H. Long were put in their places. Before Mr. Oliver and Mr. McNeill, however, were displaced, they obtained evidence from 91 banks and from the bank commissioners' reports of 1868, 1869, 1870, and 1871, abundantly sustaining their position. From 91 banks they found and stated (p. 107) that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deposits were of \$300 or under, *i. e.*, might possibly be deposits of working men, but that these $\frac{1}{3}$ of the deposits represented only $\frac{1}{11}$ of the amount deposited. From the Bank Commissioners' reports they found and stated (p. 227) that in 1868 and 1869, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number of deposits amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole amount deposited; that in 1870, $\frac{1}{4}$ amounted to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole amount, and that in 1871, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total amount, thus not only abundantly supporting the former report of the bureau, but showing that the proportion of large depositors in the savings-banks was on the increase.

The next year, 1874, Messrs. Wright and Long sign the report. The subject of savings-banks is naturally handled very lightly, but even according to their table (pp. 244-245) we learn that over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the deposits were deposits of \$300 or over, showing that the number of large depositors was even greater than the former reports had claimed, and that these large deposits amounted to nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole amount. Five-sixths of the deposits equalled not much over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole sum; an abundant proof that the large amount of money in Massachusetts savings-banks cannot be taken to prove the prosperity of the Massachusetts working people.

(See also POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS, and SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS.)

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE, was born in Lyons, France, in 1767. Educated for a commercial career, he spent a part of his youth in England. Returning to Paris, he worked on Mirabeau's paper, *Courrier de Provence*. Later he was secretary to Clavière, Minister of Finance. From 1794 to 1800, he edited *La Décade*. He was a member of the Tribunate of 1799. He published his best known work, *Traité d'Économie Politique*, in 1803; his *Catéchisme d'Économie Politique* in 1815, and his *De l'Angleterre et des Anglais* in 1816. His dissent from Napoleon's policy drove him into private life, and he established a spinning mill, but after Napoleon's fall he was made professor at the École des Arts et Métiers in 1819, and at the Collège de France in 1831. He died in Paris in 1832. Cossa considers him among the first of the continental writers to have appreciated and popularized Adam Smith (*q. v.*).

SAY, JEAN BAPTISTE LEON, grandson of Jean Baptiste Say, was born in Paris in 1826. He devoted himself to political economy, and for many years was contributor to the *Journal des Débats*. He was returned to the National Assembly in 1871, and became prefect of the Seine the same year. He was Minister of Finance in 1873-75-77, and 1882. In 1880 he was appointed ambassador to London, but returned in a few weeks, having been elected president of the Senate. Among his works are: *Les Solutions Démocratiques de la Question des Impôts* (1886); *Le Socialisme d'État* (1890). He edited *Le Dictionnaire des Finances* (1889); and conjointly with Jos. Chailley, *Le Dictionnaire d'Économie Politique*.

SCHÄFFLE, ALBERT EBERHARD FRIEDRICH, was born at Nürtengen, Württemberg, in 1831. He studied theology at Tübingen, but became professor of Political Economy there in 1861. He sat in the Württemberg Landtag from 1862 to 1865, and for a short time in 1871 was Minister of Commerce for Austria. On the fall of the ministry he went to Stuttgart and devoted himself to economics. His chief works are: *Die Nationalökonomie* (1861), 3d ed. published under the title *Das gesellschaftliche System der menschlichen Wirtschaft* (1873); *Kapitalismus und Sozialismus* (1870); *Quintessenz des Sozialismus* (1874), and *Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie* (1885). His *Quintessence of Socialism* (its English name), translated in 1889, is considered by many one of the ablest presentations of socialism, and is considered by some to show Schäffle a socialist, which Cossa thinks is scarcely disproved by his latter work *The Impossibility of Social Democracy* (Eng. tr.). In his *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers* (1875-78, new ed. 1881), Schäffle, under the influence of Comte and Spencer, outlines a comprehensive plan of an analysis of the social body.

SCHMOLLER, GUSTAVE, was born at Heilbronn in 1834, and successively professor at Halle, Strasburg, and Berlin. He is per-

haps the leading German Socialist of the Chair (*q. v.*), having opened the famous congress at Eisenach in 1872. Since 1881 he was editor of the important *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft*. He is best known as one of the leaders of the Historical School (*q. v.*). He began with an essay on economic ideas in the time of the German Reformation, 1860; he then approached the modern industrial question in his excellent book, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (History of the Smaller Industries of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, 1870); but he soon changed his line of study, centering his efforts upon a history of the Prussian administration. Portions of this history have appeared as a series of articles contributed to the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, to the *Zeitschrift für preussische Geschichte*, and recently to his own *Jahrbuch*. Besides these works he has published, as a result of a study of the Middle Ages, *Die Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Weberei und des deutschen Gewerberechts vom XIII. bis XVII. Jahrhundert* (The Weavers' and Cloth Makers' Guild of Strasburg; a Contribution to the History of the German Weaving Industry and German Industrial Law, from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries). This work, consisting of documents and explanations, together with a glossary and index, appeared in 1879. Furthermore, in close connection with these studies, Schmoller has edited a collection of historical investigations by other writers in the *Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen* (Investigations in Political and Social Science), of which four volumes have been issued since 1879.

SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION.

SCHOOL SAVINGS-BANKS are in wide use in Europe, and are acknowledged and proven to be one of the best practical educational factors. They train the population to habits of thrift and self-dependence, and reduce crime, intemperance, and pauperism.

In France there are 23,375 school savings-banks under patronage of the government; in Belgium, 5259; in Germany, Hungary, Russia, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands, they are in common use. The statistics of postal saving-banks (*q. v.*) and school savings-banks are officially reported together, in several divisions of Europe.

In 1855 Professor Thiry, a French educator, in America for his health, as a school commissioner in Long Island City, introduced the system into the public schools there. Since this date the system has spread widely, and by 1893 325 schools had such savings-banks, and \$350,634.32 had been deposited.

The proportion of depositors in the public schools where the system is in use numbers about two-fifths of the pupils in attendance. Of 90,070 on the school registers, where school saving-banks are in use, 36,810 are depositors. As the proportion of depositors increases the benefits of the work widen. It is not how

much any one pupil deposits or how much interest he gets for his money, but how many have accounts and how thoroughly the principles of thrift, economy, and business forethought are taught that is of the greatest value.

(See POSTAL SAVINGS-BANKS.)

SCHULZE-DELITZSCH, HERMANN, was born in 1808 at Delitzsch, Saxony. Educated at Leipsic and at Halle, he was made judge at Naumbourg and then Berlin, and in 1841 entered the royal magistracy. Spending his vacations in travel, he became deeply interested in the working classes. After the revolution of 1848, he was elected deputy by the electors of Delitzsch, and took his seat on the left center with Rodbertus. But seeing the victory of a reactionary opposition, he retired to Delitzsch and there commenced the movement to establish the cooperative agricultural banks with which his name is connected. (See COOPERATIVE BANKS.) He became the leader of the individualist policy of cooperation without state aid, and so when Lassalle commenced his socialist propaganda, Schulze-Delitzsch was invited by the working men of Leipsic to champion his ideas against Lassalle, but declined, and the majority of the working men turned to Lassalle. (See GERMANY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) His cooperative movement however went on, and on his death, in 1885, had reached large proportions.

SCOTLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM.—

Scotland was first known to the world as the home of the Picts. Never permanently conquered by any foreign race, the Romans could do no more than build a wall from the Solway to the Tyne, and later, one from the Forth to the Clyde, to protect England from Pict invasions. Edinburgh, it seems, however, was founded by a Saxon king in 449, while the Irish Scots (Celts) founded a Scottish kingdom on the western shore, bringing Christianity with them. In 843 Kenneth became king of both the Scots and the Picts, and so united them into one kingdom known later as Scotland. In 945 the King of England bestowed on Malcolm I. a portion of the Cambrian kingdom, and so established a claim for homage which led to the interminable wars between England and Scotland which lasted till union with England was formally ratified by the parliament of Scotland, January 16, 1707. This long period was marked by the gradual wane of the Celtic civilization in Scotland, first, before the Norsemen who long ruled the Hebrides and other islands and made more or less permanent settlements on the mainland, and secondly, before the Normans after their conquest of England. King David, 1124-53, introduced the feudal civilization into Scotland, followed by the gallant struggles of Wallace and Bruce. The former fell at last into the hands of the English; Bruce invaded England 12 times in 14 years, and routed the English at Bannockburn (1314), though at Neville's Cross (1346) the Scotch kings were defeated and compelled to do homage to England.

History.

With Robert II. (1371), the House of Stuart

ascended the throne of Scotland. Seven of this dynasty, however, ascended the throne as minors, giving the nobility a great chance to develop power, and driving the kings to seek aid from the debased Roman Catholic Church of Scotland, while the nobles eagerly embraced the Reformation. The scale was turned by the middle class, led by Knox, who passionately declared for Protestantism, so that when the Stuarts turned to France, and France sought to use Scotland for her ends, the people were largely opposed. When Mary Queen of Scots was betrothed to the Prince of Wales, the son of Henry VIII., statesmen on both sides hoped that the wars of England and Scotland would cease. This betrothal was broken off, but on the death of Elizabeth, her cousin King James of Scotland became James I. of England and union was accomplished.

In 1891 Scotland had a population of 4,025,647, tho only 2,888,742 in 1851, in spite of a large emigration, partly forced, when thousands of homes, particularly among the Highlands, were destroyed to make sheep walks or deer forests, which latter alone covered 4040 square miles in 1891. (See LAND.)

Statistics. The old Highland Gaelic is dying out and the English spreading from the low lands, where is the dense population; 12.3 per cent. of

the people are engaged in agriculture, 1.7 per cent. in fishing, 12.2 in mining and metallurgy, 11.8 in textile industries, 3.3 per cent. in commerce, 6.9 per cent. in transportation, 6.2 in the professions, 11.4 per cent. in personal service as servants, innkeepers, etc., 34.2 per cent. in all other industries. Of the total area only 18.3 per cent. is under the plow; 47.7 per cent. is for grazing. The mining is mainly iron and coal. In manufacturing, the textile industry in 1891 employed 206,550 persons, with 2,413,735 spindles. The making of machinery employed 51,426 men, and ship-building 23,518 workmen. Scotland, since 1560, has had an established church on the Presbyterian system, but, in 1843, a secession led to the Free Kirk. In education, Scotland is in advance of England. (For details of religion and education, see GREAT BRITAIN.) Scotland sends 72 members to the House of Commons, and 16 representative peers out of a peerage of 87, of whom 48 are also peers of the United Kingdom. Local government has been organized since 1889, with county councils as in England. (For other details see AGRICULTURE; CRIME; EDUCATION; RAILWAYS; GLASGOW.)

SOCIAL REFORM.

Modern Social Reform in Scotland may be said to have commenced in 1800, with the experiments of Robert Owen at New Lanark, and, the general interest aroused (see OWEN), Scotland contributed her part to the whole Owenite agitation, to chartism, and to early cooperation and trade-unionism. (See ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM; COOPERATION; AND TRADE-UNIONS.) As the land of Adam Smith and other prominent economists of that school (see POLITICAL ECONOMY), Scotch economic thought has contributed more to individualism than to socialism, yet Chalmers (*q. v.*), with his experi-

ments at Glasgow, MacCulloch, James Mill, Bentham, and all their school, must not be omitted in a notice of Scotch social reforms, for individualism was once as radical and as necessary a social reform as socialism can be to-day. But the memories of Owen were cherished among the trade-unionists and cooperators, and later, Ruskin and Carlyle found many readers in Scotland. Still later, the agitation over the condition of Ireland had its effect on Scotland, and soon depression brought social questions home, and the government had to consider how to relieve the destitute. Under these conditions modern socialism found a beginning in Scotland. Robert Banner in Edinburgh was one of the first to agitate for socialism. A socialist society was early started in the university, and through its influence prominent English reformers like Morris and Hyndman came and lectured, and spread their views. A Land and Labor League was formed in 1884, and affiliated with the Social Democratic Federation, and later with the London Socialist League. In Glasgow a Christian Socialist society was formed. A split from the Edinburgh League realigned itself with the English Democratic Federation, became more enduring than the joint society affiliated with the League, and has led to the formation of socialist branches in all the larger Scotch cities. In 1890 Kier Hardie founded the Scotch Labor Party, and later, the Independent Labor Party, and from this time on Scotch social reform movements can scarcely be distinguished from those of England (*q. v.*). (See also SOCIALISM; TRADE-UNIONS; COOPERATION, etc.) In Glasgow J. Bruce Glazier has become a leader of socialistic reform with his wife, Katharine St. John Conway. In Edinburgh the Rev. John Glasse has been perhaps the most prominent pioneer of socialism.

SELIGMAN, EDWIN ROBERT ANDERSON, was born in New York City in 1861. He was educated at Columbia College, graduating in 1879. He studied political science for three years in Europe in the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, and Geneva. Returning to this country, he took his degree of A. M. in 1883, and of LL. B. and Ph. D. in 1884. He was appointed lecturer in political economy at Columbia University in 1885; adjunct professor of political economy in 1888; professor of political economy and finance in 1891. He has been one of the editors of the *Political Science Quarterly* since its establishment in 1886. His writings have been mainly monographs on economic subjects, among others the following: *Owen and the Christian Socialists* (1886); *Railway Tariffs and the Interstate Commerce Law* (1887); *Two Chapters on the Medieval Gilds of England* (1887); *Finance Statistics of the American Commonwealths* (1889); *The Taxation of Corporations* (1890); *The Single Tax, Essay and Debate with Henry George*, *Proceedings of American Social Science Association* (1890); *On the Shifting and Incidence of Taxation* (1892); *The Theory of Progressive Taxation* (1893); *Progressive Taxation in Theory and Practise* (1894).

SENATE (UNITED STATES).—The Senate of the United States is a creation of the Constitution which has been lauded by some as one of its most successful provisions and denounced by others as one of its most undemocratic features. It seems, however, to have been rather an accident than a deliberate creation for good or for evil. When some States demanded that each State, large or small, be equally represented in Congress, and other States equally strenuously demanded that representation be proportional to the population of the States, a compromise was effected, by making the representation in the House proportional to population and creating a Senate where each State should have equal representation.

The aims with which the Senate was created, the purposes it was to fulfil, are set forth, under the form of answers to objections, in five letters (lxi.-lxv.), all by Alexander Hamilton, in the *Federalist*. These aims were as follows :

"To conciliate the spirit of independence in the several States, by giving each, however small, equal representation with every other, however large, in one branch of the national government.

"To create a council qualified, by its moderate size and the experience of its members, to advise and check the President in the exercise of his powers of appointing to office and concluding treaties.

"To restrain the impetuosity and fickleness of the popular House, and so guard against the effects of gusts of passion or sudden changes of opinion in the people.

"To provide a body of men whose greater experience, longer term of membership, and comparative independence of popular election, would make them an element of stability in the government of the nation; enabling it to maintain its character in the eyes of foreign States, and to preserve a continuity of policy at home and abroad.

"To establish a court proper for the trial of impeachments, a remedy deemed necessary to prevent abuse of power by the executive."

The especial Constitutional provisions in the Senate are as follows :

(For provisions which apply both to the Senate and the House, see CONGRESS.)

"SEC. III. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, and of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

"No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of 30 years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

"Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

"The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

"The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

"Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

"SEC. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.

"By an Act of Congress passed July 25, 1866, it is provided that when the legislature of any State is to elect a senator in Congress, it shall proceed to the election of such senator on the second Tuesday after the organization of the legislature, and the election shall be conducted as follows :

"Each House shall, by a *viva voce* vote, name a person for senator, and the name of the person who receives a majority vote shall be entered in the journal of the House. If the House fails to give such a majority to any person, that fact shall be entered on the journal. On the next day at 12 o'clock the members of the two Houses shall convene in joint assembly, and the journal of each House shall be read, and if the same person has received a majority of all the votes in each House, he shall be declared duly elected senator. If no one has such a majority, the joint assembly shall choose, by a *viva voce* vote of each member present, a person for senator. The person having a majority of all the votes of the joint assembly shall be declared elected. If there is no election that day, the joint assembly shall meet at 12 o'clock on each succeeding day, and shall take at least one vote each day until a senator is elected."

The officers of the Senate are : (1) a secretary, (2) chief clerk, (3) executive clerk, (4) sergeant-at-arms, (5) doorkeeper, (6) chaplain.

The Senate is a permanent body, while the House of Representatives is changed every two years. As the Constitution went into operation on the 4th of March, 1789, the term of office of every senator, as well as representative, ends on the 3d of March of a year denoted by an odd number. A Congress is measured by the term of office of the representatives; the first extending from the 4th of March, 1789, to the 3d of March, 1791.

When a vacancy is temporarily filled by executive appointment, the senator thus appointed holds his office till the close of the next succeeding term of his State legislature.

The functions of the Senate are threefold : legislative, executive, and judicial. Its legislative function is to pass, along with the House of Representatives, bills which become Acts of Congress on the assent of the President, or even without his consent, if passed a second time by a two-thirds majority of each House, after he has returned them for reconsideration. All bills for raising revenue, however, must originate in the House (*q. v.*). Its executive functions are : To approve or disapprove the President's nominations of Federal officers, including judges, ministers of State, and ambassadors; and to approve, by a majority of two-thirds of those present, of treaties made by the President. Its judicial function is to sit as a court for the trial of impeachments preferred by the House of Representatives.

The comparative smallness of the Senate allows it to act with fewer rules of procedure and more freedom of debate. "Senatorial courtesy" has become a tradition, sometimes used to block legislation. In considering the working of the Senate, we find a favorable, a medium, and an unfavorable view. Of its

favorable features Mr. Bryce says (*American Commonwealth*, 1 ed. pt. i. chap. xii.):

"The Senate has succeeded in making itself eminent and respected. It has drawn the best talent of the nation, so far as that talent flows to politics, into its body, has established an intellectual supremacy, has furnished a vantage ground from which men of ability may speak with authority to their fellow-citizens. . . .

"The Senate, albeit not chosen by direct popular election, does represent the people; and what it may lose through not standing in immediate contact with the masses, it gains in representing such ancient and powerful commonwealths as the States. A senator from New York or Pennsylvania speaks for, and is responsible to, millions of men.

"A small body educates its members better than a large one, because each member has more to do, sooner masters the business not only of his committee but of the whole body, feels a livelier sense of the significance of his own action in bringing about collective action. There is less disposition to abuse the freedom of debate. Party spirit may be as intense as in great assemblies, yet it is mitigated by the disposition to keep on friendly terms with those whom, however much you may dislike them, you have constantly to meet, and by the feeling of a common interest in sustaining the authority of the body. A senator soon gets to know each of his colleagues—they were originally only 25—and what each of them thinks of him; he becomes sensitive to their opinion; he is less inclined to pose before them, however he may pose before the public. Thus the Senate formed, in its childhood, better habits in discussing and transacting its business than could have been looked for in a large assembly; and these habits its maturer age retains. Its comparative permanence has also worked for good. Six years, which seem a short term in Europe, are in America a long term when compared with the two years for which the House of Representatives and the assemblies of nearly all the States are elected; long also when compared with the swiftness of change in American politics. A senator has the opportunity of thoroughly learning his work and of proving that he has learned it.

"A senator has more power than a member of the House, more dignity, a longer term of service, a more independent position. Hence, every Federal politician aims at a senatorship, and looks on the place of representative as a stepping-stone to what is in this sense an Upper House, that it is the House to which representatives seek to mount. It is no more surprising that the average capacity of the Senate should surpass that of the House than that the average cabinet minister of Europe should be abler than the average member of the legislature. . . .

"What is more, the Senate so trains its members as to improve their political efficiency. Several years of service in a small body, with important and delicate executive work, are worth twice as many years of jostling in the crowd of representatives at the other end of the Capitol. If the Senate does not find the man who enters it already superior to the average of Federal politicians, it makes him superior. But natural selection, as has been said, usually seats upon its benches the best ability of the country that has flowed into political life, and would do so no less were the election, in form, a direct one by the people at the polls."

Nevertheless, even Mr. Bryce finds a less favorable view:

"European writers on America have been too much inclined to idealize the Senate. Admiring its structure and function, they have assumed that the actors must be worthy of their parts. They have been encouraged in this tendency by the language of many Americans. As the Romans were never tired of repeating that the ambassador of Pyrrhus had called the Roman Senate an assembly of kings, so Americans of refinement, who are ashamed of the turbulent House of Representatives, are wont to talk of the Senate as a sort of Olympian dwelling-place of statesmen and sages. It is nothing of the kind. It is a company of shrewd and vigorous men who have fought their way to the front by the ordinary methods of American politics, and on many of whom the battle has left its stains. There are abundant opportunities for intrigue in the Senate, because its most important business is done in the secrecy of committee rooms or of executive session; and many senators are intriguers. There are opportunities for misusing senatorial

powers. Scandals have sometimes arisen from the practise of employing as counsel before the Supreme Court senators whose influence has contributed to the appointment or confirmation of the judges. There are opportunities for corruption and blackmailing, of which unscrupulous men are well known to take advantage."

Woodrow Wilson says of the Senate (*Congressional Government*, pp. 194-195):

"The Senate is just what the mode of its election and the conditions of public life in this country make it. Its members are chosen from the ranks of active politicians, in accordance with a law of natural selection to which the State legislatures are commonly obedient; and it is probable that it contains, consequently, the best men that our system calls into politics. If these best men are not good, it is because our system of government fails to attract better men by its prizes, not because the country affords or could afford no finer material. The Senate is in fact, of course, nothing more than a part, tho a considerable part, of the public service; and if the general conditions of that service be such as to starve statesmen and foster demagogues, the Senate itself will be full of the latter kind, simply because there are no others available. There cannot be a separate breed of public men reared specially for the Senate. It must be recruited from the lower branches of the representative system, of which it is only the topmost part. No stream can be purer than its sources. The Senate can have in it no better men than the best men of the House of Representatives; and if the House of Representatives attracts to itself only inferior talent, the Senate must put up with the same sort. Thus the Senate, tho it may not be as good as could be wished, is as good as it can be under the circumstances. It contains the most perfect product of our politics, whatever that product may be."

Many, however, take a much more unfavorable view. They call it the Millionaires' Club, and argue that the senators should be elected by a direct vote of the people, while others believe that the Senate itself should be abolished. Mr. Dorman B. Eaton says of the Senate:

"It is by no means easy to comprehend the breadth and importance of the vast sphere of official life which thus stands eclipsed in the dark shadow of senatorial secrecy and usurpation. . . . Probably one-half of the time of senators given to speaking and voting is given to the matter of filling offices. On an average there must be from three to four nominations to be acted upon by the Senate every day of its session. Now, all the votes, all the speeches, and all the various and important actions connected with these sessions are never reported, or seen, or known by any one but senators and their subordinates. They are never understood by the people. Yet no action of the Government more profoundly affects the moral tone of politics, the fate of parties, or the efficiency and economy of administration. If anything could add to our astonishment at such astounding results being possible under our system of freedom and publicity, it would be the fact that they have been accomplished, not by law, not according to the Constitution, not by any action of Congress, not by any consent of the Executive, not after any public debate, but solely through arbitrary rules of the Senate, adopted in secret sessions, of which nothing was reported and nothing known by the people. Every grade of appointments and removals made by the President, . . . with all the corrupt influences, the bartering of votes in the Senate for votes for senators or their friends, the scandalous relations between a senatorial vote for a nomination and another nomination made or to be made, . . . together with all the vicious relations between the confirmation of postmasters and collectors, and the partizan corruption with which senators may be connected in the States and cities—all these things are covered in the impenetrable, everlasting darkness and silence of these secret sessions, which the senators have interposed between themselves and the President and the people."

Mr. J. W. Sullivan says, in the *American Federationist*:

"A Senate in a democratic republic is like a fifth wheel to a wagon. It is cumbrous, useless, and ab-

surd. Serious argument for it, from any point of view, breaks down. Its existence but indicates a political superstition. . . .

"The Senate was not meant to be democratic in this land of equal rights.

"It was meant to 'put down the brakes' on hasty law.

"1. The Senate is not democratic. On the floor of the Senate, Nevada, with 40,000 inhabitants, counts as much as New York with 6,000,000—a travesty on the democratic idea.

"The admission to the Union of 'rotten borough' States, such as Idaho and Wyoming, has come about mainly because one of the two old political parties has hoped thereby to gain party ascendancy. The United States Senate, more than any other factor, keeps alive the idea of State as opposed to nation. Were there no Senate, the House, representing as it does congressional districts, might be a truly national body with a tendency to ignore State lines. As the members of the Senate are elected by the legislatures, a candidate may thus be made senator against whom might be polled a popular three-fourths majority. The term being six years, a senator may remain in office long after the issues on which, if any, he was chosen, have passed away. He may continue voting against bills embodying a sentiment favored by a large majority of the people in his State and voted for by a majority in the lower House from his State. A number of plutocratic or corrupt senators in combination may prevent legislation demanded by the majority in the country, a two-thirds majority in the lower House, and the President. In the States the existence of the Senates, besides giving rise to many of the abuses seen in the national Senate, breeds disturbance and corruption. Gerrymandering in senatorial districts is a common political crime. Where the two parties are about matched, the control of the State Senate and the election of a United States senator call out all the devices of the politician. 'A conspiracy to steal the Senate' is a familiar newspaper headline. In all the respects just mentioned, the Senate stands as an anti-democratic institution.

"2. No one need credit nowadays the assertion that a Senate is necessary as a check on the people's legislation. Where is the evidence that it is, or ever has been? On the contrary, illustrations that it emphatically is not are numerous. To begin with the plainest and simplest examples: No New England town has ever found reason to take from its people their full legislative power in town meeting. The town as a whole is left to profit alike by its successes and its mistakes. And so it is with the trades-union, the benefit society, the fire company, the building association. In larger business organizations, as has been pointed out, the Senate has never existed. In the subdivisions of States the upper chamber is meeting with disfavor. Brooklyn a few years ago, under a new charter, devised by trusted citizens, reduced its municipal legislature to one body. New York City for some decades has had but one. In Switzerland not one of the 22 States has ever found a Senate necessary."

(See, also, CONGRESS; CONSTITUTION; PLUTOCRACY.)

SENIOR, NASSAU WILLIAM, was born at Offington, Berkshire, in 1790, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and commenced the practise of law in 1810. He was appointed professor of political economy at Oxford in 1826; was made secretary of the House of Lords in 1836, and was member of various commissions and societies. He was interested in Eastern studies, but wrote but little in that line. He was correspondent of the Institute of France (1843) and author of several reports and articles on industrial questions, mainly published in the *Quarterly Review*, the *Edinburgh* and *London Reviews*. He has left as his principal works: *Lectures on Political Economy* (1826) and *An Outline of Political Economy*, which first appeared in the *Encyclopédie Métropolitaine* (1850). He died at London, June 4, 1864. He was the author of the now nearly discarded Wage-Fund Theory. (See WAGES.)

SERFDOM. See FEUDALISM; MIDDLE AGES.

SHAFTESBURY, ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, SEVENTH EARL OF, was born in London in 1801, and educated at Chiswick, Eton, and Oxford, where he took a first class in classics in 1822. He entered Parliament in 1826, representing Woodstock 1826-30, Dorchester 1830-31, Dorset 1833-46, and Bath 1847-51. He supported the administrations of Liverpool and Canning, was commissioner of the India Board of Control (1828), Lord of the Admiralty under Peel (1834-35). He succeeded his father in the peerage (1851). Altho a Tory, he was independent. He commenced his public labors for reform in 1828 by his speech on the barbarous treatment of lunatics, and was mainly influential as chairman of the Lunacy Commission in securing the bill which has been called "the Magna Charta of the liberties of the insane." By 1833 he became, largely through the influence of Oastler (*q. v.*), the acknowledged Parliamentary champion of factory legislation (*q. v.*); costing him political preferment, but earning him the title of "The Working Man's Friend." He worked incessantly in the ten-hours' movement. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) He made numerous personal investigations of factories and factory life, and made all England shudder with his revelations. The Children's Employment Commissions of 1842-43 were mainly due to him. He secured the passage of the Factory Act of 1844 and the famous Ten-Hour Act of 1847. An Evangelical of the Evangelicals, he incurred opprobrium, contempt, and misrepresentation, yet was president of numerous Bible societies and head of the so-called Exeter Hall school of Low Churchmen. He was an active opponent of slavery throughout the world till his death in 1885.

SHAKERS is the name commonly given to a religious sect in the United States. The official name of this sect is the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing; but its members have accepted the designation of Shakers, originally applied to them in ridicule, on account of certain rhythmical movements of the hands and arms which form part of their worship. Shaker societies are found only in the United States, but their creed had an English origin. The founder of the sect, in whose person they believe that Christ has appeared a second time, was an Englishwoman named Ann Lee, a native of Manchester, who believed that the Christ spirit appeared to her in 1774, in Manchester, England, as a baptism of fire after she had confessed her sins to James and Jane Wardlaw, Quakers.

Ann Lee was the daughter of a blacksmith, who gave her no education and sent her, while a mere child, to work in a cotton-mill. She seems to have been a violent, hysterical girl, but to have always possessed a great deal of influence over the people around her. She married a blacksmith named Stanley, and had four children, all of whom died in infancy. She became one of the earliest believers in a prophetess, who appeared in the town of Bolton-on-the-Moors, in Lancashire, named

Jane Wardlaw, who believed she had "received a call" to go forth and testify that Christ was coming to reign upon the earth, and that his second appearance would be in the form of a woman, as prefigured in the Psalms. Ann Lee, on her conversion, began to preach the same message, but soon went beyond her teacher and gained the leadership of her co-believers. She was charged with an obstruction of the streets, and sent to the Old Bailey prison in Manchester. When she came out of prison she gave forth that one night a light had shone upon her in her cell, that the Lord Jesus stood before her, and that he became one with her in form and spirit. But being much mocked and even persecuted in England, in 1774, with eight disciples, she emigrated to America and located finally at Watervliet, near Albany, N. Y. Her husband came with her, though he did not believe in her claims, and when she began to preach celibacy he left her. Slowly converts were made. In 1780 Ann, through her denunciations of war, was arrested and imprisoned as a British spy, but it served simply to advertise her. In 1781 she made a missionary tour through New England and elsewhere, and made many converts. Returning to Watervliet in 1783, she died about a year after. Her death was a surprise to many of her followers, who believed that she was to live among them forever; but her successors, to whom on her death-bed she had made over the headship of the society, declared that she was not dead, but had only withdrawn from common sight, and was still visible to eyes exalted by the gift of grace.

By Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, the successors of "Mother Ann," the Shakers were gathered, in 1787, into settlements, ten in number, and a covenant was drawn up embracing the chief points of their creed and of the social system since associated with it. Their head was, of course, "Mother Ann"—that is, Christ—of whom Joseph and Lucy were temporarily the representatives; elders and deacons, male and female, were appointed, the institution of celibacy was confirmed, and a community of goods was introduced through, as it was said, a revelation from Ann Lee. By 1792 the present order was fully established.

There are now some 15 societies, located in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, Kentucky, Connecticut, and Maine. Each society is constituted of several families, each family being a community in itself, having its own lands, buildings, and business. In Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., their largest community, there are several families, made up of 150 adults, 35 boys and 40 girls, or a total of 225 members. This has been the home of Elder Frederick W. Evans, the best known of the Shakers. The other societies are made up in about the same ratio as the one at Mt. Lebanon. The Eastern societies have about 650 members; Watervliet and Groveland about 100 members; and the Western societies about 500 members.

The capital of all the communities is mostly in land. Originally the communities invested their surplus income in land; now they are

selling it off as fast as they can find purchasers. For many years broom-making, gardening, seed business, medicines, etc., were profitable industries. One of their number says the income of all the communities does not any more than balance the expenditures in taxes, repairs, living, comforts, and improvements; but that having good simple food and hygienic clothing, with useful buildings supplied with modern conveniences in heating, lighting, sanitation, and hygiene, they have a heaven upon earth, and are therewith content.

Professor Ely says in his *Labor Movement in America* (p. 42):

"Their numbers have declined in recent years, but they claim, all told, still some four thousand members, while their property is of great value. They like to say little about property and numbers, as they have small respect for the 'statistical fiend' so common among us, and feel that a numerical table cannot properly measure either their success or their influence. One who has been some time with them estimates their property at twelve millions of dollars at least.

"Economically, the Shakers have been a complete success, and it is said that there has never been a failure among them. They look forward to the future with hope, believing that their history has just begun."

They hold that God is dual—father and mother. Thus Shakers have a dual government—male and female leaders. Their theology is not adverse to Christianity. The God of the Jews was not Deity, but a tutelary divinity—the "God of Israel" only. Christ was "the Lord from Heaven, a quickening spirit," that appeared to Jesus after John had baptized him with water.

A Shaker writes:

"The Shaker order is the 'New Heavens,' in which all live. The American secular government is the 'New Earth.' We wish it to be more secular by radically separating Church and State, having no chaplains and no religious legislation. Expunge 'In God We Trust' from the coins. Open libraries and museums and the World's Fair. Let sovereign people go where they please every day by law. Let intellectual celibates of both sexes fill all the offices (leaving married people to care for their own household) from the Presidency and legislature down to the police. Let half the army and navy be females. Abolish tobacco, opium, alcohol, trusts, and land monopoly, poverty and diseases of all kinds. Let married people become Jews, using their procreative powers for offspring only. Stop the propagation of sick people, paupers, criminals."

Their society is recruited mostly by young men and girls, but occasionally married persons with their children come "into union." Husbands and wives, when they have come "into union," become as brothers and sisters. The education of the children attached to the society is the work of the sisters. The brothers and sisters take their meals in a common room, eating at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the afternoon. Their meals are taken in silence, any direction that has to be given being given by a gesture or in a whisper. In their church service music bears a prominent part, the hymns and chants which are used being all of Shaker origin, communicated to believers in dreams and reveries by the spirits with whom they have communion.

References: *The Manifesto*, a paper published by the Shakers at East Canterbury, N. H.; *The Concise History of Shakers* (East Canterbury, N. H., 1894).

"**SHALAM.**"—The Faithist Colony at Dona Ana, N. M. This colony is the result of the teachings of the religious book or bible Oahspe, published in 1882. The colony is managed by believers in Oahspe, or "Faithists." The basic idea of the colony is that to improve society one must commence with children and not adults, and therefore the community is a home for children. Castaway infants and foundlings are taken to be raised upon a purely vegetarian diet, free from the impure habits of civilization. They are raised as brothers and sisters, holding all things in common.

They are not to be taught creeds and dogmas, but to live religion in every-day life, and to worship the Great Spirit, Creator of the Universe, only.

They will be taught all useful trades and industries. At suitable ages they will be encouraged to marry and continue the work which has been their salvation, and take in uncared-for children. The colony believes that if the Shakers had allowed their young people to marry they would to-day be the strongest religious community in the United States. They have proven the advantages of communism, but have not been able to hold their people because of extreme ideas.

At present (1893) the colony consists of ten children and five adults, a new building of brick capable of accommodating 60 children, with their caretakers, has just been built.

Seventeen hundred acres of land in trust for the children, and ample financial support to insure the success of the enterprise, give the new movement a local habitation and a name.

No fixed and unchangeable laws will hamper progress in a Faithist community. Laws are for those who make them, and pass away with the going out of office of the law-maker.

The government is in the hands of a chief elected annually, whose decree is absolute. In the settlement of a question of policy all can express their light and knowledge on the subject; then the chief decrees, it may be with the minority; but all agree to agree and obey.

Thus it is claimed that majorities count for nothing, but the best knowledge comes to the front.

For an account of Oahspe, see *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia* for 1891, article *Oahspe*.

SHAW, ALBERT, was born in Butler County, Ohio, in 1857. Studying in the common schools, he entered Iowa College, graduating in 1879. He then took charge of a semi-weekly newspaper in Ohio, but in 1881 went to Johns Hopkins University and studied political science. From 1884 to 1891 he was political editor of the Minneapolis *Daily Tribune*, but in 1888 went to Europe for a year and a half and studied municipal government, gathering information later used in lectures on municipal government at Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and Michigan universities; in articles in the *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Forum* magazines, and later developed into book form. In 1891 he established the Amer-

ican *Review of Reviews*, of which he is still the editor. His main works in book form are *Icaria, a Chapter in the History of Communism* (1884); *Cooperation in a Western City* (1886); *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (1895); *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* (1896).

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD, was born in Dublin in 1856. In 1876 he came to London and soon gained reputation as a brilliant journalist and musical critic. He became interested in social reform through Henry George, and on the founding of the Fabian Society (*q. v.*) in 1883 was one of its foremost members, a position he still holds. His novels, *An Unsocial Socialist* and *Cashel Cyron's Profession*, and his plays, *Widows' Houses* and *Arms and the Man*, and his essay, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, besides his numerous Fabian essays, have made him well known in the journalistic and dramatic and literary world, while his musical criticisms in the *World* and other papers, are considered among the best in London. Into them all he works in most various ways his brilliant presentations of the ideas of Fabian socialism. (See **FABIAN SOCIETY**.)

SHEARMAN, THOMAS GASKELL, was born in Birmingham, England, in 1834, but in 1844 his parents moved to New York City, where Mr. Shearman was educated privately. He entered the law; being admitted to the bar in 1859, and has developed an extensive business. Always opposed to slavery, he joined the Republican party as soon as it was formed, continued in it till 1884, when he became an Independent until 1892, and then joined the Democratic party. Originally an ardent protectionist, he was converted to free trade in 1860, and since 1879 he has devoted most of his leisure time to that cause.

Being strongly opposed to every form of state socialism, Mr. Shearman belongs, in a general sense, to the individualistic school of economists. He is not a disciple of the new "historical school," for, although fully believing that sound theories can only be attained by a careful study of historical facts, he also believes that historical records are so inaccurate as to afford no true light or guidance, unless constantly studied with reference to some provisional theory, and treated with suspicion, wherever they conflict with sound reason. But when a fact is once established, he abandons without hesitation any theory which does not include that fact. Unnatural and unscientific taxation he believes to lie at the foundation of nearly all those evils which socialists seek to remedy by socialism.

With these views, it can readily be understood that Mr. Shearman's principal interest in economic questions centers upon methods of taxation. His attention has been almost exclusively directed to the abolition of all indirect taxation and of all taxes upon earnings, consumption, and personal property, and to the concentration of all taxes upon economic rent. He originated the plan for giving local option to cities and counties, in methods of

taxation, as the only practicable method of settling the controversy over the taxation of personal property. He was the first to devise a plan for an income tax upon the income of invested wealth alone, exempting all earnings from skill or labor.

Mr. Shearman has been prevented by the pressure of business from writing any complete book on economic subjects, but is the author of numerous pamphlets, a few of which are: *Short Talks on Free Trade* (1880); *Protection the Poor Man's Friend* (1882); *Does Protection Protect?* (1883); *The Pauper Labor of Europe* (1885); *Distribution of Wealth* (1887); *The Single Tax* (1887); *Who Own the United States?* (1889); *Crooked Taxation* (1890); *A Just and Collectable Income Tax* (1893).

SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT, THE.—

The movement to reduce the hours of labor for wage toil, sometimes called the eight-hour movement, owing to the fact that a large proportion of the present effort is to reduce the hours to eight, is among the most important portions of the modern labor movement. In the United States, especially, it furnishes the one direction in which all labor organizations are agreed at present to move. Out of it has grown in America a so-called eight-hour philosophy, which is held by its adherents to be a complete philosophy of the labor movement and to furnish a program not to be looked at as simply one plank in a labor program, but as a proposition complete in itself, including most socialist propositions and furnishing in its outline a solution of the whole labor question. It may be considered the philosophy of American trade-unions. In Europe, if the short-hour movement is not looked upon as complete in itself, it is considered among the most important portions of other programs. Hence the modern trade-union and socialist movement, especially in America, cannot be understood, without understanding both the history and the so-called "philosophy" of the short-hour movement. We shall consider therefore (1) the history of the movement in all the principal countries, (2) the so-called "eight-hour philosophy," (3) the arguments for reducing hours, (4) the objections to it.

I. HISTORY.

The history of the short-hour movement begins in England. Thorold Rogers says (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, pp. 327 and 542):

"It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. . . . The artisan who is demanding at this time an eight-hours' day in the building trades is simply striving to recover what his ancestor worked by four or five centuries ago."

Some writers deny this, but even according to the Statute of Apprentices (5 Eliz., c. 4), when the hours of labor were to be 12 in summer and during daylight in winter, two and a half hours were allowed for meals, while the law was notoriously not observed. In the seventeenth century there is good evidence that the hours were growing considerably longer. William

Petty (*q. v.*), whom Karl Marx with no little reason calls "the father of political economy, and to some extent the founder of statistics," says that in the last third of the seventeenth century there was a ten-hour day. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we come to more certain facts. From 1790 to 1820, the hours were practically unlimited, and often even for children 15 hours and over. Those who would know the horrors perpetrated in England during this period of the triumph of absolute *laissez-faire*, should read Karl Marx's sketch of the period, in the first volume of his *Capital*, based on absolute documentary evidence. Mills were often run day and night, children were obtained in gangs from the poor-law guardians and worked in two sets, lodged in sort of pens with one set of beds; one set of children occupying the beds while the other set worked, and *vice versa*. The children were carried from the beds to the mills and from the mills to the beds. Where this was not done hours were over 12. Terrible evils resulted, and in 1796 a board of health in Manchester was appointed to investigate the conditions in the mills, the investigation being caused by the statements of a physician, Dr. Aikin. In 1802 the elder Sir Robert Peel brought in and carried a bill to allay the worst evils. It accomplished little, but furnished a precedent. It applied only to pauper apprentices and limited the hours of only the little children to 12! The short-hour agitation, however, had already commenced. Says Sidney Webb and Harold Cox's *The Eight-Hours' Day* (p. 15):

"At the beginning of the present century the ordinary working-day of the English artisan appears to have varied from 11 to 14 hours. In the new industries, such as the textile manufactories, the employers, being free from traditions, often exacted a still longer day. The London bookbinders were working 12½ hours a day (14 less meal-times) in 1780, when a trade-union was formed to obtain a reduction of an hour a day."

This movement became successful in 1786. King George III. was the first employer to accord the boon, which he did to the "finisher" in the Royal Library. The "second hour" was gained in 1794, and another half-hour about 1810, after an unsuccessful strike in 1806. Eighty years ago, therefore, the London bookbinders had won for themselves the ten-hours' day."

In 1815 another Parliamentary inquiry took place and an act of 1819 forbade the employment of children under nine, and fixed the hours of children of 9 to 16 at 72 hours per week *exclusive* of meal-times. In 1824 a bill was passed partially giving trade-unions (see COMBINATION LAWS) the right to organize, and from this time agitation became more active. In 1825 Sir John Hobhouse carried through Parliament another bill, making legal provision for a Saturday half-holiday. Already, however, further progress was demanded. Says *The Eight-Hours' Day*:

"The eight-hours' dream has certainly been in the minds of trade-unionists in England ever since the repeal of the Combination Laws in 1824, and has recurred at every season of reviving industrial prosperity since that time.

"And even before this date a serious proposal to reduce the hours of factory labor to eight hours was apparently made by Robert Owen in 1817. At that date, when even children were kept at work in the textile mills for 15 or 16 hours a day, the proposal of an eight-hours' day must have seemed simply absurd.

Previous Centuries.

Robert Owen instituted a regular working-day in his mills at New Lanark of 10½ hours net, and he lived to see an even shorter day made universal in the textile industry."

In 1830 Richard Oastler (*q. v.*), "the Factory King," became converted to the labor movement, and commenced, and for 18 years, through persecution and imprisonment, carried on his agitation for a ten-hour day. His motto was "ten hours and a time-book." He accomplished little, however, till Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury, *q. v.*) took up his cause. In 1831 Sir John Hob-

house secured an act forbidding in the cotton trade the employment of persons under 21 by night, and all persons under 18 over 69 hours. In 1832 Tom Sadler, the factory representative, moved a ten-hour bill.

In 1833 an act mainly due to Lord Ashley limited the hours of children under 13 to 48, and enacted several advantageous subsidiary provisions. Agitation, however, went on.

The manufacturers too threw every obstacle in the way of the Factory Acts. Most of the provisions hitherto applied only to certain trades like the cotton trade; but in 1840 a commission found grievances very wide spread, particularly in mining, where men, women, and children worked half-naked, 11, 12, and often 16 hours. This produced the Mining Act, which forbade the employment underground of women and of boys under 10.

The Act of 1844, under Sir Robert Peel's government, classified adult women as "young persons," and extended the provisions of the Mining Act to the textile trades, yet left so many loopholes to the manufacturers that they scarcely opposed it, tho even Liberals like Cobden and Bright protested against most of the Factory Acts.

In 1847 was enacted the great ten-hour bill introduced by Mr. Fielden. It enacted a ten-hour day for both men and women. It was unquestionably a great advance, and yet its enactments were so often avoided that in 1850 another bill was passed to try and enforce its provisions. Agitation continued.

In 1860 there was a revival of the nine-hour movement, but industrial depression, later, made it cease. Beginning with 1871, however, there were numerous strikes for a nine-hour day, and by 1872 such demands had been granted to most skilled artisans. Legislation

too went on. Omitting minor bills the act of 1864 extended the Factory Acts to many trades, the act of 1874 reduced the hours in the textile trades from 60 to 56½ a week, the act of 1878 codified all

the factory acts. In 1878 and 1879, however, many employers undertook to revive the ten-hour day, and there were many strikes (*q. v.*). In 1881 the present socialist movement began in England, and by 1886 produced a strong agitation for an eight-hour day. Says *The Eight-Hours' Day* (pp. 21-33):

"During the year 1888 the movement received a very great impetus from the growth of the 'New Unionism.' The new sense of solidarity in the ranks of labor, which was so marked a feature of the match-makers' strike in 1888, led to the formation and rapid

extension of trade-unions among workers who were either unskilled or who had, for other reasons, hitherto been without organization. As these unions were formed usually under the prevailing socialist influence, and especially through the exertions of Messrs. John Burns and Tom Mann, most of them adopted an eight-hours' bill as a part of their program. One of the most flourishing of these new unions, the 'Gasworkers and General Laborers' Union,' demanded, in November, 1888, a reduction of their hours from 12 to eight per day. In nearly all the gas-works in the United Kingdom this reduction was conceded without a strike, and in many cases was accompanied by a slight increase in wages. Such a signal success gave an immense impetus to the general eight-hours' movement.

"The International Trade-Union Congress had appointed the 1st of May, 1890, for a simultaneous international demonstration in favor of an eight-hours' law. . . . It was decided to hold a London demonstration in Hyde Park on the first Sunday in May, and a similar decision was taken in other towns. No fewer than 16 platforms had to be provided, and at least a quarter of a million persons were present. Experienced journalists agreed that no demonstration for 20 years had equaled it in magnitude."

Of the condition of the question in England in 1891, which may be said to be the present position, *The Eight-Hours' Day* says (p. 37):

"It may be said that nearly all philanthropic opinion, and a vast preponderance of the wage-earners, are in favor of an eight-hours' day. This is resisted with almost equal unanimity by the 'business' world and capitalist opinion generally. Those who are in favor of an eight-hours' day are, by a fair majority at any rate, in favor of securing it by legislative enactment, which for the moment chiefly finds expression in support of the miners' eight-hours' bill. Socialist influence and much of the modern radicalism work strongly in the same direction. A majority of the wage-earners appear to be in favor of legislation; a large majority of the middle class, the political economists, and professional men are against it. The members of the House of Commons are gradually being won over to it, but secretly dislike it. In certain industries—such as the railway and tramway service, and coal-mining—there is an enormous preponderance of feeling in favor of legislation, and this preponderance is having great effect as regards legislation for those industries only."

AUSTRALIA.

Next to England came Australia in agitating the short-hour movement, and with such success that Australia may be called an eight-hour country. Our account of the movement in Australia, as in the other countries, is abridged from Messrs. Webb and Cox's *The Eight-Hours' Day*:

When the gold discoveries had given the first great impulse to the growth of industry in Australia, the usual working-day for artisans seems to have been 10 hours. During the early prosperity of Victoria artisans' wages rose to a fabulous height, and the trade-unions, instituted on English models, were able practically to impose their own terms. The old ideal of an eight-hour day soon came to the front.

The record of the movement in Australia begins with a public meeting held by the stone-masons in Melbourne at the beginning of April, 1856. An "eight-hour league" was formed at a meeting of the united trades, and immediate notice was given by public announcement that, after the 21st of April, 1856, no man belonging to the unions represented would work for more than eight hours a day. The strength of the artisans' position in the labor market at that time was such that no

resistance was possible, and the eight-hour day, thus won by less than three weeks' agitation, has ever since been general among the artisans of Melbourne. The 22d of April has annually been kept by them as a public holiday, and is now known as the Eight-Hour Day.

From Melbourne the eight-hour movement quickly spread to the other parts of the colony, then very sparsely inhabited, and also to New South Wales. An eight-hour day was generally established in various skilled trades in Sydney, within a few years, but it is by no means universally adopted, especially in the smaller towns. Subsequently the movement spread to Brisbane, Adelaide, and most of the towns of New Zealand, and public opinion thoroughly supports eight hours as the normal day for artisans throughout the whole of Australasia.

At the time when the Melbourne workmen obtained their eight-hour day, there was neither need or possibility of securing it by legal enactment.

A Royal Commission, however, was appointed in 1882 to investigate the subject. The evidence taken revealed that the supposed universal sentiment in favor of an eight-hour day had not sufficed to protect various large classes of workers, such as bakers, shop assistants, and attendants in restaurants, from being kept at work for excessive hours.

As a result, in 1885 an act fixed an eight-hour day for all women and boys, and provided many other labor regulations.

Both in Queensland and New Zealand bills establishing a normal eight-hour day were passed by the Lower House of the legislature, which is elected by manhood suffrage, but were rejected by the Upper House, representing the propertied class.

It may be said that public sentiment in Australia is universally in favor of an eight-hour day, but that this sentiment, backed up by very powerful trade-unions, has by itself as yet succeeded in securing the eight-hour day only for skilled artisans and a small minority of laborers. We accordingly find this public opinion resulting in Victoria in a whole succession of legal enactments, from 1874 down to the present time. By these an eight-hour day is legally enforced for women in all manufactures whatsoever; for miners underground; for engineers in charge of mining machinery; for tramway workers; for men employed by the contractors on various public works; for the servants of public bodies. And attempts at similar legislation in the other colonies are constantly being made, but have, as yet, been defeated by the capitalistic second chambers.

FRANCE.

The eight-hour movement on the Continent seems to have arisen first in Paris.

One of the first results of the revolution of 1848 was a decree limiting the hours of labor.

This decree (dated March, 1848) enacted that the hours of labor should not exceed 10 per diem in Paris, and 11 per diem elsewhere in France. It was modified by the law of the

9th of September, 1848, which established 12 hours net as the maximum working-day.

It is hardly necessary to observe that this hasty legislation was completely ineffective. No inspectors were appointed or other means taken to secure the enforcement of the law.

To the plutocratic Caesarism which followed the republic, the law itself was altogether repugnant. It was not, indeed, explicitly repealed; but it was ingeniously eaten away by a series of decrees.

With the advent of the third republic, a change came over the attitude of the government. In May, 1874, 15 inspectors were appointed to control the operation of the law of 1848 and its amendments. In the same year, and again in 1883, more stringent factory laws were enacted for women and children. On the other hand, in November, 1885, an administrative circular was issued, excluding from the operation of these laws all work-shops where only human labor force was used, and where fewer than 20 workers were employed in one building.

The law of 1848 is, however, still nominally in operation, and is so far effective that it was thought necessary, by a decree of the 3d of April, 1889, to exempt from its observance laborers employed on any works executed by order of the government in the interest of the national safety and defense. Nevertheless, so numerous are the exceptions that very few of the workers now benefit by the law.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

In Germany, the demand for a law limiting the hours of labor has formed a part of the agitation of the Social Democratic party. Meanwhile, factory legislation, both Imperial and State, has to some extent regulated the labor of women and children, and this has, as usual, tended to reduce the hours of men. The law of 1st of June, 1877, with the amendments of the 17th of June, 1887, prescribes a maximum day of 10 hours for persons under 16. But the laws are very imperfectly enforced, and mills employing young persons often run 84 hours a week. Artisans work 11 and 12 hours a day. In Leipzig the masons had, in 1889, recently carried a ten-hour day; but this was a local arrangement, which has not been generally followed.

The movement for an eight-hour day exists chiefly among the Social Democrats, whatever their trade, and among the coal-miners. In 1888 the coal-miners in Westphalia struck for an eight-hour day, and secured the intervention of the young Emperor in their favor. Accordingly, in Westphalia, Silesia, and Saxony, the miners work only an eight-hour shift wherever a high temperature prevails; elsewhere a ten-hour shift is still worked. This limitation of the hours in unhealthy mines was adopted by the Berlin Labor Conference in May, 1890. Many of the workers in the mines, and other industrial establishments of the Prussian Government, have since received the boon of an eight-hour day. Other trades are moving in the same direction.

SWITZERLAND.

This republic enjoys the distinction of having been the first country to declare in its very constitution the legislative right of the nation, in its political organization, to limit the working-day even for male adults. Nor has this power been allowed to sleep. The Federal Factory Labor Law of 1877 limits the maximum hours of labor for all adult labor in factories or workshops to 11 per day, and to 10 on Saturdays or public holidays.

During 1890 a law was passed limiting the hours of railway employees to 10.

OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

In Holland, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and Spain, a large number of the labor organizations adopt an eight-hour day as a part of their program, and such a measure is frequently pressed upon the legislatures of some of these countries by the members representing the working-classes. The international demonstration of the 1st of May, 1890, was largely participated in, not only in all these countries, but also by Poland. It may, indeed, be said generally, as regards the Continental nations, that wherever the wage-earners are organized at all, their organizations demand an eight-hour law. But labor organizations do not exist, for effective purposes, among any but a minority of the workers on the Continent.

Meanwhile, as if to stave off the demand for an eight-hour law, factory legislation of the ordinary type is being everywhere adopted or rendered more stringent. Belgium and Holland, long the fields of the most unrestrained exploitation of labor, are both enacting lengthy codes of labor regulations; in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Austria, the law is being strengthened; Russia and Denmark and Sweden have entered the same path. The gap between the restrictions on English and those on Continental manufacturers is certainly not widening, and, as regards most countries, it is indeed rapidly growing narrower. In some respects, indeed, such as the minimum age for children's work, the provisions relating to the employment of mothers at the time of childbirth, and the prevention of excessive overtime, England has already lost its honorable lead in factory legislation.

THE UNITED STATES.

The short-hour movement early developed in the United States. As early as 1806 the organized ship-builders and calkers in New York city sought to obtain a reduction of hours to 10. By 1825 strikes for a ten-hour day were numerous.

The hours of labor at that time seem to have been about 12 per day for artisans. The textile workers were less fortunate. The working-day, even for women and children, often began at 4.30 A. M., and went on for 15 hours. Most of the New England mills ran 13 hours a day all the year round. It is not generally remembered that the factory girls of Lowell, in the classic days of the "Lowell Offering" (1832-40), worked 78 hours per week. In 1831 an organization of working men was formed at Boston to secure, among other objects, a ten-

hour day. A wide-spread agitation resulted in innumerable strikes, few of which were successful. The ten-hour day became, however, general in Baltimore between 1835 and 1840, as the result of a strike among the laborers. Shortly afterward, President Martin Van Buren (April, 1840) proclaimed that the working-day in the Navy Yard at Washington and all other public establishments should be reduced to 10 hours. This led to a general adoption of the ten-hour day in ship-building establishments which has been since maintained. In 1847, however, the masters made a determined but unsuccessful attempt to revert to longer hours.

On June 16, 1845, a large mass-meeting, attended by 5000 persons, was held at Pittsburg, Pa., for the same purpose, and led to similar action elsewhere. In October, 1845, the first national industrial convention in this country was convened at New York, to organize concerted action toward the same end. Mass-meetings and strikes for the ten-hour system now became very frequent, and in many cases were successful.

In 1845 the textile workers of Massachusetts petitioned the legislature for a ten-hour bill. The first legislation on the subject that we have been able to trace is a law of 1849 of the State of Pennsylvania, providing that 10 hours shall be a day's work in cotton, woolen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories, and masons had generally won the ten-hour day. The textile operatives were less fortunate. Some of the mills at Lowell adopted the new hours in 1853, but as late as 1865 the mills at South-bridge were still running 13 hours.

In 1866 the National Labor Union was formed at Baltimore, and it was this body which gave the first great impulse to the movement.

The agitation thus set on foot received legislative recognition in Connecticut in 1867, when it was decreed that eight hours' work should be a day's lawful labor *unless otherwise agreed*.

On June 24, 1869, a bill for an eight-hour day was introduced into Congress by General Banks, whose wife was once a factory girl at Lowell. This passed the House and Senate, promptly received the signature of President Grant, and was enforced in the Navy Yard at Charlestown, Mass., July 6 of the same year, tho the employees were notified that the Government would reduce wages one-fifth; but that those who so desired could work 10 hours at the old rates. The eight-hour law is still on the statute-books, and a like law exists in several States, but is often a dead letter.

In 1869, however, the so-called Eight-Hour philosophy was first adequately formulated by two Boston men, Ira Steward and George E. McNeill. A Grand Eight-Hour League had been formed previously, but had disappeared, when these two men, with a few friends, now organized the small but influential Boston Eight-Hour League. With the aid of Wendell Phillips and others, they succeeded the same year in securing the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other

**Eight-Hour
League.**

labor bureaus. General Oliver was appointed commissioner, with Mr. McNeill as his deputy and the chief manager. The Bureau's statistics aided the eight-hour movement. Agitation for shorter hours became general. There were numerous strikes, many of them successful. Eight-hour leagues were formed in many cities, and there were many strikes; 20,000 workmen paraded New York City demanding the eight-hour day. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a ten-hour law for women and for children under the age of 18.

The industrial depression which set in after 1873 throughout the United States caused the question of any further reduction of the hours of labor to fall temporarily into abeyance. The great railway strikers of 1877, and other labor disputes during this period, related mainly to proposed reductions in wages. This is probably the reason why the Knights of Labor did not make the eight-hour day at first an express demand. Even at the General Assembly in 1878, when a full "Declaration of Principles" was adopted, the eight-hour day was not expressly mentioned. The eight-hour clause, now No. xxi., "To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours," was apparently added about 1883. However, a vigorous effort to institute an eight-hour day was made in many parts of the United States in the spring of 1886. *Bradstreet's* estimated the number of strikers for shorter hours in May, 1886, at 200,000, of whom 50,000 were granted their demands, while 150,000 secured shorter hours, generally with full pay, without a strike. But on June 12, 1886, the same paper estimated that one-third of these had lost what had been conceded to them, and predicted that a still larger number would lose the advantage gained. The great meetings held at Chicago in May, 1886, in support of the movement, were taken advantage of by the anarchists to spread their ideas, and this led to the so-called Haymarket riot.

During the years 1888 to 1890, numerous attempts were made to secure an eight-hour day in particular trades and particular localities, and at the convention of the Federation of Labor at St. Louis in 1888, it was decided to hold mass-meetings in every city on the eight-hour question on four days in the year, including July 4, 1889; Labor Day, September 2, 1889; and Washington's birthday, February 22, 1890.

It was also decided to strike, trade by trade, for the eight-hour day on each 1st of May, one trade at a time, all the other trades being pledged to support it all over the country. The carpenters were chosen to strike in 1890. To a large extent they did so, and in many cities won the eight-hour day, tho in some where they won, the hours were subsequently lengthened. In 1891 the miners were to strike, and some did, but dissensions prevented a general movement. Since then the movement has taken a more desultory form. America still compares unfavorably with England. American textile operatives and coal-miners, in particular, work considerably longer than do Englishmen engaged in the same trades. In New England, New York State, and Pennsylvania, the working-day is still 10 hours, tho

some few labor for more than that time. In only a few States are the hours of male adults limited by law, and then only in special industries. On the other hand, various legislatures have attempted to lead public opinion by declaring eight hours to be the normal working-day. In spite of this encouragement, very few trades have succeeded in actually securing an eight-hour day. In Massachusetts the 58-hour week has been gained for women and children, and so practically for men. In one State, Wisconsin, eight hours is a compulsory measure for women in manufacturing establishments. In New York the stone-masons, cigar-makers, painters, and some of the glass-workers, maintain more or less precariously an eight-hour day. The same is true of about 3 per cent. of the manufacturing establishments in Massachusetts.

Such is the history of the short-hour movement. To-day almost all economists and reformers favor a shorter day, the only question being how rapidly it can be introduced, and in what ways. A few economic individualists and some of the older trade-unions, objecting to industrial legislation, favor effort to obtain a reduction of hours by trade-union effort alone, by agreements with employers, etc. A few extreme socialists consider such efforts hopeless and would have nothing but legislation; most supporters of the movement believe that the two lines of effort should go together. The Fabian Society of London has outlined a policy of short-hour legislation with trade option, of which the following is the essence:

"Where it is proved to the satisfaction of a Secretary of State that a majority of the persons employed throughout the United Kingdom, in any one trade or occupation, are in favor of the maximum hours of labor per week in that trade or occupation being fixed by law, or, if already so fixed, being altered by law, he may, by order made under this part of the act, declare a maximum number of hours per day or per week for such trade or occupation, and after the expiration of *three months* from the date of publication of such order, any person employed in contravention thereof shall be deemed to be employed in contravention of this act, and the person so employing him, or permitting him to be so employed, shall be liable, on conviction thereof, to a fine not exceeding £10 for each such contravention."

Almost all reformers, however, agree that in some way to reduce the hours of labor is among the most important of measures, and the old rhyme of the movement is now a generally accepted motto:

"Eight hours to work, eight hours to play,
Eight hours to sleep, eight 'bob' a day."

II. THE EIGHT-HOUR PHILOSOPHY.

In England, Australia, and Europe, the short-hour movement is not commonly based upon any one particular economic view, but is favored by socialists, individualists, and trade-unionists, simply on its merits. In the United States, however, it is commonly based, at least by its trade-union advocates, on a particular economic view that is commonly called the Eight-Hour Philosophy, and which they oppose to the socialist and other views of the labor movement. This philosophy was mainly developed by two men—leaders in the Boston Eight-Hour League, about 1869—Ira Steward

and George E. McNeill. This philosophy traces almost all economic ills to poverty, and believes that to gradually reduce the hours of labor, and so to free men to obtain higher life and to develop ability to create for themselves a cooperative civilization, is the one way at present to naturally and *permanently* relieve poverty.

We abridge the argument from Mr. Gunton's *Wealth and Progress*, because he has most fully developed this portion of the eight-hour philosophy. Mr. Gunton differs on many points from the other eight-hour men, but in the following quotations represents their thought. He says:

"The chief determining influence in the general rate of wages in any country, class, or industry, is the standard of living of the most expensive families furnishing a necessary part of the supply of labor in that country, class, or industry. . . ."

"The laborer cannot and will not work for less than that which will furnish him a living. He will, as experience shows, often work for less than what will supply him with exceptional comforts and luxuries, but he will not continuously work for less than will furnish him with that which, by constant repetition and force of habit, have become necessities. Before he will forego these he will refuse to work, and inaugurate strikes, riots, and other means of endangering the peace and prosperity of the community. . . ."

"This explains why we always find that those whose families are largest, or those who have more cultivated tastes and wants, and, therefore, whose cost of living is higher than the great mass of their class, are constantly chafing under the pressure of their unsatisfied demands."

Mr. Gunton then goes on elaborately to argue that this law holds good for all countries and all times. He says:

"If we can accept the universal testimony of travelers and historians, the cost of living among the laboring classes in the leading countries in Asia, Africa, and South America has always been exceedingly low, and their wages, so far as wages have been paid at all, have ever been correspondingly small. . . ."

"If we leave Asia and go to Europe—if we turn our attention from the industrial systems of India and China to that of England—tho the seeming is different, the fact is the same. While in other respects the conditions of society in England are entirely different from those of India and China, we find the same principle obtains in relation to wages. Altho at the time the laboring classes in England began to emerge from the system of slavery (or serfdom) to that of wages, the political, social, and religious institutions under which they lived were entirely different from those existing in Asiatic countries, there was still one feature common to them all, viz., *their material condition*.

"In England, as in India and China, the laborer's mode of life was simple, his wants were few, and his living was cheap. . . . And if we trace the progress of the English laborer from the thirteenth century to the present time we shall find that every movement in his wages, from that day to this, has been in accordance with the same law. . . ."

"The same is true of this and all other countries where wage conditions prevail. The fact that wages in the various trades in New York City are from 25 to 75 cents a day more than in the small cities and towns, in that and other States, is explainable only on the same principle.

"The testimony of Sir Thomas Brassey upon this point is ample and conclusive. He says: 'The minimum is determined by the cost of living, according to the standard adopted by the people. . . . of Wages. As we recede from the more civilized countries of Europe the standard of comfort is reduced, and the laborer is content to receive lower wages.'"

Mr. Gunton shows too that the law explains the differences of wages in different trades.

"But this, it may be said, is inadequate to explain the extraordinary difference between the rate of wages

in the building trades and that paid to the factory operatives. The employment of the latter is more constant than that of those in any branch of the building trade. It is also true that in the same locality the general standard of living of the operative is lower than that of the former. But it is no less obvious that both of these causes are insufficient to explain the striking difference in their wages."

The explanation here is that the wives and children of factory operatives help bring the men's wages up to the standard of living, while the wives and children of carpenters usually do not, so that their wages alone have to equal the standard of living.

It is for this reason that the wages of the father, as shown above, are reduced in proportion as the wife and children contribute to the support of the family.

The law too shows why men's wages are higher than women's. "As the man is much more generally the head and chief earner of the family, a much larger number are dependent upon the wages of the average man than upon those of the average woman. Again, altho the wants of the average woman in the same social environment, for amusements, travel, etc., are equal to those of the average man, they are generally furnished by the man, as father, friend, or lover, and therefore really constitute an item in the normal expenses of the man, instead of those of the woman."

The same is true, Mr. Gunton shows, in piece-work or day-work. Whether men work by the piece or by the day, they never earn much more or much less than enables their families to maintain the standard of comfort.

(See PIECE-WORK.)

It being thus determined that wages cannot be much higher or lower than the standard of living, the eight-hour philosophy next asks, What determines the standard of living? This it answers, in Mr. Gunton's words, as follows:

"The standard of living in any community will be high or low according as the social life of the masses is simple or complex, or, in other words, as the number of the daily wants of the people is large or small. It is lower in Asia than in Europe, lower in Europe than America, lower at Five Points than on Fifth Avenue, for the reason that the *wants* of the people in the former places are fewer and simpler than those in the latter. . . ."

Wants.

"But if the standard of living is governed by the wants, the question that next arises is, What determines the wants?"

"Man is a twofold being. He has a physical and a social nature, and, consequently, he has social as well as physical wants. The latter arise from his animal existence, and the former from his social relations. Therefore, his physical wants, like those of the lower animals, are few, and mostly hereditary, while his social wants are acquired and have no conceivable limit. . . . If we examine the history of man, we shall find that his wants are few or many, and high or low, according to the quality of the habits and customs of the society in which he moves. . . ."

"Therefore, how to increase the wants, develop the character, and consequently advance the wages of the laboring classes, ultimately resolves itself into the question, *How can the social opportunities of the masses be enlarged?*

"Now, so long as nearly all the laborer's time not occupied in eating and sleeping is devoted to the former, as at present, no commensurate development of the latter is possible. Therefore, the first condition for increasing the opportunity of the masses to develop their social character, and thereby increase their natural capacity to consume wealth, commensurate with their power to produce it, is *more leisure*. By leisure, however, we do not mean merely unoccupied time. Enforced idleness is unoccupied time, but it is not leisure. The masses, the world over, have a great deal of unoccupied time, but it is mainly in the form of idleness, and not that of leisure. Tho idleness and leisure are both unoccupied time, the economic and social influence of the one is directly opposite to that of the other. Idleness tends to impoverish, dwarf, and degrade, while leisure tends to enrich, develop, and elevate character. It is very important, therefore, to distinguish clearly between leisure and idleness. Nor is this difficult to do if we observe their essential characteristics. . . ."

"The immediate and most important question, the answer to which is necessary to enable us to take the first correct step toward preventing enforced idleness,

is how to wisely and permanently increase the *leisure time* of the laboring classes. To this question we are now in a position, on the basis of sound economic principles, to give a definite and emphatic answer, which is—*reduce the hours of labor.*

"In proposing a reduction of the hours of labor as the indispensable *first step* toward promoting industrial and social reform, we do not say that it is the only means that will, under any and all conditions, tend to promote that end.

"But while there are other more or less effectual means of promoting the same end, such as education, free lectures, public libraries, parks, museums, and art galleries, these are and must necessarily remain practically ineffectual, so far as lifting the community from its present industrial and social mire is concerned, unless the *leisure time* of the masses is increased."

It is thus that the eight-hour philosophy reaches its conclusion to concentrate all present economic effort on reducing the hours of labor. But this is by no means the whole of the philosophy. It goes on to show how a reduction in hours will also employ the unemployed, and by setting them to work, and giving them money to spend, increase their consumptive powers, and so still more raise the standard of living. Says Mr. Gunton on this point in a tract, *The Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Movement* :

"The adoption of an eight-hour system would tend to increase wages in two ways; first, by reducing enforced idleness; second, by creating new wants and raising the standard of living. The immediate effect of the general adoption of an eight-hour work day would be to reduce the working-time of over 8,000,000 adult laborers about two hours a day. This would withdraw about 16,000,000 hours' labor a day from the market without discharging a single laborer. The industrial vacuum thus created would be equal to increasing the demand for labor nearly 20 per cent. In other words, without increasing either our home or foreign market, but simply to supply the present normal consumption, it would create employment for 2,000,000 laborers, which is nearly equal to 70 per cent. of the total number of able-bodied paupers and unemployed laborers in America, England, France, and Germany. In thus eliminating enforced idleness it would remove the first great obstacle to industrial reform and social progress.

"Again, the employment of 2,000,000 of new laborers would necessarily tend to increase the number of consumers, and thereby enlarge the market for commodities to that extent.

Effects of Short Hours. That such a result would tend to increase wages is very clear. Although wages would not necessarily rise in the same proportion that enforced idleness is reduced, all the influences would be in that direction. It is a law in all nature that the power of primary forces increases directly as the opposing forces are reduced. Since enforced idleness is the most powerful obstruction to a rise of wages, by removing the unemployed the direct influence of the social forces which tend to promote the rise of real wages would be increased.

"Manifestly, therefore, the immediate effect of the adoption of this measure would be to remove the greatest obstacle to industrial peace and progress, and prepare the way for increasing the natural influences which tend to enlarge the general consumption of wealth and raise wages.

"The second effect, which would be more gradual, permanent, and far-reaching in its nature than the first, would be the result of the increased leisure and social opportunity upon the social character and consumption of the masses. With the removal of enforced idleness, and its degrading influences, over 8,000,000 laborers would leave their work each day less exhausted, mentally and physically, and have two hours' more leisure. This would mean so much positive opportunity for family life and for general social intercourse, and in a much fresher and more cheerful mood. With increased leisure and less exhaustion, the laborer will be continually forced or attracted into new and more complex social relations, which is the first step toward education and culture in the broadest and deepest sense of the term. In

short, it means his gradual introduction into a new social environment, the unconscious influence of which would necessarily awaken and develop new tastes and desires for more social comforts. He would naturally begin to desire more wholesome and better appointed homes, more literature, entertainment, and a greater amount of general social intercourse, not to speak of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement that would necessarily result from such conditions. The purely economic effect of this would be little short of revolution. In proportion to the frequency and extent with which the new desires were gratified, the development of which no power on earth could prevent, would they crystallize into urgent wants and necessities. The satisfaction of these would soon become an essential part of the standard of living demanded by the social character and habits of the people, and therefore would make a general rise of real wages inevitable. In fact, these are the only kind of influences which ever did, or ever can, permanently increase the general rate of real wages. This increased consumption and rise of wages means enlargement of the home market, and thereby making a greater concentration of capital and the use of wealth-cheapening machinery possible.

Such in brief are the main points of the eight-hour philosophy as far as its *economics* are concerned. As far as its practical program is concerned a few other points must still be noted :

1. The Eight-Hour Philosophy claims that this method of raising wages, by shortening the hours of toil, is not only based on the laws of economics, but suited to the character of all abiding progress, in that it can be introduced without either overturning the present system or jeopardizing the reasonable interests of employers, until all working-people be lifted up to a level where cooperative methods can be introduced and the wage system be gradually replaced by one where workmen shall be their own employers.

2. The Eight-Hour Philosophy claims that it is suited to the political and ethical sense of working men, in that it teaches them to look for advance of wages, not to legislative enactment or any other form of paternalism, but by their own efforts in gaining the shorter day, and so lifting themselves up to a fuller manhood.

While it takes this position it recognizes the proper place of government, by asking, as the first step in securing the short-hour day, that government establish an eight-hour day, not indeed in all factories, but in all government works; thus showing what can be done, what an eight-hour day means; making it thus an object lesson both to employers and employees, and so leading the community, not by law, but by example.

3. The Eight-Hour Philosophy recognizes that while industrial progress must come from the working-classes lifting themselves up through combination to higher standards of living, the power to combine and agitate for shorter hours implies already a degree of development. Hence, by working along the lines of least resistance, and by following the deep principle that to those who have is given, it holds that the eight-hour movement will develop first among the higher paid artisans, and then, through their gaining higher standards of living, will reach down and lift up those at present unable to organize for themselves. Thus the Eight-Hour Philosophy has always sought and found its chief home

among the more intelligent and the better organized trade-unions. Perhaps the whole of the philosophy may be best summed up in the resolutions passed by the Boston Eight-Hour League at its convention of 1872, drafted by Mr. Steward himself:

"Resolved, That poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals;

"That cooperation in labor is the final result to be obtained;

"That a reduction in the hours of labor is the first step in labor reform; and that the emancipation of labor from the slavery and ignorance of poverty solves all of the problems that now most disturb and perplex mankind.

"Resolved, That we demand legislation on the hours of labor, as follows:

"1. An amendment to the Patent Laws of the United States, by which an exclusive right to make or sell shall be forfeited when persons are employed in manufacturing an article patented more than eight hours a day.

"2. An amendment to the Acts of Incorporation of cities and towns, requiring them to adopt the eight-hour rule in the employment of all mechanics and day laborers, and the same hours to apply to the same class of work for the State, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations contracting with the State.

"3. Manufacturing corporations to adopt the eight-hour system or surrender their charters.

"4. All persons under 21 years of age to be employed not more than eight hours a day.

"5. Eight hours to be made a legal day's work in the absence of a written agreement.

"Resolved, That this legislation, though affecting directly but a small per cent. of the people, will establish the facts most important for the working-classes to learn:

"That eight hours do not mean less wages;

"That men are never paid, as a rule, according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living;

"That in the long run—within certain limits—less hours means *more* pay, whether they work by the day or work by the piece;

"That reducing the hours increases the purchasing power of wages as well as the amount of wealth produced;

"That dear men mean cheap productions, and cheap men mean dear productions;

"That six cents a day in China is dearest, and three dollars a day in America is cheapest;

"That the moral causes that have made three dollars a day cheaper than six cents a day will make higher wages still cheaper;

"That less hours mean reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor or its results;

"More knowledge and more capital for the laborer; the wage system gradually disappearing through *higher wages*;

"Less *poor* people to borrow money, and less wealthy ones to lend it, and a natural decline in the rates of interest on money;

"More idlers working, and more workers thinking; the motives to fraud reduced, and fewer calls for special legislation;

"Woman's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and the creation of motives strong enough to demand and secure the ballot;

"Reaching the great causes of intemperance—extreme wealth and extreme poverty;

"And the salvation of republican institutions."

III. ARGUMENTS FOR REDUCING HOURS OF LABOR.

The adherents of the short-hour movement believe that all considerations—physical, economic, mental, and moral—conduce to make a reduction of the hours of the wage-toil today desirable and necessary. The best arguments, however, for reducing the hours of labor are the results of the reduction of hours that have been made. Undoubtedly the best account of these results is Mr. Rae's *Eight*

Hours for Work, published in 1894. The author commenced his studies of the subject merely to get information. His conclusion he thus states in his introduction:

"All experience indorses the wisdom of reducing the hours of labor. . . . The available evidence is unexpectedly copious, and its teaching is unexpectedly plain and uniform. In the course of the investigation I have found it impossible, personally, not to grow a stronger and stronger believer in the eight-hour day. Shorter work hours have left every nation that has chosen them at once healthier, wealthier, and wiser; and the shortening to eight seems, if I may say so, to be blessed above its predecessors. According to positive experiences of it, the eight-hour day has been almost invariably fair."

Mr. Rae's book of 328 pages is full of evidences to the good result of shortened hours.

The first point usually made by the advocates of the short-hour movement is that it is to-day an economic necessity. Invention and discovery have so increased man's ability to produce that in a few hours the modern factory can turn out more goods than men could formerly produce unaided by machinery in days or even weeks. This process of invention and discovery still con-

An Economic

Necessity.

competition to produce cheaply, labor-saving machine after machine and improvement upon improvement are constantly being introduced. The result is that if the working classes are paid no higher than formerly, their purchasing power is not increased at all in proportion to their producing power, and goods are piled up in the factories for which there is no market, the phenomenon of a so-called overproduction. It is true that this leads to lowering prices, so that the producer, tho paid nominally no higher wages than formerly, can purchase more goods, but it also makes it possible for the worker to retain the same standard of living and yet work for cheaper wages. Under competition this happens. (It is true that many statisticians deny that this has happened; but the workers and other statisticians show that it has occurred *where competition has been left to itself.*)

The only places where wages have not fallen have been in trades where labor combinations or some extraneous and exceptional circumstances have kept wages up. (For proof of this, see *WAGES*.) The workman finds himself, then, with lower wages to balance lower prices, unable, therefore, to buy more than formerly, and yet producing an ever-increasing supply of goods. Even the employers do not profit by this condition of affairs, because, tho they have much more to sell, they have to sell at lower prices to a falling market. They cannot go on increasing their goods for which they found no sale, yet they are compelled, at no little expense, to keep up with the latest mechanical inventions, because if they do not, they cannot produce as cheaply as those who do adopt the new inventions. Consequently their only resource is to produce as cheaply as possible when they do produce, and then to close their factories for a portion of the year or to work half time or one third time. This produces the phenomenon of the unemployed, and particularly the phenomenon of those unemployed half their time and

working at feverish rate the other half. This phenomenon appears to day in every manufacturing center. It is sometimes attributed by different thinkers to free trade or to protection, to free silver or to gold. That it is not due to these factors, but to the analysis we have just made, is evident, say the advocates of short hours, from the fact that the phenomenon appears alike in free trade England and protected America, in countries most fully on the gold basis, like England and Germany, and countries nearer to a bimetallic basis, like the United States and France.

Nor does the evil end here. The existence of the unemployed, and even the existence of the unemployed for a portion of the time, makes it harder and harder for trade-unions to keep up their labor combinations and their union rates.

The Unemployed. Under one pretext and another the union scale of wages falls. Employers are often literally unable to pay the old union rates, with goods piling on their shelves for which there is no market. Therefore wages begin to fall even in the organized trades. This reduces the market still more. Only the stronger firms are able to stand the crisis. Consolidation sets in; the small factories are permanently shut down; and more men and women are thrown unemployed on the market.

That this, to a very large extent at least, is true of the market to-day no informed person can deny. The only relief, say the short-hour men, is to lessen the hours of labor.

This, they say, will be to lessen production equitably through the year and not in fitful seasons. It will be as good for the employers, because they will still produce all the goods they can sell, and yet prevent a too great fall in prices. They can, therefore, afford to shorten hours without lowering wages. It will aid the men, because, in the first place, it will stop turning out more of the unemployed; and, secondly, because, according to the eight-hour philosophy above, it will raise the standard of living, give men leisure in place of idleness, increase wants, make men more capable of supporting labor unions; thus limit disastrous labor competition; so enable men to demand higher wages; with the higher wages enable them to buy more goods, and so give the manufacturer the improved market which he needs, and which will enable him to produce the higher wages. Thus steadily, quietly and naturally, say the short-hour men, will the interests and character of the community be advanced. The second argument for shorter hours is that humanity demands them.

A Humane Necessity. Labor to-day is very differently situated and employed from what it was formerly. It is becoming more and more an attachment to machinery (*q. v.*). Machinery is driven constantly faster and faster. The wear and tear on human life steadily increases. Men, therefore, need shorter hours to allow for this. "Faster locomotives can be invented," said an engineer, "but can they get men to run them?" "Not unless the hours of each worker are shortened," was the answer. The stress placed upon motor-

men in driving swift cars through narrow streets for long hours by many street-car corporations, eager only for dividends, is little less than criminal. Its cure is shorter hours and more men employed. The effect of the factory on the nerves of girls each year compelled to tend more looms or watch faster-flying shuttles demands shortened hours for increased work.

Again, humanity demands shorter hours because, where labor is made more and more dependent on machinery, unless the hours of such toil are limited the worker will become more and more of a hand and less and less of a head. Workers by brain, often unacquainted with machine toil, sometimes say, "I work at my profession 12 hours a day; why should the machine-tender complain of 12 hours?" Because there is a vast difference between brain and hand labor. Into brain labor the worker can throw his mind, his imagination, his soul, as well as to an extent his body. The hand-worker often does work almost absolutely mechanical, or into which he can throw his mind only in the narrowest grooves. Often he exerts but a single set of muscles. Inevitably the latter becomes exhausted first, because one set of muscles or mental powers used on one line cannot stand the continuous application which the brain-worker extends over many parts. The mental effects are still more disastrous. Labor without thought, or thought on a very narrow line, brutalizes. Unless laborers are to become brutes, the hand must have an opportunity to develop the head, and intenser hand-work increases the need for more time for head-work. An even greater reason, however, why humanity demands shorter hours is that they mean better homes, and better homes mean better men and women. If shorter hours, in the first place, as we have seen above, tend to check unemployment, and thus indirectly to raise wages, this means improved homes. Secondly, when the artisan can come to his home, say at five o'clock, can rest and wash and sit down to his evening dinner, or work a little in his garden before dark, there are possibilities of home life and home development utterly unknown to those workmen who go from bed to factory and from factory to bed. When such do have leisure, ignorant of home life, they are apt to spend it in the saloon. Seeing little of their families—there are workmen who never see their wives and children by daylight for months together—they do not realize the needs of the wife and children, nor feel the restraining ties of wifely and filial love. They live like the brutes, and their families become brutal. Those who work excessive hours become the lowest class of laborers. Short hours mean at least the possibility of human life. This is probably the strongest argument for shorter hours.

Thirdly, political reasons demand shorter hours. Under democracy an ever-increasing responsibility falls upon the working-classes. If they are ignorant, brutalized, besotted, popular government can only lead to evil. Democracy absolutely demands a high grade of development among the laboring classes. This is not possible when the worker is merely a toiling and sleeping ma-

Political Reasons.

chine. The safety of democratic countries absolutely demands shortened hours of wage toil.

Such are some of the principal arguments for the short-hour movement. How fully most of them are supported by facts can be seen only by those who, like Mr. Rae, have given the subject the fullest study.

Said Sir Robert Peel, in a speech as long ago as 1816, speaking of the first British factory act :

"The hours of work allowed by that bill being fewer in number than those formerly practised, a visible improvement in the health and general appearance of the children soon became evident, and since the complete operation of the act contagious disorders have rarely occurred."

Says a tract published by the American Federation of Labor, summing up the experience of England's agricultural and factory labor :

"When the agricultural laborers in certain countries of England, under the inspiration of Arch and his colleagues, secured additional hours of rest, but a short period was needed to see a marked improvement in their social condition. Flowers began to blossom around their cottage walls, dilapidated fences and broken gates were mended, the shrubbery more neatly tended and the garden more carefully cultivated. Inside of these humble dwellings, where the laborer had formerly entered at the conclusion of a long day's work only to throw his wearied body down to senseless slumber, articles of comfort began to come in ; a carpet replaced the scraped sand it may be on the floor, curtains to the windows and pictures upon the wall added a home feeling which did much to awaken the dormant manliness of its occupants. With increased comforts came increased wants ; increased wants and a higher vigor brought increased cultivation, and, hence, a higher standard of wages than on the continent, where the hours of labor remained from 12 to 16 per day.

"Even those who at first bitterly denounced all efforts to lessen factory toil as revolutionary and destructive of 'the natural degree, of society,' under the lessons of experience were becoming convinced that less hours

Results. meant not only higher wages, but improved sanitary, social and moral relations. Official reports show that within a single decade it was rare to find an operative under 20 years of age unable to read and write. Diseases incidental to factory labor disappeared, and there was an almost entire absence of deformity specific to that work ; wages increased from 12 to 40 per cent., and with the rise of consumption of products the production of textile fabrics largely increased. From 1844 to 1858 the commerce of Great Britain doubled and increased more than twice as fast as the population, while before this it hardly kept pace with it. From 1840 to 1870 the proportion of the adult population who could read and write increased 35 per cent. faster than the population, while the number of children attending public schools increased several hundred per cent. With increased knowledge has followed lectures on science and art in large manufacturing centers, and public gardens and museums have offered new inducements to the once despised worker. In the words of an English writer, 'refinement and civilization only take their date from the possession of the privileges which restricted labor conferred upon the people.' Such prominent opponents in Parliament as J. A. Roebuck, Sir James Graham, Sir Thomas Bazley, the late and most vindictive John Bright, and others, all lived to recant their dismal forebodings."

The strongest testimony, however, to the benefits of the short hour movement comes from those countries and those firms which have tried the eight-hour day. Mr. Rae, in his book (see above), has collected pages of this testimony :

One firm, Messrs. Watts & Manton, say, "The habits of the people are changing ; there is a greater desire for home life, and greater longing after the means by which it is to be rendered more agreeable." Mr. Johnston, flax-spinner and ex-Mayor of Belfast, says that under the long hours the boys used to lounge about the

street corners and frequent the public houses, but since the hours were shortened they attended reading-rooms in large numbers, and when tired of reading would amuse themselves with games. Mr. C. Wilson, manufacturer, Hawick, told the labor commissioner that his men had been using their leisure wisely, and had improved during the years they have now enjoyed it.

Mond & Co. state explicitly of a small reduction made in their works : "To the men it has been the greatest boon. It has had the most material effect in improving their health and decreasing the amount of drunkenness, which before the adoption of the system was very great indeed. The interference of the police is not called for now as it used to be." Messrs. Johnson of Stratford, after four years' experience of the eight-hour system, say that they have now a more intelligent set of men, and that the men and lads have come, in consequence of their greater leisure, to improve themselves by attending technical classes in the evening.

This is the universal testimony where the system has been tried for any length of time. Sometimes the *first* effect of a considerable reduction of hours is to somewhat increase drunkenness and debauchery. Men brought up under a long-hour day and accustomed to the standard of life that goes with it, sometimes use their first greater freedom for greater evil ; but soon the shorter hours produce a higher grade of life and a higher *morale*. The worst drinking and the worst morality always go with exhausting toil and no opportunity for the development of nobler life. In Switzerland it was claimed, when the hours of labor were shortened, that the hours gained from the mill would be given to the tavern ; but M. Blocher, a Swiss collar manufacturer, expressly says that this was not the case, and that it was when his men worked day and night that he saw most dissipation.

In Australia, the country which has gone farthest in reducing hours, the saloon interest is reported by Mr. Rae to have always opposed the reduction of hours. Writers like Mr. Bryce, and almost all who visit Australia, notice the neat cottages of the working classes in the suburbs almost invariably tilled by their owners, a fact which could not be if short hours meant much tipping. Mr. Rae says that the general opinion in Victoria is that the habits of the men have improved and not deteriorated through the short hours. In the United States, the testimony is conclusively the same. Firms which work their laborers short hours and treat them like human beings find that their men do more work and live far better lives than workmen reduced by long hours of toil to a condition little better than the brutes.

Massachusetts has been for some years a 10-hour State, and its labor commissioner instituted a special investigation in 1881, for the purpose of comparing results in the 10-hour mills of Massachusetts and the 11-hour mills of the neighboring States of New England. The conclusion he arrived at was this : "It is apparent that Massachusetts, with 10 hours, produces as much per man, or per loom, or per spindle, equal grades being considered, as other States with 11 and more hours, and also that wages here were as high, if not higher, than in States where the mills ran longer time."

IV. OBJECTIONS TO SHORT HOURS.

Some objections popularly raised to the short-hour movement have already been answered :

such as the claim that short hours increase drinking, etc. This has been shown by the evidence to be emphatically not the case.

An apparently better sustained objection is that manufacturers who can scarcely make a living now cannot afford to shorten their hours without also lowering their wages, and that this would both hurt the laborer and hurt the market by decreasing his purchasing power. The conclusive answer to this is that a reasonable and gradual reduction of hours has been proven over and over again not to have decreased production, while the eight-hour men claim that if it should lessen production it would raise the standard of living, make the employers employ more men, thus improve the market, and so enable the employers to pay higher wages. This latter point we shall discuss in a moment; concerning the first point, that shorter hours do not lessen production, the testimony is overwhelming.

Messrs. Webb and Cox's *The Eight-Hours' Day* says on this point:

"Seventy-five years ago men commonly worked 90 and 100 hours per week. By successive stages these hours have been brought down to 56%. At every stage it has been conclusively 'proved' by the manufacturers that the proposed new restriction of hours would deprive them of all margin of profit, would raise the price of the commodity, lower the wages of the workers, and destroy the export trade. Celebrated economists were found to demonstrate that the whole economic advantage of the running of the mill at all lay exclusively in the 'last hour,' and that its prohibition would involve, accordingly, the cessation of the industry. Yet the result has over and over again shown that manufacturers and theorists alike were wrong; the hours of work have been successively reduced, without diminution of production, fall of wages, rise of prices, or slackening of trade.

"During the debates on the ten-hours' bill it was usually taken for granted that wages would be diminished by it at least 16 per cent. Sir James Graham and Mr. Cardwell both assured the House of Commons that the fall would be 25 per cent. Mr. John Bright lent the weight of his practical experience to a similar assumption. And wages did occasionally fall off for a time. . . . But in 1859 Mr. Robert Baker, who had had a long experience as factory inspector, reported to the Social Science Association that 'altho the hours of work have been very much diminished, wages have increased in some cases 40 per cent., and generally about 12 per cent.,' and that this reduction of hours and increase of wages had 'not diminished any kind of textile production, and therefore it had not injured our national prosperity.' Nor has the gain been made at the expense of other industries. Political economists are emphatic in their conclusion that 'the effect of the Factory Acts has been undoubtedly to raise the real wages of the working classes as a whole.'

"Similar results have followed reductions of the hours of labor in other countries, and equally to the surprise of the political economists. The State of Massachusetts passed a ten-hour law in 1874, altho its textile industries were exposed to the competition not only of Lancashire, but also the immediately adjacent States, in which the hours were at that time entirely unrestricted. The manufacturers and the economists predicted ruin and starvation. Even after the event they persisted in the same prophecy, then simply converted into an assertion of the kinest fact. Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston, the well-known advocate of unrestricted 'free trade,' even in labor, actually gave evidence before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature in 1880, as to the ten-hour law of 1874, that 'its operation was injurious to working men, as they had to work for one-eleventh less than similar laborers in other States.' The result was that the legislature directed the Bureau of Statistics of Labor to inquire whether this was the case. Mr. Carroll D. Wright gives in the 1881 report the elaborate statistical outcome of this inquiry, and thus summarizes the result: 'It is apparent that Massachusetts with 10 hours pro-

duces as much per man, or per loom, or per spindle, equal grades being considered, as other States with 11 and more hours; and also that wages here rule as high, if not higher, than in the States where the mills run longer time.' Wages in Massachusetts (tho the operatives work by the piece) not only did not fall, but steadily rose from an average of \$109.40 per annum in 1850, with about 70 hours' work per week, to one of \$238.19 in 1880, with 60 hours' work per week. Nor was the industry destroyed, or even diminished, relatively to the other States where no limitation of hours existed. In 1831 Massachusetts had invested in the cotton industry \$12,821,000, being slightly under one-half of the total for New England. In 1880 it had risen to \$72,291,601, and still bore almost exactly the same proportion to the whole. The result of this triumphant vindication of the economic advantages of a legal limitation of the hours of labor was that Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont, which had hitherto opposed the movement, now adopted the ten-hour law.'

A more plausible objection to reducing hours of labor is that it would put the country or State making the reduction at a disadvantage compared with those working long hours. This assertion, however, is again disproved by the facts. If shorter hours do not decrease production (as we have seen) and do increase the capability of the workers (as we have also seen) there can be no question that short-hour labor is in the long run by far the cheapest labor.

It has been proven over and over again (see Productivity) that the high paid American workman is the cheapest workman in the world and the English workman next. America is not afraid of the long-hours countries of Asia, but of the short-hour competition of England. Improved machinery is no sooner made in one country than it is imported or imitated in another; and as the material elements of the competition are growing equal, the supremacy must obviously go to the nation that can turn these elements to most account—the nation with the most vigorous, the most intelligent, the most productive working-class. . . . Is it any wonder to read in Dr. Gavernitz's book, *Der Gross-betrieb*, how the German manufacturers giving evidence at the commission of inquiry, one after another said they were confounded to find that the country where labor was really cheapest was the country where the wages were highest and the hours shortest; or to read in the letter of a German ironmaster to Sir I. L. Bell, explaining why he employed twice as many men for the same work as would be done in an English blast-furnace—'We have often the same technical appliances as you in England, for anything an engineer sees he can imitate and construct, but what we cannot imitate is to work with our cheaply fed men with the same vigor that your English workmen labor.'

In the United States it has been claimed repeatedly that one State could not afford to reduce the hours of labor unless all did, but the experience of Massachusetts (see above) and other States has always disproved this. In almost every case manufacturers have declared that their business would be ruined if their hours were shortened, yet when the hours have been shortened, wages have risen, production has not been permanently decreased, nor profits curtailed.

The last objection to the short-hour movement is by far the most important. It is not, however, an objection to the short-hour movement in itself, but to the position of the eight-hour philosophy, that the reduction of the hours of labor is a sufficient measure upon which to concentrate the labor movement at present. This objection is that reducing the hours of labor will not employ the unemployed, or at least will not employ them so fast as improvements in machinery, etc., will create more unemployed, and that, therefore, the short-hour movement is helpless to solve the most important economic problem of the present day. Those who use this argument against the exclusive eight-hour movement say:

"We welcome the reduction of hours as a portion, and as an indispensable portion of a labor program, but when it is made a substitute or even a temporary substitute for the whole socialist program, we consider it reactionary, and powerless to check the phenomena of so-called 'overproduction,' unemployment, and the breakdown of the whole present industrial system."

Socialist View.

The reason for this position is that the reduction of the hours of labor in the gradual way, which is alone practical, does not diminish the production of those employed, and therefore does not tend to call in the unemployed to do work formerly done in longer hours by those whose hours have been reduced. If this does occur in a few trades, as is not denied, and if the reduction of the hours of labor does raise the standard of living, and so to a degree increase demand, and so tend to employ a few of those formerly unemployed, this is overbalanced by the tendency of the reduction of hours to speed old machinery, introduce new, and make other improvements in production; thus discharging more men than the reduction of hours has given employment to. Such is the objection, and it is supported by many facts.

Says Mr. Rae, after most carefully studying the "unexpectedly copious" experience of England, Australia, and the United States, and being himself a convert to the reduction of hours (*Eight Hours for Work*, pp. 277-280): "The prevailing idea, that a uniform eight-hour day will abolish the unemployed, is of course chimerical. . . . It stands in absolute contradiction to our now very abundant experience of the real effects of shortening the hours of labor, and it stands in absolute contradiction to the natural operation of economic forces. . . . It is not in the nature or power of an eight-hour day to . . . make any serious impression on the number of the unemployed." Similarly says Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, article *Eight-Hours Movement*, "as a matter of experience, the eight-hour day has surprisingly little effect on the numbers of the unemployed."

The Unemployed.

To this the eight-hour philosophy answers:

"(1) That the eight-hour movement does not propose to limit the reduction of hours simply to eight. If eight hours will not employ the unemployed, why then let us have seven, or six, or five, or four, which will employ the unemployed; (2) that a careful analysis of the various facts will show that the reduction of hours has employed the unemployed, as is proven by the fact that the population has increased in all civilized countries, especially in those countries where the short-hour day prevails, the number of the unemployed has not increased, and those who complain of hard times now forget the harder times of a generation or two ago."

But to this it is replied:

"As for the first point, that if eight hours do not employ the unemployed, the eight-hour philosophy proposes to reduce hours to seven, six, five, or four, and in this way employ the unemployed, this is a mere dodging of the question. The question is what is practical *now*; and none know better than the eight-hour men that to talk of reducing hours lower than eight is, except under the rarest circumstances, to-day utterly out of the question. After a half century of agitation, the average hours in the United States are yet well over 40, and only a small minority of the stronger unions have gained in some cities the eight-hour day. To talk then of lower hours is to mislead. The eight-hour philosophy itself claims that the reduction must be gradual. The question is whether to-day a reduction of the hours of labor *that is within the range of possibility* can employ the unemployed, and seven, six, or five hours are out of the range of possibility, save in the rarest instances.

"As for the second point, that the unemployed are on the whole not increasing, and that admittedly the shortening of the hours of labor is raising the level of

those enjoying its gains, and enabling them to demand higher wages and cope with further problems, it cannot be denied that progress for the working classes has been made, but it does not follow, in the first place, that this progress is due to the reduction of hours, and secondly the question still presses, whether in all civilized countries the labor question is not as a matter of fact more acute than ever, and whether even the problem of the unemployed is not, in numbers no more serious, in quality infinitely more serious. Statistics may prove a slightly larger proportion of the people to be engaged in gainful occupations, but this does not show how continuously those persons are employed; and beyond all possibility of denial, improved methods of production (partly occasioned by limiting the hours of labor) are enabling factories to turn out their products in less and less portions of the year; continually increasing the periods when operatives counted as having occupations are really out of work. In some occupations shorter hours may employ the unemployed. The eight-hour men are fond of referring to those who work on street-cars and on railroads, arguing that here at least it takes three men at eight hours to do in 24 hours what two men would do at 12. It is not denied that there are such instances, but even in such occupations the principle does not work as might be expected.

"A large number of railway employees, such as those engaged on repairs, or as clerks, laborers, etc., are employed in forms of labor where intensity of work can make up for long hours. Therefore even on railroads shorter hours will by no means create the demand for unemployed labor that some short-hour men claim. The truth is, that facts are showing that the compulsory or voluntary shortening of hours has immensely stimulated the speeding of old machinery and the introduction of new labor-saving devices, so that instead of employing more hands, fewer hands, or the same hands, have produced more goods, not less—far more than the short-hour men realize. According to Mr. Rae, in large engineering works, Messrs. S. H. Johnson & Company, of Stratford, London, reduced the hours of their works some five years ago from 54 to 48 a week, paying their hands the same day wages as before, and they get more work out now than they got then, without any increase whatever in the cost of production.

"So with Messrs. William Allan & Company, of Sunderland. It was on January 1, 1892, that this firm (of which Mr. W. Allan, M. P., is head) reduced their hours from 53 to 48 a week. Mr. Allan was himself surprised at the results he got. 'Paradoxical as it may seem, I get *fully more work* out than formerly; in fact, I am surprised at how the work is going ahead; having believed, like so many employers, that there would be a corresponding decrease in output. . . .

Of Australia, *Palgrave's Encyclopedia* says: "In Victoria, for example, where three-fourths of the population now work only eight hours a day, the unemployed are strangely enough a greater and more constant trouble than they are here, and, stranger still, they seem to have become even a greater trouble since the eight-hour day became general, a few years ago, than they were before."

Such is the universal experience. The eight-hour men try to explain it away by saying that often, when there has been a nominal reduction in hours, there has been an increase in overtime work, so that really, the wages have risen, there has been no diminution in hours, and therefore, of course, no diminution in production. Or they claim that the men, especially in the recent **Experience**, trials, were on "their good behavior."

Yet, allowing for all this, the fact remains that experience in England, Australia, and America, in all places and at all times, all points one way: the reducing of the hours of labor (within the limits of possibility) does not decrease production, nor increase the purchasing power of the community enough to balance the effect of machinery and improved methods in discharging laborers; so that the eight-hour philosophy breaks down at the vital point and does not reduce poverty, for the masses.

All this is, indeed, no argument against reducing hours. These facts only show that this reduction is not the one thing to concentrate attention upon. What other things should be done also, we are not here considering. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.) Different schools of thinkers will disagree as to what should be done. Individualists will call for the develop-

ment of individual education and capacity. Single-taxers say the one thing to do is to open natural opportunities for labor. Socialists deny that there is any one thing to do. In all countries they stand with the eight-hour men for reducing hours, but they add to this the demand that more and more the community control industry and replace competition by cooperation. They point out that, even to-day, the eight-hour men have found it easiest to gain the eight-hour day in government works, and that in England and all countries where there has been an expansion of municipalism, there has been also an expansion of employment under fair conditions. In England and New Zealand municipalism is nearing to-day the abolition of the contract system and the application of trade-union conditions to government works, thus bringing in the eight-hour day through socialism, and at the same time—by having the State do what otherwise would not be done—actually employing the unemployed.

(For instances of this, see articles **NEW ZEALAND**; **BIRMINGHAM**; **LONDON**; also, **STREET-CARS**.)

References: John Rae's *Eight Hours for Work* (1894); Sidney Webb's and Harold Cox's *The Eight-Hours Day* (1891); George Gunton's *Wealth and Progress*, the economic philosophy of the eight-hour movement (1887); various tracts published by the American Federation of Labor.

SIDGWICK, HENRY, was born at Skipton, Yorkshire, England, in 1838, and educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He became a fellow and lecturer of his college in 1859, resigning his fellowship in 1869 on account of the conditions of religious belief then attached to fellowships. In 1870 he was active in establishing academic instruction for women in Cambridge. He was appointed professor prelector of moral philosophy in Trinity College in 1875, and Knightsbridge professor of moral philosophy in the University of Cambridge in 1883. He has contributed to periodical literature many articles on philosophical and economical subjects. In his philosophical works he seeks to reconcile lines of thought previously regarded as antagonistic; in ethics to reconcile intuitionism and utilitarianism. In political economy his endeavor has been to find the right compromise between, or combination of, the traditional deductive method of English political economy and the views of the men sometimes called Socialists of the Chair, predominant in Germany. His works include the *Methods of Ethics* (1874); the *Principles of Political Economy* (1883); *Outlines of the History of Ethics* (1886); *Elements of Politics* (1891).

SILVER. (For statistics and other information as to the history, production, supply, and use of silver, see **GOLD AND SILVER**; for the bimetallic position, see **BIMETALISM**; for a history of the silver question in the United States, see **CURRENCY**.) We give in this article a statement of the present silver situation in the United States as it appears to the supporters of silver coinage. (For the

arguments of those opposed, see **MONOMETALISM**.)

THE SILVER MOVEMENT.

The friends of the present silver movement in the United States are divided into several classes. There are, first, those who believe in bimetallism, and desire to see silver used as primary money in connection with gold, at some fixed value, but who believe that this can only be done safely with international agreement. Most of these are therefore opposed to the proposition for the United States to coin silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for international agreement. This view includes the large majority of the professorial economists, such as President Walker (*q. v.*), and a large number of Republican and gold Democratic congressmen and political leaders, such as John Sherman and Secretary Carlisle, and others of both the two great parties. (For their position, except as to the very latest developments, see **BIMETALISM**.)

A second class of the friends of silver are bimetallists who believe that the United States can safely coin silver, without waiting for international agreement. In this class are a few professorial economists like Dr. Arendt of Germany and President Andrews (*q. v.*) of Brown University, and a large number of silver Republicans and Democrats.

A third class of the friends of silver are not so much bimetallists as believers in a carefully and scientifically regulated paper currency, who, holding that their ideal is not in practical politics, are willing to vote for free silver as a step toward a scientific paper currency. This view includes the mass of the Populist party and its sympathizers. Besides these three distinct classes there are, of course, those holding all kinds of combinations of views, and many who vote for free silver simply out of opposition to the gold policy identified in their minds with trusts, corporations, and plutocracy (*q. v.*).

In such a condition of affairs it is obvious that the arguments used by different persons for the coinage of silver are very diverse, as is true of the arguments used by various gold advocates. Nevertheless, the strength of the silver movement cannot be understood unless the arguments of these various views are remembered. We therefore give first the bimetallic argument for the free coinage of silver, by the United States alone, at a ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for international agreement, and follow this by what may be called the radical view.

THE BIMETALLIC ARGUMENT.

This view bases itself first on the propositions that a contracting currency is hurtful to a nation; that a moderately and steadily expanding currency is beneficial; that for 20 years and over the United States has had virtually a contracting currency—*i. e.*, a currency not increasing in proportion to the demand for money to-day—and that therefore the country now needs an expanded currency.

To these propositions are added the propositions that one form in which a contracting

currency works evil is by lowering prices, while an expanding currency raises prices, and that the United States is suffering to-day from low prices, in part, at least, caused by a monetary contraction, which could be alleviated by the use of silver.

For a general discussion of these propositions, see CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY, but it should be noted here that as Mill stated in his day, and as President Walker has recently affirmed (address before the American Economic Association, December, 1895), no position in economics is more generally accepted than that a contracting currency does lower prices and cause depression, while the expansion of a currency, at least with a money commanding confidence (concerning which see below), is beneficial. Professor Marshall, perhaps the leading English economist, says (testimony before the Herschell Commission, No. 9629):

"I accept the common doctrine that prices generally rise, other things being equal, in proportion to the volume of the metals which are used as money."

This view was never even questioned by any leading economist writer until, as Dr. Spahr says, "the exigencies of the present silver controversy forced the monometalists to dispute it or retire from the field," while, as President Walker has reminded us, those who now argue that monetary contraction has little or no effect upon business were the foremost to assert the terrible effect of monetary expansion upon business. Nor does the proposition rest upon theory alone. History is full of illustrations of the principle. When on the discovery of the New World the supply of metals led to the coining of more money, prices notoriously rose. When, later, the Napoleonic wars led to the employment of paper as well as coin by both France and England, the value of both gold and silver fell one-half (Jevons' essay in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, London, 1865) and doubled again when the paper was retired. When in the middle of the century the gold discoveries of California and Australia increased the supply of gold to some three times that of silver, the value of both gold and silver fell again. The rise of war prices in the United States is well known. Of recent experiences in the United States, Dr. C. B. Spahr says (*Review of Reviews*, September, 1896):

"In 1878, when the Bland-Allison bill was passed, requiring the coining of \$2,000,000 of silver bullion a month at the old ratio of 16 to 1, the monometalists with one accord predicted that we would have 'an eighty-cent dollar.' The value of the bullion in the Bland dollar had been below 80 cents. If the value of money depended on its material, and not upon its volume, the Bland dollar would certainly have been worth but 80 cents in gold. The cheaper dollar would undoubtedly have driven out the dearer dollar, and the monometalists' prediction that our gold would leave us would have been fulfilled. But these predictions have proven absolutely false. Despite the fact that the Bland dollar was not redeemable in gold, and that the banks for a time assumed a hostile attitude toward it, its value remains the same as gold, because it had the same money privileges, and its value was fixed like the value of gold by the supply and demand for money. About \$400,000,000 in silver coin was issued under this act, at the ratio of 16 to 1, and yet the whole of it remained at par. When the

Sherman act was passed the power of the government to affect the relative value of gold and silver was again shown. Not only was the price of all coin silver raised to the old level—\$1.29 an ounce—but the price of uncoined silver throughout the world was raised from a little over 90 cents an ounce to \$1.21. Yet the Sherman act had only increased our governmental demand for silver from \$24,000,000 worth a year to a little over \$50,000,000 worth. The relative value of silver only declined when Austria and Russia created a new demand for gold proportionately greater than the demand of the United States had created for silver. The recent fall in the value of silver and rise in the value of gold has been entirely due to governmental action, for the supply of gold from the mines has increased with far greater rapidity than the supply of silver. If the limited coining of silver under the Bland and Sherman acts was sufficient to raise all coined silver to \$1.29 an ounce and all uncoined silver to \$1.21 an ounce when the relative supply of silver was far greater than to-day, it is evident that unlimited coining and the doubling of our former demand would raise all silver to the old level."

Nor is it only that facts show an intimate connection between volume of currency and prices; and consequently between volume of currency and prosperity, but both the highest economic authority and facts show that the subject is one of the most serious and wide-reaching moment. President Walker wrote in 1894 (quoted in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1896):

"To any political economist who regards the industrial structure as important, the steady shrinking of prices continued through a term of years, due to the increasing scarcity of the money supply, constitutes a tremendous force for evil. It is not alone that tens of thousands of millions of public, private, and corporate debts require a continually increasing amount of commodities to discharge the interest and principal of such obligations; it is not alone that the weight of the dead hand is continually growing heavier upon the living and active forces of the present; these are matters serious enough, but the greatest part of the evil of a diminishing money supply is wrought through the discouragement of legitimate profits, through the preference given to all investments of capital which result in a fixed charge upon production, over those which involve a participation in the gains or losses of active business."

Jevons bears this out, but President Andrews says (*An Honest Dollar*):

"Jevons, at any rate, is too moderate. After enormous admissions touching the ravages of changing currency values, he almost apologizes for the change in money value, on the ground that the sorrows springing from it are mostly occult, and that the people habitually refer them to other causes. The question is not whether the infelicities accompanying these monetary vicissitudes are appreciated or not, but whether they are real and serious. That they are both will be the conviction of every student in proportion to his acquaintance with them. . . . It is certain that none who have not made the subject a study at all adequately conceive the magnitude of the evil."

Nor is it only professorial economists who argue thus. Said Mr. Balfour, the English statesman (October 27, 1892):

"Of all conceivable systems of currency that system is assuredly the worst which gives you a standard steadily, continuously, indefinitely appreciating, and which by that very fact throws a burden upon every man of enterprise, upon every man who desires to promote the agricultural or the industrial resources of the country, and benefits no human being whatever but the owner of fixed debts in gold."

And surely the facts bear this out. The depressing effect upon American industry of the steady fall in prices for the last 30 years it is impossible to exaggerate.

The gold advocates usually meet this argu-

ment, not by denying the truth of the general theory as to the effects of a monetary contraction, but first by partly denying the fact of money contraction in the United States; secondly, by arguing that the fall of prices

(which they admit) is not due to currency changes; and thirdly, by asserting that tho a steady expansion of the currency by a money commanding public confidence might be well, silver does

not command such confidence (at least in lack of international agreement), and that, therefore, its monetization would produce evil and not good. (For these arguments in full, see MONOMETALISM.) To the first argument, that there has been no contraction of the currency in the United States, the silver bimetalists say that, on the above theory which all economists accept, the very fall of prices (and that they have fallen is not denied), forms a money contraction *relative to the demand for money*. What is the measure of demand for money? The amount of commodities men will give in exchange for it. If this has risen, as no one denies, it shows that the demand has risen more than the supply, or that there has been a contraction in money. It is true that the controller of the currency reports a per capita circulation in 1895 of \$22.96, and in 1870 of only \$17.50, but if one went back to 1865, he would find a circulation, even according to the controller, of \$22.16, while many publicists believe all these figures to really misrepresent the facts. The currency reports claim that all moneys ever coined by the United States and not withdrawn or used in the arts or entered for export, are still current. Such cannot be the case. That large amounts of gold are annually carried out of the country by travelers, etc., is well known; that much is lost is equally clear; that much gold is hoarded is still more certain. These processes—to speak of no others—going on year by year make the recent statements of the controller's reports absurdly misleading. Even the directors of the Mint admit this.

In his *Report on the Production of Gold and Silver* for 1888, p. 43, the director of the Mint uses these words:

"In years past we have often insisted that there must be an error in the item, because the most industrious inquiry failed to bring to light a very considerable portion of it. At present there are at least \$275,000,000 of the total [gold coin] that cannot be accounted for."

The method of estimating the outstanding silver is described by the director of the Mint in his *Report* for 1893, p. 166, as follows:

"The coinage of silver dollars since March 1, 1878, and the subsidiary silver coinage since 1873, at which date the estimated amount was \$5,000,000, together with the annual gain or loss by coinage or import—after an annual deduction of \$200,000 for use in the industrial arts—is taken as the estimated stock of silver coin in the United States."

A new estimate of the amount of gold and silver used in the arts was made in 1893, and beginning with that year \$1,500,000 is allowed for gold, instead of \$3,500,000 as formerly,

and \$100,000 is allowed for silver, instead of \$200,000.

The paper currency of the country is estimated by subtracting from the total amount issued the amount redeemed and destroyed by the Government. No allowance is made for paper money destroyed by fire and other means, with the exception of \$1,000,000 in United States notes estimated to have been destroyed in the Chicago fire.

On account of these facts the figures of the Treasury as to circulation have been frequently questioned. In a speech delivered at Fayette, Mo., October 12, 1895, Senator George G. Vest made an analysis of the figures for 1893, which according to government reports show a total circulation outside the Treasury of \$1,596,701,245 in money of all kinds, or an average of \$23.89 per capita.

"He first scales down the amount of money outside the Treasury to \$1,399,101,335, which is \$197,599,910 less than the official figures. He next deducts \$13,900,000 national bank reserves held by the 3781 banks on October 3, 1893, leaving \$885,201,335. From the \$3,079,462,683 deposits in 5685 State, savings, private banks, and loan and trust companies, on July 12, 1893, he estimates reserves amounting to 10 per cent., or \$307,946,268, which he deducts from the \$885,000,000, leaving \$578,245,067. He further estimates that \$250,000,000 in gold has been lost since 1873, of which the Treasury officials have made no account. This leaves \$328,245,067. Other deductions are \$20,000,000 for lost silver dollars and fractional silver; 10 per cent. on United States notes (\$34,668,101); the same per cent. on bank-notes (\$20,870,118); 1 per cent. on Treasury notes of 1890 (\$1,463,414); thus leaving only \$252,692,214. This, divided among a population which he estimates at 68,834,475 (10 per cent. advance on 1890), is \$3.67 per capita. If the \$197,599,910, probably deducted twice, on account of gold and silver bullion in the Treasury, were added, this would give \$450,202,124, which at Senator Vest's estimated population gives an average of \$6.54 per capita as the total money he estimates to be actually in circulation among the people in 1893."

As for the assertion often made by the gold advocates that even if the amount of legal-tender money has been contracted, bank and credit paper more than takes its place, it can be proved, in the first place, that the amount of paper passing through an institution like the New York Clearing-House has fallen off; second, the crowding of people in cities, where they are unknown to one another, has decreased trusting; third, the development of local transit, and of the intricacy of production and of life, has materially increased the demand for currency. (See CONTRACTION AND EXPANSION OF CURRENCY.) Again, even if the use of credit paper of one kind or another does supplement the use of gold, nevertheless all this paper must be measured by and rest upon a gold basis, if gold be the only legal tender. In ordinary times when confidence is general this may not be an evil, but let a crisis come, and then just when the most money is needed, then the money is contracted to its gold basis and fearful panic produced. This is among the worst results of monetary contraction.

It is the supposed necessity of keeping up our gold reserve which has led to the recent bond issues and syndicate contracts (*g. v.*) which have saddled the country with millions of debt. It was, the silver advocates claim, the dependence on a gold basis which pro-

duced the money panic of 1893. A steady fall of prices was caused by the contraction of money, through the strengthening of the gold reserves of France and Russia, the adoption of the gold standard by Austria; the panic in Australia, compelling investors to sell even American securities, and so withdraw gold from this country. Finally this was turned into a panic by India's sudden suspension of the free coinage of silver. Under such circumstances, to say that the panic was caused by a lack of confidence due to the Sherman act passed two years before, as the gold advocates assert, shows the weakness of their argument.

The worst aspect too, of this form of gold contraction, with gold as the basis of paper, is that it can be used by the gold interest to make matters still worse. Dr. C. B. Spahr, in *The Outlook* for April 14, 1894, says this is just what the Administration did in the gold interest. He says, speaking of the crisis of 1893:

"At such junctures in England the Government sets aside the Bank Act and allays the panic by increasing the currency. At such junctures in Germany the National Bank is by law authorized to increase the currency. At this juncture in the United States the President, elected on a platform pledging more currency, called Congress together to cut off even such increase as the existing law provided.

"Congress assembled, and the President submitted his message. The collapse of credit which made men unwilling to buy goods on credit, the anxious to sell them, and the fall in price of everything except money, President Cleveland attributed in so many words to the fear of a depreciated currency. This imaginary fear he attributed to the \$50,000,000 a year of currency issued under the Sherman act, tho under this act no one could get a dollar of currency without depositing a gold dollar's worth of silver bullion. Despite the fact that our country has needed for fifteen years \$60,000,000 a year increase to its currency, while the gold-mines supply the whole world with less than \$30,000,000 a year available for currency, he nevertheless demanded that the United States should stop using silver and join in the international demand for gold.

"In administering the Sherman law the Administration showed the same ignorance of the principles governing the value of currency, and the same determination to carry into execution the demands of the creditor classes which are enriched by the scarcity and dearth of money. When the question came before the Secretary of the Treasury whether the Sherman act notes should be paid in silver or gold, it was ordered that they be paid in gold at the option of the holder. President Cleveland, in his message to Congress, claimed that this interpretation of the Sherman act was necessary because this act declared it to be 'the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other.' He maintained that if the Government used its discretion to redeem these notes in the silver reserved against them, it 'would necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation.' This he urged despite the patent fact that the four hundred millions of silver certificates and silver dollars issued under the Bland-Allison act of 1878 had never been redeemable in gold, yet always were at par. These same silver certificates, a month after the message was written, among the New York bankers who were decrying them, actually commanded a premium of one per cent. over gold."

As for the assertion of the gold advocates that, tho there has been a fall of prices, this has not been due to the contraction of the currency, but to improvements in the methods of production, etc., it is to be said, in the first place, that even granting the assertion, it does not change the fact that prices have fallen, that falling prices have produced long-continued and disastrous depression in business. Nor does

it affect the argument that an increase of currency would raise prices and stimulate industry. Admitting all that the gold advocates say (see MONOMETALISM) as to the cause of the fall of prices, the fact still stares us in the face that gold has terribly appreciated in general purchasing power, and this gold monometalists have to admit.

Mr. Giffin (*The Case Against Bimetalsm*) gives up the argument that gold has not appreciated, and rests his case on the lack of confidence in silver (which argument we consider later). He says:

"We see, then, how widely those monometalists have been in fault who, in their dislike of bimetalsm, have denied that the recent great demands for gold in proportion to its supply were likely to have caused a rise in its exchange value for other things. Looked at in this way the fall of prices is itself a proof that gold, in relation to all the demands for it, has been relatively scarcer than it was. . . . The entire habits and customs of the people as to the use of gold and silver must be changed if gold is to be made abundant and prices are to rise. It was *this* answer which should have been made to the bimetalsm instead of a denial being given to the fact staring every one in the face that money, in the sense of the standard monetary substance, gold, is relatively scarcer than it was."

Secondly, bimetalsm cannot admit that the fall of prices has not been due to monetary contraction, *i. e.*, a contraction in proportion to the demand. That improvements in methods of production and transportation have affected the *relative* price of the commodities produced is not denied, but that has little to do with the question. There has been a general fall in prices which cannot be explained by improvements in production, etc., and can be explained by monetary contraction. This is shown by the fact that, generally speaking, the progress of invention has been steady, while the fall in prices has not been steady, but *has almost exactly followed the expansion or contraction of the currency*. As one may easily see by looking at the authoritative tables of prices, given under article Prices, there was a great decline from 1840 to 1849, exactly when money was growing scarce relative to the expansion of commerce. From 1850 to 1857 production went on expanding no more than before, but prices rose because the gold of Australia and California increased the supply of money. When this expansion of money was over, prices fell. During the Civil War money again expanded, and again prices rose. When, after the war, contraction of money took place, prices fell, though they rose again from 1860 to 1872, when money expanded. In 1873, when silver was nominally demonetized in the United States and practically in many European countries, we have a marked fall of prices, continuing till 1878, when silver was partly monetized and prices rose somewhat. They gradually fell again as money grew scarce, rose a little with the Sherman act of 1890, and later fell with the world-wide demonetization of silver. In view of these facts, supported by the best authority, to say that prices have not fallen because of monetary contraction is to deny all recent experience. We have thus all reputable economists unanimously agreeing down to the present time that prices do vary with monetary quantity;

Cause of Fall of Prices.

we have those who deny it now, admitting it formerly when it was a case of expanding currency; we have gold monometalists admitting that prices have fallen; we have the fact that money has been contracted in proportion to demand; we have general prices exactly following monetary variations and not following the—generally speaking—steady progress of invention. The case cannot be clearer that prices, however relatively affected by variations in supply and demand, have fallen because of monetary contraction and not because of the pessimistic theory that the progress of the world has caused the depression of industry.

We now come to the remaining citadel of the gold monometalists, that tho there has been a monetary contraction, and tho an expansion of currency is needed, nevertheless silver has become so cheapened in production and so discarded by the world that it cannot be safely used as stand-

**Objections
Answered.**

ard money, and certainly not without international agreement. Silver is worth to-day, gold monometalists point out, only 53 cents on the dollar, its production has increased 300 per cent. on the average production of 1861 to 1873, and there is no prospect of a reduction, but rather, if it be monetized, of a stimulated production, with little increased demand for it. The gold advocates further point out that silver has fallen, even tho under the Bland act the United States coined \$4,000,000,000 of silver, and under the Sherman act purchased 4,500,000 ounces per month. They argue that if this could not prevent the fall of silver, even when many countries were still coining it, the action of the United States alone can certainly not prevent its falling now, when virtually all the civilized countries of the world have been compelled to demonetize it. They argue that the demonetization of silver was not the cause of its fall in price but the result. They urge that to attempt to keep so cheap a metal at a parity with gold can but end disastrously and plunge the United States into all the evils of a depreciated currency. They argue that to coin silver worth only 50 cents into a legal dollar must drive out gold, put the United States on a par with the semi-civilized silver-using nations of the world, rob the working men by paying them in dollars worth only 50 cents, divide by one-half the \$1,739,000,000 in American savings-banks, the \$5,566,000,000 in life-insurance companies, the \$7,482,000,000 in assessment companies, etc., etc.

To this argument the silver adherents say it is true to-day that silver is worth only 50 cents, but that it is no wonder that this is so, when since 1871 all the civilized countries of the world have, one after another, stopped using it as primary money. Silver, they urge, did not begin to fall till the nations began to demonetize it. The partial monetization and purchase of silver by the United States did not prevent the fall, they argue, simply because it was more than overbalanced by the demonetization of silver in other countries. An international agreement to mon-

etize silver all silver advocates would welcome, but for 20 years the United States has been striving to get this without success. Those bimetalists who believe in the United States now acting without waiting for international agreement argue that if the United States does decide to coin silver, other countries will soon agree to do so, or if they do not will soon be compelled to do so. The fact is that a gold monometalism cannot be long sustained, because it is producing such depression that even wealthy countries like England will have to yield or have no further markets for investments. The reasons why England has hitherto favored gold are patent, but it is also patent that England may so ruin other countries as to hurt herself and ruin her own investments unless prices rise. There is a change in England. July 1, 1893, the *London Statist* said:

"The new policy of the Indian Government is likely to intensify the appreciation of gold. . . . If it does, then we have to look forward to a further fall in prices, to frequent fluctuations in the value of money, and to occasional severe spasms in the money market. If the Indian Government succeeds, silver, in fact, ceases to be a precious metal, and gold in the future will alone have to supply all the monetary demands of the civilized world. It follows necessarily that the value of gold must steadily rise, unless, indeed, new mines are discovered and the production is immensely increased.

"One consequence of the further appreciation of gold will be to intensify the agricultural depression all over Europe. Most of the charges on land have been fixed heretofore; they will weigh more and more heavily upon the land-owners as gold rises in value—in other words, as prices decline. So, again, rents will become more onerous, and it will be found that the settlement of the last few years was only provisional, and that a further reduction will become necessary. Also, it is evident that the burden of debt, not only upon individuals but upon governments, will be much increased. Countries like France, with an enormous debt, will feel the pinch, tho France is so rich and her people so thrifty that she will be able to bear the trial. The poorer countries will see their difficulties immensely increased, and unless they fall back upon silver the number of bankrupt governments will almost certainly increase. Spain, for example, is almost bankrupt already, but her difficulties will be increased as the burden of her gold debt is augmented. It will be hardly possible for Portugal to conclude a satisfactory settlement with her bondholders. The troubles of Greece will be added to, and the trials of Italy will likewise be multiplied. Everywhere the burden of debt will necessitate increased taxation, and so will weigh very heavily upon the general population."

As late as January 19, 1895, the *Statist* said further:

"The producing countries have been plunged into so much distress that they are compelled to sell at whatever price they can get, and our people are so well off that they are able to buy larger and larger quantities every year. The first consequence of this is that the working classes are exceedingly prosperous, and the foundation is being laid, in the second place, for a great increase in our trade, because merchants are laying in stocks of raw materials at exceptionally low prices. It may be objected that we lost heavily on our exports; but that is not really so. As was pointed out last week, there was a shrinkage in the actual volume of our trade. The United Kingdom has the labor, the machinery, and the capital to supply all the rest of the world with any quantity of goods it may require; but our foreign customers were too poor to buy from us on the usual scale. The exports merely confirm what the imports tell us—that the producing countries are in deep distress, and that we are growing in wealth. Of the total shrinkage in the value of our exports of £47,000,000, £17,000,000 is due to a decrease in quantity, and £30,000,000 to a decline in prices. Roughly, the decline in prices in the exports is half the decline in prices in the imports; or, to put

it differently, we gained twice as much by buying our imports cheap as we lost, even supposing there was a loss, in selling our exports also cheap. But, as a matter of fact, the loss must have been trifling, if there was any loss. This country manufactures cheap goods for all parts of the world; and cheap coarse stuffs include in their value not very much labor; the chief item is the raw material. But in buying the raw material we gained immensely, and, consequently, there was no need for very much reduction in wages."

This seems very satisfactory to English investors, but the fact is that it has been so successful that English investors can now find few countries prosperous enough to invest in and are crying out that something must be done. The English financial papers are full of complaints of this kind; interest is falling and markets failing. Investments of \$1000, formerly paying \$600 per year, do not now bring in \$400. Even the largest moneyed men realize that gold monometalism cannot prosper on the ruin of the producing countries. As long ago as the monetary crisis of 1892, Mr. de Rothschild said:

"If this conference were to break up without arriving at any definite result there would be a depreciation in the value of that commodity [silver] which it would be frightful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic would ensue, the far-spreading consequences of which it would be impossible to foretell."

The conference did come to no definite conclusion, a depreciation of silver did occur, frightful depression did result, and the consequences are not yet seen.

Dr. Otto Arendt said in the *New York Journal* of August 22, 1896, concerning the effect upon Europe, if the United States should declare for free silver:

"Bryan's victory will no doubt prepare the way for an international agreement. Should Bryan be elected, we, the bimetalists, would gain formidable allies, while American bankers would certainly do all in their power to forestall the depreciation of American values by backing our cause of international bimetalism."

"Now, as to the prospects in Europe. The possessors of American values, fearing depreciation, would influence the Bourse to such an extent as to cause capital to reconsider its attitude toward bimetalism, whereupon the European governments may be obliged to adopt bimetalism in order to restore confidence and equality."

"All Europe has formally declared that bimetalism shall not be introduced without Britain's cooperation. The English cabinet at Balfour's instigation decided, on March 17, that nothing should interfere with the gold standard. Balfour represents the remarkable and questionable view that no change of coinage should be imposed on financial men. In other words, the world of finance rules—the thief is jailer."

"Balfour waits and hopes patiently for the bimetallic conversion of London. That famous debate of March 17 has clearly shown what is thought of the question in the City. The Shylock standpoint was never presented with more brutal effrontery than by Harcourt. The American silver party will find Harcourt's speech the best campaign document. A producer who reads this speech, and does not vote for Bryan, cuts his own throat. In order to prevent some of this moral suicide, I quote a few characteristic phrases. Said the leader of the English Liberals:

"England has been called the land of Shylocks. Nobody who was present will forget the memorable speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone in this House on this same question, in which he submitted to the world's ridicule the proposition that this land of money-lenders should go from country to country, hat in hand, begging that we should be paid ten shillings for a pound. This is practically the goal to which bimetalism would lead us. [Hear, hear!] Of course, we are told that we shall receive more money. The truth is that we are paid not in gold, but in goods. It is out of this merchandise that our people make

their living, and now it is expected of us that we shall go around the world begging that we shall receive less merchandise for our gold. Can anything more ridiculous be suggested? [Hear, hear!] We, who have lent hundreds, nay thousands of millions to foreign nations, shall ask them that for this money they shall give us less in return than we now receive. [Hear!]

"With this speech Shylock Harcourt has laid bare the kernel of the whole matter. Shall producers pay double value in goods or not? The English creditor grows rich, while his American victim goes to ruin. When once it becomes fully understood in London that Bryan is bound to enact the free-silver coinage, without the permission of the Stock Exchange, will not the fear of the decrease of American values bring about the City's conversion? Then Balfour will follow his bimetallic convictions, and in that case all Europe is conquered."

"It is self-evident that the American people desire to be as independent of the manipulators of the bourses of New York and Chicago as they must be absolutely free of the conditions that govern speculation in Berlin and London. So-called silver fanaticism, of which we hear so much, is really but a protest against shady bourse manipulations that threaten the small man, year in and year out."

"The American silver party, if it means to do its full duty, must not be content to break the gold monopoly, but must also put an end to the fluctuations of the value of silver. This should be accomplished as follows: Immediately after Bryan assumes his office, the Government of the United States should ask the powers of Europe whether they desire a mutual understanding with reference to free coinage. The powers will not be long in formulating requests and submitting propositions, by whose adoption all contracting parties will gain. Thus it may come about that international bimetalism and the best possible solution of the financial and economical problems of the day will be the ultimate results of Bryan's and the people's victory."

This is the view of others than Dr. Arendt. These men hold that, having waited 20 years in vain for international agreement, the wiser hope now is for the United States to force the situation. It may for a while throw this country out of financial touch with Europe, but that it will wholly prevent international trade is absurd. Suppose the United States be on a silver basis and Europe on a gold basis. America can still buy, at the worst, gold at some price to effect international exchanges, while, if prices rise here, American producers will gain more than enough to make up for considerable inconvenience, and even loss, in international exchanges. The price of the main agricultural exports will not be affected at all, since they are dependent on English and not American markets, so that our main international exchanges will not suffer. On the other hand, if gold monometalism continue, depression and contraction must not only go on, but be intensified, because the gold advocates propose, and indeed will be compelled, to destroy all paper, which is now made use of to draw gold from the treasury. Any temporary losses which may result therefore from international exchanges are nothing to the suffering that must result from a continuance of the gold monometalism. Nor do the silver bimetalists admit that silver will lack confidence. They say that to-day its fall in price is patently due to its world-wide demonetization (*e. g.*, when India closed her mints to its free coinage, silver fell 5 per cent.). When the United States commences free coinage, not as before coining a limited amount, but agreeing to take all that can be produced, it must rise in value, while many believe it will be on a par with gold.

Says Dr. C. B. Spahr in one of the articles quoted above :

"Nothing is clearer historically than that the value of money depends not upon its material but upon the relation between its supply and the demand of business. My own lingering doubts upon this point were removed by the experience of France immediately after the gold discoveries.

"It will be recalled that the production of gold within a few years increased tenfold, while the production of silver merely increased at the steady rate it has maintained for the century. The cost of mining gold, measured in days' labor, was reduced to less than one-half. Had gold been demonetized, as the monometalists then demanded, its value would doubtless have fallen as rapidly as they predicted. But as the mints remained open, and an ounce of gold still retained the same currency privileges as $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver, its value could not fall any faster than the value of all currency fell. For several years, France, with less than half of our present population and hardly more than half of our present currency, received yearly at her mints \$100,000,000 of gold. Yet with this expansion of the currency came an expansion of business, demanding more currency. Prices rose but one-fifth in 15 years, and prices in silver rose as rapidly as prices in gold. There was a slight premium upon silver at the bullion dealers', where a little silver was each year sought for export, but this premium did not exist in ordinary transactions. Just what took place is admirably described by Chevalier in a passage that cannot be quoted too often.

Value of Silver.

Writing in 1859—11 years after the flood of cheap gold had begun to pour into the currency—the great monometalist of his generation said :

"One is surprised at first that a production of gold so vast, so colossal as has been noted, in comparison with what had been seen before, has not yet caused a lower ratio of gold to the other precious metal. But there is intervening a powerful cause which temporarily holds back gold in its fall. France offers thus far an indefinitely great market upon the basis of 1 kilogram of gold for $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver. For the stranger who owes a Frenchman a certain number of francs—that is a certain number of times $4\frac{1}{2}$ grams of silver—acquires himself legally by giving him a quantity of gold $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as small. Whenever the merchant in precious metals wishes to exchange his gold for silver, he obtains almost the same terms; for, in addition to the quantity indicated by the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, he has only to pay the premium, and by force up to this present that has been slight, and must remain so for some time yet, for a reason easy to perceive. So long as there remains much silver in France, people residing there, to whom the pieces of metal come, ought to esteem themselves happy to exchange it for gold at a premium very small over the ratio established by the law of 1803, since for the payments they have to make they cannot make their creditors take it for more than the proportion of gold indicated by the law, 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. For the same reason it will be impossible at London, at Brussels and Hamburg, at New York, or any other place on the general market, for gold to be worth much less than $15\frac{1}{2}$ its weight in silver."

"What took place in France in the fifties, when the free coinage of gold was continued despite the protests of the classes favoring a scarce currency, is likely to take place in the United States when the free coinage of silver is resumed, despite the protests of the same classes. The increase in our currency will be relatively less, and the rise in prices probably less. To-day the entire annual product of the silver-mines of the world (reckoned at its old price) is but a little more than \$200,000,000. Nearly one-half of this product, as Mr. Giffin said in his *Case against Bimetallism*, is taken for non-monetary purposes (including the consumption of India). Further, millions are taken for the subsidiary currency of gold-standard countries, and the entire currency of silver-standard countries. These demands are not lessened when silver rises in price. The amount of silver that can be brought to our mints is not likely to exceed \$200,000,000, even if the cause of bimetallism is too weak abroad to lead any other nation to follow our example. The relaxing of our demand for gold is likely to lower the value of that metal to where it stood prior to the adoption of international monometallism in 1803. With prices restored to the level of four or five years ago, \$100,000,000 a year is hardly more than sufficient to maintain prices upon that level. During the decade between 1880 and 1890 our currency, according

to the official estimate, increased nearly 5 per cent. a year. The estimate was somewhat exaggerated, but the real increase was about 4 per cent., and this was insufficient to prevent slowly falling prices. One hundred million dollars a year added to our currency would increase its volume but 7 per cent. a year, and would hardly keep pace with the demands of expanding business. . . .

"When the currency demands for the two metals were approximately the same, silver and gold remained at the old ratio during the first part of the century, tho three times as much silver was produced as gold; they remained at this ratio at the middle of this century, when three times as much gold was produced as silver. Much more, therefore, will equal currency demands maintain this ratio at the end of the century, when the two metals are produced in equal amounts."

Nor is there any danger of a flood of silver. Silver cannot be produced fast enough, or be brought to this country in quantities enough, to raise the circulation above the demand for money. Even gold advocates admit this. Secretary Carlisle's argument is that the free coinage of silver will contract the currency, because the gold will go and there is not enough silver to take its place. In his widely quoted speech before the working men of Chicago, April 15, 1896, he argued that if the United States mints devoted themselves wholly to coining silver it would take 15 years to coin enough silver to replace the gold that would be driven out. But silver advocates are not afraid of contraction on this score, because they show that gold is practically out of circulation now, so that what new silver would be coined would be a gain. To talk, therefore, about "a 50-cent dollar," "dishonesty," and "loss to working men and savings-bank investors," etc., is absurd, because it argues, from the value of silver when demonetized, the value of silver under free coinage; a wholly different matter. The gold advocates sometimes reply, "If this be so, if the silver dollar be worth a gold dollar, what will it advantage the oppressed debtors and farmers of whom the silver advocates make so much?" The answer is very simple. A silver dollar will be worth a dollar of gold, but prices will rise—measured in either silver or gold—because of the increased quantity of money, and so producers be able to pay off their debts the more easily in perfectly honest money."

But will this not hurt all wage-workers and all receivers of fixed incomes? Not if it benefit the whole country. To-day the wage-workers are suffering far more from non-employment and short time than from low wages. If prices rise, and for a while rise more than wages, wages will follow in time, while meanwhile the workers will gain far more than they lose in the stimulation of industry and the loosening of the wheels of commerce, to-day under paralysis. Some silver bimetallists admit that a temporary panic may be produced, if free silver be adopted, owing to the fear of free silver on the part of the moneyed classes; but they urge that it will be but temporary, while, if it does not come now, it must come later in intensified form, whenever the step to free silver be made. The step, they say, must be taken some time, because the world simply

cannot go on, on the ruin of the producing classes due to gold contraction.

But supposing silver should not rise to a full 16 to 1 valuation to gold, bimetalists even then believe in its monetization. Suppose the silver dollar falls to 85 per cent. of the present value of a gold dollar, even so it will but bring back prices to where they were in 1893. Since 1893, according to Sauerbeck's tables, which are considered of the highest authority, prices have fallen over 15 per cent., so that if creditors are paid in dollars depreciated 15 per cent. these dollars will still be as valuable as gold dollars were in 1893. Loans contracted before 1893 will be paid back in money worth more than the money lent, and the loans made since 1893 are a minority of the debts. A few creditors may thus be wronged, yet not even they dishonestly, for they loaned with a full understanding that currency might change, while the large proportion of creditors would get more value than they loaned. The following are Sauerbeck's indexed figures from 1890 :

1890.....	72	January, 1896....	61.4
1891.....	72	February.....	61.4
1892.....	68	March.....	60.7
1893.....	68	April.....	60.3
1894.....	63	May.....	60.1
1885.....	62	June.....	59.3

Thus the bimetalists believe that, with perfect equity, with a minimum of monetary disturbance, with the probability of forcing international agreement, the United States can adopt the free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for international agreement, and thus save the country from the commercial ruin, the industrial prostration, the subserviency to the money power of Europe and America, the infamous bond issues and syndicate contracts, the increase of indebtedness that have long rested like a miasma on the land. Says President Andrews, in a published letter under date of July 14, 1896 :

"After a possible first shock our credit would improve after free coinage. It is our present course which must speedily lower our credit. How long could a man or a firm continue to have credit who borrowed each year to pay a large portion of his running expenses? Yet on a gold basis this course is inevitable, and that is at this moment the reason why foreign lenders are shy of our securities. There must be a change if we would avoid bankruptcy. With free coinage every industry would look up, and even if we lost our gold, our prosperity would invite in English capital just as Japan's prosperity now causes it to rush there.

"Never since slavery days has the press in the parts of the country familiar to me displayed such disregard for truth and such stubborn obtuseness to the most obvious considerations as it does at present on the silver question. This means that the money power seated in London, but with representatives in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, is determined to continue the appreciation of gold, and determined, therefore, that the fact shall not be known. The bankers and the press are almost entirely under its influence.

"I think the money question at the present time the great question of civilization."

THE RADICAL VIEW.

The Radical view on the silver question is quite different from the bimetallic view. It may accept the bimetallic analysis of the

present situation, but it bases its support of silver on quite other grounds. It is essentially a Greenback party and not a bimetallic party. Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, describing the Populist convention of 1896 at St. Louis, says (*Review of Reviews*, September, 1896):

"The members of the People's Party have had most of their education on the money question from the Greenbackers among them. . . . The People's Party believes really in a currency redeemable in all the products of human labor, and not in gold alone, nor in gold and silver."

The People's Party accepts silver at best as but a stepping-stone to further currency reforms, while many of the party question whether it is much of a step. It is not that the People's Party wants more money, no matter how gained. It knows very clearly what kind of money it wants. Probably no body of men in the world are better educated on the money question than those who represent recent Greenbackism. They have had 30 years of discussion of it. They have no loose ideas about inflation; they know perfectly well the evils of overissue; but they also know perfectly well the evils of underissue. What they want is a paper currency, carefully restricted and regulated on scientific principles according to the multiple standard (*q. v.*) or some such system. This view, it must be remembered, has the support of almost all of even the most cautious economists, with the single tho important exception that most economists, believe the people cannot be trusted to conduct such a currency within safe limits, and that a currency not kept within such limits would be the worst kind of money. The point of difference between scientific Greenbackers and conservative economists is simply then how far the nation can be trusted to regulate a paper currency. But however this be, the Populist Party, recognizing that the majority of the nation could not be got to favor paper money, is willing, or at least a majority of the party is willing, to accept silver money as a step in that direction. (For the argument for paper money, see PAPER MONEY; also MULTIPLE STANDARD.) The party is willing to compromise on silver simply because it believes that no advance can be made in America till the power of the money monopoly be broken. It supports silver, therefore, mainly to defeat gold.

Scientific Currency.

Says Mr. Lloyd (speaking of the St. Louis convention, *idem*):

"The strongest single body of believers in the convention was this of anti-monopoly in everything, including the currency. These men would rather have declared for the demonetization of gold than the remonetization of silver. . . . But those who might have called this force into activity were quiescent. . . . The fear ruled that unless the reform forces united this time they would never have the opportunity to unite. It was in the air that there must be union."

The reason for this desire for union must be found in the bitterness and intensity of the hatred of the money power of the United States. It was not a new feeling. It is the result of 30 years of agitation against the gold power, beginning with the struggles over the

greenbacks (*q. v.*) in war time. This element cannot be dissociated from the present situation, without utterly misunderstanding the situation. The silver movement is not a passing craze. Says the *American Review of Reviews* (August, 1896) of the Democratic convention which declared for free silver:

"They were self-respecting American citizens who detest anarchy, abhor repudiation, and occupy their present attitude with the clearest conscience and strongest conviction that have guided their political action at any time since the war.

"The moral superiority in the convention did not lie with the masterful politicians of the Hill and Whitney type, who went to Chicago with the impression that they might, through long experience in convention management, divide the ranks of the free-silver majority and secure a compromise result. Against the earnestness, openness, and almost fanatical intensity of the free-silver majority, the calculating politicians were simply helpless."

It is not inconsistent with the fact of this moral earnestness that many Populist leaders have been led into exaggeration and mistake as to facts. Such is their assertion as to the so-called "crime of 1873." It can be proved (see MONOMETALISM) that there was no conspiracy or concealment on the part at least of most of those who prepared and voted for the famous act of that year, nominally demonetizing a metal which had been practically demonetized nearly 40 years. It is also evident to most thinkers that Populist speakers and writers are mistaken when they refer, in the literal sense of the word, to any *conspiracy* at any time by the gold influence of England or Wall Street. There is no remotest proof of

Conspiracy?

such a conspiracy. The much discussed story about the coming of Ernest Seyd to this country as the representative of the gold power, to obtain the passage of the bill of 1873, is a myth. Nevertheless, the Populists who talk of a conspiracy are not so wrong as at first appears. Literally, they are wrong; there has been no conspiracy, but perhaps, only because there has been no need of one. In no civilized country (except occasionally in the United States) has the financial policy of that country been directed by the masses of its people. In every country (and including the United States, except on a few occasions) the financial policy of the country has been directed by the class engaged in the business of handling or loaning money. Especially has this been the case in England. Now the perfectly avowed and natural interest of this class has been, for the last 30 years in all countries, and for the last 80 years in England, to favor gold. Its members have, therefore, perfectly honestly and usually openly, worked for the demonetization of everything except gold. They may have issued private circulars and written private letters and they probably have, but this was their right, since perhaps 90 per cent. of this class have honestly believed that their views were for the real good of all, and since this view can be, to say the least, strongly defended (see MONOMETALISM). There has been therefore no conspiracy nor need of one. And yet this whole class, to a greater or less degree, does agree together to oppose all forms of currency expansion and

recently the use of anything as standard money but gold. The effect of this upon the world is well known.

The effects of gold appreciation upon the prosperity of a country have never been more strongly felt by any Populist than by some of the sober economists quoted above. Yet steadily, from 1863 to 1896, the moneyed class time after time have prevailed upon Congress to enact a bill now partly destroying the legal-tender value of greenbacks; now withdrawing all paper money; now voting to pay bondholders in gold, tho the soldiers who risked their lives in war were paid in paper; now demonetizing silver; now repealing what few bills have been passed looking toward a larger currency. When the producing masses have induced Congress to at least compromise, they have seen the money power influence the President to a veto. Recently they have seen the administration, in closest intimacy with a secret syndicate, giving it favorable terms on loans of millions of dollars, the interest on which the people must pay. Is it any wonder that the cry of a gold conspiracy has been raised? Mrs. S. Emery's *Seven Financial Conspiracies* is said to have reached a sale of 400,000 copies. As its statements have played a large part in financial history we quote a synopsis of it here, given by Mr. G. B. Waldron in his *Handbook on Currency and Wealth* (pp. 37-40). Mr. Waldron gives also the answer which Mr. Sherman has made to the book, and we quote his answer. It will be seen, as stated above, that Mrs. Emery is wrong in charging conspiracy, but also that she is not wrong in her argument that our legislation has been unjustly influenced again and again by the money interest.

Says Mr. Waldron:

"The first great conspiracy, according to Mrs. Emery, was in the law of February 25, 1862.

"Wherein it was stipulated that the greenback should be a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt, which from that time forward should be paid in coin."

"This 'created a demand for gold,' and sent it to a premium, reaching 18 per cent. in 1864. The special advantage of this to 'Shylock' was that 'he could buy bonds with greenbacks at face value, and by means of the exemption clause he could turn his gold into greenbacks at enormous advantage.' It further added greatly to the cost of imported goods, for which the war made a greatly increased demand. Duties being payable in gold, with gold at a premium, the prices of imported goods would be greatly advanced to the consumer.

"In a reply to this, made October 15, 1861, and widely circulated in the press, Senator John Sherman acknowledged that 'the duties on imported goods were required to be paid in coin, in order to provide the means to pay the interest on our bonds in coin.' Then he adds:

"This clause had not only the cordial support of Secretary Chase, but of President Lincoln, and proved to be the most important financial aid of the Government devised during the war. Goods being imported upon coin values, it was but right that the duty to the Government should be paid in the same coin. Otherwise, the duties would have been constantly diminishing with the lessening purchasing power of our greenbacks. If the interest of our debt had not been paid in coin, we could have borrowed no money abroad, and the rate of interest, instead of diminishing, as it did, would have been largely increased, and the volume of our paper money would necessarily have had to be increased, and its market value would have gone down lower and lower, and probably ended, as Confederate money did, in being as worthless as

rag. This exemption clause saved our public credit by making a market for our bonds, and was paid by foreigners for the privilege of entering our markets.

"For proof of conspiracy the famous 'Hazzard Circular' is offered in evidence (not by Mrs. Emery, however). This purports to be issued by Charles Hazzard, an agent of London capitalists in 1862, to New York capitalists. It is said to have been taken

from letter-files of the First National Bank of Council Grove, Kan., by Isaac Sharp in 1873, and first published in the Council Grove *Guard* September 18, 1886. James G. Nisbett made affidavit in the county of Posey, Indiana, on May 29, 1894, that, while on guard in the army at Lebanon, Ky., about the 25th of July, 1862, he with Sheridan Anderson, now deceased, were ordered to follow a party of three, one woman and two men, and that when asked to account for themselves one of them gave his name as Charles Hazzard, told that he was an Englishman in this country on business, and gave them a package of envelopes containing circulars. One of these Nisbett retained, and in his affidavit gave in full substantially as it appeared in the Council Grove *Guard*. It is as follows:

"Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war power, and chattel slavery destroyed. This I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor, and carries with it the care of the laborer, while the European plan led on by England is capital control of labor by controlling wages. This can be done by controlling the money. The great debt, that capitalists will see to it is made out of the war, must be used as a measure to control the volume of money. To accomplish this, the bonds must be used as a banking basis. We are now waiting to get the Secretary of the Treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenbacks, as they are called, to circulate as money any length of time, as we cannot control them. But we can control the bonds, and through them the bank issues."

"The second 'conspiracy,' according to Mrs. Emery, was the national banking system in 1863.

"By it Shylock was permitted to invest his greenbacks in Government bonds at face value. Upon these bonds he not only drew gold interest in advance, but by means of the bank scheme he actually had 90 per cent. of their value returned to him. While drawing interest upon the entire investment in the form of bonds, 90 per cent. of it has been returned to him in the form of national bank-notes, and it is with these he carries on his banking business, loaning them out upon the most advantageous terms."

"Of this national banking system Senator John Sherman says:

"It is now conceded to have been the best form of paper money issued by banks that has ever been devised. It was organized to take the place of the State banks, which at the beginning of the war had outstanding over \$200,000,000 of notes, of value varying from State to State, and most of it at a discount of from 5 to 25 per cent. It was absolutely necessary to get rid of these State bank-notes, and to substitute in their place the notes of banks which were secured beyond doubt by the deposit of United States bonds, a system so perfect that, from the beginning until now, no one has lost a dollar in the circulating notes of national banks."

"*Conspiracy No. 3.*—According to Mrs. Emery the act of April 12, 1866, was passed for the purpose of contracting the currency by destroying the greenbacks, upon which the people paid no interest. This gave 'Shylock' more bonds, and at the same time 'lowered the prices of other property and added that much more to the burdens of the debtor class.' It doubled the debt of the Government, so that 'to-day it would take more bushels of wheat, more tons of hay, or bales of cotton, to pay our national debt than it would have taken at the close of the war.'

"On this point Senator Sherman denies that there has been any contraction, saying:

"It has been demonstrated by official documents that, from the beginning of the war to this time, the volume of our currency has been increasing year by year more rapidly than our population. . . . The statements made by Mrs. Emery about the contraction of our currency are not only misleading, but they are absolutely false. She states that in 1868 \$473,000,000 of our money was destroyed, and in 1869 \$500,000,000 of our money passed into a cremation furnace, and in 1870 \$67,000,000 was destroyed. Now, these statements are absolutely false. What she calls

money in these paragraphs was the most burdensome form of interest-bearing securities, Treasury notes bearing 7½ per cent. interest, and compound-interest notes. These were the chief and most burdensome items of the public debt. They were paid off in the years named, and were never at any time for more than a single day money in circulation. When issued they were received as money, but as interest accrued they became investments, and were not at all in circulation."

"Says Mrs. Emery:

"*Conspiracy No. 4.*—The fourth act in Shylock's tragedy, by which the Government and its great people were sacrificed, is familiarly known as the *credit-strengthening act*, by which the 5-20 bonds were made payable in coin.

This act, approved March 18, 1866, added to the burdens of the people more than six hundred millions of dollars. It is claimed by many bondholders and their leaders that the act which authorized the issue of these bonds made them payable in gold. But there is no such possible interpretation of the act; and if they were issued payable in gold in the first place, why did they pass the credit-strengthening act of 1869? The very fact that they passed that act four years after the close of the war, when the country was at peace with the world and itself, is proof beyond question that they were at first made payable in legal tender, and that this law was passed for no other purpose than that of doubling the wealth of the bondholder, which, of necessity, must and *did* double the burdens of the people."

"She further declares that Grant's election to the Presidency and Sherman's appointment to the Treasury were secured through their pledges to obtain the passage of this infamous act."

"Senator Sherman says with reference to this act:

"I maintain, and still believe, that by a fair construction of the loan laws we had a right to pay the principal of the bonds as they matured in greenbacks of the kind and character in existence when the bonds were issued, but I insisted that it was the duty of the Government to define a time when the greenbacks should be either redeemed or maintained at par in coin; that this was a plain obligation of honor and duty which rested upon the United States, and that it was not honorable or right to avail ourselves of our own negligence in restoring these notes to the specie standard in order to pay the bonds in the depreciated money. This idea is embodied in the credit-strengthening act."

"*Conspiracy No. 5.*—The next step Mrs. Emery says was that of refunding the national debt by the act of July 14, 1870:

"It was a scheme to perpetuate the debt, and a plot against the people to keep them forever under the yoke of bondage. . . . It has placed the burden beyond the control of the generation that created it. We have already paid interest enough to have twice paid the debt, and yet to-day it is a greater burden upon the people than it was at the close of the war. . . . There is but one interpretation to the funding act; its object is to compel our children and children's children, through all generations, to serve the children of these bondholders."

"In reply to this, Senator Sherman says:

"At the date of the passage of the refunding act, July 14, 1870, we had outstanding bonds bearing 5 and 6 per cent. interest for about \$1,500,000,000. By the wise providence of Congress we had reserved the right of redeeming a portion of this debt within five years, and a portion of it within ten years, so that the debt was, in the main, then, redeemable at our pleasure. It was not possible to pay it in coin, and it was not honorable to pay it in greenbacks, especially as that could only have been done by issuing new greenbacks far beyond the volume existing during the war, and which would at once depreciate in value and destroy the public credit, and dishonor the country. We therefore authorized the exchange, par for par, of bonds bearing 4, 4½, and 5 per cent. interest for the bonds bearing a higher rate of interest. The only contest in Congress upon the subject was whether the new bonds should run 5, 10, and 15 years, or 10, 15, and 30 years. I advocated the shorter period, but the House of Representatives, believing that the new bonds would not sell at par unless running for a longer period, insisted that the 4 per cent. bonds should run for 30 years. . . . It required some 10 years to complete these refunding operations—of which the larger part was accomplished while I was Secretary

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Contraction.

of the Treasury—and they resulted in a saving of one-third of the interest on the debt.

"*Conspiracy No. 6.*—In the words of Mrs. Emery: 'We next find these civilized brigands have consummated a scheme for the *demonetization of silver.*' This act, passed in 1873, destroyed the money quality of silver, and thus produced a farther contraction of the currency. The object of this act was first to prevent the payment of the bonds, and second to increase their value."

Demonetization of Silver.

Alleged Bribery by Ernest Seyd.—Here the claim of conspiracy is brought forward in great detail. *The Banker's Magazine* of August, 1873, is quoted, as follows, by Senator Daniel of Virginia, in a speech delivered in the Senate, May 22, 1870 (p. 5128):

"In 1872, silver being demonetized in Germany, England, and Holland, a capital of £100,000 [\$500,000] was raised, and Ernest Seyd was sent to this country with this fund, as agent for foreign bondholders, to effect the same object."

"Mrs. Emery says (p. 52) that this testimony is corroborated by *The Congressional Globe* of April 9, 1872, as follows:

"Ernest Seyd of London, a distinguished writer and bullionist *who is now here*, has given great attention to the subject of mint and coinage. After having examined the first draft of this bill (for the demonetization of silver), he made various sensible suggestions, which the committee adopted and embodied in the bill."

"Frederick A. Luckenbach appeared before James A. Miller, the clerk of the Supreme Court at Denver, Col., on May 6, 1872, and made affidavit that as an inventor and business man, at Philadelphia and New York, he made several business visits to London; that he became well acquainted with Mr. Ernest Seyd in London, meeting him first in 1865, and renewing his acquaintance with him each year, and 'upon each occasion became his guest at one or more times, joining his family at dinner or other meals.' In February, 1874, while at dinner at Mr. Seyd's house, the conversation turned on rumored corruption in the Parliament, and Mr. Seyd told him that 'he [Seyd] could relate facts about the corruption of the American Congress that would place it far ahead of the English Parliament in that line.' Mr. Luckenbach relates that after dinner Mr. Seyd took him apart, and after making him pledge his honor not to relate what he was about to say, made this statement:

"I went to America in the winter of 1872-73, authorized to secure, if I could, a bill demonetizing silver. It was to the interest of those I represented—the governors of the Bank of England—to have it done. I took with me £100,000 sterling, with instructions if it was not sufficient to accomplish the object, to draw for another £100,000, or as much as was necessary."

"He said that German bankers were also interested in having it accomplished, and that he was the financial adviser of the bank. He continued:

"I saw the committee of the House and Senate, and paid the money, and stayed in America until I knew the measure was safe."

"This affidavit of Mr. Luckenbach was made after the death of Mr. Seyd. A few weeks later there appeared in the New York *Evening Post* a letter from Ernest Seyd, his son, and Richard Seyd, his brother, giving an unqualified denial of these statements. They say:

"Ernest Seyd was not in the United States at that date, for the purpose of bribing members of Congress to vote for the demonetization of silver, never having been there since 1856. The statement is the more absurd as he was the first to take up the cause of silver in England against the prevailing doctrine here, and remained a consistent supporter of silver, as his numerous works on the subject will show."

"There is no question that Mr. Seyd was a bimetalist, but it has been claimed on the other side that Mr. Seyd, in coming to this country, was acting not in accordance with his own beliefs, but in the interests of his clients, the Bank of England, and that, if the son and brother are honest in defense of a dead member of their family, they may have been mistaken. Mr. Seyd may have come to America at the time without their knowledge."

"But Mr. Alfred T. Story, an English correspondent for *The Voice* [given in *The Voice* of May 30, 1895], went to see the son and brother of Ernest Seyd at London, and was shown the letter-books of the firm for the years 1872 and 1873, when Mr. Seyd was said to

have been in America. He made a special investigation of the signatures of Ernest Seyd, Sr., from October, 1872, to March, 1873, and 'found that they were frequent all through that period; and there were certainly no breaks between the dates long enough for Mr. Seyd to have paid a visit to the States.' These signatures were pointed out to him by the cashier of the firm, who was in the business with them in 1872-73. The cashier said that he was prepared to take oath that the signatures were Ernest Seyd's, Sr.

"When asked whether he knew Frederick A. Luckenbach, and whether he was on such terms of intimacy with Ernest Seyd's family as to make his statement at all possible, Mr. Richard Seyd said:

"Mr. Luckenbach had an introduction to us, and he on several occasions dined at my own and my brother's house. Mr. Luckenbach, however, was an uneducated man, and I can only suppose, putting the most charitable construction on Mr. Luckenbach's statements, that that gentleman misunderstood some jesting that may have taken place, and upon such misunderstanding built up his strange accusations."

"As to the quotation in *The Banker's Journal*, the editor of that journal in New York city declares that no such statement ever appeared in the pages of *The Journal*. The quotation from *The Congressional Globe* occurs in a speech by Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts, before the House. He does refer to and received from Ernest Seyd of London, in reference to the bill then before Congress, which resulted in the demonetization of the silver dollar, but the words which are printed in italics

Mr. Seyd.

(see p. 41), '*who is now here*,' making Mr. Seyd to be actually present in the country at that time (1872), do not appear in the records of *The Congressional Globe*, and seem to have been added by some one to the quotation."

"The letter of Ernest Seyd to Mr. Hooper has since been published in the records of Congress. (Senate Mis. Doc. No. 20, Fifty-third Congress, first session.) It is dated 'La Princes Street Bank, London, February, 17, 1872,' and among other things of a technical character recommends the coining of a silver dollar of 400 grains legal tender to any amount not exceeding \$100 (or \$50). Near the close of his long letter Mr. Seyd makes this statement:

"I am myself, as you will perceive from my writings, and others with me, in favor of the full and complete adoption of the double valuation, giving full legal tender to coins as low even as one-fourth dollar in value, believing that this is the only true system upon which a future universal system of coinage can be based. Nevertheless, recognizing the difficulty of carrying this point at present, and in order to enable you to uphold the essential features of the gold valuation, I limit my recommendation to the issue of this single full-valued dollar-piece, under the proposed restriction of tender value to \$50 or \$100, partly for enabling you, without drawback or inconvenience whatever, to widen or to close the valuation question at any time, and partly in order to relieve you of the unsuitable obligations of the mint to redeem a surplus of either the token silver or the token copper coinage."

"Whatever may be said as to the question of conspiracy in the act of 1873, the fact remains that the standard silver dollar was dropped out of the law, and not again restored until the act of 1878."

"Mrs. Emery says that the panic of 1873 was the direct result of this demonetization, but it is difficult to see how this could be, since the time between demonetization and the panic was so short, and there was little silver in circulation at the time."

"At about this time appeared two circulars to which reference is frequently made by writers on the question of conspiracy by the moneyed men of the country. Under date of October 9, 1877, it is stated that the following circular was sent to all the bankers of the country:

"DEAR SIR: It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain such prominent daily and weekly newspapers, especially the agricultural and religious press, as will oppose the issuing of greenback paper money, and that you also withhold patronage or favors from all applicants who are not willing to oppose the Government issue of money. Let the Government issue the coin, and the banks issue the paper money of the country, for then we can better protect each other."

"To repeal the law creating national bank-notes, or to restore to circulation the Government issue of money, will be to provide the people with money, and

will, therefore, seriously affect your individual profit as bankers and lenders. See your Congressman at once, and engage him to support our interests, that we may control legislation.

"JAMES BUELL, Secretary,
"247 Broadway."

"Colonel S. F. Norton of Chicago, author of *Ten Men of Money Island*, is said to have a copy of this circular given him by a banker in Bloomington, Ia.

"*Attempted Press Bribery.*—The Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (Rep.) of October 20, 1877, contains the following:

"The *Inter-Ocean* acknowledges the receipt of the following singular document which came to this office from New York, Saturday morning:

"THE AMERICAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION,

"247 Broadway, Room 4.

"New York, October 9, 1877.

"Strictly private.

"DEAR SIR: Please insert the inclosed printed slip as leaded matter on the editorial page of your first issue immediately following the receipt of this, and send marked copy with the bill to

"Yours truly,

"JAMES BUELL, Sec'y.

"Comments on the slip, not to exceed half a column, will be paid for, if billed at the same time.

"J. B."

"The following is the document, which we are asked to insert as leaded matter on the editorial page; in other words, as a statement made by the *Inter-Ocean*.

"The Greenback Party has offered, through its managers, to sell out to the Democrats and hereafter to work in Democratic harness if a few of their leaders can be provided for. This shows how much dependence there is to be placed on the leaders of the lunatics who clamor for money based on nothing."

"We insert this, but we shall send no bill for it. We shall send no bill because, in the first place, we do not follow directions about leading it; secondly, we can't believe a word of the statement to be true. We do not know who is managing the affairs of the American Bankers' Association; but, whoever he is, we advise that body to get rid of him without delay. The attempt to thus maliciously destroy the Greenback Party, without submitting a word of proof, is a piece of effrontery which ought to be beneath any body of commercial gentlemen, and especially the American Bankers' Association. We refuse to believe that such an extraordinary document was authorized by that body."

"In the New York *Sun* (Dem.) of October 25, 1877, only four days earlier, appeared notice of the receipt of a similar letter requesting that the following be inserted:

"The prospect is that in six months there will not be a Greenback leader in all the land. Overtures have been made by the leaders of the Greenback movement to President Hayes to abandon the greenback as a lost cause, provided that he will give good official positions to about twenty of the most blatant of the clamorous for money that is based on nothing."

"It is but proper to say that James Buell is dead and cannot speak for himself; but others, at that time officers of the American Bankers' Association of New York city, deny that such circulars were ever issued by authority of the association.

"In the words of Mrs. Emery:

"*Conspiracy No. 7.*—This act, passed January 24, 1875, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to destroy the fractional currency, and issue silver coin in like denominations to take its place. The people had found the fractional currency convenient, not only as a medium of exchange at home, but especially cheap and convenient for small remittances in trade. The destruction of this money was a serious injury to the business men of the country. For without fractional currency even small remittances incurred the expense of a draft or money-order. But Congress appeared to be looking after the interest of the money-monger, and not to the prosperity of the country.

"It next became necessary to issue bonds with which to purchase the silver bullion authorized for coinage. Let it be remembered that these were untaxed, interest-bearing bonds, and of such large denominations that only capitalists were able to carry them, while to the debt-ridden people was added the interest of these very bonds, which could only exist by the destruction of the greenbacks and fractional currency upon which the people paid no interest.

Resumption.

"The restoration of silver as a medium of exchange was a great triumph to the unthinking masses, and greatly increased their confidence in the governmental policy, but to those who studied the situation the jingle of silver was another death-knell to the prosperity of the country."

"This Senator Sherman calls 'the pride and boast of the Government of the United States,' since it resulted in 'the restoration of our notes, long after the war was over, to the standard of coin.'

"These are the seven acts of government, which Mrs. Emery calls the 'Seven Financial Conspiracies,' but which Senator Sherman in reply declares to be 'the seven great pillars of our financial credit, the seven great financial measures by which the Government was saved from the perils of war, and by which the United States has become the most flourishing and prosperous nation in the world.'"

Thus far Mr. Waldron's condensation of Mrs. Emery's charges and Senator Sherman's reply. It will be seen that as to conspiracy Mrs. Emery has not made out her case, and that the less Populist writers say about the Hazard circular, Mr. Seyd's alleged bribery, and the so-called Buell circular, the better for their cause. Nevertheless, he who does not read between the lines vital truths accompanied by occasional mistakes, can scarcely realize the situation. Whatever one thinks about the necessity of making the greenbacks not good in payment of duties or the interest on the public debt, only protectionists will accept Senator Sherman's glib answer that foreigners pay the duties on imports, while many will question the statement that we could only find a market for bonds by making them payable in gold. As for the creation of our present national banking system; contraction of the currency; the so-called "credit strengthening act"; the refunding of the debt; the demonetization of silver; resumption of specie payments—Mrs. Emery's concluding seven points—no person can deny that they took place; that they were each one pushed through Congress by the influence of the moneyed classes, and that they were every one in pursuance of a settled policy of gold monometalism. (For a discussion of them see CURRENCY.) The Populists have a grievance, and a bitter one, if all economists are right, that falling prices do depend on the quantity of the currency; that falling prices are fatal to prosperity, and that an expanded currency can raise prices. They have seen millionaires flourish and agriculturists suffer; they have steadily seen corporations and trusts fatten, and prices fall; they have seen great syndicates hand in glove with Presidents and controlling Congress. All they desire is the return of prices to where they were when most debts were contracted, and then, on that basis, the establishment of a just and scientific currency. Such, in brief, is the Populists' argument. It is with them an intensely moral one, and a cry for justice. If temporarily the monetization of silver should raise prices for the working classes before it raised their wages, Populists believe that, by raising prices, silver monetization will so stimulate industry that workmen will be employed all the time instead of on half time, as they are largely to-day, and so better off, even with higher prices. Investors in savings-banks, etc., will not be robbed, because they believe the talk of a 50-cent dollar

to be a false argument raised by interested classes and caught up by a deceived public. They believe that silver will be made equal with gold and that with quickened industry, living prices, the country can go on to a scientific currency, which shall be better than either silver or gold. If, on the other hand, the producers of factory and field do not unite against the gold interest, Populists believe that money must continue to contract, prices continue to fall, and a suffering result which may leave the workers almost helpless. Said President Walker, who is not a Populist (Address before the American Economic Association, December 26, 1890):

"The money supply is not a matter of no consequence. Alike considerable excess and considerable deficiency inevitably become the source of direful ills and woes unnumbered. If of an irredeemable and fluctuating paper currency, that alcohol of commerce, it can be said that 'it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder,' with equal truth may it be added that strangulation, suffocation are not words too strong to express the agony of the industrial body when embraced in the fast-tightening folds of contracting money supply."

References: *International Bimetallism*, by Francis A. Walker (1896); *An Honest Dollar*, by President E. B. Andrews (1889); *Coin's Financial School*, by W. H. Harvey (1894). Also the books and magazine articles quoted above.

SINGLE TAX, THE.—A statement of the fundamental principles of the reform bearing the name of the Single Tax, and prepared for the *Financial Reform Almanack* of England, for the year 1891, by the great apostle of the movement, Henry George, is herewith presented. For a necessarily brief exposition, nothing more comprehensive and authoritative has been written. Speaking for himself and his associates, Mr. George says:

"We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it.

"What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

"Our tax involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate and to abolish all of that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the 'unearned increment of land values.'

"That the value of land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues—municipal, county, and national—there is no doubt. To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency, and (2) of its justice.

"(1) It would dispense with a whole army of tax-gatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the Treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while, by making government

simpler and cheaper, it would make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery, and corruption; which lead men into temptation, and which tax what **Expediency.** the nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out of doors and cannot be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain upon public morals.

"It would enormously increase the production of wealth:

"A. By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade there will be less trade; if we tax capital there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, therefore, that we would abolish, are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values, there will be no less land.

"B. On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they themselves do not care to use, to hold it idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taxing of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If any one will but look around to-day and see the unused or but half used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

"C. The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produces an unjust distribution of wealth which is building up in the hands of a few fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming relatively poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices, they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values—fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community, but merely the appropriation by some of what the labor of others creates.

"This unjust distribution of wealth develops on the one hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too rich, and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful, because they are too poor—it deprives men of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient

producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

"D. The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundred-fold millionaire on the one side, and the tramp and the pauper on the other, generates thieves, gamblers, social parasites of all kinds, and requires large expenditure of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, and prisons, and other means of defense and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth, and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity, and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the single tax would save.

"E. The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of one another in cities, because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because, instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grabs all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increase of value, and the next man must pass further on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dug-outs on the prairies afar from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental, or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The waste in health, in mental vigor, and in unnecessary transportation results in great economic losses which the Single Tax would save.

"(2) Let us turn to the moral side, and consider the question of justice. The right of

Justice. property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command, 'Thou shalt not steal.' The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right of ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing. But who made the earth that any man can claim such an ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwelling-place on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no

one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land for one to reap the products of his labor. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

"When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the State commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

"Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labor; for land is not produced by man, it has been created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labor on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value that attaches to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that there are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice, therefore, requires that this premium or value shall be taken for the benefit of all, in order to secure to all their equal rights.

"Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvement of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population, that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore, is the proper fund for defraying the common expenses of the whole population; and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly, which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom his providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labor, or the things produced by labor, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

"These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the Single Tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all the reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do; but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best instead of, as now in so many cases, what is worst. It will permit such an enormous production of wealth as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labor problem,

if the single tax will change

and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved property an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptations to lying, false swearing, bribery, and law-breaking. It will open to all, even to the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told his disciples to pray and work. It is not because it is a promising invention or cunning device that we look for the Single Tax to do all this; it is because it involves a conforming of the most fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by."

Although the present political and social agitation of the land question, now active and increasing in every nation where representative government exists, dates only from the year 1879, when Henry George, the unknown California printer, published his great work, *Progress and Poverty*, the primary principles had been already recognized and enunciated by statesmen and thinkers. First among these were the famous physiocrats, to whom Mr. George dedicates his book on *Protection or Free Trade*, as follows: "To the memory of those illustrious Frenchmen of a century ago, Quesnay, Turgot, Mirabeau, Condorcet, Dupont, and their fellows, who in the night of despotism foresaw the glories of the coming day." These economists were far in advance of Adam Smith, desiring the abolition not only of protective duties but all taxes direct or indirect, except a single tax upon land values. In England the true philosophical statement of "The Right to the Use of the Earth" was first popularly presented by Herbert Spencer, in the famous ninth chapter of his work on *Social Statics*, published in 1850. At that time the practical applications of the principles enunciated seemed infinitely remote, and were treated as interesting abstract speculations. Since the publication, however, of *Progress and Poverty*, which brought the question of land monopoly into a practical relation with politics, making it "a burning question," Mr. Spencer has taken occasion in his latest volume of *Justice*, to modify and apologize for his early utterances. Nevertheless, the original statement stands and will continue to stand as the most complete ethical expression of the subject yet formulated. For a comprehensive consideration of Herbert Spencer's change of attitude, the reader is referred to *A Perplexed Philosopher* by Henry George (1892).

Others also of less note had discerned and enunciated the principle underlying the Single Tax, but it remained for the author of

Progress and Poverty, by that work of genius, to compel the world's attention to it. For a succinct and orderly idea of the origin and phenomenal growth of the organized Single-Tax movement, the reader is referred to the files of *The Standard* of New York, whose publication, beginning January 9, 1887, and ending August 31, 1892, covers the pioneer period. Its continuance was not deemed essential, for the reason that the press of the country could no longer avoid the discussion. In its place several journals in different parts of the country now (1894) devote themselves exclusively to the Single-Tax propaganda.

The ethical statement of the reform seldom meets with objection. It cannot be denied that justice demands equal access to natural opportunity for all human beings who must live upon this earth. It is indisputable that land is a bounty of the Creator and not the product of man; and that all wealth is derived from land by the application of man's labor. This truth once granted it follows logically that land must be separated from wealth, altho law and custom have mixed the two, confusing private property with natural opportunity. The distinction is clear and simple. What the individual makes is his. What nature supplies is the birthright of all. Hence, land ceases to be rightfully private property. It is for use, not for ownership. The Single Tax has the distinction of pointing out how, without disturbing existing titles, or weakening possession, or lessening security, justice may be done impartially. Access to land being a common right, private monopoly is a universal wrong, unless the user pays the community for the privilege. As sites vary in desirability, grading from those which are now useless to the New York lot which recently sold at the rate of \$15,000,000 per acre, the difference is distinguished as rent, a value created by the growth of the community and the demand for special situations. This preferential difference, or economic rent, made by and belonging to the people, is a natural fund, ample to sustain necessary government. By every one who uses land paying a proper rental for the privilege—not to the landlord, who now claims it, but to the Government, who dispenses it for the general good—substantial equity is secured.

The objections urged against the Single Tax are various, beginning with an expression of doubt concerning its beneficent working, and ending with the charge of confiscation. Granting that exact results are beyond human power of prediction, it may be safely affirmed that if the principles of the reform are correct, the result may be left to take care of itself. Every great movement in behalf of human welfare, like the abolition of the corn-laws or the emancipation of the American slave, has been forced to meet the same prophecies of evil, duly proved to be groundless.

As regards "confiscation," to give that name to the action of society in taking the value which it creates and which belongs to it, altho that value has for generations been

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misappropriated by individuals, is to misuse terms and confuse sacred rights. The Single Tax aims only to stop the present confiscation. It does not ask indemnity for the past, but security for the future. All it proposes is to take every year that value which society in its collective sense creates during that year, leaving untaxed everything made or produced by the individual.

The advocates of the Single Tax, while recognizing the justice and propriety of governmental control of certain natural monopolies, such as franchises belonging to all of the people, and now generally bestowed without compensation on private corporations, are by no means socialists. They would not substitute paternalism for individual freedom. The Single Tax aims at equality of opportunity and not of possessions. With fair play and an open field, it would trust results. It does not fear competition, but has no faith in the stability of a society where free competition is denied. It repudiates the game where part of the players use loaded dice. It has more faith in the people than in their rulers, and does not think that any combination, whether it calls itself a trust or a government, can manage private affairs half as well as the people can do it themselves. Rather it demands less government and more freedom.

For a comprehensive discussion of the Single Tax, touching all points at issue, the reader is referred to the works of Henry George, notably *Progress and Poverty*; *Social Problems*; *Protection or Free Trade*; *The Land Question*; *The Condition of Labor* (*An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII.*); and *A Perplexed Philosopher*. W. S. GARRISON.

OBJECTIONS TO THE SINGLE TAX.

Objections to the Single Tax usually come from two opposite standpoints, from conservatives who believe in private property in land, and from socialists or other radical thinkers, who consider the Single Tax an inadequate way of meeting the land problem. The two classes of objections may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, conservatives argue against the Single Tax as in the first place based on false assumptions in justice. Mr. George bases his argument on the assumption that since, to use his words, "Land values arise from the presence of all . . . the land belongs equally to all." This is of course a *non sequitur*. The land does not belong equally to all unless its value is contributed to equally by all, which is notoriously not the case. As Mr. Spahr points out in *The Political Science Quarterly* (vol. vi. No. 4), there are many individuals whose presence on land lowers its value, while there are many more whose presence increases land values very slightly. He instances in America, the North American Indians and the Hungarians and Italians, who pour into New York City. It depends on how much land is improved, whether the presence of people gives it value. It is even questionable whether, were it not for improvements, land would have any value. Undoubtedly unimproved lots surrounded by improved lots have often im-

mense value, but remove *all* improvements and how much value would they have? Therefore it is said to tax land values is as much to tax labor as any other tax, and like any other tax to tax an earned increment. Thus, the foundation in justice of the Single Tax is overthrown.

Secondly, conservatives argue that the Single Tax is unjust because it distinguishes between forms of labor. Here is a man who has put all his earnings into land; another has invested his in manufactures. Neither themselves work, yet the Single Tax would take the whole income of the one and not touch the income of the other.

Thirdly, conservatives argue that the Single Tax would work ill, because it would weaken at its very vital point the sense of private ownership in the soil, which has been the very keystone of society. (For a discussion of this, see LAND.)

Fourthly, conservatives argue that the Single Tax would not raise sufficient revenue for the government to enable it to do away with all other taxes, and so the whole theory of the Single Tax would be upset. Says Mr. Spahr (*idem*):

"As regards England, we have fortunately at hand the statistics prepared by Mr. Giffen in his paper before the Statistical Society in December, 1883, in which he was not considering the subject of the Single Tax, and is therefore not open to the charge of special pleading. The value of the farm lands of Great Britain in 1883 was \$8,400,000,000. The value of the houses was \$9,500,000,000. If we assume that 60 per cent. of the value of the English houses was the value of the land on which they stood, then the total value of all the land in England was but \$14,000,000,000. The taxation of England in 1883 was \$750,000,000, of which not to exceed \$100,000,000 rests upon land. The question then is, could the land of England support an additional tax of \$650,000,000? The answer is obvious when we remember that Mr. Giffen arrived at the total land value by multiplying rentals by thirty; that is, the average rental of land in England is $\frac{1}{30}$ per cent. Three and one-third per cent. upon \$14,000,000,000 would be but \$470,000,000. In other words, the Single Tax in England, even if the entire rentals of the land inclusive of improvements incorporated within the soil were taken, would produce a deficit of \$200,000,000 annually.

"In America the aggregate deficit is less clear. Yet here we find that in most of our Eastern States the local taxes alone have for years been much greater than the aggregate increase in the values of the land. For example, in Connecticut during the past 15 years, the assessed value of the land has increased \$36,000,000. The aggregate taxes paid have been more than \$70,000,000. As these taxes have been contributed by the property-owners, the latter have already more than paid for the increment which they have received. The logical application of the Single-Tax theory would require that the property-owners receive back the taxes they have advanced, and turn over to the public the increment that has arisen. This would leave the public vastly in debt to the property-owners, instead of the property-owners vastly in debt to the public."

Fifthly. It is argued that the Single Tax rests on a complete misreading of present facts. Mr. Spahr continues in the above article:

"The fundamental mistake of Mr. George and the Single-Tax advocates is their conception that in the value of the land the community has a vast element of wealth which has somehow come of itself, without the expenditure of labor or capital. A correlative error is their assumption that another amount equally vast may now be created without labor, by adopting their system. Their platform promises that the Single Tax would make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable

field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, doing away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations, and cause such an enormous production of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure, and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

"Here it is assumed that if the taxes now levied upon houses and improvements were repealed, there would at once be an immense addition to the national wealth. All the unimproved farm land would at once be brought under cultivation; all the vacant building lots would at once be covered with houses. This were indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished, but this is the most absurd portion of the entire Single-Tax program. Houses cannot be built except out of new savings, unless capital can be withdrawn from other enterprises. To withdraw capital from other enterprises where it is more remunerative, and put it into the building of houses which will not be needed by the community for years, or into the improving of farms whose cultivation is not yet demanded, would be the most enormous possible waste of our national wealth. There is no vast fund of wealth in the air which can be brought to earth by the touch of Mr. George's magic wand. The amount of wealth which society can produce is limited by the amount of labor and capital which society has at its disposal. Any plan to turn this investment out of its natural channel involves an economic loss. Except in trivial and exceptional cases, there is no wealth which is not the product of labor, and no wealth can be created except as the product of labor."

Lastly, conservatives argue that rent is not the enormous evil it is considered by land reformers, and that what evil it does do will not be removed by the Single Tax. Mr. W. T. Harris, writing in the *Boston Transcript*, November 21, 1895, argues that judging by data derived from the United States census, and State census of Massachusetts for 1885, the total value of land in 1880 was \$10,000,000,000, and the total rent in the neighborhood of \$400,000,000, or little over two cents per day for each inhabitant. Of the inability of the Single Tax to remove the evils of rent for the city poor, Professor Seligman says (Single-Tax discussion before the American Social Science Association, September 5, 1890):

"How is the Single Tax going to relieve the inhabitants of the slums? They will not go to the suburbs, where there is plenty of land, for the same reasons that they do not go there now. Rent in the suburbs or uptown districts is at the present moment vastly less than in the crowded slums, and yet the slums are crowded. The average workman prefers to be near his work, prefers to enjoy the social opportunities of contact with his fellow-workman, evenings as well as daytimes. All careful students of the problem of housing the poor have come to the conclusion that it is in the crowded centers where there is no unoccupied land, and not in the suburbs where rents are low, that the problem must be solved. Now, when we look at the thing from a practical standpoint, how is the tenement-house workman to derive any benefit from the Single Tax? His rent will be just exactly as high as at present; for his rent is a veritable rack-rent, fixed by the stress of competition. The competition for rooms will be not a whit less when the State becomes the landlord. And how are his wages to be increased? Wages can be increased in only one of three ways—through the increase of capital, through the increased efficiency of the laborer, or through the increased standard of living, which will enable the workman to compel higher wages. But the Single Tax can accomplish none of these three things. To take away economic rent and to turn it over to the State, will not increase capital one whit, will not decrease the monthly rent of the tenement-house population by one iota. Into what does all this fair dream of economic felicity resolve itself? Into mere mist, into mere nothingness. The tenement-house population, no more than the American farmer, will derive no advantage from the Single Tax."

The socialist objections to the Single Tax are different. They agree absolutely with the Single-Taxers, that the natural values of the

soil should belong to no individual. They favor land nationalization, and many of them believe that the Single Tax would be a good way to introduce such a measure, but they do not believe in the taxation of land values as a Single Tax, nor that by itself the Single Tax would do much good, nor even that it should be favored as a practical first step toward socialism. They favor only the increasing taxation of land values in connection with other reforms, as is being done in Australia as a part of a socialist programme. They object to the Single Tax by itself or even as a first step, first, because by itself, or even by itself for a while, it would do little good. As Professor Seligman has shown above, it would not lower rent in the cities, but only transfer rent to the government. It might throw suburban land held for speculation on to the market; but only those could buy this land who had capital with which to improve it. Poor men could not get the land. But rich men could hire labor to improve it, and this would employ labor. Yes, but at what prices? Only by withdrawing capital from other investments and attracting laborers from other cities, which would mean a competition changing, rather than raising wages. The attracted laborers too would have to live somewhere. They could not buy the land, nor live far from their work, hence they would crowd into the already overcrowded slums, and thus raise rents. Landlords could put up cheap tenement-houses, make profits from them, and still pay all the land values to the government.

A deeper socialist objection is that the Single Tax, presented as it usually is as a substitute for socialism, would simply rivet the chains of the working man. Single-Taxers usually claim that if land values were taxed, land would be thrown open to all, all would have opportunity to labor and could secure the full return of their labor; the smart getting much, and the less able less, but each according to his deserts. This is not at all the case. Taxing land values would not throw land open to all, but only to those with capital, for according to the theory, those offering most for the land would get it, and capitalists could offer most. Even if all did get land, they could not keep it. Men are not equal in ability. Smart men with land would make better use of it than others. They could afford to buy machinery; other men could not. With that advantage they could undersell and eventually drive out the feebler folk, who would have to toil at wage labor as to-day. The smart men could leave money to their children, and so children, even tho' not smart themselves, could live in idleness, while others toiled for them as to-day. The Single-Taxers' glorification of competition plus a Single Tax calls for the competition of equals, to be just. In practice it would be the competition of unequals, which means the rule of smartness, shrewdness, and force, which is not just. Some argue that it is just that the strong should get the good of their strength and that the weak should suffer for their weakness.

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This possibly would be just, if men wholly made themselves, but men do not. They are largely modified by environment. The well-fed son of a capitalist can get land and live in idleness, hiring the sickly son of a sickly working man to toil for him. Is this just?

Thirdly, socialists deny any such distinction between land values and other values as the Single Tax claims. If individuals alone have not produced the land, they also have not alone produced other things. All production as well as that of land values belongs to all. Says Professor Seligman (*idem.*):

"Individual labor, I venture to say, has never by itself produced anything in civilized society. Let us take the workman, fashioning a chair. The wood he certainly has not produced. The tools that he uses are the result of the contribution of others. The house in which he works, the clothes he wears, the food he eats (all of which are necessary to the making of a chair in civilized society), are the result of contributions of the community. His safety from robbery and pillage—nay, his very existence—is dependent on the ceaseless cooperation of the society about him. How can it be said, in the face of all this, that his own individual labor wholly creates anything? If it be answered that it pays for his tools, his clothing, his protection, etc., I say, So does the land-owner pay for the land he purchases. Nothing, I repeat, is wholly the result of unaided individual labor. No one has a right to say, This belongs completely and absolutely to me, because I alone have produced it. In truth, this is the groundwork of socialism. The socialists have been far more logical than Henry George. They deny the existence of any difference, save that in degree, between property in land and property in other capital. That is the reason why the English enthusiasts are leaving land nationalization and enrolling themselves under the banners of socialism. That is the reason why, in this country, the growth of Bellamy's nationalism marks the gradual decadence of the Single-Tax movement. That is the reason why any one who has to do with laboring men throughout the country is now meeting in every center hundreds who were formerly Georgites, but who now have become converted to the newer forms of socialism."

SISMONDI, JEAN CHARLES LÉONARD SIMONDE DE, was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1773. Educated in his native town he became a clerk in Lyons, but political disturbances drove him into exile and he lived in England and Italy for some years. He settled in Geneva in 1800, and devoted himself to literature, politics, and economics. He married an English wife in 1819. He died in Geneva in 1842.

He wrote first a treatise *De la Richesse Commerciale* (1803), in which he followed strictly the principles of Adam Smith. But he afterward came to regard these principles as insufficient and requiring modification. He contributed an article on political economy to the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, in which his new views were partially indicated. They were fully developed in his principal economic work *Nouveaux Principes d'Économie Politique, ou de la Richesse dans ses Rapports avec la Population* (1819), and *Études sur les Sciences Sociales* (3 vols., 1836). He became, however, best known as a historian with his *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes des Moyen Âge* (16 vols., 1807-18), his *Histoire des Français*, 31 vols. (1821-49), and lesser works.

SLAVERY.—Slavery is the first condition in which laborers as a class appear in history. In the hunter period of our human history the

conqueror does not enslave his vanquished foe, but slays him at once; in the pastoral period slaves are generally captured only to be sold; but when sedentary life begins, slavery originates. Especially where warlike habits prevail, slaves are procured to provide food for their military masters. Slavery was modified wherever theocratic organizations became established, and only reached its extreme form where the military order dominated the sacerdotal. Slavery was an advance on what went before. It was infinitely better than cannibalism, or the wholesale slaughter of the captives in war. It may be said here that *slave* was originally a national name; it meant a man of Slavonic race captured and made a bondman by the Germans. Its ultimate derivation is from *slava*, glory.

Wherever slavery has existed, it has meant wrong, injustice, violence, brutality, engendered both in master and slave. Prisoners of war, held for debt, or self-sold—slaves have had little but cruel treatment until their emancipation by death. Hebrew slavery was milder than that of any other nation. The law protected the slave from violence and from permanent bondage. Every slave was to be emancipated at the seventh year. (See JUDAISM.) In Greece we find slavery fully established in the Homeric period. War captives are enslaved, sold, or held at ransom. Sometimes the women only are saved from slaughter. Pirates occasionally kidnaped free persons and sold them for slaves in other regions. Not unfrequently the slave would be of nobler birth than his owner. The men slaves were made to till the ground and tend the cattle, and the women slaves to perform the domestic duties.

It is, however, most interesting and important to study slavery as it appeared later in historic Greece, and especially at Athens. The sources of slavery in Greece were: (1) Birth, the enslavement of slaves' children. This was not a common source, as it was found cheaper to buy a slave than to rear one. (2) Sale of children by their free parents. (3) Through indigence freemen sometimes sold themselves; and at Athens, before Solon, an insolvent debtor became the slave of his creditor. (4) Capture in war. After Thebes was taken by Alexander, 30,000 women and children are said to have been sold. (5) Commerce. There was a systematic slave-trade. The principal slave-markets were Athens, Chios, Cyprus, Samos, and Ephesus. Thrace was the chief source of supply. Servile labor gradually displaced free labor, not only in agriculture but in manufactures and commerce as well. Speculators either directly employed slaves or hired them out for profit. Athenæus gives the number of Athenian slaves as 400,000; Hume however says it should be 40,000.

The condition of the slaves at Athens was not as bad as in many other countries. Privileges were allowed them which in Rome would have been termed license. Says Dr. Ingram:

"The slave was introduced with certain customary rites into his position in the family; he was in practice, though not by law, permitted to accumulate a

**Early
Slavery.**

private fund of his own; his marriage was also recognized by custom; though in general excluded from sacred ceremonies and public sacrifices, slaves were admissible to religious associations of a private kind; there were some popular festivals in which they were allowed to participate; they had even special ones for themselves, both at Athens and in other Greek centers. Their remains were deposited in the family tomb of their master, who sometimes erected monuments in testimony of his affection and regret."

The Athenian law afforded some protection to the slave. He had an action for outrage, like a freeman; and if killed by a stranger was avenged as a citizen. If a master slew a slave, it was atoned for by exile and religious expiation. Even when the slave struck back and killed his master, he had to be handed over to the magistrate for punishment. There were several ways in which a slave might become a freeman: by buying his freedom, by having his name inscribed in the public registers, by sale or donation to certain temples, by proclamation in the theater, law court, or other public place, or by being freely emancipated by his master. The condition of the Helots of Laconia was peculiar. They were owned by the State, which gave their services to individuals. The domestic servants of Sparta were all Helots, who were generally serfs, living in country villages and cultivating the land of their masters. They had homes, wives, and families; could acquire property, and could not be sold out of the country. They were employed in public works, and also served as light-armed troops in war. They were never trusted by the Spartans, and on one occasion two thousand Helots, who had distinguished themselves by their courage on the battle-field, were foully massacred.

Classic Period.

But it was in Rome that slavery found its most natural and relatively legitimate state—Rome in its later rather than in its earlier days, when the farmer and his slave worked in the field side by side. But the growth of wealth through conquest created a demand for slave labor, and separated the owners from the necessity to labor. Immense numbers of slaves were sold after every war. Cæsar on one occasion in Gaul sold 63,000; and in Epirus 150,000 were sold by Paulus after his victory. By the Jewish war the Romans acquired 97,000 slaves, besides slaughtering thousands in the arena. The Roman writers speak of some masters who possessed 400 slaves, and of one who owned as many as 4116. Blair fixes the proportion of slaves to freemen as three to one in the Roman world. According to this calculation there would have been in Italy, in the reign of Claudius, 6,944,000 freemen and 20,832,000 slaves. The original Roman law allowed the master the power of life and death over his slaves; he was an absolute and irresponsible despot. The slave could not legally possess property, though in practise he was often permitted to enjoy and even accumulate chance earnings. Slave marriage was tolerated without being made legal; and thus a slave was not deemed capable of the crime of adultery. By general sanction and custom, however, the marriage relation was strength-

ened, and the names of husband and wife were commonly used in reference to slaves. For committing any state offense they were punished with death. In law they could not be examined as witnesses, except by torture. An accused slave could not invoke the aid of the tribunes; nor could he accuse his master except on the gravest crimes.

As to their treatment, many Romans favored a certain familiarity and friendliness of intercourse with their bondmen, but not such as to diminish the profit derived from their labor. The wide extent of the rural estates rendered personal knowledge or oversight of the slaves difficult, and by degrees chains came to be used, worn day and night. Even in private houses the porter was chained near the door. The master had his domestic favorites, and sometimes the attachment was one of mutual affection. During the wars slaves showed in noted instances the most noble and devoted fidelity to their owners. The bondmen who were outside the household had, however, the greater freedom of action.

In the mines, where slaves were sent by speculators, men and women worked half naked, in chains, and goaded by the curse and lash of overseers. Cato advised the farm lords to get rid of their old oxen and old slaves, as well as of their sick ones. Sick slaves were commonly exposed on an island in the Tiber. In the arena slaves were exposed to every torture and indignity that the devilish invention of their conquerors could devise. To furnish an hour's amusement to the titled aristocrats and languid idlers of "society," they were torn and mangled into bloody shapelessness by wild beasts from Africa, and compelled to stab, hack, strangle, and disembowel each other. No one has fully written, or will ever write, their sufferings. Slaves are not historians, and those whose scanty and unsympathetic chronicles comprise our only information saw little in their system of bondage to deplore. As compared with Greece, Rome provided greater facilities of emancipation. "No Roman slave," says Blair, "needed to despair of becoming both a freeman and a citizen." It was often a pecuniary advantage to the master to liberate his slave; he obtained a payment which enabled him to purchase a substitute, and at the same time gained a client.

But it is not until the second century of the Christian era that we notice a marked change with respect to the institution of slavery, not only in sentiment but in law as well. The victory of moral ideas became apparent. Dio Chrysostom, the adviser of Trajan, is the first Greek writer who has pronounced the principle of slavery to be contrary to the law of nature. When Rome felt that industrial was soon to succeed military activity, it gradually prepared the way for the abolition of slavery by honoring the freedmen, by facilitating manumissions, and by protecting the slave from his master. Diocletian forbade a free man to sell himself. Man-stealers were punished with death. The insolvent debtor was withdrawn from the power of the creditor. The atrocious mutilation of boys and young men was stopped. Hadrian abolished the underground prisons

and took away from the masters the power of life and death. In the reign of Nero magistrates had been instructed to hear the complaint of an ill-treated slave. Marcus Aurelius brought the relations between master and slave more directly under the control of law and public opinion; and while a slave's oath could not be taken, he was allowed to speak.

While the Christian church did not at once denounce slavery as a social crime; while it recognized the institution, and allowed ecclesiastics to own slaves, it created sentiments favorable to their humane treatment, and planted the seeds from which emancipation finally sprang. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

Gradually the slave came to be regarded as merely a servant tied to the soil, *i. e.*, a serf. (See FEUDALISM.) The early forms of serfdom differed little from mild slavery, but by degrees improved, till at last serfdom itself disappeared. Yet, soon after this, the new system of colonial slavery appears, which was no necessary stage of human development, but a monstrous moral, political, and social aberration, which resulted in nothing but evil. In 1442 the Portuguese began to trade in slaves, fitting out a number of ships, and building forts on the African coast. After the discovery of America, Columbus proposed an exchange of his Carib prisoners for live stock. He urged that by this exchange infidels would be converted, the royal treasury enriched by a duty on Caribs, and the colonists supplied with live stock free of expense. In 1494 he sent home 500 Indian prisoners; but Isabella humanely ordered them to be sent back. The bishop of Chiapa, to protect the Indians from cruelty, advised the importation of negro slaves into the Spanish colonies, and his advice was unfortunately adopted. Some Genoese merchants bought the right of supplying America with negroes, and thus began that odious commerce between Africa and America, which increased to such an amazing extent.

Captain John Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in the hateful traffic, tho for a long time the English traders supplied only the Spanish settlements with slaves. In 1620

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slavery began in Jamestown, Va., among the tobacco planters. It increased rapidly until, in 1790, the State of Virginia alone contained 200,000 negroes. For a long time the British slave-trade was in the hands of exclusive companies, but by an act of the first year of William and Mary it became free and open to all. Between 1680 and 1700 about 140,000 negroes were exported by the African Company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers. The total import, from 1680 to 1786, into all British Colonies in America, has been estimated at 2,130,000. Shortly before the War of Independence the British slave-trade reached its utmost extension, the number of slave-ships being at least 192. During the war the trade decreased, but revived at its termination. More than half the trade was at this time in British hands. The demand for

slaves by European colonies reduced the tribes of the African sea-coast to a pitiable condition. All that was shocking in the barbarism of the savage was multiplied and intensified by the horrors of the traffic. There was the utmost recklessness of human life, and indifference to misery and torture. The mode of capturing slaves killed its thousands; and the middle passage its tens of thousands.

Exclusive of the slaves who died before they sailed from Africa, 12½ per cent. were lost during their passage to the West Indies; at Jamaica 4½ per cent. died while in the harbors or before the sale, and one-third more in the "seasoning." Thus, out of every lot of 100 shipped from Africa, 17 died in about nine weeks, and not more than 50 lived to be effective laborers in the islands. The circumstances of their subsequent life on the plantations were not favorable to the increase of their numbers. In Jamaica there were, in 1690, 40,000; from that year till 1820 there were imported 800,000; yet at the latter date there were only 340,000 in the island.

But when, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the nature of the slave-trade began to be understood, all that was best in Great Britain was shocked at its atrocities.

The honor of taking the first practical action against slavery belongs to the Quakers, and especially to their founder—George Fox.

In 1727 they declared it to be "not a commendable or allowed" practise; in 1761 they excluded from their society all who should be found concerned in it, and issued appeals to their members and the public against the system. In 1783 there was formed among them an association "for the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa." This was the first society established in England for the purpose. The Quakers in America had taken action on the subject still earlier than those in England. (For America, see ABOLITIONISTS.)

In 1787 a committee for the abolition of the slave-trade was formed, with Granville Sharp as president, and after 20 years of persistent labor it met with complete success. On March 25, 1807, a bill was passed which enacted that no vessel should depart for slaves from any port within the British dominions after May 1, 1807; and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after March 1, 1808.

As to France, the abolition of its slave-trade was preceded by stormy struggles and deplorable excesses. The French law was, with regard to the treatment of slaves, humane in its general spirit, but was habitually disregarded by the planters. In 1788 a society was formed in Paris under the presidency of Condorcet, which aimed to suppress slavery itself. The motive and impulse of this movement were not avowedly Christian, as in England; but its cause was rather the enthusiasm for humanity which pervaded France during the Revolutionary period. In spite of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" in August, 1789, the French system of negro slavery continued. St. Domingo or Hayti was the chief French colony employing slaves.

In 1791 there were 480,000 blacks, 24,000 mulattoes, and only 30,000 whites. In August of this year a rebellion of the negroes broke out, marked by brutal excesses on both sides. For years it raged with varying success, until in 1798 the negroes, under Toussaint l'Ouverture, secured entire possession of the government. This African liberator has been called the noblest type ever produced by the negro race. Slavery was abolished, and the whole population began to rise in civilization and comfort. In 1825 the independence of the island was formally recognized by France; and thus the negro race obtained its first independent settlement outside of Africa.

To Denmark belongs the honor of first abolishing the slave-trade, which it did by a royal prohibition on May 16, 1792. In 1794 the United States first forbade American citizens to participate in the foreign trade in slaves; and in 1808 an act came into force which prohibited the importation of slaves. It was provided at the Vienna congress that the trade should be abolished as soon as possible. As soon as the English slave-trade was stopped, several circumstances combined to greatly increase the traffic and aggravate its evils.

In consequence of the activity of the British cruisers the traders made great efforts to carry as many slaves as possible in every voyage, and practised atrocities to get rid of the slaves when capture was imminent. It was, besides, the interest of the cruisers, who shared the price of the captured slave-ship, rather to allow the slaves to be taken on board than to prevent their being shipped at all. Thrice as great a number of negroes as before, it was said, was exported from Africa, and two-thirds of these were murdered on the high seas. It was found also that the abolition of the British slave-trade did not lead to an improved treatment of the negroes in the West Indies. The slaves were overworked now that fresh supplies were stopped, and their numbers rapidly decreased.

It became increasingly evident that the evil could be prevented only by total prohibition of the whole traffic. The conscience of the nations began to awaken; and the lawfulness of slavery became a matter of discussion. Buxton, in response to

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an appeal from Wilberforce, moved, in 1823, that the House should consider the state of slavery in British colonies. His project was one of gradual abolition, by introducing a kind of serfdom, and freeing the children of the slaves. Although the struggle was continued by many noble and able men, it made little progress until 1828, when free negroes were placed on a footing of legal equality with the whites. Two years later, the British public aroused itself at last; and in 1833 Earl Grey carried a motion through the House for complete abolition. This received the royal assent August 28. A sum of \$100,000,000 was voted as compensation to the planters; and a system of apprenticeship for seven years established as a transitional preparation for liberty. All children under six years of age were to be

at once free, and provision made for their instruction. Immediate liberation was carried out in Antigua, and public tranquillity was never so unbroken as during the following year. This led to the shortening of the transition period in the other colonies, and gave freedom to all the slaves in August, 1838.

The other European States one by one followed this example; France in 1848, and the Dutch in 1863. After this last date, there still remained three countries in which the slave system was still undisturbed—Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. The fathers of the American States were by no means defenders of slavery. Washington provided in his will for the emancipation of his slaves, and said to Jefferson that it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in his country might be abolished by law. John Adams declared his abhorrence of the system; while Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and Patrick Henry reprobated the principle of it. Jefferson declared that in the presence of the institution he trembled for his country, when he remembered that God was just. In the Constitution which was drawn up at Philadelphia, 1787, the sentiments of the framers were against slavery; but through the insistence of Georgia and South Carolina, it was recognized. The words "slave" and "slavery," though, were excluded from the Constitution, because, as Madison explained, they did not choose to admit the right of property in man, *in direct terms*. Soon after the Union was formed the Northern States, beginning with Vermont, either abolished slavery or adopted measures that led to abolition; but this simply transferred the slaves to the markets of the South. Step by step the slave power for a long time increased in influence.

The acquisition of Louisiana—including the State so named, Arkansas, Missouri, and Kansas—(1803), though not made in its interest; the Missouri compromise (1820), the annexation of Texas (1845), the Fugitive Slave Law (1850), the Kansas-Nebraska bill (1854), the Dred Scott decision (1856), the attempts to acquire Cuba (1854) and to reopen the foreign slave-trade (1859-60), were the principal steps—only some of them successful—in its career of aggression. They roused a determined spirit of opposition, founded on deep-seated convictions. The pioneer of the more recent abolitionist movement was Benjamin Lundy. He was followed by William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, John Brown, all of whom were in their several ways leading apostles or promoters of the cause. The best intellect of America outside the region of practical politics has been on the anti-slavery side. William E. Channing, R. W. Emerson, the poets Bryant, Longfellow, pre-eminently Whittier, and more recently Whitman, have spoken on this theme with no uncertain sound. The South, and its partisans in the North, made desperate efforts to prevent the free expression of opinion respecting the institution, and even the Christian churches in the slave States used their influence in favor of the maintenance of slavery. But in spite of every such

effort opinion steadily grew. (See ABOLITIONISTS.)

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (*q. v.*) in her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, deeply stirred the public sentiment of the North against slavery. Finally it became evident that the question could not be settled without an armed conflict. When Abraham Lincoln was made President in November, 1860, this was the signal for the rising of the South. While the North took up arms at first simply to maintain the Union, it was soon recognized that the real issue of the conflict was the life or death of the slave system. In 1862 the slave system of the Territories was abolished by Congress; three years later the war closed; and on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued his proclamation of freedom. A constitutional amendment was passed in 1865 abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery throughout the United States.

In Brazil there were, in 1835, 2,100,000 slaves. In 1880 Joachim Nabuco, the leader of the anti-slavery movement, introduced a bill for the more rapid liberation of slaves, and for the final extinction of slavery in Brazil by January 1, 1890. This plan was carried into effect.

In Russia the original rural population consisted of slaves, free agricultural laborers, and peasants proper. Czar Paul (1796-1801) commanded that serfs should work for their masters only three days a week; but no decisive measures were taken until the reign of Alexander II. (1858). That emperor set a plan in motion which resulted in the abolition of serfdom in March, 1861. (See RUSSIA.)

Slavery, as it exists in the Mohammedan East, is not of the field, but of the household.

Slaves are treated as members of the family, with tenderness and affection. The Koran teaches kindness and sympathy, and encourages manumissions. But, standing behind this comparatively mild and humane bondage, is the slave-trade with all its cruelties. Turkey has frequently declared slavery to be illegal, but has been too lax and nerveless to enforce its declarations.

The principal centers from which slaves are now furnished to Egypt, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia are three in number: (1) The Soudan, south of the Great Desert, seems to be yet a vast hunting-ground; 10,000 annually are marched to Fezzan, enduring unimaginable sufferings. The desert highways are white with their bones. The total number of slaves in Morocco is about 50,000. (2) The basin of the Nile, extending toward the great lakes. Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon checked the traffic here for a while, but since the Soudan revolt slave-capturing has flourished almost unmolested. (3) The Portuguese possessions on the East African coast. The Portuguese appear to be the most determined upholders of the system, and are intensely hated by the natives. In 1880 it was estimated that about 3000 slaves were exported annually from this region.

Both Clarkson and Buxton realized that the only effectual preventive of slavery would be the establishment in Africa of legitimate com-

merce. It was hoped that Sierra Leone and Liberia would serve this purpose; but they have not been successes in that line. In September, 1876, King Leopold of Belgium called a conference of geographers to consider the question of the exploration and civilization of Africa by means of commerce, and the abolition of the slave-trade. An International African Association was formed, six European nations being represented. Various expeditions have been made through the inland districts, the most notable being that of Stanley along the Congo. The Congo Free State was formed. In 1884 an international conference held at Berlin declared that "these regions shall not be used as markets or routes of transit for the trade in slaves, no matter of what race; we bind ourselves to put an end to this trade and punish those engaged in it." The population of the Congo Free State is estimated at 42,608,000. Stations have been built at points extending for 1500 miles inland. This plan of operations has its advantages and its dangers. Disputes and jealousies may arise between the various powers concerned; and the greed of commerce may strangle Africa with its new forms of oppression. However, the enterprise appears to have begun with a pure and benevolent motive, and may succeed in removing some of the evils under which the negroes have suffered. The agitation of the questions by Cardinal Lavigerie, and the establishment in the Sahara of the Soldier Monks of the Sahara to put down the slave-trade and rescue slaves, are well known. In 1890 a general act was agreed upon by all parties (including Turkey, Persia, Congo Free State, and Zanzibar, with the United States and all the greater European powers) on the following programme:

- (1) A civilized protectorate over the administration of the African territories.
- (2) The establishment of strong stations by each power in its own territory to repress slave-hunting.
- (3, 4, 5) The development of Central Africa by roads, railways, steamboats, with fortified posts and telegraphs.
- (6) The organization of expeditions and flying columns to protect them and support repressive action
- (7) The restriction of the importation of modern firearms and ammunition through the slave-trade territory.

On the Indian Ocean and along Madagascar the powers also agreed to put down slave-trading in small vessels.

(See also ABOLITIONISTS; CHRISTIANITY; SOCIAL REFORM.)

References: *A History of Slavery and Serfdom* (1895), by J. K. Ingram, an expansion of his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on which this article is mainly based.

H. N. CASSON.

SLIDING SCALE.—Wages are said to be on a "sliding scale" when an agreement is made between an employer and employees that the wages shall rise and fall with selling prices in the trade concerned. This form of wage agreement has been considerably favored by some of the older and stronger trade-unions of

England and America, particularly in the mining and iron and steel trades. It was long ago adopted by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (*q. v.*), and has often prevented wage disputes. It has not, however, proved itself perfectly satisfactory, because there is nothing to prevent prices going so low as to carry wages below the living point. Hence the agitation for the "Minimum Wage" (*q. v.*).

SLUMS.—The word slum (probably a corruption from *slump*, a swamp) is a name loosely given to dirty back streets or alleys occupied by the poor and wretched, and often by criminals or semi-criminals. There is no clear line between slums and poor tenements, and the problem, therefore, of the housing of the poor we consider under **TENEMENTS**. We here merely condense a few statistics reported by the United States Commissioner of Labor in his seventh special Report, 1894, and based upon a special investigation authorized by Congress in 1892. The investigation was confined to four cities—Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia—and in each of these cities no attempt was made to cover the whole of the population living in the slums, but only those living in certain districts. These were in number, April 1, 1893: In Baltimore, 18,048; in Chicago, 19,748; in New York, 28,996; in Philadelphia, 17,060; making the total of individuals covered by the investigation, 83,852. "According to the best estimates," says the Report (p. 12), "the total slum population of Baltimore is about 25,000; of Chicago, 162,000; of New York, 360,000; of Philadelphia, 35,000. The districts selected are among the worst in the cities, and may be denominated as the center of the slum population."

We give first what are called in the Report itself general results of the investigation. Says the Report (pp. 14, 15, and 17):

"In the city of New York there was, at the time of the investigation, one liquor saloon to every 200 persons; but in the slum district canvassed there was one saloon to every 129 persons. In Philadelphia, in the city at large, there was one liquor saloon to every 870 persons; but in the slum district canvassed there was one such saloon to every 502 persons. In Baltimore, in the city at large, there was one saloon to every 229 persons; but in the slum district canvassed there was one saloon to every 105 persons. In Chicago, in the city at large, there was one saloon to every 212 persons, while in the slum district canvassed there was one saloon to every 127 persons.

In the year 1893 (that in which the investigation under consideration was made) there was in the whole city of Baltimore one arrest to every 14 persons, while in the eastern police district, with a population of 51,767 at the United States census of 1890, there was one arrest to every 9 persons. In Chicago, in the city at large, there was one arrest to every 11 persons, while in

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the second and twenty-first police precincts, with a population of 117,503 at the United States census of 1890, there was one arrest to every 4 persons. In New York, in the city at large, there was one arrest to every 18 persons, while in the sixth and tenth police precincts, with a population of 52,130 at the United States census of 1890, there was one arrest to every 6 persons. In Philadelphia, in the city at large, there was one arrest to every 18 persons, while in the second police district, with a population of 71,872 at the United States census of 1890, there was one arrest to every 13 persons.

"The total foreign-born in the city of Baltimore is 15.88 per cent. of the total population, but in the slum

district canvassed it is 40.21 per cent.; in Chicago, the total foreign born in the city at large constitutes 40.98 per cent. of the total population, while in the slum district it is 57.51 per cent.; in New York, the foreign born is 42.23 per cent. of the total population, while in the slum districts it is 62.58 per cent.; and in Philadelphia, the foreign-born constitutes 25.74 per cent. of the total population and 60.45 per cent. of the slum population (p. 18).

"The proportion of the persons who live in the slums, who are illiterates, is also exceedingly suggestive." [As used in the report, the word 'illiterate' is used for those ten years old or over who neither read nor write English or any other language, embracing also the very small number who can read but cannot write.] (*Report*, p. 50.)

"In the whole city of Baltimore the illiterates are 9.79 per cent. of the population; in the slum districts they are 19.60. In the whole city of Chicago the illiterates are 4.63 per cent. of the population; in the slum districts they are 25.37. In the whole city of New York the illiterates are 7.27 per cent. of the population; in the slum districts they are 46.5. In the whole city of Philadelphia the illiterates are 4.97 per cent. of the population; in the slum districts they are 37.07. (*Report*, p. 18.)

"In addition, there is a large proportion of the population who are not classed among illiterates, because they can read or write their own language, who yet cannot read or write English. The proportion of these to the entire slum population is, in Baltimore, 18.72 per cent.; in Chicago, 22.19 per cent.; in New York, 16.51 per cent.; in Philadelphia, 13.58 per cent."

As to the earnings of the slum population the conclusion reached is as follows:

"The earnings of the people living in the slum districts canvassed are quite up to the average earnings of the people generally. (*Report*, p. 19.)

"In the slum districts canvassed in Baltimore it is found that 7441 persons were engaged in remunerative occupations, and that the average weekly earnings per individual were \$8.65½. In Chicago 8,483 persons earned on an average \$9.88½ each per week. In New York 12,434 persons earned on an average \$8.36 each per week. In Philadelphia 7257 persons earned on an average \$8.68 each per week. As has been shown already on p. 53 (of the Report), those engaged in remunerative occupations in the several cities constitute the following proportions of the total population of the slum districts canvassed: Baltimore, 41.23; Chicago, 42.96; New York, 42.83, and Philadelphia, 42.54.

Wages.

"Reducing the average weekly earnings to the basis of earnings per family per week, it is found that in the slum district canvassed in Baltimore, 4028 families earned on an average \$15.99 each per week; in Chicago, 3881 families, \$21.60½ each; in New York, 5912 families, \$17.58 each; in Philadelphia, 3313 families, \$19.01½ each. These figures, it should be borne in mind, are for the whole number of families in the slum districts canvassed.

"Now for the weekly average of hours that these workers labored to get these earnings.

"From the summary relating to the hours of labor, it is seen that the average hours of labor per week for the persons in the district canvassed were, in Baltimore, 64.21; in Chicago, 60.94; in New York, 62.55, and in Philadelphia, 62.47. The average hours for the males and females differ very slightly, except in New York, where the average for males is 63.65, and for females, 58.86. In each city by far the greatest number is found in the class working 60, or under 66 hours per week. A large number is found in the classes working less than 60 hours per week, while the number in the class working the longest hours, 90 or over per week, is considerable. (*Report*, p. 64.)

"The question of earnings should always be considered in connection with the amount of annual employment. On p. 66 of the Report is given a short summary of the number of workers in the slums out of employment and the number of months they averaged out of employment; no notice being taken of workers under 15 years of age, or of workers who were out of employment less than a half month. The inquiry concerned the year ending March 31, 1893—a year, it will noted, of what might fairly be called prosperous times. From this table we find that in Baltimore 1564 workers were out of employment an average of 3.6 months. In Chicago 315 were out of employment an average of 3.1 months. In New York 2615

persons were out of employment an average of 3.1 months. In Philadelphia 2591 persons were out of employment an average of 2.9 months.

To say nothing of individual cases of hardship, it will be seen at once that this unemployment constitutes a considerable reduction in the average earnings. The amount actually lost is probably considerably in excess of this, as the loss is on the wages of the workers who are in every case over 15 years of age, and takes no account of any other loss except that specified.

"But, reckoning for only this reduction, it brings the average weekly earnings of the slum family in New York to \$16.66, which, as the family averages (p. 44 of the Report) 4.09 persons, means \$3.40 for each person; and in Chicago it brings the average weekly earnings of the slum family to \$10.67, which, as the family averages 5.09 persons, means \$3.85 for each person."

The results reached by the investigation as to the health of those living in the slum districts are at once surprising and gratifying. Says the Report (p. 19):

"The agents and experts employed in this investigation were nearly unanimous in the opinions they expressed relative to the health of the people of the slum districts. It should be remembered that this investigation

Hygiene.

was conducted in the most thorough census manner; each and every house and every tenement in every house being visited and the facts taken down for each and every individual living in the slum districts. The testimony of the agents, therefore, relative to general conditions is most valuable. The statistics drawn from the schedule replies show no greater sickness prevailing in the districts canvassed than in other parts of the cities involved, and while the most wretched conditions were found here and there, the small number of sick people discovered was a surprise to the canvassers. It may be that owing to the time of year (late spring) the people were living with open windows, and thus not subjected to the foul air which might be found in the winter."

The Report says (p. 100):

"The extraordinary freedom from sickness in the slums of New York reflects great credit on the health board of that city."

Since this statement was made the Report of the Tenement-house Committee, as transmitted to the Legislature of the State of New York, has thrown additional light upon the case, and shows in how large a degree the gratifying results reached are owing to the Board of Health of that city. We quote from this Report (p. 36):

	1865-1874.	1875-1884.	1885-1864.
Average population....	833,335	1,202,945	1,685,094
Average annual deaths,	27,047	31,894	40,557
Average annual death rate.....	30.27	26.51	24.07

"The total deaths for 1894 were 41,175, giving a death rate of 21.03 upon an estimated population of 1,957,452.

"The figures relating to the number of families or individuals, classified by rooms, are very important. In Baltimore 530 families, or 13.16 per cent., consisting of 1648 individuals, are living in one room, with an average of 3.15 persons to a room. In Philadelphia 49 families, or 12.10 per cent., are living in one room, with an average of 3.11 persons to each room. In this point these towns are worse than both Chicago and New York. The percentage of families living in two rooms is different. Here New York comes first, with 44.55 per cent.; Baltimore, 27.83 per cent.; Philadelphia, 43.41 per cent.; and Chicago, 19.14 per cent. In Philadelphia 53.01 per cent. of all families live in houses of one tenement, or, in other words, occupy the whole house; Baltimore follows with 36.25 per cent. of families; Chicago with 9.53 per cent., while in New York only 1.84 per cent. of families have a house to themselves. The number of persons to a dwelling for each of the four cities as a whole, by the United States census, is: Philadelphia, 5.60; Baltimore, 6.02; Chicago, 8.60; New York, 18.52 persons. The figures for the slum districts are invariably larger: Philadelphia, 7.34; Baltimore, 7.71; Chicago, 15.51; New York, 36.70. Another table shows the number of occupants of sleeping-rooms, and the cubic feet of air-space per individual, and the number of outside windows. As regards this last point, 25 persons in Baltimore had no outside win-

dow in their sleeping-room, and two of these rooms had six occupants; in Philadelphia, 49 persons; in Chicago, 811 persons. Three of these windowless rooms in this last city had ten, nine, and eight occupants respectively. In New York, 657 persons, out of a total of 28,050, are reported as sleeping in rooms without an outside window; the majority of the rooms containing two or three occupants. The great mass of the remaining people in the four cities sleep in rooms with one or two outside windows, and two occupants to a room is most frequent. In the matter of air-space, New York takes the lowest place. There 5811 persons have under 200 feet, 6517 under 300 feet, and 4639 under 400 feet, out of 28,050 persons. This is in spite of the strenuous efforts of the Board of Health to obtain at least 400 feet for every individual, though 600 feet is considered the desirable space for an adult. In Chicago, also, the great majority have less than 400 cubic feet, but in Baltimore and Philadelphia the great mass of people have between 300 feet and 600 feet."

References: See TENEMENTS.

P. W. SPRAGUE.

SMITH, ADAM, was born at Kirkcaldy in 1723, the son of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs. Of a weak constitution he was carefully reared by a devoted mother. Studying in the local school he showed a great fondness for books. In 1837 he went to Glasgow University where he attended the lectures of Dr. Hutcheson, and in 1740 went to Balliol College, Oxford, with a view to taking orders in the English Church. Returning, however, to Kirkcaldy for two years, he went to Edinburgh in 1748, and lectured on belles-letters under the patronage of Lord Kames, and forming the friendship of David Hume. In 1851 he became professor of logic at Glasgow, and in 1852 professor of moral philosophy. His first work as an author were two articles in 1755 in the *Edinburgh Review* of that period. In 1759 appeared his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In 1762 he was made doctor of laws, and in 1763 he took charge of the young Duke of Buccleuch on his travels. He spent nearly two years in south France, and in a short time in Paris met the brilliant writers there. In 1766 he returned to England, and for ten years lived at Kirkcaldy with his mother, working on his great work, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, which appeared in 1776. (Concerning its teachings and Adam Smith's economic position, see POLITICAL ECONOMY.) The next two years were spent in London in literary society, but in 1778 he was appointed one of the commissioners of customs in Scotland, and fixed his residence in Edinburgh. In 1787 he was elected lord rector of the university of Glasgow, but his health gradually failing he died, after a painful illness, in 1790.

(See POLITICAL ECONOMY.)

SMITH, RICHMOND MAYO, was born in Troy, O., in 1854. He was graduated at Amherst College in 1875, and studied at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg, 1875-77. He was assistant teacher of history in Columbia College, 1877-78; adjunct professor, 1877-83, and since 1883 professor of political economy and social science. He has published *Statistics and Economics* (1888); *Emigration and Immigration* (1890); *Statistics and Sociology* (Part I., 1896).

SOCIAL CONTRACT.—According to J. J. Rousseau (*q. v.*), a State is founded by a "social contract" between its members, whereby they, tho' formerly living in a "state of nature" without laws, agree for their mutual good to form themselves into a social body and obey its constituted laws. His theory is a development of the teachings of Hobbes, Locke, and early thinkers, and is therefore best discussed in connection with other views. (See ARTICLES NATURAL RIGHTS; POLITICAL SCIENCE; ROUSSEAU; STATE.)

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION, THE (English), was founded in London in 1881, under the name of the Democratic Federation, and through the efforts of H. M. Hyndman (*q. v.*), Herbert Burrow, Miss Helen Taylor (step-daughter of J. S. Mill) and others. In 1884 it became an avowed socialist body and took its present name. It entered at once upon strenuous agitations, and was prominent in the agitation of 1886, with the so-called Trafalgar Square demonstrations, etc. To-day it has small but enthusiastic branches in all the prominent English cities and centers of trade. William Morris, and a few others at first connected with it, left it, however, in 1885 to form a Socialist League, on the lines of a more communal and less parliamentary conception of socialism. John Burns, Tom Mann, and others have also left it because of the policy of the Federation in antagonizing all trade-union and political agitation not avowedly connected with, and politically supporting its type of Marxist socialism. Its leading spirit from the first has been H. M. Hyndman. Its organ is *Justice*, long under the editorship of Henry Quelch (*q. v.*), and published at 37A Clerkenwell Green, E. C., London. It has of late years nominated many political candidates, but has polled but a small vote, since it refuses to work with the Independent Labor Party or any other reform party, believing that it alone stands for the socialism which can save England. Its present platform is as follows:

"*Object.*—The common or collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes.

"*Program.*—I. All organizers or administrators to be elected by equal direct adult suffrage, and to be maintained by the community.

"II. Legislation by the people in such wise that no project of law shall become binding till accepted by the majority of the people.

"III. The abolition of a standing army, and the establishment of a national citizen force; the people to decide on peace or war.

"IV. All education, higher no less than elementary, to be compulsory, secular, industrial, and gratuitous for all alike.

"V. The administration of justice to be free to all.

"VI. The means of production, distribution, and exchange, including the land, to be declared and treated as collective or common property.

"VII. The production and distribution of wealth to be regulated by the community in the common interests of all its members.

"*Palliatives.*—As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society, the Social-Democratic Federation urges for immediate adoption: The compulsory construction of healthy dwellings for the people; such dwellings to be let at rents to cover the cost

of construction and maintenance alone. Free secular and technical education, compulsory upon all classes, together with free maintenance for the children in all State schools. No child to be employed in any trade or occupation until 16 years of age, and heavy penalties to be inflicted on employers infringing this law. Eight hours or less to be the normal working-day fixed in all trades and industries by legislative enactment, or not more than 48 hours per week, penalties to be inflicted for any infringement of this law. Cumulative taxation upon all incomes exceeding £300 a year. State appropriation of railways, municipal ownership and control of gas, electric light, and water supplies; the organization of tramway and omnibus services and similar monopolies in the interests of the entire community. The extension of the post-office banks so that they shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit. Repudiation of the National debt. Nationalization of the land, and organization of agricultural and industrial armies under State or municipal control on cooperative principles.

"As means for the peaceable attainment of these objects, the Social-Democratic Federation advocates: Payment of Members of Parliament and of all local bodies. Payment of official expenses of elections out of the public funds. Adult suffrage. Annual Parliaments. Proportional representation. Second ballot. Abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords. Disestablishment and disendowment of all State churches. Extension of the powers of county, town, and district councils. The establishment of adequate pensions for the aged and infirm. Every person attaining the age of 50 to be kept by the community, work being optional after that age. The establishment of municipal hospitals, municipal control of the food and coal supply. Abolition of the present work-house system, and the provision of useful work for the unemployed. State control of the lifeboat service. Legislative independence for all parts of the empire."

SOCIALISM (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, an associate) is a word first used in connection with the later agitation of Robert Owen from 1830-40, and first popularized in Reybaud's *Études sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes Modernes* (1840), to express the general tendency to develop a communal or cooperative organization of society in place of the existing competitive state of society. The word, however, in the evolution of social reform, has come—at least in Germany, England, and the United States—to be limited in general use to that effort for the cooperative organization of society which would work through government (national, State, or local). This is by no means to identify socialism with a mere expansion of the functions of the State, no matter what the State is. Socialists only believe in the *fraternal* State. Paternal State socialism all socialists unanimously oppose, save as possibly they may induce existing paternal governments to introduce measures leading toward fraternal social cooperation. In Germany, where the government is essentially paternal, the phrase State socialism is used for the expansion of its paternal functions, and is strenuously opposed by the socialists. In the United States and England, where the ideal of government is democratic, socialists usually declare themselves State socialists. Says a report issued in 1896 by the Fabian (socialist) Society of London (see FABIAN SOCIETY):

"The socialism advocated by the Fabian society is State socialism exclusively. The foreign friends of the Fabian society must interpret this declaration in view of the fact that since England now possesses an elaborate democratic State machinery, graduated from the Parish Council or vestry up to the central

Parliament, and elected under a franchise which enables the working-class vote to overwhelm all others, the opposition which exists in the Continental monarchies between the State and the people does not hamper English socialists. For example, the distinction made between State socialism and social democracy in Germany, where the municipalities and other local bodies are closed against the working-classes, has no meaning in England."

I. DEFINITIONS.

By the derivation of the word, by its history, by its use by socialists themselves, socialism is the very opposite of paternalism. All great socialists have been democrats and have opposed paternalism. Owen, Fourier, Blanc, Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Kingsley, Maurice, Hyndman, Morris—where is there a governmental paternalist among the great socialists? In Germany the socialists invariably vote against the State insurance schemes of the imperial government; in France the socialists favor the maintenance for the present of peasant proprietorship, fearing that till the government becomes thoroughly socialized, to nationalize land would give the government too much power.

This is so much the case that, down to about 1880, the word socialism was commonly used, everywhere, and in Continental Europe outside of Germany, is still often used, to cover all efforts for a cooperative organization of society, to be developed through the State or otherwise. But beginning mainly with the teachings of Karl Marx, who based his idea on the evolutionary doctrine of the century, socialism has become, as above stated, in Germany, England, and the United States, a term usually limited to the conception of a cooperative commonwealth to be evolved out of and through existing government, and this idea is growing everywhere through Europe.

With this general conception of socialism, one may see how modern socialism is neither on the one hand a vague dream of a millennium of love, nor, on the other hand, a cast-iron paternal system of society.

Friedrich Engels says (*Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*):

"The first act in which the State really appears as the representative of society as a whole, namely, the seizure of the means of production in the name of society, is at the same time its last independent act as a State. Interference of the State in social relations gradually becomes superfluous in one department after another, and finally of itself ceases (goes to sleep). The place of government over persons is taken by administration of things and the management of productive processes."

Bebel (*Die Frau und Sozialismus*, pp. 312-314) argues that, under socialism, ministers, parliaments, armies, police, courts, attorneys, taxation, will all disappear, their place being taken by administrative colleges or boards. Nor, on the other hand, can socialism be considered a loose word, used in so many senses that nobody knows what it means. It is, indeed, undoubtedly loosely used by some sentimental would-be friends of socialism and more sensational opponents of socialism; but there is no dispute, among even ordinarily informed people who use words with reasonable care. The modern lexicons, the encyclo-

pedias, the scholars, the authorities, socialists themselves, are all agreed as to what socialism is, as may be shown by the following quotations, which, tho using different phraseologies, are in almost absolute agreement.

Says the *Century Dictionary*:

"Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely or in great part the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it cooperative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community."

Says the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (article *Socialism*, by Thomas Kirkup):

"Whereas industry is at the present carried on by private capitalists served by wage labor, it must be in the future conducted by associated or cooperating workmen jointly owning the means of production. On grounds both of theory and history this must be accepted as the cardinal principle of socialism."

Says Professor Schaffle (*Quintessenz des Sozialismus*):

"The Alpha and Omega of socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital."

Says Professor Richard T. Ely (*Socialism and Social Reform*, p. 19):

"The results of the analysis of socialism may be brought together in a definition which would read somewhat as follows: *Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property in the great material instruments of production, and the substitution therefor of collective property; and advocates the collective management of production, together with the distribution of social income by society, and private property in the larger proportion of this social income.*"

Coming to those who call themselves socialists, the English Fabian Society (in the above-mentioned *Report*, 1896), says:

"Socialism, as understood by the Fabian Society, means the organization and conduct of the necessary industries of the country, and the appropriation of all forms of economic rent of land and capital, by the nation as a whole, through the most suitable public authorities, parochial, municipal, provincial, or central."

Says the American Fabian Society (tract, *What Socialism Is*):

"Socialism is that mode of social life which, based upon the recognition of the natural brotherhood and unity of mankind, would have land and capital owned by the community collectively, and operated cooperatively for the equal good of all."

Says a recent manifesto of the joint committee of all English socialist bodies:

"Our aim, one and all, is to obtain for the whole community complete ownership and control of the means of transport, the means of manufacture, the mines, and the land. Thus we look to put an end forever to the wage system, to sweep away all distinctions of class, and eventually to establish national and international communism on a sound basis."

Says Friedrich Engels (Marx's lifelong friend and the editor of his literary remains), describing socialism in his *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, translated by E. Aveling:

"With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and simultaneously the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. . . . The whole sphere of the conditions which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who now for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of Na-

ture, because he has now become master of his own social organization. . . . It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

Says Paul Lafargue of France, Marx's son-in-law (in *Le Figaro*):

"Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organizations of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital. Socialism is of the character, therefore, of an historical discovery."

Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1879):

"What is characteristic of socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instruments and means of production, which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce among the body of owners must be a public act performed according to the rules laid down by the community."

There has been, however, an evolution of the idea of socialism. Mr. Sydney Webb says (*Fabian Essays*, chapter on the "Historic Basis of Socialism"):

"Down to the present generation, the aspirant after social regeneration naturally vindicated the practicability of his ideas by offering an elaborate plan with specifications of a new social order from which all contemporary evils were eliminated. Just as Plato had his Republic, and Sir Thomas More his Utopia, so Babeuf had his Charter of Equality, Cabet his Icaria, St. Simon his Industrial System, and Fourier his ideal Phalanstery. Robert Owen spent a fortune in pressing upon an unbelieving generation his New Moral World; and even Auguste Comte, superior as he was to many of the weaknesses of his time, must needs add a detailed polity to his Philosophy of Positivism."

"The leading feature of all these proposals was what may be called their static character. The ideal society was represented as in perfectly balanced equilibrium, without need or possibility of future organic alteration. Since their day we have learned that social reconstruction must not be gone at in this fashion. Owing mainly to the efforts of Comte, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer, we can no longer think of the ideal society as an unchanging State. The social ideal from being static has become dynamic. The necessity of the constant growth and development of the social organism has become axiomatic."

This shows that many elements sometimes identified in the popular mind with socialism have no necessary connections with it. The *Report* of the Fabian Society above quoted says in its opening paragraph:

"The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the English people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and so to socialize their industries as to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private capitalism."

"The Fabian Society endeavors to pursue its socialist and democratic objects with complete singleness of aim. For example:

"It has no distinctive opinions on the marriage question, religion, art, abstract economics, historic evolution, currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical democracy and socialism."

Professor Schaffle, in his *Quintessence of Socialism*, shows how some socialists may believe in and practise free love—some individualists also do—and that socialism as a system has no necessary connection with loose family relationships. Nor is there more authority for identifying socialism with anarchy. Theoretically, the two are opposites, and practically they are opposed. Socialists indeed rebel against the idea of placing the individual under the power of a despotic government; but so do all democrats. Socialists, like all demo-

crats, conceive of the individual as one member of a fraternal state, who must indeed yield to the will of the majority in public affairs, but who thereby does not lose so much as gain in freedom (see LIBERTY; also STATE); but modern socialists do strenuously oppose all efforts to overturn governments by physical force or to plant the cooperative commonwealth on the ruins of existing institutions. Modern socialism aims, as above asserted, at the law-abiding, political capture of the State, and its gradual evolution into a cooperative commonwealth. To establish this policy among socialists was perhaps the greatest work which Karl Marx accomplished. Up to, and after the organization of the International (*q. v.*) socialism had been identified with communism, and indeed with any form of effort after or theory of a general cooperative civilization. But soon after the organization of the International, two distinct parties were developed within it. One party, led by Bakounin (*q. v.*), sought a communism to be established on the ruins of existing institutions; the other, led by Marx, sought a communism to be established through the evolution of existing institutions. It is to this view that modern socialism has come. The two parties came to a clash in the congress of the International at The Hague in 1872. In that congress the Marxist party won, and since then the socialists and the anarchist communists, as the other party soon learned to call its faith, have never come together. The party led by Bakounin rejected The Hague Congress and established a new International, which they claimed to be the real one, and by their intensity and violence for a while carried the majority of Continental workmen with them, but the futility of their anarchistic methods and their inability to effect abiding organization has gradually led the overwhelming majority of the workers for communism in all countries to declare for the socialist or political method. To-day, socialists oppose all forms of anarchy. Anarchist communism they know to be impractical and foolhardy. Philosophic anarchism they believe to be impractical and false at its root.

Philosophic anarchism starts from the individual, and would allow private property, competition, or aught else that the individual desires and is able to enter into, though it often favors voluntary cooperation in very many directions, and usually opposes private property in land. Socialism starts from the community, and would wholly supplant industrial competition by industrial collectivism, the cooperation of the whole community.

The same development of ideas has made modern socialists oppose ordinary communism (*q. v.*), ordinary local cooperation, and even the establishment of local communistic colonies. Some socialists believe that under existing conditions local experiments in these directions may be wise as temporary means of education or of economic living, and where cooperation has got an established hold, as in England and Belgium, Socialists are learning the wisdom of working with the cooperators (see COOPERATION), but where local cooperation experiments or colonies are put forth as in

themselves a sufficient ideal to work for, or where they are attempted, as often in the United States, under conditions too weak to compete against the competitive civilization with which they are surrounded, socialists oppose such efforts as reactionary and unwise.

Communism would have all things common, and may be developed in little colonies or communities. Socialism puts emphasis, not on life in common, but on conducting industrial production and distribution in common, and aims at development, not through little colonies or independent communities, but by the gradual evolution of the collective life of whole existent and federated communities, such as towns, cities, States, nations, etc.

The above discussion will show how large and evolutionary an ideal modern socialism is. It is as flexible in its form as it is definite in its principle. Any system that would carry out its principle is socialistic. In different countries, and under different conditions, socialism would take very different forms. In Germany to-day its chief aim is national development. In France it makes less of the nation and centers around the commune, or township. In Belgium it comes very near to non-political cooperation, and yet is socialism not cooperation. In England it is municipal, and in a growing degree parliamentary. In Switzerland it centers around the canton. In the United States it will probably follow our national instincts, our political divisions of States, counties, municipalities, townships, and the nation. Socialism, therefore, is not Fourierism, nor Marxism, nor Grondlundism, nor Bellamyism. Says Sidney Webb: "It seems almost impossible to bring people to understand that the abstract word socialism denotes, like radicalism, not an elaborate plan of society, but a principle of social action."

It follows that socialists to-day spend little time in dreaming of the future. To the future the future may be left. Content with a firm grasp on their central principle and willing to sacrifice this for no reactionary policy, or side promises, however alluring, of communistic colonies and cooperative efforts, socialists are learning more and more to concentrate their efforts on the present political battle, and to leave the details of the future to the decision of circumstances. Says, Mr. Kidd, speaking of this policy (*Social Evolution*, p. 206): "We have not now to deal with mere abstract and transcendental theories, but with a clearly defined movement in practical politics, appealing to some of the deepest instincts of a large proportion of the voting population, and professing to provide a program likely in the future to stand more on its own merits in opposition to all other programs whatever."

We now pass to the consideration of

II. THE HISTORY OF SOCIALISM.

This we can consider but in general, leaving the detailed developments to be considered under the articles concerning the respective countries.

(For other information, see articles FABIAN SOCIETY; INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY; INTER-

NATIONAL; NATIONALISM; SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION; SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY; also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR; TRADE-UNIONISM; COOPERATION; MUNICIPALISM; NATIONALIZATION, etc.)

Socialism of the modern type, if a date must be fixed, may be said to have begun in 1817, the year when Robert Owen laid before Parliament his plan for a socialistic community, the year when the speculations of Saint-Simon took a definitely socialistic direction, the year when Lamennais published his first work looking toward Christian Socialism. Nevertheless, he who does not go back of the present century will never understand socialism. Socialism in a very real sense is as old as human society. Laveleye in his *Primitive Property* has shown how, in the earliest times which history can trace, property, at least land, was not held by private individuals, but held and operated collectively and more or less for the common good. It is true that this was hardly a primitive communism, as Laveleye claims; for as Fustel de Coulanges and others have pointed out, altho the property was held collectively and not by individuals, it was held practically, if not nominally, by the despot or feudal head of the society, and worked by his slaves or subjects mainly for his advantage. It was primitive slavery rather than primitive communism. Nevertheless, it did contain some elements of socialism, which occasionally developed into institutions, somewhat really socialistic. From such germs came, e. g., the Russian *mir*, the Javan *desa*, the Swiss *almends*, the German *mark*, the communal families and the family communities that still linger in out-of-the-way corners of France, Italy, and Eastern Europe. We have, however, in ancient history much more direct instances of socialism. Athens may almost be said to have been,

Primitive Communism.

as far as its free citizens went, a socialistic city. It was, as far as this portion of its population went, democratically governed, and the city as a city owned and operated land, mines, forests, fields; it built temples, baths, theaters, gymnasia; it controlled and conducted commerce, art, worship, games; it supported its citizens, more than it was supported by them; the whole Greek social conception was that the individual lived for the State, rather than the State for the individual.

More socialistic was the ideal of the Hebrew theocracy. All land was held, according to this ideal, as belonging to God alone and to no individual in fee simple. Every one, however, who belonged to the theocracy—notice that he must belong to the organization to gain its advantages—was defended not in the ownership, but in the inalienable use of land and capital. He could not be permanently alienated from the land (*Leviticus* xxv.). If he was poor his property, or capital, could not be kept from him over night (*Deuteronomy* xxvi. 10-13). The law by its institutions defended the fatherless, the hiring, the stranger, the poor, the oppressed, the widow. (See JUDAISM.)

All through the ancient world were scat-

tered religious sects, like the Essenes, the Therapeutæ, who lived in communities having all property common. Through all early societies religion and communism are found hand in hand. Coming to the Christian era we have the early attempts at communism in the primitive churches, and later the monastic institutions, which were to a large extent the civilizing centers of the Middle Ages. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Feudalism (*q. v.*) was the prevailing social form; yet was its harshness tempered by the duty, more or less recognized, of the feudal lord to care for and protect his inferior. Prior to and immediately after the Reformation there were many attempts at communism; John Ball (*q. v.*), may be considered a mediæval Christian Socialist; while the Anabaptists in Germany, before they developed their sexual excesses, attempted in many ways a true communism. Such, too, were the attempts of the *Brethren of the Common Life* (*q. v.*), of the *Libertines* of Geneva, of the *Familists* of Holland, and of other similar sects whose traditions have given us in our own day the communistic colonies in America, of the Separatists, and similar sects, at Economy, Zoar, and Amana (*q. v.*). Indeed no fact in history is more marked than the persistence of the ideal and of the attempts to realize the ideal of the life in common. Plato dreamed of such a community in his *Republic*; the writings of the Christian Fathers are full of this ideal. In 1516 More published his *Utopia*; about 1600 Campanella his *City of the Sun*; in 1656 Harrington his *Oceana*. These, and many other less known writings, kept alive an ideal that has never wholly been apart from human thought.

We now come to consider the origin of modern socialism. Back of socialism lies the altruistic impulse. Socialism is essentially, and has been from the start, a humanitarian movement.

Modern Socialism.

It is not, whatever some would make it, a class movement of the Have Nots against the Haves. The major part of its foremost leaders—Owen, Saint-Simon, Gall, Marx, Lassalle, Morris, Hyndman, Vollmar, Bakounin, Krapotkine—belonged originally to the Haves. Weitling, "the father of German communism," declared that he was converted to communism by the New Testament. If German socialism has become very largely materialistic, not enough emphasis has been laid on the fact that with Marx, Lassalle, and Bakounin, their socialistic philosophy was derived primarily from Hegel, the most spiritual of all modern philosophers, unless it be Fichte, who was himself a Christian Socialist. In France, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Lamennais, and Cabet were profoundly religious. If, in England, this cannot be said of Owen, no one can doubt his intense altruistic or humanitarian impulse. The story of the personal sacrifices made by socialists for socialism never has been, and perhaps never will be, written. The Christian martyrs gave their lives expecting immediately to enter Paradise; socialists have again and again given and devoted their lives to the

cause, knowing of no Paradise, save one their children alone can enter. Altruism (originally, as we believe, sprung from the Christian faith, but, in any case, altruism) is the one great motive that has produced socialism. The occasion, however, was industrial. It is to be found in the inventions of machinery and the application of steam power, enabling successful production to be conducted only with the aid of capital, and hence putting the working-class wholly, as they were in part before, in the hands of the possessing classes, thus increasing the wealth of the latter without a similar increase in the wealth of the masses; this revolution occurring even while altruism was more and more teaching the doctrines of human equality and of the general unity of mankind.

"Socialism," says Sidney Webb, "is one of the unforeseen results of the great industrial revolution of the past 150 years. During this period man's power over the rest of nature has suddenly and largely increased; new means of accumulating wealth, and also new means of utilizing land and capital, have come into being. At the beginning of the last century, the whole value of the land and capital of England is estimated to have amounted to less than £500,000,000 sterling; now it is supposed to be over £9,000,000,000, an increase eighteenfold. Two hundred years ago, rent and interest cannot have amounted to £30,000,000 sterling annually; now they absorb over £450,000,000. Socialism arose as soon as rent and interest became important factors."

The socialist movement, thus born and thus occasioned, has been composed of three elements: the aim at personal liberty, the effort to secure this through industrial cooperation, the recognition that this cooperation to be successful must include the whole community organized as a fraternal unit. Generally speaking, the contribution of the first element came from France, of the second element from England, and of the third element from Germany. France in her Revolution, and in the philosophical writings of Rousseau, Morelly, Mably, and Brissot de Warville, aimed at personal liberty. Owen and the English Christian Socialists taught the benefit of cooperation. Hegel, Fichte, Lassalle, and Marx developed the ideal of the cooperative State.

The French Revolution was not socialistic, but necessary to socialism. The old *régime* had to be overthrown. The fatal despotism of the Louis led to Robespierre and Danton. Crimson on the throne could only create crimson in the streets. The French Revolution was necessary before socialism could be. In other countries, where the old despotisms were less absolute, the same negative process of destruction, in order to construction, was gone through, but with far less of violence. In Germany it was largely accomplished by the Stein-Hardenberg legislation. In England the political economy of Adam Smith and the gradual legislation abolishing the old grants and restrictions of trade did the same work. By 1817 France and England were ready for socialism.

For the actual beginnings of socialism, however, one must look to Robert Owen at New Lanark, and his appeal to Parliament to carry out his socialistic ideals; one must turn next to Saint-Simon and his dreams of a scientific church, whose life should be to aid the poor; one must study Fourier and the power of unity; one must read Fichte and Hegel, and learn their philosophy of the Christian State, a philosophy which, when the Church failed to accept it, produced the materialistic movement of Lassalle and of Karl Marx. We can here only mark out the periods of socialism.

Five of these great periods are distinctly marked. I. A negative or preparatory period,

beginning with the French Revolution and coming down to 1817. II. A formative or utopian period, lasting till 1848, and including the utopian schemes of Owen, Saint-

Simon, Fourier, Cabet, and others of lesser note. It culminated in the revolution of 1848. III. A period of reaction, or at least of inaction, when Europe, as far as socialism went, was lying fallow from 1849 to 1863. IV. The period of the International, from its foundation in London in 1864 to its virtual disruption in the separation of the socialists and the anarchists in the congress at The Hague in 1872. V. The present period of the social democratic movement, commencing after the breaking up of the International, but becoming active in most countries outside of Germany only in 1880-83.

In the first period men were simply striving for personal liberty, with little consciousness of how it could be reached. Characteristic of the period were the teaching of Adam Smith and the negations of the French Revolution, with the philosophy of the return to nature and of the rights of man, so brilliantly stated by Rousseau and his school, and perhaps affecting no country in the world so much as the United States of America, then just shaping its Constitution.

In the second period, Owen, Saint-Simon, Lamennais, Cabet, the great Fourierist school, even Lassalle, dreamed of ideal cooperative communities, and attempted them in France, Great Britain, and above all in numerous colonies and communities in the United States. Toward the end of the period the awakening ferment, led by Lassalle, Marx, Engels, and others, produced the communist manifesto of 1848, and perhaps more than has been realized the political and social revolutions of 1848.

But the times were not ripe. Even in France, Louis Blanc protested against the false socialism of the Ateliers Nationaux; and for a while socialism seemed dead. In the third period Europe was lying fallow.

At last, in the fourth period, in the great International Working Men's Association, founded in London in 1864, largely under the influence of Karl Marx, revolutionary socialism broke upon Europe as a flood. "Workmen of all countries, unite!" such was the cry. The night of dreams was over, the hour was come to act. Workmen of all countries tried to unite; but being in very different degrees of economic and industrial develop-

ment, the International came to stand in different countries for very different things. In England it meant little more than Trade-Unionism; and when English workmen found that on the Continent it meant more they virtually left it. In Germany it meant socialism; in most other European countries, mainly under the influence of Bakounin, it came to mean anarchism. This apostle of destruction, crazed by years of suffering in Russian prisons and Siberian exile, knew only the gospel of "pan-destruction." Falling like a firebrand into the International, he carried it in almost all the Latin countries, including southern France and parts of Belgium, into Anarchism. It wrecked the International. Marx, in the greatest deed of his life, drove out the anarchists from the congress at The Hague in 1873, and wrecking the International once for all, saved socialism from the scourge that anarchism has since proved to modern Europe. The Bakounin "Autonomist" congresses tried to continue the International, but unsuccessfully, and with the failure the period closed.

The last period is the present one. Socialism, for some years dormant after its break with the anarchists, about 1880 to 1883, gradually assumed constructive, evolutionary, political form, wholly free from anarchism, yet without any sacrifice of its aim at a complete industrial revolution. Social democracy is in this period its favorite name.

It is now both an international and a national movement. Its international character is marked first in the fact that in all European countries it has passed through the above five periods almost synchronously, and secondly, in its positive efforts at internationalism. This was marked first in the International itself, and secondly, in the modern international congresses, which are an important characteristic of the present movement. The International failed as an organized movement, because the movement in the different countries had developed such different bodies of thought that they could not coalesce; yet it succeeded in spreading through all Europe the industrial revolution. The modern international socialist congresses are succeeding because out of the revolutionary industrial thought there is being evolved a socialist program, as well as a socialist platform, which program and which platform all countries are finding that, according to their degree of industrial and political development, they must sooner or later accept. An artificial International has given place to a growing internationalism.

III. MODERN SOCIALISM.

Socialism to-day exists as a movement in various forms. Its principal manifestation, as far as the numbers of professed and avowed socialists is concerned, is in the socialist political parties of various countries which follow the ideas and program outlined principally by Marx and Engels (*q. v.*). These parties adopt strenuously and avowedly a class attitude of the workers against the capitalistic classes, tho a few wealthy and a few

more of the professional class belong to them. In Germany its adherents are known as Social Democrats, and cast in 1893 (the last general election) 1,876,738 votes. The party is strongly organized and rapidly growing in spite of all efforts on the part of the government to suppress it or to take the winds out of its sails by a program of paternal socialism. (See BISMARCK; GERMANY; INSURANCE.) In 1871 it cast only 124,655 votes, and in 1881 only 311,961. Since then its growth has been steady. It exists mainly in the larger cities and manufacturing districts, but is spreading now among the agricultural classes and in the army. It publishes some 31 dailies, 41 weeklies and semi-weeklies, several reviews and humorous papers, 45 trade journals. In France (*q. v.*) the socialists are divided into several groups, but after the first ballot, when each group has voted for its own candidate, all the groups unite in the second ballot (see FRANCE) and vote for the socialist candidate who has polled the highest vote. The differences between the groups turn mainly on questions of

Europe.

In 1896 the *Petit République* claimed that 1,400,000 socialist votes were cast at the municipal elections. The number of deputies is variously estimated at from 40 to 55, according to those who are included as socialists. In many cities the socialists are in a majority in the town councils and elect socialist mayors. In the Paris council they have a large representation. In Belgium (*q. v.*) the socialist party is very compactly and strongly organized. Since the revision of the constitution and the large extension of the suffrage, largely forced by a general strike (see BELGIUM), the socialist vote has grown very rapidly, has surpassed the Liberal vote, and is gaining rapidly on the Catholic party. The elections of 1896 for half the House of Deputies show the total socialistic vote to be 461,000, with 33 deputies. There are four large socialist dailies with a circulation of 75,000 and a large number of weeklies, etc. The cooperative socialist clubs in all the centers give the movement great organized power (see BELGIUM).

In Denmark the socialists claimed 25,019 votes in 1895 and 10 deputies. There are six socialist dailies. The Copenhagen *Social Democrat* has a circulation of 30,000.

In Holland (*q. v.*) the party is not so strongly organized; the chief radical leader, Domola Nieuwenhuis (*q. v.*), having become hopeless of success through political action, yet the Socialists report 280,000 as adhering to the Socialist political program.

In Italy (*q. v.*) the Socialist Labor Party claims 90,000 Socialist votes in 1896 and the election of 15 deputies in spite of a recent change in the election laws which they claim has disfranchised many working men.

In Austria socialists can show less organized political strength, owing to the limitations of the suffrage, but the party has a strong hold in the empire. The leading organ of the party, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of Vienna, has a circulation of 19,000, and the party is

said to have called out 500,000 men at some of its demonstrations, and claims 70,000 members. There are some 65 socialistic journals in Austria.

In other European Continental countries the socialist party is less strongly organized, but has a nucleus of strength in Norway and Sweden, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Spain, and Portugal. Even in Russia nihilism (*q. v.*) has largely developed into a socialist political movement. In Switzerland the avowed Democratic Socialist party is small, but only because socialism is advancing so rapidly in constitutional forms and changes. (See SWITZERLAND.)

In Great Britain the Social-Democratic Federation (*q. v.*) particularly stands for the German type of socialism, with its organ *Justice* and its active propaganda, but the Independent Labor Party largely stands for the same political movement, tho with a somewhat more "progressive" (gradual) program. The vote of this party in the elections of 1895 (its first general election) was 44,321. Counting all socialist candidates of all parties, the socialist vote was nearly 60,000. This, however, probably by no means indicates the real voting strength of socialism in Great Britain. In Great Britain perhaps more people than in any other country believe that the cause of socialism may be best advanced by working through one or other and perhaps (at different times) through both of the other parties. The most, tho by no means all of the English Fabian Society (*q. v.*), notoriously hold this view. Moreover in England, perhaps more than in any other country, socialism is advancing progressively in ways other than through political agitation. (See below in this article.) The same is true, and some think even more true, of the British colonies in Australasia. New Zealand (*q. v.*) is sometimes called a socialist country where all parties vie in the introduction of such socialist measures as the nationalization or municipalization of all natural monopolies (*q. v.*), of savings-banks, and of insurance; such measures as a rapidly progressing tax on incomes and land values, the development of cooperative colonies, the employment of the unemployed, etc. In Australia there is not quite so much constructive socialism, but the various labor parties are largely, and some of them explicitly, committed to socialism.

The United States thus far has developed less avowed political socialism than any other civilized country, perhaps because of its strong inherited bias toward individualism (*q. v.*). The Socialist Labor Party (*q. v.*) is the avowed representative in America of the German type of socialism, which it considers the only socialism. Its national vote in 1896 was 36,563, and it is steadily growing in most of the larger cities and industrial centers. The People's Party (*q. v.*) is by no means wholly committed to full socialism, but it does advocate many socialist measures such as the nationalization

Great
Britain and
Colonies.

United
States.

of railroads, of the money system, and of all natural monopolies, while its rank and file are very largely inclined to socialism. The *Coming Nation*, a People's Party socialist paper, has a circulation of 70,000. The total People's Party presidential vote in 1892 was 1,041,028, and on the State elections of 1894 (according to the *World Almanac* of 1896), 1,564,318. Such is a brief review of the present voting strength of socialism in the world.

But this is not the only way in which socialism is advancing. Some socialists would assert that the strongest advance of socialism is in the steady growth of monopolies, trusts, and concentrated wealth on the one hand, coupled, on the other hand, with the steady advance of democratic tendencies among the masses of all countries. Nor is the argument weakened by the fact that, among certain portions of the educated classes, there is a reaction against democracy. This reaction is largely caused by fear of a socialist democracy, and this rather shows the advance of socialism.

Other socialists find more evidence of the advance of socialism in the steady expansion of the function of the democratic State. This is admitted by those who most oppose it. Of England Herbert Spencer says:

"The numerous socialistic changes made by Act of Parliament, joined with numerous others presently to be made, will by and by be all merged in State socialism; swallowed in the vast wave which they have little by little raised." Of this advance Mr. Sidney Webb writes in the *Fabian Essays*:

"Slice after slice has gradually been cut from the profits of capital, and therefore from its selling value, by socially beneficial restrictions on its user's liberty to do as he liked with it.

Slice after slice has been cut off the incomes from rent and interest by the gradual shifting of taxation from consumers to persons enjoying incomes above the average of the kingdom.

Step by step the political power and political organizations of the country have been used for industrial ends.

"Even in the fields still abandoned to private enterprise, its operations are thus every day more closely limited, in order that the anarchic competition of private greed, which at the beginning of the century was set up as the only infallibly beneficent principle of social action, may not utterly destroy the State. All this has been done by 'practical' men, ignorant, that is to say, of any scientific sociology; believing socialism to be the most foolish of dreams, and absolutely ignoring, as they thought, all grandiloquent claims for social reconstruction. Such is the irresistible sweep of social tendencies that in their every act they worked to bring about the very socialism they despised."

This tendency has undoubtedly been carried further in England than in any other country. Yet in Germany the same work is carried out not by a democratic but by a paternal imperialism and municipalism, and the socialists believe that these governments are but constructing buildings for the steadily growing socialist democracy to occupy. In Australia and New Zealand the movement to expand State functions is largely one of conscious socialism. In the United States the tendency

is far less developed, yet more developed than many realize, and is unquestionably on the increase.

Public schools and libraries, State universities, hospitals, asylums, reformatories, the postal service, signal service, coast surveys, the highway system, labor bureaus, municipal fire departments, every court of justice, every factory act, every municipal health regulation—these and a hundred other things are socialistic.

In many American cities, too, there is a new wave of municipalism. New York City is destroying her slums and erecting baths, opening parks, and controlling tenements. Labor bureaus are establishing free employment bureaus; large portions of the population, including some by no means committed to socialism, are agitating for the municipalization of electric lighting and other natural monopolies. (For concrete evidence of the advance of socialism on these lines, see NATURAL MONOPOLIES; MONOPOLIES; ELECTRIC LIGHTING; GAS; RAILROADS; STREET-CARS; TELEGRAPH; TELEPHONE; CITIES; MUNICIPALISM; BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS; NEW ZEALAND; AUSTRALIA; ENGLAND; SWITZERLAND.

Perhaps even more significant than the advance of unconscious socialism is the advance of conscious socialistic thought among many who do not see their way yet to vote for socialism. The writings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Morris, Ely, Bellamy, Blatchford in different countries and different circles are known universally, even by those not used to reading, and are among the most potent aids to socialistic advance. They enter the university and the farm, the church and the tenement, and everywhere they carry conviction. Many may consider them impossible dreams but wish they could be true. Such fail to see how socialism is advancing on the lines indicated above. The change in the thought of professed economists is marked, particularly in Germany and England. In other countries there may be at present a slight reaction from economic socialism, and the significance and the real socialism of the German movement of the so-called Socialists of the Chair (*q. v.*), and the confessions of English economists may have been exaggerated by some, but the very reaction shows the extent to which the change has gone. Says Sidney Webb (*Fabian Essays*):

"The publication of John Stuart Mill's *Political Economy* in 1848 marks conveniently the boundary of the old individualist economics. Every edition of Mill's book became more and more socialistic. After his death the world learned the personal history, penned by his own hand, of his development from a mere political democrat to a convinced socialist.

"The change in tone since then has been such that one competent economist, professedly anti-socialist, publishes regretfully to the world that all the younger men are now socialists, as well as many of the older professors. It is, indeed, mainly from these that the world has learned how faulty were the earlier economic generalizations, and above all, how incomplete as guides for social or political action."

Says Professor de Laveleye:

"It was at one time imagined that the means of combating socialism would be found in the teachings

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of political economy; but, on the contrary, it is precisely this science which has furnished the socialists of to-day with their most redoubtable weapons." (Introduction to *Socialism of To-day*.)

A still greater change has come over religious thought. Christian Socialism has appeared in all Christian lands and in all churches. Says Professor Kirkup, in his article on Socialism, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "The ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity; if not identical with them." Says Professor de Laveleye (Introduction to *Socialism of To-day*): "Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master is at heart a socialist, and every socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity."

The changed position of the Church of Rome, the Christian Socialist movement in Germany and in England; the growth of strong organizations, like the Christian Social Union (*q. v.*), within established churches, and of the Labor Church (*q. v.*), outside of established churches, indicate the hold which socialism has in the conscience and in the spiritual life.

Lastly, in England and now beginning elsewhere, the growth of the Fabian Society (*q. v.*), which works mainly in the more educated middle class, on all the lines noticed above, indicates at once the intellectual, practical, and political advance of socialism as branches of one movement. Professor Schæffle long ago said: "The future belongs to the purified socialism." (*Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers*, vol. ii. p. 120).

IV. THE ARGUMENT FOR SOCIALISM.

The supreme argument which socialists adduce in behalf of their faith is that only under socialism can mankind develop a high form of individual freedom. Under industrial competition two results, it is argued, must inevitably appear: first, the survival of those most fitted to compete in industrial warfare, which is by no means always the highest type of character, but often, to say the least, may be merely the most sharp, the most cunning, the least developed in moral sense; and as a concomitant with this, the slavery and industrial oppression of the industrially weak, who may be too moral, quite as possibly as too weak, to compete with the industrially sharp. Individualists assert that this is not the case with the present stage of individualism. For

Socialism
Freedom. proof of this they point to the increased comfort and education and situation of the producing classes. They deny that the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer. But the individualist evidence does not support the conclusion. The socialist does not say that the poor are growing poorer, but that they are growing more dependent on the employing class, which is quite another point. It is undoubtedly true that in civilized lands the producing classes are better off so far as material comfort goes than they were at the beginning of the century, tho it is not so clear

that they are better off in proportion to the wealthy class (concerning this point see WEALTH, also WAGES), but it is doubtful in the first place whether this is not due to what socialistic features exist to-day, such as trade-union combinations, public education, factory legislation, etc., and secondly, to whatever cause it be attributed, it has no bearing on the socialist contention that personal freedom is diminished under individualism.

In order to succeed to-day under competition, one or two things are all but necessary, large capital and intense devotion to money-making: usually both. The man or woman to-day possessed of large income can invest it, and with little thought or care for it live in freedom; but this is a freedom bought by the toil of others. As for the unsuccessful, they have scarcely any freedom at all. In days before machinery was so necessary to production, before capital was so organized, the small producer—the weaver, the cobbler, etc.—could be comparatively independent, tho his material comforts were few. To-day the man without capital must work for the man who has. A few quotations may illustrate this. Says Robert Blatchford (*Merrie England*, chap. xix.):

"Can anyone imagine a despotism more terrible than the regulation of work by government? I think so. I think I could find it. But I have no need to look. See; it is here, ready to my hand.

"It is here, in a letter, long kept by me, a sample of many I constantly receive:

"If you can see your way to give us poor devils of silk dyers a word or two, I am sure it would do us good. We work longer hours than any others in the trade in England, get less wages, and, for our lives, or rather our situations, dare not openly belong to a union. If we strike—as we did last summer—pressure is brought upon us by our wives and children (nearly all of whom have to work) being dismissed from their situations. If we write to the *Leeds Times*—the best friend we poor dyers ever had—we are afraid to sign our names; and if we have a meeting it has to be kept a dead secret. In fact, it is not worth living to work under such circumstances, and as far as I can see the only union we shall ever get will be the union workhouse, and many of us are half-way there now. Give us a word to strengthen the fearful and encourage the weak. Somebody must help us. We cannot help ourselves. We have been down so long that we don't know how to get up.

"P. S. For God's sake do not mention my name."

The quoted letter could be duplicated, so far as its revelation of slavery goes, in any city or industrial center of the United States or Great Britain. Says an American writer, Mr. Ira Steward (*q. v.*), quoted in the fourth report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor:

"Poverty makes the poor poorer and independence impossible. It corrupts judges, ministers, legislators, and statesmen. It decides marriages, shortens human life, hinders education, and embarrasses progress in every direction. It gives rise, directly and indirectly, to more anxiety, suffering, and crime than all other causes combined. Poverty crams cities, and their tenement-houses, with people whose conduct and votes endanger the republic. The dangerous classes are always poor. There is a closer relation between poverty and slavery than the average abolitionist ever recognized. . . . The anti-slavery idea was that every man had the right to go and come at his will. The labor movement asks how much this abstract right is worth, without the power to exercise it. . . . The laborer instinctively feels that something of slavery still remains, or that something of freedom is yet to come, and he is not much interested in the anti-slavery theory of liberty."

On questions of personal liberty, Mill may be allowed some weight, and Mill emphatically declared that "the restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race."

The objection to this, that socialism itself would be slavery to the will of the majority, we consider later under objections to socialism. We notice now that socialists assert that not only is there industrial slavery, to-day, but that there always must be under industrial competition, at least for the masses. Men are not equal in ability—given that fact, which no man can deny, and it must inevitably follow that if men compete for the means of existence, the weak must be servants of the strong, and the strong must survive only on condition of perpetual strife. The employer to-day under competition cannot pay what wages he would. He must pay the market rate or be undersold by those who will pay lower wages. Even the rich hold their riches at the price of a competition which may spring up any moment that they do not shrewdly manage their investments or have some one to manage them for them. Competition rules not only the slave, but the taskmaster. Nor is this all. The few rich will not compete. They find it better to combine. Hence, the weak become slaves not only of wealth, but of combined wealth. Says Mr. Bellamy (address at Boston, May 31, 1889):

"A brief consideration of the causes which have led to the present world-wide movement for the substitution of combination in business for competition will surely convince any one that, of all revolutions, this is the least likely to go backward. It is a result of the increase in the efficiency of capital in great masses, consequent upon the inventions of the last and present generations. In former epochs the size and scope of business enterprises were subject to natural restrictions. There were limits to the amount of capital that could be used to advantage by one management. To-day there are no limits, save the earth's confines, to the scope of any business undertaking; and not only no limit to the amount of capital that can be used by one concern, but an increase in the efficiency and security of the business proportionate to the amount of capital in it. The economies in management resulting from consolidation, as well as the control over the market resulting from the monopoly of a staple, are also solid business reasons for the advent of the trust."

The problem to-day is not one of combination *vs.* competition; but simply of what kind of combination we shall have; the combination of the many or of the few.

Nor can freedom be preserved by doing away with government or by taxing land values with the hope of giving equal opportunity to all. These theories of extreme individualism (Single Tax, Philosophical Anarchism, etc.) all rest on the assumption that all men need is equal material opportunity; they theorize of a competition among equals; but the result would be a competition among unequals, and the strong would be able to seize and occupy, or pay for the best land, amass capital, etc., and lord it over the weak as to-day. Nor would the reward be even proportional to ability; because immoral and feeble descendants of the wealthy inheriting large capitals, as they often do to-day, could under free land live in luxury on the slavery of others.

The second great argument for socialism is that it would produce not only greater personal freedom, but a higher type of character. Character tends to be what men strive for. If men have to concentrate their attention on industrial competition, they tend to develop materialism and shrewdness. This is exactly what we have to-day. Artists complain that commercialism is killing art; religionists say we are growing material; the bourgeois middle-class boast of our material inventions. It is the natural result of industrial competition. Under socialism, if men seek the good of all it will produce a higher character.

**Socialism
and
Character.**

Once with naked hand or rudest club men fought for existence; later, with poisoned arrow and with hurtling spear they battled for the best fisheries and the richest hunting-grounds. A physical competition produced physical individuality, the physical giant, the Goliaths, the Achilles, the Agamemmons, kings of men. Then came a competition a little more intellectual, producing an Alexander, a Richard Cœur de Lion. Next came the modern world where men battle, not with poisoned spears, but with poisoned groceries; not with clubs but, like bulls and bears, with cornerings of the market and tricks of trade. It produces the Jay Gould and the Baron Rothschild. Now comes socialism, and says, Let us cooperate in industry, and compete only to see who shall best serve the public. Is it not easy to see what kind of an individuality it will produce?

Mr. Blatchford, in *Merrie England*, says of Mr. Morley's argument that if existence were no longer a sordid struggle for money the genius of the people would die out, and we should sink into barbarism, and retain nothing but the bare necessities of life,

"What do his words assume? They assume:
"1. That the greatest and noblest of the race are actuated by avarice. Which is not true.
"2. That the greatest and noblest of the race secure the most *wealth*. Which is not true.
"What think you is the chief food of genius? Does the prospect of wealth inspire Hamlets or Laocoons, and steam-engines and printing-presses? The true artist, the man to whom all creative work is due, is mainly inspired, sustained, and rewarded by a love of his art. Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* for £3. Can greed produce a poem like it? The Gradgrind supposes greed to be the ruling passion because in the society he knows most men strive to get money. But *why* do they strive to get money? There are two chief motives. One the desire to provide for or confer happiness upon children, on friends; the other the desire to purchase applause. But in the first place the motive is not greed, but love; and in the second case it is not greed, but vanity. Only a *miser* covets money for its own sake. Both love and vanity are stronger passions than greed."

Other arguments for socialism are of less importance, but socialists argue that, altho the producing classes may be somewhat better off than they were, there is still a terrible amount of want and destitution which socialism would relieve. Says Mr. Frederic Harrison:

"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold, that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they

can call their own beyond the end of the week ; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them ; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart ; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health ; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse ; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country."

Yet there is wealth enough for all, were it wisely managed. (See WEALTH.)

In the United States the per capita wealth of the country, according to the census of 1890, is \$867 per family.

But under socialism production would be increased. There are millions to-day of the wealthy, the unemployed poor, soldiers, etc., who are supported

Socialism out of the total product, but who
Economical. do little or no productive work.

Were they set to work, the income would be greatly raised. Still more would many sources of expense be saved. The monopolies we have to-day cheapen or multiply production (see MONOPOLY). A general system of monopoly could enormously increase production. Savings of almost untold amount could be made in doing away with uselessly multiplied machinery, salaries, advertising. Says Mr. Blatchford :

"Commercial waste is something appalling. The cause of commercial waste is competition. The chief channels of commercial waste are account-keeping, bartering, and advertising. If we produced goods simply for use instead of for sale, we should save all this waste. But consider the immense number of cashiers, bookkeepers, clerks, salesmen, shopmen, accountants, commercial travelers, agents, and advertisement canvassers employed in our British trade.

"Take the one item of advertisement alone. There are draughtsmen, paper-makers, printers, bill-posters, painters, carpenters, gliders, mechanics, and a perfect army of other people all employed in making advertisement bills, pictures, hoardings, and other abominations—for what ?

"To enable one soap or patent-medicine dealer to secure more orders than his rival. I believe I am well within the mark when I say that some firms spend £100,000 a year in advertisements."

The indirect results of the removal of poverty are all but incalculable: the abolition of prostitution and (since, as we have seen, character would be elevated) the lessening of lust ; the decreasing of intemperance, largely to-day the result of poverty (*q. v.*) ; lessening of money quarrels, especially of family money quarrels ; the giving of healthy environment and education to all children ; the making it possible for all men and all women to earn an honorable living by a little regular honorable work ; and the grading of society, not by money but by usefulness to the community, thus largely doing away, for one thing, with temptations to marriage for money. Such are some of the momentous indirect advantages claimed for socialism.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

These will be found in full under article Individualism. Probably the most widely spread objection to socialism is that it is an impossible and impracticable Utopia. The answer to this

is that it is actually and rapidly coming ; and that even extreme individualists admit this.

Mr. Sidney Webb, in his *Socialism in England*, describes the individualistic city councilor, who will spend a day among socialistic institutions, and not knowing that these are socialism, will say, "Socialism, sir ! Don't talk to a practical man about your fantastic absurdities."

Mr. Kidd says (*Social Evolution*, chap. viii. :

"We have not now to deal with mere abstract and transcendental theories, but with a clearly defined movement in practical politics, appealing to some of the deepest instincts of a large proportion of the voting population, and professing to provide a program likely in the future to stand more and more on its own merits in opposition to all other programs whatever."

It is true that Mr. Kidd does not admit that complete socialism is coming. He argues that we shall have State control of monopolies, but a control only to prevent monopoly, not the formation of State monopolies. So argue many economists. But to this it must be replied, in the first place, that Mr. Kidd argues this, simply on account of the supposed necessity of individual competition to progress, which biological argument we consider later, and secondly, all facts to-day point to the steady growth, not only of State control, but of State ownership. The blue books of the world can be ransacked, and scarcely an instance can be found of an activity once assumed by the State reverting to private hands, while the evidences of expanding activity of ownership as well as of control are on every hand.

A second objection is akin to the first. It is that socialism would never work because men are too selfish and ignorant to carry on the vast cooperative State that it would require.

This is to many the supreme objection against socialism. Knowing the ability it takes to organize and carry on even an ordinary business, their experience with trade-unions and other organizations of the so-called working classes has not convinced them that the masses are able to conduct the enormous interests that socialism would place in their hands ; while their knowledge of government, under the corrupting power of appointments, does not incline them to turn over to government all the offices that would have to be filled under a system of nationalized railroads, to speak of nothing more.

But let us look at facts. Has not cooperation succeeded, as a matter of fact, almost marvelously ? Have not English, American, German, and French working men proved themselves capable of cooperation, even on a very large scale ?

The cooperative societies of England, with their millions of pounds of capital, their million and more of members, their wholesale and retail stores ; the thousands of cooperative banks and other forms of cooperation in Germany and France ; the cooperative transactions of the United States, estimated by Professor Ely at millions of dollars annually, show what can be done.

Nor against the great success of cooperation

Socialism
Utopian ?

must one count too heavily the admitted failures. Cooperative experiments to-day have to battle against the competition of enormous combinations of wealthy private firms, able to carry on business for a year at a loss, in order to run out the cooperative ventures. Under the circumstances, the wonder is not that co-operation sometimes fails, but that it ever succeeds. Its success only shows what the masses can do against great odds; odds, indeed, so great that many believe the future cannot be fought out on private lines. In a cooperative commonwealth where the community carried on all industry, it would have no such organized foe to meet. And it must not be supposed that industry would be taken over by the States *en bloc*. Socialists are evolutionists. Industry is to-day being concentrated. Its practical details are not managed by owners, but by salaried overseers and managers.

**Socialism
Impracticable?**

In being socialized an industry could still be managed in exactly the same way, and perhaps usually by the same men, only by these men working for the public, not for a few stockholders. There would be no upheaval, and small change.

As to the corruption of government, we are not to think, in the first place, of a vast centralized machine. We are to remember that socialism is essentially democratic, with great emphasis on *local self-government*. There would be less of the central appointing power than there is to-day. The safety of the town-meeting system in the United States is that every man knows personally the man he votes for, and so the right men are elected; which principle would be carried out under socialism, only still further. But what are the causes of the corruption of government, as in the United States? First, the fact that for generations Americans have despised government, and let it play a small and a low part in their life. This has had its natural result. Smart, pushing men have been able to make more money elsewhere; therefore they have not taken office; good men have, as a rule, left politics alone. Is it any wonder that such politics have become corrupt? Men have left government to the saloon-keeper, and now blame government because they have pot-house politics. This is the first reason. The second reason is that business having been amassed in a few hands, and these few having found that special legislation can be had by directly or indirectly bribing the low politicians we have put in power, the average corporation has become politically a corrupting power. We do not need to prove these points. They are admitted by every thinker. It is to this corruptive power of amassed wealth, playing upon the venality and sometimes the necessities of those who have made politics a profession, that is due the scandalous corruption of government. Socialism would remove both causes. As long as there are masses of poor people on the one side, and a few corporations enormously wealthy on the other, there will be corruption, and no amount of indignant "citizens' movements" can perma-

nently prevent it. As long as corporations pay managers and attorneys several times the salaries that the State pays, the smartest men will be in the service of the corporations, inside or outside of government. The way to pure government is not first to purify the State and then increase its activities. This is chimerical. But first to increase its activities, to make it important, to enable it to pay large salaries and to carry out large ideas, and then it will become pure; men will be attracted to it who cannot be bought. Just so long as we despise the State will it be despicable; when we begin to magnify it and exalt it over the corporations, will it begin to be pure and magnificent. We base this statement not upon theory but upon facts.

Birmingham was once the most corrupt municipality in England. Squalor and overcrowding were universal. The death rate was enormous. Vice and crime flourished. Saloon-keepers were the only contented people. A tavern coterie ruled the city. But in 1871 Mr. Chamberlain came forward with a program of municipal activity. He was elected, a loan of £1,600,000 was obtained, and to-day Birmingham is perhaps what it was recently called by Julian Ralph in *Harper's Magazine*, "the best governed city in the world," "a business city, run by business men on business principles."

In other cities of England and Scotland, in Germany and France, cities are pure just about in proportion that their functions are magnified. (For further proof of this, see MUNICIPALISM.)

It is, of course, not claimed that socialism would be absolutely pure. It is only claimed that there would be far less corruption than to-day. Even now, though politics are corrupt, they are often far less corrupt than private corporations. If the United States post-office department is not pure, it is at least vastly more pure than most private monopolies.

A third objection to socialism is the asserted cost and inefficiency of all work undertaken by governments. The answer to this is the denial of the fact as applied to modern democratic governments that undertake socialist measures. Ancient corrupt monarchies, or modern democracies that are made the cat's-paw of great corporations, may be rotten with jobs, and governments do not immediately grow pure in a day, but an ever increasing amount of evidence is accumulating to show that government work conducted on socialist lines is both cheap and good. (See CONTRACT LABOR; MUNICIPALISM; ELECTRIC LIGHTING; GAS; RAILROADS; STREET-CARS; TELEGRAPHS; TELEPHONES; BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS.) It must be remembered that in two directions government activities decline to compete with private activities. Governments, in the first place, decline to pay the low wages for long hours that many corporations pay.

Secondly, private corporations do only what pays; governments do what does not pay. A

private mail might carry letters in large quantities between large cities more cheaply than the government, but the government carries letters to small villages where it does not pay as cheaply as to large cities where it does. A comparison between the cost and accommodations in small villages of the telegraph in the United States under private management and those of the post-office under public ownership is a case in point. The public ownership of monopolies is everywhere winning its way in the world on its merits, cheapness, and efficiency, even among many who care nothing for socialism. Governments undoubtedly still do stupid and foolish things for individualists to pick flaws with, but Mr. Spencer's classic catalogue of the sins of legislators are mainly out of date and easily overmatched by the frauds of private companies.

A somewhat more plausible objection is that socialism would mean the subjection of the individual to the will of the majority, who would be the mediocre. But to this it must be answered, first, that socialism is not State socialism (see above), except where the State is democratic, a cooperative commonwealth, so that the submission of the individual is only that of a cooperator to the decision of a majority of a body of cooperators in which he has a voice. Secondly, it must be remembered that freedom (*q. v.*) can never be more than relative. Absolute freedom is a myth. The only question is under what form of society the individual would be most free. How much freedom the average individual has under individualism we have seen above in Mill's declaration that "the restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race." Socialists do not deny the fact that under socialism there would be some necessary and some unnecessary subjection of the individual to the will of the many, and that this power would not always be wisely used. They assert, however, that there would not be so much compulsion as many think, and still more assert that there would be far less compulsion of the individual than there is today. They believe that the community has the right to rule the individual for the good of all; they also believe that it is for the good of all that there be no more compulsion than necessary. They, however, base their views not on any theory of natural rights, but on frank reasoning from experience and expediency. Says Mr. Blatchford (*Merrie England*, chap. xix.):

"You will ask me how a socialist State would apportion the work. I ask you how the work is apportioned *now*.

"You have a son, say a lad of 14, and wish to put him to a trade. You ask him his choice. He says he would like to be a cabinet-maker. You apply at the shops in your own town and you find that trade is bad, or that the allowed number of apprentices is made up. So you get the boy work as an engineer or a painter.

"That is to say, your boy can choose his trade *subject to the demand for labor of certain kinds*. If all boys wanted to be engineers, they could not all get work at that trade.

"These conditions would exist under socialism.

The State or the municipality would need a certain number of plumbers and a certain number of painters. If more boys asked to be painters than the State needed to do its painting, some of those boys would have to take other work. Where does the slavery come in?"

And it must be remembered that under socialism, where all worked cooperatively with abundant capital, the material work of the world could be done by each working a very few hours per day. All the rest of the day they would be free.

Simply to live, painters paint pot-boilers, dramatists write dramas to fill the house, undertakers smirk and bow and scrape, reporters report "to suit," clergymen preach sermons that will "draw." Socialism, in a word, would mean independence compared with the present.

Professor Huxley has well ridiculed Mr. Spencer's conception of society, where every man is for himself, and no man has to do with his neighbors, except to prevent their interference with himself. He says:

"Suppose that, in accordance with his view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction, except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland that it had a right to secrete, so long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own 'interests,' and *laissez faire*, Lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?" (*Administrative Nihilism*.)

The objection to socialism most raised by scientific men is that, by checking competition, it would inevitably produce deterioration of the race. (See INDIVIDUALISM.)

The answer is the denial, in the first place, that socialism would prevent all competition. Every man would have to work. "He that will not work, neither shall he eat," is written over every socialist portal. Those who worked the most effectively for the community would infallibly secure the greatest honor. Socialism would thus not do away with all competition. Civilization has largely done away with physical competition; do any advocate returning to it? Socialists would simply do away with industrial competition and replace it by a competition for honor. Says Mrs. Besant (in the *Fabian Essays*):

"The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence—all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence. It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and they alone supply the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his *esprit de corps*, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the 'reward of valor,' far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population; and military glory and success in murder are but poor objects to aim at. If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping—in a word, the desire to excel—is strong enough to impel to exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multifarious desires of humanity assert themselves

Emulation.

when once livelihood is secure. It is on the devotion of these to the service of society, as the development of the social instincts teaches men to identify their interests with those of the community, that socialism must ultimately rely for progress; but in saying this we are only saying that socialism relies for progress on human nature as a whole, instead of on that mere fragment of it known as the desire for gain."

Nor do socialists admit that science to-day declares the struggle for existence the *only* means of progress. Such was the dictum of the science of yesterday, but not of to-day. Says Professor Giddings (*The Principles of Sociology*):

"From the moment that conscious association began it was a continuous agency among the factors of evolution."

He quotes M. Krapotkine as saying:

"Life in societies is the most powerful weapon in the struggle for life, taken in its widest sense. . . . Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist, or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey; it permits longevity; it enables the species to rear its progeny with the least waste of energy, and to maintain its numbers. Albeit a very slow birth rate."

Few socialists deny the truth of Malthusianism, as held to-day, that, *in any given state of industry and the arts*, population tends to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living, but they argue that this would be solved in part by the necessity to raise the state of industry and art, and still more by due checks upon population. Says John Stuart Mill (*Political Economy*, bk. ii. chap. i.):

"Another of the objections to communism is similar to that so often urged against poor-laws: that if every member of the community were assured of subsistence for himself and any number of children, on the sole condition of willingness to work, prudential restraint on the multiplication of mankind would be at an end, and population would start forward at a rate which would reduce the community through successive stages of increasing discomfort to actual starvation. There would certainly be much ground for this apprehension if communism provided no motives to restraint equivalent to those which it would take away. But communism is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest intensity against this kind of selfish intemperance. Any augmentation of numbers which diminished the comfort or increased the toil of the mass would then cause (which now it does not) immediate and unmistakable inconvenience to every individual in the association; inconvenience which could not then be imputed to the avarice of employers or the unjust privileges of the rich. In such altered circumstances opinion could not fail to reprobate, and if reprobation did not suffice, to repress by penalties of some description, this or any other culpable self-indulgence at the expense of the community. The communistic scheme, instead of being peculiarly open to the objection drawn from danger of over-population, has the recommendation of tending in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil."

The last objection we consider is that the socialist movement forgets or ignores personal character. This is the charge continually, tho largely indirectly, made in *Aspects of the Social Problem*, edited by Bernard Bosanquet (1895). Mr. Sidney Ball, reviewing the book in the *International Journal of Ethics* (April, 1896), under the caption, *The Moral Aspects of Socialism*, well answers the charge and says:

"At first sight it seems true that character has not been put in the foreground of socialist discussion; its emphasis appears to be laid almost exclusively on

machinery, on a reconstruction of the material conditions and organization of life. But machinery is a means to an end, as much to a socialist as to any one else; and the end, at any rate as conceived by the socialist, is the development of human nature in scope, powers of life and enjoyment. . . . The forces required to work collectivist machinery are nothing if not moral; and so we also hear the complaint that socialists are too ideal, that they make too great a demand upon human nature and upon the social will and imagination. Of the two complaints this is certainly the most pertinent. A conception, however, which is liable to be dismissed, now as mere mechanism, now as mere morality, may possibly be working toward a higher synthesis. . . . If institutions depend on character, character depends on institutions; it is upon their necessary interaction that the Socialist insists."

(For contrary views, see INDIVIDUALISM; ANARCHISM; SINGLE TAX, etc.)

References: General: *Fabian Essays on Socialism* (London, 1890); W. D. P. Bliss' *Handbook of Socialism* (1895); R. T. Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894); Thomas Kirkup's *An Inquiry into Socialism* (1887); A. Schaeffle's *Quintessence of Socialism* (Tr. 1889); Historical: Ed. Laveleye's *Socialism of To-day* (1884); J. Rae's *Contemporary Socialism* (Revised edition, 1891); W. H. Dawson's *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1898), and *Bismarck and State Socialism* (1899); Sidney Webb's *Socialism in England* (1885); R. T. Ely's *Labor Movement in America* (1886); *Early Socialist Utopias of More, Bacon, etc.*; Karl Marx's *Capital* (Tr. 1880); J. S. Mill, *Essays on Socialism* (collected in book form, 1891); Laurence Gronlund's *Cooperative Commonwealth* (1886); Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1887); William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1892); Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England* (1894).

(See also CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; OWEN; SAINT-SIMON; FOURIER; and other socialist authors.)

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, THE (of the United States).—The great socialist movement of France, Germany, Belgium, and other European countries naturally exerts a marked influence upon the movement in America. Socialism is as international as the capitalist system of production. It found an early expression in the International (*q. v.*) which from 1867 to 1869 attained considerable strength in the United States.

As the capitalist system of production had not reached its culmination of development, so the socialist movement waited upon the gigantic strides of modern productive forces. So indistinct were the ideas of some of its early adherents that socialist and anarchist were classed together, altho holding opposite views of the functions of government. (See ANARCHISM.)

In the November election of 1877, however, a Social Democratic Workingmen's Party organized in July, 1876, cast 1365 votes in the city of New York. Immediately after this election, the name Socialist Labor Party was adopted, but its political action was intermittent. In the campaign of 1886 the socialists, working with other professed labor forces, supported Henry George for Mayor of New York. They did not, however, adopt the Single-Tax theory, and soon after this election the breach between socialists and Single Taxers became permanent. Anarchists were also eliminated, and the party, thenceforth refusing all alliances, acted only under its present distinctive name and principles, which, as presented in its platform, are in unity with the whole international political socialist movement.

The growth of the party is best shown by its vote cast in the United States from the year 1888 :

Total vote, 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068
Total vote, 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
Total vote, 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,503

During this time the party has clearly defined the difference between mere labor politics and socialist politics, between the Old Trades' Unionism, whose motto is "no politics in unions," and the New Trades' Unionism, which is avowedly in sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party insists that the old methods must give place to active work in the political field, if organized labor is to gain any permanent improvement in its condition. To this end the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance has been organized as a national body, composed of delegates from unions whose active support is given to the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Labor Party recognizes two existing classes in every country—the exploiters and the exploited. They hold that no party controlled by either great or small capitalists can or will abolish this condition, and that only a party wholly in the interest of the exploited class will aid in overthrowing the capitalist system and substituting the cooperative commonwealth.

Its main German organs are the *Vorwärts* (weekly) and *New Yorker Volkzeitung* (daily), and its main English organ *The People*, all published at 184 William Street, New York. H. B. SALISBURY.

The platform, adopted in New York, July 9, 1896, is as follows :

"The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"With the founders of the American Republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions, we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

"With the founders of this Republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

"To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises, and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

"Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

"Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

"Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

"Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

"Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in

the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

"The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

"We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Cooperative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

"With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

"1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.

"2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same cooperatively under control of the Federal Government, and to elect their own superior officers; but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

"3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, waterworks, gasworks, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same cooperatively under control of the municipal administration, and to elect their own superior officers; but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

"4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

"5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

"6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

"7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

"8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

"9. School education of all children under 14 years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous, and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

"10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

"11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.

"12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, State, and Nation).

"13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

"14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

"15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

"16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, State, and municipal), wherever it exists.

"17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative assemblies.

"18. Municipal self-government.

"19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

"20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

Demands.

"21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment."

SOCIALISTS OF THE CHAIR.—In 1871, in Germany, Herr Offenheim, in the *National Zeitung*, dubbed those professors of political economy who incline toward certain socialistic views, *Kathedersozialisten* (Academic Socialists or Socialists of the Chair). The term was taken up and accepted by Professor Schmoller (*q. v.*) in his opening address at a gathering at Eisenach in 1872, of those who sympathize with the view, and it led to somewhat of a movement in Germany, and the formation in 1873 of the *Verein für Sozial-Politik* (Social Economic Club), an organization to represent their views, holding meetings almost annually and producing considerable literature. The name has passed into other countries, and in England and America is applied to professors (and they are not a few, see **SOCIALISM**) who incline to certain socialistic propositions. Nevertheless Socialists of the Chair are not socialists. In Germany, especially, they stand for little more than an expansion of the paternal State, while socialists oppose paternalism.

Professor Schmoller, in his opening address at Eisenach, said:

"The marked division of classes in the midst of existing society, the open war between masters and workmen, between owners and proletarians, and the danger, still distant but threatening the future, of a social revolution, have for some years caused doubts to arise as to the truth and definitive triumph of the economic doctrines represented by the congress of economists; and on all sides it is questioned whether absolute freedom of labor and the complete abolition of the antiquated regulations of the Middle Ages will bring about that perfectly happy situation which the believers in *laissez faire* have so enthusiastically predicted." While thus separating himself from the old optimism of the Manchester party (*Das Manchesterthum*), Schmoller was careful to show that he did not accept the conclusion of the socialists. "Tho by no means satisfied," he said, "with existing social conditions, and convinced of the necessity of reforms, we preach neither the upsetting of science nor the overthrow of the existing social order, and we protest against all socialistic experiments. All the great advances shown in history have been the result of the work of ages. The existing economic legislation, the present methods of production, the psychological conditions of the different classes ought to be the basis of our reforming energy. We demand neither the abolition of industrial freedom nor the suppression of the wage system; but we do not wish, out of respect for abstract principles, to allow the most crying abuses to become daily worse, and to permit so-called freedom of contract to end in the actual exploitation of the laborer. We do not desire the State to advance money to working men in order that they may make experiments on systems inevitably destined to fail; but we demand that it should concern itself, in an altogether new spirit, with their instruction and training, and should see that labor is not conducted under conditions which must have for their inevitable effect the degeneration of the laborer."

"On the whole," says the Report on Germany of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, "the Academic Socialists represent the moderate party, whether in politics or in social science, the party which, while recognizing the value of State intervention, recognizes also that 'self-help' is a condition of economic progress, and to these two principles adds a third, that of the aid of society (*Gesellschaftshilfe*) or 'the free exercise of the beneficent and educating influence which belongs to the cultivated classes.'"

SOCIAL PURITY MOVEMENT IN EUROPE (THE).—(For the movement in America, see **AMERICAN PURITY ALLIANCE**.) The British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice is the representative purity organization of Great Britain and Continental Europe. It was organized at an international congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1877. Its honorary president and pioneer founder is Mrs. Josephine E. Butler of England. Its president in 1897 is the Rev. M. Henri Pierson of Holland; its honorary secretary and treasurer is Professor James Stuart, M. P., of London; its secretary at its international headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, is M. Henri Minod. Its official organ, published at Geneva, is *The Bulletin Continental*. Its object is to secure the abolition of State regulated, legalized vice, and to promote a high, equal standard of morals for both men and women. It has auxiliary associations, or committees, in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and most countries of Continental Europe. In Great Britain there have been organized the following associations, some of them antedating the International Federation, most of which are still in existence: The National Association, The Ladies' National Association, The London Ladies' Association, The City of London Committee, The Friends' Association, The Congregational Committee, The Free Church of Scotland Committee, The Northern Counties League, The Midland Counties Electoral Union, The Workmen's League, The Moral Reform Union, The National Vigilance Association, The Gospel Purity Association. The Social Purity Alliance and the White Cross organizations, having their headquarters in London, are also a part of the general purity movement. Alike in Great Britain and on the Continent the movement has the strong and influential support of gifted and able men and women prominent in philanthropic and religious work, and in the legal and medical professions. Since the organization of the International Federation, State regulation of vice has been abolished in the military districts of Great Britain, in every canton except Geneva in Switzerland, and in various municipalities of Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Sweden. It has given rise to much helpful rescue work, and by conferences, meetings, and the dissemination of appropriate literature is effectively preparing public opinion for the ultimate abolition of the unjust, immoral system of legalized vice in all Continental countries.

ANNA RICE POWELL.

SOCIOLOGY (from Latin *socius*, a comrade, whence *societas*, society, and Greek *λόγος*, reason) is in general the science of society. Three distinct conceptions of the science have, however, prevailed. It has been conceived (1) as a mere coordination of the various particular social sciences; (2) as itself a particular science dealing with all social relations not considered under other social sciences; (3) as a science of the fundamental laws

and general principles underlying all social phenomena. This is the view which obtains to-day with the best thinkers. It is a modern science. Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Bentham, Burke, Hegel, Fourier, and others developed many profound and valuable thoughts as to social principles, yet Comte (*q. v.*) in 1838 first used the word sociology for the science of society, or social physics, as he called it, and first developed social principles in a systematic way, based, as he believed, on an induction from facts. He conceived of the social world as a unity, looked at according to his well-known analysis of the history of human thought, first theologically, then metaphysically, and lastly positively, or as a mere study of facts apart from all preconception. But Comte's acquaintance with social facts was very limited. He discovers the ocean of sociology, but does little to explore it. Herbert Spencer (*q. v.*) is strong where Comte is weak, and perhaps weak where Comte is strong. Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, as a developed part of his Synthetic Philosophy, did not appear till 1876, but most of his more important positions are already developed in his earlier works. With wide knowledge he undertakes to explain the genesis of all phenomena, mental and natural, in accordance with a universal law of evolution. Mr. Spencer's social theories, however, have not satisfied those who believe that the State should assume more than the simplest governmental functions. Lester F. Ward (*Dynamic Sociology*, vol. i. p. 218) says of Spencer:

"No man probably ever wrote as much as he has written without saying more than the average judgment of mankind could not indorse as soon as presented. . . . Paradoxical as it may sound, and whether it be construed as complimentary or otherwise, Mr. Spencer has too much good sense and too much real knowledge to build a perfect system of philosophy."

The biological conception of society is minutely carried out by the German A. Schäffle (*q. v.*) in his *Bau und Leben des socialen Körpers* (1875), and by the Belgian Guillaume de Greef in his *Introduction à la Sociologie* (1886-89). In the United States, Lester F. Ward, in his *Dynamic Sociology* (1883), develops the same idea without, however, neglecting the psychological phenomena of society; a subject developed later into a book by itself, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1893). Mr. Ward's book is of special importance in reform because of his argument that at a certain point the natural evolution of society passes over into an artificial and teleological evolution, whereby society can consciously affect its own status. Mr. Ward's belief that society can and needs to do this to-day is emphasized by the name of his book, *Dynamic Sociology*—a position, perhaps, contributing to socialism as truly as Mr. Spencer's position opposes socialism. Both logic and merit rank Mr. Ward with the foregoing names, but at least mention should be made of an earlier American who, though not using the term sociology, nevertheless treated sociological subjects with some originality and force—Henry C. Carey (*q. v.*). He published

his *Principles of Social Science* in 1858-60, grouping all phenomena round the principle of association, but somewhat forcing facts to suit his own fancies about association. More recent writers have found various principles as the elementary and distinctive principle of society. Gabriel Tarde (*Les Lois de l'Imitation*, 1890) finds it in imitation; Ludwig Gumplowicz (*Der Rassenkampf*, 1883, and *Grundriss der Sociologie*, 1885) finds it in the conflicts, amalgamations, and assimilations of heterogeneous ethnical groups; J. Novicow of Odessa (*Les Luttes entre les Sociétés Humaines*, 1893) finds it in the variation of conflict and alliance; Émile Durkheim (*De la Division du Travail Sociale*, 1893), finds it in a division of functions creating not only division, but solidarity, ethical and moral as well as economic; John S. Mackenzie (*An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, 1870) elaborates the Platonic or moral-organic conception of society; Professor F. H. Giddings first in numerous articles, and in 1896 in his *Principles of Sociology*, finds that "the original and elementary subjective fact in society is the consciousness of kind" (p. 17). Such, in brief, is the development of sociology up to the present time. We shall now consider its content and main positions, following, for the most part, the outline of the last named author. According to him descriptive sociology comes first, a knowledge of the facts being of necessity preliminary to their analysis. Society is not limited to human beings; most animals are social. The amoeba, the lowest creature known, apparently distinguishes fellow-amœbæ from other objects. Though it is a mere bit of structureless sarcode and has neither stomach nor limbs nor organs of sense, it does not mistake an empty shell for a living diatom. The associations of the ants, bees, and beavers are well known. Among mammals and birds isolated lives are rare. Some degree of aggregation is necessary usually to preserve life in the struggle for life. In his *The Ascent of Man* Professor Drummond has developed the thought that the struggle for the life of others is a necessary concomitant of the struggle for life of self. Say the authors of *The Evolution of Sex* (p. 279), "The activities of even the lowest organisms are often distinctively referable to either category. . . . Hardly distinguishable at the outset, the primitive hunger and love become the starting points of divergent lines of egoistic and altruistic motion and activity." Krapotkine emphasizes the fact played by the social life in animal evolution in his use of Brehm's *Illustriertes Thierleben*. Aggregation is of two kinds: genetic, or by descent from a common ancestor, and congregate, or by the coming together of individuals. The patriarchal theory of the origin of society supposed a genetic basis; the social-contract theory, a congregate basis. Neither is exclusively the case. External physical conditions, as necessity of food and water and protection, compel aggregation. **Association.** Yet the evidence that close interbreeding is injurious is familiar and is generally accepted as conclusive. Aggregation is supplemented

by association, which is mainly a psychical process, beginning in simple phases of feeling and perception, but developed into activities calling out the highest mental power. Association is developed mainly by communication; recognition of kind; by imitation, conflict, material aid, pleasure, or play.

Social intercourse is a mild and normally pleasurable mode of conflict. The factor of imitation gradually assimilates and harmonizes. In the struggles of imitations with one another the strongest imitations survive and produce race and other characteristics. Mutual aid begins in occasional helpfulness and need of defense.

We come next to consider the social mind. This is not an abstract, but a concrete thing.

It exists only in individual minds, and yet is more than any individual mind; it is the phenomenon of individual minds in interaction.

It is seen in temporary manifestations among men and animals, in panics, fads, crazes, mobs, revivals, revolutions, lynching, etc. The same social mind reaches more permanent form through discussion, the press, etc.

It acquires continuity through the social memory or tradition. Tradition is the integration of the public opinion of many generations. Primary traditions are economic, juridical, political, and are developed in this order. Secondary traditions are personal, æsthetic, and religious. Tertiary traditions are theological, metaphysical, and scientific.

In social composition, as developed from aggregation, we find first small groups. Each group is to an extent genetic. Not much social composition is found below the birds, tho nearly all birds live in families. Brehm declared that genuine marriage could be found only among birds. (*Thierleben*, bd. iv. p. 20.)

Groups which are composed of families are either ethnical, that is genetic; or demotic, that is associate. (See FAMILY.)

The composition of demotic societies into villages, towns, counties, States, nations, is well known (*q. v.*). This social composition is psychological rather than physical. The constitution of society is its organization into specialized associations for various social ends. Examples are municipal governments, churches, schools, industrial corporations, societies, clubs, etc. In the tribal society composition and constitution are substantially identical.

In civilized communities the constitution of society is like a great circle with numberless small circles within it. Socialists are right in saying that the State could do all; individualists are right in saying that society could get on without Government; but neither is the normal development. The end of society is the evolution of the rational and spiritual personality of its members. Cultural associations develop this and are religious, educational, scientific, ethical, æsthetic, or what is called polite society. Economic, legal, and political associations exist in a functional sense for the sake of cultural organization and activity. Psychologically the social constitution is the exact opposite of the social composition. It is

an alliance of the like and the non-toleration of the unlike in each simple association, supplemented by toleration and consideration of the unlike in complex association.

Historical sociology, Professor Giddings divides into four parts. **Historical Sociology.**

(1) Zoogenic association (association of animals) long preceded the association of men and deeply affected animal life. Indeed we may say that association or society has been the supreme element in the struggle for existence. It was Mr. Darwin's dictum that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best" (quoted in Drummond's *The Ascent of Man*, p. 233). Krapotkine says, "Sociability is as much a law of nature as mutual struggle" (*Nineteenth Century*, 1890, p. 340). Herbert Spencer says of the ethical bearings of altruistic principles (*Principles of Ethics*, vol. ii. p. 5), "Animal life of all but the lowest kinds has been maintained by virtue of them. Excluding the *Protozoa*, among which their operation is scarcely discernible, we see that, without *gratis* benefits to offspring and earned benefits to adults, life could not have continued."

"The ant," says Krapotkine, "thrives without having any of the 'protective' features which cannot be dispensed with by animals living an isolated life."

"In their societies parrots find infinitely more protection than they possibly might find in any ideal development of beak and claw. Horses, badly organized on the whole for resisting both their numerous enemies and the adverse conditions of climate, would soon have disappeared from the surface of the earth were it not for their sociable spirit. When a beast of prey approaches them several studs unite at once, . . . and when a snow storm rages in the steppes, each stud keeps close together and repairs to a protected ravine. . . . Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist or to protect themselves from the most terrible birds and beasts of prey. . . . We maintain that under any circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life." (Krapotkine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7-11.)

(2) But after zoogenic comes anthropogenic association. There is here, however, no break. Society produced man rather than man society. The ape-like forerunner of man is social. (See Darwin's *Descent of Man*, p. 180.) Language is necessary to human development and society is necessary to language. Most evolutionary thought here has gone astray. Mr. Fiske argues that social development followed from prolonged infancy, but this forgets that association must precede prolonged infancy. The brain is the result of association and man the creature of social life, rather than social life the work of man.

Mr. Lester F. Ward (in *American Anthropologist*, vol. viii. No. 3, July, 1895) also argues that "man's erect posture is chiefly due to brain development," and that his psychologic evolution is to be explained largely by association.

Such is this view of the genesis of the human species, in society, rather than of society from man, tho Mr. Giddings reminds his reader that the conclusions are yet merely hypothetical. Economic ideas, even of tools, political ideas of toleration and obedience and of kinship, have their beginnings in the animal world. Characteristic of the beginnings of human society were the primitive explanations

and traditions of life, death, and causation, as animism and the ghost theory.

(3) Coming now to ethnogenic associations, we find that self-consciousness is that which distinguishes human from animal communities. At first, however,

Ethnogenic Association. the social constitution is not differentiated from the social composition.

The first groups were probably formed of family groups. At the same time, the relations of the sexes may have been the loosest. The family relation can and probably did coexist with the greatest sexual irregularities, especially at the great gatherings and festivals. The trading and lending of wives was common. It is probable that the domestic group was simply a monogamous family, mainly the result of male jealousy and power, as held by Darwin and Maine; with polyandry and polygyny the exception. (See FAMILY.) The male probably often deserted the female with her children, and they would know only the mother, thus accounting for the metronymic clan. The union of hordes produces the tribe, and the union of tribes an ethnic nation. In horde, clan, or tribe, chieftaincy can become hereditary; the clans are the juridical organization; the phratry is the religious organization guarding the religious tradition. Its secret societies of medicine-men give the germs of the professional class; the sachems elected by clansmen and clanswomen are the first judges. Chieftains become the founders of a nobility. There results a feudalism (*q. v.*) which prepares the way for another system.

In demogenic associations the social composition is subordinate to a developed social constitution. It has three stages. In the first, all the energies of society are concentrated upon political integration and defense, as in Egypt and Babylonia; in the second, there is a critical effort to achieve the union of personal liberty with stability through the constructive evolution of municipal and constitutional law. Greece failed in construction and Rome sacrificed spontaneity to system. This stage went on through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, the French and American Revolutions. The third stage is industrial. The development of the fundamental social interests thus reverses the order of their genesis.

We found that there were three fundamental social traditions—economic, legal, and political—evolved in this order. But when society, building on these traditions, reaches the political stage it puts its social energies into perfecting that first,

Philosophy of History. and then works back and perfects its legal and then its economic life. So with the secondary traditions of the personal or animistic,

the esthetic and religious. When society has reached the political stage it has by no means perfected its secondary traditions, and therefore, in so far as it busies itself with intangible concerns, it interests itself in religion, then in art, then in personal interests.

The tertiary traditions, however, follow a different order. In the religious-political age the human mind is theological: in the critical

age it is metaphysical; only in the economic and spiritual age it is scientific. The stages of civilization are then military, religious, and theological; liberal, legal, and metaphysical; finally, economic, ethical, and scientific.

In this philosophy of history will be seen both the basis and the inadequacy of Comte's trilogy of the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive; of Hegel's conception of the evolution of the personality of man, disregarding the stages of society; and Mr. Spencer's evolution of society in terms of differentiation of structures, and finding only two types, the military and the industrial.

Ethnic societies that have reached the age of confederation and kingship become lawless and aggressive. Migration and conquest result. The great historical races are the result of the superposition of races upon races, as in Egypt.

As a result of such conquests society becomes mingled, sovereignty is developed, the social constitution becomes more than the social composition, life and property become more secure than in nomadic days; wealth develops, trade flows to centers, division of labor between city and country grows. Traders come and outdo in wealth the older population. The problem is to incorporate, under political form, congregate societies. The genetic form of society gives place to the civil. Church and State are organized. Ethnic unity, however, is not lost. Territory is more thought of. Political integration goes on. Strong States absorb the weak. The community, too, reacts on the individual. Gradually the military state is outgrown. Natural selection favors those adapted to the dominant social characteristics. Selection, for example, has produced the American spirit, with its desire for change, its love of experiment, and its respect for enterprise. The legal and critical age is born. Voluntary organization, under the authority and protection of law, assumes endless variety. It produces personal liberty. There is much inherent democracy in mere numbers. But the development of liberalism disintegrates the social composition. The religious-proprietary family is weakened. Liberalism substitutes contract for custom. The authority of the parent is weakened. The family becomes romantic and unstable. Liberalism, too, weakens the State, but it increases wealth and introduces the industrial age. Increase of wealth multiplies population, if not by increasing the birth-rates, by decreasing death-rates. The corrected Malthusian formula is: "In any given state of industry and the arts population tends to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living." This quickens invention and industrial progress begins anew. Invention is rhythmic. Spencer is right (*Principles of Biology*, vol. ii. pt. 6), as Professor Lavasseur, M. Dumont, and Miss Brownell have shown that the birth-rate diminishes as individual evolution increases. This is partly the result of physiological changes, but mainly the

Malthusianism.

result of psychological reasons. There is a deliberate prevention of births. The "preventive check" has come into general use, as in France and New England. But this proves not the falsity, but the truth of Malthusianism. It gives indubitable proof that population feels the tendency to increase faster than it is possible to raise the general plane of living. Demogenic association develops classes and the class struggle. Disintegration of the social constitution shows itself in the city; savagery threatens the cities, but first private philanthropy, and then communal intelligence, awaken ethical character and effort and check the savagery. Society thus becomes more reflectively self-conscious and studies more the possibilities of both free contract and authority.

This leads us to the study of explanatory sociology, or the consideration of social law and cause. The initial causes of society are physical, but association furthers survival and happiness, and develops the conscious individual and the conscious society. Relations and activities are valued, choices are made, policies are devised, institutions founded. Natural selection works among these. The further task of sociology is to discover and use the details and laws of these complicated processes. Society is often described as an organism, but it is more. It is essentially psychical. It is more than a multitude of individual minds. Personality is a unity, but it is not indivisible or undecomposable.

Undoubtedly the individual will plays a large part in human life, but the question is whence comes the individual will. Sociology, as a science of natural causation and natural law, declares emphatically that the individual is, at least to a very large extent, the product of environment, including the social will. Man is a variable, but not an independent variable. The theory of natural rights is given up to-day by science, but there are norms of rights, socially necessary laws, which science is beginning to discover. Society is a psychological organization rather than a physical organism. Sociology then teaches that the struggle for life brings individual beings into a certain amount of aggregation; that a consciousness of kind begins in the earliest animal life; that the struggle for life is aided in the earliest stages by what Drummond calls the struggle for the life of others; that thus from aggregation there comes a more or less conscious association; that this reacts upon and develops the individual; that a social mind is developed, and eventually expressed in social purpose and control; that there follows a struggle for existence between, and a survival of, the fittest social institutions, and thus we have the persistence and coexistence of the highest personality and the highest social organization.

Society is not a physical organism, but it is a psychological organization of conscious organisms.

Revised by F. H. GIDDINGS.

References: F. H. Giddings' *Principles of Sociology* (1896) and *Theory of Socialization* (1897); Herbert

Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* (1376); L. F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) and *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1893); Henry Drummond's *The Ascent of Man* (1896); J. S. Mackenzie's *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (1890).

SOETBEER, ADOLPH, was born in Hamburg in 1814, and, taking his degree at Göttingen, entered the education department of the city of Hamburg, and later the Hamburg Deputation of Commerce, in which position he became an authority on financial questions. He is called "the father of German gold coinage," yet he regrets the decline in value of silver and favors the adoption of one gram of fine gold as an international unit of value, the coinage of gold to be free, on payment of a seniore, but no gold coin containing less than 5.8065 grams of pure gold to be minted. All nations are to coin silver in the ratio of 20 to 1, but its coinage is not to be free.

The author of numerous works, he is best known for his tables of prices.

SOMERSET, LADY HENRY, is the daughter of Earl Somers of Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire, a descendant of Lord Somers of Evesham, to whom William of Orange gave Somerset in St. Pancras, London, and also the town of Reigate. Her maiden name was Somers-Cocks. Lady Henry Somerset is half French on her mother's side, her great-grandmother having been maid of honor to Queen Marie Antoinette. Her father had for his tutor the Rev. Frederick D. Maurice, and was the friend of Turner, Ruskin, and Layard; the intimate of Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini.

Lady Henry was born in London in 1851. She was married in 1872 to Lord Henry Somerset, the second son of the Duke of Beaufort.

Her only son and child was born in 1874, Henry Somerset, heir presumptive to the Dukedom of Beaufort. For some years Lady Henry was often at court, and a leader in the fashionable society of London, but this position was not congenial to her tastes.

Leaving London in the year 1878 for one of her father's beautiful country places, she remained there for many years in comparative retirement with her son, between whom and herself there has always existed the most affectionate relationship. In 1884 Lord Somers died, leaving Lady Henry Somerset heir to Eastnor Castle, Somers Town (London), and Reigate, and only grieving that the laws of Parliament prevented his eldest daughter from succeeding to his title. The responsibility of administering an estate involving a tenancy of more than one hundred thousand persons deeply impressed the mind of Lady Henry Somerset, and in a crisis hour she seemed to hear a voice saying to her as she sat under her favorite elm tree in the Priory gardens: "Act as though God were and thou shalt know He is." This was in the spring of 1885, and that hour marked the turning point of her destiny, for she renounced society, broke away from her former relationships at the cost of criticism and alienation, and went with her son to Eastnor Castle, one hundred miles from

London, where for five years she lived among her tenantry without comradeship of any kind save as Christian workers, whom she invited, came and went from time to time. She studied her Bible with conscientious care, and held her first religious meetings in the kitchens of the farmers and the barns where the hop-pickers gathered. She built chapels, hired missionaries, held meetings for the miners in Wales near where she had spent some years of her married life, and in every way improved the condition of those dependent upon her. Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, an American lady and a leader in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, came to Eastnor by invitation, and from her Lady Henry Somerset heard the history of the crusade in Ohio, the organized movement which followed it, and the wide sweep of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. By Mrs. Smith's request, Lady Somerset consented to accept the presidency of the British Woman's Temperance Association, which had been founded as the result of a visit made by Mother Stewart to Great Britain in 1876. This was in 1890. In 1891, accompanied by her son and his tutor, Lady Henry with Mrs. Hannah Whitall Smith, came by invitation to the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Boston, Mass., presided over by Miss Frances E. Willard. She was so deeply impressed by the White Ribbon women and their work that she remained six months in America, being associated with Miss Willard in the editorship of the *Union Signal*, the organ of the women's White Ribbon movement.

In April, 1891, Lady Henry Somerset returned to London to preside over the annual meeting of the British Woman's Temperance Union. In August of that year Miss Willard lost her mother and went to Eastnor Castle. In October both of these temperance leaders made a voyage to the United States and traveled to Denver, Colo., to conduct the annual meeting of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, returning a few weeks later to England where, by their united efforts, the British Woman's Temperance Association was reconstructed on the lines of the modern temperance movement as illustrated in the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the central idea of which is to correlate the temperance movement with other reforms such as the enfranchisement of women, the labor movement, the social purity movement, all of which are inextricably intertwined with the temperance reform itself.

In the previous year, 1892, Lady Henry had assumed the editorship of a London paper called *The Woman's Herald*, but in 1894 the name was changed to *The Woman's Signal*. It is now the leading woman's paper of Great Britain in the world of philanthropy and reform.

She is strongly opposed to all organizations and declarations in which "profession mocks performance." She has more and more connected herself with the labor movement and with a practical "Christian Socialism."

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.—In 1890, in South Carolina, U. S., the people of the State, weary with the domination of the political machine of that State, the spread of drunkenness and the power of the saloon, elected B. R. Tillman Governor, and temperance men to almost all the offices. In 1892 a prohibition proposition was presented to the people of the State and was carried. In some counties, however, it had been already tried and was said to be a failure. When saloons were closed, whisky was sold by the drug stores. Therefore, instead of prohibition, Senator J. G. Evans introduced into the South Carolina Legislature a so-called Dispensary Law, according to which all saloons were to be closed in six months, and no whisky was to be sold except by government dispensaries under strict control. The law was passed, and a special force of constables appointed to enforce it. July 1, 1893, the law went into effect. Meanwhile, most of the saloons had closed. In some places, however, the law was resisted as unconstitutional. Many Prohibitionists, and some other temperance reformers, condemned the law, and even sided with the liquor interest against it. In Darlington the constables who tried to enforce the law were resisted. Governor Tillman, who had everywhere vigorously enforced the law, now called out the militia, and the part of the militia refused to obey, he succeeded in putting down the revolt. At this juncture, however, the Supreme Court of the State decided the law unconstitutional, on the ground that part of the liquor trade was justifiable and the inalienable right of the individual, while the State had no right to enter a business for profit. It was left uncertain whether the alternative to the law was free whisky or protection. Later, the court decided for protection, but in many parts of the State this was ignored and the saloons opened. August 1, 1894, however, Governor Tillman issued a proclamation reinstating the Dispensary Law, and Mr. E. B. Gary having succeeded Associate Justice McGowan on the Supreme Bench, when a case was tried, the Dispensary Act was declared constitutional on the ground that the traffic was demoralizing and the State had the right to protect itself. Since then, tho the legal issue is still uncertain, the law has been enforced by a State Board of the Governor, Attorney-General, and Comptroller-General. Only pure whisky is sold. Dispensers must be men of sobriety and honesty. No whisky is sold to minors or inebriates. No whisky can be bought indirectly for others, and none can be drunk on the spot. Dispensaries are open only from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. There can be no attractive connections of billiards, pool, etc. The dispensers are salaried and have no interest in the sale. Says the New York *Outlook* of May 11, 1895:

"The dispensary system seems to be firmly established in the approval of the people of the State. Nearly all our information concerning its workings has come from hostile or critical sources; yet the hostile source—the columns of the *News and Courier*—has given increasing evidence that the law against

private dram-shops is rigidly enforced throughout the State; while the critical source—the testimony of the correspondents of the *Voice*—has from the first declared the law a success. The following editorial paragraph from the current number of the *Review of Reviews* (written by Dr. Shaw after a visit to South Carolina) seems to express the conclusion which every impartial investigator must reach:

“The people of South Carolina, outside of the old liquor interest and certain political circles, have become almost unanimous in the opinion that the system is a splendid success. Governor Evans, when in the legislature, was the chief promotor of the Dispensary Law, and now that he is in the executive chair he is quite as staunch in maintaining and enforcing the system as was Governor Tillman. Railway roadmasters, and other men familiar with conditions throughout the State, are enthusiastic in their account of the good effects that the law has already produced. Drunkenness and disorder have decreased to a remarkable extent; and whereas the negro laborer was formerly accustomed to spend his week's earnings in carousing on Saturday night and Sunday, he is now spending more upon his family, or else saving his money to buy land. The ten or twelve State dispensaries in the city of Charleston, which have taken the place of scores or hundreds of saloons, are as openly conducted and as orderly as any drug store, and are absolutely closed at sundown. The effect upon the quiet and order of the city has been too transforming to admit of any denial. Reports from country towns throughout the State are to the effect that the closing of the old bar-rooms in favor of the new dispensaries has been attended with results that have converted almost every good citizen to a belief in the present system. In view of the widely circulated reports in disparagement of the South Carolina dispensaries, these facts ought to be given a wide publicity.”

(For Prohibitionist objection to the dispensary system, see article on the somewhat similar NORWEGIAN SYSTEM.)

Other countries are adopting the same system. Russia has determined to gradually abolish all saloons in her vast domain between July 1, 1896, and January 1, 1898, and to make the liquor traffic a government monopoly. The object is not revenue but temperance. Says the Russian journal *Virdomosti*:

“The object of government monopoly of the sale of liquor is principally to do away with the abuses of liquor-dealers who take advantage of the disposition to drunkenness. To say nothing of the fact that the liquor-dealers are generally also usurers who manage to enslave the population, they try to encourage drunkenness and to make a saloon a necessity to the people. They gladly deal on a credit basis and take all kinds of household goods as security. The law, to be sure, prohibits this, but it is notorious that the saloon-keepers obtain most of their income by evading the legal restraints. Government sale, on the other hand, aims at the substitution for drunkenness of a normal consumption of liquor. Equally important is the influence of government monopoly upon the improvement of the quality of the liquor manufactured.”

Switzerland made the sale of *alcohol* a government monopoly December 23, 1886. Only pure quality is sold and under strict control. The profits are divided between the cantons for education, including temperance education. The revenue for 1894 was \$965,000. A decrease in consumption is claimed of 25 per cent., tho there has been some increase in the use of beer and wine. France has also voted a government monopoly of all drinks stronger than light wines and beer.

SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.—In 1711 a South Sea Company was founded in England by the Earl of Oxford, and received, in 1720, a monopoly of the South Sea trade and interest from the government at 6 per cent., in return for which it was to take over the na-

tional debt of £30,000,000. Millions of stock were issued and amid the intensest excitement the stock reached, at one time, £1000. For eight months the “bubble” lasted and then broke. There was general panic and indignation, and Parliament fined the directors \$10,000,000.

SOVEREIGNS OF INDUSTRY, THE.

—This was an order established in New England January 6, 1872, to develop cooperative stores for the working-classes similar to the cooperative movement started by the Grange (*q. v.*). Its leaders were William Earle and John Orvis. Many stores were started and much interest was taken, but the stores, which were to sell at cost, were undersold and run out by competition. Later they introduced the Rochdale system advocated from the first by Mr. Orvis, but it was too late, and the order failed about 1879, tho a few stores survived (see COOPERATION).

SOVEREIGNTY in political science Professor Burgess (*Political Science and Constitutional Law*) defines as “original, absolute, unlimited universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects.” Jellink defines it as “obligation through its own will.” It is the most essential principle of the state. (For the development of the idea of sovereignty, and the views of it held by different writers, see articles POLITICAL SCIENCE and STATE.) Sovereignty, according to most modern writers, though not all, is based upon force. “The one thing that characterizes the State is coercive power” (Leroy Beaulieu, *The Modern State*). “Force is an absolutely essential element of all laws whatever” (James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity*). “Penal sanction is the essence of law” (John Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism*). “Let the edifice of law be as moral and effectual as you will, its foundation is the force of the community” (Goldwin Smith, *Essays on Questions of the Day*).

Other thinkers, however, deny this. Bluntschli distinguishes between force and power. Woodrow Wilson calls sovereignty “a catalogue of influences.” Lieber calls it “the sense and sentiment of the community.” Hume says that government is founded on opinion, and “that force is always on the side of the governed.” Austin says, “the monarch is superior to the governed . . . to an indefinite tho limited extent.” (For the relation of sovereignty to liberty, see STATE.)

SPAHR, CHARLES B., was born in Columbus, O., in 1860. He was graduated at Amherst College in 1881 and was given the degree of Ph. D. by Columbia in 1886. Studying also in Europe he became in 1886, and has been ever since, assistant editor of *The Outlook* of New York. From 1889 to 1891 he was on the editorial staff of *The Commercial Advertiser*, and in 1890 was lecturer on Taxation and the Distribution of Wealth at Columbia University. Besides various articles in economic reviews he published, in 1896, *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*. (See WEALTH.)

SPARTACUS, a Thracian by birth and perhaps of royal stock, served in the Roman army, but is said to have deserted and to have been captured and made a gladiator. But in 73 B. C. he, with a band of fellow-gladiators, broke out of a training school at Capua, and taking refuge on Mt. Vesuvius, rallied round him thousands of slaves. He defeated Claudius, sent against him with 3000 men, and also Varenius and others, and, last of all, Manlius with 20,000 men. Spartacus tried to lead his forces out of Italy, but they would not go. Division arose, and Crassus finally conquered them. Six thousand of them were crucified on the road from Rome to Capua. Spartacus himself fell in battle.

SPECIE PAYMENTS. See MONEY.

SPENCE, THOMAS, was a London bookseller who advocated the "parochializing" of land "so that there shall be no more nor other landlords in the whole country than the parishes." In 1775 he read a paper on land nationalization before the Philosophical Society in Newcastle, and was thereupon expelled from the Society. He seems to have been also prosecuted by the government for selling seditious literature. Among other reforms he advocated a kind of phonography. His Newcastle paper has been recently republished by Mr. Hyndman (*q. v.*).

SPENCER, HERBERT, was born at Derby, England, in 1820. His father was a schoolmaster of original character and strong views. The boy was delicate and backward in early studies; was placed in 1833 under the care of his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Spencer of Hinton, a clergyman of the Church of England, but of somewhat radical views, and a vigorous advocate of social reforms. In 1837 Herbert Spencer was articled to a civil engineer, and worked on the London and Birmingham Railway. In 1845, however, he moved to London and began his literary career. In 1842 he had already written, in the *Nonconformist*, a series of papers on *The Proper Sphere of Government*. From 1848 to 1852 he wrote on the *Economist*, and in 1850 published his *Social Statics*, the radicalism and brilliancy of which gained him friends like Huxley (*q. v.*) and George Eliot. In 1855 appeared his *Principles of Psychology*, by many considered his greatest work. Already interested in the unity of sciences and in the evolutionary philosophy, he projected in 1859 an entire system of philosophy, to the development of which, in volumes on different portions of the subject, he has directed his life. *First Principles* appeared in 1862; *The Principles of Biology* (2 vols.); *The Principles of Psychology* (2 vols.); *The Principles of Sociology* (3 vols.); *The Principles of Ethics* (2 vols.) have followed at different periods; the last volume of the *Principles of Sociology* only appeared in 1896. In all these works he argues, with large learning and great ability, that all phenomena of matter and of mind, all motion and all force, proceed on a law of gradual development, from the general to the particular, from a simple homogeneous uniformity to a complex heterogeneous multiformity. This evolution

proceeds, he argues, on laws of natural struggle for existence, of natural selection, and the resultant survival of the fittest. The same general principles he has worked out on many detached subjects, in his *The Data of Ethics*, a part of his *Principles of Ethics* (1879), *Education* (1861), *The Study of Sociology* (1872), *Descriptive Sociology* (1873-78), *Justice* (1891)—several essays in which he bitterly attacks the socialist tendencies of the day. *The Coming Slavery*, *The Great Political Superstition*, *The Sins of Legislators*, *The New Toryism*, have been collected under the title of *Man vs. The State*.

For a discussion of Mr. Spencer's sociological views see articles EVOLUTION and SOCIALISM. Mr. Spencer has advocated his views with such power that he is sometimes called the philosopher of the century; but his influence is to-day distinctly waning in university circles, while his later utterances in *Justice*, disowning his former position taken in *Social Statics*, chapter viii., 1st ed., that equity does not allow private property in land, has much hurt his influence among the masses. His present view is that, tho absolutely equity does not allow private property in land, to nationalize land without compensation would be wrong, since society has allowed private ownership, and that, with compensation, to nationalize land would do no good. In his *Social Statics*, however, he asked, How long it took a wrong to grow into a right?

Many writers, like Huxley and Ritchie, have accused Spencer of inconsistency in seeing the necessity of the subordination of the part to the whole in the bodily organism, but not in the social organism (see EVOLUTION); but he remains a steadfast foe of all steps even tending toward socialism. (See INDIVIDUALISM.) The general fundamental proposition of his individualism he has thus stated:

"The sphere of existence into which we are thrown not affording room for the unrestrained activity of all, and yet all possessing, in virtue of their constitutions, similar claims to such unrestrained activity, there is no course but to apportion out the unavoidable restraint equally. Wherefore, we arrive at the general proposition that every man may claim the fullest liberty to exercise his faculties compatible with the possession of like liberty by every other man" (H. Spencer, *Social Statics*, chapter iv.).

SPIES. See CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.

SPOILS SYSTEM.—This is the name usually given to the custom of considering the bestowal of public offices, by the party in power, on the partisans of the party as a reward for service to the party in elections, etc. It develops rings, bosses, and corruption. (For further consideration of it, see CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.)

STANDARD OF COMFORT.—Many men believe that wages depend on the standard of comfort of the class of men receiving the wages. They argue that if wages fall materially below what will enable men to maintain their "standard of comfort," they will usually strike or agitate in some way for higher wages,

that, on the other hand, if wages are high enough to maintain their standard of living, they will remain usually content; and therefore, that the way to raise wages is to raise the standard of comfort, while all that tends to make living cheaper tends, other things being equal, to lower wages. (For a full discussion of this, see SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT, also WAGES.)

STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY.—This famous monopoly originated in the South Improvement Company, organized January 2, 1872, to control the carrying of oil. It agreed to furnish the Pennsylvania, Erie, and New York Central railways a fair division of freight traffic and was to receive a secret rebate of from 40 cents to \$3.07 per barrel, and was guaranteed "against loss or injury by competition." A storm of opposition arose. The plan failed, but the idea remained, and the Standard Oil Company was formed to carry out the idea, and by 1874 had the railways committed to its interests. With this start the company gradually grew till it became a complete monopoly, built an oil pipe to the seaboard, went into the refining business, and destroyed all competitors. It has been relentless and without scruple in the attainment of its ends. We give some instances,

In Mr. H. D. Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonweal* (pp. 243-298) he shows how the magnates of the Standard Oil monopoly were indicted as sharers in a conspiracy to blow up the oil-works of a competitor, involving loss of life as well as property. A grand jury found that the facts warranted indictment. This was quashed on technical grounds. A second grand jury agreed with the first, and the magnates were brought to trial. They got the ablest lawyers to defend them. Among them were the lawyers who made the speeches nominating Mr. Cleveland for sheriff, mayor, Governor, and President. The oil magnates treated the matter as a huge joke. They were put on trial, but after the affair had gone a little way, a lawyer moved that the magnates be discharged from the trial, and the trial be limited to the resident managers of the local company accused of plotting the blowing up of the rival works. The judge then announced that he had decided to grant the discharge. The case, therefore, as far as these magnates were concerned, did not go to the jury. Against the local managers it went on, and on May 18, 1837, they were found guilty. A stay, however, was granted by the judge till December. The judge, however, later decided against a new trial, and the case was carried to higher courts. When the time for trial came on petitions for mercy were circulated in Buffalo and Rochester. Six of the jury were induced to sign a recantation. The district attorney offered later in court to show that they were bought. Finally, however, sentence was pronounced; the lightest which the law allowed, a fine of \$250. The judge gave this light judgment, he is reported by the Buffalo press to have said, because it had come to his attention that civil suits had been brought against the managers to recover damages for these same overt acts, and he did not desire to punish them twice for the same offense. But when they were tried for damages they were released because they were to be punished criminally. In 1839 this judge was renominated for the judgeship, the presiding officer of the convention being president of a great railway. The nomination was procured, said the *New York Times*, by the influence of the oil trust. The papers took it up and he was defeated; but a year later he was nominated by both parties for a seat in the Supreme Court of New York and was elected for 14 years to try questions affecting trusts, corporations, etc.

The Standard Oil Company unquestionably bought the election of Henry R. Payne as Senator for Ohio. The people did not even know he was a candidate. Up to the time of election two-thirds of the legislature were for George H. Pendleton or General Ward. But contrary to all precedents the caucus of the majority

party was not held till the night before the election, to give no time between the caucus and the election. Contrary to precedents, too, the nomination was made not by open but secret ballot, and without debate. The people of Ohio were thunderstruck to find that the enemy of the people had been elected their Senator. Explicit charges of corruption were named. The names of legislators who had been bought were made public, with the price paid. Members of the legislature openly stated that they had received \$5000 for their votes. The scandal was made an issue in the next election and a legislature was chosen which would investigate the election. The result was that the House resolved that "ample testimony was adduced to warrant the belief that . . . the seat of Henry R. Payne as Senator of the United States from Ohio was purchased by the corrupt use of money," and the Senate charged that the election "was procured and bought by the corrupt use of money . . . and by other corrupt means and practices." Accusations were laid before Congress, but the case was finally hushed up. Such are some of the sample deeds of the Standard Oil monopoly, full proof of which, together with other points, such as their influence in Congress, and even in Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet, will be found in Mr. Lloyd's remarkable book, *Wealth against Commonweal*. It is claimed that the monopoly has done good because it has lowered the price of oil. It is true that the price has fallen, but whether this is due to the Standard Oil Company is an open question. Probably such monopolies do tend to cheapen production, but the question is whether such powers can be trusted in a democratic state, and whether under public monopoly we cannot have all the advantages of combination without the presence of such corrupting corporations. It is also claimed that the Standard Oil monopoly has simply carried out on a large scale what many corporations do in a smaller way, and this is probably true. The Standard Oil monopoly was attacked in the courts of Ohio and dissolved as illegal, but it has simply re-organized under another form, and is to-day stronger than ever.

STANTON, ELIZABETH, née CADY, was born at Johnstown, N. Y., in 1815. In 1840 she married Henry B. Stanton, reformer, author, and State senator. Attending the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London she met Lucretia Mott. Till 1847 she resided in Boston, Mass., but then removed to Seneca Falls, N. Y., and in 1848 she signed with Lucretia Mott the call to the first Woman's Rights Convention, which met July 17, 1848. She has devoted her life to this cause, addressing meetings, attending legislative hearings, and circulating petitions. She has thus worked in the United States, Great Britain, and France. She canvassed Kansas in 1867, and Michigan in 1874. She was President of the National Association till 1892. She was president of the first International Council of Women, held at Washington in 1888.

STATE, THE.—The State, says Professor Burgess (*Political Science and Constitutional Law*, vol. i. p. 51), is "a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit." With this general definition in mind we shall in this article briefly trace the development of the ideal of the State. (For the actual historical development of organized society, see articles SOCIOLOGY; PRIMITIVE PROPERTY; and FAMILY.)

The conception of the State which first prevailed in Asia and also in Greece recognized it as a natural part of the world, and, like the world, the gift of the gods. The Asiatic kings claimed to rule by right divine, and usually to be descended from the gods. The Greek City-State was considered of divine origin. The State represented to them the moral order of

the world, in which human nature fulfils its end. The State was not a machine, but an end in itself.

Plato says (*Rep.* v. p. 462), "The best State is that which approaches most nearly to the condition of the individual. If a part of the body suffers, the whole body feels the hurt and sympathizes altogether with the part affected." Aristotle declares that "man is by nature a political animal," and says (*Pol.* iii. 9 § 14) the State is "the association of clans and village communities in a complete and self-sufficing life." "The State," he says (*Pol.* i. 2 § 8), "comes into being for the sake of mere life, but exists for the sake of the good life." The Greek State is all in all. (See ATHENS.)

The Roman ideal follows Greek models, but with the Roman genius for jurisprudence conceives of law as the creature of the State, and the State as based on the assent of the people. Cicero (*De Rep.* i. 26) says the State is "the people organized." In the Middle Ages we have Greek ideals, Roman jurisprudence, Germanic personal liberty, all blending with Christian teachings. Both Church and State are conceived as coming from God. Which is supreme? This is the problem of the Middle Ages. We have also attempts, characteristically based on the Bible precedent of the covenant of King David with the elders of Israel, to show that the State rests on the consent of the people. We have finally Saxon love of personal liberty, placing the individual as the center and not the State, giving the germs of constitutional government. Feudalism, with its personal element, its homage and service, is the characteristic form. Gradually from this develops the centralized State, and Machiavelli at the beginning of modern times concerns himself with the policy of kings. Bodin sees in the State "a right government, with sovereign power, of several households and their common possessions." Grotius calls the State "the complete union of free men who join themselves together for the purpose of enjoying law and for the sake of public welfare." This is the transition to the contract theory. With Protestantism and the dawn of modern freedom the individual is sovereign. The State is a compact between sovereign individuals. With Hobbes, however, individuals have contracted with each other to give over their rights to some sovereign power, and henceforth, having given over their rights, must absolutely obey the sovereign. He says (*Leviathan*, Morley ed., p. 84):

"The State is established by a covenant of every man with every man in such manner as if every man should say to every man, 'I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man or to the assembly of men on this condition, that those give up their right to him and authorize all his actions in like manner.' This done, the multitude so united in one person is called a commonwealth, in Latin *civitas*. This is the generation of that great 'leviathan,' or rather to speak more reverently, of that 'mortal God' to which we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defense."

With Locke the State is also the result of a contract, but the individuals retain their sovereignty and we have constitutional government, and the people can judge the king. Rousseau carries the doctrine of individual sovereignty, of the social contract, and of natural rights to their logical extremes, and leads

us to the French Revolution. (See NATURAL RIGHTS.) In America the same doctrine has led to the various bills of right and the limitation of government to that which the people expressly allow the government to do in their charters and Constitution. The result is the tying of the hands of legislation by the dead hand of constitutions framed for other days and only with the greatest difficulty to be changed. (See CONSTITUTION and CONSTITUTIONALISM.)

Revolting from the results of the French Revolution, the historical school denied that the State was in any such sense the result of a contract. Savigny (*System des röm. Rechts*, i. p. 22) calls the State "the bodily form of the spiritual community of the nations," or "the organic manifestation of the nation." Burke says (*Reflections on the Revolution in France*):

"Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of mere occasional interest may be dissolved at pleasure. But the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living but between those who are living, and those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract in each particular State is but a clause in the great primeval contract of eternal society."

Buckle strives to explain the State by a consideration of the forces of nature. The Germans have developed a more ideal conception of the State. Kant calls it "a collective being" (*Werke*, ed. Rosenkranz, vii. 197). Hegel says, "The State is the realization of the moral idea. It is the moral spirit as substantial will." Bluntschli, uniting the German idealism and the modern historical view, says (*The Theory of the State*, tr., bk. i. chap. 1): "The State is a combination or association of men, in the form of government and governed on a definite territory, united together into a moral organized masculine personality; or, more shortly, the State is the politically organized national person of a definite country." The present tendency in England and America is to discard all abstract theories of natural rights and to ask what is the actual content of the State idea. Hence Professor Burgess' definition, as quoted above, "A particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit."

Bluntschli finds as necessary to the concept of a State (1) a number of men, (2) a fixed territory, (3) unity, mainly developed by history, (4) an organic nature, (5) a moral and spiritual character, (6) a masculine personality. He says, "The highest conception of the State—which, however, has not yet been realized—is humanity organized."

Professor Burgess (*Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, vol. i.)

considers as "the peculiar characteristics of the organization which we call the State" (1) that it is all-comprehensive. "Its organization embraces all persons, natural or legal, and all associations of persons." (2) It is exclusive. "Political science and public law do not recognize the existence of an *imperium in imperio*." (3) It is permanent. "It does not

lie within the power of men to create it to-day and destroy it to-morrow, as caprice may move them." (4) The State is sovereign. "This is its most essential principle."

Concerning sovereignty Professor Burgess says:

"I understand by it original, absolute, unlimited, universal power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects. This is a proposition from which most of the publicists down to the most modern period have labored hard to escape. It has appeared to them to contain the destruction of individual liberty and individual rights. . . . They do not sufficiently distinguish the State from the government. They see the danger to individual liberty of recognizing an unlimited power in the government, and they immediately conclude that the same danger exists if the sovereignty of the State be recognized. . . . The unlimited sovereignty of the State is not hostile to individual liberty, but is its source and support. Deprive the State, either wholly or in part, of the power to determine the elements and the scope of individual liberty, and the results must be that each individual will make such determination, wholly or in part, for himself: that the determinations of different individuals will come into conflict with each other, and that those individuals only who have power to help themselves will remain free, reducing the rest to personal subjection. . . . No State has made liberty so full and general as the modern national popular State. Now the modern national popular State is the most perfectly and undisputedly sovereign organization of the State which the world has yet attained."

Concerning the forms of the State Aristotle found three primitive forms, monarchy, aristocracy, and "polity." He uses democracy only in a bad sense, the three perversions of the State being with him tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy or ochlocracy. Others have added "the mixed State." (Concerning these forms see articles ARISTOCRACY; DEMOCRACY; MONARCHY; PLUTOCRACY; FEDERALISM; SOVEREIGNTY.)

STATE RIGHTS.—From 1789 to 1870 the question of State Rights, or the question of the rights of the respective States of the United States in reference to the Federal Government, was a burning question. (For a discussion of the history, see CENTRALIZATION, also CONSTITUTION.) In 1830 occurred the celebrated debate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne upon this question, and South Carolina claimed the right of Nullification. This led eventually to secession and the war of 1861-65, which settled the doctrine, in most respects at least, against the believers in State sovereignty if not in State Rights.

Says Mr. James Bryce (*American Commonwealth*, first edition, chap. xxxvi.):

What, then, do the rights of a State now include? Every right or power of a government, except:

The right of secession (not abrogated in terms, but admitted since the war to be no longer claimable. It is expressly negated in the recent constitutions of several Southern States).

Powers which the Constitution withholds from the States (including that of intercourse with foreign governments).

Powers which the Constitution expressly confers on the Federal Government.

STATE SOCIALISM. See SOCIALISM.

STATISTICS.—Definition: Moreau de Jounés tersely defines statistics as the "science of social facts, numerically expressed." But since statistics are far from including all social facts, and in our day include many other groups of phenomena—*e. g.*, natural phenom-

ena in meteorology—the definition cannot make any claim to exactness. As it contains, however, the essential elements of a correct definition, it needs only to be transposed. We should define statistics to be the "numerical expression of facts, mainly social."

From crude beginnings statistics has developed step by step, as our knowledge of the facts to which it is commonly applied has grown more profound, and as the need for exact expression has been more generally felt. Without preserving any accurate records, history frequently alludes to census operations and the like in Egypt, Judea, Greece, and Rome. When Joseph went up to Bethlehem to be taxed in the reign of Augustus, he also went up to be counted.

The stormy Middle Ages were ruled by the sword rather than the law. But they have preserved some monuments, which show us statistical records even under such government as then existed. Of these the most notable is the *Doomsday Book* of the Conqueror, a wonderfully detailed land register of the regions which he had brought under his sway. But it is especially with the growth of the modern State that statistical records multiplied. The seats of government became vast depositories of records, containing precious information of home and foreign affairs.

Though in the main secret, it was unavoidable that such information should gradually come to be made public. It was natural that scholars, and especially officials with access to archives, should conceive the idea of

putting this information into systematic forms. The earliest precursor of the modern *Statesman's Year-Book* was the *Cosmographia* of Sebastian Muenster, 1536-44. It is a description of the world as then known. Geographical, political, legal, and economic information is curiously blended. He found many imitators in various languages. A characteristic work of this class is that of Thomas Salmon, *The Present State of All Nations*, 1724.

With the introduction of the subject into the universities came the effort at greater systematization. Gottfried Achenwall, professor at Göttingen, called this collection of facts statistics, and aimed at a treatment of the facts concerning each State according to a uniform plan. The word statistics is derived from the phrase of the former Latin lecturer's *res statisticae*—the things of the State. Everything which pertained to the State in its broadest acceptation—whether legal, political, administrative, or economic—was held to be the proper subject of statistics.

It will be seen, moreover, that such a body of information could have coherence only so long as there were no claimants with a better title to the various component parts. Very early in the present century, however, constitutional law, historical jurisprudence, and geography, successively claimed their own. There was nothing left to the statisticians but an ill-assorted residuum, into which no life could be breathed, and statistics in the old sense broke down.

In the meantime, a distinct branch of statistical learning had been developed. This branch was vital statistics.

In early times the Church kept scanty registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials. With the reorganization following the Reformation, the matter received the attention of the authorities, and careful registration was required. These registers had been introduced into London before 1600, and abstracts were published weekly. John Graunt appears to be the first to have made a careful study of the figures.

The mathematician Edmund Halley, in 1693, prepared a life-table in which, from a series of observations in Dresden, he shows what proportion of persons born in a given year will die or survive in each succeeding year. However defective in the details of its working out, Halley had grasped a general principle which had in it great possibilities. Its application to life insurance and to annuities is obvious, and later mathematicians and practical men devoted themselves with energy and success to a more scientific expression of the principle.

Before the beginning of the present century regularly organized official investigations were rare. In Sweden and Neufchatel census enumerations had taken place before 1750, but methods were crude and results only summary.

History.

Beginnings.

Modern Statistics.

Political necessity prescribed the census in the United States Constitution, and presided over the first enumeration in 1791. It is characteristic that one of the first acts of the new era in France was to commission Lavoisier to collect, so far as possible, all the information necessary to prepare reforms in finance and administration. We cannot trace here the successive steps by which the field of official investigation was enlarged; suffice it to say that in all countries statistical bureaux were established, and the statistical functions of the ordinary administrative bureaux greatly increased.

In the early part of the century the efforts of statisticians were exhausted in the elaborate preparation and execution of the various statistical problems which presented themselves to the governments. The result was a great furtherance of statistical method, which found its best expression in the work of the international statistical congresses.

Eight sessions took place between 1853 and 1876, composed of representatives of the statistical offices of Europe and the United States.

In 1887 the time seemed ripe for a new international organ, and the International Institute of Statistics was formed. Unlike the congresses, it has no official character, and the limitation of membership secures the professional character of the organization.

We have seen how the old grouping of facts about the State had to give way. The next grouping was about society. In 1835 Quetelet (1796-1874) published his work *Sur l'Homme*, which he designated as an attempt at social physics. The work had a great vogue, tho the apparent naked determinism of its conclusions brought out a host of adversaries. If crime was the result of social institutions, the whole doctrine of free will seemed badly shaken. Hence the philosophers were the first to make reply. Somewhat later the statistical evidence was more largely adduced. It was shown that the regularity was by no means so constant as to permit the predicate of law, but simply to point out the essential constancy of motives and conditions, while the actual variations, as in rates of suicide, were the most conclusive evidence of the freedom of choice.

In recent years the attempt to group all the facts of statistical experience under a common designation has been abandoned, and the effort made to systematize and analyze the processes of statistical thought. Thus has been established the methodological science of statistics, equally applicable in practise to all branches of statistical investigation. Perhaps the most prominent exponent of this doctrine is Meitzen.

Statistical Processes.—The first step in statistics is enumeration. A carefully defined unit must be accurately counted in a prescribed field of investigation. This primary step is simple, but oftentimes very troublesome, and not possible unless backed by governmental authority. If it be an enumeration of the people that is to be undertaken, it must be distinctly understood what characteristics are to be counted, care must be exercised that there are no omissions or duplications, and the area within which each enumerator is to act must be clearly defined. Those who use statistics are forced to assume the correctness of the original data. The perfection of methods is the task of the official statistician.

The results of any enumeration in the first instance mean nothing. They acquire significance only by comparison. This is the second process of statistical thought. The rules of such a comparison, while simple in appearance, are not so easy of application. They are that the unit counted should be the same, and the groups in their essential attributes analogous. Let us, for example, attempt to compare the criminality of the United States and of England. Whatever test we take—prisoners or convictions in relation to population—the attempt is fraught with difficulty. English law is not our law; it may know offenses that are here unknown,

and *vice versa*. Again, the groups themselves may be distinct, tho apparently analogous. Thus, supposing the laws to be approximately uniform and equally enforced, a comparison of the amount of crime in Illinois and Nevada might be defective. The latter is essentially a mining camp, with a preponderance of male adults. It cannot properly be compared with a State population in a well-settled country.

The comparisons which have been made are, in the main, descriptive only. They tell us that within a certain group there are a certain number of a particular unit. This descriptive knowledge is often as far as the statistical method will go, but in some cases further conclusions may be reached.

By collecting together a great many comparisons of a similar kind, we observe a certain constancy in the phenomena. This statistical regularity we consider normal. Gradually we extend this conception to fields not hitherto explored, so that when the results of the first inquiry are reached they are commonly accepted as characteristic until proved otherwise. In all phenomena we expect this regularity of occurrence. We do this in accordance with the law of probability, which teaches us that like causes and conditions, even if unknown and undetermined, produce like effects. If we see any deviation from the usual results, we are instantly led to a supposition of changed causes or conditions. By analyzing the supposed causes and finding which one shows fluctuations in quantity directly or inversely in proportion to the quantitative changes of the result, we may infer that a causal connection exists between the two facts. Through a series of observations we may arrive at a very clear understanding of the causes of phenomena.

Every statistical process is, as we have seen, an elaborate system of weighing and comparing numerical relations. The limits which are placed upon it are the difficulty of its primary operations and the restricted mass of accumulated experience with which comparisons can be made. There is a constant effort to overstep the limits which have been set for statistical effort by these two factors. Hence a study of these limitations will serve to illustrate what has already been said, and place us on our guard against error.

The theoretical requirement that all the units be counted is probably seldom absolutely fulfilled. It is, however, of prime importance, and should always be approximated. Otherwise comparisons certainly become faulty. This is especially true when we wish to compare the aggregates of two distinct groups, as population with area. Hence we must deal cautiously with all comparisons of this class. Oftentimes the object cannot be counted directly, and some symptomatic feature must be taken. In earlier days insanity in a family was secreted, and hospitals for the insane were not numerous. It is probable that statistics of insanity at that date are defective, and a comparison with the population gives a ratio of insanity which falls short of the truth.

Limits of Statistics.

On the other hand the law of regularity teaches us that for all inquiries the absolute number of the phenomena is not necessary. That rule teaches us that what is true of the whole is true of the part, other things being equal. Experience must teach us how far we shall apply the rule. The converse of the rule is the law of large numbers, which simply means that the larger the number of observations the more accidental conditions tend to neutralize each other. Hence we may in a large group study conditions prevailing in the group, though we cannot compare it with another class of phenomena. Such groups may be said to furnish material for the quantitative study of a phenomenon rather than a quantitative estimate of its aggregate importance.

What has been said about the necessity of counting all the units applies with equal force to the delimitation of the field. There are some cases where it is essential, others where it is not absolutely necessary.

In comparison the analogy of the groups is essential. This is based upon general characteristics. If the groups are apparently analogous, though not actually so in conditions essential to the problem in hand, the comparison is vitiated. An illustration will best show the force of the statement. The number of prisoners in the United States of foreign birth is commonly compared with the population of foreign birth, native-born prisoners with native-born population. This overlooks the fact that the population of foreign birth consists mainly of adults, while the native-born population is composed to the extent of nearly one-half of minors. Compare prisoners, therefore, with adult population in both cases, and the result will be quite different from that usually cited.

A keen search should always be made for a strict analogy in the groups compared. If it cannot be found—if, for instance, in the example cited no facts as to age were known—we can only vaguely estimate the effect of such divergencies. The comparison would be made, but we should not know how much of the deviation of the result was ascribable to faulty analogy, how much to other causes. Thus we may compare the births in a country district with the entire population, those of a city with its population. If by any cause there is in the one population a greater proportion of women in the child-bearing age, this may of itself explain the different results without resort to other explanations.

The judgment of causality is much more complex than that of quantity. There is so much more chance of error in the preliminary processes, in defective enumeration, misplaced comparisons, that all judgments of causality must be most carefully scrutinized. It is characteristic of our thought that we instinctively generalize, often from a very narrow basis of observation.

Validity.

In statistics every judgment is in the first instance limited to a very narrow range of phenomena. Hence the observed conditions cannot be taken as "laws" of society, for in statistical matters our experience is brief. What we discover applies in

the main to the nineteenth century. We cannot tell how it was before that time, or what may come after. The constancy of statistical observations requires the constancy of conditions under which the phenomena arose. But change is the very essence of history.

As conditions vary in the course of time in a given area, they also differ locally. Our observations in statistical matters hardly extend beyond the limits of the nations of occidental civilization. Among them there are the most diverse conditions of political, social, and economic life.

It is no wonder, then, that statistics should have fallen sometimes into hands incapable of using so delicate an instrument. With them it has been made to give the most absurd pictures of actual life, like a magic lantern with a defective lens. Hence it is not strange that objection is often made to the untrustworthiness of statistics.

Drink is said to be the main cause of crime because such a large percentage of prisoners admit that they use liquors. The fact is correct, but we should at least examine whether the use of liquors and crime were not two manifestations of a common cause, instead of being themselves in a causal relation. Most of the inmates of prison claim to have a religion; therefore religion does not prevent crime. Not absolutely indeed. It did not in the case of these men, but it may have done so in hosts of cases, and may be a powerful aid to social order.

These illustrations have been used not to take sides on any of the positions presented, either for or against. They show the possibility of error from premises some of which are statistical, but no one would claim that they were statistical errors.

It is the aim of statistical science to clear up any mystery that may attach to their use and thus render them an effective means of inquiry wherever the conditions of a statistical problem are found.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

References: Meitzen, A., *History, Theory, and Technique of Statistics*; Newsholme, A., *Vital Statistics*; Farr, W., *Vital Statistics*; Mayo-Smith, R., *Statistics and Sociology*.

STEAD, WILLIAM T., was born at Embleton, Northumberland, in 1849, the son of a Congregational minister. Educated at home and at Wakefield, he left school at the age of 14, and served as an office boy in mercantile offices. In 1871 he became editor of the *North-ern Echo*, a Darlington daily. In 1880 he became assistant editor to Mr. J. Morley on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and in 1883 took control of the paper, introducing in England what Matthew Arnold calls the new journalism. In 1885 he published *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon*, an exposure of immorality in London society, and leading to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of the same year. In 1886 he visited Ireland and published his *No Reduction, No Rent*. In 1888 he went to Russia and wrote *The Truth About Russia*. In 1889 he went to Rome and wrote concerning the Vatican in 1890. In 1890, leaving the *Pall*

Mall Gazette, he established the *Review of Reviews*, and in 1893 he established *Borderland*, devoted to psychical phenomena. He has also interested himself in the Civic Church (*q. v.*). In 1893 he visited the World's Fair at Chicago and wrote *If Christ Came to Chicago*.

STEEL. See IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES.

STEIN, HEINRICH FRIEDRICH KARL, BARON VON, was born in Nassau, Germany, in 1757. Studying at Göttingen, from 1773 to 1777, in 1780 he entered the service of Prussia as an official in the mining department. Rising in office, he was made in 1804 Minister of State. He abolished serfdom and internal custom duties in Prussia, and introduced other reforms which largely paved the way to German unity. Frederick William III. dismissed him in 1807 on account of his criticism of the royal policy, but was obliged to recall him to office six months later, till Napoleon compelled the king to finally dismiss him. In Russia and in Germany, however, Stein worked against Napoleon, and after Napoleon's downfall Stein became president of a central commission to administer the lands occupied by the allied armies. After this he refused an office and lived in retirement in Frankfort and Westphalia till his death in Westphalia in 1831.

STEIN, LORENZ VON, was born at Eckernförde in 1815. Raised in orphanage, he was enabled by Frederick VI. to study at Kiel and Jena. Traveling in France, he met in Paris Cabet, Louis Blanc, Reybaud, and other Fourierist socialists, and published in 1844 *Der Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich*. In 1846 he became professor at Kiel, and published various books, among others his *System der Staatwissenschaft* (1852). In 1852 he lost his position, but in 1855 became professor of political economy at Vienna. Here he published, among other writings, *Lehrbuch der Volkswirtschaft* (1858), *Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft* (1860), and above all his great *Die Verwaltungslehre* (7 vols., 1865), long an authority in administrative science. He died in Vienna in 1890.

STEPHENS, URIAH SMITH, was born near Cape May in New Jersey, in 1821. Of Quaker ancestry, he was educated for the Baptist ministry, but was compelled to learn a trade and became a tailor. He taught school and traveled extensively, but mainly followed his trade in Philadelphia, and in 1869 was the main founder of the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*). He was the first Master Workman of Assembly No. 1, and in 1878 was chosen the first Grand Master Workman. He died in 1882.

STEPNIAK, SERGIUS MICHAEL DROGOMANOFF, was born in the Ukraine mountains in 1841. He studied at Kieff, and became a teacher of history there, and professor in 1870, but was removed by the government in 1876, and driven into exile because of his strictures on Count Tolstoi. He had writ-

ten works, as early as 1862, which had been published, and he now went to Switzerland and wrote in the Little Russian dialect against absolutism and for democracy in Russia. In 1885 he removed to London. He became a leading authority on Russian subjects, and a steady worker for social and political reforms. He died in London, Dec. 23, 1895. Among his numerous works are *Underground Russia* and *The Career of a Nihilist*.

STEWART, IRA, was a working man of English birth, known as the father of the Eight-Hour Philosophy. With Mr. George E. McNeill and others he founded the Boston Eight-Hour League. Mr. Stewart's thoughts have been best developed by Mr. Gunton (*q. v.*) in his *Wealth and Progress*, tho in many ways Mr. Gunton's position is opposed to Mr. Stewart's. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.)

STEWART, SIR JAMES DENHAM, was born in Edinburgh in 1712, the son of Sir James Stewart. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, he entered the law, but spent some time on the Continent and was so compromised by relations with the Pretender that from 1745 to 1763 he had to live on the Continent. In 1767 he published *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, the best known of his many writings. (See POLITICAL ECONOMY.) He died in Lanarkshire in 1780. His complete works, political, metaphysical, and chronological, were collected by his son and published in 1806.

STIRNER, MAX, is the pseudonym under which a German, Kaspar Schmidt, wrote a book, in 1845, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* [*The Individual and his Property*], which most philosophical anarchists consider one of the ablest and earliest statements of their views. (See ANARCHISM.)

Schmidt was born in Beyreuth in 1806, he studied at Berlin, Erlangen, and Königsberg, first theology and then philosophy. He spent his life as a teacher, and yet even more as a student. He died at Berlin in 1856.

STÖCKER, ADOLF, was born in Halbersdadt, Germany, in 1835. He became army chaplain in Metz in 1871, and in 1877 Court Preacher at Berlin. In 1877, he was the main leader in establishing Protestant Christian Socialism in Germany. For an account of this see CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM, but it must be remembered that Christian Socialism on the Continent has not at all meant the radical movement it has usually meant in England and America. Especially under the lead of Stöcker it has meant little more than the religious wing of the paternal movement for the State and the Church to aid the poor. Stöcker has been even better known as a leader in the German anti-Semitic movement. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag. He has written *Christliche soziale Reden und Ausätze* (1890).

STOCK EXCHANGE.—The New York Stock Exchange was formed by 24 brokers in 1792. In 1817 the New York Stock and Exchange Board was constituted by 25 men. At present the membership is about 1100. Members are elected and must be nominated by two men who must say that they would accept the uncertified check of the nominee for \$20,000. The initiation fee is \$20,000. The dues are about \$50. Membership in the Exchange has sold as high as \$32,500. The London Stock Exchange was formed in 1802 with 557 members.

STOCK-WATERING may be defined as the increasing of the nominal capital of a corporation by the issue of new shares without a corresponding increase of actual capital. Against this practise much popular indignation has been raised. We shall, however, only quote an attempt to defend "innocent" stock-watering and a few careful and conservative estimates of the amount of stock-watering in certain typical industries. If cautious authorities take the following positions it will be seen that the popular statements have scarcely been put too strong. In the *Political Science Quarterly* for September, 1891, Mr. T. L. Greene distinguishes between "innocent" railroad stock-watering and what is not innocent. He argues that, in philippics against railroad stock-watering, it is usually forgotten how much railroads have to spend for improvements, besides their original investments; how far in all business there are natural profits besides those of interest on capital; how high dividends do not usually mean high charges, but often the reverse; how futile it is to attempt to limit success by legislation. He admits that there is a form of stock-watering which is not justifiable, and concludes that

"too much stress has been laid upon railroad stock-watering as a reason for compulsory reduction of charges; that the fact of such watering of railway capital is to be best explained as an attempt to adjust railway capitalization to the conditions common in other business undertakings; and that a distinction should be drawn in the public mind between stock-watering which is comparatively innocent in purpose and that which is not."

This is, however, no argument against the statements carefully made, as to the evil and extent of stock-watering. The latest of these as to railroads is C. B. Spahr's *Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (1896). The author says (pp. 40-42):

"Approximately one-half of the present railroad capitalization represents no investment whatever. . . . The writer follows the conservative estimates of *Poor's Manual*, 1884, and Van Oss's *American Railroads as Investments*" (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons; London, Effingham & Wilson, 1893). For striking examples of our capitalization, see ex-Governor Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, p. 186, and Hudson's *Railways and the Republic*, chap. vii.

"*Poor's Manual*, as is widely known, has put the original cost of the railroads at approximately the present bonded indebtedness. Mr. Van Oss, who is a defender of stock-watering on the ground that it prevents legislative reductions of rates, estimates that the bonds outstanding in 1890 cost the original investors not more than 67 cents on the dollar, and that the stocks cost these investors not more than 10 cents on the dollar. According to this approximation, the real investment contrasts with the nominal capitalization as follows:

	SECURITIES OUTSTANDING.	NOT HELD BY OTHER RAIL- ROADS AND SO DUPLI- CATED.	COST TO ORIGINAL INVESTORS.
Stocks.....	\$4,409,700,000	\$3,445,800,000	\$ 344,500,000
Bonds.....	4,123,900,000	3,680,900,000	2,466,200,000
Stocks and Bonds.....	\$8,533,600,000	\$7,126,700,000	\$2,810,700,000
Other Oblig- ations....	903,700,000	.....	903,700,000
Total Capital- ization..	\$9,437,300,000	.....	.....
Total invest- ment.....	.....	.....	\$3,714,400,000

"The figures in the first two columns are from the report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission for 1890 on the "Statistics of Railways," pp. 46-48. Concerning stocks, Van Oss's statement is, verbatim, as follows:

"But, for \$4,650,000,000 shares now in existence, the original investor certainly paid not more than \$465,000,000, or 10 per cent. of their face value, and probably less. Hence shares now return at least 18 per cent. per annum on the actual investment" (p. 139).

"It should be observed, however, that the sum upon which the public is really paying interest is not the total capitalization of the railroads, nor even the stocks and bonds not held by other railroads, but rather the sum upon which 5 per cent. net is realized by the roads. This sum in 1890 was \$6,627,000,000. Not from the standpoint of socialism, but from the standpoint of common morality, which condemns as robbery both the refusal of the public to pay interest upon capital actually lent it, and the compelling of the public to pay interest on capital never lent it, the two thousand and odd millions of railroad capital representing no investment is simply capitalized extortion."

Perhaps, however, the worst cases of stock-watering are those of street railway companies.

"Tract No. 1," published by the Municipal League of Philadelphia, having on its Board of Management such men as Dr. Wayland, Mr. Stuart Wood, Professor James, shows for that city that when the Traction Company applied for privileges which, as it has proved, immediately added \$6,600,000 to the market value of its stock, the councils promptly granted its application, and then, in spite of the storm of public indignation, repassed the measure over the Mayor's veto by a majority of 25 to 10 in Select Council, and 77 to 31 in Common Council. "Tract No. 1" takes up the finances of ten leading street railway companies, exclusive of the Traction Company, and publishes their dividends for the last 10 years over against the capital actually invested in them. The table stands as follows:

Capital invested.....	\$5,840,000
Dividends for decade.....	15,164,000

Assuming that the city ought to have allowed these companies 10 per cent. yearly on their investment, there was a surplus profit of over \$9,000,000 which should have been turned into the public treasury. The effect of these abnormal profits upon the market value of the securities of these companies is set forth as follows:

Amount invested.....	\$5,840,000
Market price of securities.....	38,480,000

In other words, the public is paying interest upon over \$32,000,000 it never borrowed.

STONE, LUCY, was born in West Brookfield, Mass., in 1818. She taught school to earn money for a higher education, and in 1847 was graduated at Oberlin College. The same year she gave a lecture on Woman's Rights in her brother's pulpit at Gardener, Mass., and soon was engaged to lecture for the Anti-Slavery Society, in which work she had great success. In 1855 she married Henry B. Blackwell, but she always retained her own name.

In 1866 she helped to organize the American Equal Rights Association, and in 1869 the American Woman's Suffrage Association, of the executive board of which she was chairman for 20 years. She died in 1893.

STOWE, MRS. HARRIET BEECHER, was born in Litchfield, Conn., in 1812, daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher and sister of Henry Ward Beecher (*q. v.*). She studied at home and in Hartford Female Seminary, where, too, she taught from 1827 to 1832. Her father becoming president of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, she moved there with him, and, in 1836, married there Professor C. E. Stowe. They lived there till 1850, when her husband became professor of theology in Bowdoin College, Me. In 1852, however, he accepted a professorship at Andover, Mass., which ill health compelled him to resign in 1862, Mr. and Mrs. Stowe going to reside in Hartford, Conn. Mrs. Stowe's book which made her reputation, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was written first as a serial for *The National Era* of Washington, and was based on incidents with which Mrs. Stowe became acquainted in her life in Cincinnati. March 20, 1852, it was published as a book, and 300,000 copies were sold in a year; 40 editions appeared during the year. It has been translated into nearly 20 languages, and probably contributed more than any other one effort to rousing the country against slavery. In 1853 Mrs. Stowe visited Europe and wrote *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*. In 1856 she wrote *Dred*, another slave story, only moderately successful. Among her other numerous tales are *Old Town Folks*, *My Wife and I*, *Men of Our Times*. Mrs. Stowe died in Hartford, July 2, 1896.

STREET RAILWAYS.—Cheap and rapid transit is one of the most important factors in city life. To it we must chiefly look for any immediate relief from the congestion of population in the slums and tenement districts of our great cities. If transit can be made so cheap and rapid that the working man can live in the country, the benefit to him and his children, and through them to society in general, will be incalculable. Engineering statistics of the cost of building and operating electric roads and the rate of their depreciation disclose the fact that from 10 to 15 cents per car mile will cover all expenses, including depreciation, taxes, and interest on actual investment. In Boston and other large cities the receipts average 35 cents a car-mile on a 5-cent fare, wherefore it is clear that a 3-cent fare would be sufficient. Were it not for watered stock, lobby funds, legislative cost, enormous salaries of leading officers, and other unnecessary or illegitimate expenses, the roads could be run still more cheaply; and if they were owned by the city clear of debt, and no interest or profit were required, it is probable that a populous city would reduce the fare to 2 cents, and still leave the roads self-sustaining. This is the more probable when we consider the enormous increase of traffic that invariably follows a decided lowering of rates, and the compan-

ion fact that the cost per passenger diminishes as the volume of business in a given area increases.

Aside from general engineering statistics which are more fully dealt with in the *Arena* for May, 1895) there are many specific facts which point to the same conclusion.

In Glasgow 30 per cent. of the fares are 1 cent, and the average of all fares is under 2 cents, yet the city's roads made a profit of \$111,000 in the first 11 months of municipal operation (July 1, 1894, to May 31, 1895). The cars are drawn by horses, a far more expensive power than electricity, and the city labored under serious disadvantages from the sickness of many horses, and a tremendous omnibus competition started by the old railway company.¹

In Budapest the fares are 2½ cents, and yet the roads made 90 per cent. profit on their investment in 1894.² The underground electric conduit system is used, and grooved rails set level with the surface of the street so as to offer no obstruction whatever to the wheels of wagons and carriages.

In Berlin the private street-car companies show 75 per cent. of the fares 2½ cents, an average fare of 3 cents on the whole traffic, and operating expenses about one-half of the receipts, or 1½ cents per passenger. This, too, is horse-car traffic, and the passengers are fewer than in Boston. The public elevated (*Stadtbahn*) roads of Berlin sell yearly tickets to go in and out 5 miles, as often as you please, for \$4.50 a year, a running average of about 10 miles for 1 cent.³

In Detroit a 3-cent fare is in force all over the city, Mayor Pingree having at last completely conquered the old company, which long declared a 3-cent rate an impossibility. It has now made even a 2½-cent rate on one of its lines, and the new company offers to run all the roads in Detroit on a uniform 2½-cent rate, with free transfers all over the city, and pay the interest on the purchase price of the tracks if the city will take them by eminent domain.

In Savannah, in 1895, a 1-cent rate was established, with the result of greatly enlarging the traffic and actually increasing the receipts. A very fair profit was made—the expenses being \$10 to \$13 a car and the receipts \$14 to \$18.⁴

In Toronto the roads are operated by a company that agrees to sell 25 tickets for \$1, or 6 for a quarter; workingmen's tickets, good night and morning, 8 for a quarter; and children's tickets from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M., 10 for a quarter. The company must pay the city \$800 a year for each mile of track; 8 per cent. on the gross receipts to \$1,000,000; 10 per cent. from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000; 12 per cent. from \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000; 15 per cent. from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000; and 20 per cent. on all over \$3,000,000. The city engineer controls the roads as to the number of cars to be operated, the improvements to be introduced, etc. Their bookkeeping must be satisfactory to the city treasurer and auditors. At the end of 20 years (or 30, since the franchise may be "renewed for a term of 10 years and no longer")—at the end of the lease the city may take the plant at its actual value, as determined by arbitration.⁵

In the New York Annex recently a street railway franchise was sold for \$250,000 cash down, and a promise to pay 4½ per cent. of the gross earnings each year for the first 5 years, and 4¾ per cent. each year thereafter. As the company expects to make a good profit on a very expensive road, and are willing to give nearly half the receipts on a 5-cent fare, it is clear that they do not think the cost of operation will run above 2 cents at the most. The company is not to use the overhead trolley south of 162d street, though north of that line it is permitted for ten years. The company is to pave the streets and keep them clean and free from dirt and snow, and the cars are to be "properly and sufficiently heated during cold weather on pain of a penalty of \$10 per day for each car not so heated."

¹ From Report of Glasgow Highway Department.

² *Street Railway Journal*, November 1895, p. 702; Report of Massachusetts Rapid Transit Commissions (1892).

³ *May Arena*, pp. 395-396; Massachusetts Rapid Transit Report; *Cosmopolitan*, November, 1894.

⁴ December *Arena*, 1895, p. 86.

⁵ Agreement between the City of Toronto and Geo. W. Kielew, William McKenzie, H. A. Everett, et al. September 1, 1891, with the awards, conditions, etc., May 5, 1891.

It is thought by some that the ultimate ideal is to make the street cars *free* to all who wish to ride—just as free as the pavements, the parks, and the public schools. The saving of labor in printing tickets, collecting fares, keeping accounts, etc., would be considerable, and the plan would be a great boon to the poor. Such a status, however, will have to be approached gradually, and for a long time to come it would seem to be best to aim at a system that will reduce expenses to the lowest point consistent with the support of the roads by the collection of fares graded in the way above suggested.

Public ownership will promote *good* service as well as *cheap* service.

Strap passengers help profits, no doubt—the companies say that the people on the straps pay the dividends, the more people in a car the smaller the expense per passenger—but public ownership would think of accommodations more than dividends, and would therefore run more cars in winter.

Good Service.

Warming the cars is important for the health and comfort of patrons and employees.

Cushioned fenders, running close to the track, are also necessary to the safety of the public. In Budapest the cars have fenders that will push a baby from the track without injuring it. United States cities have some fender ordinances, but the companies have stubbornly refused to fulfil the spirit and purpose of the law, and in some cases resisted even the letter of it until fined for disobedience. Most of the fenders in use in our Eastern cities run 4 to 12 inches above the level of the road, and some have iron fronts that would break a man's leg like a splinter. No pains should be spared to provide an efficient fender for every car. The companies care nothing about it unless it will save them more money than it costs. Some years ago the street-car presidents of Philadelphia met to consider the adoption of a fender just invented. They asked how much it would cost. The inventor told them \$50 a car. The presidents figured a little and found it would be cheaper to pay damages for running over people; so they did not buy the fenders.

The overhead wires are objectionable in many ways. They are dangerous to life, and mar the looks of our streets. The underground trolley has proved entirely practicable and satisfactory in Washington and New York, and is preferable in every way to the overhead system, except that the original cost is greater. There is a *surface* system just coming into notice which requires no slot or groove in the street, and no overhead wire, and is said to be absolutely safe and cheaper in construction than even the overhead. It is to be hoped that it may displace the nets of wire that disfigure our streets.

The use of *grooved rails* is a matter well worth the attention of the public. In Liverpool, Budapest, and other European cities, the flange of the wheel runs in a narrow groove in a solid rail laid level with the surface of the street. A similar rail is used in Washington, D. C., and has been adopted in Detroit through the efforts of Mayor Pingree. It is also in New York on the Bowery line and the Broadway cable road. The latter, however, is not well laid, being sunk so far below the paving as to leave the street still very rough.

The *employees* of the roads would be better off in several respects under public ownership. Freedom of association, which is for the most part denied them by the private companies, would not be interfered with by the city. In a few cities the companies recognize the organizations of the workmen, but as a rule membership in any labor organization is a cause of discharge, and a man who is active in such organizations is in danger of being blacklisted throughout the country. Even the right of petition is not accorded by the companies generally; *i. e.*, men who get up

and present petitions are apt to be discharged upon the slightest pretext. Strikes are sometimes successful as in Detroit, but oftener end in disaster, as in Brooklyn and Philadelphia, where the men accomplished nothing but the loss of their positions. Wages are sometimes as low as 16 cents an hour, and 13 to 15 hours are not infrequently required to constitute a day's work. The motormen suffer much from the cold in winter, and are sadly in need of the protection afforded by vestibules. Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin have statutes requiring the cars to be supplied with vestibules in cold weather. They are also in use in Pittsburg and Harrisburg, Pa.; Rochester and Buffalo, N. Y.; Lowell to Nashua, Mass., etc. They work well everywhere.

Employees.

The locomotive engineer, the steersman of a tug, the pilot of an ocean steamer are all protected against the weather—why should a motorman whiz through the icy air at the rate of 6 to 15 miles an hour, or more, and sometimes in the teeth of a 40-mile zephyr at zero or lower, with nothing in front of him to break the force of the wind? In Boston, 1896, a number of motormen froze their faces, not merely their fingers and toes and ears; those are so commonly bitten that no note is taken of them.

It is sometimes said that moisture and frost will gather on the glass, obscuring the vision and rendering accidents more likely. It is a baseless excuse. If the vestibule is warmed as it should be, no moisture or frosted breath will form on the inside. If it is partitioned off from the rest of the car, and the glass in front made double, there will be no such trouble, even tho it is not warmed. Even under the most unfavorable circumstances there will be no accumulation on the inside that cannot be easily and quickly removed and the glass kept clear. As for the outside there is no obscurement, except in a storm. Sometimes sticky snow gathers on the glass and dulls the vision. Then the engineer opens the windows and wipes off the snow. The motorman could do the same. The rain as a rule does not materially interfere with the sight—when it does, the motorman could open the windows a few inches so as to make a four- or five inch band of open space from left to right on the level of the eye. This is the way the pilots do. The motorman could do the same if the windows were properly made, and if the vestibule were tightly built but very little air would come through the opening. Mr. Reeves Stewart, who runs a vestibuled trolley on the Pennsylvania railroad, and spent eight years on a locomotive before he took the trolley, says there is never any trouble with frost or moisture inside, nor any difficulty in seeing through the glass in a rain, and that it is easy to wipe off the snow when it sticks. The pilots on the Fall River line say it is very seldom that they cannot see as clearly through the glass as through the open. When it rains or snows the air is never so cold as to make a man suffer even with the windows wide open, and when it does not storm the windows could always be closed without any danger to clear vision in a properly constructed vestibule. The vestibule should be so built that the motorman can have the space in front of him wholly open, or partly open, or wholly closed as he thinks best. This, with the employment of reasonably sensible and efficient men, will make the matter safe and right.

A bill is pending in Congress to compel the Washington roads to vestibule the cars, and another to reduce the hours of labor for street-car employees to eight.

When municipal ownership is proposed, the corporationists declare that it is not to be thought of because it will lead to *political corruption* and abuse of power for party pur-

poses. The truth is that the corporations are the chief cause of political corruption. Mayor Pingree says that the Citizens' Street Railway Company of Detroit "literally owned the council body and soul" (*Facts and Opinions*, by Hazen S. Pingree, p. 31). They would pay \$3000 for a member (*Id.*, p. 30). They even made an actual offer of \$75,000 to buy the mayor himself (*Id.*, pp. 86-122). The mayor says, "My experience in fighting monopolistic corporations, and endeavoring to save the people some of their rights as against their greed, has convinced me that the corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and hoodling with which our cities suffer" (p. 24).

Under private management, street railway corporations corrupt our politics, spoil the safety and looks of our streets, charge exorbitant rates, crowd the cars, freeze passengers and motormen, work their men long hours, deny them the right of organization, render indifferent service, water their stock, dodge the tax laws, put rascals in office, and run our cities to suit themselves.

A summary of the situation would read something like this:

THE PEOPLE WANT.	THE CORPORATIONS WANT.
1. Low fares.	1. High fares.
2. Good service.	2. Small expenses.
3. Seats for all.	3. Passengers on the straps, in the aisles, and on the platforms.
4. Efficient fenders.	4. No expense for cushioned fenders; it is cheaper to pay damages than to buy good fenders.
5. Cars well warmed in winter.	5. Little or no expense for heating; it is cheaper to freeze the passengers.
6. Grooved rails, laid so as to leave the streets smooth.	6. The cheapest rails, whatever effect they may have on the street.
7. A system safe and convenient.	7. The dangerous, ugly, street-marring, overhead trolley system.
8. Reasonable profits on actual investment.	8. Big dividends on watered stock.
9. Honest book-keeping.	9. Doctored accounts.
10. Just assessments and equal taxation.	10. Shrunk assessments and escape from taxation.
11. Honest and impartial government in the interests of all.	11. Corrupt government in the interest of corporations.
12. Good wages and reasonable hours for all employees.	12. Long hours and short wages for the men,—short hours and big wages for the managers.
13. Full freedom of organization.	13. No union men.
14. Vestibules for the motormen.	14. No expense for vestibules,—men are cheaper than glass and wood; if a man freezes now and then it is easy to buy another.
15. Arbitration of difficulties.	15. Their own imperial way with "nothing to arbitrate."

In short, the people ask for justice, kindness, fair play, and the public good.

In short, the corporations aim at fortunes for industrial aristocrats.

in 1831. The first successful electric street railway was at Leichterfelde near Berlin in 1881. San Francisco had a cable road in 1873.

According to the Eleventh Census there were in the United States in 1890, 5783 miles of street railways. There were 32,505 cars, with 70,764 employees, and they carried 2,023,010,202 passengers. New York according to the census report had, in 1890, 12 miles for each 1000 inhabitants. Chicago 18, Brooklyn 21, Philadelphia and St. Louis 26 each, Boston and suburbs 41, London 3, Liverpool 5, Birmingham 7, Berlin 8, Dresden 11, Hamburg 13, Paris 5, Vienna 5, Budapest 7, Brussels 7.

New York had 297 rides per inhabitant, Boston and suburbs 225, Brooklyn 183, Chicago 164, Philadelphia 158, St. Louis 150, London 31, Liverpool 51, Glasgow 61, Berlin 87, Hamburg 78, Dresden 42, Vienna 43, Budapest 37.

According to the *Street Railway* in 1896 there were in the United States 1210 miles of horse railways, 12,133 of electric, 599 of cable, and 510 of miscellaneous roads. There were 48,182 cars. The total capitalization was \$95,000 per mile. In the New England States the capitalization was \$54,500 per mile; in the Middle States \$147,300, Central \$86,600, Southern \$48,000, Western \$61,000. In Massachusetts \$852,500, Rhode Island \$119,100, New York \$182,800, Pennsylvania \$130,500, District of Columbia \$137,600, Michigan \$36,400, Illinois \$134,500, California \$78,600; varying mainly according not to cost but to watering of stock.

References: *The People's Highways*, an article in the *Arena* for May, 1895; *Economic Studies*, vol. i., Nos. 5 and 6; *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 15th Series, iii. to v.; also, *Street Railway Journal*.

FRANK PARSONS.

STRIKES.—A strike occurs when the employees of an establishment refuse to work unless the management complies with some demand. A lockout occurs when the management refuses to allow the employees to work unless they will work under some condition dictated by the management. In effect strikes and lockouts are practically the same thing; the disturbances simply originating with one side or the other in the case. A strike, however, is often really a lockout, because it not unfrequently happens that employers, finding a dull market and not wishing to bear the opprobrium of discharging their employees or suspending work, require some grievous condition which causes the employees to strike. The real origin of strikes is, therefore, by no means always easily determined. Twice the United States Commissioner of Labor has reported on the subject of strikes, and from these reports the following statistics are taken. The Third Annual Report (1887) reported on strikes in the United States down to December 31, 1886. It found records of 1491 strikes down to 1881, of which 813 took place in 1880; 199 took place from 1875 to 1879, and 185 from 1870 to 1874; 4 took place in the eighteenth century, the first being a strike among the bakers of New York city in 1741; 75 took place between 1800 and 1850. Of the 1491 strikes, 1089 related to wages; 316 succeeded, 154 were compromised, 583 failed, and 478 had their issue unknown. Between 1881 and 1886, inclusive, there were 3902 strikes in 22,304 establishments, involving 1,332,203 employees. Of these the corresponding figures for 1886 alone were 1411, 9861, and 499,489. Of the whole number, 46.52 per cent. succeeded, 13.47 per cent. partly succeeded, and 37.95 per cent. failed. The strikes were for higher wages in 42.32 per cent. of the establishments, for shorter hours in 19.48 per cent., against reduction in wages in

Statistics.—The first street railway was made by John Stephenson in New York

7.77 per cent. The loss to employees by strikes is placed at \$51,814,723 for strikes and \$3,157,717 for lockouts. The employers' loss is put at \$30,701,553 for strikes and \$3,462,261 for lockouts. The Report of 1895 investigates from 1887 to May 31, 1894, inclusive. There were 14,389 strikes in 69,166 establishments, involving 3,714,231 employees. From January 1, 1881, to January 30, 1894, 44.49 per cent. of the strikes succeeded, 11.25 per cent. partly succeeded, and 44.23 per cent. failed. Of the lockouts, 40.37 per cent. succeeded, 9.58 per cent. partly succeeded, and 47.75 per cent. failed. Of the strikes for the whole period, those in 42.32 per cent. of the establishments were for higher wages, 19.48 per cent. for shorter hours, and 7.77 per cent. against lowered wages. The loss to employers for the whole period is put at \$82,589,786, for employees, \$163,807,657; or \$3.77 per striking employee per year.

The most important strikes in the United States have been the railroad strikes of 1877, on the Gould system in 1885 and 1886, the Homestead strike of 1892, and the great Pullman strike of 1894. (For an account of the last two, see HOMESTEAD and PULLMAN.) The railroad strike of 1877, the first of the great strikes, and which first called general attention to the labor movement in America, began July 15 on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Martinsburg, W. Va., and was caused by a 10 per cent. reduction in wages already low. July 19, a still larger strike broke out at Pittsburg on the Pennsylvania Railroad; the grievance being the introduction of the "double-headers," or freight trains of 84 cars with two engines, enabling the company to do with one-half their freight service. There was rioting, with loss of life at various places. The State militia at Martinsburg and Pittsburg refused to fire on the strikers, and United States troops were called out. In Cincinnati, Toledo, and St. Louis mobs of roughs and tramps succeeded in closing shops, mills, etc. The main trouble, however, was at Pittsburg, where the crowds resisted the troops; 22 persons were killed by soldiers in one day. Gatling guns were used, and finally order was restored. One thousand six hundred cars (mainly freight) and 126 locomotives were burned. The loss at Pittsburg was estimated at \$5,000,000.

The first great strike on the Gould system took place at Sedalia, Mo., in March, 1885, for a restoration of wages which had been reduced. It was very general, but did not last long, when the company gave in. The next year, however, a strike began at Marshall, Tex., growing out of the discharge of a foreman prominent in the Knights of Labor. It became general, and during all March traffic was suspended on the system, tho relatively not much damage was done. This strike was lost.

Other great American strikes have been those of the telegraphers in 1883; on the Lehigh Valley Road in 1893; at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1892; in the mines of Tennessee in 1891; at Brooklyn in 1895; on the Great Northern Railroad in April, 1894, where Mr. Debs

won his first fame by organizing and winning the strike.

(In Great Britain, for some notice of earlier strikes, see TRADE-UNIONS.) The two recent strikes in Great Britain have been the great dock strike (*q. v.*) of 1889 and the strikes of the miners in 1893.

According to a report of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade, the following are the statistics of strikes and lockouts in Great Britain and Ireland:

YEAR.	Disputes.	Persons Affected.	Successful.	Partly Successful.	Unsuccessful.	Not Known.
1888.....	517	119,273	48.1	18.2	24.0	9.7
1889.....	1211	359,897	43.0	31.8	17.0	7.9
1890.....	1040	393,245	37.1	22.2	31.6	9.1
1891.....	906	267,460	41.1	20.1	30.0	8.8
1892.....	700	356,799	41.0	17.0	32.7	9.3
1893.....	643	570,060	35.6	17.1	28.9	18.4
1894.....	926	306,000	17.4	14.3	51.8	16.5

In France the principal strikes have been also among the miners. According to the French *Office du Travail* there were, in 1893, 634 strikes, affecting 170,123 men. In 1894 there were 391 strikes, affecting 54,576 men; 45½ per cent. of these strikes failed, 21 per cent. were completely won, and the rest were unknown or compromised.

(For other countries, see those countries. Concerning the involved questions of the ethics of strikes, see TRADE-UNIONS.)

Says Professor W. J. Ashley of Harvard University (*The Railroad Strike* of 1894, p. 8):

"It is the opinion of almost every economist of repute, of whatever school, that labor combinations, with a power to appeal in the last resort to the joint refusal to work, *i. e.*, to strike, are, under the present system of competition, the indispensable means of enabling the sellers of labor to take care of their own interests" (J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, bk. v. chap. x. § 5, second half). With these words of Mill may be compared the language of Fawcett (*Manual*, sixth ed., p. 242), Walker (*Political Economy*, § 468), and Marshall (*Elements of Economics*, 1892, pp. 381, 382, 390). These are not writers particularly sympathetic toward trade-union policy, or particularly hopeful of good results from such action. They merely state that, even tho in very many cases strikes may have been unwise, the right to strike is, in itself, a necessary safeguard of working men's interests."

Trade-unionists do not as a rule believe in strikes. They are often compelled, however, to strike because, when other measures have failed, it is their only way to protest against and to resist reductions in wages, unfair treatment, or refusals of firms to grant increase of wages when the market allows. When *trade-unions are weak or just organizing*, their members sometimes rush into foolish strikes. Strong trade-unions do not strike until careful investigation has been made, until the national executive committee of their trade, as well as the local union, approves, and until they have money in the bank to make a hard fight.

Strong trade-unionism means the lessening of strikes. (See TRADE-UNIONS.)

Concerning the treatment of strikes and the evil to the public, see articles ARBITRATION and CONCILIATION, also PULLMAN STRIKE.

SUBSIDIES is the term usually given today to grants of money by governments to private enterprises. Originally it was used in English history for special taxes assessed on property, and in European history for payment by governments to their allies.

The most important modern subsidies have been to railways and steamship companies.

England has granted no railway subsidies except in Ireland. France defrayed about half the original cost of her railways, and this system has been largely followed in Austria, Russia, Southern Europe, and British India. In the United States railway subsidies, in the form of land grants mainly, have been very extensive (see RAILWAYS); 200,000,000 acres have been given, the only about one-quarter of this has been patented.

In steamship subsidies Great Britain has done much more. In 1840 the Cunard company received an annual subsidy of \$400,000, and this was not reduced till 1870. At one time England spent nearly \$5,000,000 annually for the conveyance of mails. The admiralty subsidies of Great Britain to-day are about \$165,000 annually, besides \$3,500,000 for sea postage, which is about \$2,250,000 more than the receipts for sea postage. Great Britain pays this partly for military purposes, and can use subsidized ships in time of war. The United States has done much less. In 1845 the Collins line and Pacific Mail Steamship Company received subsidies. In 1852 the United States paid about \$2,000,000 for foreign mail service. On account of accidents and the war American lines to Europe and the Collins line disappeared. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company became corrupt, and in 1875 the subsidy was not renewed. In 1832 the (American) International Navigation Company received a subsidy for carrying mails to Europe. (See PLUTOCRACY, for legislative favors to this line.) In the year 1893-94, the United States paid \$711,444 for mail service by United States vessels, and \$461,057 for foreign vessels.

Germany, France, and most European countries grant considerable subsidies.

(See also BOUNTIES.)

SUB-TREASURY PLAN.—This is a plan which is an outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance movement, and became prominent after its indorsement by the Farmers' Alliance (*g. v.*), at their meeting at St. Louis, 1889. The following is the text of the bill, drafted to embody the plan.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that there may be established in each of the counties of each of the States of this United States a branch of the treasury department of the United States, to be known and designated as a sub-treasury, as hereinafter provided, when 100 or more citizens of any county in any State shall petition the Secretary of the Treasury requesting the location of a sub-treasury in such county, and shall,

1. Present written evidence, duly authenticated by oath or affirmation of county clerk and sheriff, showing that the average gross amount per annum of cotton, wheat, oats, corn, and tobacco produced and sold in that county for the last preceding two years exceeds the sum of \$500,000, at current prices in said county at that time, and,

2. Present a good and sufficient bond for title to a suitable and adequate amount of land to be donated to the Government of the United States for the location of the sub-treasury buildings, and,

3. A certificate of election showing that the site for the location of such sub-treasury has been chosen by a popular vote of the citizens of that county, and also naming the manager of the sub-treasury elected at said election for the purpose of taking charge of such sub-treasury under such regulations as may be pre-

scribed. It shall in that case be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to proceed without delay to establish a sub-treasury department in such county as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 2. That any owner of cotton, wheat, corn, oats, or tobacco may deposit the same in the sub-treasury nearest the point of its production, and receive therefor treasury notes, hereinafter provided for, equal at the date of deposit to 80 per cent. of the net value of such products at the market price, said price to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury under rules and regulations prescribed, based upon the price current in the leading cotton, tobacco, or grain markets of the United States; but no deposit consisting in whole or in part of cotton, tobacco, or grain imported into this country shall be received under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be prepared treasury notes in such amounts as may be required for the purpose of the above section, and in such form and denominations as he may prescribe, provided that no note shall be of a denomination of less than one dollar or more than one thousand dollars.

SEC. 4. That the treasury notes issued under this act shall be receivable for customs, and shall be a full legal tender for all debts, both public and private, and such notes, when held by any national banking association, shall be counted as part of its lawful reserve.

SEC. 5. It shall be the duty of the manager of a sub-treasury when cotton, grain, or tobacco is received by him on deposit, as above provided, to give a warehouse receipt showing the amount and grade or quality of such cotton, tobacco, or grain, and its value at date of deposit; the amount of treasury notes the sub-treasury has advanced on the product; that the interest on the money so advanced is at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum, expressly stating the amount of insurance, weighing, classing, warehousing, and other charges that will run against such deposit of cotton, grain, or tobacco. All such warehouse receipts shall be negotiable by indorsement.

SEC. 6. That the cotton, grain, or tobacco deposited in the sub-treasury under the provisions of this act may be redeemed by the holder of the warehouse receipt herein provided for, either at the sub-treasury in which the product is deposited, or at any other sub-treasury, by the surrender of such warehouse receipt, and the payment in lawful money of the United States of the same amount originally advanced by the sub-treasury against the product, and such further amount as may be necessary to discharge all interest that may have accrued against the advance of money made on the deposit of produce, and all insurance, warehouse, and other charges that attach to the product for warehousing and handling. All lawful money received at the sub-treasury as a return of the actual amount of money advanced by the government against farm products as above specified shall be returned, with a full report of the transaction, to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall make record of the transaction, and cancel and destroy the money so returned. A sub-treasury that receives a warehouse receipt as above provided, together with the return of the proper amount of lawful money, and all charges as herein provided, when the product for which it is given is stored in some other sub-treasury, shall give an order on such other sub-treasury for the delivery of the cotton, grain, or tobacco, as the case may be, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall provide for the adjustment between sub-treasuries of all charges.

SEC. 7. The Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe such rules and regulations as are necessary for governing the details of the management of the sub-treasuries, fixing the salary, bond, and responsibility of each of the managers of sub-treasuries (provided that the salary of any manager of a sub-treasury shall not exceed the sum of \$1,500 per annum), holding the managers of sub-treasuries personally responsible on their bonds for weights and classifications of all produce, providing for the rejection of unmerchantable grades of cotton, grain, or tobacco, or for such as may be in bad condition, and shall provide rules for the sale at public auction of all cotton, corn, oats, wheat, or tobacco that has been placed on deposit for a longer period than twelve months, after due notice published. The proceeds of the sale of such product shall be applied, first to the reimbursement of the sub-treasury of the amount originally advanced, together with all charges, and, second, the balance shall be held on deposit for the

benefit of the holder of the warehouse receipt, who shall be entitled to receive the same on the surrender of his warehouse receipt. The Secretary of the Treasury shall also provide rules for the duplication of any papers in case of loss or destruction.

SEC. 8. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury, when Section 7 of this act shall have been complied with, to cause to be erected, according to the laws and customs governing the construction of government buildings, a suitable sub-treasury building, with such warehouse or elevator facilities as the character and amount of the products of that section may indicate as necessary. Such buildings shall be supplied with all modern conveniences for handling and safely storing and preserving the products likely to be deposited.

SEC. 9. That any gain arising from the charges for insurance, weighing, storing, classing, holding, shipping, interest, or other charges, after paying all expenses of conducting the sub-treasury, shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 10. The term of office of a manager of a sub-treasury shall be two years, and the regular election to fill such office shall be at the same time as the election for members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. In case of a vacancy in the office of manager of the sub-treasury by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Secretary of the Treasury shall have power to appoint a manager for the unexpired term.

SEC. 11. The sum of \$50,000,000, or so much thereof as may be found necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for that purpose.

Professor Commons says of this plan in an article in *The Voice* (September 14, 1893):

"The so-called sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance is an interesting attempt to establish such a currency [an elastic one]. Farmers have but little use for cash during most of the year, but at harvest time they need a large amount of money to move their crops and pay their debts. This creates a new demand for money, which must then be shipped from the East and from Europe. This yearly demand for money often creates a stringency. Money becomes dearer. And just as there is a freight-car famine at that time of the year resulting in high freights, so there is a money famine resulting in dear money and low prices of products. The farmers claim that the prices of their products are crowded down to 40 per cent. below the prices of six months later; the difference, of course, going into the pockets of the speculators. The sub-treasury plan provides for depositing the staple products of the farmers in government warehouses, just as alcoholic liquors are to-day deposited, and the issuing of paper money to be loaned to the farmers on the security of the staple products. When the farmer redeems his warehouse deposit he returns the paper money, pays the charges, and the money itself is canceled and disappears from circulation. Thus we have a perfectly automatic and elastic currency, expanding when the demand expands and contracting when the demand contracts.

"There is a wide-spread disposition to ridicule this plan of the farmers as visionary and socialistic. Perhaps it is visionary and socialistic for a great free government, where everybody is supposed to be equal, but it is an important fact that the very same plan is in actual operation to-day in the benevolent despotism of Russia. The imperial bank advances paper money through the railroad companies acting as agents to farmers along the lines of the roads, on the security of crops deposited in railway warehouses. The farmers pay 6 per cent., are not permitted to maintain a loan longer than one year nor a larger amount than 60 per cent. of the market value of their grain deposit. This policy has been in operation for five years, and is said to have done more than anything else to encourage agriculture in that country, since it enables the farmer to get higher prices for his crops and frees him from the usury of the money-lenders."

The plan, however, is little advocated to-day even by the farmers. The agitation on the subject has turned into other channels. (See SILVER.)

SUEZ CANAL.—The Suez Canal was commenced in 1859 by M. de Lesseps, on a concession to a stock company by the Egyptian Government after the European powers had finally given consent. It is 100 miles long, 60 miles of which are through narrow lakes. It was opened in 1869. The cost, as originally completed, was \$95,000,000. In 1894, 3352 vessels passed through it, paying \$14,770,081 in tolls.

SUFFRAGE. See ELECTIONS; also WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

SUICIDE.—The statistics of suicide indicate its increase in the United States. Mr. F. L. Hoffman, writing in the *Arena*, vol. vii. pp. 680-695, gives the following figures based on official statistics:

RATIO OF DEATHS TO SUICIDES. AVERAGES FOR FIVE YEARS.

	1861 to 1865	1866 to 1870	1871 to 1875	1876 to 1880	1881 to 1885	1886 to 1890
Massachusetts....	329	301	260	232	218	226
Rhode Island.....	..	219	216	218	220	311
Connecticut.....	..	283	251	185	170	143
Michigan.....	..	..	282	242	215	207

The average annual suicide rate per 100,000 for various countries is given by Barber as follows:

Saxony, 37.1; Denmark, 25.8; Austria, 21.2; Switzerland, 20.2; France, 15.7; Germany, 14.3; Queensland, 13.5; Victoria, 11.5; New South Wales, 9.3; Bavaria, 9.1; New Zealand, 9.0; South Australia, 8.9; Sweden, 8.1; Norway, 7.5; Belgium, 6.9; England and Wales, 6.9; Scotland, 4.9; Italy, 3.7; United States, 3.5; Russia, 2.9; Ireland, 1.7; Spain, 1.4. In Dresden, 51; Paris, 42; Berlin, 36; Vienna, 28; Stockholm, 27; Christiania, 25; London, 23; Brussels, 15; Amsterdam, 14; Moscow, 11; Rome, 8; St. Petersburg, 7; Madrid, 8; Lisbon, 2.

The causes of suicide in European countries are reported as follows:

Of 100 suicides: madness, delirium, 18 per cent.; alcoholism, 11; vice, crime, 19; different diseases, 2; moral sufferings, 6; family matters, 4; poverty, want, 4; loss of intellect, 14; consequence of crimes, 3; unknown reasons, 19.

The number of suicides in the United States, six years, 1882-87, was 8226. Insanity was the principal cause, showing the favorite method; 5386 acts of suicide were committed in the day, and 2419 in the night. Summer was the favorite season, June the favorite month, and the 11th the favorite day of the month. The month in which the largest number of suicides occurs is July.

The number of suicides in ten American cities in 1895 was as follows: New York, 376; Chicago, 350; Brooklyn, 161; St. Louis, 134; San Francisco, 110; Philadelphia, 95; Boston, 77; Cincinnati, 65; Baltimore, 43; Providence, 11.

SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM, was born in Paterson, N. J., in 1840. He was graduated at Yale College in 1863, and then studied at Oxford, England, and at Göttingen in Germany. From 1866 to 1869 he was a tutor at Yale College. In 1867 he took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for a short while was assistant at Calvary Church in New York. In 1872, however, he became professor of political and social science at Yale College, which position he has since held, one of the leading economists in America of the orthodox school, especially on the subjects Free Trade and Gold Currency. His best

known works are *History of American Currency* (1874); *Lectures on the History of Protection in the United States* (1875); *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883); *Protectionism* (1885.)

SUMPTUARY LAWS are laws which seek to restrict and regulate private expenditures. They have been attempted by all countries, even by the modern American States. Most economists to-day, however, agree with Adam Smith when he says: "It is the highest impertinence and presumption in kings and ministers to pretend to watch over the economy of private people." The latest piece of true sumptuary legislation in Great Britain was the Scotch law of 1861.

SUNDAY LABOR.—With the religious and theological arguments raised for the limitation of Sunday we are not in this encyclopedia concerned, save as these affect the moral and physical welfare of society. But in the ever increasing complexity and stress of modern life, it is patent to all that men more and more need a rest, at least one day in seven, from their daily toil. It is to-day substantiated, beyond all question, that man in the long run can produce more and better work, by resting one day in seven than by continuous work. It is well known that, if a mason or carpenter takes a contract for a job of work to be done in Paris, he gets his work done quicker, cheaper, and better with English help which works only six days in the week, than with French help which works seven days.

Such facts could be multiplied to almost any extent, all showing that men and women will do more work and do it better when they have their Sabbath for rest. And such men and women will live longer and more happily. They will stand higher on the scale of intellectual, moral, social, spiritual being.

Dr. Chalmers of Scotland said: "I never knew the man who worked seven days in the week without becoming soon a wreck in health or in fortune, or in both."

Edmund Burke said: "A nation that neglects the Sabbath soon sinks into barbarism or ruin. Civilized man cannot bear the pressure of seven days' work and worry in a week."

Yet it is also a well-proven fact that Sunday labor in the United States is on the increase. It has been estimated that, in Massachusetts alone, 50,000 persons—men, women, and children—have to labor. On railroads, on street railways, in livery-stables, in making repairs (often only done on Sunday, because employers are unwilling to forfeit weekday dividends), in bakeries, in hotels, in private houses, in barber shops, in drug stores, in printing offices, in theaters and places of amusement, a constantly increasing amount of work is done on Sunday. Working men bitterly complain of this, yet too often find even the Christian Church turning a deaf ear to their cry, and clergymen unwilling to cooperate in limiting the hours of labor. An American Sabbath union exists in New York City, and local leagues, such as the New England Sabbath Protection League, exist in various localities.

Some literature is published, but little adequate effort is made, and what is done is often on narrow lines. Much Sunday labor need not be done at all, but when it is necessary, the worker should be given a free day some other day in the week; or men should alternate in doing Sunday work. It is often forgotten, too, how intimate is the connection between a half holiday on Saturday and the necessity for Sunday work. If the half Saturday prevailed in America *all through the year*, to the extent to which it does in England, there would be less need of making Sunday a day of excursions into the country for the city working classes, and therefore less necessity for Sunday trains, cars, etc. The cheapening in the price of bicycles too and use of electric private carriages would result in less demand for Sunday trains and cars. Many believe that the Sunday problem is to be fought out on economic lines of lessening the hours of labor generally (see **SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT**) rather than on strict religious lines.

In Continental Europe, where Sunday labor is still more common than in America, the experience all shows the need of the Sunday rest, and there is a growing movement for its enforcement. **Europe.** Sunday Rest Leagues exist in France, Belgium, and Italy, and elsewhere. These are largely supported by the clergy, Catholic and Protestant, yet the main efforts in this direction come from the working men themselves. In France and Belgium the main effort is to close the stores on Sunday afternoons. The Paris League has 4000 members. In Germany, during 1896, the Prussian government took steps to free 50,000 railway freight employees from all Sunday work. In Austria all Sunday work except that also entirely necessary is forbidden. In Switzerland, Sunday laws have been passed by half the cantons.

England is in somewhat the same condition as America on this point. It has been estimated that at least 300,000 in English dominions are employed on Sundays on railroads alone.

SWEATING SYSTEM, THE, may be defined as that system of the production of goods for sale, particularly prevailing in the clothing trades, whereby the wholesalers buy their goods of middlemen (or sweaters), who employ men, women, or children to manufacture the goods at the lowest possible wages, either in hot small rooms (sweat-shops) belonging to the sweater, or taking the materials to their own homes and making them there for usually still lower prices. As long ago as 1849 a series of letters in the London *Morning Chronicle* showed the horrors of the sweating system in London, and called out Charles Kingsley's burning tract, *Cheap Clothes and Nasty*.

This tract tells of men working in sweating dens, the longest hours for seven days in the week, and paying the sweater for the most meager board such rates that, at the end of the week, they would be in debt to the sweater and thus be in his power and be compelled to

stay on. To-day the system exists in England and in America, in almost all branches of the clothing trade, to an alarming extent. Owing to the efforts of the Anti-tenement-house League (*q. v.*), Congress appointed in 1892 a committee to report upon the matter. This committee reported that probably the manufacture of clothing was in total value the most important product of the country; that it was largely centered in cities; that over 60 per cent. of the clothing sold was ready-made, and that about one-half of this was made under the sweating system. Clothing made under this system they declared to be made in premises usually filthy, in the slums and crowded portions of the cities, from places liable to breed germs of disease which could be carried in the clothing, and producing evil in every way. The worst form of the system, the report says, is when the clothing is not made even in sweating dens but is carried home to be made in the tenements under conditions sometimes defying description.

Various efforts have been made to reform and mend the system. (For attempts to organize the workers into unions, see **TAILORING TRADES**) These attempts, however, have as yet been only partially successful. Efforts have been made to mark with labels clothing made under proper factory conditions, hoping that the public would patronize such clothing, but little good has resulted. Still less successful have been the efforts to establish cooperative tailor shops. The competition of the cheap prices of the sweating system has been too strong for these stores to succeed. Several States have appointed commissioners to supervise the system and allow clothing to be made only in licensed places. This has done some good, but too often the law has been avoided or evil connived at. The above-mentioned report says:

"We quote and adopt the reasoning of Dr. Daniels. The one method that can be employed by which we shall be certain that no article is manufactured in tenement-house living rooms, and that no little children are employed in the manufacture of any goods, is the passage of a law prohibiting such manufacture in tenement-house apartments which are used for living and sleeping purposes. . . . Undoubtedly under such a law a few would suffer. The people who would suffer would probably be only a few women who, from old age or chronic illness, are unable to go to the shops to work. The widows would be forced to find work in the factories, and the orphans sent to school, kindergarten, or nursery. The result would be that women would work in better sanitary surroundings, that no children under 14 years would be employed in manufacturing goods; the sick would receive proper care, if not at home, then transferred to a hospital, there to get well or die out of sight of the everlasting work.

"I should say that the life in tenement-houses, plus manufacturing in tenement rooms, if continued, would eventually bring forth brutal, unhealthy men and women."

See **SLUMS**; **TAILORING TRADES**.

SWINTON, JOHN, was born in Illinois in 1830 and learned the printer's trade. In 1850 he moved to New York City and studied law and medicine, but, returning to journalism, was chief of the editorial staff of the *Times* during the war, and till 1869. He then was with Greeley (*q. v.*) on the *Tribune* till 1879, and chief writer on the *Sun* till 1883, when he resigned and established *John Swinton's*

Paper, a radical labor paper, which attained to great influence, but failed in 1886, since when Mr. Swinton has returned to ordinary journalism. In 1874 he was nominated for mayor of New York on a workman's ticket, but received only 200 votes. He has, however, been a favorite speaker and leader in all New York labor meetings.

SWITZERLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM, STATISTICS ON.—August 1, 1291, the men of Uri, Schwyz, and Lower Unterwalden, formed a defensive league. By 1513, 13 cantons had joined. In 1798 a Helvetic Republic was declared. This gave little satisfaction, and in 1803 Napoleon gave a new constitution for 19 cantons. In 1815 the powers guaranteed the inviolability of her territory and a federal pact was accepted with 22 cantons. In 1848 a new constitution was adopted, and in 1874 the present one. Switzerland is now a confederation; the federal government being superior in matters of peace, war, army, post and telegraph, revenue, money, weights and measures, and large public works.

There are two chambers, a *Ständerath* or State Council of 44 members, two for each canton, chosen as the canton will, and a *Nationalrath* of 147 delegates, or one for each 20,000 souls, chosen by universal male suffrage. A general election takes place every three years. Any man, not a clergyman, may be elected. The president and vice-president are elected annually by the Federal Assembly.

The cantons have a large degree of local self-government; the small ones being governed by the *Landsgemeidin*, the large ones by a *grosse Rath*.

The Referendum and the Initiative (see **REFERENDUM**) are all but universal. The total population, June, 1894, was 2,986,848, on 15,976 square miles. In 1888, 1,106,430 were engaged in agriculture.

There is complete religious liberty, about 59 per cent. of the population being Protestant, and 40 per cent. Roman Catholic. Education is very general, but not centralized. (See **EDUCATION**.) The revenue in 1894 was 84,047,312 francs, the expenditure 83,675,812 francs. The main source of revenue was customs; the main expense, military. The public debt January 1, 1895, was 85,203,586 francs.

There are 300,000 peasant proprietors. (See **AGRICULTURE**.) The imports in 1894 were 880,845,540 francs; the exports, 673,004,524 francs. In 1895 there were 2267 miles of railway (private). The telegraph is owned by the government.

SOCIAL REFORMS.

Switzerland, in many respects, leads the nations in social reform. In no country are democratic political institutions so fully developed; perhaps in no country is there so much industrial democracy. For the adoption in Switzerland of the important principles of direct legislation, see articles **REFERENDUM** and **INITIATIVE** and **PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION**. In no country have these reforms been carried so far or so successfully. Switzerland has also largely adopted the principles of the

progressive income tax (*q. v.*). In the lines of socialism, she has the nationalization of the telegraph (*q. v.*) and telephone (*q. v.*). She is preparing to nationalize her railroads (*q. v.*) and has the nationalization of the traffic in alcohol. (See SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.) She is making important experiments in employing the unemployed. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.) She carefully controls, and is preparing to nationalize her banking system. Among her most important developments is her political recognition of organized labor. In 1887 the office of Workman's Secretary was founded, its incumbent to be practically a member of the Federal Cabinet, and to be paid by the government, but to be elected by the Swiss labor unions, thus to some extent making them a recognized part of Swiss political institutions. Swiss municipal institutions are, however, equally progressive with national institutions. Cities like Zurich and Basel in German, and Geneva in French, Switzerland, are among the most progressive municipalities in the world. They care minutely for the housing of the working-classes, they strive to give work to the unemployed; they have municipalized most of the natural monopolies—they thus receive large municipal revenues with low rates of taxation; they have developed some of the best industrial schools of the world. (See INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.)

Municipalism.

Switzerland thus seems to lead the world in political democracy and in a constructive, tho often in an unconscious, socialism. The development of conscious socialism, however, has been somewhat weak and to a large extent of foreign importation. Switzerland has long been the asylum of political refugees from other lands.

Socialism.

Thus Geneva has been the shelter from which at one time Mazzini tried to rouse a *Young Europe*, which Bakounin sought to make the center of anarchism, and from whence Russian nihilists have tried to reach Russia. But these movements have little affected Switzerland. Driven from Germany by the Anti-Socialist law, many German socialists found refuge in Basel, and somewhat developed German socialism in Switzerland, yet after all not at all commensurably with the Swiss development of unconscious socialism. In 1864 a branch of the International was founded in Geneva, and by 1869 32 branches were said to exist in Geneva alone. But the movement did not endure. (See INTERNATIONAL.) In 1888 the present Social Democratic party of Switzerland was formed, and has continued ever since an active propaganda on the lines of German socialism, yet without reaching large numbers; perhaps exactly because there is so much unconscious socialism in Switzerland. More important is the great Swiss labor organization, the *Grütli-verein*. This was founded in 1838 at Geneva, taking its name from the scene of the original Swiss federal pact of 1307. It has to-day several hundred branches, and is largely socialistic and the main expression of the socialistic tendencies of the Swiss laboring classes.

References: Report on Switzerland of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor; W. D. McCracken's *Rise of the Swiss Republic* (1892). See, also, REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE.

SYNDICATE BOND CONTRACTS.—

In 1894, 1895, and 1896, the United States Treasury declared itself compelled to borrow money by the issue of bonds. The occasion of this is variously explained by different bodies of thinkers. Believers in protection claimed that it was occasioned by a deficit in the United States Treasury due to the repeal of the McKinley act and the reduction of the tariff. Others claimed that it was due to a deficit of income, due to large expenditures, and to involved causes incident on general depression. Some Democrats claimed that it was not due to a deficit in the Treasury at all, but to the silver agitation causing "lack of confidence" and the withdrawal of gold from the Treasury, and that it was absolutely necessary to borrow gold in order to keep up the credit of the United States, and they considered Mr. Cleveland to have energetically and rightly saved the honor of the country. Believers in free silver claimed that there was no necessity to issue the bonds, but that the necessity only arose in the policy of the administration in discriminating against silver and insisting in paying out gold, even where gold was not called for. Extremists declared that it was a plot of the bankers against the government, or even a deal with the administration to make large profits for New York and foreign gold syndicates. It was strenuously asserted that the government had no right to issue such bonds. Be this as it may, and whatever the cause, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, planting himself on laws of July 14, 1870, and January, 1875, authorizing the issue of bonds to redeem government notes, declared that he had the right to issue bonds. In February, and again in November, 1894, issues were made of 5 per cents. for \$50,000,000 and sold to New York banks. They did little good. The banks paid in the gold to the Treasury, and the gold was soon withdrawn, sometimes by the very parties who had paid it in. In February, 1895, conditions were as bad as ever. The gold reserve had fallen to \$41,340,181, instead of the \$100,000,000 which it was desired to keep in the Treasury. The administration was, or at least declared that it was, in the money-lenders' hands. If it made an ordinary loan from the banks the gold would soon be withdrawn. After a few days' correspondence, therefore, it issued to a syndicate, with Mr. J. P. Morgan at its head, 30-year bonds at 4.49 per cent. over their face value, for \$65,000,000 of gold, the syndicate agreeing on its part to obtain one-half the gold from Europe, and "to protect the Treasury of the United States against the withdrawal of gold pending the complete performance of this contract." This was hailed as "patriotism" on the part of the bankers and denounced as a "steal" by the free-silver men. For a while relief was gained, but by August or September the agreement with the syndicate mutually broke down—it was claimed without the fault of the syndicate—and things threat-

ened to be as bad as ever. The Secretary then prepared to make another issue. But J. Pierpont Morgan formed another syndicate and corresponded with the administration about making another contract with the government under terms still more advantageous to his syndicate. But there was so much opposition, both in Congress and without, led principally by the *World* of New York City, that January 1, 1896, the administration, instead, called for a popular loan of \$100,000,000, which was taken up; and when the bids closed February 5, it was found that they had reached \$565,000,000. The Morgan syndicate (it was declared by critics that it did so by connivance of the administra-

tion) secured \$33,211,350 at the rate of 110.6877, the remaining \$66,788,650 going to higher bidders. The average rate was 111.3878, and the Treasury netted \$111,378,836.

Thus millions of dollars were added to the national debt, and besides their interest the gold syndicates made large sums by the deal. On the bond of issue of February 8, 1895, alone the Morgan syndicate, by paying a premium of 104,495 and immediately selling the bonds to inside jobbers at 112.5, cleared \$4,988,620, while the jobbers, by selling at 119, cleared \$4,050,503. These bonds alone thus cost the United States \$9,039,123 by the favorable terms given the syndicate.

T.

TAILORING TRADES.—Industrial conditions in the tailoring trades have been for the last 50 years perhaps worse than in any other branch of industry. The tailoring trade is *par excellence* the trade of the sweater. This was so in London, when the horrors of the sweating system, 50 years ago, roused the indignation and sympathy of Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialists. It is true to-day in England, America, and Germany. The reasons for this are mainly two. In the first place, few trades demand, at least in the lower branches of the industry, less capital. Any one who can buy or hire two sewing-machines, or even one, can become not only a worker, but a sweater, taking in garments to be sewed, and hiring an assistant, who need be paid little more than his or her scanty board. No shop is needed; the worker's one room in a tenement can be the shop. This makes it possible for the poorest, most ignorant, and least responsible to become sweaters, and in the competition for low prices it gives a fearful advantage to the tenement sweating shop. The second reason for the terrible conditions prevailing in the tailoring trade is that no other trade so easily allows of women and children taking work *to their homes*. In most other trades invaded by woman's labor, the women or girls are required to go to some factory or shop. In the tailoring trade they can take their work home, and work at it when they will, by day or by night. They can do it without neglecting the care of children or of their tenements. The result is that they can do this work cheaper than any other, and under competition are usually driven to do so. The result of these and other conditions, resulting, that is, from the above combination of the possibility of little capital and home work, makes the tailoring trade almost identical with the sweating system (*q. v.*). It is now

The Trade. the only trade not commonly carried on in a factory, and therefore with much more difficulty supervised by the State or inspectors of any kind. Yet it is a trade of vast proportions. According to the census of 1890, there were in the United States 121,586 tailors, 63,611 tailoresses,

289,083 dressmakers, 149,704 seamstresses, in all 623,984 persons, a larger number than in any other manufacturing industry. The product of the clothing trade in 1890 in the United States was over \$700,000,000. In England, 1,099,833 persons were employed in the various portions of the dress industry (including boot and shoe, but not textile industries). Yet it is a concentrated industry. In the United States the tailoring trade proper, or the manufacturing of ready-made clothing, is concentrated in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Newark, Utica, Rochester, Syracuse, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee, and in the crowded and most filthy portions of these cities. Including shirt and undergarment makers, the trade employs 100,000 persons in or near New York alone. In London, 120,000 women are employed in millinery and in the making of clothing. In 1891 the value of apparel exported from London was £3,096,152.

To affect labor organizations in such a trade is unusually difficult. To this there is only one exception, and that an apparent one. The trade employs one class of high-paid labor, the cutters, and these are well organized. An unskilled or careless cutter can ruin or waste a great deal of cloth, while a skilled cutter can largely add to the value of a product otherwise turned out by unskilled labor. It therefore pays the employers to hire well-paid cutters, tho for the rest employing the cheapest and most unskilled labor. The result is that cutters are able to organize effective unions and obtain favorable conditions; but this rather adds to than subtracts from the difficulty of organizing the whole craft. It creates such a difference between different branches of the trade, that it was long before organizations came into existence even attempting to embrace the whole craft. This explains the fact that tho both in England and America tailors were among the first trades to organize, the craft as a whole is one of the most disorganized and most exposed to impositions and low payment from selfish and ignorant employers. The small contractor is the central evil. He takes jobs at the lowest competitive price, and gives out the work to

women in tenements, or to men and girls in sweating dens. The prices at which this work is done enable the firms to sell the goods at

such low figures, that firms who desire to sell goods at fair prices cannot compete. Hence, the efforts to organize cooperative tailor stores, "clean shops," etc., have invariably been killed by the sweat-

Tailors' Unions.

ers' competition, while at the same time the conditions have made it almost impossible to organize the poorer workers. Thus while the English trade-unions seem to have begun among the London tailors; while a tailors' organization existed in New York City in 1806; while the great movement of the Knights of Labor (*q. v.*) began among the Philadelphia tailors; while a somewhat strong Amalgamated Society of Tailors has existed in England since 1866, and Cutters' Unions have long existed in the United States (in New York City since the forties), nevertheless the whole trade has been very little organized. In England a National Society of Tailors was effected about 1843, but did not endure; even the much stronger Amalgamated Society of Tailors and the Scottish National Operative Association, both organized in 1866, have not succeeded in maintaining wages or organizing but a small portion of the craft. In the United States, Cutters' Unions did not unite with the rest of their craft till the United Garment Workers of America was organized in 1891. This is a comparatively efficient national union, under the lead of Charles F. Reichers, President, and Henry White, General Secretary. It publishes a monthly organ, *The Garment Worker*, with portions in English, German, Hebrew, and other languages. It led in a series of strikes in 1894, which raised wages and shortened hours in several cities, tho the depressed conditions since have led to the loss of most that was gained, and strikes in 1896 were not nearly so successful.

The following statistics as to wages and conditions in the tailoring trade are abridged from the report of an investigation made by Miss Isabel Eaton, a Fellow of the College Settlements Association in 1893-94, and printed by the American Statistical Association. Since then wages and conditions were raised a little by strikes in 1894, but have since returned to about the same level, so that these statements may be taken as true at present (1897):

TRADE.	Regular Weekly Wage.	Weekly Wage 1893-94.	Months in an Ordinary Working Year.	Average Yearly Income of Family.	Average Number of Family.
Caps	\$11.84	\$5.82	7.83	\$197.47	4.00
Coats	11.53	4.90	7.42	157.53	4.94
Cloaks	11.65	4.92	6.40	127.92	4.40
Tailors	10.00	3.72	7.82	126.06	4.80
Vests	10.50	4.85	7.10	149.24	4.70
Trousers ..	8.92	3.92	7.50	127.28	4.64
Shirts	8.21	3.95	8.15	139.53	4.70
Knee pants...	7.21	....	8.00	....	4.50

Miss Eaton says:

"Thus we find that the best paid of these trades, cap-making, affords \$100.43 for the maintenance, for a year, of each member of the family in ordinary times, the wage-earner working therefor 12 hours a day. . . . In the other branches of garment-making the weekly income of individuals would, of course, be even less. This proportion then may be taken as being indicative of the present condition of wages. . . . But wages are not the only source of income to the working men. The income from wages earned by the head of the family alone is frequently augmented by the earnings of one or more other members of the family. The mother may be a 'home-finisher,' and may do sewing on underwear or on children's knee pants in the pauses of her cooking or other domestic work, or the children who are 14 may be taken out of school and set to vending papers or pulling bastings for 50 cents a week. Also in many cases the income is eked out by taking lodgers.

"But in the families of over 1000 union men only 28 per cent. were found having any additional income. In the shirt-making trade 40 per cent. have other income, a high average probably accounted for by the nature of the work, well calculated to attract women and children, and also for the reason that the low wage paid to shirt-makers forces them to augment their scanty incomes in every possible way.

"In regard to lodgers, conditions are bad. The average number of rooms per tenement is 2.6; but it often occurs that five or seven people are living in one room."

Wages of cutters, the skilled men of the craft, and well organized, are much higher, from \$18 to \$20 per week.

EXPENSES.

	Cost of Food a Week.	Cost of Clothing a Year.	Number of Rooms.	Rent Per Month.
Caps	\$5.85	\$64.05	2.85	\$11.21
Coats	4.89	59.19	2.78	10.12
Cloaks	5.60	56.24	2.70	10.31
Vests	5.37	61.09	2.60	9.00
Trousers	5.00	49.46	2.58	9.56
Shirts	5.68	47.30	2.50	8.85
Knee Pants	4.41	51.47	2.37	9.47
Average of these averages.....	Food. \$5.26	Clothing. \$54.82	Rooms. 2.6	Rent. \$10.00

Says Miss Dutton:

"The average family (numbering 4.52) spends on the item of food \$5.26 a week in 'good times.' Working men to whom this inquiry has been put state that this agrees with their observation, and say that a great many families spend much less for food than \$5. . . . The average yearly cost of clothing to the individual in the family is, in the cases considered, \$12.10. Many report \$50 as the yearly expense for the clothing of a family of four or five members, and many report even less, \$30 and \$25 being frequently given as the yearly amount.

"It is the custom for the people to buy second-hand goods. According to Mr. Rosenthal, 'they wear only second-hand shoes,' which, he explained, are 'the kind that drop to pieces when they get wet,' either because they are only pasted together, or because parts of them are not made of leather but of pasteboard, or some other preparation of paper. It appears that men's shoes cost from 60 cents to \$1.00, second-hand, and children's cost sometimes as little as 20 cents a pair. A man's overcoat costs him only \$2 or \$3. Nearly every article of clothing or of household furniture is to be had in some stage of dirt and decrepitude at the Hester Street shops—a hat for 40 or 50 cents; both coat and trousers for \$1.50 or less; and so on throughout. . . . In most cases expenditure exceeds income. In the investigation of the question of indebtedness, the schedule first prepared read; 'Are you owing anything for rent?' a question which invariably elicited a negative reply. At last, after several hundred cases, all showing incomes insufficient

to balance expenses, I said to Mr. Rosenthal, 'How do you explain such facts as these records show—income, \$277; expenditure, \$400? That is the way they all come out. Does it mean hasty and inaccurate estimates of cost of food a week, etc., or does it mean that it comes out of the landlord for rent when the family moves out in debt?'

Debts. The answer ought not to have been a surprise, perhaps; but it was: 'No, madam; it mean the working man is bankrupt. He owes \$20 or \$30 to his grocer, the same to his butcher, and maybe he has things in pawn for his rent. No, the landlord is the last to lose. How can he lose more than one month? Everybody gets in debt in January and February; and in April, when business is brisk, they begin to earn and then pay their debts as near as they can.'

"After this the schedule was altered to read, 'Are you owing anything for food, clothing, or rent?' with the result that 61 out of 100 trousers-makers confessed to being in debt, only 15 of them owing anything for rent, and none of them owing for more than two months; of 67 per cent. of 100 cloak-makers, only 11 for rent; of 70 per cent. of coat-makers, 22 per cent. of them for rent, but always for other things, too. . . ."

"On showing these figures to Mr. Ehrenpreis, of the Chicago Cutters' Union, and asking him if they were true of Chicago, I learned that 'if only 60 per cent. of the pants-makers in Chicago are in debt it is because the other 40 per cent. haven't any credit; and if only 40 per cent. of the cutters are in debt, it is because the other 60 per cent. haven't any credit.' And Inspector Bisno states that in the cloak-makers trade in Chicago 'absolutely every man is in debt,' owing the butcher, the grocer, and having in the pawnshop everything he can pawn, and that it is much the same in every branch of garments trades."

HOURS.

The average working day among garments workers appears to be about 14 hours, altho the sweater would like to convince the public that his men work only from 8 to 12 hours daily. . . . Inspector Bisno says that in the busy season there is no limit; that men frequently work all the night, and that even in the slack season there are those who work 15 and 16 hours daily—from 5 A.M. to 9 P.M. On the first visit to an establishment of any size, the foreman, in Chicago as in New York, will follow the record taker about, and on the second visit it is very rare to find a man who will report more than 10 hours, tho they often laugh when they report their 10 hours. . . . The practice of keeping the workers awake by artificial means, in order that they may work from 30 to 48 hours at a stretch, is adopted even with the labor of children. At one time, last December, the girls in certain electric works in Chicago (girls from 15 and 16 years to 20 or over) worked under heavy pressure for 33 hours on a stretch, being "kept awake on black coffee." . . . The luncheon hour has been reported to me in 75 cases. It is no unusual thing for these tailors to run their machines 15 and 16 hours a day—that is, from five o'clock in the morning, at which hour they are all at their work, until 9 and 10 o'clock at night, with an intermission of from 3 to 15 minutes for luncheon. For this work, as the table indicates, the pay varies from \$4 to \$7, or \$8, a week.

PROFITS AND PRICES.

In the cap-making trade the operator can make four dozen caps a day. He makes the whole cover, does all the stitching, puts in the lining, and fastens in the brim. For this he receives from 75 cents a dozen, for the very finest work, to 11 cents a dozen for common carters' caps. The usual price is "about 40 cents a dozen," and the operator can make four dozen a day*—that is, he can earn \$1.72 daily, \$44.72 monthly, \$350.16 yearly, reckoning 7.33 months to the working year. That is \$6.73 weekly the year through. Mr. Glass says that the best workmen can earn from \$8 to \$8.50 the year through. One sweater, whose shop we entered on

* These details are given upon the authority of Mr. Glass of the Cap-Makers' Union of New York City, and the results they show in yearly earnings agree very well with the average estimated upon the 200 cap-makers reported. The yearly earnings here reckoned so nearly coincide with the facts in one case—that of the quickest worker in a certain Green Street establishment, who earned \$325.52 yearly—as to confirm my confidence in Mr. Glass's judgment, the error falling, as I have invariably found in his estimates, on the conservative side.

Sunday, was making a medium quality of cap of blue felt, with stiff black brim and cord, and two gilt buttons by way of trimming. He furnished these to his wholesale dealer at \$1.10 a dozen, and was paying his operators 10 cents a dozen for making. Mr. Glass estimates that he pays as follows:

COST OF MATERIALS.

8 cents a yard for felt (2½ yards to a dozen caps).....	.20
4 " lining.....	.04
6 " a dozen for visors.....	.06
2 " for buttons.....	.02

COST OF MAKING.

10 cents a dozen to operator.....	.10
6 " " " finisher.....	.06
6 " " " blocker.....	.06
<hr/>	
Total cost of one dozen caps....	\$.54
Selling price.....	\$1.10
<hr/>	
Profit.....	.56

So that this cap-maker was making over 100 per cent. gross profit on his outlay.

Compare also the following case, where the retail clothier "takes \$7.63 and turns it into \$18." He does this whenever he sells an \$18 suit of the kind seen everywhere in our streets and offices, and having cut-away or sack coats. In proof of this I give the following estimate (on the authority of Mr. M. Goldberg of the United Garments Workers of America) of the cost, by items, of such a suit and the making of it:

Cloth for suit, \$1.25 a yard (largest suit requires only 3 yards).....	\$3.75
Lining, 40 cents a yard (one yard for coat and vest).....	.40
1½ yards white lining, 18 or 20 cents a yard (for sleeves, vest, and trousers?) ..	.28½
Canvas for coat and trousers, about one yard, at 10 cents a yard.....	.10
Buttons, etc. (all the trimmings).....	.20
Pocketing (coat and trousers).....	.12
<hr/>	
	\$4.85½

Contractor furnishes this grade of clothing to the trade as follows:

Coat, \$1.50 to \$1.75.....	\$1.62½
Vest, 35 to 40 cents.....	.37½
Trousers, 35 to 40 cents.....	.37½
Cutter (paid \$20 weekly), making 12-14 suits a day; cost of cutting one suit.....	.25
Lining cutter about.....	.15
<hr/>	
Total cost.....	\$7.63

The retail clothier, then, receives suits from the hands of the contractor for \$7.63, all told, and this on a liberal estimate in his favor; in point of fact, it often costs him less. He then sells them for \$18 apiece.

In the coat-making trade the operator gets from 10 to 50 cents apiece for doing all the machine work (except the buttonholes) on a man's coat, and can make from 4 to 10 coats a day. Taking the arithmetical mean as the average price paid for one coat, and the number of coats in an average day's work, it appears at first that the coat-making operator gets fairly good pay for his work (7 times 30 = \$2.10). By further calculation it is evident that \$2.10 (daily wage) multiplied by 6 (number of days in a week), multiplied by 4½ (number of weeks in a month), multiplied by 7.2 (number of months in a working year of coat-maker), gives as a total \$405.13. This is the coat-maker's yearly income, and consequently his weekly income the year through diminishes to \$7.79, which is very different from \$12.60, his weekly wage. (These estimates are given on the authority of Mr. Leo Schwartz of the Coat-Makers Union in New York. Whether they are based on the Union records or on Mr. Schwartz's judgment, a comparison of them with the averages estimated on 185 cases reported gives sufficient evidence of their accuracy.) Besides the operator, the trade employs basters, fellers, buttonhole makers, basting pullers, bushelers, and pressers. The baster gets from 20 cents to \$1 a piece, and can do from 1½ to 5 coats a day, his weekly income the year through being \$8.35, and his yearly income, \$434.07. The feller gets from 2 to 8 cents apiece, and can fell from 10 to 30 coats a day,

Coat-Making.

his weekly income the year through being \$4, and his yearly income, \$208. The buttonhole maker is paid from one half to two cents apiece for every buttonhole, and each coat has four or five. Mr. Schwartz estimates that the number made daily ranges from 60 to 300, and the average weekly income the year through, which is figured from this estimate, is \$8.35, and the yearly income, \$434.07. The basting pullers are usually children, and are paid a mere pittance, rarely more than \$1.50 a week in the season, and often as little as 50 cents a week. The highest of these figures would show a weekly income the year through of only 90 cents, and this is true even where their hours are practically the same as those of adults. The bushelers are usually girls, and receive \$6 a week in season. Pressers receive from 5 to 20 cents apiece, and can do from 8 to 20 coats a day, showing a weekly income the year through of \$6.49, and a yearly income of \$337.61 (tho the presser is said in extreme cases to get as little as one cent a coat). This shows the average yearly income of coat-makers (exclusive of the girls and children employed) to be \$363.73. A comparison of this average yearly income based on Mr. Schwartz's estimate with the average yearly income based on 185 cases reported individually to me shows a difference of only \$7 in the total earnings of the year. The average deduced from the 185 cases shows \$370.73 as the average yearly income.

The earnings in the shirt-making trade show a much lower scale of figures than those in the cap-making and coat-making trades, as would naturally be expected. One of the working delegates of the Shirt-Makers' Union, Mr. Solomon Berman, has given me the following estimates, covering the various divisions of the shirt trade: The operator on collars gets 5½ cents a dozen, and can make 12 or 13 dozen a day, showing \$2.81 as weekly income the year through. Some make even less, as many young boys "go in to make pin money." Operators on fronts (without pockets) get from 2½ to 9 cents a dozen, and can make about 15 dozen a day, earning \$3.80 weekly the year through. Those making fronts with pockets receive from 4 to 14 cents a dozen, and can make 8 dozen a day, earning a weekly income the year through of \$3.05. Sleeving pays from 6½ to 9 cents a dozen, and it is possible to do from 10 to 12 dozen a day, showing \$3.72 weekly through the year. Putting in sleeving pays from 5 to 8 cents a dozen; average about 14 dozen a day. This gives \$3.82 weekly through the year. The hemmer gets 2 or 3 cents a dozen, can do 40 to 50 dozen a day, and earns weekly the year through \$4.76. The buttonhole maker receives 4, 5, and 6 cents a dozen, and can do 25 to 30 dozen daily. He earns \$5.82 weekly the year through. In one Hester Street shop a buttonhole maker was found getting 10 cents for 100 buttonholes. Finishers (always girls) receive 3 cents for finishing a dozen shirts, and earn only 30 cents a day. Packers receive 3 cents a dozen, do 30 or 40 dozen a day, and earn \$4.44 weekly the year through. These shirts, which the contractor furnishes to the merchant at about 50 cents a dozen (prices range from 35 cents to 65 or 70 cents), are selling, according to the statement of one Cherry Street sweater, at prices ranging between \$9 and \$18 a dozen.

Shirt Making.

In the knee-pants trade there is less division of labor than in shirt-making, knee-pants work requiring, besides the cutter, only an operator, a finisher, and a presser. The operator does all the machine work—the seam on each side of the leg, a triple seam in front (on each side of the fly, which has two seams on the buttonhole side), and the seam in the middle of back, four rows of stitching all the way around the top (two on each side of the band), and the stitching in of the pockets—12 seams besides the pocket stitching. For this work, which is almost equivalent to the entire making of a pair of knee pants, the operator receives usually from 24 to 30 cents a dozen pairs, and often receives only 22 cents a dozen pairs, or less than 2 cents for the making of one pair. (The price sinks in Chicago even lower than this, as girls and women make about half the knee pants in that city. The operator sometimes receives only 18 cents a dozen in Chicago.) Finishers in New York do the stitches around the "feet," sew on the buttons—sometimes 10, sometimes 16 (these being 10 buttons on the ordinary knee pants at the knees by way of trimming, and in the band, and there are 16 buttons in the kind which button on to a shirt-waist). They also make the three buttonholes in the fly. For this they receive 6 and 7 cents a dozen pairs. That is to say, they finish 24 "feet," sew on at least 120 buttons, and

Knee Pants.

make 36 buttonholes for 7 or 6 cents. These finishers, again, are generally girls. Knee-pants pressers receive 7 or 6 cents—sometimes only 4 cents—for pressing a dozen pairs. In one Attorney Street shop, which appears to be about the average knee-pants sweatshop, I found the operators were receiving 2½ cents a pair, and working 17 or 18 hours a day. Finishers were here receiving \$4 a week.

These prices give the explanation of some of the bargains and advertisements which appear in our stores and newspapers. Miss Dutton gives some examples. One Philadelphia advertisement, printed on large stiff cards and sent broadcast through the mails to most of the large clothing houses in the country, says:

"I am the Largest Manufacturer of Low-Priced Clothing in these United States; the following price-list will convince you of this assertion."

Knee pants.....	\$2.50 per doz., net, and upward.
Men's pants.....	6.00 " " " " "
" " (our lead-ers).....	12.00 " " " " "
Men's suits.....	3.00 a suit and upward.
" " blue chevot suits.....	3.00 " " " "
Children's coats and pants (4 to 13).....	.62½ a suit and upward.

Samples sent at your request.

A marginal note in red ink explains that the knee pants at \$1.50 per dozen are "some of the goods we are compelled to meet competition on in knee pants." These are wholesale rates on new clothing.

An uptown firm in New York City advertises a boy's yachting suit for 89 cents; double breasted suits (sizes 4-15 years) for \$2.49; cassimere and fancy chevot suits for \$1.98; fancy cassimere and chevot short pants for 39 cents; boys' pants of wash material, 35 cents.

In England conditions are about as in America. According to Booth's *Life and Labor of the People*, vol. iv. (1893), the London tailoring trade is divided between the wholesale trade in ready-made clothing and the "bespoke" (made to order) trade. The work in the former line is done by Jewish contractors, with large numbers of **England.** fixers, basters, fellers, machinists, buttonhole makers, and pressers.

Jewish men and women and English women, unorganized and unregulated. The "bespoke" work of the West End and city trade is done (a) by well-paid, skilled English tailors; (b) by English and German tailors in their homes, and poorly paid; (c) by Jews and women. With the wholesale Jewish prices English tailors cannot compete, and according to Mr. Booth an increasing amount even of the bespoke trade, even in the West End, is being done by Jews and by women.

A well-paid journeyman English tailor averages during the year from £1 to £2 per week, and the hours are from 7 to 9. In the smaller Jewish shops employing less than 10 workers each, but which are 80 per cent. of the Jewish shops, the hours are for men 13 or 14, for women nominally 10½, to conform with the Factory and Workshop Act, tho the really overtime is very common, and usually not paid for. Wages for men in these shops are from 4½d. per hour for men and 2½d. for women, to 9d. per hour for men and 6d. for women (for exceptional skill). A limited class of Jewish women never earn more than 15. 6d., and frequently only 15. for 12 hours' work. In their turns women take home coats to be made throughout sometimes for 7d. From 1871-81 the number of women in the London tailoring trade increased 25 per cent.,

while the men decreased. Working in their homes on cheap waist coats, women earn from *1d.* to *3d.* per hour; on shirts, if young and strong, *2d.* or *2½d.* per hour, or with a machine, *3d.* Children work at home from 8 in the morning till 9, and occasionally 11 at night. Workers on furs in the East End earn from *9s.* to *10s.* per week. In a corset factory 5 per cent. of the girls and women earn from *4s.* to *6s.* per week.

References: For the United States, *Receipts and Expenditures of Certain Wage Earners in the Garment Trades*, by Miss Isabel Eaton. For England, *Life and Labor of the People* (vol. iv.), by Charles Booth. See also SLUMS; SWEATING SYSTEM; TENEMENTS; WOMAN; WORK AND WAGES.

TAMMANY SOCIETY.—This political society was organized in New York City by an upholsterer named Mooney in 1789, and named for a Delaware chief, facetiously chosen in the latter part of the Revolution as the patron saint of the new republic. Organized ostensibly for charitable purposes, it had a definite political character from the start, representing the popular distrust of aristocracy and of Hamilton's federalism (*g. v.*). It gradually became the machine of the Democratic Party in New York City, at times very corrupt, especially when connected with the Tweed Ring (*g. v.*). It was then reorganized and to an extent reformed. It is usually regarded as synonymous with all that is bad in American city politics (see RINGS; TWEED RING, etc.); but there is another side. Some believe that political organization in a machine of some kind is inevitable, if not desirable, and that Tammany has only become what its constituency has made it, and that the only way to reform it is to enter it and make it, since it must be a power, a power for good rather than for evil. It is claimed by some to day that it is not wholly evil. A tract by Mr. A. B. King, called *The Political Mission of Tammany Hall* (1892) argues thus. It does not deny the evil in Tammany, but sees in it some good and the possibility of much. It says:

"It is necessarily the most plastic and susceptible of organisms. . . .

"The Tweed ring scandal and the Tweed ring tyranny occurred at a time and among a group of men who were ripe for the fulfillment of the most high-handed and vicious schemes of political ambition and temporal gratification. The public atmosphere was itself infected by the contagious germs of political corruption. A disease of public disorder and rapine more or less infected the social organism; it was apparent at Washington; it broke out in the larger cities; and, in the business world, the vast inflation of prices from an expanded and a depreciated currency engendered baseless enterprises, wild-cat investments, and fictitious bonanzas. Mr. Roosevelt has truly remarked of this period, that it was an 'era of gigantic stock swindling.' The enormously rich stock speculators of Wall Street in their wars with one another and allies to be hired for money in the State and city politicians and in judges, who were acceptable alike to speculators, politicians, and mob. There were continual contests for the control of railway systems, and 'operations' in stocks, which barely missed being criminal, and which branded those who took part in them as infamous in the sight of all honest men; and the courts and legislative bodies became parties to the iniquity of men composing that most dangerous of all classes, the wealthy criminal class. . . .

"The debauchery of Tammany Hall under Tweed was complete. A picture of successful elevation purchased at the sacrifice of all self-respect; an education in the use of the most despicable methods to deceive and cheat the people; the parade of an inordinate vanity, which dressed its self-conceit in reflections upon the weakness and venality of men, these were the incentives the members of Tammany Hall received. . . .

"The ring concentrated its power in itself. It secured

a charter enacted, under the stimulus of bribery, by the New York Legislature, a charter *paid for*, and proving so costly that the power it gave to its authors was the signal means by which the expenses it had involved were successfully liquidated. The disintegration of all moral prejudices and scruples was quite complete. It was offset, however, by the concentration of iniquitous activity in the hands and brains of a few, by the inauguration of this Tweed charter, an instrument correct in principle and progressive in its requisitions. . . . With all this Tammany Hall seemed closely bound. Tammany had always struggled for home-rule, and tho its ends may have been selfish, its efforts evoked in itself a spirit of pride in New York as a city strong and great, and attracted many who felt the vigor and zeal of a metropolitan enthusiasm. . . . And then religious bonds counted for much, and a powerful Church had in one way or another found a political friend in Tammany, and kept its members attached to the same patronage. Tammany felt the sobering influence of the popular revolt against rings and bosses. It amended its ways, or at least seriously thought of doing so. It recognized that the public eye was fastened upon it. . . . Tammany is not an 'unsanctified and incorrigible ruffianism.' The members of Tammany, its bosses and dignitaries, are not fools, they have learned a good many things, and they feel and know that the government of this city cannot be conducted in a happy-go-lucky style with an immoderate admixture of avarice and crime. Clamorous abuse will not improve, reconcile, or renovate Tammany Hall, but persistent representations of what can be done for New York, of the wisdom and benefit of just and clean government, of the strong and elevated position Tammany can attain to will do a great deal."

Reform.

TARIFF.—(See FREE TRADE; PROTECTION.) In this article, for convenience of reference we merely trace the outline of the United States tariff, leaving its principles to be discussed under the above-mentioned heads.

The Congress of 1789 imposed a tariff duty of from 5 to 15 per cent., almost exclusively a tariff for revenue only. From 1802-12 the *ad valorem* duty on dutiable and free articles averaged 19.36 per cent., ranging from 23.40 per cent. in 1804 to 17.88 in 1810. The War of 1812 doubled duties from 1813-15, the rates averaging 33.03 per cent. With the act of 1816 the protective principle first appears prominent, the rates averaging from 1816-20, 22.53 per cent. From this time on to 1832 the protective principle was more and more adopted in successive acts, as those of 1824 and 1828. From 1821-26 the rate averaged 33.07 per cent., and from 1827-31, 40.21. In 1832 a reduction was made to remove the "abominations" of the act of 1828. In 1832 the rate averaged 30.86, and in 1833, 23.95 per cent. The growing influence of the South obtained still further reductions, and from 1834-43 the average was 17.18 per cent., ranging from 20.84 in 1838 to 15.45 in 1840. In 1842, however, protectionist measures slightly prevailed, yet from 1844-57 there was a steady tendency to enact lower rates, and the average during this period was 23.85. In 1857 still further reductions obtained, and the average from 1857-61 was 16.35, falling in 1861 to 14.21 per cent. In 1861, however, the Morell tariff act was passed, followed by still further enactment of "war tariffs," the average from 1862-65 being 31.21, rising from 26.09 to 38.46. After the war still higher protective rates prevailed, rising from 41.81 in 1866 to 46.49 in 1871, and averaging during this period 43.95. From 1871-91, under the dominance of the Republican Party in Congress, the rate averaged 29.70 per cent., ranging from 38.94 in 1871 to 25.25 in 1891.

In 1882 a tariff commission was appointed, resulting in little change. In 1890 the celebrated McKinley act was passed by the protectionists. In 1894, under a Democratic administration, the Wilson act was passed, yet it so slightly reduced the tariff, that President Cleveland, weakly allowing it to become a law, tried to avoid responsibility for it by declining to sign it. The only important change from the McKinley act was the admission of wool as free, while to please the Sugar Trust, a duty of 40 per cent. was placed on sugar and an additional duty on refined sugar. The ratio from 1890-96 inclusive averaged for the respective years 29.12, 25.25, 21.26, 23.49, 20.25, 20.67. All these rates, however, it must be remembered, were the percentages on dutiable and *free* articles. On dutiable articles alone the corresponding rates for the last seven years have been 44.41, 46.28, 48.71, 49.58, 50.06, 41.75, 40.18.

Reference: The statistical abstracts of the United States.

TARIFF COMMISSION IDEA.—The evil effects upon business and upon political parties of continual tariff changes (see **FREE TRADE**) are such that it has been proposed by some "to take the tariff out of politics" and regulate it by a commission. Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in 1894, introduced into Congress an amendment to the tariff bill to this effect. The commission was to consist of four persons appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. They were then to examine all duties and decide what articles were paying too high or too low duties, in order to raise the necessary revenue or to promote the general welfare; they were then to recommend the necessary changes to the President, and if he approved, he was to issue a proclamation making such changes. No changes were to exceed 25 per cent. of the present rates, and no article was to be changed twice in the same year.

The idea has been much discussed, usually favorably. Conventions have been held to favor it, but thus far the obstacles to a change have proved too great for action.

TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM, was born in St. Louis, Mo., in 1859. He received from Harvard University the degrees of A.B. in 1879, Ph.D. in 1883, LL.B. in 1886. He studied in Europe one year, and has since been Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. His main works are: *Tariff History of the United States* (1888, 2d ed. 1892); *The Silver Situation in the United States* (1892); *Wages and Capital* (1896); and various contributions to the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

TAXATION. (See also **REVENUE**; **FINANCE**; **FREE TRADE**; **PROTECTION**; **SINGLE TAX**).—We consider in this article: I. The History of Taxation; II. Taxation in the United States; III. The Theory of Taxation; IV. Tax Reform.

I. HISTORY OF TAXATION.

In this portion of our article we have largely, tho not wholly, followed Professor R. T. Ely's *Taxation in American States and Cities*.

GREEK AND ROMAN PERIOD.

In early times, and to an extent all through classic times, taxation was light. Ancient States received their main revenues from wars, the conduct of State colonies, and trading expeditions, the management of State mines, forests, lands, etc. Slaves did the most of the labor, and foreigners were compelled to pay for protection in money or heavy tribute. Officials were paid usually not by salaries but by fees, and hence were of small expense to the State. Boeckh (Book III., i.) divides the revenues of Athens into "duties arising partly from public domains, including the mines; partly from customs and excise, and some taxes upon industry and persons, which only extended to the aliens and slaves; fines, together with justice fees and the proceeds of confiscated property; tributes of the allied or subject States, and regular liturgies" (or payments for amusements for the people, etc., by the holders of the offices). Grote puts the annual expenditure of Athens in the age of Pericles at 1000 talents, which Professor Ely (*Taxation in American States and Cities*, p. 25) values at \$1,200,000.

Rome passed from a period of light taxes to a period of 120 years (163-43 B.C.), when successful wars relieved her from necessity for any taxes, and then to a period of heavy and increasing taxation. Cicero, in his *De Officiis* (45 B.C.) speaks of taxation as a thing to be avoided if possible, and adopted only in extreme necessity. In Japan and most Asiatic and despotic countries taxation consisted of a tax paid in service to the State and in tithes laid on the land, and in most countries farmed out, as in the later Roman Empire, to corrupt and merciless tithe collectors, as in Turkey to-day.

In the Middle Ages the concept of the State was that it belonged to the prince or sovereign. Public employees were private servants. Large domains were set apart for the support of the sovereign. The kings at first collected no taxes from the peasantry; the king, under the general feudal conception, was supposed to own all the land, and not to part from this ownership. But he subdivided it among his barons to rule over (not to own), and for that right they did homage—i.e., paid service to the king, usually by bringing to the king a contingent of troops in time of war. They in turn subdivided their lands among the lower gentry or knights, again only to rule over, not to own, and for this obtained homage or service from the knights. These finally gave to their serfs the land to live on and cultivate (not own), and for this received from the serfs a certain amount of service. In this way there were practically no taxes, but each paid to his feudal superior a certain amount of service; the other expenses of the king and greater barons being met out of conquest, or lands held directly as theirs to use. Such was the general feudal conception, modified, however, in a thousand ways by various local conditions, concessions, customs, and traditions. At a later period, however, especially when the countries grew more settled, the barons often preferred to stay and defend their own lands or carry on their own wars, and so,

Greek
and
Roman
Taxes.

instead of giving contingents of troops to the king, gave a commutation or money substitute. The kings preferred this, as it enabled them to hire standing mercenaries and be more independent of their barons. This money payment became a tax. The next step was, as the necessities of the king grew, to extend taxation to all classes. It was overlooked or ignored that the other classes were already paying their service to the barons, for him to pay to the king. The lower classes began to be compelled to pay their feudal superiors and the king also. Gradually then the barons began to claim the ownership of the land in fee simple, instead of in use for the king, and what they were paid in service and later in money, they kept as *rent*, and what the king collected was *tax*. (See LAND.) Taxation was usually a forced payment, and collected in various ways and levied on all sorts of articles and under most various pretexts. At first they were regarded as supplementary payments for special needs, and were often forced loans. They were often levied

The Jews. upon especial classes, particularly the Jews. The revenues from the Jews were divided into four classes: *reliefs*, or inheritance taxes, usually one third the estate; *escheats*, or forfeitures for crimes and offenses, real or imaginary, like slaughtering Christian children, clipping the coin, etc.; *fnues*, or what we call fees, and *tallages* or poll taxes, levied according to one's means. According to Gross's *The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 25-29, the entire revenue of the Crown in the Middle Ages was only about £65,000, and of this the annual average tallage was about £5000—the Jews thus paying considerably over one tenth of the revenue. Jews were forced to pay enormous sums for the privilege of being "protected"—that is, robbed by the sovereigns. Yet revenues from the public domains were considered the best sources of public income. Taxes, even as late as the latter half of the sixteenth century, are spoken of as undesirable by Bodin in his famous work, *De la République*. Braunschweig-Wölfenbüttel declared, in the old German Reichstag in 1653, that taxes were contrary to the nature of the State because one entered into civil society to protect one's property and not to have it taken away. Kings, too, raised revenue by the sale of all possible imaginary titles, concessions, patent rights, monopolies, etc. The German princes especially became weak by the sale of their rights to the opulent free cities. Under James I. of England the title of baron brought £10,000, that of earl £12,000. Richelieu in France abolished 100,000 offices which had been created mainly to be sold. It was the defenseless mainly that were directly taxed. The insurrection of Wat Tyler was occasioned by the imposition of a poll tax. Taxes were finally put on all imaginable things: There were hearth taxes, window taxes, carriage taxes, livery taxes.

The history of modern taxation is the history of the recognition and control of taxation by legislation. The earliest parliaments were called to vote taxes. The recognition of the principle of "no taxation without representation" is the development of representative gov-

ernment. English constitutionalism has been built on the granting of taxes. According to the Magna Charta, "No scutage (land tax, or commutation for feudal service) or aid shall be imposed on our realm save by the common council of our realm." John was allowed to reserve for himself only the three customary feudal "aids"—contributions in case of king's captivity, on the knighthood of the eldest son, and on the marriage of the eldest daughter. The financial needs of the sovereign compelled in 1294 the addition to the charter, called the statute, "*de tallagio non concedendo*," whereby it was agreed that no taxes should be levied by the king, save with the consent of knights, burgesses, and citizens in Parliament assembled. This, says Green, "completed the fabric of our representative constitution." Parliament has since then been necessary. The Declaration of Rights (1689) declared that "levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretense of prerogative, without grant of Parliament for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal." This was followed by annual grants of supplies, instead of life grants as before, and annual renewals of the Mutiny Act, containing provisions for the pay and discipline of the army. Annual parliaments have since been necessary. Green calls this "the greatest constitutional change which our history has witnessed" (*Short History of the English People*, chap. ix.). That it was the violation of the principle of no taxation without representation which led to the American Revolution is well known.

Taxation in Great Britain to-day is of many kinds. Tho known as a free trade country (see FREE TRADE), millions of pounds of revenue are still raised from custom duties on wine, spirits, tobacco, and a few other articles. These are not protective duties, however, because a duty is also laid on the home produce, as of spirits. More income is raised from excise duties (see EXCISE), considerable income is raised from stamp and death duties, a growing proportion from an income tax, while a comparatively small amount of national taxation comes from a land tax. Local expenditures are mainly met by rates on house values.

On the Continent, speaking generally, local expenses are largely met by indirect taxes, such as the *octroi* or duties on commodities brought into a city for sale, national taxation being either direct or from a protective tariff. (See PROTECTION.) In Europe, generally various stamp duties are more common than in the United States. See also the separate countries for their sources of revenue in more detail.

II. TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the earlier day of the American colonies there was small need for taxes. England asked no assistance. Quit-rents satisfied the proprietors or the companies, who in turn gave partial protection; there were few officials and few public expenses. Wars had not developed. Forfeitures, fees, fines, and payments for land met all expenses. Land was usually granted for the

**Modern
Taxation.**

**Great
Britain.**

support of schools. From 1647-89 all the taxes of Rhode Island were about £600 sterling. Fines were collected on the violation of summary laws. Mary Stebbins, in Springfield, Mass., was fined 10s.

**Colonial
Period.**

in 1667 for wearing silks contrary to law, and Nathaniel Ely, in 1674, for selling beer not made according to law. A poll tax was levied at

various times by almost all the colonies. In Virginia it was long the only tax. Maryland had, before the Revolution, no other direct tax. Quit-rents were annual charges on land in the colonies under proprietary government. Lands in colonies not proprietary were divided among the members of the colonizing companies, according to the amount of stock held or for services rendered. In later settlements the apportionment was according to one's ratable property. Public officials were mainly supported by fees—ministers by christening, churching, and burying fees; clerks by fees for issuing court papers and making records; sheriffs by fees for making arrests and inflicting punishments, etc. Licenses and fines, for sale of liquors, for marriages, for lawyers and peddlers, brought in considerable revenues. Lotteries (*q.v.*) were common in the later days when expenses grew. Fines were placed—*e.g.*, in Virginia—on widows, in Maryland on bachelors over 25, in New York on wigs. Excise duties were laid in almost all if not all the colonies on the manufacture of liquor. Duties on exports and imports were irregularly laid. Tonnage duties were levied payable in powder and shot. The methods of collection of the most of the taxes were the same as later on. Largesses were common, as in 1644 New Haven began annual contributions for the support of poor scholars at Harvard College. It consisted of a peck of wheat or value of the same from all "whose hart is willing." In Maryland in 1650 an "equal assessment" was made on all those who would not contribute for the maimed, lame, and blind. Private citizens gave often to the State. In Philadelphia, the charter of 1701 gave no power to levy taxes. The act of 1712 established the right of the citizens to control taxation. The State of Pennsylvania did not levy the first direct tax till 1785. It was an annual tax of £76,945. The annual expenditure of the State Government was given by Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, as \$130,000. Taxation was a very grudgingly recognized right. The attempts of England to tax caused the Revolution. What State taxes there were were very varied. In 1795, Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, in reporting to Congress a plan for laying and collecting federal revenues, declared that the systems of taxation in the various States were "utterly discordant and irreconcilable in their original principles." Seven States had a uniform capitation tax. All except Delaware taxed land, but in some according to quantity, in others quality. Responsibility in some States attached to the State; in others to the counties or townships. The average annual expenditure of each of the 15 States was less than \$70,000, the total about \$1,000,000. The New England States taxed live stock and capital. The Southern States taxed slaves.

National taxation was attempted before the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, but Congress had no power. It could only assess the States. After much discussion this was finally changed, and the new

**National
Taxation.**

Constitution conveyed to the national Congress "power to collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States," and to "borrow money on the credit of the United States." But this large grant was accompanied by decided restrictions. The first is that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." The second, that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration" elsewhere provided for. The third, that "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another." On the other hand, it is provided that "no State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress." The interpretations of the Supreme Court have determined (1) that Congress has no power to levy duties on exports under any circumstances; (2) that no State may tax the "instrumentalities" which the federal Government deems proper to create or employ for carrying out its purposes, such as property in the debt of the United States.

This interpretation of the Constitution has led to the present condition of affairs, whereby the national Government has raised its revenues almost exclusively by indirect taxation, and the States have levied almost all our direct taxes. This has meant that the national Government has had the most remunerative taxes and the States the most unpopular. It has meant, too, that during large portions of our history the national revenue has been largely in excess of national expenditures. Only in our earliest history in war time and very recently has the revenue been insufficient and resort made to direct taxation by the national Government. In 1796 Congress yielded to the pressure of financial necessities, and recommended a direct tax, and in 1798 one was laid on houses, slaves, and lands.

Again during the War of 1812 it was necessary to resort to direct taxation to carry on the Government. Here a new feature was introduced, inasmuch as the several States were permitted to assume as States the payment of their quota of the tax. Many States availed themselves of this privilege. Thus was avoided a collection of the taxes by the United States Government at different rates in all parts of the country, and with it the general unfavorable criticism of the system. When again in 1861 it became necessary to resort to direct taxation, the privilege of assuming the payment of the quota was embraced by all the loyal States.

The main national taxation, however, has been indirect taxation through the tariff and the excise duties. (For a history of the former, see **TARIFF**, and for statistics of revenue, see **FINANCE**; **INTERNAL REVENUE**.) For the first years of our national life, burdened with debt, the revenue was by no means excessive, in spite of the excise taxes enacted under Washington's administration; but in 1801 those excise taxes were repealed, and by 1806 President Jefferson announced to Congress that the tariff revenue would soon be more than sufficient to meet the constitutional wants of the Government, and proposed that the powers of Congress be enlarged to enable it to undertake a great system of internal improvements. The outbreak of the war with Great Britain postponed the appearance of a surplus revenue and forced the reenactment of excise taxes. But in 1829 General Jackson announced the reappearance of a surplus revenue, and in 1836 a law was passed to deposit the surplus revenue with the States in quarterly installments. These deposits were made and were used for education, etc., but the business depression of 1837 and the failure of the State banks compelled the treasurer to suspend the fourth payment, and he was supported in so doing by Congress. Owing to the Mexican War and bad financial management, there was no surplus before the war, but in 1860 a debt of \$61,140,496. The expenses of the war caused "the war tariff," excise taxes, and direct taxes, besides large loans, and for 20 years after there was no surplus. But by 1887 the policy of the funding of the debt, putting a large part of it out of reach for redemption at par, there came to be a large surplus, even tho most of the war taxes had been repealed. It had come to be a practical question in national taxation what to do with the surplus revenue. It has not remained so. The growth of the pension list, which has come to be among the heaviest expenses of the Government (see **REVENUE**), with heavy appropriations for internal improvements, etc., has recently more than exhausted the revenue. Nevertheless the question of surplus revenue and the general questions of national taxation have been much discussed. One school of thinkers would reduce the tariff. (See **FREE TRADE**.) Others claim that the recent insufficiency of revenue has been due to the repeal of the McKinley Act. (See **TARIFF**.) Free traders argue that the income under the Wilson Bill has exceeded that under the McKinley Act. Others favor a large extension of functions by the national Government. Still others favor the retention of a high tariff, but the repeal of excise duties on tobacco and alcohol used in the arts. (See **PROTECTION**. For present national taxes, see **FINANCE**, **INTERNAL REVENUE**. See also **INCOME TAX**.)

Coming to State taxation, we have seen that the systems of State taxation inherited from the colonies were most diverse and confusing. This diversity has largely continued.

They are all, as has been said, direct taxes. **State Taxes.** At first the general aim was to tax according to ability to pay. In Connecticut, till 1814, taxation was first upon property according to its probable net revenue. In Ohio, till 1825, land

was divided into three classes, according to quality, and there were three rates of taxation per 100 acres. In 1825 a clause was introduced providing that land should be taxed without taking into consideration the actual improvements thereon. In Maryland, there was a direct tax for local purposes on the direct value of all property. Other States followed in the main the systems of taxation inherited from the colonies. (See above.) Generally speaking, the effort to tax all property according to income proved a failure, and the tendency has prevailed to tax according to selling value, this change being made in most States in the forties. Another change, too, was generally made about the same time. The old specifications of property failed to reach large masses of wealth. The attempt now is to tax all property according to selling value. The Constitution of Ohio, adopted 1851, expressly provides that even State and local bonds shall be taxed. Nevertheless, this attempt to tax all property equitably according to its selling value has not succeeded. In many States the opulent pay taxes on little more than what property they choose to return. The widows, and the helpless, and the conscientious, whose property being in the hands of the courts, is easily measured or fully returned, pay full taxes. The rich who will largely escape taxation on personal property. In Ohio, where the most strenuous efforts have been made to reach all property, the Governor reported that "in 1883 the valuation for taxation of the personal property of the State, as shown by the grand duplicate, was \$542,207,121. In 1884, it shrank to \$528,298,871, and for 1885 dwindled again to \$509,913,986. This loss has been made up largely by the steady growth of the valuation of real estate on account of new structures, etc., but the loss was greater than the increase last year" (Professor Ely's *Taxation in American States and Cities*, p. 157). Says the preliminary report of the West Virginia Tax Commission, made in 1884:

"At present all the taxes from invisible property come from a few conspicuously conscientious citizens, from widows' executors, and from guardians of the insane and infants; in fact, it is a comparatively rare thing to find a shrewd trader who 'gives in' any considerable amount of notes, stocks, or money; the truth is, things have come to such a condition in West Virginia that, as regards paying taxes on this class of property, it is almost as voluntary and is considered pretty much in the same light as donations to the neighborhood church or Sunday-school. . . . The statistics bearing on this point will scarcely be credited by persons who have not investigated the subject" (*Ibid.*, p. 174).

In New York State the assessors, in their report for 1881 say:

"Women, heirs, executors, administrators, guardians, and trustees of persons of unsound mind are assessed beyond all measure of justice. . . . The same assessor, however, if not forgetting his oath when inquiring of the wealthy neighbor as to his personal, very likely accepts the negative answer as truthful, tho it is well known to the community that he possesses large means. The one has not yet learned how to cover the personal property by an assumed indebtedness, while the other is well versed in the many devices by which he may escape even the 'diligent' assessor" (*Ibid.*, p. 174).

The most careful study, however, of the present condition of city taxation in the United States is the Eighth Biennial Report (1894) of

the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, of which George A. Schilling is secretary. It is an *exposé* of the crookedness and inequalities of the present system of assessing and levying taxes, and of the extent to which wealthy individuals and corporations escape taxation. Applying to Chicago, it is notoriously representative to a greater or less degree of all our larger and some of our smaller cities. Its value may be seen in the fact that the original edition of 45,000 was exhausted in a few months, and a special edi-

tion called for. The report considers the whole subject at length. We can quote from it only some of its findings as to the assessment and taxation of personal and land property. It shows, in the first place, the extent to which personal property escapes taxation. The following table shows the amount of personal property assessed in Cook County (the city of Chicago) and outside of Chicago, and also the relative property of bankers which is assessed and that of other classes of citizens :

ASSESSED PERSONAL PROPERTY OF BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC., AND OF OTHER CLASSES.*

AREA.	Population by United States Census, 1890.	ASSESSED MONEY.		AMOUNT PER CAPITA.	
		Bankers, etc.	Other Persons.	Bankers, etc.	Other Persons.
Illinois.....	3,826,351	\$3,120,555	\$7,769,358	\$0.816	\$2.03
Cook County.....	1,191,922	43,925	434,244	0.037	0.364
Other counties.....	2,634,429	3,076,630	7,335,114	1.168	2.784

ASSESSED CREDITS.*

AREA.	ASSESSED CREDITS.		AMOUNT PER CAPITA.	
	Bankers, etc.	Other Persons.	Bankers, etc.	Other Persons.
Illinois.....	\$1,563,583	\$11,343,365	\$0.409	\$2.968
Cook County.....	10,000	522,110	0.008	0.438
Other counties.....	1,553,583	10,821,255	0.590	0.108

* Tabulated from *Eighth Biennial Report of Illinois Bureau of Labor.*

As further illustrative of the undervaluations in Cook County, tables are presented which show that, according to the report of the State auditor, the net taxable credits and moneys of 27 State banks in Chicago, on June 5, 1893, amounted to \$1,058,105.25 and \$18,991,771.67, respectively, while the amounts of these items listed for taxation, May 1, 1894, by all the banks in the city (national banks excluded) amounted to \$10,000 and \$4,925 respectively.

Of the utterly unjust assessments of real estate, the report gives equally plain evidence.

The extent of the undervaluation for the purpose of taxation is first illustrated by a series of tables, that compare the cost of buildings erected during a number of years, as shown by the building permits, with the assessed value of all real estate. The following statement summarizes the general results of the comparison :

COST OF BUILDINGS AND ASSESSED VALUE OF ALL REAL ESTATE IN CHICAGO.

Buildings erected, 1876 to 1893.....	63,301
Cost.....	\$48,144,603
Average cost.....	\$6,605.66
Per cent. of total cost.....	100.00
Assessors' valuation, all real estate, 1893..	\$123,745,832
Per cent. of cost of buildings.....	29.59
Cost of buildings erected, 1890, 1891, and 1892.....	\$129,364,250
Per cent. of assessed value of all real estate, 1893.....	104.54

Leaving out entirely the buildings erected prior to 1876 and still standing in 1893, and

omitting land values altogether, the assessment valuation in 1893 of both land and improvements was less than one third of the cost of the buildings for which permits were granted after the close of 1875.

A description is given of 70 of the costliest commercial buildings of the city, with the true and the assessed value of the land and the buildings separately shown, and the percentages of the assessed to the true values ; similar showings are also made for a number of costly and a number of cheap residences. The increase in the true value of some of the commercial and costly residence property is compared with the decrease in the assessment value. Comment is also made on the constantly increasing value of land and decreasing value of improvements, with almost stationary assessment values.

In comparing values for old and new style office buildings, it is found that while in both cases the site value exceeds the value of the buildings, the proportion is much greater in the case of the old buildings. For 44 new buildings the site value was 50.84 per cent. of the value of both land and buildings, while for 16 old buildings it was 74.23 per cent. In the case of eight lots in a choice residence portion of the city the value of the ground is shown to have increased 556.59 per cent. between 1882 and 1893, while the assessed valuation increased 76.55 per cent., and the per cent. that the as-

essed is of the true value decreased from 21.72 in 1882 to 5.84 in 1893. The assessed value of the improvements on these lots in 1893 was 15.82 per cent. of the true value. For 98 unimproved lots the assessment for 1893 was 4.88 per cent. of the true value, while for 20 buildings it was 13.54 per cent. The variation between the percentage of true value at which buildings are assessed and that at which building sites are assessed appears to be about the same for all classes of property.

Apart from its obvious tendency to obstruct improvement, the report states that "a custom of assessment for taxation like that above described must therefore in its very nature discriminate against the owners of improved property according to the greater value of their improvements relatively to the value of their land. And this operates with special force against owners of cheaper properties." Comparing a business property valued at \$800,000 with a residence valued at \$8875, it is shown that for the business property the ground was 87.50 per cent., and the building 12.50 per cent. of the total value, and for the residence the

ground was 21.13 per cent and the building 78.87 per cent. The assessed value of the land in the case of the business property was 7.29 per cent, the building 27 per cent., and the total 9.75 per cent. of the true value. For the residence property the percentages were, land 5.33 per cent., building 15.71 per cent., and total 13.52 per cent. of the true value. In these two cases the assessment valuation is, in proportion to actual value, lower on the cheaper property both as to site and improvement, than on the business property; and yet the total assessment valuation of the cheaper property is 3.77 per cent. greater, as compared with the total real value, than the total assessment of the business property.

A number of tables are presented which show the quantity and assessed value of real and personal property, also of railroad and other corporate property throughout the entire State of Illinois, with appropriate comparisons with similar values for the State of Indiana. These statistics are shown in detail by county totals, comparisons being made between the totals of 1873 and 1893. The two final summary tables are in substance as follows:

ASSESSED VALUATION, ALL CLASSES OF PROPERTY, ILLINOIS.

CLASS OF PROPERTY.	ASSESSED VALUES IN		Decrease.	Per cent. of Decrease.
	1873.	1893.		
Personal property.....	\$287,292,809	\$145,318,406	\$141,974,403	49.42
Lands.....	582,416,667	320,964,855	261,451,812	44.89
Town and city lots.....	317,199,285	293,274,185	23,925,100	7.54
Railroads (all property).....	133,807,823	82,270,090	51,537,733	38.52
Corporations other than railroads.....	20,896,462	5,363,979	15,532,483	74.33
The city of Quincy.....	13,788,271	*	13,788,271	.....
Total.....	\$1,355,401,317	\$847,191,515	\$508,209,802	37.50

* Assessment of the city of Quincy included in Adams County.

The report gives many concrete examples of the way real estate is undervalued, and so escapes taxation. Of 30 residences ranging in value from \$20,000 to \$1,300,000, the report says:

"The highest assessment shown is only 12.23 per cent. of true value. That is the assessment valuation of the residence, No. 112 Lake Shore Drive, worth \$120,000. The residence, Nos. 87-102 Lake Shore Drive, worth \$1,300,000, is assessed at only 5.54 per cent. of true value; its millionaire owner pays considerably less than half the tax for his home, in proportion to value, that is paid by the owner of the \$120,000 home. The owner of the least valuable home in all the list, the residence at No. 2829 Indiana Avenue, pays on a 9.5 per cent. valuation—nearly double the proportion paid on the millionaire residence; and homes worth but little more than the minimum limit of the list—those at Nos. 2241 and 2243 Michigan Avenue—are taxed upon 11.03 per cent. of true value; or proportionately within a very small fraction of double the tax upon the millionaire home. Some of the comparatively modest places are taxed at a low valuation. One worth \$50,000 is taxed upon only 4.86 per cent. of its value; one worth \$67,500 is not much worse off with a tax upon 6.30 per cent. of its value; one worth \$60,000 is assessed at 4.08 per cent. of its value, and one worth \$20,000 is assessed as low as at 4 per cent. of its value. The average valuation of the 30 properties is but 7.78 per cent. of real value.

"How can the fraudulent character of these valuations be doubted? Make all possible allowance for differences of opinion, and still assessors cannot ex-

plain the valuation of \$50,000 property at \$2430; of \$90,000 property at \$3600; of \$175,000 property at \$7980; of \$1,300,000 property at \$71,960, and so on. And what explanation can the owners make? They may say it is no part of their business to object to undervaluations of their property; but they would not try to satisfy a merchant with such an explanation of purchases from his clerks at prices so monstrously out of proportion to real value. Why is their standard of honor and honesty so radically different when the issue is with the people instead of a merchant? and over a question of shirking taxes instead of purloining goods? This question is the dilemma of those owners who passively acquiesce in undervaluations; those who actively promote them have a worse moral problem to deal with."

As an illustration of the way vacant land is undervalued, the report gives the following history of a bit of land formerly known as the Garfield Race Track, owned by Judge Lambert Tree:

"It is unimproved, held for a rise, an eyesore and obstruction to the growing neighborhood, and worth at the present time not less than \$1,000,000. This property was patented in 1835; in 1836 it was sold for \$580; in 1870 it was sold again, the price being now \$50,000. At the next sale, in 1875, the true price was veiled—\$1000 and 'other good and valuable property' being the consideration expressed. In 1870, the year the property sold for \$50,000, it was valued by the assessor at \$39,960, and by the Board of Equalization at \$37,562, and taxed \$8245.50. Since that time the valuation has

been slightly increased and the tax slightly reduced, as follows :

YEAR.	Assessors' Valuation.	Board's Valuation.	Taxes.
1870.....	\$39,960	\$375,562	\$8,245.50
1880.....	49,530	49,942	2,430.75
1890.....	101,200	19,416	7,737.05
1893.....	88,600	106,320	7,768.59

"It will be observed that the highest valuation—that of 1890—is but little more than double the price paid in 1870, long before the thick population that now surrounds the property had begun to drift in that direction. The valuation for 1893 does not exceed 10 per cent. of the true value."

For further facts as to city taxes, see CITIES.

III. THE THEORY OF TAXATION.

The theory of taxation may be considered under three heads : (1) the canons of taxation ; (2) its incidence ; (3) particular taxes. The canons of taxation—*i. e.*, the characteristics by which taxes are to be measured as wise or unwise, are usually based on the four classic canons laid down by Adam Smith. They are in Smith's words as follows :

"1. The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities : that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. In the observation or neglect of this maxim consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation.

"2. The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor and to every other person. Where it is otherwise, every person subject to the tax is put more or less in the power of the tax-gatherer, who can either aggravate the tax upon any obnoxious contributor, or exert, by the terror of such aggravation, some present or perquisite to himself. The uncertainty of taxation encourages the insolence and favors the corruption of an order of men who are naturally unpopular, even when they are neither insolent nor corrupt. The

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certainty of what each individual ought to pay is, in taxation, a matter of so great importance, that a very considerable degree of inequality, it appears, I believe, from the experience of all nations, is not near so great an evil as a very small degree of uncertainty.

"3. Every tax ought to be levied at the time or in the manner in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it. A tax upon the rent of land or of houses, payable at the same term at which such rents are usually paid, is levied at a time when it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay, or when he is most likely to have wherewithal to pay. Taxes upon such consumable goods as are articles of luxury are all finally paid by the consumer, and generally in a manner that is very convenient to him. He pays them by little and little, as he has occasion to buy the goods. As he is at liberty, too, either to buy or not to buy, as he pleases, it must be his own fault if he ever suffers any considerable inconvenience from such taxes.

"4. Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and to keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State."

Other canons of taxation are sometimes added, as, for example, the following, laid down in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :

"(a) A given amount of revenue is, as a rule, both from the point of view of the Government and its subjects more conveniently raised from a small number of very productive taxes than from a larger number with smaller returns per unit. (b) A good system of

taxation ought to provide for a self-acting increase in the revenue in proportion as the population and the consequent demands for governmental expenditure increase. It has been found by experience that an old tax causes less inconvenience than a new tax of smaller amount, a fact which is so striking in some cases as to have given rise to the saying that an old tax is no tax. (c) Those taxes are best which yield a steady and calculable return, instead of a return fluctuating in character and difficult to estimate. (d) Those taxes are best which in case of need can be most conveniently increased in amount. (e) Regard must always be paid to the real incidence of taxation, and care taken that the real burden of the tax falls on those aimed at by the Legislature."

The subject of the incidence of taxation is one of the most involved and debated in economic science. Professor Seligman, in his *The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation*, traces the history of the doctrine of incidence, and finds nine different theories besides those which he

Theory of Incidence.

calls early theories. The early theories he divides into those favoring a general excise tax (Hobbes, Cradock, Munn, Petty), those that favored a single tax on land (Locke, Davenant, Cantillon, and others), those that favored a more elastic system (Hume and Steuart). The first developed theory which he considers is that of the physiocrats (*q. v.*). They held that as land is the only original source of wealth, all taxes should be on land alone, and then cannot be shifted, while any other tax will be shifted. The absolute theory, he says, was outlined by Smith and perfected by Ricardo. According to this, a tax on pure rent will remain on land. Other land taxes and all special taxes on commodities not included in the laborer's standard of life will be shifted on to the consumer. All general taxes on agricultural produce, on wages, or on profits come from the capitalist. These conclusions are derived from the Ricardian doctrine of rents, wages, and the residuum of profits. The equal diffusion or optimistic theory, that all taxes are generally diffused on consumers, Professor Seligman criticises severely, tho he finds it accepted widely, especially in America. The germs of it he finds in the Italian economist Verri, and especially in Canard. It is accepted by Thiers, Courcelle-Seneuil, Cherbuliez, Prittwitz, Stein America, however, Professor Seligman says, is "the only country in the world where the doctrine is still upheld," and the chief representative of this easy-going, complacent doctrine is David A. Wells." The pessimistic theory, held by Proudhon, also believes that all taxes fall on the consumer, and that this cannot be helped in any form of taxation. The capitalization or amortization theory argues that the land tax falls exclusively on the landowner, and that hence the taxation of land is simply equivalent to depreciating the value of the land by the capitalized value of the tax. From this is deduced the conclusion that after the tax is once imposed it makes no difference how much the tax is, provided it be constant, since whatever it is, its capitalization has been subtracted once for all from the value of the land. The germ of this theory Professor Seligman finds in John Craig. German writers like Sartorius, Hoffman, and Murhard, went so far as to say that a land tax was no tax at all ; this has been to some extent accepted by modern econ-

omists like Garnier, Wolowski, Cherbuliez, Walras, Leroy-Beaulieu. Rau discusses the theory, and shows that it is only true so far as the value of land depends on its net produce, and this only so far as the produce does not change, and this is true not only of land, but of any commodities of varying value capable of sale. Under the head of the eclectic theory, Professor Seligman groups those who criticise all the above theories, among them J. B. Say, Sismondi, Garnier, Parieu, Von Thünen, Von Hock, Rau, Prince-Smith, Jones, Senior, Mill, McCulloch, Cliffe-Leslie. All these deny that any of the above theories work without exception. The negative or agnostic theory of Held goes farther and denies the above theories. Held argues that all profits like land profits depend on the difference between the greatest cost and market price. The socialist theory Professor Seligman calls Lassalle's teaching, that indirect taxes are all those not assessed on income or property, and fall on the laborer, who, even in Germany, has not been quite squeezed down to starvation. The last theory which Professor Seligman considers is the quantitative or mathematical theory, as developed by Cournot, Jenkin, and Pantaleoni. The treatise of the last named Professor Seligman considers the best existing treatment of incidence. This theory is, however, a method rather than a theory. It regards incidence as bound up with the theory of value (*q.v.*).

With such contradictory views as to the general theory of incidence, it is wiser to discuss concrete taxes than any general principles.

Taxes are usually divided into direct and indirect. Taxes are called direct taxes when the payment is made by the person taxed.

A direct tax is defined by Mill as one "demanded from the very persons who it is intended or desired should pay it." Others (*e.g.*, McCulloch) define it as a tax taken directly from income or capital. In the former definition non-transferable taxes on expenditure would be included (*e.g.*, a tax on livery servants), but not in the latter. Mill's definition has been generally adopted; but a tax which is usually direct may sometimes become indirect, and, as we have seen, it is often impossible to say what is really the incidence of a tax.

Indirect taxes are paid, in the first place, by merchants and tradesmen, but it is understood that they recover the amount paid from their customers. The principal taxes consist of the customs duties levied upon articles, when they are imported for use in this country, and excise duties, or duties levied upon goods produced within a country.

The main direct taxes may be divided into taxes on income and taxes on expenditure. Taxes on income may be divided into taxes on rent, on profits, on wages, on bequest or inheritance. Taxes on expenditure are mainly indirect, but may be direct, as a window tax, a water tax, a house tax, if levied on the user of the window, water, or house. These various taxes with their incidence we must now consider. The question of the wisdom of direct or indirect taxes has been much discussed, tho it has usually been involved with the question of free trade or protection, and is discussed under these heads.

The form of direct tax most approved is undoubtedly land taxation. The subject of the incidence of land taxation is so important that we quote at length on the subject from Professor Seligman. He says:

"Theoretically there may be five kinds of land taxes:

- "1. Tax on economic rent.
- "2. Tax on profits from agriculture.
- "3. Tax according to net produce.
- "4. Tax according to quantity.
- "5. Tax according to selling value.

"A tax on economic rent can never be shifted. Here all writers are agreed. As regards the other taxes, Ricardo maintained that a tax on the value of land or on produce will raise prices and fall on the consumer. Ricardo's theory would hold good on two conditions: First, that there was an absolute mobility of capital and labor; and, secondly, that the community in question was an isolated one. It is assumed that the farmers will abandon the land rather than cultivate it at a loss, and that a decrease of supply will raise price. Now it may happen that an increase of price will often lead to a decrease of consumption, which again will react on the price, so that at best only a part and not the whole of the tax would be shifted to the consumer. But in actual life it is a difficult matter for producers to decrease the supply of agricultural products. The tax would often simply have the influence of reducing the farmer's profits.

"In the case of cities we may have four cases:

- "1. When the tax is levied on the ground-owner the case is simple. The value of a lot is fixed by the law of monopoly value. Its price will be entirely unaffected by the imposition of a tax.
- "2. The tax may be levied on the house-owner apart from the question whether or not he is the land-owner. Buildings represent the investment of capital and labor. A special tax imposed on the building-owner can therefore generally be shifted.

City Real Estate.

"A distinction must, however, be drawn between houses already constructed and those built after the tax is imposed. In exceptional cases the tax imposed on old houses cannot be shifted.

- "3. The tax is levied on the ground-owner, who is at the same time the house-owner. We need here only combine the two preceding cases.

- "4. The tax is assessed on the occupier according to rental value. It is generally supposed that the ground rent part of the tax will be shifted to the ground-owner. But this is not always true, for three reasons: 1. The ground rent may be so low and the rent so high that the builders cannot afford to erect any more houses. This means an increase of the rents. 2. In the course of long leases any intervening increase must rest on the occupier. He cannot improve his condition until the expiration of the lease. 3. But even in the case of short leases, it is not true that the tax can always be shifted. If the competition for lodgings be such that the rent is \$200, the occupier who has been paying \$10 as the ground tax proportion of the whole tax will not pay any less rent for the premises if his tax is increased to \$15. It might, indeed, cause the tenant to live in a less desirable locality—*i.e.*, lower his standard of life. The occupier could evade the tax, but he could not shift it."

Taxes on other property than land obey still more complicated laws of incidence. Taxes on luxury cannot be shifted, but they are expensive in collection, depend mainly on the conscientious reporting by citizens of their own wealth, with the result that they fall only on a few conscientious citizens, and produce a great deal of dishonesty, with a very small profit for the State.

Taxes on income, on inheritance, are of very great importance, but of such importance that we consider them under especial articles. It is generally held that taxes on capital, on investments, etc., can be shifted. If all capital were mobile, its taxation could undoubtedly be shifted; but for various reasons, such as the condition of the market, expense of the pro-

cess, all capital cannot be moved, and then the tax cannot always be shifted. Taxes on railroads, street-car corporations, etc., so far as they are not taxes on land values, can theoretically be shifted on to the people who patronize the cars, etc.; but practically they often cannot, as the rates are sometimes fixed by law, more often by a custom, which the companies cannot break.

Taxes on Capital.

A few other taxes may be briefly considered. Poll taxes, once common, are now rare. They fall unjustly, because they tax the poor man and the wealthy man equally; they bring too little revenue at large expense. In England, they have not been levied since William III. Stamp duties are generally considered more cumbersome than effective, tho in England and Europe generally they are still common. They are usually indirect taxes. The question of taxation is more and more being limited to a discussion which is wiser of two or three great classes of taxes.

IV. TAX REFORM.

(For the position and arguments of the advocates of particular tax reforms, see INCOME TAX; INHERITANCE TAX; SINGLE TAX. For the arguments for and against duties for protection, see PROTECTION; FREE TRADE.) Generally speaking, other propositions to reform taxation may be divided into the two great classes of those who would concentrate taxation upon land and those who, in various ways, would seek to tax all personal property. As representative of the former class, we quote a short paper read by Professor S. M. Dick, before the American Economic Association, August 24, 1892. He says:

"All writers and teachers dealing with the subject of taxation, so far as I know, are agreed that the American taxing system is faulty and ought to be reformed.

"Some of its worst defects are: It puts a premium on dishonesty; it is exceedingly complex; it tends to widen the breach already existing in society. There are two reasons why a reform is difficult to inaugurate: First, the rich men do not want it. Second, the farmers do not want it.

"Our present system is the system of 100 years ago. At that time millionaires and monopolies were unknown to America. Our system was more nearly just than that it is possible for it to be now. Since new factors of wealth have been introduced, new methods of taxation are necessary.

Land Taxation.

"In 1826 the personal property in Ohio was nearly equal in value to the real estate. In 1839 the realty amounted to \$1,213,645,052, while the personal property is listed at only \$549,552,292. Assuming that the personal property is worth as much as the real, we have \$673,092,760 of taxable personal property bearing no portion of the public burden. In the city of Cincinnati in 1867 the personal property was valued at \$68,412,285, and the real at \$68,596,049, while in 1880 the real was valued at \$129,956,980, and the personal at only \$37,578,376. This apparent decrease of personal property is not limited to Cincinnati. The same is true in other large cities in Ohio. Personal property, therefore, escapes taxation. The most logical basis for a system of local taxation is real estate. The taxation of mortgages is a question of great interest to the people of the United States, since the census of 1890 shows that there are 12,600,152 families and 9,000,000 of mortgages in the United States. Mortgages, so far, have not been successfully taxed.

"If taxation were on real estate alone in Ohio, those counties most given to farming would save, per annum, from 15 to 20 per cent. of all the tax now paid for State purposes.

"Had real estate alone been taxed in 1891, and had the same amount of tax been required for State purposes that was demanded, the four counties containing the four largest cities in Ohio would have paid \$147,889.30 more than they did pay. The four cities would have paid much more than this, and the farm hands in those counties would have saved a large per cent. of their tax.

"It is very evident from the facts ascertained in the investigation that Ohio farmers would be largely the gainers if personal property were exempt from taxation."

The above paper is not, however, to be understood to commit Professor Dick or his fellow-thinkers to a sole tax on real estate. It was shown in the debate that followed that the professor would not limit taxation to this. On this point Professor Seligman said (and Professor Dick agreed with him):

"The thought is perhaps in harmony with that of a large number of tax reformers in this country, that the best basis, or at least a very good basis for local taxation would be real property. Henry George goes one step farther, and maintains that the basis should be land exclusive of improvements. My objection is that while the plan has many advantages of ease and convenience of collection, and of non-inducement to fraud, it fails of equality and uniformity. There is no doubt that after all the contests over principles of taxation, modern science has settled down on a taxation according to ability and means rather than on a taxation according to benefits, tho it is true that in local taxation this principle must be modified somewhat by the principle of benefits to the individual and his property. As real property has a large share of the benefits of State and municipal protection, it ought to bear a large share of the taxation. It is hopeless to suppose that the farmers of this country will ever consent to abolish the tax on personal property unless we replace it by something which will reach the bondholders, and tax the holders of millions who did not get their wealth from real estate. No system of local taxation can be worked out without taking into account the general State and national taxation system, all three systems trying to get at the faculty of the individual."

This general proposition to concentrate taxation on land is the one supported by the report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor, quoted above. It says:

"To adopt the site-value method of taxation is to invite general prosperity. With personal property exempt, its increased consumption would increase the demand for it, and consequently multiply business opportunities in connection with making, carrying, and selling it. With landed improvements also exempt, larger and better homes would be demanded, to the stimulation of all branches of the building industry. With vacant lots taxed the same as if improved, and so much that it would be unprofitable to hold them long out of use, speculative values would decline and business be no longer obstructed by exorbitant prices for location.

"Working men would pay in taxes only what their ground-rent privileges were worth. Farmers would pay in taxes not more than their farms would rent for if wholly denuded of buildings, fences, and drains, and turned back into raw prairie. Every one would be benefited through reduced taxes, or better incomes, or both—every one except the mere monopolizer of public benefits.

"And the cry of fraudulent taxation, on any other account than an occasional personal dereliction, like a post-office embezzlement or a bank robbery, would be heard no more.

"Simple, practicable, natural, scientific, and just as the site-value tax doubtless is as a method of raising public revenues, it is at the same time recommended by its supporters as the solution of the labor question, or, more correctly, as the natural way of reinvesting every laborer with power to settle his own labor question for himself. For it is not the power of employers, but the necessities of the unemployed or the inadequately employed that makes employment precarious and wages low. It is not the clubs of policemen nor the weapons of soldiers that defeat strikes; it is the underbidding of men in worse plight than the strikers. The simple remedy is by freeing business from mo-

nopoly and tax burdens to open the way for unlimited opportunities for employment, so that none need take another's place in order to get remunerative work himself. This, it is claimed, the site-value tax would do."

As an example of those who strive to tax personal property more rigorously we quote the Hon. Mr. Winn, in an address made in Faneuil Hall, Boston, October 7, 1891. He said :

"When personal property is all taxed, the owner of a house cannot collect the tax on it from his tenant by making him pay more rent. He must bear his own taxes.

"But, when personal property is permitted to escape, the landlord can make his tenant bear the tax on the house by charging that much more rent.

The reason is that, if capital in buildings escapes taxation by throwing the tax on the tenant, capital outside, if taxed, will flow into buildings to get the same advantage, till it can be got no more.

"But if the outside capital is not taxed it will not flow into buildings, which always are taxed, until the tenants are willing by a higher rent to bear the new tax the capital has to assume.

"This is the very key to the situation. Here is the method by which the rich throw their taxes over on to the poor, who are not in the tax lists at all. They get chattels exempted, or take care

Taxation of Capital.

that the laws are lax enough to permit their escape from taxation. And by this the poor men who have no property whatever, but who must have shelter, and who never dream they are paying taxes, are haled in to bear not only the taxes of the tax-dodging millionaire, but those of their landlords as well.

"Data have been collected which show that the rent of the poor whose incomes are less than \$1000 is four times as great according to their means as the rent borne by persons whose incomes exceed \$7500. So a tax on rent, if borne by tenants, is grossly disproportionate.

"Come at it from another direction. The report of the tax committee of the Boston Executive Business Association, written by one who desires to exempt this class of property, and who would naturally underestimate its amount, declares:

"The personal property of both city and State, which under the law is subject to taxation, cannot be less than twice the value of the real estate."

"If this is so, more than 2,000,000,000 escapes taxation, and the people are cheated out of about \$17,000,000 of taxes per annum. I understand that Mr. Robert Giffen estimates the wealth of England to be about one sixth in land. Applying this scale to Massachusetts, and somewhat less than 1,700,000,000 escapes taxation, and the loss of taxes is \$14,000,000 to \$15,000,000. . . .

"I believe that the whole assessment of estates should be in the hands of the Tax Commissioner, who should appoint the local assessors, and that they should be paid by the State. I believe that the tax on private personal property should be an excise—a State tax at a uniform rate through the commonwealth—which should be the average tax rate as now laid on corporations. I believe that the personal property tax collected should be distributed to the cities and towns in proportion to the value of their real estate, with such concession as may be reasonable to places of taxpayers' residence. Or that the State should help the municipalities with the proceeds in the support of schools and roads and such other expenses as the State may wisely assume. I believe that every taxpayer should be compelled to give in a sworn list of his personal property under penalty of double doomsday at least. And if this is not enough we may adopt the Swiss system of examining the estates in probate."

References: E. R. A. Seligman's *Essays on Taxation* (1895); *Eighth Biennial Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics* (1894); R. T. Ely's *Taxation in American States and Cities* (1888). For Europe, Cossa's *Taxation, its Principles and Methods*. See also FINANCE; MUNICIPALISM.

TELEGRAPH, THE.—In the progress from the lowest life to the highest, one of the most marked advances consists in the development of a nervous system capable of carrying

swift and accurate intelligence from one part of the organism to another. In the social organism the nervous system, or system of communicating intelligence, has reached its present high development largely by means of the telegraph.

An organism should own and control its nervous system, and a society should own and control its telegraphic system. France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and many other nations early recognized this truth, and built public telegraph lines at the start. England, Belgium, New Zealand, and a few other States tried private control, but found it so objectionable that they changed to public ownership and control of the nerves of the body politic, so that now, out of 75 of the chief nations of the world from which statistics have been obtained, **England.**

there are but six that do not own and operate their telegraphs—*viz.*, Cuba, Cyprus, Bolivia, Hawaii, Honduras, and the United States. In England the telegraph was in private hands for more than a quarter of a century; but complaints of high charges, inefficient service, unjust discrimination, etc., became so frequent and so urgent that at last the Government appointed a committee to investigate the public systems of Europe. The report made an exhaustive comparison of the public system in use on the Continent with the private system of England, and the result was so overwhelmingly in favor of the former, that the Government, under the leadership of Gladstone, yielded to the demands of the reformers, headed by the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, and passed a law (July 31, 1868) providing for the purchase of the lines, the rapid extension of the service into the rural districts, which had been neglected by the private companies, and the union of the telegraph with the postal department. The charges were at once reduced from one third to one half, and the business doubled in about two years. Complaints were no longer heard as before the transfer, and now, after more than a quarter of a century, the public system is unanimously pronounced a success. The Government has raised the wages of employees from time to time, lowered rates, extended the lines, and improved the facilities. The system has paid all operating expenses and cost of extension and improvements, but the surplus beyond these items has not been quite sufficient to cover interest on the tremendous original outlay, which was about four times the real value of the lines. Most of the nations of Europe make a profit on their telegraphs, although their rates are much lower than ours.

In the United States, the first telegraph line was built by the Government. It ran from Washington to Baltimore, and was placed in charge of the postal department. It was not at once a financial success, and Congress yielded to the persuasions of those who wished to buy the telegraph for a private institution. Even at first a few clear-sighted statesmen saw into the future far enough to discern the vast importance of the new idea and the greatness of the mistake that was being made. As early as 1844 Henry Clay was advo-

United States.

ating Government ownership of the telegraph. He wrote :

"It is quite manifest it is destined to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine should be exclusively under the control of the Government."

Many able statesmen have taken the view that public ownership is not only wise and expedient, but the plain duty of Congress under the provisions of the Constitution. The Constitution makes it the duty of Congress to establish public agencies for the transmission of intelligence, and it is bound to see that the best known means of performing that work are used in the people's service.

Down to the present time (September, 1896) 19 Congressional reports have been made upon the telegraph, 17 of them favorable to a postal system. The people in general are strongly in favor of a public telegraph. Over 2,000,000 of voters have signed petitions for it, several parties have demanded it in their platforms, four State legislatures, several city governments, the Farmers' Alliance, the Federation of Labor, the National Board of Trade, and other representative bodies have urged upon Congress the importance of a national telegraph, but so far without effect. From Henry Clay and Postmaster-General Cave Johnson to Senator Edmunds and Postmaster-General Wanamaker eminent men have striven for this reform to no avail ; the companies have more influence in

Congress apparently than the people and the statesmen have. It is thought by some that the books of distributed among Congressmen have much to do with their reluctance to do anything to injure the business of the donor company, or

Arguments for National Ownership.

take any step toward establishing a system under which they would have to pay for their own telegraphing.

Some of the reasons for desiring public ownership of the telegraph are as follows :

1. It would obviate the necessity of paying dividends on watered stock, or, indeed, on any stock.
2. It would take away a part of the material used in stock speculation and constitute a step toward abolishing gambling in stocks.
3. It would extend the telegraph into country districts.
4. It would produce an absolute saving of rent, light, fuel, labor, etc., by union of the telegraph with the postal system.
5. It would cause a considerable reduction of rates, bringing the lines within reach of the common people and greatly increasing the utility of the telegraph to the social and business life of the nation.
6. It would prevent discrimination in rates and service.
7. It would benefit employees, giving them shorter hours, higher wages, greater security of employment, liberty of petition, and entire freedom of organization.
8. It would prevent strikes.

9. It would be an element of strength in time of war.

10. It would abolish one of the giant private monopolies that are taxing the people without representation, and for private purposes ; that are manufacturing millionaires by the ton ; that are corrupting our politics and debasing our Government ; that are restraining the freedom of the press and the liberty of speech in pulpit and university hall ; that are creating and sustaining innumerable tributary trusts, syndicates, and monopolies for private aggrandizement ; that lock up inventions and withhold progress till their pockets give the word to march ; that place money above manhood, pervert the ideals of youth, and antagonize in every way the highest interests of humanity.

Objections to a public telegraph have come almost wholly from the companies and a few persons who sympathize with their methods and purposes or who entertain a fundamental distrust of popular government along the whole line, and would not have even a public post-office nor a public school.

"Mr. Wanamaker said in 1890: 'The Western Union is now the only visible opponent ;' and the select committee of the House on the postal telegraph in 1870 said that objections to Government interference with the telegraph had 'come altogether from one quarter—viz., the Western Union Company' (H. Rep. 114, p. 13). The leading arguments advanced by the opponents of public telegraphy may now be noted, together with the answers to them.

"A public telegraph will paternalize the Government," say the defenders of monopoly. If so, it is pretty badly paternalized now, with the post-office, the fish commission, the treasury, customs, navy, army, agricultural, judiciary, signal service, and all the other departments ; but the people do not seem to desire to give up such paternalization—they appear to enjoy it. In truth, however, public service is not paternalism, but fraternalism.

"It will cost too much." It need not cost the people \$1 of taxes to establish the postal telegraph. Plenty of capitalists are ready to build the lines for the Government, introduce low rates, and agree to turn the plant over to the nation for

Objections.

actual value at the end of 15 or 20 years, or allow the service to pay for the plant gradually (as in the case of the Springfield Electric Works, see *Arena* for December, 1895), a method that would give the people a clear title in a few years, even at rates far lower than those in force now. (See testimony of the representatives of New York syndicates that were ready and willing to build a postal telegraph system under the provisions of Wanamaker's bill. The Bingham Com. Hearings, March 4 and 14, 1890.) It would be better still to build or buy and issue treasury notes in payment ; this would correct in part the evils of the vast contraction of the currency that has so long oppressed the people and secure the telegraph without a burden. Or bonds could be issued and the service let to pay the debt in 15 or 20 years, on the plan by which Wheeling secured her gas works. In either way no taxes are needed. As for the cost of operation, the select committee on the telegraph in 1870 calculated that the Government could do the business performed by the Western Union at a cost of at least \$1,500,000 a year lower than the Western Union could do it; the absolute saving would be at least that much by reason of combination with the post-office and consequent saving in rent, fuel, light, and the distribution of labor. (H. Rep. 114, p. 44.) As the telegraph plant and business is more than twice as large now as in 1870, the saving in the same proportion would not be less than \$3,000,000 a year. This is on the supposition of continuing to do business by the methods now in use ; but if improved methods well known in the electrical world were adopted in the postal telegraph, the saving would be far greater—so great, indeed, that there seems every reason to believe a uniform rate of 5 cents a message of 20 words would yield a substantial profit.

"It is not the Government's business." 'It is out of the Government's sphere.' Senator Edmunds does not

think so (see Sen. Rep. 577, part 2); nor Walter Q. Gresham (Postmaster-General's Rep. 1883); nor Judge Clark, nor 16 or more committees of Congress, nor Congress itself, nor the Supreme Court of the United States. (See for authorities the last topic of this article, 'Duty of the Government to Establish a Postal Telegraph.') Henry Clay did not think the telegraph was out of the Government's sphere; nor did Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; nor Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and the other founders of the Constitution who expressly made the transmission of intelligence a part of the business of the Government.

"The Government could not be sued." It will be an easy matter to provide that damages for error or delay should be recovered by suit against 'The Telegraph Department.'

"But the increase of patronage will be dangerous." There need not be any increase of patronage. The Government may contract for telegraphic service as it does for railway service. Or it may own the lines and contract for the service. Or better far, it may own and operate the lines under strong civil service rules, as is the case in England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Australia, and other countries. (See 11th Report U. S. Civil Service Com., 1895.) With a solid civil service law and a non-partisan board (*i. e.*, a board composed of a member from each party) to administer it, an increase of public employees no longer means an increase of patronage, for there is no patronage where appointment depends upon merit proved in competitive examination; promotion follows on valuable service, and removal is only for serious cause judicially ascertained, with a right of appeal to the regular courts. Such provisions would form a part of a wise postal telegraph law. But even without them the danger from increase of patronage would be slight. The United States has 240,000 employees. In combination with the post-office, the telegraph would not require an addition of more than 20,000, a large part of them women and boys who are not yet able to vote. With a population of 70,000,000 and a voting class of 18,000,000, a group of 260,000 Government employees does not look alarmingly dangerous, especially when we consider that 48,000 are already under civil service rules, 40,000 more in army and navy, and another large body composed of quite inoffensive women.

"Only one in 60 uses the telegraph. No probable reduction of rates or increase of facilities would be apt to raise the proportion much, and it would not be fair to put on the taxpayers the burden of a service used only by a few." As already remarked, there will not be any burden about it. The business can easily pay for itself and more, as it does in many countries across the sea. It will be more apt to lower the rates of taxation than to raise them. But there is another and deeper falsity in the above objection. The statement that 'no probable reduction of rates or increase of facilities would be apt to raise the proportion' of people using the telegraph is a statement that could only be made by one quite unacquainted with the history of the telegraph and the post-office, both in Europe and America, and with the history of this discussion, or by one entirely free from any inconvenient regard for the truth. The facts set forth in numerous public documents in this country and in Europe, and reported to Congress by its committees again and again, conclusively prove that reduction of rates and increase of facilities produce the most astonishing increase in the use of the service. 'The reduction of rates one half in Belgium and Switzerland doubled the correspondence in one year' (Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 4), and the extension of facilities was slight, only one fifteenth to one twentieth, merely the normal growth. (See statistics, H. Rep. 114, pp. 2, 56.)

"And the Western Union does not do and never has done one half the business its lines would carry, so that the total increase would be from twenty to one hundred-fold the present business. The development of business consequent upon low rates and the extension of lines results from the use of the telegraph by a larger number of people. The wealthy people of the cities use it now all they wish to; they would use it little if any more with a five-cent rate than with a rate of 25 cents. But to the poor and to people in moderate circumstances, the difference between the telegraph and postal rates is practically prohibitive except under the stress of very special need. President Green of the Western Union said that 46 per cent. of their business is speculative, 34 per cent. legitimate trade (his own words), 12 per cent. press, and 8 per cent. social (Bingham Hearings, 1890, p. 36). In Sen. Rep. 577, part II, p. 15, the then president of the Western Union said the company's social business was 5 or 6 per cent. of the

whole. In Belgium the social messages constitute 55 to 63 per cent. of the whole."

The real reason why the Government has not adopted the postal-telegraph is undoubtedly shown by the following quotations from Postmaster-General Wanamaker's argument before the Congressional Post-Office and Post-Roads Committee in 1890:

"In the present discussion Mr. F. B. Thurber, of New York, has given a list of the directors of the Western Union Telegraph Company. I beg to append their names: Norvin Green, Thomas T. Eckert, John T. Terry, John Vanhorne, Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Alonzo B. Cornell, Sidney Dillon, Samuel Sloan, Robert C. Clowry, George J. Gould, Edwin Gould, John G. Moore, Cyrus W. Field, Henry Weaver, Percy K. Pyne, Charles Lanier, Austin Corbin, J. Pierpont Morgan, Frederick L. Ames, John Hay, William D. Bishop, Collis P. Huntington, George B. Roberts, Sydney Shepard, Erastus Wiman, William W. Astor, Chauncey M. Depew, James W. Clendenin, Henry M. Flagler.

"Mr. Thurber used this list of names to answer the question why the public cannot have the great boon of a postal telegraph. 'No such list of names,' he added, 'can be found in the directory of any other corporation in this country. Every name represents some great interest. They are the richest and the best in the financial world. They deservedly rank as our best citizens; their names are found scattered throughout the religious and charitable world, but in the matter of transmitting intelligence their interest diverges from that of the general public, and it remains to be seen whether 65,000,000 of people or the comparatively few stockholders which these men represent will be able to control the great force of electricity as applied to the transmission of intelligence.'

"According to uncontroverted statements made before your honorable committee, the capital stock of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1858 was \$358,700. The stock dividends declared between 1858 and 1866 amounted to \$17,810,146, and the stock issued for new lines was \$1,937,950; so that the capital stock on July 1, 1866, was \$20,133,800. In 1866 new stock was created to the amount of \$20,450,500; so that the total capital of the Western Union on July 1, 1867, was \$40,584,300. The largest dividend declared by the company up to 1874 was 4 1/4 per cent. The largest amount of stock ever divided at one time was \$10,000,000, and for a period of seven years the dividends were about 100 per cent. a year on its average capital. It was by adding dividends to dividends, and by piling the one up on top

of the other that this tremendous amount of \$46,000,000 of capital and debt was created. The history of the company shows no change of policy. In 1874 the company bought up its own stock and the stock of other telegraph companies and accumulated a fund of over \$15,000,000, which was held in one shape or another in the treasury of the company. An investment of \$1000 in 1858 in Western Union stock would have received up to the present time stock dividends of more than \$50,000 and cash dividends equal to \$100,000, or 300 per cent. of dividends a year. These have been some of the dividends declared: In 1862, 27 per cent.; in 1863, 100 per cent.; in 1864, 100 per cent.; in 1878, \$6,000,000; in 1881, one of \$15,000,000 and another of \$4,300,000; in 1886, 25 per cent. The Western Union plant, exclusive of its contracts with railroads, could be duplicated for \$35,000,000. Its present capital is \$85,960,000. It has realized \$100,000,000 of net profits in 25 years by its high charges. . . .

"The great question," said Congressman Raynor, discussing the Glover Telegraph Bill at the last Congress, "that underlies the discussion of this measure, is whether we are not in the hands of a monopoly that not only has the right to fix its charges arbitrarily, but can crush opposition whenever it encounters it. Of all these monopolies, I submit that the telegraph system of this country, substantially owned and controlled by one man, is the worst and most dangerous of them all." "It is no longer safe or expedient," Mr. Raynor went on, "to intrust into the hands of one overpowering monopoly the telegraph business of this country. It is a power that not only can be used, but has been perverted, for purposes hostile to the best interests of the people; the markets of the country, its finances, and its commercial interests to so large an extent depend upon the honest and honorable administration of the business of this company, that the people are not in a mood to repose a trust of this character any longer

Western Union.

without competition in the hands of a stock-jobbing corporation.' I have tried to show that the telegraph service of this country ought to be cheaper and not inaccessible to the people. Business men generally, and the industrial and farming classes, too, demand that the service shall be more efficient as well as cheaper. The ordinary opposition, which under the direction of competent men would bring prices down and make the service quicker and more accurate, has been tried a score of times and it has always failed. There is practically but one telegraph company in this country to-day. I say this because the Postal Telegraph Company has an arrangement with the Western Union by which prices are to be kept up.

"Since the introduction of the quadruplex 20 years ago, the Western Union Company has, I am told, made but one change or improvement in its method of telegraphic transmission, having for their object the greatest speed or the transmission of a larger volume of traffic of a given wire. I refer to the Wheatstone automatic, an English invention which has been in successful use on the Government lines in that country for 8 or 10 years. On the other hand, England has not only adopted our quadruplex, but also the Delaney multiplex, another American invention."

Some of the more statistical facts as to the telegraph are as follows :

"In 1774 Lesage, of Geneva, constructed a telegraph consisting of 24 wire signals, being sent over each wire for different letters of the alphabet by frictional electricity. This had been suggested in an article in *The Scots Magazine* of February 1, 1853. In 1816 Francis Ronalds constructed a telegraph of one wire, using frictional electricity and exhibiting signals by the divergence of pith balls. In 1820 Ampère suggested the ap-

plication of the galvanic current. In 1830 the first actual telegraph was constructed, extending from Paddington to Drayton, England, 13 miles. Dr. W. O'Shaughnessy constructed the same year the first over-ground line in Calcutta, India. Samuel F. B. Morse, of New York, invented the system of a pencil moved by an electric magnet and a single conducting circuit in 1836. The first line was constructed from Washington to Baltimore (40 miles) in 1844, and the first message transmitted May 27, 1844.

Statistics.

The first experiments in submarine telegraphy were made in Calcutta in 1839 by Dr. O'Shaughnessy. In 1851 a permanent cable was laid across the English Channel. The first Atlantic cable was successfully laid in 1858, but soon failed to transmit words, and not till 1866 was an Atlantic cable successfully submerged. According to F. L. Pope, in Johnson's Cyclopaedia, the total length of line in all countries in 1894 was 900,000, of which 158,000 is submarine. The number of messages transmitted in 1893 was: Great Britain, 69,907,848; United States (Western Union in 1894), 58,632,237; France, 47,017,117; Germany, 33,172,116; Austria, 12,068,084; Italy, 9,681,512; Hungary, 6,522,302; Belgium, 5,414,864. The rates for service are as follows: England, 12 cents for 12 words; Germany, 17 cents for 10 words, and a discount of a cent and a quarter for every word less than 10; Italy, 18 cents for 15 words; Switzerland, 10 cents for 10 words; Belgium, 9 cents for 10 words. In France the rate is 10 cents for 10 words within the country, and 2 cents per word from the French-African possessions, a 10-word message from North Africa costing but 20 cents. Distance is not considered in making the rates. No more charge is made for 100 than for 1 mile, the same principle being applied as that governing our postal system. According to the *World Almanac* for 1896, the following are the statistics of the Western Union Telegraph Company :

YEAR	Miles of Poles and Cables.	Offices.	Messages.	Receipts.	Expenses.
1866.....	37,380	2,250	.....	.....	.....
1870.....	54,109	3,972	9,157,646	\$7,138,737.96	\$4,910,772.42
1875.....	72,833	6,565	17,153,710	9,564,574.60	6,335,414.77
1880.....	85,645	9,077	29,215,509	12,782,894.53	6,948,956.74
1887.....	156,814	15,658	47,394,530	17,191,999.95	13,154,628.54
1888.....	171,375	17,241	51,463,955	19,711,164.12	14,640,592.18
1889.....	178,754	18,470	54,108,326	20,783,194.07	14,565,152.61
1890.....	183,917	19,382	55,878,762	22,387,028.91	15,074,303.81
1891.....	187,981	20,098	59,148,343	23,034,326.59	16,428,741.84
1892.....	189,576	20,700	62,387,298	23,706,404.72	16,307,857.10
1893.....	189,936	21,078	66,591,858	24,978,442.96	17,482,405.68
1894.....	190,303	21,166	58,632,237	21,852,655.00	16,060,170.00
1895.....	189,714	21,360	58,307,315	22,218,019.18	16,076,629.07

The average toll per message in 1868 was 104.7; in 1880 was 31.2; in 1800 was 32.4; in 1891 was 32.5; in 1892 was 31.6; in 1893 was 31.2; in 1894 was 30.5; in 1895 was 30.7. The average cost per message to the company in 1868 was 63.4; in 1889 was 22.4; in 1890 was 22.7; in 1891 was 23.2; in 1892 was 22.3; in 1893 was 22.7; in 1894 was 23.3; in 1895 was 23.3.

References: A series of 16 articles, by Professor Parsons, in *The Arena* for 1896, commencing in January; United States Post Office Reports. See also NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

FRANK PARSONS.

TELEPHONE, THE.—Recent developments promise to place the telephone within the reach of all. Service is being offered in places of moderate size at \$8 to \$12 a year by private companies. If the telephone and telegraph were combined with the post-office, it might soon be possible for every farmhouse to have the means of cheap and almost instantaneous communication with neighboring towns, and any citizen could at trifling cost communicate with any other in the country. The arguments for and against the public ownership of the telegraph, and will be found under that head. We confine ourselves here to the statement of a few of the most significant facts.

Nations that begin with public ownership do not change to private; but there is a strong tendency toward public ownership in countries that begin with the private system. Belgium began with private telephones in 1884, but found it best to transfer them to public control, and January 1, 1893, all the telephone lines in the State became public property. Great Britain has ciphered out the same sum in social economics, and after many years of private telephony reached a similar conclusion and established a national system of telephone lines in 1895. Austria has moved along the same path, and since January, 1895, private telephone companies have ceased to exist in Vienna. Norway also has decided (1895) to take possession of all the trunk telephone lines. When the State owns the trunk lines and the municipalities own the local exchanges you have the very best possible telephone system. Trondhjem, in Norway, has bought up its telephone system.

Other cities like Rotterdam, Amsterdam, etc., are constructing municipal plants, and many more are discussing the subject. In America, the call for a postal telegraph includes the telephone. On the other hand, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, the Australian republics, and other countries that have had public telephones for years show no disposition to transfer them to private corporations.

The charges under public ownership are a mere trifle compared to the ordinary charges of private monopoly—from \$8 to \$16 a year public, and \$36 to \$250 under private monopoly is about

the relative charging power. There is some competition just now in consequence of the expiration of the telephone patents, so that even private companies are making low rates; but a vast syndicate is forming for the control of the telephone, the Western Union and the Bell have combined, and the probability is that monopoly, by force of enormous combinations, will take the place of monopoly by patent; if so, the people will soon be little better off than before the patents expired unless they adopt municipal ownership of local lines and national ownership of the distance telephone.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION CHARGES.

PUBLIC TELEPHONE.	Local Conversation by Non-Subscribers.	Rate between Neighboring Places.	Rate between Distant Places.
Germany	6 cents.	12 cents.	24 cents.
France	5 "	7 to 10 "	20 to 80 "
Belgium	5 "	5 to 7 "	20 "
Switzerland	2 "	6 to 10 "	15 "
Austria-Hungary	4 "	12 "	20 to 40 "
Trondhjem	2½ "	4 to 6½ "	.....
Great Britain (Postal Rates)	6 "	6 to 12 "	12 cents to \$1.00
PRIVATE TELEPHONE.			
United States (Bell)	10 to 15 cents.	15 to 25 cents.	30 cents to \$10.00

The first suggestion of the possibility of transferring sound electrically was made by Charles Bourseul in 1854, and in 1861 Philip Riis, in Germany, published an account of experiments in this line. A working plan was, however, first invented by Alexander Graham Bell, and patented March 7, 1876. According to the

World Almanac for 1896, the following are the latest statistics made public by the American Bell Telephone Company, which practically monopolizes the telephone business of the United States. The figures are for January 1 of each year:

	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.		1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.
Exchanges.....	788	812	838	867	Miles of wire sub-marine	1,029	1,336	1,637	1,856
Branch offices	509	539	571	572	Total miles of wire ..	266,456	307,791	353,480	396,674
Miles of wire on poles	180,139	201,259	214,676	232,008	Total circuits	186,462	201,322	205,891	212,074
Miles of wire on buildings.....	14,954	14,980	16,492	14,525	Total employees	8,376	9,970	10,421	11,004
Miles of wire underground.....	70,334	90,216	120,675	148,285	Total subscribers	216,017	232,140	237,186	243,432

The number of instruments in the hands of licensees under rental at the beginning of 1895 was 582,506. The number of exchange connections daily in the United States is 2,088,152, or a total per year of over 670,000,000. The average number of daily calls per subscriber was eight and one half. The company received in rental of telephones in 1894, \$2,502,992.17. It paid its stockholders in dividends in 1894, \$2,400,000. The capital of the company is \$20,000,000.

References An article on the telegraph monopoly in *The Arena* for September, 1896, and Mr. Bennett's *Telephone Systems of the Continent, Telephoning in Great Cities*, and various articles in the English electrical journals by the same writer.

FRANK PARSONS.

TEMPERANCE.—(See also SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM; HIGH LICENSE; INTemperance; LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; NORWEGIAN SYSTEM; PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY; POVERTY; WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

We give in this article a brief sketch of the temperance movement, referring the reader to the above articles for details.

The temperance movement may be said to be a modern movement; intemperance is as old as history. We find instances of intoxication in Genesis, the oldest Hebrew writing, and in Homer's pictures of early Greek social life. Intoxication is described or referred to in the ancient books of China, the *Vedas* of India, the *Avestas* of Persia, and in all early traditions. The fiery "rice wines" of India and China matched the drugged wines of Greece and Rome. Fermentation was usually the early source of intoxicating drinks; distillation has been known in Europe at least for only six centuries. Spirit drinking is said to have developed first in northern climes, and perhaps in England. There were, however, some early attempts at temperance reform. The Chinese claim that eleven centuries before Christ some of their emperors made strenuous temperance reforms, one going

so far as to order all vines in the kingdom to be uprooted. In India and Persia the priesthood early made some attempts at reform, and the Buddhists taught total abstinence. Buddhist sects seem to have spread total abstinence ideas far and wide, and among the Hebrews there were various total abstinence orders and sects, such as the Nazarites and Rechabites in olden times, and the Essenes and Therapeutæ of the time of Christ. Draco is said to have punished drunkenness with death, and Lycurgus, king of Thrace, to have ordered all vines to be destroyed, as did later Terbalduis, a Bulgarian prince. The Carthaginians forbade wine in the camps and among magistrates holding public office. In northern climes the use of intoxicating beverages was universal. The Saxons were mighty eaters and drinkers. The mead horn plays a large part in all Saxon literature. Mead or metheglin they made from honey, beer from barley. Weddings, christenings, and funerals were scenes of intoxication, sometimes of orgies. The burial clubs (see GUILDS) were drinking clubs. The Church strove somewhat for reform, perhaps because the clergy needed it. St. Gildas the Wise in 570 A.D. ordered the drunken clergy to be punished. St. David (569) punished also the publican. King Edgar, at the instance of Dunstan, limited by law the number of taverns and the size of the pots. By a law of 1285 taverns in London were to close at curfew. This was to prevent crime. Yet drinking increased. When George Neville was made Archbishop of York, in 1464, we are told that 300 tuns of ale and 100 of wine were consumed. Bacon saw that "all the crimes on earth do not destroy so many of the human race nor alienate so much property as drunkenness." Beginning with 1603, legislation against ale houses and drunkenness is very frequent, but accomplished nothing. According to Bishop Earle, the public house was the rendezvous for all classes. All or almost all the clergy drank. Decker says that in 1632 a whole street was in some places but a continuous ale house, not a shop to be seen between red lattice and red lattice. The Puritans were about as bad. Pepys says Monk's troops were most of them drunk all day. Even the women drank. Lecky says that in 1688, 12,400,000 bbls. of beer were brewed for a population of a little over 5,000,000, or about 90 gals. a head against about 29 at present in England. In the eighteenth century gin-drinking increased. Retailers hung out signs saying, "Drunk for *1d.* Dead drunk for *2d.* Straw for nothing." Eleven million gals. of gin were consumed in England in 1733; nearly 20,000,000 in 1742. In 1749 there were 17,000 gin shops within the bills of mortality. Crime and immorality rose. In 1736 Parliament tried to suppress gin-drinking by putting a prohibitory tax on it, but the illicit trade was so great that it soon went to the other extreme, and made the trade well-nigh free. But this did no good. In 1751 distillers were forbidden to sell to unlicensed publicans, and tipping debts could not be collected by law. According to Lecky, this did some good. Gin began to give way to beer, a vast improvement.

Eighteenth Century.

In the American colonies the evil was as bad. Dr. Dorchester (*Problems of Religious Progress*) tells us that in 1790 $2\frac{1}{2}$ gals. of distilled spirits and wine were consumed per capita; in 1810, $4\frac{1}{2}$; in 1823, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of spirits alone. At a later date there were 400,000 confirmed drunkards, while everybody drank a little, and often to excess. The rich drank French and Spanish brandy; the middle classes, Jamaica rum; the poor, New England rum. Drunkenness was not uncommon among the clergy, and an ordination was often little short of a debauch. Rum was a requisite of every gathering. All public men drank. (See also CRIME.)

The modern temperance movement began in the first quarter of this century, in England first, tho it first gained headway in the United States. In 1800 Micajah Pendleton, of Nelson County, Va., signed and circulated a total abstinence pledge. In 1804 Dr. Benjamin Rush (*q.v.*), of Philadelphia, wrote an important temperance paper, and in 1805 Dr. Ebenezer Porter, of Connecticut, preached an important sermon. In 1808 Dr. J. B. Clark founded, in Saratoga County, N. Y., the Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland. In 1813 the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed. In 1826 the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was founded in Boston, based upon total abstinence, the Rev. Mr. Hewitt being the first general agent. By 1829 there were 11 State and about 1000 local societies. The same year six sermons by Lyman Beecher, of Litchfield, Conn., produced a wide effect. In 1833 there were 6000 local societies and over 1,000,000 members; 2000 distilleries had been stopped. Most of this early temperance movement, however, was opposed simply to the use of distilled spirits, and the pledge in general use had reference to these alone. Cider, beer, and wine were generally considered harmless or indispensable. Total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors was embodied in Pendleton's pledge of 1800 and in the New York society of 1809 and in a few other local societies, but was voted down by the general society in 1833. In 1836, however, at the meeting in Saratoga it was finally adopted, and the American Temperance Society has since been committed to total abstinence. In 1840 began the great but brief Washingtonian movement, when six intemperate drinkers in Baltimore, Md.—Mitchell, Hoss, Anderson, Steers, McCurley, and Campbell—met one Friday evening, April 2, at their usual resort, and suddenly resolved to reform. They drew up a pledge, signed it on the spot, calling themselves the Washingtonian Society. They began to hold public meetings, and met with great success. Crowds attended, and thousands took the pledge. Many became speakers, and Washingtonian societies were organized everywhere. In four or five years it is estimated that 150,000 drunkards and 500,000 others signed the pledge. The movement, however, did not endure. The toper's motley became the sensational talk of speakers, and ignorant and sometimes evil men, caring only for notoriety or pay, ruined the movement. In 1842 the Order of the Sons of

The United States.

Temperance was founded in the city of New York, the first society modeled after Masonic ideas. In 1845 the Order of the Templars of Honor and Temperance, and in 1851 the Order of Good Templars (*q.v.*) were formed.

Modern Movements.

In 1845 a law in New York State prohibiting the public sale of alcoholic liquor was passed and referred to the people, and received a large majority, but in 1847 it was repealed. In 1851 the Maine law (*q.v.*) was passed. (For temperance legislation since that date, see PROHIBITION; HIGH LICENSE; LOCAL OPTION.) In 1874 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union commenced its important and successful movement, for an account of which see that head. The influential Catholic Total Abstinence Union was formed in Baltimore in 1872.

In Great Britain Dr. Trotter, of Edinburgh, published a book on the effects of intemperance in 1809. The first temperance society was organized in Skibbereen, in Ireland, in 1818. The first society based on total abstinence was formed at New Ross, Ireland, by the Rev. George Cane in 1829, tho the same year one was formed in Glasgow, Scotland. Within a year there were 25 societies in Ireland. The first society of England was formed in Yorkshire in 1830, teetotalism being still used as colloquial for total abstinence, and the same year the London Temperance Society held its first public meeting. In 1831 the British and Foreign Temperance Society was formed, and in Dublin the Hibernia Temperance Society. In 1830 the Duke of Wellington Beer Act tried to encourage the use of beer instead of spirits. In 1834 a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report on the subject. Mr. Muchmoore in this report describes the evils of the day. Fourteen public houses were patronized by 2750 persons each per day. They had connected with them large halls invisible from the street, where girls of the town, sailors, etc., danced. According to the census there was then one public house for every 20 families in the United Kingdom. To-day there is not one for every 50. The spirits distilled in England rose from 43,000,000 in the four years, 1791-95, to 154,000,000 in 1826-31.

In 1838 the Rev. Theobald Mathew (Father Mathew), a Roman Catholic priest in Cork, in Ireland, commenced a temperance movement, and in the space of five months administered the pledge to 150,000 persons in Cork alone. In Galway 100,000 took the pledge in two days. He traveled in Ireland and England, and in 1850 came to America, everywhere finding great success, and becoming known till his death, in 1856, as the Apostle of Temperance. The Father Mathew societies of the Catholic Church still attest his memory, tho much of his early work died away. From 1840 to 1850 the temperance movement languished, and in 1850 the British and Foreign Temperance Society perished of inanition. In 1853 a United Kingdom Alliance was formed in Manchester to agitate for prohibitory laws. Various ideas were introduced from the United States, and in 1863 the Order of Good Templars. The Church of England Temperance Society was formed in 1862. Total abstinence became the

cry. A Working Man's Teetotal League was formed and other similar societies. In 1872 was passed the Licensing Act, the most important act of the century, tho acts have been very numerous, most of them ineffective. In 1876 the House of Lords appointed a select committee on the subject. At present the Church of England Temperance Society seems to be the largest society with 609,319 members, 384,289 of these being juveniles, and of the remainder 174,637 being of the total abstinence section. According to Mr. Nelius, one person in England out of eight is a teetotaller, but Mr. Arthur Shadwell, to whose articles in the *National Review* for December, 1895, and April, 1896, we are much indebted for our facts, very much questions whether this is not a great exaggeration.

During recent years notable advance has been made in Great Britain along the line of sentiment in favor of Sunday closing. Scotland has had all-day Sunday closing since 1853-54; Ireland, except in the five chief towns of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, since 1878; and Wales, since 1881. Up to 1839 public houses were open throughout England the whole of Sunday except during the hours of morning and afternoon divine service. In that year, owing to the disorderly state of many of the London streets on Sunday morning, a clause was inserted in the metropolitan police act to close public houses from midnight on Saturday to one o'clock on Sunday afternoon. Other cities followed suit, and in 1854 Patten's bill further closed the public houses on Sunday afternoon from 2.30 to 6 o'clock, and 10 at night to 4 on Monday morning. This has been the law with slight modifications since that time. There is strong public sentiment in England for entire Sunday closing. Such sentiment is also spreading in Canada.

On the Continent, sentiment in favor of temperance and total abstinence is growing. In the Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, the problem is being partially solved by the Gothenburg system, or State conduct of the liquor traffic. **Europe.** (For a discussion of the benefits claimed for this by its advocates and the faults charged by its opponents, see GOTHENBURG SYSTEM; NORWEGIAN SYSTEM; SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY LAW.)

In France and Germany a number of medical and scientific bodies of the highest and most conservative authority have made utterances as to the evil effects of the use of intoxicating liquors. These have been in the nature, generally, of warnings against the effects of drunkenness on individual and national life, and have, therefore, furnished good refutation of the claim, made by some, that drunkenness is not a public evil in wine-drinking countries. Influential periodicals in France, like the review *Science Française*, *Le Temps*, and bodies like the French Academy of Medicine and the Association for the Advancement of Science, have taken up the fight against the beverage use of alcohol. In Germany, one of the most noteworthy of recent developments has been the publication in the *Deutsche Versicherungs-Zeitung*, of Berlin, of a lecture by Dr. Brendel,

delivered before the Anthropological Society of Munich (March 28, 1894), in which insurance companies are warned that their risks are dangerously increased by alcoholism—drink almost always shortening life.

The latest developments in Europe of the temperance movement have been steps toward the nationalizing of the trade in alcohol by France, Switzerland, and Russia. In the United States, South Carolina has tried a similar system, and other States are preparing to follow. (See SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM for the movement in Europe and in this country.)

In the United States, the report (informally published in *The Atlantic* for February, 1897) of the Committee of Fifty, organized in 1893, says that prohibition has abolished the manufacture of distilled and malt liquors on a large scale where it has been tried, tho it has not completely excluded intoxicating drinks. It has often brought law into disrepute by its non-enforcement. The report favors the taxing system rather than license. It thinks the South Carolina system successful.

References: See the above-mentioned report, also CYCLOPEDIA OF TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION.

TEMPLE, WILLIAM, was born in London in 1628. Entering the diplomatic service, he represented England at the court of Brussels and in Holland. He sat in Parliament one year, but in 1680 retired from public life, and died in 1699. He wrote, among other books, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (1672) and an *Essay on the Trade of Ireland* (1673), in which, says Ingram, he mingled just views and mercantilist prejudices.

TENEMENTS AND TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM.—We consider this subject under three heads: I. The Tenement Evil; II. Statistics of Tenements; III. Tenement-house Reform.

I. THE TENEMENT EVIL.

We quote on this point from the valuable report of the Tenement-house Committee of the State of New York, dated January 17, 1895. The committee was appointed by act of the Legislature in 1894.

Under the act the following were named by the governor as members of the commission: W. Bayard Cutting, Cyrus Edson, Roger Foster, R. W. Gilder, Solomon Moses, George B. Post, and John P. Schuchman. Mr. Cutting being unable to accept the appointment, the governor appointed in his place W. D'H. Washington. Mr. Gilder was chosen chairman. The report which concerns New York City says:

"A 'tenement-house' shall be taken to mean and include every house, building, or portion thereof, which is rented, leased, let or hired out, to be occupied, or is occupied, as the house, home or residence of three or more families living independently of one another, and doing their cooking upon the premises, or by more than two families upon a floor so living and cooking, but having a common right in the halls, stairways, yards, water-closets or privies, or some of them.

"The entire population of the tenements in 1893, according to the board of health census, was 1,332,773 persons, living in 39,138 houses, out of an entire estimated population of 1,891,306. Laws touching upon tenements may, therefore, where there is no exception,

directly affect 70.46 of our population. But it is estimated that of the entire tenement-house population, as defined by law, only about four fifths really belong to the class which is usually designated by that term, the remaining fifth living in what are known as flats, or apartment-houses. The board of health, in its practical enforcement of the law, has not required its obedience in, nor made a regular inspection of, the better class of what the law defines as tenements, and which are included in that one fifth; and in the figures above quoted the most expensive apartment-houses and their inhabitants are not included at all. The population of the city living in what are generally called tenement-houses, rather than apartment-houses, is believed to be eight fifteenths, or a little over one half of the total population of New York.

"The overcrowding of other cities takes place mainly through the herding of human beings in a single room. For example, notwithstanding the great improvement in this respect in Glasgow since 1871, nearly 38 per cent. of the population of that city in 1891 slept and cooked and lived in a single room for each family.

"The committee is glad to state that this evil, tho it exists in this city to some extent, is by no means so great here as in the old world. On the other hand, we have an evil here which is peculiarly our own. The 'double-decker,' so called, is the one hopeless form of tenement-house construction. It began with the old New York dwelling altered over, and gradually a type was produced in some respects better and in some worse than the earlier forms of the narrow tenement. The double-decker cannot be well ventilated; it cannot be well lighted; it is not safe in case of fire. It is built on a lot 25 feet wide by 100 or less in depth, with apartments for four families in each story. This necessitates the occupation of from 86 to 90 per cent. of the lot's depth. . . .

"If we take the death-rate of children as a test, the rear tenements show themselves to be veritable slaughter-houses, as shown in the following table, which only covers the lower wards, where such houses are numerous:

WARDS.	Death-rate of Children Under Five Years of Age in Single Tenements.	Death-rate of Children Under Five Years of Age in Front and Rear Tenements on Same Lot.
1.....	109.58	204.54
4.....	105.69	114.68
5.....	107.99	64.52
6.....	103.56	99.54
7.....	61.78	72.58
8.....	95.58	129.56
9.....	120.78	130.56
10.....	57.20	62.58
11.....	73.12	71.49
13.....	83.05	200.59
14.....	129.56	114.12
17.....	62.04	78.36

The following is from the report of the secretary of the Commission, Edward Marshall:

"Your report on the death-rate in New York City shows that one of the most important elements which go to make it high is the presence of old and dilapidated buildings. This inspection shows that there are many houses in the city in an unsanitary condition which absolutely unfit them for habitation. One of the greatest menaces to health in the tenement-house, as it exists to-day, is the saturation of the walls, floors and everything else in the neighborhood of hallway sinks with Croton water and slops. It is thus that sinks in tenement-houses become centers of unhealthful influence. In almost every case this condition can be traced to the lack of light in the hallways. A woman going to the sink to fill her pail with water or to empty into it refuse water, is doubly likely to spill the contents of her pail if the hall be so dark as to force her to wholly or partially feel her way. And the very lack of light, which originally caused this mishap, is certain to ag-

Unfit Condition.

grate its results. If the hall is dark, having spilled the water or slops, she is unable to see what she has done, and, therefore, does not attempt to remedy it. Light in the hallways would not only in most cases prevent her from wetting the floors of the hallways, but would, in case she did accidentally do so, generally induce her to clean up the mess before she left the hall. It is true also that tenants throw refuse of improper character—such as bedroom water and human excreta—into the sinks of dark hallways more frequently than into sinks in well-lighted hallways. Where darkness makes identification of such an offender improbable, a person inclined to this kind of slovenliness has almost no reason for refraining from carrying out his vile impulse. More than 100 sinks used for such improper and dangerous purposes were discovered by this examination, and it is generally known to the health board and your committee's examiners that the use of sinks in dark hallways as urinals is by no means infrequent. These things cannot, of course, fail to threaten the health of the house in which they occur. The moral argument calling for light in the hallways of tenement-houses is a strong one. In the heterogeneous population of a large tenement-house, it is frequently true that young boys and girls receive first lessons in evil doings in dark hallways, which they would entirely escape were their actions, while passing through or pausing in the hallways, open to the view of the other tenants in the house. The impressions of the committee's examiners confirm those of such students as Mr. Jacob A. Riis and others on this point.

For Boston, the Massachusetts Labor Bureau reported in 1891 and 1892 as to the tenements. The following are some of the results :

"For the city as a whole, 67 per cent. of the estimated total population live in rented tenements, and while of the persons thus housed 12.08 per cent. is in tenements subjected to poor or bad outside sanitary conditions, and 8.38 per cent., 8.41 per cent., and 12.30 per cent. in tenements poor or bad with respect to light and air, ventilation and cleanliness, respectively, nevertheless these persons constitute but 8.09 per cent., 5.62 per cent., 5.64 per cent., and 8.24 per cent., respectively, of the estimated total population.

"The whole number of sleeping rooms without outside windows found in the city was 3657.

"Out of 3657, the aggregate number of sleeping rooms without outside windows, 113 were in tenements under excellent inside and outside sanitary conditions; 722 were in tenements under good inside and outside sanitary conditions; 337 in tenements fair as to light and air and ventilation, and classed as good with respect to outside sanitary condition and cleanliness; 583 in tenements under conditions classed as fair, both internally and externally; and 145 in tenements classed as poor both internally and externally.

"Why do the tenants of the poorer houses remain in them? It is not always poverty that compels them, altho this is generally the first conclusion. A special inquiry covering 475 families, comprising 2140 persons, residing in tenements or neighborhoods classed as poor or bad, was undertaken for the purpose of securing definite information upon this point. The result is presented in the following table :

CAUSES.	Number of Families.	Population.	PERCENTAGES.	
			Families.	Population.
Intemperance.....	205	912	43.16	42.62
Low rent.....	74	290	15.58	13.55
Poverty.....	22	103	4.63	4.81
Choice.....	53	240	11.16	11.22
Necessity.....	117	572	24.63	26.73
Nearness to work.....	4	23	0.84	1.07
Totals.....	475	2,140	100.00	100.00

"In tabulating the results, the principal cause which led the family to occupy the poor tenement has been selected, altho in some cases more than one cause was found. For instance, if poverty and intemperance were both found to be operative, and intemperance was, after investigation, deemed to be the leading

cause, and poverty a result, rather than itself the main cause, the families have been classed under the head of 'intemperance' in the table. The question of choice or necessity in regard to the tenancy of these worst places was frequently difficult to determine. The word 'necessity,' as used in the table, implies that the families classed under this head were obliged to occupy the tenements in which they were found for various reasons different from the five other causes named. This explanation is required in order that the reader may not assume that where persons are classed under this head the necessity was a pecuniary one. If this had been the case, the family would have been classed under the head of 'poverty' or 'low rent' as might have been found most proper. The necessity in most cases was hardly capable of distinct definition. Sometimes it was due to the inability of families with large numbers of small children to obtain tenements in better localities; sometimes it was attributable to the unwillingness of landlords, for reasons peculiar to the case, to admit the family to better tenements; the nationality and occupation of the family were sometimes found to be factors in determining the tenancy, and sometimes the necessity of residing near the place of employment obliged the family to occupy the tenement. When proximity to the place of employment was distinctly the controlling cause, however, the families have been included under the head, 'nearness to work.' As to the matter of 'choice,' one of the causes specified in the table, it should be said that while it may seem strange that any one should deliberately choose a tenement of this class, it is nevertheless true that many recent accessions of certain nationalities prefer to live in proximity to neighbors of the same nationality, and are not unwilling to occupy poor tenements or tenements in poor neighborhoods to gratify this preference."

Concerning the moral conditions in the tenements, the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington writes in the *Forum* :

"Take one block in a tenement-house district. It will measure 700 by 200 feet. On all four sides are rows of tenements four or five stories high. Behind one third of the houses in these rows are rear houses, with smaller rooms, darker and dirtier passages, backed often by another rear house, a brewery, a stable or a factory. Altogether there are 1736

Tenement Life.

rooms. In these rooms live 2076 souls, divided into 463 families; thus, on the average, each family of five persons occupies three rooms. The population of some parts of New York is 200,000 to the square mile—the most densely populated part of London has 170,000. Of course in many cases the family is larger (some of the very poorest people take lodgers), and in a number of cases we have found 14 or 15 grown persons occupying two rooms, or even one. And then many of these 'rooms' are hardly more than closets, and dark closets at that. Almost all the bedrooms measure only seven feet by nine, and have but one door and one window. The door leads into the apartment that serves as kitchen, parlor, sitting-room, laundry and workshop, and the window opens on a dark stairway, up which the moisture from the cellar and the sewer gas from the drains are continually rising. One fifth of these rooms, too, are in basements below the level of the street, and nearly half of even the outer rooms open into courts only 20 feet wide, in which there are usually several wooden privies for the use of the 15 or 20 families in the front and rear houses. . . .

"At all seasons of the year the inhabitants of a tenement-house must meet one another in the entries (sometimes less than three feet wide), on the stairs, at the sink (there is but one on each floor); must see into one another's rooms as each person goes in and out; must use the roof, the doorway, the yard, in common. But when the summer heats are on, and men and women crowd together on the top of the house waiting for a breeze to come; when men will sit all night on a seat in the park to escape the closeness of a room where fire has been burning all day (not for cooking, but to heat the irons for the laundry or the tailor's shop); when every window must stand open to let in what little air there is; then it may be seen that privacy in a tenement-house is not much more possible than in an eastern caravansary or in the steerage of an emigrant vessel. At such a time every loud word spoken reaches the ears of scores of people. From one room come the harsh tones of a husband and wife in the heat of a 'family quarrel,' oaths and imprecations ringing out on the fetid air; from another window come the shouts

and frantic laughter of men and women (God pity them!) trying to drown their misery in liquor from the gin mill on the corner, while from the roof of a neighboring house come the words of a ribald song flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. And, as if this were not debasing enough, in many of these blocks every other house has, on the ground floor, a saloon or rum shop, from which the smell of alcohol issues at all times; where the monotonous click of balls on the pool table sounds till after midnight, when it gives place to the howls of drunken men turned out on the street; and past the door of which, often open into the entry, every person, every child, in the house must pass to and from his room.

But this by no means exhausts the abominations of the system of tenement house life. There is many a "home" where a boy or girl over 14 years old would not think of passing an evening unless compelled to do so. Think of coming back after a hard day's work in a shop to find the only sitting-room half filled with wash-tubs, the baby crying, children squabbling on the floor, or perhaps tumbling about on the bed; the walls hung with the soiled clothes and dresses of the family; the whole place reeking with the smell of fat and garlic from the hot stove; the table 'set' with coarse, broken china, strewn on a dirty board; a kerosene lamp, without a shade, smoking in the middle; a loaf of bread in the brown paper in which it was wrapped at the bakery, and a coffee-pot of black, bitter coffee. That is the scene which welcomes many a girl or boy, just

beginning to realize how differently other people live. Is it strange that they gulp down their sugarless coffee and, at the first chance, slip out into the street beneath? "I am quite aware that much of what I have written will seem overstated. It seems so to me, and yet I know that it is not. Every single fact has been verified and can be verified in thousands of cases. And this is not more than half the truth... of the horrors of a state of things where manhood is brutalized, womanhood dishonored, childhood poisoned at its very source.

"That is the present witness of those who have looked unflinchingly at the facts. Two clergymen, one of them the rector of one of the largest of our city churches, the other now a missionary bishop, formerly a hard-working priest among the city poor, have recently given public utterance to the statement that in many tenement-houses morality is practically impossible."

II. STATISTICS.

The following table gives the statistics of population, families, dwellings, and area in the 12 largest cities of the United States, as compiled from the returns of the census of 1890. In the city of New York, 82 per cent. of the families live in houses having three or more families. In Philadelphia, more than 84 per cent. of the families have each a house of its own.

CITIES.	Population.	Families.	Dwellings.	Area.	Population per Square Mile.	Average Number of Persons to a Dwelling.	Average Number of Families to a Dwelling.	FAMILIES IN DWELLINGS.		
								Having One Family.	Having Three Families and Over.	Having Ten Families and Over.
				Miles.				Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
New York.....	1,515,301	312,766	81,828	40.22	37,675	18.52	3.82	12.02	82.08	38.60
Chicago.....	1,099,850	220,320	127,871	160.57	6,850	8.60	1.72	35.04	38.80	.86
Philadelphia.....	1,046,964	205,135	187,052	129.39	8,092	5.60	1.10	84.64	4.90	.07
Brooklyn.....	806,343	170,970	82,282	26.46	30,474	9.80	2.08	24.64	53.03	1.77
St. Louis.....	451,770	91,756	60,937	61.35	7,364	7.41	1.51	44.46	23.47	1.20
Boston.....	448,477	89,716	52,669	35.23	12,712	8.52	1.70	34.63	37.46	1.75
Baltimore.....	434,439	86,654	72,112	28.38	15,308	6.02	1.20	69.53	7.52	.07
San Francisco.....	298,997	52,535	47,183	15.46	19,340	6.34	1.11	82.65	6.42	.35
Cincinnati.....	296,908	63,530	33,487	25.00	11,876	8.87	1.90	31.96	48.40	2.67
Cleveland.....	261,353	53,052	43,835	24.88	10,595	5.96	1.21	69.33	8.88	.55
Buffalo.....	255,664	51,461	37,290	39.04	6,549	6.86	1.38	54.03	20.11	.57
New Orleans.....	242,039	48,582	43,000	37.09	6,526	5.63	1.13	80.86	7.80	.51

THE MOST CROWDED WARDS OF NEW YORK CITY.

WARDS IN NEW YORK CITY.	Average Number of Families to a Dwelling.	Average Number of Persons to a Dwelling.	FAMILIES IN DWELLINGS.			Dwellings Having Over Twenty Persons.
			Having One Family.	Having Three Families and Over.	Having Ten Families and Over.	
			Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
IV.....	4.92	24.56	6.50	86.88	50.52	38.62
VI.....	5.50	31.20	6.60	90.21	54.53	46.69
VII.....	5.48	27.15	3.47	90.62	49.86	43.96
X.....	7.85	38.50	2.52	94.57	72.22	57.49
XI.....	6.73	31.43	1.62	95.67	51.31	57.75
XIII.....	6.69	32.06	2.30	93.96	58.93	52.27
XIV.....	6.46	31.25	4.18	92.31	64.85	49.50
XVII.....	6.43	27.96	3.26	93.65	57.07	52.43
Total for eight wards.....	6.39	30.27	3.13	93.25	57.43	51.34
Total for New York City.....	3.82	18.52	12.02	82.08	38.60	28.84

According to the census for 1890, the following percentage of the families occupied hired houses: Baltimore, 25.90; Boston, 20.00; Brooklyn, 81.44; Chicago, 71.27; Cincinnati, 80.82; New York, 93.67; Philadelphia, 77.24; St. Louis, 79.53; San Francisco, 78.46. In Boston the percentage in four wards ran from 94.81 to 96.98; in New York, eleven wards ran 97.38 to 99.14.

For statistics of density of population, see CITIES.

In Europe, altho there is no density of crowding compared with some of the wards of New York City, there is often a larger proportion of population housed in cellars or in single rooms. In Glasgow, in 1891, according to Albert Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (p. 84), 100,000 people lived in one room and 264,000 in two rooms. The Liverpool Victoria Legal Friendly Society proscribes for Liverpool alone, on account of the unhealthiness of their character, 167 "streets wherein no members of the society may be entered" (Circular of October 13, 1886). Yet these unhealthy streets are not too bad to be the only homes of thousands of the poorer citizens of that commercial center.

Of the 1,000,000 Londoners estimated by Mr. Booth to be in poverty, practically none are housed as well as a prudent man provides for his horse. These 200,000 families, earning not more than a guinea a week, and that often irregularly, pay from 3s. to 7s. per week for filthy slum tenements, of which a large proportion are absolutely "unfit for habitation," even according to the lax standards of existing sanitary officers.

On the Continent, according to the report of the consul at Brussels in 1890, there were at that time 4601 working men's dwellings, accommodating 19,284 families. The number of families occupying an entire house was 491; three rooms, 1371; two rooms, 8058; one room, 6978; attic room, 2168; cellar, 200. The average monthly rental for one room was \$2.25, and the average daily income, 60 cents. According to the report on Germany of the English Royal Commission on Labor, in Berlin the conditions are specially bad, and the average number of persons inhabiting one tenement (*Grundstück*) has risen from 60.7 in 1880 to 66.0 in 1885. Subletting was shown by the census of 1880 to be exceedingly frequent, 7 1 per cent. of the population took in persons who boarded and lodged with them, and 15.3 per cent. took in persons to sleep (*Schlafleute*). One instance is given of a household taking 34 such night lodgers, in another case there were 11, including two women. Thirty-eight per cent. of the families taking night lodgers lived in a single room.

Rents in Berlin for one room in the center ran up \$5 per month in 1890; in the inner circle and western district they were from \$2.80 to \$3.60; in the outer circle from \$1.90 to \$2.50.

III. TENEMENT-HOUSE REFORM.

Tenement-house reform has been attempted in different ways: (1) by cleansing the tenements and attempting to reform the habits of those living in them; (2) by erecting model tenements; (3) by municipal purchase of the worst sections, destroying the buildings, and erecting better ones; (4) by inducing the removal of families to the suburbs or to become owners of their own houses.

The most noted instance of the first method is the work of Miss Octavia Hill, in London, who began her work as early as 1864. She had reached the conclusion that many people were not fitted to live in model dwellings, and could only gradually be made so. Moved to pity and indignation by the doleful situation, she unburdened her mind to John Ruskin, and said jokingly, in reference to a given property, "I wish you would buy it, put it in fair order, and let me collect the rents for you." He quickly responded, "I will," and he did. The experience in her initial effort was so satisfactory that she has since made friendly visitation of working people her life-work.

Miss Hill purchases buildings out of repair, especially those which are filled with the lowest class that has any settled habitation. The houses are put in order, but no new appliances of any kind are added. The tenants wait for these until they have proven themselves capable of taking care of them. A fixed sum is set aside for repairs; if any of it remains after breakage and damage have been made good, each tenant in turn decides in what way the surplus shall be spent, so as to add to the comfort of the house.

The pecuniary result has been satisfactory: 5 per cent. interest has been paid on the capital invested and a fund for the repayment of capital is accumulated. Miss Hill is invariably averse to giving statistics of the value of property under her control, the amount of rentals received, and the number of families visited, since she deprecates publicity. Advices, however, indicate that in 1887 Miss Hill and her friends had 5000 dwellings in their charge. She believes that there is not the same scope now for her work as formerly, the attitude of the people being much more independent.

Miss Hill's system has been largely copied in England, Scotland, and in this country: by Miss Ellen Collins in New York, Mrs. Lincoln in Boston, Miss Edith Wright in Philadelphia. Miss Collins in New York bought six houses on the corner of Water and Roosevelt streets. It was in one of the worst localities, the resort of the worst characters, and the buildings are now the most orderly.

The plan of model tenements is more ambitious. The report on the Housing of the Working People, by Professor E. R. L. Gould, the eighth special report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, describes no less than 115 enterprises of this kind in Europe and America. In Europe, they exist in almost all German cities and in many English and French. Some of them are simply commercial, while even

Model Tenements.

the semi-philanthropic ones have usually been made to pay a fair interest. The general plan of these is that of a central courtyard, around which the buildings are grouped with two and three-room flats, every room opening on the outer air. The best-known of these enterprises, tho only one among many in London, is that of the Peabody Fund. George Peabody in 1862 gave £150,000, and later increased it to £500,000 for erecting sanitary homes for the London poor. Under the

management of the trustees this was used simply as capital, and more has been added, till the fund in 1893 was \$5,406,238. Since the commencement \$1,897,935 have been borrowed, mainly from the public works loan commissioners, at an interest of about 3½ per cent.

The Guinness trust is due to the beneficence of Lord Iveagh (Edward Cecil Guinness), who in recent years made a gift of £250,000 (\$1,216,625) to improve the living environments of working people. Two hundred thousand pounds (\$973,300) was to be spent in London and £50,000 (\$243,325) in Dublin. By the terms of the trust the poorer element only among the working people was to be accepted as tenants, and the net returns were to be applied to perpetuating the work. Provision for 3245 people has already been made in London.

The Guinness trust has not yet completed its work in London. Four different estates have been created, containing in all 263 one-room, 541 two-room, and 139 three-room tenements. Three thousand two hundred and forty-five persons were housed in all these buildings during the fiscal year 1893.

There are numerous other such enterprises in London—some 600 "model" tenements in all, tho not all of them are model. Many of them are simply commercial. Says Professor Gould:

"Of the 160,000 people in London, who live in real, not sham, model tenement-houses, less than 25 per cent. reside in premises owned by philanthropic corporations like the Peabody and Guinness trusts. The remainder are tenants of individual owners and of companies who expect and receive remunerative commercial returns upon their investments."

In Germany, such enterprises are very common, tho not so extensive, and are usually successful.

In New York City the principal efforts toward furnishing improved dwellings to the poor have been made by the Improved Dwelling Association, of which Mr. W. B. Cutting, R. F. Cutting, D. Willis James, S. D. Babcock, Cornelius Vanderbilt, J. W. Pinchot, John Claffin, George Bliss, and Dennison Wood are trustees; by Messrs. R. Fulton Cutting and W. Bayard Cutting, in a separate enterprise; by the New York Tenement-House Building Company and Association, of which Mr. Joseph Drexel, Mr. Oswald Ottendorfer, and Dr. Felix Adler have been and are the animating spirits; by the Chichester estate; by Miss Ellen Collins and by Mr. Sloan. In Brooklyn, Mr. Alfred T. White, now commissioner of public works, has carried out an enterprise which has been an object lesson not only to New York but to the whole country.

The general idea being the same, a mere mention may be made of some other undertakings.

The Improved Dwellings Company, of Brooklyn, is the outgrowth of a successful experiment in providing model tenements for working people by Mr. Alfred T. White. Nearly 20 years ago he made a private investment, and succeeded so well that he induced other members of his own family to cooperate in the work. The result has been the erection of buildings accommodating nearly 500 families, and the most satisfactory demonstration which has probably yet

occurred in this country of the financial success which may attend this form of philanthropy.

The Astral Apartments, also of Brooklyn, are owned by the Pratt Institute, and accommodate some 325 persons. Such are but a few of similar undertakings in New York and Brooklyn. In Boston, a cooperative building company was incorporated in 1871. In Philadelphia, Mr. Theodore Starr has been active in this line. Almost all of these enterprises have been financially successful. Says Professor Gould of them in an article in the *Yale Review* for May, 1896, based on his report:

"There is no combination so mellifluous as philanthropy and dividends. Humanity is never averse to simultaneous expansions of heart and pocket. . . .

"In America, out of the avowedly commercial enterprises engaged in furnishing improved housing facilities, but one paid less than 5 per cent.; 0.06 and 10 per cent. represent the maximum of net profits in two specific instances. The reason alleged for being temporarily unable to earn more than 2 per cent. in the single exceptional case was a certain prejudice against the appearance of the building, which working men thought looked too much like a barrack or public institution. This notion bids fair to pass away, since families who came to live there show a tendency to remain.

"Of the two American semi-philanthropic housing corporations mentioned, both earned up to the fixed limit—viz., 4 per cent., and in addition from ¼ to 1½ per cent. for reserve.

"In Europe but 3 out of the 20 commercial housing enterprises failed to earn at least 4 per cent., while 19 earned 5 per cent. and upward."

Municipal undertakings are mainly confined to Great Britain. In 1866 Glasgow redeemed a tract of 86 acres. Mr. M. T. Reynolds, in his monograph on *The Housing of the Poor in American Cities*, published by the American Economic Association, says of this enterprise in Glasgow and of similar ones in other English cities:

"The city of Glasgow may serve as an excellent example of expropriation, not only because of the large scale on which the work was undertaken, but because of the shrewdness with which it was carried out and the good results that followed. The city is very old, and, like all medieval towns, densely built. The lines of the streets in the older parts of the town had not been disturbed, tho the buildings had been rebuilt, so that in certain portions it was more densely crowded than any European town. The city was a maze of narrow and filthy streets, with lanes and alleys lined with old decaying houses, in which swarmed a population so dense that in some cases it reached 1000 to the acre.

"In 1866 a plan was devised for redeeming a tract of 86 acres, comprising the whole of the ancient town. Authority was obtained from Parliament to purchase property and tear down buildings, the expense of which was to be met by a tax or rental of sixpence on the pound for five years, and twopence for 10 years longer. This tax was reduced to fourpence after the first year. The ground purchased was cleared, streets were laid out and the property was resold to be built on by new owners. The financial management was admirable. £350,000, raised by taxation, furnished sufficient capital for all improvements, and the net cost to the city, including suits lost, interest on cost of land lying idle, and all expenses of management, is estimated at about £180,000. Artificial elevation of prices by land-owners, in view of a sale to the city, was avoided by judicious management. All bargains were made individually, by a private agent, and no striking improvement, which should enhance the value of the land at any given point, was undertaken until all the land affected by it had been purchased.

"Tenants in the purchased dwellings were not evicted until places could be found for them elsewhere. The knowledge that they were to be disposed caused the erection of buildings and tenements for them where land was available, in the outskirts of

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the town. The result of these changes was that the center of the city, in its reclaimed condition, was built up with shops and warehouses, or houses for the middle class, while the poorer classes were housed on the outskirts, a much healthier condition of things than had before existed.

"Seven model tenements were erected at a cost of £90,000, but these were soon sold to private owners, as they were found to be unprofitable, because, being erected at the expense of the city, they were considered as public charities, and were consequently unpopular.

"The death-rate, which had been 32.4 per 1000 from 1868-70, fell to 25.5 per 1000 from 1880-82. The number of crimes decreased from 10,899 in 1867 to 7869 in 1873.

"Five other towns where expropriation has been tried gave the following results:

	Total Cost of Property.	Estimated Loss.
Swansea.....	£61,280.....	£11,044
Wolverhampton.....	162,307.....	45,307
Derby.....	86,540.....	37,774
Nottingham.....	84,500.....	35,500
Newcastle-on-Tyne..	40,000.....	18,300

"From which we see that the average net charge was more than 30 per cent. on the original cost of the property.

"In Birmingham 43 acres in the worst districts were cleared, and a new street 65 feet wide was run from the heart of the city. The land was then leased on long leases. The former population was 9000, comprised in 1335 houses. In the first two years 4004 small houses, accommodating 25,000 persons, were built by private enterprise. The death-rate decreased perceptibly.

"The total for eight streets showed a reduction from 26 per 1000 to 20 per 1000, a saving of 2400 lives per annum."

Mr. Albert Shaw (*Municipal Government in Great Britain*, pp. 104, 105) says of Glasgow's purchase:

"The property still held by the trust is valued, at present reduced prices, at less than its cost. The margin of shrinkage has, however, been practically covered by current taxation, so that the account now stands about even—i.e., the assets and liabilities of the trust are at a balance. The act authorized an annual assessment of sixpence in the pound of rental valuation, but the trustees have steadily reduced the levy until it is now only a halfpenny.

"The principal improvement made is a system of modern streets in the center of the city that will be of advantage for centuries, and will repay the cost hundreds of times over. Twenty-nine new streets have been formed and 25 old ones greatly widened and improved. The old insanitary tenement property has not all been demolished. . . . The city is, therefore, to-day a landlord on a large scale, and is holding really insanitary property for the sake of the rents, waiting for an opportunity to sell the sites before demolishing the buildings. Its rents now bring in annually about \$100,000, which sum goes far toward offsetting the interest charge on the property held for sale. The improvement trust has given the city, among other things, the handsome new Alexandra Park. Since 1892 the trust has, in various ways, assumed a fresh activity. The enlargement of the city has made necessary new tasks of reform, and it is expected that Parliament will give renewed and greatly extended powers, under which various other areas of Glasgow will be subject to compulsory purchase and reconstruction of streets and houses."

London in 1875 and 1879 bought 42 acres in the heart of the tenement district inhabited by 20,000 people, and sold it to working men at a net loss of £1,211,336.

These are by no means all the municipal enterprises in England of this kind. (For other enterprises in London, see LONDON; COUNTY COUNCIL.) Edinburgh in 1867 dispossessed 1500 families, expending \$3,000,000, and now has plans involving as much more, to be spent in buying out the worst slums and erecting model tenements. Liverpool has erected several municipal artisans' dwellings.

The corporation of Liverpool has more recently erected other laborers' dwellings.

Outside of England practically nothing has been done on these lines.

The efforts at inducing the tenement population to live in the country or to buy homes of their own have been very varied. In the United States, England, and in Scandinavian countries these efforts have mainly taken the form of building associations (*q. v.*) and have been very successful, especially in Philadelphia. Three thousand English societies possess an undistributed surplus of \$10,000,000, and have been instrumental in furnishing nearly 400,000 homes. Professor Gould, however, says of this plan (article in the *Yale Review*, May, 1896):

"Cooperative building and loan associations have rendered most valuable individual and social service, but, like all other forms of pioneer effort, they may be improved. They present three leading drawbacks:

"1. Expense to borrowers is greater than is absolutely necessary. Enhanced profits to the lender—and he usually gets them—come from the pockets of acquiring proprietors who are borrowers.

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"2. Business skill of a high order is not readily available for management, involving occasional losses or failures.

"3. In case of the death of a borrower before his term payments have been completed, his family is often obliged to surrender the home under disadvantageous circumstances."

Describing a better plan, he says:

"The cheapest, fairest and most effective scheme for facilitating the proprietorship of homes among working people, in existence at the present time, was originated in Belgium in 1889. It has had seven years' trial, and is steadily growing in favor. More than 60 companies are now in operation. Other countries, notably France and Germany, are seeking to apply the same system. This measure is not socialistic, altho the loan capital comes from the general savings bank whose deposits the Government guarantees, and which is, therefore, in a sense an official institution. The loans are not made directly to working people, but to intermediate agencies which are responsible to the bank."

Besides these enterprises, many firms have made efforts to induce their employees to purchase their own homes on improved plans. Such efforts have been made by S. D. Warren & Company, paper manufacturers at Cumberland Mills, Me.; the Howland Mills Corporation of New Bedford, Mass.; the Willimantic Linen Company, in Willimantic, Conn.; the Merrimac Manufacturing Company, of Lowell, Mass. In Great Britain, the Lever Brothers, of Birkenhead, Eng., and James Smirton & Sons, of Carnoustie, Scotland, are leaders in this line. Sir James Gowan, at Edinburgh, erected the Pilrig Model Dwellings as early as 1850.

In France, there are cheap dwellings companies at Paris, Havre, Lyons, Rouen, Belfort, while several mining, railroad, and other companies have undertaken enterprises of the same kind for their employees. In Germany, there are such companies at Berlin, Barmen, München Gladbach, Landsburg on the Warta, Neuss, Mulhouse. Many private companies in Germany have erected such dwellings for their employees (for an example, see KRUPP), and several State railways and government departments have done the same.

In the United States, outside of private companies, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, in Boston, has erected over 100 such houses, varying in price from \$2500 to \$6500. In New York City, in

1891, a syndicate was formed with a capital of \$400,000 to put up such buildings to cost about \$3500 each. For efforts at model dwellings in communities, see GUISE; KRUPP; LECLAIRE; PULLMAN.

It is, however, generally felt that none of these methods go to the bottom of the question of the housing of the working classes. Professor Gould writes in the closing paragraph of his report (see above):

"The problem of the housing of working people includes sanitary, economic, and ethical issues of the highest importance, but a final solution can only be wrought out along economic lines."

Mr. Jacob A. Riis, closing his article on "Tenement Houses" in *Johnson's Encyclopedia*, says:

"In its real essence the tenement-house question is in all the large cities of the world a question of transportation, and must be solved finally along that line."

W. H. Tolman, Ph.D., writes in the *Arena* for September, 1896:

"In dealing with any kind of a menace to human life in a great city, it is all important that the civic authority should be delegated ample power to deal effectively with the threatened or threatening danger. Life is always of more moment than property, and the widening scope of power delegated to the municipality is a direct recognition of this fact. In American cities there is no authority allowed whereby the municipality may purchase and clear insanitary areas with a view to schemes of betterment, but there is ample provision on the statute books for the effectual betterment of insanitary houses. Till, however, the indifference of the dwellers 'above our fourteenth streets,' the influence of vested interests, and the greed of the landlord or the money-getting machine are negatived, the slum will be with us."

In the same article he quotes the chairman of the Committee on Public Health and Housing of the London County Council as writing to him:

"We have found that the abolition of slums by buying the slum area outright, as our law allows us to do, is not entirely successful. There is such a large net loss on the operation financially, that the ratepayers would not stand it long. On a large scale it leads to overcrowding in the neighborhood of the displacement. We have just completed a large scheme of 15 acres, displacing 5000 people at a loss of £300,000. It is not usually possible to rehouse more than one half the persons displaced. The other half crowd other places. We have come to the conclusion that it is more satisfactory to use the law severely as far as closing insanitary houses is concerned, and to get the law so amended that it will be illegal to rebuild any house worn out or burnt, unless it is put back 20 feet from the center of the road (sidewalk). This will prevent the perpetuation of our slums. Time will do the rest. . . .

"We are trying to deal with overcrowding by decentralization, that is, by increasing cheap and quick means of transit to and from the suburbs. If we are successful, it will help us very much toward solving the pressing problem, as land is comparatively cheap away from the center. We find that disease, crime, and death are in proportion to the number of people in a given area."

As to what can be done now:

"Mr. Riis makes the suggestion that 'tenements may eventually have to be licensed, as now the lodging-houses are, to hold so many tenants and no more, or the State may have to bring down the rents that cause the overcrowding by assuming the right to regulate them as it regulates the fares on the elevated roads.'"

(See also SLUMS; POVERTY; CITY; MUNICIPALISM; SINGLE TAX; SOCIALISM.)

References: Professor E. R. L. Gould's Report on the Housing of the Working People (Washington, 1895); Report of the Tenement-House Committee (New York, 1895); Report of Parliamentary Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (London, 1885); Albert Shaw's *Municipal Government in Great Britain*;

Charles Booth's *Life and Labors of the People* (London); J. A. Riis's *How the Other Half Live* (New York).

TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.—(For the early developments of the textile industries, see FACTORY SYSTEM; MANUFACTURES; MACHINERY.) In 1860 the capital invested in textile industries was \$150,080,852. In 1890 it was \$739,973,661, an increase of 393 per cent., while the product increased from \$214,740,614 to \$721,949,262, or 236 per cent. Eighty-nine per cent. of the textile industries of the United States are in New England and the Middle States, 50 per cent. in New England. The importance of the industry in value and quantity of product excels that of any other industry. Cotton (*q.v.*) is the most important part of the industry. In 1860 there were 1091 establishments manufacturing cotton, and in 1890 only 905, yet the average number of spindles per establishment had increased from 4799 to 15,677, and the average product from \$106,033 to \$296,112.

The capital invested in the United States on the different branches of the woolen manufactures was, in 1860, \$38,814,422, and in 1890 \$245,886,743. The looms and spindles increased from 16,075 and 639,700 to 69,658 and 2,793,147 respectively. The number of establishments increased 217. There were, in 1860, 213 establishments engaged in making carpets, with a capital of \$4,721,768 and a product of \$7,857,636. In 1890 there were only 173 establishments, with a capital of \$38,208,824, a product of \$47,770,193. Forty-six per cent. of this industry is located near Philadelphia. In 1850, in wool, hosiery, and cotton factories, women furnished 57 per cent. of the employees; in 1890, 48 per cent. The industry passed out of the home stage about 1830 and entered the factory stage, where American girls largely worked. To-day, English and French Canadian workmen are the rule. The hygienic condition of the factories has much improved. Wages in cotton factories were about 44 cents a day from 1820-30; about 90 cents from 1830-50; \$1.03 from 1850-60. In 1873 they were \$1.49; in 1891, \$1.24. In woolen mills wages were \$1.12 before 1830; 86 cents in 1860; \$1.28 in 1873, and \$1.38 in 1891. (See WAGES.) Labor organizations began in the textile trades soon after the development of textile factories, and have played a large part in the American labor movement, especially in the agitation for shorter hours. (See SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT.) Strong local unions have been developed, however, rather than large national unions. There is, however, a National Cotton Mill Spinners' Association of America and a National Union of Textile Workers. The spinners' union at Fall River is one of the strongest in the country. In England, the strongest textile unions are the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, the Northern Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers, and the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives. An International Textile Federation is being agitated in Europe.

THOMPSON, ROBERT ELLIS, was born near Lurgan, in the north of Ireland, in 1844, and emigrated to America with his parents in 1857. Graduating at the University of Pennsylvania in 1865, he received the de-

gree of M.A. in 1868, and was chosen instructor in the university in that year, and Professor of Social Science in 1871, and transferred to the professorship of History and English Literature in 1881. In 1892 he was elected Professor of History and Literature in the Wayne Institute of Science. He has lectured on protective tariffs in Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Amherst, Williams, and other colleges, in the first two by appointment of the corporation. His main works are: *Social Science and Natural Economy* (1875), partly rewritten as *Elements of Political Economy* (1882); *Protection to Home Industry* (1886); *The Divine Order of Human Society* (1892). He belongs to the economic school of Henry C. Carey. Professor Thompson has edited the *American Presbyterian* (1866-70); the *Pennsylvania Monthly* (1870-81); the *American* (1880-91); the *Sunday-School Times* (1891). He also edited the first two volumes of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. He is an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church.

THOREAU, HENRY DAVID, was born at Concord, Mass., in 1817, his father being a small farmer and pencil-maker. In 1837 he graduated at Harvard College and returned to Concord as a private tutor, and as a school-teacher. He became intimate with Emerson, being at times an inmate of his home. He was soon a characteristic member of the then new transcendental school. He supported himself by teaching school, by pencil-making, surveying, carpentering, and painting, making every year pedestrian excursions through the woods of New Hampshire. He was eccentric in his dress, manners, and mode of life; and, it is said (tho it is also denied), never went to church, never voted, and never paid a tax to the State. In 1845 he built for himself a wooden hut in the woods by Walden Pond, and continued to live there—a cultured hermit—for two and a half years. After 1849 he lived at home with his parents and sister in Concord. In 1859 he became acquainted with John Brown, and was so influenced by him as to devote his life to the anti-slavery movement till his death in 1862. He combined high culture with the quick instincts, discernment, and love of nature of an Indian. He was a scornful enemy of every custom not based upon nature, reason, and morality. His only works published in his lifetime were *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers* (1849); *Walden* (1854), but kept a voluminous journal and wrote many essays, from which large selections have since been published.

THORNTON, WILLIAM THOMAS, was born at Burnham, Eng., in 1813, and educated at the Moravian settlement at Ockbrook, near Derby. He was secretary to the British Consul-General at Constantinople, 1830-35, clerk in the India House, London, 1835-58, secretary for public works in the India Office till his death in 1880. His main works were *Over-Population and its Remedy* (1845); *On Labor: its Rights and Wrongful Claims, its Actual Present and Possible Future* (2d ed., 1869).

THRIFT has been recently called "an eclipsed virtue." It is, perhaps, by many to-

day too much condemned, as it was once by most too much praised. In the period when an unbalanced and doctrinaire individualism prevailed in economic thought, the only true help was thought to be self-help. The only abiding way to help the poor was to teach them to help themselves. Under this belief the virtue of thrift was continually exalted by those anxious to remedy poverty. It was shown how, on exactly the same incomes, thrifty persons could manage to get along in comparative comfort, while those without thrift could not get along at all. The inference was that the only way to enable the poor to prosper was to teach them to be thrifty. "A penny saved is a penny earned;" "Frugality is a vast revenue"—these were the lessons taught. It was shown how wise and prudent it was to save and stint, and then invest one's small savings, and so gradually acquire a competence, or at least provision for old age or a rainy day. Penny savings-banks, post-office savings-banks, various provident institutions were founded to encourage thrift.

On the other hand, extreme socialists and trade-unionists have been wont to condemn thrift. Many socialists argue that the laborer under competition can only get a living, and that if by thrift he is enabled to live cheaper, he will simply be enabled to work for lower wages. Trade-unionists put the same view usually thus: "Wages depend on the standard of living. The laborer gets, as in all cases of value, just what it costs to produce him. Cheap laborers make low wages. As thrift means cheap living, it is an evil to the laborers as a class, tho it may enable one who practises it to get the advantage of his fellows."

Mr. Hyndman, before the British Labor Commission, argued that to accumulate money in any way is to accumulate orders on other men's labors, and not to benefit the class who so save. All thrift on the part of the working classes, he held, by making them small capitalists, and intensifying competition, increases the evil (*Minutes of Evidence Digest*, p. 23). According to Mr. Eax: "To the socialist labor is an evil to be minimized to the utmost. The man who works at his trade or avocation more than necessity compels him, or who accumulates more than he can enjoy, is not a hero, but a fool" (*The Religion of Socialism*, p. 94). According to John Burns, before the Trade Union Congress at Norwich, "Thrift was invented by capitalistic rogues to beguile fools to destruction" (*Report*, p. 55).

The balanced view between these extremes of praising thrift as the one thing needful to prosperity and of condemning it as an evil, is to show that there is truth on both sides. Self-help is not the only necessary help. Cooperation is necessary. Thrifty, competing individuals may lower their wages by thrift; but thrifty cooperation or socialism will not lower wages, and yet will save much for the individual and the community. The rich as a class are much more thrifty than the poor. Waste is never wise. The need is for a thrifty cooperative community.

Probably, however, the poor lack in thrift mainly because they lack in the means of education. Girls brought up in tenements, early

taken from school or from home, and sent to factory or store, have little chance to learn thrifty, tidy housekeeping like the well-to-do. Boys with little training at home and less at school rarely learn thrift. The need is for better homes and better education. Socialism may lead to thrift, which it now denounces.

THÜNEN, JOHANN HEINRICH VON, was born in 1783, the son of a landed proprietor, and became himself the owner of a large estate near Rostock. Political economy was his favorite study, and in 1826 he published the first volume of his *Der Isolirte Staat*. It is still a matter of debate how far Von Thünen was a socialist, but many of the opinions to which he gives expression are of a decidedly socialistic nature. Von Thünen's inquiries led him to the conclusion that the wages of a laborer only cover the cost of his maintenance, and the interest on the capital employed in his bringing up; for his labor, his exertion, he receives nothing but his life—*i. e.*, his necessary subsistence. Von Thünen thinks that the only way to raise the wages of labor is to increase the cost of bringing up the laborer, and thus he advocates the better education and training of the workman's children, the requisite cost being regarded as an indispensable need.

TILLET, BENJAMIN, was born at Lower Easton, Bristol, Eng., in 1860. As a boy he had to shift for himself, and roughed it in coal-pits and brick-yards and shoe-shops until he was 14, when he went to sea. He spent three years in the merchant service and two years in the navy, at the end of that time returning to London. By obtaining employment as a tea cooper he was brought into direct contact with dock and wharf work, and experienced the evils of irregular employment. In 1887 he was one of the most active in organizing the Tea Coopers' and General Laborers' Association, and later in organizing the London dockers. (See **DOCKERS' STRIKE**.) Mr. Tillet was elected and has since been general secretary of the Dockers' Union. He is a "progressive" trade-unionist, has been nominated for Parliament by the Independent Labor Party, and has been chosen an alderman of the London County Council.

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS CHARLES HENRI CHEREL DE, was born at Verneuil, France, in 1805. He studied law and became an assistant magistrate. In 1831 he was commissioned to investigate the penitentiary system of the United States. In 1835 he published his famous *De la Démocratie en Amérique* (4 vols., 1835-40). In 1848 he was elected to the Constituent Assembly. In 1849 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs for four months. In 1856 he published his *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*. He died at Cannes in 1859. An opponent of democracy, he foretold its growth in the world, and became one of its first historians. We give two typical quotations from his book.

"Democracy," says De Tocqueville, in a remarkable passage (vol. ii. chap. xx.), "is favorable to the

growth of manufactures. . . . Manufactures may possibly, in their turn, bring men back to aristocracy. . . . In proportion as the principle of the division of labor is more extensively applied the workman becomes more weak, more narrow-minded and dependent. The art advances; the artisan recedes. On the other hand, in proportion as it becomes more manifest that the production of manufactures is by so much the more cheaper and better as the manufacture is larger and the amount of capital employed more considerable, wealthy and educated men come forward to embark in manufactures. . . . In a short time the one will require nothing but physical strength without intelligence; the other stands in need of science and almost of genius to secure success. This man resembles more and more the administrator of a vast empire—that man a brute. . . . Hence it would appear, on searching to the bottom, that aristocracy should naturally spring out of the bosom of democracy. . . . The manufacturing democracy of our age first impoverishes and debases the men who serve it and then abandons them to be supported by the charity of the public. This is a natural consequence of what has been said before. Between the workman and the master there are frequent relations, but no real relationship. I am of opinion, upon the whole, that the manufacturing aristocracy which is growing up under our eyes is one of the harshest which ever existed in the world; but at the same time it is one of the most confined and least dangerous. Nevertheless, the friends of democracy should keep their eyes anxiously fixed in this direction, for if ever a permanent inequality of conditions and aristocracy again penetrate into the world, it may be predicted that this is the channel by which they will enter."

De Tocqueville's final conclusions as to the effect of democracy upon social conditions in America is strange reading to-day. He says, in part, "great wealth tends to disappear, the number of small fortunes to increase; desires and gratifications are multiplied, but extraordinary prosperity and irremediable penury are alike unknown. The sentiment of ambition is universal, but the scope of ambition is seldom vast. Each individual stands apart in solitary weakness, but society at large is active, provident, and powerful; the performances of private persons are insignificant; those of the State immense. There is little energy of character, but manners are mild and laws humane. If there be few instances of exalted heroism or of virtues of the highest, brightest, and purest temper, men's habits are regular, violence is rare, and cruelty almost unknown."

TOLSTOY, COUNT LEO, was born September 9, 1828, at Yasnaia Poliana, a village and estate belonging to his mother's family, and situated near the city of Toula, in Russia. His family has been intimately associated with the history of Russia for two centuries, and ranks among the higher nobility. He studied at the University of Kazan, and in 1851 took a commission in the Army of the Caucasus, seeing active service there, and later taking part in the defense of Sebastopol. It was at about this period that he published his first novels, including *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth, The Cossacks, and Sebastopol*. At the close of the Crimean War he made St. Petersburg his home, and became a distinguished member of the literary society there. After three years of this life he traveled extensively aboard, and on his return settled upon his native estate, became a justice of the peace, and applied himself to the organization and management of schools for the peasants, now just released from serfdom. He also edited a paper devoted to popular education. After further travel he married at the age of 34, and made Yasnaia Poliana his permanent home. For 15 years he wrote his novels there, separated almost completely from society, and there his large family were born and brought up. During these years he composed his two greatest works of fiction, *War and*

**Industrial
Servitude.**

Peace and Anna Karénina, which place his name among the most noted in the literature of the century.

It was at the expiration of this period and about the year 1877 that Tolstoy became impressed with the emptiness of his literary pursuits, and began to ask himself what the meaning of life really was.

He began to make a careful study of the four Gospels, and he tells us how, here at last, he succeeded in satisfying himself (*What I Believe*, also called *My Religion*, p. 10). He says: "The text that gave me the key to the truth was St. Matt. 5:39, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you that ye resist not evil.' The simple meaning of these words suddenly flashed full upon me; I accepted the fact that Christ meant exactly what He said, and then, tho I had found nothing new, all that had hitherto obscured the truth cleared away, and the truth itself arose before me in all its solemn importance." This text, "Resist not evil," seemed to him but the corollary of the Golden Rule; it meant, "Still do good to those that even smite and abuse you."

In his book entitled *Life*, Count Tolstoy gives systematic form to the theory of life which he deduced from the Gospels. He maintains that man should renounce the individual aims of his life and devote his life in love to his fellow-creatures, thus finding his life in doing God's will—that is, in doing unto others as he would have others do unto him, and abstaining entirely from violence. The man who enters upon such a life is really born again, and for him there is no death. In his works, *What to Do*, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, and others, he shows the conclusions to which his beliefs have brought him. He holds that war, government, private property are to be condemned as involving the use of force; that all men should engage in manual labor; that they should avoid luxury; that all should have an equal right in the land; that money is an evil thing, its chief end being the enslavement of the people, and that a

His Views. life of complete chastity is the ideal toward which men should tend.

His system is thus seen to be a combination of the philosophy of St. John with the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount literally applied.

The *Kreutzer Sonata*, a novel intended to show the author's rigid views upon marriage, was published about the year 1888, and was strangely misunderstood, having been placed under the ban by the Post-Office Department in the United States as unfit for transportation in the mails. In an article written in explanation of this book, Tolstoy declares that eventually love for God and for one's neighbor should replace the physical relations of marriage.

Count Tolstoy's own life gives a fair example of the application of his principles. He has stripped his house of everything not actually necessary. He dresses like a peasant and works in the fields, and has also learned boot-making. He now confines his writing to the elucidation of his moral and religious ideas, and has pub-

lished many short moral stories for the peasants. He has become a strict vegetarian, and never touches wine, tobacco, tea, or coffee. During the famine of 1891-92 he and his family did an extensive work in establishing soup kitchens in the stricken districts. The count has a considerable following in Russia, altho the character of the government in that country makes it difficult to ascertain the real dimensions of such a movement. He has escaped Siberia himself merely on account of his great international reputation.

Tolstoy has been a voluminous writer, and many of his works have been translated into the principal European languages. Among the English translations, besides those already mentioned, may be named *The Four Gospels, Harmonized and Translated*, three volumes, *My Confession*, *Ivan Ilyitch, Family Happiness, Napoleon's Russian Campaign, Power and Liberty, The Long Exile, The Invaders, A Russian Proprietor, Where Love Is, The Two Pilgrims, What Men Live By, Master and Man, Work While Ye Have the Light*. It is to be noted that many of these works are more or less autobiographical, and that even in the novels there is usually a leading character who reflects more or less distinctly the personality of the author. He has also written several plays and some books on education, but these have not yet appeared in English.

ERNEST CROSBY.

TOOKE, THOMAS, was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, in 1774, the son of William Tooke, the historian, and at that time chaplain to the factory of the Russia Company, in St. Petersburg. Thomas Tooke was for more than 40 years successfully engaged in the Russian trade, but is better known as a pioneer in the free-trade movement. He drew up in 1820 a famous "Merchants' Petition" for free trade. He founded the Political Economy Club in 1831, and promoted numerous industrial and philanthropic reforms. He is the author of numerous writings on currency and trade, the best known being his *History of Prices and of the State of the Paper Circulation from 1798-1856*, etc. (6 vols., 1838-57). He died in London in 1858.

TOPOLOBAMPO is the name of a cooperative colony situated in Northern Sinaloa, Mexico, founded by Albert K. Owen, who had obtained valuable concessions from the Mexican Government. A company was formed to develop the colony; its charter was filed in Colorado, and the first colonists were landed in Topolobampo Bay November 17, 1886. An organ of the colony, the *Credit Foncier of Sinaloa*, was started in 1885 in New Jersey and moved to Topolobampo in 1888, edited by Mrs. Marie Howland, and devoted to "integral co-operation." The colonists numbered, in 1892, 446 persons, including 150 children.

The main activities have been the developing of the natural advantages of the colony. Roads have been built, farms opened, a stone pier erected, a canal dug to irrigate 63,000 acres, fruits and vegetables raised, involving the investment of many tens of thousands of dollars.

The main immediately remunerative industry has been a tinware manufactory. Family life has been preserved, and till recently all has been prosperous. Now, however, differences have sprung up. A Free Land Company has been formed to oppose the original Credit Foncier Company, headed by Mr. Owen, and the life of the colony is in doubt.

TORRENS, ROBERT, was born in Ireland in 1780. He became major-general in India, was for years in Parliament, and prominent as a supporter of the Reform Bill. His views on the Corn Laws were finally adopted by Peel. He died in 1864. Among his numerous writings were an *Essay on Money and Paper Currency* (1812); an *Essay on the Production of Wealth* (1821); *The Budget, a Series of Letters on Financial, Commercial and Colonial Policy* (1841-43).

TORRENS LAND SYSTEM.—A system used in Australia to keep the title of lands in a public registry, so that a transfer of titles can be made easily, cheaply, and safely, by simply recording the transfer in the registry. It was adopted in Illinois a number of years ago, but soon declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of that State.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE.—See TEMPERANCE; PROHIBITION; PROHIBITION PARTY, GOTHENBERG SYSTEM, SOUTH CAROLINA SYSTEM; NATIONALIZATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC; LICENSE; LOCAL OPTION.

TOWN (from old English *tun*, enclosure or hedge or farm-house) is a word used, even legally, for any sort of collection of habitations. As a specific term it is used (1) to designate a municipality which is neither a city nor a village; (2) a territorial subdivision which is a unit of local administration. It is so used in New England and in some Western States. In this sense the words town and township are interchangeable. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and some other States, the word township is alone used in this sense. In the United States, Federal land statutes, and in the newer Western States, the township is a territorial subdivision, made by the intersection of meridians and parallels, six miles apart and 36 square miles, but is not a political subdivision.

The town idea has reached its main political development in the six New England States. In the Southern States, the county is the local political unit, while in the Middle and Western States a mixed system prevails. In some States the people can adopt the town system if they so vote. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio the county system prevails, but the towns are vigorous subdivisions.

The New England town, with its famous town meeting, is the development of the old Teutonic tradition of largely independent local communities, perpetuated in many parts of England to the days of the Stuarts and brought by the Puritans to New England. In Scotland, the town (pronounced *toon*) is still sometimes used for a farmhouse and buildings; in the north of England, the civil divisions of a

parish are called townships; in parts of Eastern England the chief cluster of buildings in the parish is called the town, but, generally speaking, in England the town means a collection of houses or a city as opposed to the country. The New England town is the political unit that has grown from the communities or settlements planted in New England. Down to 1821 it was the only political unit of New England, and till 1857 it formed the basis of representation in the State assemblies, as it still does in Connecticut. Its area seldom exceeds five square miles, with a population varying from 200 to 13,000, but averaging about 3000. It is governed by an assembly of all its qualified voters, which meets at least once a year and often three or four times. This meeting elects officers and can legislate. Emerson says (*Historical Discourse at Concord*):

Town Meeting.

"In a town meeting the great secret of political science was uncovered and the problem solved how to give every individual his fair weight in the government without any disorder from numbers." Mr. James Bryce says (*The American Commonwealth*, revised edition, Part IV., chap. lxxx.): "The town meeting has been the most perfect school of self-government in any modern country." Jefferson said (quoted by Mr. Bryce, *idem*, Part II., chap. xlviii.): "Those wards called townships in New England are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the art of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation."

The officers usually elected are, moderator, town clerk, selectmen, town treasurer, school committee, surveyors of highways, assessors of taxes, collectors of taxes, overseers of the poor, field-drivers, pound-keepers, fence-viewers, surveyors of lumber, measurers of wood, sealers of weights and measures. Most of these officers are elected annually. Money is ordinarily raised by taxation for the following purposes—namely, the support of the public schools, making and repairing highways, the care of the poor, maintaining the fire department, paying the salaries of the town officers, paying for the detection and punishment of offenders against the law, maintaining burial grounds, planting shade trees, providing for disabled soldiers and sailors and their families, and in general for all other necessary expenses.

References: *Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science*, Series 1 to 8; De Wolf's *The Town Meeting* (1890); Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, chap. xlviii. (revised ed., 1895).

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD, was born in London in 1852, the son of a well-known aurist. He spent two years in a military college, but then left and spent a year in a retired sea-coast village in study and meditation. He next went to Oxford and made a notable mark. In spite of ill health he was appointed tutor to the Indian civilians at Balliol College, and for a time immersed himself in economic studies. Deeply interested in the working classes, he went to Whitechapel (East London) and lived, devoting himself to improving the condition of the poor, and taking part in public and religious meetings. Popular with the men, he felt called upon to lecture against Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, and the strain and excitement of this action on a feeble body, worn by constant

labors, was the immediate cause of his death in 1883. From the inspiration of his example arose Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884. (See UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS.) His main work, published in partly unfinished condition, after his death, is *The Industrial Revolution in England*. Neither a socialist nor a democrat, he has strong tendencies in both those directions, and opposes the doctrinaire character of most orthodox economics, and believes that modern facts show the necessity and value of adopting many socialist principles. He was deeply interested in church reform, and desired the harmony of Church and State, his conception of Christianity being the spirit of Jesus applied in all directions.

TRADE-UNIONS. (For ancient and medieval labor organizations, see GUILDS.) Modern trade-unions are societies of working men, usually of the same craft, organized to assist their members in various ways, especially by granting sick, out-of-work, and death benefits, and by combinations to resist reductions in wages and obtain higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions from their employers.

We consider this subject under five heads: I. Trade-Unions in Great Britain; II. In the United States; III. In Other Countries; IV. Arguments for Trade-Unions; V. Objections to Trade-Unions.

The origin of modern trade-unions is more or less in dispute. The popular theory, adopted by G. Howell (*g.v.*) in his histories of trade-unionism, from a hint in Brentano's *Origin of Trade-Unions* (which hint, however, does not really bear out the inference), is that modern trade-unions are direct descendants from the craft guilds of the Middle Ages. (See GUILDS.) This, however, is almost certainly not the case. According to Mr. and Mrs. Webb's *History of Trade-Unionism* (p. 13), the theory rests "upon no evidence whatsoever. The historical proof is all the other way." Says Brentano (*Guilds and Trade-Unions*, p. 73), "These guilds were not unions of laborers in the present sense of the word, but of persons who with the help of some stock carried on their craft on their own account." (See GUILDS.)

More plausible is the origin of modern trade-unions in the ephemeral associations of wage-earners and journeymen which existed frequently at times during the Middle Ages (see GUILDS), and which were composed of wage-earners and journeymen alone. But a direct connection between even those associations, tho quite possible, has not yet been historically shown. They were too much under the ban of the law to be easily maintained, and above all the apprentice (*g.v.*) system and the whole guild system made too close a connection between master and journeymen to encourage permanent separate associations of working men. About 1700, however, in England a class of employees arose who rarely became masters, and among them the first trade-unions seem to have arisen. We therefore consider first:

I. TRADE-UNIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

We shall follow in the main in this portion of our article the valuable *History of Trade-*

Unionism (1894), by Mr. Sidney Webb and Mrs. Beatrice Webb. All through the eighteenth century we have in England the steady development of the capitalist employer, the inability of the worker to own or hope to own the materials and the tools of his craft. As early as 1720 the master tailors complain to Parliament that

"The Journeymen Taylors in and about the cities of London and Westminster to the number of 7000 and upwards have lately entered into a combination to raise their wages and leave off working an hour sooner than they used to do; and for the better carrying on of their design have subscribed their respective names in books prepared for that purpose, at the several houses of call or resort (being public-houses) which they use, and collect several considerable sums of money to defend any prosecutions against them."

Parliament listened, and prohibited such combinations, but the tailors seem to have continued their organization, centering around the "houses of call," for in 1810 a master declared before a select committee that their combination had existed over a century. The Newcastle shoe-makers organized in 1719. The London Sail-Makers' Burial Society dates from 1740. The Glasgow coopers organized in 1752. At Nottingham in 1794, 56 clubs joined in the annual procession. Local friendly societies sprang up everywhere. The rules of over 100 of these, formed between 1750 and 1820, centered around Newcastle-on-Tyne, are in the British Museum. Adam Smith says: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public or in some contrivance to raise prices" (*Wealth of Nations*, Book I., chap. x.). Often a strike ended in a permanent organization. Combinations, however, were illegal, and so were usually disguised as sick and funeral clubs, while perhaps still more often *bona fide* friendly societies gradually came to act as and finally to become trade-unions. The Society of Taylors of London in 1760 says: "It has been an ancient custom in the kingdom of Great Britain for divers artists to meet together and unite themselves in societies to promote amity and Christian charity." But the distinction between employers and employed grew more marked and was vastly increased by the invention and use of machinery in the last half of the eighteenth century. (See MACHINERY; FACTORY SYSTEM.) An American abridgment of William Trant's essay on *Trade-Unions* says of the main instance of machine breaking, the so-called "Luddite Rising,"

"The men were in no humor for reasoning on the principles of political economy. They were starving; and to their eyes the new machinery cut off every chance of their ever working again. They formed the strongest and most secret combination ever known in this country. Their object was to destroy the new machines, and for three years the havoc they committed, especially in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Nottinghamshire, was immense. It was not until enormous powers were granted to the military, the magistracy, and the police that the conspiracy was brought to an end by the execution of 30 of the ring-leaders."

One effect of the factory system was to some extent to transfer the trade-union centers from the larger cities to the factory districts. The Friendly Society of Iron Founders, which began

**First
Trade-
Unions.**

in 1810, used to meet on dark nights on the peaty wastes and moors on the highlands of the Midland counties, and the archives of the society were buried in the peat. Made illegal by legislation wholly in the control of the wealthy classes, the trade-unions naturally were made more lawless. The masters strenuously resisted; at one time cannon were placed in the Lancashire factories (Schulze Garvernitz's *Social Peace*, tr., p. 87). Usually, however, the opposition was through legislation. Nor was even this often necessary. The masters could trust to competition alone. In 1814 the last vestige of the apprenticeship laws was repealed, and with it any attempt to control wages by law. Competition was now wholly free to reduce wages to the lowest level. It worked its own cure by making labor combinations necessary. (See CONSPIRACY LAWS.) In 1824, owing largely to the efforts of Joseph Hume in Parliament and Francis Place (*q.v.*) out of Parliament, the freedom to organize was partially gained, but even this was materially decreased the next year thro the influence of the masters. Freedom to organize was indeed not wholly gained till 1875, when the last vestige of the combination laws was swept away. In 1834 six harmless Dorchester laborers were sentenced to seven years' transportation on an accusation of playing with oaths in joining a labor union. It produced intense excitement. A petition for their release was signed by 250,000 names, and a demonstration took place in London with a procession of 30,000 men. The Government did not yield until 1836. Thirty years later the public was again aroused against trade-unions on account of the Sheffield outrages, of which Mr. Trant's abridged history says:

"In order to compel men to join their unions and comply with the rules, a system had been adopted of taking away the tools and driving away bands of independent or defaulting workmen. . . . Masters and workmen who refused or failed to comply with their rules were subjected to treatment of the most diabolical character. Their cattle were hamstringed or otherwise mutilated, their ricks set on fire. They were shot at, and in one instance a master was killed by an air gun fired into a crowded room. Gunpowder was usually employed in the case of obnoxious workmen.

Canisters were thrown down chimneys, bottles filled with explosives, to which lighted fuses were attached, were thrown through windows of the workmen's dwelling-houses, thus exposing women and children to its terrible effects. It was a common practice to place gunpowder in grinding troughs, which exploded as soon as work was commenced. In justice to the great body of workmen at Sheffield, it should be stated that these outrages were committed by a very few persons, and were at all times execrated by the great body of the working classes. Out of 60 trade-unions, then in existence, 12 were implicated in these outrages, and of these it was shown on inquiry that the greater proportion of the members knew nothing of the actions of their officers.

"The result of the Sheffield outrages was, that a Royal Commission was appointed in 1867 to inquire into the matter and into the condition of trade-unions generally."

It was the report of this Commission which resulted eventually in the law legalizing trade-unions in 1871, amended in 1875, since which such violence has been unknown.

With this account of the origin of English trade-unions and their struggle for legal recognition their history may be conveniently divided into four periods. The first period, lasting

down to 1825, includes their origin and struggle for recognition. A second period, down to 1842, is called by Mr. and Mrs. Webb "the revolutionary period," when the trade-union movement was dominated by the Owenite movement and the Chartist political agitation. A third period, lasting down to 1880, covers the development of trade-unions into strong trade benefit societies, largely ignoring and sometimes even opposing political action. The last period, reaching to the present, includes the development and then the partial subsiding of the first wave of what is called the new trade-unionism. (See NEW TRADE-UNIONISM.)

The first period we have already considered; the second period really belongs to Owenite socialism and to Chartism (see ENGLAND AND SOCIAL REFORM) rather than to trade-unionism. The Lancashire and Yorkshire textile and building operatives were the pioneers of this phase of the movement. They tried to organize all manual workers into one general and more or less political organization. The Reform Bill of 1832 gave them new hopes. Under the influence of an Irish spinner, John Doherty, a National Association for the Protection of Labor was formed at Manchester in 1830, representing 20 trades. An organ, the *Voice of the People*, was started, and is said to have reached a circulation of 30,000. This association broke up by 1832, but then a builders' union or general trade-union was organized. In 1833 it held a meeting of 270 delegates, representing 30,000 operatives. Meanwhile Robert Owen had still larger plans, and in 1834 he organized a Grand National Consolidated Trade-Union. It was to unite all laborers and to affect national changes, to come upon society "like a thief in the night." Within a few weeks it appears to have been joined by 500,000 members, including tens of thousands of farm laborers and women. No regular dues were required, and the meetings were more or less sensational. According to the *Times* of January 30, 1834, two delegates were seized at Exeter by the police and found furnished with "two wooden axes, two large cutlasses, two masks and two white garments or robes, a large figure of Death with the dart and hour-glass, a Bible and Testament," probably used in initiation ceremonies. It was in connection with this movement that the condemnation of the Dorset laborers, noticed above, took place. The alarm of the Government and of society generally was intense. But the movement did not last; there were a few strikes, easily defeated, and by the end of 1834 the movement collapsed. Apathy followed, until Chartism created a new wave of excitement. In 1836 Lovett and his Working Men's Association commenced their agitation for the "six points" of Chartism, and around this some of the trade-unionism of the day gathered. A despair of constitutional reform led one wing to favor "physical force," and this led to the insurrections of 1839-42. The trade-unions were never, however, a part and parcel of this movement, tho many of their members and a few organized unions did belong to it. No unions contributed to Chartist funds, and the leaders

Owenite
Period.

of the unions were often denounced for their apathy by the Chartists. The virtual collapse of Chartism in 1842 and its final end in 1848 set the unions wholly free to develop their non-political methods. (For the passage of factory laws, the short-hour movement of Oastler, "the factory king," the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and of others, culminating in the ten-hour act of 1848, see FACTORY LAWS; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; OASTLER.) But after 1842 the unions devoted themselves to building up their own organizations. Those which were

Date of Organizations.

organized before this period now developed their characteristic policy and strength. The Friendly Society of Iron Founders was organized in 1809, but the much larger Amalgamated Society of Engineers was only formed in 1851. The Steam Engine-Makers' Society dates from 1824, the Associated Iron Moulders' of Scotland from 1831. The United Society of Boiler-Makers and Iron Ship-Builders dates from 1832, as does also the Operative Stone Masons' Friendly Society. The Operative Bricklayers' Society was formed in 1848. The Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners dates from 1853, the Yorkshire Miners' Association from 1858. The Durham Miners' Association was not organized till 1869. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors appears in 1866, the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives in 1874. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was formed in 1860, and the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association in 1863. But these dates do not clearly indicate the actual course of events. As a matter of fact, the decade from 1840-50 saw a marked revival of trade-unionism. In 1843 a strong Potters' Union and an active Cotton Spinners' Association was formed, and in 1844 a National Typographical Society. Still more important was the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, formed in 1841, and under the leadership of Martin Jude, sending out 53 organizers who visited every pit in the kingdom, obtaining, it is said, in 1844 a membership of over 100,000. In 1845 a National Association of United Trades for the Protection of Labor was formed. It was not, however, political, like

The Trade-Union Idea.

Owen's attempts, and with moderation and good management endured 15 years. The unions of this period, as indicated by their names, were largely benefit societies. They expected and sought little from legislation, tho they strenuously fought against legislative oppression. They depended on organizing their own crafts, collecting dues, employing a paid secretary, aiding unemployed members. They fought their employers by strikes, and these tended to grow more orderly and more regulated. Experience taught them the folly of strikes till they were well organized and had collected large funds. They passed numberless by-laws forbidding strikes save with the consent of national committees after due examination. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers formed in 1850, and with William Newton as the prime mover, became the model. Later many trade-union constitutions forbade strikes until efforts at arbitration had

been made. The better organized the unions, the fewer were their strikes.

Mr. George Howell, in the *Contemporary Review*, pointed out that

"In 1882, the Amalgamated Engineers, with an income of £124,000, and a cash balance of £168,000, expended in disputes altogether, including the support they gave to other trades, the sum of £895 only. That was far less than one per cent. of their income. The Ironfounders spent, out of an income of £42,000, £214 only; and the Amalgamated Carpenters, who had had a number of disputes, and had been engaged in strikes, spent £2000 only, out of £50,000, which was only four per cent.; the Tailors, with £18,000, spent £565 only; and the Stonemasons, with 11,000 members in union—the report seems to say more in sorrow than pride—spent nothing in strikes. During six years of unexampled bad trade, reduction of wages, and industrial disturbance, there were a great many strikes, and during that period seven great trade societies expended in the settlement of disputes £162,000 only, out of a capital of nearly £2,000,000."

In the northern provinces, and especially among the miners, the policy was favored of determining wages by agreement with the masters, according to a sliding scale (*q.v.*). The development of strong unions of this sort with large funds and wise management developed, too, the prominent trade-union leaders who have played so large a part in the English movement—William Allan (*q.v.*), of the engineers; Robert Applegarth (*q.v.*), of the carpenters; Daniel Guile, of the ironfounders; Edwin Coulson, of the bricklayers; George Odger, of the shoe-workers; John Kane, of the iron-workers; T. J. Dunning, of the bookbinders. Younger men of the same type, mainly living to-day, are Alexander Macdonald (*q.v.*), Thomas Burt (*q.v.*), of the miners; John Prior, George Howell (*q.v.*), Henry Broadhurst (*q.v.*), George Ship-ton, of the building trades.

These men, however, by no means wholly eschewed politics. As the great amalgamated societies were formed, with their national headquarters usually in London, it threw together some of the strong men named above, who developed somewhat of a political policy. Applegarth, Allan, Guile, Coulson, and Odger thus worked together in an understanding which Mr. and Mrs. Webb have termed a "Junta." They combined a very conservative and cautious policy of building up their own unions, with efforts at gaining such political reforms as the extension of the franchise, amendment of the master and servant law, the mines and factory regulation acts, national education, and the full legalization of trade-unions. They followed, however, no definite economic policy. Allan joined the International (*q.v.*), but subscribed with equal satisfaction to the dogmatic individualism of the English radicals. Only slowly could these men interest their unions in political reforms. In 1874 there was something of a trade-union political movement. Nevertheless, as late as 1882 and 1883 amendments in favor of manhood suffrage were defeated in trade-union congresses by large majorities.

Progress on trade-union lines, however, was steady. Between 1858 and 1867 permanent trade councils began to be formed in the leading centers, composed of delegates from the various local unions. The first permanent committee of the nature of a trades council seems to have been at Liverpool in 1848. By 1860

they were common. The London Trade Council was established in 1861. Out of these councils came the trade-union congresses, now the great British parliaments of labor.

An important special conference was held in London in 1864. The first annual conference was held at Manchester in 1868, and after 1875 became a power. What political action was taken by trade-unionists at this period was usually in connection with the Liberal Party. This grew up naturally as a result of the efforts on the part of the union leaders to gain legal recognition for their unions. It was necessary to use arguments that would appeal to middle-class politicians, since the Tory democracy was not yet progressive enough to endorse trade-unions in any form. The argument that most appealed to the middle-class politicians was the Liberal argument of the freedom of the individual to sell his labor as he pleased—if he wished, individually; if he wished, collectively.

At the general election of 1874 Alexander Macdonald (*q.v.*) and Thomas Burt (*q.v.*) were elected to Parliament as Liberals from Stafford and Morpeth—the first labor members. Seventeen other labor candidates went to the polls at this election, and the miners, ironworkers, and some other unions voted money for campaign expenses. It was this showing of the strength of labor at the polls which made the victorious Conservative Party in 1875 pass the bill finally legalizing labor combinations. Nevertheless, the mass of the trade-unionists had little hope from legislation. The trade-union congresses since 1871 had annually elected a parliamentary committee of 10 men and a secretary, but so doing had left all legislative matters in their hands, and such measures were not even discussed in the congresses. Mr. Henry Broadhurst from 1875-89 was annually elected secretary of the committee without a contest, ceding the post while Under Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1886 to Mr. George Ship-ton, Secretary of the London Trades Council. The policy of the Parliamentary Committee became one of almost pure *laissez faire*, they even opposing attempts to shorten hours by legislation. The unions became in some respects little more than great benefit societies, caring for their own organizations. From 1875-85, say Mr. and Mrs. Webb, the predominant feature in the trade-union world was an extreme and complicated sectionalism. London became less of a trade-union center, and the unions developed in different portions of the country different trade policies.

The last period, beginning about 1880, has seen a change. This has been caused by the appearance of the so-called new unionism. (For a full account of this, see **New Unionism.**) It may be described in brief as the effect of recent English socialism on the trade-unions. The new socialism which began to appear about 1882 made some of the younger men, like Tom Mann and John Burns (*q.v.*), dissatisfied with the conservative and non-political methods of the older unions. The great dock strike (*q.v.*) of 1886 and the match strike, together with the London agitation of

the unemployed, created great excitement, and enabled the younger leaders to organize unskilled workmen in large numbers and come to the trade-union congresses as the representatives of large and enthusiastic unions. The policy of these new unions favored all forms of socialistic legislation, especially the reduction of the hours of labor by law. A Congress of the General Railway Workers' Union in 1890 resolved that "the union shall remain a fighting one, and shall not be encumbered with any sick or accident fund." The delegates of these unions soon had an effect upon the trade-union congresses. At first they were voted down. By 1890, however, a majority in the congress favored the new unionism, and the resolutions kept growing more politically progressive till 1895. This tendency was aided by the formation of the Independent Labor Party (*q.v.*). Since the general election of 1895, however, somewhat of a reaction has taken place. Some of the newly formed unions of unskilled laborers have been broken up or have been materially reduced in numbers. Others have learned that socialism cannot be won in a day. The older and stronger unions have gained new power by making representation in the congresses proportionate to the size of the unions. The congress of 1896 was more conservative, and English trade-unionism has come to a more balanced support both of political and of non-political trade action. At the 1896 congress the resolutions most emphatic favored the reduction of hours to eight, employers' liability, the education of children and the limitation of child work.

The recent statistics of British trade-unions are as follows:

In 1883 there were 195 unions, with 253,088 members; in 1886 the membership was 800,000; in 1893, 1,507,026, or 3.98 per cent. of the entire population. These figures are given by Mr. S. H. Nichols, in Johnson's *Cyclopaedia*. The Seventh Annual Report of the Labor Department of the British Board of Trade gives the following statistics of trade-unions reporting:

Returns were obtained from 687 trade-unions. Of these, 513 were registered under the Trade-Union Act, and 174 were not so registered—an increase of 31 registered and 57 unregistered societies as compared with the number reported in 1892; 97 of the unions concerning which information is published had local sections or branches to the number of 6879 at the end of 1893.

In addition to the unions from which returns were secured, the Labor Department had knowledge of the existence of 118 other unregistered unions at the end of 1893, concerning which no information was obtainable beyond the fact that their total membership amounted to 90,660; there were also 41 other such unions of which information concerning the membership could not be secured.

The following summary shows the total number of members, amount of annual income and expenditure, and balance of funds of all unions for which accounts for 1893 were obtained:

Number of unions for which accounts were received.....	687
Number of members of 677 unions at the end of 1893.....	1,270,789
Total funds of 662 unions in hand at beginning of 1893.....	\$9,258,015
Total income of 687 unions for the year.....	9,718,259
Total expenditures of 687 unions for the year.....	10,032,665
Total funds of 683 unions at end of 1893.....	8,044,055

The discrepancy of \$1046 in the above summary is explained by the statement that two unions, which did not report the amount of their funds at the beginning and end of the year, had an excess of expenditures over income to that amount.

Detailed particulars as to the chief items of expenditure were furnished by 682 unions, and are shown in the following statement :

EXPENDITURES, ETC., OF 682 TRADE-UNIONS, 1893.

ITEMS.	Amounts.	Unions.	Members.
Out-of-work benefits.	\$2,496,160	378	827,840
Dispute benefit.....	3,567,364	331	1,083,904
Sick benefit.....	1,161,823	228	622,908
Accident benefit.....	126,880	99	414,989
Superannuation benefit.....	571,030	89	458,678
Funeral benefit.....	458,385	387	983,834
Other benefits, grants, etc.....	555,570	391	842,202
Grants to other trade-unions.....	299,927	405	996,618
Working and other expenses.....	1,690,919	679	1,269,070
Total.....	\$10,928,076	.....	.....

The discrepancy between the total number of unions making the different expenditures, as shown in the preceding statement, and the total number reporting in reference thereto is explained by the fact that only a limited number of the unions make payments for all the purposes set forth ; and there may have been some unions liable to make certain of the payments which may not have been called on to make such payments during the year.

Concerning the distribution of members by trades in the United Kingdom, Mr. and Mrs. Webb give the following table for 1892 :

TRADES.	England and Wales.	Great Britain.
Engineering and metal.....	233,450	287,000
Building.....	114,500	148,000
Mining.....	325,750	347,000
Textile manufactures.....	184,270	200,000
Clothing and leather.....	78,650	90,000
Printing.....	37,950	46,000
Miscellaneous crafts.....	46,550	59,000
Laborers and transports....	302,880	335,000
Total.....	1,304,000	1,511,000

Of these, 99,650 were women, of whom 80,000 were engaged in textile manufactures, and 8650 in the clothing and leather trades.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb estimate that trade-unionists in Great Britain enroll about 20 per cent. of the adult male manual working class, and in certain counties over 50 per cent. In Northumberland they enroll 11.23 per cent. of the population ; in Durham, 11.21 per cent. ; in Lancashire, 8.63 ; in the London districts, 3.52 per cent.

The larger unions were the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with 67,028 members in 1890 ; the Yorkshire Miners' Association, 50,000 ; Durham Miners' Association, 49,000 ; Operative Stonemasons' Friendly Society, 32,026 ; Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 31,495 ; Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, 26,360 ; National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 23,459 ; Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners, 18,145 ; Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association, 16,961 ; Amalgamated Society of Tailors, 16,620.

The labor representation in Parliament was : In 1874, 2 ; 1885, 10 ; 1886, 13 ; 1892, 17 ; 1895, 13.

II. TRADE-UNIONISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The history of American trade-unions may be divided into five periods. 1. A formative period reaching down to about 1840, and including the early ten-hour movement. 2. A period of quiet growth on trade-union lines, accompanied by a wave of Fourierite socialism in the country, and

then the concentration of all interest in the War of the Rebellion ending in 1866. 3. A period of active effort on trade-union lines, reaching to 1878. 4. A period of great strikes and efforts at general organizations, like the Knights of Labor culminating in 1886. 5. The present period of the dominance of the American Federation of Labor.

The beginnings of American trade-unionism are unknown. A strike of journeymen bakers is said to have occurred in New York City in 1741. An association of journeymen shoemakers existed in Philadelphia as early as 1792. There is a tradition that the plan to throw the tea into Boston Harbor was formed in the hall of the ship-calkers. April 3, 1803, an association of shipwrights was incorporated in New York City, and the same year in that city the first notable strike in this country took place among the sailors. In 1806 the tailors and also the carpenters of that city organized. A Compositors' Union had developed considerable strength by 1817. The organization of the Shipwrights' and Calkers' of Boston and Charles-town was incorporated in 1823.

The real formative period, however, of American trade-unionism is from 1825-40. In 1825 Robert Owen's communistic attempt at New Harmony, Ind. (*q.v.*), occasioned widespread social discussion. The same year the *Workman's Advocate*, which Professor Ely believes to be the first American labor journal, appeared in New York City. It was followed by the *Daily Sentinel* and *Young America*, all published by two Englishmen, George Henry Evans and Frederick W. Evans. These papers advocated the freedom of public lands, the breaking up of monopolies, the adoption of a general bankrupt law, a lien of the laborer on his work for his wages, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, equal rights for women and men, and the abolition of chattel slavery and of wages slavery. Over 600 papers are said to have endorsed these demands. In 1830 a working man's convention was held in Syracuse, N. Y., and nominated Ezekiel Williams for governor, giving him 3000 votes, and in 1832 a delegated convention met in the State House at Boston. Prominent points discussed were education, organization, land reform, and most prominently of all the shortening of the hours of labor. A ten-hour movement was adopted. Laborers at that time were employed from 10 to 15 hours per day, and women and children were treated inhumanly. There were many strikes. They mainly failed ; but the agitation went on. April 10, 1840, President Van Buren issued a proclamation establishing the 10-hour system in the United States Government establishments. In 1841 a boat-building firm in Bath, Me., granted the 10-hour day. From 1840-50 a wave of Fourierite socialism swept over the land. Horace Greeley opened the pages of the *New York Tribune* to its advocacy. Phalanxes were established by the dozen. Brook Farm, near Boston, became a Fourierite phalanx. But meanwhile, the organization of labor went steadily on. A New England Working Man's Association was organized in 1845, and its meetings were participated in by men like C. A. Dana, George Ripley, Mr. Brisbane, Wendell Phillips,

W. L. Garrison, Theodore Parker, and others. The first industrial congress of the United States convened in New York October 12, 1845. It laid plans for a secret industrial brotherhood, tho little came of this. Important labor congresses were held at New York in 1847 and at Chicago in 1850. This period, reaching through the war, saw the appearance of most of the present great national trade-unions. The National Typographical Union was organized in 1852, called in 1862 "International," to admit Canadian unions. The hat finishers organized a national union in 1854. The Iron Moulders' Union of North America was founded in 1858 and led to the more important Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers in 1876. By 1860, 26 national unions were formed. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers started as the "Brotherhood of the

Period of Or- Foot-Board" at Detroit, in 1863. ganization. The Cigar-Makers' National Union followed the next year. The Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union dates from 1865. Central labor unions, too, began to be formed in the larger cities. In New York, a Central Labor Union was formed as early as 1833. A National Labor Union was formed in 1861, but did not endure.

After the war, the return of the soldiers to work and the development of great corporations led to new pressure and to new agitation. Early in the year 1866 the trades' assemblies of New York City and Baltimore issued a call for a National Labor Congress, and 100 delegates, representing 60 labor organizations of all kinds, and covering an area of territory extending from Portland, Me., to San Francisco, met in Baltimore, Md., on August 20, and formed the National Labor Union. This organization, the first national union of all trades, met yearly till 1872, when it nominated presidential candidates, with the result of wrecking the organization in political strife. This and other similar local experiences have led most of the trade-union leaders of to-day to believe in keeping the trade-unions, as unions, out of politics, and tho many, perhaps most, trade-unionists favor socialism as an ultimate, the majority of the leaders oppose committing the unions as unions to avowed socialism now, and especially to the program of the Socialist Labor Party (*q.v.*) or of any other political party. This position has led to a bitter attack upon these leaders, by the leaders of the Socialist Labor Party, and the attempt, in part successful, to capture the trade-union movement for political socialism. The majority of the trade-unions, however, concentrate their efforts on the short-hour movement (*q.v.*). This movement has played a large part in the history of American unions. The philosophy of the movement, sometimes called the eight-hour philosophy, was first adequately formulated by two Boston men, Ira Steward and George E. McNeill (*q.v.*). A Grand Eight-Hour League had been formed previously, but had disappeared, when these two men, with a few friends, organized in the spring of 1869 the Boston Eight-Hour League. It influenced the whole trade-union movement. With the aid of Wendell Phillips and others, they succeeded the same

year in securing the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, the parent of all other labor bureaus. The bureau's statistics aided the movement. Agitation for shorter hours became general. There were numerous strikes, many of them successful. In 1874 Massachusetts enacted a 10-hour law for women and for children under the age of 18. In 1868 Congress enacted an eight-hour bill for United States employees. This was ignored, till at last in 1869 another act of Congress secured to all Government employees full compensation for an eight-hour day. To-day eight hours is the rule in Government works.

There were, however, other movements. In 1870 and 1871 some branches of the European International Working Men's Association were formed in this country, but did not take root. From 1868-77 the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin was powerful in the shoe trade. A secret society, the Sovereigns of Industry, attempted about this time to spread cooperative ideas among labor organizations. There were various political labor movements, resulting in little more than agitation. In 1873 an attempt was made to reorganize the National Labor Union under the name of the Industrial Brotherhood. A convention was held, and it called in 1874 an important congress at Rochester, N. Y., where a platform was adopted, drafted by Mr. McNeill, which later became almost without change the famous platform of the Knights of Labor (*q.v.*). This great order was first established as a local secret labor union in Philadelphia, December 28, 1869, the result of the efforts of Uriah S. Stephens and six associates. It gradually spread, but did not hold its first general assembly till January 1, 1878, when Mr. Stephens was chosen General Master Workman. It aimed to unite all working men in one great organization, with the key thought that "an injury to one is the concern of all."

The great railroad strike of 1877, beginning on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Martinsburg, W. Va., and leading to riots and destruction of property in various places, and particularly at Pittsburg, Pa., marks a period in the development of American trade-unions. The rioters were put down, but vast numbers of the people of Pittsburg sympathized with the strikers, and the general attention of the whole country was for the first time drawn to the labor movement. There was a rush into organization. By 1886 the Knights of Labor had a membership of over 500,000. But the growth was too rapid. Reaction set in. In 1885 and 1886 occurred two great strikes on the Gould system of railways south and west of St. Louis, the first successful, the second turning public sympathy against the strikers. In 1886, too, occurred the Haymarket riot in Chicago, the arrest, trial, and, in 1887, the hanging of the "anarchists." It called new attention to the necessity of industrial reforms. Meanwhile a growing dissatisfaction with the Knights of Labor had been developing. That order attempted to mold the men of all trades into one organization, with little or no respect to the autonomy of each craft. Mr. Terence V. Powderly, who had been Gen-

eral Master Workman since 1879, with a General Executive Board, developed dictatorial powers, resulting in the weakening of the order. In 1881 some of the trade-unions organized a Federation of Trade and Labor Unions, which became the American Federation of Labor, at Columbus, O., December 8, 1886. This organization recognizes the autonomy of the separate crafts, but federates them for purposes of strength. Its appearance marks the beginning of the present period. It has become the one great labor organization of the country, and has grown as the Knights of Labor have gone down. Committed from the first to the short-hour movement, in 1889 it voted to make an effort annually to establish the eight-hour day in some one craft. The plan was for some trade each year to strike for eight hours, while all other trades should support that trade. The carpenters were chosen to lead. In May, 1890, they struck in almost all cities, and in many cities gained the day. In 1891 the miners were to strike, but the depressed conditions in their trade and the dual form of their organization prevented any action. This broke up the annual plan. The convention of the federation at Denver in 1894 was marked by the efforts of the socialists to commit the federation to a platform, the tenth plank of which declared for complete socialism. The plank was not adopted, but the socialists succeeded in defeating the reelection of Mr. Samuel Gompers (*q. v.*), who had been president of the federation many years. In the convention of 1895 the socialist element was in a complete minority. Mr. Gompers was reelected president and the convention voted against adopting any political platform and reasserted its adherence to concentration of effort on gaining the eight-hour day. The American Federation of Labor embraces to-day most of the great unions of the country, but not all.

The Knights of Labor, under the lead of Mr. James R. Sovereign, elected General Master Workman upon the defeat of Mr. Powderly in 1892, number a few thousand men. Two new orders have arisen from dissensions among the Knights. The American Railway Union, organized in Chicago in 1893 by Eugene V. Debs, attempts to unite all railway employees in one organization, and has become well known by winning a strike on the Great Northern Railroad in the winter of 1893-94, and still more by its conduct of the great Pullman strike of 1894. (For further account, see AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.)

Membership in labor unions goes in waves. In times of depression it is difficult for working men to pay their dues, and the number of members in good standing on the books becomes reduced. Such has been

Statistics. the result of the hard times of 1893, but it is among the evidences of the really increased strength of trade-unionism in America that these hard times have not reduced trade-union membership to anything like the extent of former hard times. Mr. Carroll D. Wright (*Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 262) puts the membership of the American Federation of Labor at 500,000, of the Knights

of Labor at 150,000; of the American Railway Union at 150,000; of other local and national unions at 600,000, making the total strength of organized labor in America, 1,400,000. This, however, puts the numerical strength of the Knights of Labor, and, to a lesser extent, of the other organizations, considerably too high; tho it must be remembered that this does not measure the complete strength of labor organizations. Joseph Nimmo, Jr., LL.D., of the United States Census Bureau, puts the membership of the American Federation of Labor at 450,000, the Knights of Labor at 75,000, of which only 10,000 belong to the old parent organization (New York *Independent*, May 2, 1895), and claims that labor organizations enroll only 7 per cent. of the people in this country engaged in gainful occupations. According to the census of 1890, 22,735,661 people were engaged in gainful occupations, but of these 3,914,711 were women, two or three millions more were children *or youths*; some thousands were of the employing class. The 1,000,000 members of labor organizations represent, therefore, a large proportion of the working men, and especially their *concerted strength*. The rest are unorganized. It is easy to see, therefore, how organized labor can often sway the whole number, at least among the men. According to the *World Almanac* for 1896, the American Federation of Labor embraces 80 national labor organizations, composed of about 7000 local unions, with an aggregate membership of over 650,000, affiliated under the above title and usually acting together, although reserving the right to independent action. It says: "The larger trade-unions, some of which are in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, are the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, 60,000; Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 40,000; International Typographical Union, 40,000; Bricklayers' and Stone Masons' Union, 35,000; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 32,000; Cigarmakers' International Union, 30,000; Iron Moulders' Union of North America, 30,000; Brotherhood of Locomotive Trainmen, 25,000; Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 22,000; International Association of Machinists, 20,000; United Mine Workers of America, 20,000; Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, 20,000." This perhaps shows the relative strength, but the actual numbers are probably far too high for most of these unions, if members in actual good standing are alone counted.

III. TRADE-UNIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

The following statistical and other facts as to trade-unions in continental Europe and in Australasia are mainly derived from the reports on the respective countries of the (English) Royal Commission on Labor, under date of 1893.

In France, all industrial organizations, whether of employers, of employees, or of both are called *syndicats*. Organization of trade-unions of the English type was late in France. (For the history, see FRANCE AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

In 1884 complete freedom of organization was gained. July 1, 1892, there were 1589 workmen's syndicates with 288,770 members. There were also over 100 syndicates of employers and employed, and nearly 900 agricultural syndicates.

Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and the Department of Nord are the main centers. French trade-unions are more formally identified with the socialist movement than English and American unions (See SOCIALISM.) Of the 1589 unions, only 379 have benefits, 176 labor registries, and 70 out-of-work funds. The entrance fee is usually 1 fr., and the monthly dues from 50 c. to 1 fr. Paris has 222 workmen's syndicates with some 89,000 members. The *Chambre Syndicale Typographique* is one of the oldest in Paris, founded in 1839. It has 2500 members, a library, newspaper, and benefit funds. The railway employees have two large syndicates with 15,000 and 7000 members. In France, the organizations of miners are the largest, with 41,709 members. Engineering, iron-works and foundries have 36,069; textiles, 31,544. (See also FRANCE; AGRICULTURE; COOPERATION.)

In Germany, trade-unions (*Gewerkvereine*) are mainly socialistic, as in France, tho there are some that are not. The old medieval guilds (*Zünfte*) were abolished by various laws at the close of the last century and the beginning of this; but modern guilds (*Innungen*), mainly of employees, and somewhat patterned after the old, were developed, and were encouraged by the Government, which strictly controlled all trade. Trade-unions proper date from 1868. Herr Fritzsche had established a German Union of Tobacco Workers in 1865, and of German printers in 1866. These were socialistic, and in 1868 the followers began to start various trade associations (*Gewerkschaften*). Dr. Max Hirsch the same year started a movement to copy the English trade-union idea. He and Herr Duncker worked together, and by 1869 had formed four such unions. In 1892 there were 244,934 persons enrolled in the socialistic *Gewerkschaften* in 57 central organizations, the miners, metal-workers, cabinet-workers, and printers being the most numerous. Twelve of the 57 central organizations give out-of-work pay, and 33 furnish traveling money. Dues average 9½ marks per year. They have 56 papers, with a circulation of 220,000. Of the *Gewerkvereine* (or trade-unions proper) there were, in 1893, 1341 local unions, with 61,034 members. Engineers and metal-workers lead. There are sick, death, and out-of-work benefits, etc. The printers' union we have said was established by Herr Fritzsche, but he rather reorganized a union that can be traced back to the seventeenth century. It is like an English trade-union, yet socialistic.

In Switzerland, societies to represent the interests of workmen in various ways, such as establishing benefit funds, savings banks, technical schools, etc., are old, tho not trade-unions proper. The *Société d'Utilité Publique* of Basle dates from 1777. It has some 2000 members and a capital of \$40,000. It has founded 54 institutions of some kind. The *Société Suisse d'Utilité Publique* dates from 1810. The great Swiss labor society, however, is the *Grütliverein*. It takes its name from the scene of the original pact in 1307 between the forest cantons. Founded at Geneva in 1838, it had, in 1893, 352 branches, 15,241 members, and a reserve fund of \$70,000. It is both industrial

and political, and largely socialistic. Owing to its agitation in 1886, a federal officer, called the workman secretary, is elected every three years by a congress of Swiss labor societies, organized as a federation, and he represents the societies in the Government. He is paid by the Government. Trade-unions proper are less developed in Switzerland. The Federation of Workers in Wood has 2000 members. The Printers' Trade Federation is older, with 1211 members. In all the Swiss Trade-Union Federation has 12,000 members in 253 branches. (See SWITZERLAND.)

In Italy, labor organizations are of very various kinds. Some are very ancient. The Pious Union of Journeyman Printers of Turin dates from 1710. The Pious Institute of Silk and Felt Hat Makers of the same city dates from 1738. In 1861 a *Fratellanza Artigiana* was started at Florence, and is still strong. In 1871 a *Patto del Fratellanza*, or pact of working men's societies, was formed at Rome. Both of these were under the influence of Mazzini. Since then most Italian labor organizations are best considered under the head of socialism. - (See ITALY.)

In Austria, the history of trade-unions is identified with the political history and socialism. (See AUSTRIA.) There were, in 1893, 148 trade-unions and political associations, 143 benefit societies, 296 mutual improvement societies. On Christmas Eve, 1893, the first congress of Austrian trade-unions met in Vienna; 270 delegates were present. They reported 20,000 members of unions in Vienna and 11,320 in the provinces. (See AUSTRIA.)

In Belgium, trade-unions have long had a firm hold, some of them being descended from the old trade benefit societies, but at present are mainly socialist societies, and are best considered under that head. (See BELGIUM.) In Holland there are many working men's associations, but not many or strong trade-unions proper. In Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, as in Belgium, the trade-unions are practically socialist societies. Denmark has some 400, with a membership of 35,000. In Russia, trade-unions in the Western sense are unknown, but there are artisans' guilds in the cities and in the provinces (*artels*, or societies of laborers) for various cooperative purposes. In Australasia, naturally, trade-unions have followed the English model. A branch of the English Amalgamated Society of Engineers was established in Australia in 1850. In New South Wales alone there are over 100 unions, with from 50,000 to 60,000 members; in Victoria, 70 unions, with from 25,000 to 30,000 members. Entrance fees vary from 1s. to £2. In the Amalgamated Society of Engineers it is £3 10s.; fees vary from 6d. a month to £1 a year, more commonly 6d. a week. Most of the unions have benefit funds.

IV. ARGUMENTS FOR TRADE-UNIONS.

The first argument for the existence of trade-unions is that they are necessary to protect the individual employee. For capitalists organized in great corporations to refuse to allow their employees to organize is injustice.

Trade-unions are necessary to allow of arbitration, conciliation, and responsible, enduring relations between workmen and their employ-

ers. Boards of arbitration and conciliation cannot deal between employers and each of several hundred employees acting as individuals. In England the large employers have learned to prefer to deal with *strong* trade-unions. Then responsible bargains can be made for a year ahead between the masters and the men, and the men and the corporations can know what to count on in fixing their prices.

Says Schulze Garvernitz (*Social Peace*, tr., pp. 248-250):

"The more intellectually gifted employers in the most important English industries have given an ungrudging recognition to the unions, and comparing the present with the former state of incessant strife, they see in the trade-union movement the instrument which is to restore English industry to the paths of peace." He quotes David Dale, a prominent mine owner, as saying: "Let me therefore declare emphatically, as the result of long and varied experience, that the best securities that employers can have for the rule of reason and the observance of engagements on the part of the operatives of any trade is that those operatives should have among themselves a union strong in numbers and with an able and trusted executive."

Says Professor Alfred Marshall, in a carefully balanced estimate (*Economics of Industry*, Book VI. chap. xii., § 13):

"Little but mischief indeed comes from a weak union, always ready to interfere, but seldom able to secure the faithful carrying out of an agreement, to which its own officers have been a party. But a strong union, guided by able and far-seeing men, who have a grave sense of responsibility, is found to enable a few minutes' quiet conversation to settle innumerable petty disputes that in old times would have caused much delay and worry and loss of mutual good feeling."

Mr. Potter Palmer, of Chicago, is reported to have said:

"For ten years I made as desperate a fight against organized labor as was ever made by mortal man. It cost me considerably more than \$1,000,000 to learn that there is no labor so skilled, so intelligent, so faithful as that which is governed by an organization whose officials are well-balanced, level-headed men. . . . I now employ none but organized labor, and never have the least trouble, each believing that the one has no right to oppress the other."

Invention and machinery make trade-unions and short hours necessary. Since the war muscular labor has been replaced by machinery (*g.v.*) in different trades from 50 to 300 per cent. This process is going on continually. Type-setting machines are to-day discharging thousands of compositors. It occasions terrible, if temporary evils. Trade-unions are then often the only bulwark between the wageworker and terrible reductions in wages. They are also the only hope of steady, orderly solution of the labor question. In trades where labor is well organized there are high wages, and peace and hope.

The best argument for trade-unions is the simple statement of what they have done. Mr. Trant (as above), summing up what they have done in England, says:

"It has been argued: First, that trade-unions have succeeded in raising wages and reducing the number of working hours. Second, that these reforms do not benefit the laborer at the cost of either the capitalist or the consumer; as, between certain limits, it is found that high pay and the prospect of an early cessation from work are such incentives to industry that the produce of labor is actually greater than under a system of long hours and low pay. Third, that the workmen have such confidence in the benefits they derive from union, that, after the experience of 'half a millennium,' they are crowding into societies, into unions, in a greater ratio every year. Fourth, that their de-

clared object is to prevent strikes and substitute arbitrations; and altho the latter mode of settling disputes is often proposed by the men and refused by the masters, it is seldom proposed by the masters and still less often refused by the men. It has been argued, further, that such being the objects of trade-unions, and such their success in obtaining those objects, the influence of that success must be very beneficial. First, because high wages mean increased comforts, which are not only a social, but a commercial advantage. High wages mean increased production, also the double blessing just mentioned. Second, because high wages do not mean enhanced prices, but the contrary. Third, because the principles of trade-unionism teach men the prudence of denying themselves something to-day, in order that they may have greater advantages to-morrow; and the duty of self-sacrifice, by calling upon them to contribute, out of their meager wealth, toward the alleviation of the sufferings of their fellow-men. Fourth, because trade-unions endeavor to obtain for the working classes more leisure for recreation and study. Fifth, because by lectures and other means the unions endeavor to make their members better workmen; and by rules which stigmatize and punish the idle, the vicious, and the incompetent, do all in their power to make workmen better citizens.

"It is really difficult to conceive how an institution with such noble objects, having attained those objects, can be anything but a great blessing to the community in which it is placed."

In the United States trade-unions have produced the same results.

1. They have shortened hours of toil from 13, 14, and occasionally 16, 75 years ago, to 12, 11, 10, and even to 8 in very many trades to-day. This is almost solely due to trade-unions, and has not taken place in portions of the country or in trades where trade-unionism is weak. The average hours of labor are yet said to be 11½ in all trades, because many are unorganized.

2. Trade-unions have mainly contributed to a general rise of wages.

3. Trade-unions have prevented an unknown number of cut downs in wages.

4. Trade-unions have gained in many States, legislation preventing the truck system, the locking of factory doors in work hours, the employment of women and children at night, etc.

They have gained legislation protecting the life and limb of employees from unguarded machinery, compelling the erection of fire-escapes, appointing factory inspectors (men and women). They have helped or led in establishing evening schools, labor bureaus, boards of arbitration and conciliation. They have caused to be enacted laws compelling weekly payment of wages, exempting the wages of wives and children from attachment, defining the responsibility of railroad and other corporations for accidents to their employees, above all *limiting the hours* of labor of women and children.

Such laws have not been passed in all States, nor are they wholly due to trade union efforts; but they have scarcely ever, if ever, been passed where trade-unions are weak, and in almost all cases it has been trade-union leaders who have attended the legislative hearings, collected the witnesses and conducted the agitations that have resulted in these laws.

5. The chief benefit of trade-unions is implied in the above, *viz.*, their educational effect. It is said above that good trade unions do good and poor trade-unions do harm, but good trade-unions usually come as the outgrowth of poor and weak trade-unions. Therefore even poor and weak trade-unions are to be encouraged and made strong and good as soon as possible.

6. Trade-unions have been of inestimable use

to the working classes as benefit societies. Of the extent to which trade-unions are insurance companies and employment bureaus, the general public has little idea. The Cigarmakers' International Union in 10 years (1882-91) disbursed \$1,446,996. Of this only \$676,456 went

**Trade
Benefits.**

for strikes and aiding weak unions (only a portion of that sum, therefore, for strikes); \$476,931 went for sick benefits; \$130,774 for death benefits; \$43,984 (in two years only) for out-of-work benefits; \$382,839 was loaned to traveling members in search of work; \$373,859 was added to the reserve fund. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, formed only in 1831, in seven years (1886-92) spent \$457,966. Of this only \$143,296 went for strikes, and \$210,213 for sick and death benefits. Yet their strikes have paid. Mr. P. J. McGuire, their general secretary, reports in four years (1889-92) 523 strikes, 23 lost, 24 compromised, and 476 successful; 99 were for higher wages, 71 for the eight-hour day, 316 for a nine-hour day, 31 for lesser hours Saturday. Speaking of 11 years' struggle, he says that while wages were \$1.50 to \$2.50 per day, they are now \$2.25 to \$3.50. In 531 cities they have forced wages up, gaining for the men, Mr. McGuire estimates, nearly \$1,500,000. The International Typographical Union in three years (1890-92) spent \$196,688: \$83,734 for strikes, \$11,500 for death benefits, \$52,158 for the Childs-Drexel Printers' Home. Besides this, the local unions spend much more for sick benefits. Union No. 42 (of Minneapolis) spent in the year ending March 31, 1892, \$2797: \$749 for sick benefits, \$517 to help other unions, \$399 for death benefits, \$151 for a cemetery reserve fund. The International Furniture Workers' Union, a comparatively small union, spent in 15 months, January 1, 1892, \$20,760: \$5835 for sick benefits, \$2250 for death benefits, \$283 for fire losses, \$5835 for strike benefits. These statistics are taken from the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Minnesota for 1891-92. Says the report: "Organized workmen make mistakes and failures, . . . but these failures and mistakes are no more a valid argument against trade-unions than against insurance companies, banks and other business corporations. Over three fourths of the standard investment life insurance companies started in the United States have gone out of business. . . . The failures of trade-unions do not approximate these figures." The report shows that most trade-unions conduct their business more cheaply than most insurance companies. It says: "The oldest unions have developed systems of accounts and methods of book-keeping for their affairs which, for perfection and adaptability to the ends to be accomplished, are not excelled in any class of mercantile or manufacturing establishments." Yet of all this quiet work of the trade-unions the public hears very little.

V. OBJECTIONS TO TRADE-UNIONS.

1. It is said that they are tyrannical. On the contrary, they are utterly democratic. In every trade-union, every office, every rule, every strike is voted upon by the members, and the majority prevails. Sometimes a union, after

voting to strike, empowers a walking delegate to call the strike when he thinks best; but the decision to strike does not lie with him. It not unfrequently happens that an employer asks an employee why he struck, and the man says he was compelled to strike by his union. Yet often that same employee himself voted to strike. Employees do not usually tell their employers when they vote to strike. Of course, in a democratic organization, a minority submits to a majority, but this is not tyranny. Sometimes, therefore, some men do strike against their will; but if they did not belong to a union they would have their will more crossed by their employers, so that, tho in a union a man does not always have his way, he has it infinitely more often than the employee who belongs to no union.

2. It is said that trade unions are led by agitators, whose salaries depend on getting up an agitation. This occasionally happens, but very seldom. Trade-unions employ walking delegates for two reasons: (1) To attend to the important beneficiary work of the union; (2) because they have learned that it is necessary to have some one to represent them in dealing with their employers who are not financially dependent upon their employers. This is unquestionably necessary. Employees, especially those with families, are afraid to stand up against their employers. They know that they will be considered as stirrers up of strife, and soon, on one excuse or another, discharged. So trade-unions get some one to represent them who is not afraid of the employer. It is among the rights of any one to act through their representatives, Corporations usually do. Yet no position is more commonly taken by employers than that they will deal only with their own men. The walking delegate does indeed strive to organize and extend the organization of his craft. That is a part of his work and right. But his main work is to visit the sick or pay out the benefits of the order.

3. It is said that trade-unions are mischievous in creating useless strikes. This is, generally speaking, a mistake. (See STRIKES.)

4. It is said that trade-unions lower the efficiency of labor, interfere with personal rights, and create violence by preventing apprentices from learning trades, by demanding equal wages for union members without reference to skill, by interfering with the employer's right to employ whom he will, and demanding that he employ only union labor, and by attacking non-union labor in time of strikes.

**Trade-
Unions
and Non-
Unionists.**

To these objections, it is to be frankly admitted, that cases of injustice on the part of trade-unions do frequently happen, especially with weak and newly formed unions; but this is not because of trade-unionism, but because the members are ignorant and unwise, and therefore have more need of unions which gradually outgrow such evils. Says Professor Marshall (*Economics of Industry*, Book III., chap. v., § 3):

"In many of the smaller unions there remains to the present day much of the folly and ignorance and selfishness, and a little of the violence of earlier times. But we may trust that those faults which are not now

found in the largest and best-managed unions will, with the course of time and the diffusion of knowledge, disappear altogether. It is true that even the best unions do not always act up to the principles of unionism as they are expounded by their most enlightened members. But as, when dealing with the economics of trade, we do not trouble ourselves to discuss at length the guiles of dishonest merchants; so when dealing with the economics of unionism, we may accept its principles as they are put into practice by the most enlightened unionists."

As for violence in times of strike against non-union men, called "scabs" by the union men, it undoubtedly often happens, but very often it is conducted by irresponsible young men or boys, and sometimes women, in hate, or in spirit of mischief, and is not conducted by the unionists. The violence against property in case of strike is almost wholly committed, not by unionists, but by the hoodlums which infest most large cities, and are glad of any opportunity to attack the hated capitalists. Most trade-unions are careful to protect property, knowing it for their interest in the long run. (See STRIKES.) Usually the trade-unions are the best police and teachers of law, order, and discipline. Says Professor Marshall (*idem*, Book III., chap. v., § 13):

"Unions are rapidly growing out of the habit of *racketing*: that is, of hiding, stealing or destroying the tools of an employer or a workman who offends against their rules. There is no sign of the disuse of the habit of *picketing* a place where the men have struck; that is, of surrounding all entrances to it with men appointed to represent the interests of the union; but cases of intimidation on the part of these pickets are become rarer; they now confine themselves almost entirely to explaining to workmen who may be seeking employment, the nature and cause of the strike. The pickets appeal to their feelings of class patriotism, and endeavor to dissuade them from siding with the employers against the employed; offering them on the part of the union the repayment of all the expenses to which they may be put by abandoning their purpose.

Of the complaint that trade-unionists demand equal wages for workmen good and bad, Mr. Trant says (as above):

"That unions force masters to pay bad workmen the same wages as good workmen is not true, and the very idea would be scouted by all sensible unionists. The notion that such is the case is, however, very general. . . . True, the unions sometimes agree upon a minimum rate of wages, but this is quite another thing. If a man be not worth that minimum no employer need employ him, while if he be a man of superior skill, or extraordinary working ability, there is no limit to the amount of wages an employer may feel inclined to give him. Of course, where wages are paid by the day, a uniform rate naturally springs in existence."

Ruskin advocates equal wages. He says (*Unto this Last*, Essay 1):

"'Pay good and bad workmen alike?' Certainly. The difference between one prelate's sermons and his successor's—or between one physician's opinion and another's—is far greater, as respects the qualities of mind involved, and far more important in result to you personally, than the difference between good and bad laying of bricks (tho that is greater than most people suppose). Yet you pay with equal fee, contentedly, the good and bad workmen upon your soul, and the good and bad workmen upon your body; much more may you pay, contentedly, with equal fees, the good and bad workmen upon your house.

"Nay, but I choose my physician and (?) my clergyman, thus indicating my sense of the quality of their work.' By all means, also, choose your bricklayer; that is the proper reward of the good workman, to be 'chosen.' The natural and right system respecting all labor is, that it should be paid at a fixed rate, but the good workman employed, and the bad workman unemployed. The false, unnatural, and destructive sys-

tem is when the bad workman is allowed to offer his work at half price, and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum."

This, in a general and sometimes unconscious way, is what the trade-unionist aims at, and he aims all the more strenuously the more intelligent trade-unionist he is. As for the asserted hostility of trade-unions to apprentices, and their admitted effort to induce or compel employers to employ only union men, it is to be said that trade-unions do not limit apprenticeship to anything like the extent they are accused of doing. (For proof of this, see APPRENTICESHIP.) They do strive to limit the number of workmen, and when the emigration laws admit and employers often import adult workmen from Europe, the only way the unionist can limit the competition which may take from him his living is to limit the number of non-adults learning the craft. This is the explanation of the asserted hostility of American trade-unions to American labor. That unionists do strive to control the number of craftsmen, and above all to induce or force employers to employ only union men, is admitted. But provided they limit themselves to law-abiding methods, as more and more they are doing, this, under the present situation of industry, is undoubtedly their right and their necessity. The workman's craft is his livelihood, and that of his wife and children. The union is well-nigh his only way (see above) of preventing his wages from falling below the level of existence. Almost all economists support him in this. If some ignorant workman or some skilled smart workman does not want to join the union of his craft, it hurts every union man, and in the long run hurts the individual himself. Hence the unionists use every inducement they can to get all workmen to join their union, and to prevent employers from employing non-union labor. It is a life-and-death question to the workman. In seeing the foolish things often done by trade-unions, it must be remembered what might happen were there no trade-unions. The working classes under modern democratic impulses will not quietly be content with low wages. If they are prevented for organizing in legal ways, it is claimed that they would organize in illegal ways, or perhaps develop useless but violent and distinctive uprisings and insurrections. If they did not and there were no unions any unscrupulous employer could lower wages as he would, and force just employers to do the same. It is the fear of unions and of strikes that prevent many cut downs. The union is for the good alike of the wage worker and of the just employer. The following quotations used by trade-unionists in America show the change of opinion:

"Trade-unions are the bulwarks of modern democracies."—*W. E. Gladstone*.

"Were it not for the typographical union the printers of this country would not now be getting what they do for their work by at least one third."—*George W. Childs*.

Says Frederick Harrison (*Nineteenth Century*, October):

"Things are indeed changed now. We have just seen the greatest strike on record carried to a successful issue with and mainly by the support and encouragement of the public. The press, even the party

press, was uniformly fair, and, very generally, aided the movement. No sooner were the docks empty than money poured into the strike fund, not only from thousands of British unions, but from across the seas, and from the wealthy and governing classes in all directions. 'We were pelted with checks,' says the Treasurer, and in a few weeks upward of £40,000 was given. No Mansion House fund in a great national disaster, says John Burns, could have been 'responded to with more extravagant generosity.' In one memorable case, at least, a great employer—Mr. Henry Lafone—himself gave strike-pay to his own men when under a sense of social duty they left his works empty. The Stock Exchange raised a handsome sum toward the fund in a few minutes. Merchants and merchants' clerks cheered the strikers as they passed the warehouses in the city. London saw, without uneasiness or ill-will, 50,000 men on the verge of starvation pass in procession through the street. Politicians, clergymen, writers, and capitalists backed up their demands with word and with purse. Churches of all creeds, educational and charitable institutions, gave their help. Catholics and Salvationists, Tories and Radicals, for once combined. . . . The East End shopkeepers gave credit for goods. The pawnbrokers refused interest, and lodging-house keepers refused their rent. Finally a Lord Mayor, a Cardinal, a Bishop of London, and some prominent politicians, succeeded in bringing about peace in this tremendous upheaval of industry."

5. One objection is brought against trade-unions from a very different quarter from those we have considered above. They are declared

Trade-Unionism and Socialism.

by some socialistic reformers to be reactionary and useless. This objection, as far as it applies to trade-unions, is usually brought by young and utopian middle-class socialists who know very little about what trade-unions are doing. Few working class socialists object to trade-

unions. But very many working-class socialists do attack, and that bitterly, the trade-union leaders. They say trade-unions are necessary to-day, but cannot really solve the labor movement; that only socialism can do that; and that the main use of the trade-union ought to be to educate the workers toward socialism. This, they say, the trade-union leaders prevent because it is for their interest to magnify the organizations which give them a living. Those trade-unionists who refuse to join the Socialist Labor Party they brand as traitors to labor, and as having sold their views to the capitalist class, etc. Says Mr. Hyndman, in *Justice*, the organ of this type of socialism in England:

"The day has gone by for the efforts of isolated trades" (September 6, 1884). "Nothing short of a revolution which shall place the producers of wealth in control of their own country can possibly change matters for the better" (July 13, 1885). "We appeal, therefore, earnestly to the skilled artisans of all trades, unionists and non-unionists alike, to make common cause with their unskilled brethren, and unite with us Social Democrats, so that the workers may themselves take hold of the means of production, and organize a cooperative commonwealth for themselves and their children" (June 13, 1887).

The position of the same type of socialists in America is the same, only with the use of more denunciation. The trade-union leaders, however, even those who do accept the ideals of socialism as their ultimate aim, being usually men of some years of experience, know that socialism at the best can come but slowly. They have seen working-class political movements and labor parties come and go. To identify trade-unions as organizations with such political movements, they believe, would endanger the only organizations that are protecting labor

interests to-day for at the best questionable and vague hopes. Let socialism come, they argue, as speedily as it may; let workers unite and vote for it, if they will, as members of a political party; but let us not commit the unions as unions to such parties. They point to the many concrete and very actual advantages trade-unions have gained to-day for the working classes (see above). Many of them do not even believe that as socialists it is the wisest way to work for socialism thro independent political parties. They believe that socialism must come, if at all, as a slow evolution, first of all, through the organization of trades on trade lines, especially working for the shortening of the hours of labor. What socialistic measures the community is ready for they believe can be best obtained, step by step, by working through existing political parties. They are inclined to laugh at working men who cannot control their own trade, and cannot even control one political party, hoping to gain the majority of all political parties.

A last objection to trade-unions, or at least to trade-unions of the present type, which we may briefly consider, comes from the opposite direction—from the extreme individualists. In *A Plea for Liberty* (Thomas Mackay, ed.), Mr. Auberon Herbert, writing on *The True Line of Deliverance*, argues that present trade-unions are wrong so far as they are militant organizations. He says that on the present line they can only succeed by being at least supplemented by State socialism and a vast system of restrictions which he considers opposed to liberty and to the real advantage of the workers. He says:

"The point then that I urge upon trade-unionists and all workmen is the same point I should urge upon nations—seek to get rid of war. . . . Capital, relieved of all attacks and of all misgivings, would become intensely active. The same wise spirit in the men which had led them to abandon all attacks upon it thro their organiza- Individual-
tions would also lead them to put a sharp curb upon the mischievous activities of the politician, and to prevent his happy-go-lucky interference with it. Capital would thus have that sense of complete security which is beyond all value to it. . . . The consequences would be that this country would become the home and storehouse of capital. . . . In two senses the workmen, if they so choose, may become the masters of capital. They may encourage capital to such an extent, that the competition of capitalists will drive the reward of labor up to the highest point and the reward of labor down to the lowest point; and, secondly, being the largest body of consumers, they may have capital at their feet, trying to find out their every will and pleasure. . . . Under this system there would be no unions of exactly the present type, but there would be far more associations among the men. The probability is that almost every man would belong to some form of union. Information would be the first great purpose. . . . The union, being no longer a war machine, would serve many great purposes. One great object that lies before every working man is to have two sources of revenue: his labor earnings and his return from industrial investments. If all the money wasted in labor-war had been invested in industrial concerns, wages would be higher than they are now, and the men would be part owners of a considerable amount of the industrial machinery of the country. . . . Once relieved from the miserable duty of fighting the employer, its [the union's] energies would be called out in many directions which are scarcely in the region of imagination at present."

The answer to this view is the simple one of quoting the facts against it. Where trade-unions have not been organized and capital has

been most secure, as in the sweated trades on the one hand and the great monopolies on the other, wages have not been highest nor conditions best. It is simply history that scarcely a single advance has been gained by labor, save as laborers have organized and aggressively struggled for it. The few reforms that have been brought forward by humane employers were not brought forward till the labor movement called attention to the subject.

Says the late Professor Thorold Rogers (*g. v.*), of Oxford, concerning trade-unions :

"I confess to at one time having viewed them suspiciously; but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that they are not only the best friends of the workman, but the best agency for the employer and the public; and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some among the most pressing and difficult problems of our times."

Professor Marshall says, summing up a more critical study of the effects of trade-unions (*Economics of Industry*, Book VI., chap. xiii.) :

"Other things being equal, the presence of a union in a trade raises wages relatively to other trades. But the influence which unions exert on the average level of wages is less than would be inferred by looking at the influence which they exert on wages in each particular trade. When the measures which they take to raise wages in one trade have the effect of rendering business more difficult, or anxious, or impeding it in any other way, they are likely to diminish employment in other trades, and thus to cause a greater aggregate loss of wages to other trades than they gain for themselves, and to lower and not raise the average level of wages. . . .

"The power of unions to raise general wages by direct means is never great; it is never sufficient to contend successfully with the general economic forces of the age, when their drift is against a rise of wages. But yet it is sufficient materially to benefit the worker, when it is so directed as to co-operate with and to strengthen those general agencies, which are tending

to improve his position morally and economically. And it will be so directed if the following conditions are satisfied. Firstly, unions must aim at making business easy and certain; this is already done by formal and informal boards of conciliation in some trades, especially such as produce largely for foreign markets. Secondly, they must aim at raising the standard of life among the workers of the present and the coming generation by fostering habits of sobriety and honesty, independence and self-respect: this is done in different degrees by all unions; and whatever influence they exert in this direction is cumulative. Thirdly, they must aid as many as possible of the rising generation to acquire industrial skill, and to join the higher paid ranks of labor: this calls for some self-sacrifice, and is inconsistent with any attempt to raise very high the wages in skilled trades by making the entrance to them artificially difficult. Fourthly, they must strive to develop the great stores of business power and inventive resource that lie latent among the working classes, so that, production being economical and efficient, the national dividend may be large; and that, business power being cheap, and the share going as earnings of management being relatively small, that which remains for wages may be high. The training which unionists get from the management of union affairs, though highly beneficial to them as men and as citizens, is yet not exactly what is wanted for this end. . . . Fifthly, they must be always specially careful to avoid action by which one class of workers inflict a direct injury on others. . . .

"Thus union policy as a whole is likely to be economically successful provided unionists as individuals and in their corporate capacity follow the dictates of morality directed by sound knowledge. In this respect unions derive an ever-increasing assistance from public sympathy and public criticism; and the more they extend the sphere of their undertakings by federation and international alliances, the more dependent do they become on that sympathy and the more amenable to that criticism; the larger the questions at issue, the greater is the force of public opinion."

References: *The History of Trade Unionism* (British), by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1894); *The Labor Movement* (American ed.), by G. E. McNeill (1887); *The Conflicts of Capital and Labor Historically and Economically Considered* (revised edition, 1890), and *Trade Unionism. New and Old* (1891), by G. Howell; *Trade Unions*, by W. Trant (1884); *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, by C. D. Wright (1895). See also AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION; FACTORY SYSTEM MACHINERY; KNIGHTS OF LABOR; NEW TRADE UNIONISM; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT; STRIKES; WAGES, etc.

TRAMPS.—In the United States the term *tramp* is in general use as equivalent for a wandering vagrant, and is really synonymous with the word vagrant, tho' the vagrancy laws usually include disorderly persons who would scarcely be called tramps. Vagrancy laws exist in all civilized countries, and began in England as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, when efforts were made to require laborers to stay and work in certain places. (See POOR LAWS.) The laws were continually changed and added to, and the treatment of vagrants was often severe in the extreme.

To-day, vagrants in England are, if simply idle or disorderly, placed at hard labor for a month; if rogues and vagabonds, for not to exceed three months; if incorrigible rogues, they may be imprisoned for a year, and may be whipped. In the United States, vagrants or tramps were not frequent enough to call out special legislation till after the hard times of 1873. To-day the tramp problem has become a large one. The most careful study of tramps in the United States has been made by Professor J. J. McCook, of Hartford. In various magazine articles, as in *The Forum* and the *Charities Review*, it is estimated by Mr. McCook that there are about 46,000 tramps in the United States. This estimate is based on a statistical investigation of tramps living in Massachusetts, that State being the only one which attempts to collect the facts necessary for a calculation. Mr. McCook further estimates that 57 per cent. of our American tramps have trades or professions, 41 per cent. are unskilled laborers, 1 in 20 is under 20 years of age, 3 out of 5 are under 35, 75 out of 100 under 40, and 1 in 111 over 70. He believes that industrial causes have little to do with vagabondage, holding that intemperance is chiefly responsible for it. (But see POVERTY for a contrary view.) Sixty-three per cent. of the tramps with whom he has communicated are confessedly intemperate. Mr. McCook says further that 56 per cent. of our tramps are of American nativity; that more than nine tenths of them are married, and that a like proportion can read and write. Only 113 out of 1349 admitted that they had no religion.

Mr. McCook recommends uniform laws in all the States, committing drunkards and vagrants to places of detention, where they must abstain from drink, must work, and must keep clean, and that for an indefinite period. He thinks that they might be made to nearly or quite support themselves in such establishments, and in that event we would save \$10,000,000 or more a year.

Existing legislation in the United States follows, in the main, English lines. The old excessive punishments have been done away with,

partly because it is widely recognized that the tramp is the result of social and economic conditions, the removal of which on temperance and industrial lines is the only lasting remedy. Yet the laws to-day are frequently very unjust, blending the man out of work with the semi-criminal, and making poverty a crime. (See also UNEMPLOYMENT.)

TREVOR, JOHN, was born in Liverpool, Eng., in 1855, the son of a linen-draper. Sent to a Wisbech, he grew up under a narrow orthodoxy that rested like a crushing load on his imaginative spirit. In 1869 he was articled to an architect in Norwich, but gave more thought to theological and sociological problems. In 1877, broken in health, he went on a voyage to Australia, and thence to San Francisco, and then entered the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School, to prepare for the Unitarian ministry. Returning to London, he tried to preach, but thought he had no mission, and so returned to his profession of architecture in the south of England. He married and had four children born to him. Finding his profession commercialized and degraded by competition, he was compelled to study social problems more than ever, and he gradually worked out the views which he later embodied in his Labor Church, and at last felt that he had something to preach. He studied for a year at Manchester, New College, and then went to London to assist Mr. Wichsteed at Little Portland Street Chapel, but in 1890 went to Upper Brook Street Free Church, Manchester, and at last left all organized churches and started, October, 1891, the Labor Church Movement, for an account, by Mr. Trevor, of which, see LABOR CHURCH.

TRUSTS.—A trust in law may be defined as confidence reposed in any person by making him the nominal owner of property, which he may hold, use, or dispose of for the benefit of another. Such a trust is sometimes called an *active* or *special* trust, in distinction from a *naked* or *passive* trust, where the trustee is only a figurehead in holding a title, but with no discretionary powers as to its use or disposal. There may be also *express trusts* and *implied trusts*, according as the powers are expressed or implied. *Loan and trust companies* are simply a form of banks.

The popular use of the word trust, however, limits it to the particular case, eliciting so much attention to-day, where by a device of trusteeship, various corporations

Definitions. practically form one monopoly without losing their separate corporateness. The novel characteristic of such a trust is not in its being a monopoly, but in the way in which the monopoly is attained.

The fullest information on the subject of trusts is contained in a report of a committee of the New York State Legislature, which was appointed to investigate the new combination. The following trusts were inquired into: Sugar, milk, rubber, cotton-seed oil, envelope, elevator, oil-cloth, Standard oil, butchers', glass, and furniture. A trust is defined by the committee

as a combination "to destroy competition and to restrain trade through the stockholders therein combining with other corporations or stockholders to form a joint-stock company of corporations, in effect renouncing the powers of such several corporations, and placing all powers in the hands of trustees." The general purposes and effects are stated to be "to control the supply of commodities and necessities; to destroy competition; to regulate the quality; and to keep the cost to the consumer at prices far beyond their fair and equitable value."

Mr. Charles W. Baker, in his *Monopolies and the People*, says:

"A trust is a combination to restrain competition among producers, formed by placing the various producing properties (mills, factories, etc.) in the hands of a board of trustees, who are empowered to direct the operations of production and sale, as if the properties were all under a single ownership and management."

The first great trust formed was the Standard Oil Trust in 1882. (See STANDARD OIL MONOPOLY.) Since then innumerable trusts have been formed. Some have been nominally broken up, but more have been formed, and usually those which have been broken up have simply changed their form of combination to avoid or to fulfill some legal enactment. The general tendency to combination is at least as strong as ever. (See MONOPOLY; WEALTH.) Mr. H. D. Lloyd (*q.v.*), in the appendix to his *Wealth against Commonwealth*, gives a list of the articles in commerce affected by trusts or combinations of one kind or another, and the list occupies eight pages. The committee of Congress which investigated trusts in 1889 did not report any list of combinations to control markets, "for the reason that new ones are constantly forming, and that old ones are constantly expanding their relations so as to cover new branches of the business and invade new territories." Says Mr. Lloyd (*idem*, p. 4):

"Corners are 'acute' attacks of that which combinations exhibit as chronic. First a corner, then a pool, then a trust has often been the genesis. . . . The line of development is from local to national and from national to international. The amount of capital changes continually with the recrystallizations in progress. Not less than \$500,000,000 is in the coal combination (1894), which our evidence shows to have flourished 22 years; that in oil has nearly if not quite \$200,000,000, and the other combinations in which its members are leaders foot up hundreds of millions more. Hundreds of millions of dollars are united in the railroads and elevators of the Northwest against the wheat-growers. In cattle and meat there are not less than \$100,000,000; in whiskey, \$35,000,000, and in beer a great deal more than that; in sugar, \$75,000,000; in leather, over \$100,000,000; in gas, hundreds of millions. At this writing (1894) a union is being negotiated of all the piano-makers in the United States, to have a capital of \$50,000,000. Quite beyond ordinary competition is the magnitude of the syndicates, if there is more than one, which are going from city to city, consolidating all the gas works, electric-lighting companies, street railways in each, into single properties, and consolidating these into vast estates for central corporations of capitalists, controlling from metropolitan offices the transportation of the people of scores of cities. Such a syndicate negotiating in December, 1892, for the control of the street railways of Brooklyn, was said by the New York Times, "on absolute authority to have subscribed \$23,000,000 toward that end before a single move had been made or a price set on a single share of stock." It was in the same hands as those busy later

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in gathering together the coal mines of Nova Scotia and putting them under American control. There are in round numbers 10,000,000,000 of dollars claiming dividends and interest in the railroads of the United States. Every year they are more closely pooled."

Henry B. Brown, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, said, in an address at the Yale Law School, June 24, 1895 :

"Corporations are a necessity in every civilized State. They have a practical monopoly of land transportation, of mining, manufacturing, banking, and insurance; and within their proper sphere they are a blessing to the community. On the other hand, the ease with which charters are procured has produced great abuses. Corporations are formed under the laws of one State for the sole purpose of doing business in another, and railways are built in California under charters granted by the States east of the Mississippi, for the purpose of removing their litigation to Federal courts.

"The greatest frauds are perpetrated in the construction of such roads by the directors themselves, under guise of a construction company, another corporation, to which is turned over all the bonds, mortgages, and other securities, regardless of the actual cost of the road. The road is equipped in the same way, by another corporation, formed of the directors, which buys the rolling stock and leases it to the road—so that when the inevitable foreclosure comes, the stockholders are found to have been defrauded for the benefit of the mortgagees, and the mortgagees defrauded for the benefit of the directors. Property thus acquired, in defiance of honesty and morality, does not stand in a favorable position to invoke the aid of the law for its protection.

"Worse than this, however, is the combination of corporations in so-called trusts, to limit production, stifle competition, and monopolize the necessities of life. The extent to which this has already been carried is alarming; the extent to which it may hereafter be carried is revolutionary. Indeed, the evils of aggregated wealth are nowhere seen in more odious form.

"If no student can light his lamp without paying tribute to one company; if no housekeeper can buy a pound of meat or of sugar without swelling the receipts of two or three all-pervading trusts, what is to prevent the entire productive industry of the country becoming ultimately absorbed by a hundred gigantic corporations?"

The Philadelphia *Times* a few years ago gave a list of trusts and other monopolies numbering 137, and estimated to represent a capital of \$1,507,060,000. According to a writer in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, the Cordage Trust made \$1,406,313 in the year ending October 31, 1891—probably 40 or 50 per cent. on its capital. The Cotton Seed Oil Trust and Lard Trust have both cleared over \$2,000,000 in one year. (Concerning the political power of trusts, see PLUTOCRACY.)

Concerning the legal standing of trusts, Mr. George W. Kirchwey, writing in *Johnson's Cyclopaedia*, argues that they are not different from other monopolies, and can only be legally attacked in the same way. He says :

"There is nothing in the form, the organization, or the methods of the modern industrial trust to render it obnoxious to law. It is in all essential particulars a trust of the normal familiar type, such as are habitually enforced by the courts. In these external aspects it differs from ordinary trusts only in the magnitude of the interests involved. . . . Accordingly, in the litigation which has attended the development of these trust combinations their character as trusts has played little or no part, and those combinations that have been organized on the trust principle have been attacked and defended on precisely the same grounds as those which take on some other form. The field over which the battle of the trusts has been waged is covered by the two following points :

"Many acts which the individual may lawfully perform are forbidden to the corporation. The former

can retire from his business or turn his business over to some one else to be managed for him; the latter cannot retire without dissolution, nor has it any power to delegate to another corporation or person the duties which its charter requires it to perform. A corporation which abandons the business for which it was organized, and allows its property to be controlled and its operations to be carried on by a person or group of persons who have no direct relations, and who are not its agents, is acting *ultra vires* and in violation of its organic law, and thereby forfeits its right to exist at all. . . . These principles once settled the mode of attack is simple enough. Altho the trust is, as we have seen above, impregnable against direct attack, it can be effectually undermined and destroyed by breaking down the several corporations from which it draws its strength. . . . It was in this way that the Sugar Trust was broken up in New York and the great Standard Oil Trust in Ohio. . . . But . . . the 'trust' after it has been driven out of one form of organization can easily take refuge in another and different form. . . . There are several other forms of at least equal potency with which the principles above discussed have nothing to do. Thus they do not touch the case of individuals, nor corporations forming trust combinations of precisely the character and type of those under consideration. They do not reflect upon the right of corporations or of individuals to enter into far-reaching arrangements, regulating the rate and character of productions and the prices to be charged for goods and services. . . . Indeed this is precisely what has occurred in the case of the 'trusts' destroyed by the adverse decisions in New York, Ohio, and elsewhere. Of the large number of combinations in existence at the date of these decisions, it is not known that a single one has gone out of operation as a result thereof. They have disappeared as corporate trusts, but they have promptly reappeared and are in full operation as great corporations or as corporations held together by contract."

Legal Standing.

Mr. Kirchwey therefore discusses a second mode of attack, and says :

"Whether a given industrial combination be made up of individuals or of corporations, whether it be more or less closely held together by contract or be consolidated into a trust, if it constitutes or 'tends to create' a monopoly, or if it is found to be a conspiracy in restraint of trade it is obnoxious to law. This does not signify that it is liable to destruction at the instance of the State, nor that its promoters are subject to criminal prosecution, but only that the agreements and covenants on which it is based, being unlawful and contrary to public policy, will not be enforced by the courts and that it will be thus reduced to a mere voluntary association without binding force upon its members. When the monopoly is not based on agreement, but is executed by a single corporation or individual who has gained control of the market, the rate bill laid down has no application. As thus limited and defined, the rule against monopolies is one of the landmarks of the common law. But no rule of that law is more difficult of application. The crucial question whether a given combination is or is not a monopoly, as to whether a given agreement is or is not a conspiracy against the common weal, is well-nigh as broad as the rule itself, and the judicial attempts to answer it have thus far failed to develop any clear guiding principle. . . . The tendency in most of the States has been to declare against such combinations, but in the great case against the Sugar Trust the New York Court of Appeals refused to follow the lower courts in declaring the combination to be essentially monopolistic and hostile to the welfare of the State. It is believed that in the absence of legislation this more temperate and conservative view will ultimately prevail."

"In Restraint of Trade."

Such is Mr. Kirchwey's view. Equally hopeless to the enemy of trusts appears legislative action. No fewer than 13 States, mainly in the West, passed anti-trust laws in 1889, and five more States in 1890. Georgia passed a law of this nature as early as 1877, probably the first law of the kind. New York passed one of narrower scope and doubtful validity in 1893. All

of these statutes are penal in character and appear to be sufficiently explicit and drastic. They declare all combinations or agreements regulating the supply or price of any article or commodity to be criminal conspiracies, and declare such contracts or combinations to be null and void. Yet there have been no decisions under these statutes which have conclusively demonstrated their efficacy. There is considerable difference of legal opinion as to their constitutionality on account of their interference with vested property rights, and Mr. Kirchwey (as above) thinks combinations could easily adopt a form of organization which would avoid their operation.

July 2, 1890, Congress passed an Anti-Trust Act, and the Tariff Act of 1894 contains a similar provision, but it is so indefinite and inconclusive that both are generally regarded by lawyers as useless. This applies only to interstate commerce.

The Attorney-General of the United States, whose duty it is to direct prosecutions to enforce national laws, argues in his report for 1893 why it is impossible to enforce the anti-trust law. He shows "what small basis there is for the popular impression," "that the aim and effect of this statute are to prohibit and prevent these aggregations of capital which are so common at the present day, and which sometimes are on so large a scale as to practically control all the branches of an extensive industry." He says "it would not be useful, even if it were possible, to ascertain the precise purposes of the framers of the statute." He says that "since all ownership of property is a monopoly, . . . any literal application of the provisions of the statute is out of the question."

Concerning the economic bearing of trusts, with arguments in favor of monopolies as well as opposed to them, and also a statement of the various ways proposed for meeting the problems they raise, see MONOPOLY. It should be stated here that some reformers do not believe in attempts at restricting them, believing them a natural stepping-stone, as some think, to socialism (*q. v.*), as others think to extreme individualism (*q. v.*). See also MONOPOLY and PLUTOCRACY.

References: Lewin's *The Law of Trusts*; H. D. Lloyd's *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894).

TUCKER, BENJAMIN R., was born near New Bedford, Mass., in 1854. His early education he received in private schools and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Engineering did not appeal to him, and he decided to enter the profession of journalism. He served his apprenticeship in a printing office, and in 1878 joined the editorial staff of a Boston newspaper. He became acquainted with the leaders of the New England Labor Reform League, and was introduced to radical thought by Josiah Warren, Colonel William B. Greene, and others. He made a thorough study of Proudhon, and decided that "anarchism," the term used by the French philosopher, was the most appropriate designation for the political and economic doctrines taught by the New England individualists. In 1877 he established a

quarterly called *The Radical Review*. At the end of a short period Mr. Tucker concluded that the propaganda of his views could be carried on most effectively and directly by a fortnightly or weekly organ. Accordingly he established *Liberty*, which is still published, and which is recognized in philosophical and progressive circles of America and Europe as the ablest and most authoritative champion of individualistic anarchism. Being too busy to write books, Mr. Tucker published in 1893 a volume called *Instead of a Book*, consisting of selections from his writings in *Liberty* and lectures delivered to different reform clubs and associations. Although fragmentary, the exposition of the anarchistic philosophy found in this work is the clearest and most complete extant. Socialism, communism, the single tax and other reforms are subjected to searching criticism from the anarchistic point of view. Mr. Tucker is also the translator of several works of Proudhon, Bakounin, and Tchernishevsky. He claims no originality for his views, and regards Proudhon, Greene, and Warren as his masters and teachers. He does not, however, strictly follow either of these thinkers, especially on the subject of ethics, and the political system advocated by him is in many respects materially different from those of his acknowledged guides.

VICTOR YARROS.

TURGENEFF, IVAN SERGYEVITCH, born 1818, in Orel, is probably the ablest Russian novelist up to the present time. He was the son of an officer of cuirassiers, and was educated at Moscow and afterward at the University of Berlin. In 1852 he first became the object of government displeasure. He was imprisoned for a month for an article he wrote on the death of Gogol, and was compelled to reside for two years more in the country. This experience seems to have been in some sense a turning-point in his career, for in 1855 he commenced publishing the novels which have had such a vital connection with the social life of Russia. In 1855 he published *Dimitri Rudin*; in 1858, *A Nest of Nobles* and *Helene*; in 1862, *Fathers and Sons*, which work was one of the most potent means in wakening into action the philosophy of negation and materialism. It was this book, too, which gave to the philosophy the name of "nihilism," which it has borne ever since. In 1865 he published *Smoke*, and in 1877 *Spring Floods* and *Virgin Soil*. Besides his more important novels he wrote many shorter stories; and his last work was a collection of prose poems entitled *Senilia*, which for power and pathos takes rank with his best work. After the publication of *Fathers and Sons* he left Russia and settled in Baden, where he stayed until the termination of the Franco-German War, when he removed to Paris, where he resided until his death in 1883.

TURGOT, ANNE ROBERT JACQUES, BARON DE L'AULNE, was born in Paris in 1727. Educated for the Church, he gave up an ecclesiastical career and studied law, becoming noted as a liberal thinker and contributor to the *Encyclopédie*. He associated with Quesnay and Gournay, and accepted to some extent their

views. (See PHYSIOCRATS.) In 1761 he was appointed intendant-governor of the province of Limousin, and in 1774 Comptroller-General of France under Louis XVI. The courtiers and nobility bitterly opposed his reform ideas, but for a while the king supported him, and he was able to introduce free trade in grain and other reforms. At last the king, in 1776, was induced to depose him, and Turgot retired to private life and devoted himself to science till his death in 1781. His *Œuvres Complètes*, including his essays on usury, on taxation, and *Réflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*, etc., were published in nine volumes (1808-11).

TWEED RING.—The Tweed Ring of New York City may be said to have begun in 1863, when William Marcy Tweed, a chairmaker of Scotch descent, born in New York in 1823, was appointed deputy street commissioner. He had been long prominent in local politics, and in 1853 had been elected to Congress. He was a member of Tammany (*q.v.*) for many years, and from 1860-71 its grand sachem. Becoming the virtual head of the Street Department, and later of the Department of Public Works, he enormously extended the expenditures for "improvements," and created numberless offices, giving him vast influences and the bestowal of

sinecures on his friends. A ring gradually developed, and by 1869 held almost every department of the city in its power. In 1868 the ring's greatest scheme of robbery was begun—the building of a new county court house. It was stipulated not to cost over \$250,000. Before 1871 it had cost \$8,000,000, and was still unfinished. In 1870 the power of auditing accounts was taken from the supervisors and vested in certain city offices filled by friends of the ring. All restraints on fraudulent bills were then removed. Bills amounting to \$6,000,000 were passed at the first and only meeting of the Board of Audit. Of this amount \$1,000,000 was traced to Tweed's own pocket. A secret account of the money thus paid was kept in the auditor's office, entered "County Liabilities." During the winter of 1870-71 a clerk stealthily copied its items and showed them to his patron, James O'Brien, an opponent of Tammany. He gave them to the *New York Times*, and they were published in July, 1871. The excitement created an investigation, and through the efforts of Samuel J. Tilden the frauds were exposed and the ring overthrown in the election of November, 1871. Tweed was tried for grand larceny and forgery, and November 22, 1872, sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment and a heavy fine. In 1875 he escaped and fled to Spain, where he was captured and returned to New York City in 1876, dying in Ludlow Street Jail in 1878.

U.

UNEMPLOYMENT.—We consider this question under three heads: I. The Number of the Unemployed; II. The Causes of the Unemployment; III. The Meeting of the Problem (*a*) in temporary crises; (*b*) in more permanent ways.

I. THE NUMBER OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

This is most variously estimated by different authorities mainly because they use the word in different senses. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, in his report as Commissioner of Labor in 1886, says he means by the unemployed "those who under prosperous times would be fully employed, and who, during the time mentioned, were seeking employment." Using the word in this special sense, he is naturally able to reduce the number of the unemployed to the lowest limits, and consequently to make those who, using the word in its natural sense, estimate the number as very much larger, appear guilty of gross exaggeration, for obviously to get those who are *without remunerative work* in times of depression one must add to Mr. Wright's number, the very large number who under prosperous times are not "fully employed." Mr. C. D. Kellogg, of the New York Charity Organization Society, and Professor R. T. Ely, of Wisconsin University, have both separately estimated those receiving pauper aid in the United States as no less than 3,000,000. Adding to these those who do not receive aid, but who perhaps through long periods are out

of work or only work a few days a week on half time or one third time or even less, one gets a very different idea of the number of the unemployed, meaning by it those who do not have remunerative work. Even this, however, by no means gives the whole truth, since in the middle classes there are an increasing number of persons who do not work in factories or stores, where statistics of employment are usually sought, but who are often in secret bitterly suffering for lack of remunerative work, caused perhaps by combinations of business offices and discharge of clerks. They have to keep up appearances just as long as possible in order to keep credit and to secure work. Often the bitterest suffering is in this class, of which the general public rarely hears and which statistics rarely reach. It is, then, remembering these things, and asking always what one means by the unemployed, that one must consult the so-called "statistics" of the subject. Yet, rightly understood, these may be of value. Perhaps the most careful statistical study of the subject is that of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor for 1885, and published in its report for 1887. It says (concerning Massachusetts):

"The whole number of persons, of both sexes, who were unemployed at their principal occupation during some part of the year represented by the 12 months which preceded the census enumeration of population, May 1, 1885, was 241,580. Of this number, 178,628 were males and 62,961 were females. . . .

"Of a total of 816,470 persons employed in gainful occupations, the unemployed persons, 241,586 in num-

ber, represent 29.59 per cent., while 574,881 persons, or 70.41 per cent., were employed during the entire year. . . . The unemployed persons were unemployed at their principal occupation, on an average, 4.11 months, while for all persons employed in gainful occupations, considered as a whole, whether employed or unemployed, the average unemployment during the census year was 1.22 months. In other words, a little less than one third of the persons returned as being engaged in remunerative labor were unemployed for about one third of their working time; while, on the other hand, the working population of the State, considered in their entirety, were employed at their principal occupation for a trifle less than 11 months during the census year.

"The results just shown for 241,589 persons unemployed, on an average, 4.11 months during the year may be considered as being equivalent to 82,744 persons unemployed for an entire year."

The report also gives the following table classifying the unemployed by occupations :

SEX AND OCCUPATIONS.	TOTAL UNEMPLOYED PERSONS.	UNEMPLOYED PERSONS HAVING "OTHER OCCUPATIONS."
	Percentages.	Percentages.
<i>Males.</i>	100.00	100.00
Government and professional.	1.22	2.44
Domestic service.....	0.52	0.71
Personal service.....	0.92	1.49
Trade.....	4.62	6.13
Transportation.....	3.93	5.40
Agriculture.....	8.47	14.84
Fisheries.....	1.98	12.41
Manufactures.....	65.94	53.44
Boots and shoes.....	18.12	11.51
Brick, tiles, and sewer pipe..	0.68	2.15
Building.....	13.90	15.69
Cotton goods.....	5.92	1.37
Machines and machinery.....	2.66	1.74
Metals and metallic goods.....	6.14	4.86
Straw and palm-leaf goods..	0.63	2.51
Woolen goods.....	3.11	1.33
Other manufactures.....	14.78	12.28
Mining.....	0.39	0.50
Laborers.....	11.39	2.44
Apprentices.....	0.62	0.20
<i>Females.</i>	100.00	100.00
Government and professional.	9.08	8.44
Domestic service.....	6.33	12.01
Personal service.....	3.99	4.28
Trade.....	1.98	4.16
Transportation.....	0.03	.....
Agriculture.....	0.06	0.36
Fisheries.....	.....	.....
Manufactures.....	78.22	70.51
Boots and shoes.....	16.28	8.56
Clothing.....	12.33	19.50
Cotton goods.....	21.98	7.01
Straw and palm leaf goods..	4.91	14.51
Other manufactures.....	22.72	20.93
Laborers.....	0.02	.....
Apprentices.....	0.29	0.24

Of the United States as a whole the *United States Labor Report* for 1886 says (p. 65) :

"It is undoubtedly true that out of the total number of establishments, such as factories, mines, etc., existing in the country, about 5 per cent. were absolutely idle during the year ending July 1, 1885, and that perhaps 5 per cent. more were idle a part of the time; or, for a just estimate, 7½ per cent. of the whole number of such establishments were idle or equivalent to idle during the year named. According to the census of 1880, there were, in round numbers, 255,000 such establishments, employing upward of

2,250,000 hands. If the percentage stated above is correct, and it is believed to be approximately so, then there were possibly 19,125 establishments idle or equivalent to idle, and 168,750 hands out of employment, so far as such establishments were concerned, during the year considered. The percentage stated, if erroneous at all, is probably too large, because the idle establishments were to a large extent small and poorly equipped. In some industries the percentage of idle establishments would be much greater than the average given, while in other industries the percentage given is much too large. Applying this percentage, however, to the whole number of people employed in all occupations in the United States, which in 1880 was 17,392,099, there might have been 1,304,407 out of employment; but this is a number evidently too large, because it applies to all occupations—those engaged in agriculture, professional and personal service, trade and transportation, mechanical and mining industries, and manufactures. The percentage should be applied only to those engaged in agriculture, trade and transportation, mechanical and mining industries, and manufactures. There were engaged in these four great branches, as shown by the census of 1880, 13,317,861 persons. Applying the percentage arrived at (7½ per cent.), we obtain a total of 998,839 as constituting the best estimate of the possibly unemployed in the United States during the year ending July 1, 1885 (meaning by the unemployed those who, under prosperous times, would be fully employed, and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment), that it has been possible for the bureau to make. It is probably true that this total (in round numbers 1,000,000), as representing the unemployed at any one time in the United States, is fairly representative, even if the laborers thrown out of employment through the cessation of railroad building be included.

"This estimate exhibits the extreme possibility of non-employment at the worst point of the depression, but it should be remembered that even in so-called prosperous times there are from two to two and one-half per cent. of the forces considered out of employment. Prosperity often shifts employment from one class to another."

Mr. Wright has since explained that this was written only of 1885, a year which he considers one of industrial depression, and therefore is *not to be taken as a general statement*, and that these 1,000,000 unemployed are the unemployed at *any one time*, so that the inference is not to be drawn that there are so many unemployed all the time. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that by the unemployed Mr. Wright means only those who in times of prosperity have full work and are thrown out of work only by depression. On this point a Massachusetts State Commission on the Unemployed says in its report (1895) :

"It is clear from the investigation which we have been able to make that non-employment will fluctuate in amount from month to month and year to year, and is and has been a factor, and, in certain phases, is an increasing evil. We have been unable to persuade ourselves that this problem is on the whole associated with the depressed industrial condition of the past two years. This problem must be looked upon as a more or less permanent one, and one that must be attacked, if attacked at all, by slow and patient methods. Evidence is too clear that even in so-called normal times there is an amount of non-employment which occasions suffering."

An argument seeking to show that the number of the unemployed is exaggerated is sometimes drawn from census statistics showing increase in the number of those having occupations; but the question is not as to those having nominal occupations, but as to how far they get work in their occupations. Nor are even the statistics of occupations as roseate as at first appears. Says Mr. Carroll D. Wright (*Industrial Evolution in the United States*, p. 378) :

"In the 20 years, 1870 to 1890, the population increased 62.41 per cent., while the number of persons

in all occupations increased 81.80 per cent. An analysis of these statements shows that the increase of the number of those engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries, those in which the influence of inventions is most keenly felt for the period from 1860 to 1890, was 172.27 per cent. as against 99.16 per cent. increase in the total population. If statistics could be as forcibly applied to show the new occupations brought into existence by invention, it is believed that the result would be still more emphatic."

If, however, the decade 1880-90 had been taken, other results would have appeared. During that decade population increased 24.86 per cent., and those in gainful occupations 30.72 per cent., but this increase was very largely in occupations open to women. Men in occupations increased only 27.64 per cent., or less than 3 per cent. more than the population—an increase very possibly due to better registration, for in 1890 men worked in materially larger establishments than in 1880, and so were easier to register; and it must be remembered that even were there more men with "occupations," that shows nothing about employment. Suppose there were 103 shoemakers instead of 100, the question still remains how much work the shoemakers had. In every country investigations, commissions, relief agencies show that the problem is steadily increasing in seriousness and in proportions. In the United States the problem is unquestionably of the most serious moment.

Of the unemployed in England, John Burns writes in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1892 :

"Disguise it how we will, hide it tho we may, looming up is the great, the all-absorbing question for all countries and governments to face—how can the honest worker be provided with work uncontaminated with pauperism's degrading taint and charity's demoralizing aid? The glib quotation of figures showing that official pauperism has decreased only insults the genuine worker who asks for work, so that it may be reduced further still. But even the official statistics, when shorn of all their complacent optimism, reveal the real nature of the problem. The fact that a cruel administration of the poor law, which mixes honest and criminal together, has reduced official pauperism from 46 to 20 per thousand, is cold comfort to the men who, by physical necessity or want of work, are compelled to be of the 20. The growth of trade-unionism, friendly, sick, loan, cooperative, and other agencies that the workers resort to in times of distress, is not recognized as a factor in reducing the distress which, in the absence of such agencies, the Poor Law would have to meet. Exploiting the ever-increasing repugnance among the genuine poor to pauper relief, the officials representing the *laissez faire* middle class are determined to throw the support of the worthless, that the rich and poor now sustain, on the poor exclusively, who voluntarily, taxed as they are, cannot carry further burdens.

"Outside the official pauper class, as Mr. Charles Booth proves, there are hundreds of thousands of people whose standard of life and comfort, from the point of view of food, clothing, and house accommodation, is lower than that of the pauper or criminal, yet these people will not accept relief, but struggle on in the vain hope of work that never comes, and which, if it did, would find them too low to perform it. The fact is the virtue—or vice—of thrift and independence among the pick of the working classes, which well-fed reformers contend is applicable to all, is being abused and exploited. When the poor refuse poor law relief, it is construed as proof that its abolition is justifiable. When, as a better alternative, the poor man asks for work, he is told that that is pauperism in another form. When he becomes ill through neither relief nor work being offered or accepted, or, as a last resource, thieves and goes to prison, he has to be kept, after his health and morals have been shattered, till he dies. . . . Having experienced the lot of the workless worker, I believe, with Carlyle, that 'a man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest

sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun.'"

Fabian Tract No. 5 (March, 1895) gives what statistics there are for England and Wales. It says :

"Of the great permanent army of the 'unemployed' no reliable statistics can be obtained. From returns rendered to the Labor Department of the Board of Trade by trade-unions, it appeared that in December, 1893, the percentage of members unemployed was 7.9 (*Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1893-94, C-7505*). The average number of persons in London whose home is the 'common lodging-house' is over 30,000; over 1100 are every night found in the 'casual wards.'"

"As regards the 4,000,000 of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent., are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent., in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*); 928,203, or 22.3 per cent., form 'the poor' (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, tho regular, is ill-paid). These classes, on or below the 'poverty line' of earnings not exceeding a guinea a week per family, number together 1,292,737 or 30.7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory (*Labor and Life of the People*, edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii., pp. 20, 21).

"In England and Wales in 1892, 66,424 deaths were registered as having taken place in workhouses, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, or 11.9 per cent. of the total deaths. Of these, 39,748 occurred in workhouses, 20,440 in hospitals, and 6236 in lunatic asylums.

"We long our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than accept it; yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number more than 1,000,000 :

England and Wales, January 1,		
1893.....	776,458	cost £8,847,678
Scotland, January 14, 1893.....	193,496	" 912,838
Ireland, January 8, 1893.....	102,865	" 1,054,574
	1,072,819	£10,815,030

(*Report of Local Government Board, England and Wales; Report of Board for Supervision of Poor, Scotland; Report of Local Government Board, Ireland, and Statistical Abstract, 1893, C-7, 143*.)

"But the relief is not usually given permanently; to obtain the number of different individuals who receive relief during a year, we must multiply the daily number by 2.3. (This is the latest computation given in Mr. Charles Booth's paper before the Statistical Society, December, 1891. See also his *Pauperism, a Picture; and the Endowment of Old Age, an Argument*.) This gives a pauper class during any one year of about 2,460,000 persons, or 1 in 11 of the manual labor class. In some rural districts every aged laborer is a pauper."

Thus far we have been considering mainly those either totally unemployed or only having casual work. But even those who have regular employment are often out of work months at a time. As we saw above, in Massachusetts in 1885 the average loss from this source for all the employees in the State was five weeks in the year. The Illinois Labor Report for 1886 publishes returns from representative working men, estimating that for 85,329 working men the average time at work was only 37.1 weeks, or only 71.3 per cent. of full time. In England, Baxter estimates (quoted in *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*, by Dr. C. B. Spahr, p. 102) that the great body of working people are only employed from 41 to 44 full weeks per year, the more skilled factory hands reaching the higher figure. (For the bearing of this unemployment on wages, see WAGES.)

II. CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The first cause of unemployment usually popularly given, and sometimes even given by students of the question, is personal inefficiency (in one form or another, but especially in the form of intemperance). The statement is continually made that if everybody stopped drinking, or that if shiftlessness and thriftlessness were removed, everybody would find work who was willing to do any kind of work. In support of this view is the very well-known fact that large numbers, and even perhaps the large majority, of those unemployed are in some way inefficient, many of them shiftless, very many of them with habits of drink, not a few of them unwilling to work when they can get it, or at least not willing to work unless at certain so-called "respectable trades." Innumerable instances can be told and continually are told of benevolent people who have given or offered or obtained work for the unemployed, and it has either not been accepted, or has not been adhered to, or has been done so poorly as not to merit continuous employment. Instances occur everywhere where money is given to the destitute and it is wasted in some utterly foolish and perhaps wicked way. Still more common are illustrations of how intemperance ruins the best workmen and leads to large proportions of the cases of poverty and unemployment. The three main causes of unemployment thus certainly seem to be intemperance, shiftlessness, and lack of thrift. But against this view there is also much to be said. In the first place, inefficiency may appear to be more often the cause of unemployment than it is because it is generally the inefficient who are *most in evidence*. It is generally the weakest, the least efficient, and those who least respect themselves who beg at the rich man's door or throng the bureaus of relief. Benevolent people thus usually see the worst and the weakest among the unemployed. The worthy and able will do all but starve, and sometimes literally starve, before they seek alms. Charity experience, therefore, often misleads. Secondly, inefficiency may be the cause, not why people are idle, but why certain persons are unemployed and not others. If depression compels an employer to discharge 10 men out of 100 he naturally, and under present conditions probably rightly, discharges that 10 which are on the whole of least efficiency. They may be neither very bad nor very inefficient. In good times the employer would keep them. Obviously the cause of their unemployment is the hard times, and inefficiency is only the cause why they are discharged and not others. Thirdly, benevolent people who see that unemployment and inefficiency usually go together, forget that a concomitant is not always a cause. Unemployment may be the cause of the inefficiency and not inefficiency the cause of the unemployment. Including inherited unemployment, this is doubtless very often the case. Particularly is this true of intemperance and shiftlessness. Under article POVERTY will be found a summary of practically all the scientific expert investigation of the facts as collated by Professor Warner in his book *American Charities*, and it there appears that 74.4

per cent. of poverty is directly traceable to causes for which the individual is not to blame, and only 21.3 per cent. to causes for which the individual is to blame. Only 11 per cent. of poverty is there attributed first to drink; 28.5 per cent. is accredited to lack of or to poorly paid work. A still more recent table, published by the American Statistical Association, based on records of charity organization societies, gives the following percentages of causes of poverty: Lack of employment, New York, 48 per cent.; Baltimore, 43; six smaller cities, 35; sickness, New York, 18; Baltimore, 18; smaller cities, 35; intemperance and shiftlessness, New York, 18; Baltimore, 13; smaller cities, 20; miscellaneous, New York, 14; Baltimore, 21; smaller cities, 27. (For a contrary view, see *INTEMPERANCE*.)

The reason why drink appears to so many people, even of those engaged in charity work, to be the main cause of poverty, is that in most cases, before the case of destitution has grown serious enough to claim the attention of charity, some member of the family, discouraged and weak, has taken to drink. But the question is what sent him to drink? It may be bad heredity, bad tenement homes, and faulty education and training. Inefficiency may lead to unemployment, but what leads to inefficiency? Not always vice. Some persons fail in business because they will not stoop to the tricks of their trade, or at least cannot throw themselves into doubtful transactions with the necessary zest.

Says John Stuart Mill (*Fortnightly Review*, February, 1879):

"If persons are helped on their worldly career by their virtues, so are they and perhaps quite as often by their vices, by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. Energies and talents are of much more avail for success in life than virtues; but if one man succeeds by employing energy and talent in something generally useful, another thrives by exercising the same qualities in outgenerating and ruining a rival." (See *COMPETITION*.)

Says Ruskin (*Unto this Last*, Essay IV.):

"In a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply, and protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person."

It may then be said that undoubtedly the first cause of unemployment is inefficiency, but that inefficiency is not always synonymous with vice, and that when it is the real question is, What caused the inefficiency? (For that question, see articles *POVERTY*; *INTEMPERANCE*; *TENEMENTS*; *COMPETITION*; *WAGES*.) We come then to ask what are the social causes of unemployment? Here, however, so many answers are made that they cannot be considered in this article. Most authorities believe that the existence of the unemployed is due to changes and improvements in the methods of production, at least temporarily substituting machine work for human work. (For a discussion as to whether this is a permanent or only temporary result, see *MACHINERY*.) Socialists argue that

unemployment is due not to machinery, but to the monopoly of machinery and the underpay of the producer, so that he has no money to buy that which he produces. Mr. Hobson considers unemployment due to underconsumption and the greed of men to make more money rather than to spend. Many believe it is due to financial ills and a wrong monetary policy. The problem is, however, in a sense the problem of this whole cyclopedia; and various bodies of thinkers hold such various views that they can be considered only under the separate articles treating of those views. (See OVERPRODUCTION; COMPETITION; TRADE-UNIONS; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; SINGLE TAX; BIMETALLISM; SILVER; MONOMETALLISM, etc.) Here only it must be remembered that the problem of the unemployed is not a problem by itself, but one wrapped up in the whole modern industrial situation.

III. METHODS OF RELIEF.

(a) IN TEMPORARY CRISES.

We give under this head a brief account of the various measures which have been tried or proposed in various cities to relieve the unemployed in times of temporary crises, and notice, first, the measures undertaken in America in the winter of 1893-94. The most noteworthy of these efforts was undoubtedly the Detroit plan of the so-called potato farms, or the giving of the use of land to the unemployed and allowing them to raise vegetables upon them and secure the profit. This, however, we consider under an article by itself. (See DETROIT PLAN.) In Baltimore, the various charities conducted relief along ordinary lines, with the giving of soup, etc., and a central committee was appointed which arranged for a stone yard where men could be employed. In Boston, a large relief committee appointed by the mayor collected funds and employed men upon city work, constructing sewers, opening and cleaning streets, etc.; women were employed in extemporized sewing rooms. Men were paid from \$1 to \$1.50 per day for city work; women at the larger rooms were paid 80 cents per day. The women were employed mainly in making rag carpets and crazy quilts for the Sea Island sufferers, in order not to compete with any regular industry. Some men unable to do outside work were employed in the same way; 5761 men and 3479 women were given more or less work. In Cincinnati, the city appropriated \$30,000 to employ men in the parks, and a committee of citizens employed men in the wood yard of the associated charities. In Chicago, relief was organized on a very large scale, with soup kitchens, etc., and something was done in the way of giving work. Men worked for their meals to some extent on street cleaning. Nine sewing rooms employed 1478 women at 50 cents per day. In Denver, the city supplied tents and food for a temporary "labor camp," and employed as many as it could on city works. A wood yard was opened by private charity. In Indianapolis, a committee of the Commercial Club organized a food market. Those deemed needy were employed on private work, or that failing, on city works,

and were paid in checks on the food market entitling them to a week's rations, consisting of moderate amounts of potatoes, corn meal, hominy, pork, molasses, bread and soap, and during the latter part of the time flour and coffee. Skilled workmen were paid at special rates of the work. Of the relief works at Lynn, Mass., the *Review of Reviews* for January, 1894, gives the following account, which is typical:

"It was resolved to deal with the situation through the existing organizations, simply adding to the Associated Charities a department of labor, the work to be done on the city streets and parks, and to be paid for by a citizens' subscription. In order to avoid the well-known and serious perils of all attempts at special emergency relief—such as calling in throngs of the workless from other cities, disturbing the regular lines of labor, encouraging imposition and stimulating a profuse and chaotic private relief—it was resolved to proceed under the following rules: (1) No public call for money, and no advertising of the bureau through the papers; subscriptions to be secured by personal solicitation, and the work advertised only through the churches and relief societies, and by the spectacle of the men at work. (2) No work given except to actual citizens of Lynn, in extreme need, and having no other friends, helpers, or resources; these facts ascertained by thorough domiciliary investigation in every case. No rumors to be heeded, no guesswork to be relied upon, nothing to be done in the dark; actual knowledge to be the only basis of help. The results of investigation to be placed at the service of relief-giving societies and individuals. 3. A half day's work for \$1, and work arranged so as to enable each man to earn an average of \$3 a week, this wage supplemented in cases of extreme need."

In New York City, a private East Side Relief Works Committee employed men in cleaning streets in connection with the city department, in tenement sanitation, and in tailor shops; 3292 different men were employed in street cleaning; over one third of them, however, were employed only one week, two were employed 22 weeks; 491 at one time were employed in tenement sanitation; 700 houses had their halls, cellars, or some of their rooms white-washed or kalsomined; 47,000 rooms or halls were scrubbed; refuse was removed. Four tailor shops were opened on the same plan as in Boston, the only 250 men and women were employed. Work was given at home to 433 more. In street cleaning \$1 a day was paid for seven hours' work. In the tailor shops 60 and 70 cents and a lunch was paid, and later \$4 a week for five days' work.

In Philadelphia, relief was given on a somewhat large scale, but very little work. One ward charity organization gave work in alley cleaning, the pay being \$1 a day. In Pittsburgh, a central committee raised \$256,000, of which Mr. Carnegie gave nearly half, and employed 13,529 men on parks and streets, etc., at \$1 per day. Thousands of those applying were said to be artisans, clerks, and even professional men. In St. Paul, men were employed on city work at \$1 per day, with a fund raised by a private committee.

This account is mainly of the efforts made to give work. For the relief on other lines, see CHARITY ORGANIZATIONS; but trade-unions and other societies also gave much relief, mainly to their own unemployed members. In some cities, like Chicago and Boston, the unions raised considerable sums for distribution. In Massachusetts, 13 Citizens' Relief Committees raised \$147,000, about two thirds of this in Boston.

Great Britain has had considerable experience in emergency relief of the unemployed. In 1860-61 there was an unusually severe winter, and a fund of about £40,000 was raised in London and distributed mainly through the police courts. In 1863-64, mainly on account of the cotton famine (*q. v.*), there was great distress from lack of work in Lancashire. A special measure was enacted placing £1,200,000 at the disposal of the authorities to organize relief work. Sewers and similar works were undertaken, and it was stated that the factory hands readily learned unusual work; 33,014 were given work. In 1886 a fund, known as the Mansion House Fund, was raised in London, but it is generally thought that it was not wisely spent.

In 1892-93, 33 parishes in London undertook special relief work, mainly in street cleaning and repairing, sewerage, etc. It was very differently conducted in different parishes, occasionally wisely, usually with poor results. The amount of work given varied from two to six days per week. Wages varied from 4½d. to 9d. per hour, and from 2s. 8d. to 4s. per day. Outside of London work was given in 63 districts. The Mansion House Committee raised £1315, of which £564 were paid in wages, £416 for emigration, £107 for relief, £83 for tools, etc.; 253 men were employed at 6d. per hour. The men must be waterside laborers. The work was given mainly as a test, but good work was required and obtained. In 1893-94 work was given by 27 district authorities, seven in London.

In Germany, in 1893-94, most of the cities gave some work, employing men usually in stonemasonry or street work.

(b) MORE PERMANENT METHODS.

The Massachusetts Commission on the Unemployed mentions 12 plans as having been advocated by different persons to meet the problem of the unemployed:

- "1. Removal of residents of cities to the country and farms.
- "2. Removing the competition and hence displacement of free labor occasioned by the labor of inmates of reformatory and penal institutions.
- "3. Reducing the hours of a day's labor.
- "4. Restriction of immigration.
- "5. An extension of industrial education.
- "6. Improving the intelligence and employment offices, or establishing free employment offices.
- "7. That the State or municipality should establish factories or engage in industrial enterprises, with a view of giving employment.
- "8. That the State should establish State farms.
- "9. That the State should increase its ordinary public works, and distribute a part of such undertakings to the winter season.
- "10. That the public works, either of the State or municipality, should be done directly by the public authorities, and that no work should be done by contract.
- "11. That all public works should be done by residents.
- "12. That the State should create labor colonies.

Most of these plans are plans proposed by their advocates for meeting not only the problem of the unemployed, but other social problems as well, and are therefore treated in articles by themselves. This includes Plans 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10. (For a discussion of them, see articles CONVICT LABOR; SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT;

IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION; CONTRACT LABOR.) Plan 1, advocating the removal of the residents of cities to the country and farms, can be best studied under articles ABANDONED FARMS; AGRICULTURE; FARMERS' MOVEMENT; EMIGRATION. With the present lack of means and education among the city unemployed it is almost hopeless to try and induce them to go to the farms, and with the present condition of the farming interests there is little to encourage this movement except with State aid, which leads us to Plan 8 of State Farms. Of this plan there has been some experience. New Zealand has done most on this line (for a brief account of which, see NEW ZEALAND), but the colony of Victoria also passed an act August 31, 1893, "to provide for the establishment of village communities, homestead associations, and labor colonies." A Victoria report of July 30, 1894, says:

"The popularity of the Act was demonstrated immediately upon its becoming law by the large numbers of persons who daily thronged the office, eager to take advantage of its provisions; and that popularity has been well maintained, as will be seen from the fact that during the past two months no fewer than 453 applications have been received and registered. The total number of applicants since the Act came into operation is 4080, of which 2122 have been approved, 993 refused and withdrawn, leaving a balance of 965 in course of being dealt with, not including applicants under Part III. . . .

"The Act is divided into three parts—viz.: Part I., Village Communities. Part II., Homestead Associations. Part III., Labor Colonies.

"Under Part I., any person not under the age of 18 years who is not the owner in fee simple of 2 acres or upward, nor the lessee of a pastoral allotment or grazing area, nor the holder of a license under section 42 or section 49 of the Land Act, 1890, nor a lessee under Part II. of this Act, is entitled to obtain an area from 1 to 20 acres. Under this Part of the Act 2726 persons have made application.

State Aided Farms.

"Part II. provides for associations or combinations of persons of not less than six, requiring acres of from 1 to 50 for each settler. Any person over the age of 18 years, not being a married woman, not holding 10 acres of land or upward in fee simple, and with the other restrictions named in regard to Part I. of the Act, can become settlers under this Part. Under Part II. of the Act, 2 societies, representing 71 members, and 152 associations, representing 1283 members, have made application; the total number of applicants under this Part being 1354.

"The reports upon settlements under this Part of the Act are, notwithstanding the many initiatory difficulties, fairly encouraging. . . .

"The number of settlers that have availed themselves of monetary assistance under section 32 of the Act is 985, and the total amount advanced is £8873, being less than half the amount voted by Parliament, and 42½ per cent. of the value of improvements effected, and in no case has it exceeded the value, after inspection, of such improvements. This aid has generally been given in monthly installments, at the rate of 10s. per week. . . .

"The Special Report on the Richardson Settlement at Lyonville, hereto attached, will be read with interest. This settlement was first started to give work to the unemployed—cutting firewood and mining timber. Immediately the Land Settlements Act came into operation, the land on which they were working was made available, and the people so employed placed upon their own allotments. It will be seen that the total expenditure during the year amounted to £2650 3s. 10d., and that the receipts from the sale of the timber and the value of stock on hand is £2832 10s. 7d. There are 341 souls on the area set apart, and the value of the improvements for building, fencing, clearing, water storage, and cultivation is £2589 11s., while the amount advanced under the Act is only £272. This fact shows that the workers must have been saving and fairly remunerated for their labor."

The London County Council has also appointed

ed a committee to carry out similar plans under the Small Holdings Act, 1892, 55 and 56 Vict., c. 31, which gives power to county councils to purchase or lease land and to adapt it and sell or let portions of it for small holdings. The committee was appointed in March, 1893. It has secured some land in different localities and divided it into allotments of about one tenth of an acre, charging a rental of about 8s. per plot per annum; many have been allotted, and are said to be well worked, but little can be done on account of the high price of land near London. For notices of aided farms for the unemployed, the not State-aided, see articles COMMUNITIES; SALVATION ARMY; also LABOR COLONIES.

Of Plan 7, that of State factories, or industries organized directly to employ the unemployed, there has been no experience. The famous National Workshops of Paris in 1848 were probably not conducted as an experiment in good faith. (See ATELIERS NATIONAUX.) Of Government industries not conducted for the unemployed there has been much experience, usually successful. (See articles MUNICIPALISM; MONOPOLIES; SOCIALISM; GAS; ELECTRICITY.) Plan 9, that the State should increase its ordinary public works and distribute a part of such undertakings in winter, can be best studied under articles CONTRACT LABOR; MUNICIPALISM; MONOPOLIES. Plan 11, that all work should be done by residents, may be considered a part of Plan 10. (See above.) Plan 6, that the State should improve intelligence offices or establish free employment bureaus, is discussed at length by the Massachusetts Bureau. European governments have done something in this direction. (See article LABOR EXCHANGES.) In America a beginning has been made.

Free public employment offices were created in the State of Ohio on April 28, 1890. The statute governing such offices places them under the supervision and control of the Commissioner of Labor Statistics. In 1892 the present Commissioner, Hon. W. T. Lewis, said of them:

"To state that all wants are satisfied, and that each applicant is sent on his or her way rejoicing, would be to announce the advent of the millennium, a period which, the most optimistic must acknowledge, lies yet some distance in the future. Necessarily there are many disappointments. These are due partly to impractical ideas entertained by both employer and employee, and again, it must be confessed, by the inability of the office to meet many wants that are not impractical. The truth of the matter is,

the system is still in its infancy, it will require time and much intelligent effort to perfect it. The absence of precedent by which to be guided, the pre-existing prejudice in the public mind against employment and intelligence offices owing to the odium which has attached to the private concerns, the almost total lack of means of advertising, and the many annoyances incident to any new departure, have tended to retard its development. But in spite of all these hindrances substantial progress has been made. In the communities in which the offices are located many firms depend upon them almost exclusively in securing help, and thousands of employees could testify to their usefulness out of personal experience. The offices have benefited not only the large cities, but the adjacent farming communities have used them to quite a considerable extent, as have also business men in the smaller towns and cities throughout the State. The private intelligence office evil has been completely eradicated in three of the cities (Columbus, Toledo, and Dayton) where the free system has been established, but a few of these concerns manage to still exist in Cleveland and Cincinnati. With the growth of the free offices they will eventually disappear."

Employment Bureaus.

California has followed the example of Ohio, and on July 20, 1896, a free public Labor Bureau was opened in New York City.

The report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor for 1890 thinks the difficulties of free employment bureaus very great, and that as much can be hoped from carefully regulated private bureaus. It admits, however, very serious evils in employment bureaus to-day. Of Massachusetts it says:

"It is certain that the atmosphere of several offices is one of deceit. Their advertisements call for '200 Protestant girls,' when the orders on hand probably do not number 20; for 'salesladies' who are never supplied through the office in question; for 'farm superintendents, \$20 to \$60,' the highest salary ever secured for a farm superintendent in one respectable office having been \$43. The names of certain bureaus, 'Christian Benevolent Association,' 'Mutual Employment Bureau,' are suggestive of practices very different from those which actually obtain . . .

"One scheme somewhat prevails whose success depends largely upon the stupidity of the candidate, and somewhat upon a present fault of the general system. A girl applies for a housemaid's position in a first-class boarding-house in a certain locality and at a specified wage. On registration she is encouraged to pay the fee in advance. She is now expected to remain in the waiting-room during office hours. If absent at any time during the next few days she may be told that she has lost just such a situation as she desired, and if possible is induced to pay another fee. A girl has been known to pay three fees in as many weeks to the same office without obtaining a place. A candidate who is sufficiently informed to ask for the return of a fee if employment is not furnished at the end of six days may be told that she has forfeited the fee and lost positions by being absent from the office. There are indications of other practices by which fees are obtained. . . .

"For instance, an employer has hired the servant in the office, has paid her own fee, and probably been asked to advance the fee and car-fare of the girl. The girl fails to arrive. If the employer complains to the office, the keeper disclaims all responsibility, and says that another girl shall be furnished. In case a return of fee is preferred, it will be obtained only after a disagreeable scene. An employer usually tries another office, and abandons the fee.

"It is also alleged that bureaus recommend worthless men for employment, especially on farms; send farm hands away to bogus places at a distance, trusting that they will never come back; enter into collusion with bogus employers and with employment offices in other cities, so that a double fee is collected from large gangs of men; and decoy women to houses of ill-fame. There is or has been more than a grain of truth in all of these charges.

"True, very few specific complaints reach the police, the number of cases investigated by captains last year being only 72, and the number carried up to the Police Commission only three. This is a small proportion among 126 license holders; but it only proves the passive and somewhat helpless attitude of the police department. In general, it appears as if that the present regulations are ill planned to reward the honorable bureaus and to prevent abuses.

Evils of Private Bureaus.

"In the *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1893* it is stated that returns nearly complete, from the licensed bureaus of Boston, indicated that about 600,000 persons had applied to them during one year, and that about 125,000 places had been secured. The figure may be an exaggeration, but if we accept it, and assume that two thirds of these were female, and that only the regular fees were imposed, this would represent an expense to those seeking employment of about \$80,000. Perhaps the fees paid into the unlicensed bureaus would raise this sum to \$150,000. . . .

"In the philanthropic bureaus which are on a business basis the question of what to do with the incompetent is uppermost. Their philanthropic character naturally attracts to them many women who have their living to earn, but who are unfitted for any business. For these some work must be provided. The half dozen regular intelligence offices which aim to furnish only first-class help, and which depend for their profits on the fees of employers rather than the fees of employees, do not encourage the incompetent

applicants to register in their offices, but refer such to the philanthropic agencies. . . . Employers state that help obtained at the philanthropic offices is, more often than not, unsatisfactory. The testimony of the better class of workwomen as to the opportunities for getting employment there is likewise unsatisfactory. . . .

"It is obvious from the evidence which has been presented that the downright abuses which exist in the women's offices are graver than those which exist in the men's offices, irregularities in the latter taking the form of quasi-legal evasions. A reason for this may be found in the ignorance and inexperience of the female applicants. . . .

"The competition among men is keener. Nearly every man is expected to be self-supporting, but the number of places is not always equal to the number of aspirants for work. Hence the chronic problem of the unemployed. Whereas, among women the supply adjusts itself to the demand, and hence, while it is a matter of common knowledge that in the women's bureaus even the incompetent are able to obtain situations (tho at the expense of the welfare of their employers), the men's bureaus are frequently unable to place even the most capable and best-recommended candidates on their waiting lists."

Plan No. 12, of labor colonies for the unemployed, has been much discussed. An account of the European labor colonies will be found under that heading, but these only are for the lowest and most worthless class of the unemployed.

Mr. Edward Bellamy (*q.v.*) suggests the following plan in the Massachusetts report. He says :

"The idea is that they should support one another. They should consume one another's products. Their product should not be sold or go into the general market at all, to compete with wage-produced goods or with private employers, but should be consumed wholly within the group of previously unemployed workers.

"Now, here is where the duty and function of the State come in. These men need to be organized and provided with tools in order to support one another, and they cannot organize themselves. This it is proper to expect the State to do, both for the welfare of an unfortunate class of citizens, and also for the relief of individuals and the public treasury from the burden of supporting them by alms which must otherwise be assumed. It will be observed that this is not a question of charity or police. For the incapable, the almshouses would remain ; for the vicious, the jails. It is merely the question of putting able-bodied persons in a position to support themselves. The idea is to furnish the necessary machinery to utilize an existing power which otherwise will run to waste. The State would be at expense to provide the necessary farms, manufacturing plants and buildings, and, for a time, until the products began to come in, it would have to keep the workers ; but, after that, the system ought to be self-sustaining. At the outset, as intimated above, while yet the system was inadequate and imperfectly organized, it might be necessary to discriminate among applicants in favor of legal residents ; but as soon as the system should become self-sustaining, it would not be necessary or well to make any discrimination whatever.

"This contemplates a permanent establishment, for it is nonsense to regard the problem of the unemployed as anything but a permanent problem. This establishment would undoubtedly always be in operation, altho the number dependent on it would increase and decrease according to the times. It would be an elastic system, and, after it was in full adjustment, a man or woman out of work could get work for a week, a month or a year, according to the circumstances of each individual case. In each settlement of the unemployed there would be the farm, the factories, the dwellings, and the store. This store would be stocked with products of the workers, altho at first the State would have to furnish many deficiencies. The workers would from the first be guaranteed a decent and sufficient maintenance, nothing more. For this purpose they would be supplied with a sort of scrip, good only at the public store for meals, and for lodging at the public dwellings. The only practicable plan would be to make the allowance for each worker the same without regard to specific performance, it being the duty of the manager to see that all were kept busy,

able-bodied persons only being received. Women, of course, would share equally with men. The only penalty for idleness or infraction of rule would be dismissal.

"The prices to the workers in scrip of the articles for sale to them in the public store would be based on a rough calculation of the comparative expenditure of labor, direct and indirect, in their production. If the allowance of the workers were based on the specific work done by them, the fixing of its value by the price put on the product would be a task of much difficulty, fruitful of discontent ; but, the allowance of all workers being equal, it would matter to none what prices were put upon his product.

"The use of the scrip would serve the double purpose of insuring the support of the workers out of their own product, and preventing any derangement of the general wages market as a result of the State system. When the advance of money made by the State to the system came to be repaid, it might be done in products of the system furnished to State institutions at market rates. In this way, also, might such sums be obtained as would be needful to supply the stores in the unemployed settlements with imported necessities, and for other details of expense which must be met in legal tender money.

"After the expenses of the State superintendence and other outlays were provided for, the total product should be divided in the form of scrip among the workers, so that, as the total product increased, the rate of maintenance would increase, the system being one of cooperation under State superintendence and guarantee.

"In order to provide a certain basis for increased issues of scrip among the fluctuating body of employees, it would be expedient to grade the workers according to the length of their service, only those who had worked over a certain number of weeks or months being entitled to share in the excess of product over minimum maintenance rates, the rest being entitled only to the latter. The first grade of workers, it is believed, would find the advantage of their position so superior to those of outside workers that they would tend to become a permanent body, the fluctuations in the force chiefly affecting the short-term workers at minimum rates.

"The workers should be regarded as in no way objects of charity or wards of the State, but, while subject to strict working rules, should in all other respects be as free and independent as other citizens. This point is absolutely vital. If the system had ever so little the flavor of charity, or alms, or the workhouse, no cleverness of machinery could prevent its flat failure. No working man or woman should be made or permitted to feel that in applying to the State establishment for work he or she in any way compromised dignity or self-respect.

"While the State works would be intended, at the outset, to attract only the needy unemployed, it is probable that the advantages resulting from security of employment and the steady rise in the rate of maintenance which would follow the increased efficiency of the system would suffice not only to retain all who once entered this cooperative service, but to raise the conditions of labor generally by compelling private employers to bid against a fair and humane system of employment in order to obtain workers, while, at the same time, making it easier to maintain good wages by diminishing the pressure of the unemployed for work at any price."

By no means, however, do all socialists agree with Mr. Bellamy. The unemployed as a class must be recognized to be inefficient, tho often without being to blame for that fact. To put them, therefore, in colonies by themselves, whatever efforts were made to make the work honorable, would inevitably stigmatize these colonies as colonies of the inefficient, and often at least with truth. It would tend also to stigmatize State work as poor work. For these reasons most socialists object to organizing the unemployed in permanent colonies by themselves. They would have the State act, but in other ways. There is no one way of meeting the unemployment problem. The first thing is to distinguish between different classes of the unemployed. Says Mr. John Burns :

"Until the differentiation of the laborer from the loafer takes place, the unemployed question can never

Labor Colonies.

be properly discussed and dealt with. Till the tramp, thief, and ne'er-do-well, however pitiable he may be, is dealt with distinctly from the genuine worker, no permanent benefit will result to any of them. The gentleman who gets up to look for work at mid-day, and prays that he may not find it, is undeserving of pity. I have seen the most genuine and honest men at meetings mixed up with the laziest and most drunk-en scoundrels."

Most socialists would say that for the present at least the vicious and incorrigibly lazy should be placed in reformatories somewhat on the Elmira plan (see *ELMIRA REFORMATORY*), and taught or be made to work. Many of them merely need teaching under strict discipline. The incompetent should be placed in industrial schools. For the rest, work should be given on the following plan: 1. The reduction of the problem to its lowest terms by the establishment of free State labor bureaus to find work in private places for all for whom work can be found. 2. The limiting of the problem by allowing the municipality to find work only for those who can prove residence of some length of time in the city. Otherwise the unemployed of the whole country might be attracted to one city. 3. For *men*, the giving of work to actual citizens really without work, on city improvements actually needed, which would not be built by private capital, the skilled men to be employed at skilled work and unskilled men at unskilled work, and all at trade-union hours for trade-union wages in their respective lines. The money to do this could be gained in two ways: first, without raising taxes, by profits from municipal activities. Berlin gains half her income from municipal activities. Glasgow and other cities show similar results. If this policy should check the employment of men by private corporations, the city would employ more than the corporations discharged, because the city would employ them for shorter hours, and on a larger plan. Municipalities can employ more men at higher wages than private corporations, and yet make money. Secondly, revenue should be raised by the increase of taxes on land values, preventing land speculation, compelling building, and therefore aiding employment. In making modern cities clean, healthy, and beautiful, there is work enough to be done. For *women*, many socialists believe that if the manufacture of clothing for sale was forbidden in the tenements (see *SWEATING SYSTEM*), if factories were built where all clothing could be made like any other commodity, under strict regulations as to hours, without child labor, and if all men had work at wages enabling them to support their families, it would be easy to supply honorable work for unmarried women, widows, and those in need. This is the ordinary socialist program for the unemployed rather than the establishment of colonies, at least until socialism brings in further changes.

Individualists, fearing State work, would emphasize manual training, temperance, thrift, etc.; but for their program, which is general rather than specific, see *INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION*; *TEMPERANCE*, etc.

In Germany and Switzerland some steps have been taken in the direction of unemployment and insurance, but it is yet too early to judge of its results.

References: Geoffrey Dredge's *The Unemployed* (1894); J. A. Hobson's *Unemployment* (1896).

UNION LABOR PARTY.—This was a political party organized at Cincinnati, February 23, 1887, mainly by representatives of the farmers' organizations of the West and Western Middle States, with many of the old Greenback Party (*q. v.*). Its platform declared for a graduated land and income tax; governmental telegraphs and railroads; abolition of national banks; free coinage of silver; payment of national debt at maturity; exclusion of the Chinese; woman suffrage; arbitration of labor disputes; and against contract labor in prisons, the further issue of interest-bearing government bonds, and the employment of armed men by private corporations. It polled an insignificant vote, but led to the formation of the People's Party (*q. v.*).

UNITARIAN CHURCH, THE, AND SOCIAL REFORM.—The first large distinct enterprise in the direction of social reform undertaken by the Unitarians of the United States was what they still call the Ministry-at-Large in Cities.

Joseph Tuckerman devised the plan for this ministry. He recognized the fact that in churches organized as Congregational churches are there is great danger that it will not be anybody's special business to attend to strangers, or, indeed, to families which may have been for a long time residents in any town, but from indifference, or bashfulness, or poverty have not connected themselves with any of the established churches. The proposal was favorably received and was realized in Boston by what is called the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. Similar arrangements exist among the Unitarians of the larger cities of England and in several of the larger cities of America. They provide free chapels and churches, where any worshipers may attend without charge, with classes, reading-rooms, libraries, and social gatherings open to everybody.

Dr. Tuckerman and his associates in Boston gave themselves energetically to the improvement of legislation in regard to poverty and to giving scientific system to the public charities. Boston owes to them the Industrial Aid Society for the **Reform** Prevention of Pauperism, a busi- **Movements,** ness which is entirely distinct from the relief of poverty. In sixty years of successful work this society has demonstrated the possibility in a large city of keeping in check pauperism as distinct from poverty.

The mere conditions of their existence led the New England Unitarians to take cordial interest in temperance work. Among the pioneers in the public movements for total abstinence and temperance were some of their leading clergymen.

Their early advocacy of efforts for universal peace dates to the time of the Napoleonic wars. On the occasion of the fall of Napoleon, King's Chapel was opened for a public service of gratitude, in which the Unitarian clergymen of the city and neighborhood took part. At the same time Noah Worcester, the editor of *The Christian Disciple*, published a pamphlet, still remembered, which he called *A Solemn Review of the Custom of War*. The universal grati-

tude for universal peace was favorable for the consideration of such writings. Dr. Worcester changed the name of *The Christian Disciple*, so that it was known as *The Friend of Peace*. He had the sympathy and cooperation of Dr. William Ellery Channing, at that time the honored leader of the Unitarian communion of America, so far as leadership belongs to philosophical inquiry or to the statement of fundamental theological opinion; and, as an immediate consequence of solid work done by the pen and in the pulpit, the Massachusetts Peace Society was formed in the year 1816. The organization of this society was eventually merged in the American Peace Society, which has continued to this day.

So soon as the Civil War broke out the Unitarian body of the country was called upon for the assistance of the army in the field, with methods wholly without precedent.

Institutions. Such duties as were involved belonged, indeed, to all the churches of the North. Nor did the Christianity of the North in the least flinch from the duties imposed. But the Unitarian churches were, for such affairs, in what may be called an advance position. Necessarily, from the very make-up of their body, they had from the beginning been pledged to opposition to the institution of slavery. When the war broke out they had but four churches in the Slave States. Their Northern churches had, in one way and another, all protested against the institution whose existence had brought on the Civil War. The leader, if the phrase may be used, of the Unitarian churches, Dr. Henry W. Bellows, the minister of All Souls' Church in New York, consecrated himself to creating the Sanitary Commission.

But Dr. Bellows had much more in mind than the simple physical relief of the soldier. At the very beginning of the war he looked forward to the necessity of keeping the people of the North in sympathy with the struggle in the field, which was so far away from their homes. The Sanitary Commission, and the Christian Commission, formed after its model, kept the people of the North in touch with the army in a closeness of sympathy such as the world had never seen before.

The president of the Eastern branch was Dr. Bellows; the president of the Western branch was Dr. William Eliot, the minister of the only Unitarian Church in St. Louis, one of the four Unitarian churches in the South. More than ten years before, this church had emancipated all the slaves who were owned by its members, that its skirts might be clear from any taint of the institution which its pulpit was condemning. This connection of the Unitarian churches with the great charities of the war is important in their history, because the foundations were then made for what may be called a system of church action in charity such as had not existed in our churches before. The organizations then formed have since been forward in the promotion of what has since been known as the work of charity organization, or the work of the Associated Charities through the whole country.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

UNITED LABOR PARTY.—This party was organized in 1886 in New York, and based upon the single tax principle. Henry George, one of its chief promoters, was nominated by it for Mayor of New York in the same year. He received over 68,000 votes as against over 90,000 received by the Democratic and over 60,000 by the Republican nominee. The following year a convention was held at Syracuse, the organization of the party was perfected, and measures taken to spread it through the State. Henry George was nominated for Secretary of State of New York. In the election he received 70,055 votes against 469,888 for the Democratic, 452,811 for the Republican, and 7622 for the Progressive Labor candidate. The United Labor Party declared in its platform that it does not seek to "secure any forced equality in the distribution of wealth, nor propose that the State shall take possession of land, and either work it or rent it out," but that its aim is to abolish all restrictive taxes upon industry, to remove the tax from improvements and increase the land tax. Its platform advocated government ownership of telegraphs and railroads; prohibition of child labor and competitive convict labor; reduction of the hours of labor; prevention of the abuse of the conspiracy laws; legal and judicial reform; and a mode of election that would check bribery and corruption by relieving the candidates of expense. After this election its chief promoters mainly united with the Democratic Party in the hope that party would lead in a battle for free trade, and thus, by abolishing protective taxes, pave the way for the single tax (*q.v.*).

UNITED STATES. See special subjects.

UNIVERSALIST CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM, THE.—Central in the Universalist thought has been the doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. It was natural, therefore, that the Universalist Church should have been strongly predisposed to social reform. It has believed in working more for a kingdom of God on earth than for the salvation of men for another world. The clergy of the Universalist Church were almost without exception on the anti-slavery side of that great controversy; but the Church has been most conspicuously identified with the temperance and anti-capital punishment movements. Few men have been more widely known as social reformers, using the phrase very broadly, than Alonzo A. Miner, a Universalist clergyman in Boston, who was known throughout the land as a prohibitionist, and who was at one time the prohibition candidate for governor of Massachusetts. Dr. Miner was also prominently identified with the educational interests of New England, and perhaps the most conspicuous leader of a half score of other moral reforms. The Universalist Church has in its annual conventions for the last thirty years declared emphatically for legislative reform on the temperance question, often taking the radical ground of prohibition.

For the abolition of capital punishment, perhaps the two most conspicuous names were those of Rev. Charles Spear and Rev. George

W. Quimby, D.D., both prominent clergymen in the Universalist Church, and the latter for many years editor of the *Gospel Banner*. The abolition of capital punishment in Maine was probably due in large measure to the great personal influence of Dr. Quimby. Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D., the eloquent contemporary of Henry Ward Beecher, was for many years identified with the Peace Reform, altho he did not go to the length of advocating non-resistance.

Mary A. Livermore was identified with the Universalist Church and assistant editor of a Universalist journal at the time she was so prominently associated with the Sanitary Commission, the Western branch of which she so largely assisted in organizing. Clara Barton, another Universalist woman, was prominently identified with the hospital service in the War of the Rebellion and the organizer of the American Society of the Red Cross (*q.v.*).

The Rev. Adin Ballou was not only an ardent advocate of the anti-slavery cause, but was the founder of the Hopedale Community (*q.v.*), the most celebrated community in America, with the single exception of the one at Brook Farm. It was a sincere attempt on the part of its founder to solve some of the problems of competition by a simple form of cooperation. The Universalist Church is also abreast with the current discussions and advance movements for applied Christianity, having one of the three well-known institutional churches of Boston. The Every-Day Church was founded in 1894. The year-book of the Universalist Church for the current year gives the following account of the purpose and scope of the enterprise: "The Every-Day Church, located at 397 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, is a religious and philanthropic institution under the auspices of and supported by the Universalists of New England. It is an 'institutional' church which seeks to maintain all the spiritual activities of the church in its old form, and besides to maintain various secondary philanthropic institutions, such as day nursery, kindergarten, young men's recreation room, industrial classes, etc., children's outing, flower work, etc. Pastor, Rev. George L. Perin, D.D.; pastor's assistant, Miss Alberta D. Garber." In the literature of social reform the Rev. F. W. Hamilton, of Boston, has written an important work, *The Church and Secular Life*.

GEORGE L. PERIN.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT, THE.—The movement known as University Extension had its origin in England early in the seventies. It seems to have come as a natural result of a demand for wider educational opportunities on the part of the adult population, and especially of the women of the country. The need for such opportunities had been already more or less consciously felt by the universities themselves, and the first formal expression of a desire for more knowledge met an immediate and willing response from the centers of learning. The courses given by Mr. James Stewart to women's clubs in the north of England in 1868, and subsequently to differ-

ent bodies of working men, may fairly be counted as the pioneer effort of the movement. The success of these courses led to a widespread demand from many towns in all parts of England, and at the request of Mr. Stewart himself the University of Cambridge, in 1872, gave a formal sanction to these extra-university lectures, and appointed a syndicate to control them.

The scheme of adult education thus instituted embraced on the part of the university the offering of systematic courses of lectures on the various subjects in history, literature, and science. The number of lectures in each course was fixed at 10, these to be given weekly, and followed in each case by a subsequent conference or "class." A syllabus giving an outline of the lectures and full indications for reference reading, with questions for weekly paper work, became soon an additional feature. The course was crowned by the University through a final examination—a somewhat rigid test—which was graded from the first by University standards. With the progress of the movement many additional features became an integral part of the system. Oxford University, which followed the lead of Cambridge in 1876, and began again its efforts with great vigor in 1885, is to be credited with the idea of the traveling library, containing perhaps half a hundred books on the subject-matter of each course which is offered to the center for the period of the lectures. Oxford, adopting the Chautauqua idea, instituted in 1888 a Summer Meeting for Extension students, which has attracted each year increasing numbers for a longer or shorter period of resident study. A society to supplement the efforts of Oxford and Cambridge, and to organize Extension courses in London, was founded in 1878. These three bodies, with the addition of Victoria University, have formed some 400 centers in England, and under their direction courses are now being given with an aggregate attendance of between 60,000 and 80,000 students.

The spread of University Extension in America has been very rapid. It was undertaken for the first time by a society in Philadelphia at the suggestion of Provost William Pepper, of the University of Pennsylvania. The first course was commenced in November, 1890, and during that year 43 series of six lectures each were given at 23 centers to an estimated attendance of 10,000 students. The results of the first year led to the establishment of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, with headquarters in that city. The efforts of the society were directed toward the spreading of information in regard to the movement, and its officers in America, have cooperated in every possible way with people interested in the movement in every part of the country. Under the direction of its president, Dr. J. James (of the University of Chicago), the society issued many important publications, founded a Seminary for the Training of Extension Lecturers, and instituted a Summer Meeting for Extension students to supplement the winter courses of its centers. These latter have been formed in 100 towns in Pennsylvania and ad-

joining States, and systematic work has been arranged for each center, through the general offices. It is safe to say that the success at the present standing of University Extension in the United States is due in the largest measure to its generous endowment by the citizens of Philadelphia and the broad and far-reaching views of the officers of the American Society.

Through the publications of the society and the active campaign instituted by Mr. Melvil Dewey, Secretary of the University of the State of New York, the Legislature of that commonwealth set aside in 1890 the sum of \$10,000, to be used for the purposes of University Extension. A part of this money was used immediately in the distribution of explanatory circulars, and these were supplemented wherever a desire was expressed, by the personal cooperation of the organizing secretary. The library department of the University arranged for the loan of books to Extension centers, which were soon formed in many of the important towns of the State. Cornell, Columbia, Rochester, and other universities and colleges furnish the corps of lecturers. Following the lead of the American Society and the universities cooperating with it, Brown University appointed a Director of University Extension, and has conducted in the past four years courses in many towns in Rhode Island. The great State universities of the West have not been slow in undertaking similar work. The University of Wisconsin sent out, in 1892-93, lecturers to not less than 40 towns, and formed a network of centers in all parts of the State. The universities of Michigan, Indiana, Kansas, and California are others which have made active efforts in this direction. The University of Chicago included in its initial plans a Department of University Extension; a special faculty was appointed for this purpose; abundant provision was made for the organization and management of centers; plans for lecture and class courses, with special facilities in the form of traveling libraries, were matured, and in 1895-96 more than 120 courses were given in Chicago and throughout Illinois and the nearer parts of adjoining States. Strong efforts are making, especially for logical sequence in subjects and the building of efficient and permanent local organizations.

The bibliography of University Extension includes already many important pamphlets and books, with a long list of timely magazine and newspaper articles. Among the most important are the following: Mackinder and Sadler, *University Extension, Past, Present, and Future*; Roberts's *Eighteen Years of University Extension*; James's *Handbook of University Extension*; *Proceedings of First National Conference on University Extension*, 1891; Moulton's *University Extension Movement*; and Lax Leclerc's *Le Rôle Sociale des Universités*. Important articles on the movement will be found in the *Review of Reviews*, July, 1891; January, June, and October, 1893; *Forum*, July, 1891; *Educational Review*, September, 1891; *Quarterly Review*, April, 1891; *Lippincott's Magazine*, October, 1890; *Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1891; and *Arena*, September, 1891. The following magazines are

issued in the interests of the movement: *The Citizen* (Philadelphia); *The University Extension Journal* (London, Constable & Co.). In addition to these, the American Society has issued many explanatory circulars and pamphlets, addresses, syllabuses, and reports. (Address: University Extension, Fifteenth and Chestnut streets, Philadelphia.) Circulars may be obtained from Albany on the New York State work. (Address: Melvil Dewey, Albany, N. Y.) The various colleges and universities engaged in the work issue also lists of lecture course by members of their faculties.

GEORGE FRANCIS JAMES.

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS.—The university or social settlement is the product of a philosophy and the outcome of a movement.

The philosophy from which it emanated was first preached by Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Dr. Arnold. These Christian socialists, so called, led in the demand for greater appreciation of the economic conditions and hardships of the life of the poor.

Alton Locke, by Charles Kingsley, was a first appeal to the sympathies of university men; and at the same time that Knight, by his writings, lectures, and personal influence, was calling the attention of Cambridge to the condition of the London poor, Thomas Hill Greene, by his elevated philosophy, with its strong ethical tendency, and John Ruskin, by his social enthusiasm, were teaching the same lesson at Oxford. The Oxford Movement was, perhaps, deeper and stronger, and from there we have the first positive action. In 1867 Edward Denison, an Oxford student of wealth and good social standing, called upon the Rev. John Richard Greene, Vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney in London, the author of the *History of the English People*, stating his desire to live among the poor. His untimely death, on January 26, 1870, after a short residence in Stepney, closed a most promising career.

In 1875 Arnold Toynbee began work in White-chapel with Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Vicar of St. Jude's. He gave frequent lectures among the people on economic matters, in which he showed a broad and deep understanding of the social conditions of the poor. He died March 9, 1883, and in January, 1885, the work of Toynbee Hall was begun.

Since its founding, in 1885, Toynbee Hall has had a large number of university men in residence. A few undergraduates come during vacation, but the majority are graduates in professional life or of the leisure class. In the buildings of the settlement there are accommodations for 22 men, but the regular force averages about 15. This settlement has frequently been associated with outside local movements, supplying from among its residents a teacher at a board school, a secretary of the Children's Holiday Fund, a member of the Board of Guardians of the Poor, officers of the local school board, and like official positions.

Besides the residents' house and the library, the settlement possesses a lecture hall and a small residential college for working men, where are taught various subjects in which mechanics

Toynbee
Hall.

and other skilled artisans are interested. While its work began among the ignorant and dependent classes, there is a growing tendency to turn to the more skilled laborers, and less attention is paid the children than in the American settlements. A considerable amount of outing work is done during the summer, and an occasional art exhibition is given. The valuable work of many residents in collecting social statistics should also be named.

The Oxford House began its work in the same year as Toynbee Hall. Its first object is religious instruction. It is well equipped for its work, with accommodations for 20 residents, a chapel, library, lecture room, and club rooms. Some direct religious work is done by the residents of Oxford House, but a considerable portion of it is connected with the work of neighboring churches. The Oxford House has been particularly successful in its club work. The University Club, which is the strongest of the working men's clubs receiving outside assistance, was formed in 1885, and now has a membership of about 1500. It occupies a building of its own, in which are a billiard room, a reading room, class rooms, and a large hall used for athletics, entertainments, and dancing, and for mission services on Sunday. The membership is limited to genuine working men, and no employers are eligible; exceptions have only been made in the case of a few residents of the Oxford House. Women are granted the privileges of the rooms four afternoons in the week and are invited to the entertainments. No intoxicating drinks are sold in the club house. Residents of the Oxford House, like those of Toynbee Hall, act as district officers of various charitable, philanthropic, and municipal enterprises, and they have also done a considerable amount of sociological investigation.

Mansfield House, supported mainly by Congregationalists, is entirely unsectarian, while more positively religious than Toynbee Hall. There are usually eight or ten men in residence. There are several clubs for boys and men, and University Extension lectures are given in the hall of the settlement. The residents have shown a very lively interest in technical education. A class of teachers was conducted four nights in a week for matriculation at the London University. The head is Mr. Percy Alden.

Akin to the settlements are the missions established by various colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The work is done by missionaries, usually clergymen, in residence. Collections of clothing and of money are obtained, the students of the college supporting the mission. **Oxford and Cambridge Missions.** Students also visit their missions, and in some are invited to become workers during the vacations, while personal reports are made by the missionaries to the supporting constituency. The religious element is usually more marked than in the settlements, and while in many the social work is of an excellent character, the scientific sociological standpoint is not so strongly maintained. Equally worthy of notice as products of the settlement movement are the school missions, those of Eton, Harrow, and Rugby being the most prominent.

These missions bear an important relation to the settlement movement for two reasons. Their method shows the extension of the settlement plan of personal sympathy and companionship in the residence of a body of workers at the mission and in the frequent visits of undergraduates and graduates of the schools, and their active cooperation by work as well as contributions for longer or shorter periods; when training of this experience is evinced by the maturer interest which many of the boys show when they go up to the universities.

Of women's settlements, the Women's University Settlement at Nelson Square, Southwark, London, was founded in 1887, and is the largest. It is supported by an associate membership of 655, mainly from Girton and Newham colleges, at Cambridge; Lady Margaret College and Somerville Hall at Oxford; and London University. The warden is Miss Sewell, of Newham College. District nursing has received much attention, and mainly through the efforts and contributions solicited by the settlement the Benson House has been established. It is the headquarters of a superintendent, a probationer, and two nurses, who take cases in two surrounding districts.

Many children in Southwark are annually sent for holidays into the country, to the expense of which the settlement obtains generous contributions. Two resident and four non-resident members of the Settlement Association are school board managers, and thoughtful enterprise has led them to aid the children's savings banks, the Saturday morning play-hour excursions to the Zoological Gardens, holidays for children in the deaf and dumb school, and agitation for technical education for those unfortunate ones.

Similar to this is the Mayfield House, Bethnal Green, London, founded in 1889, of which Miss Newman is the warden. It aims to assist parish work in the vicinity and to cooperate with the work of the Oxford House. Various classes are conducted, including cooking and sewing. Literary and social reunions for mothers are notable features, and for some time a crèche has been in operation.

In Scotland, the university settlements at Edinburgh and Glasgow differ from those of London in that, being in university towns, a much more considerable number of the residents have been students still pursuing their undergraduate studies at the universities. The founder of the first Scotch settlement, that in Pontin Street, Edinburgh, Mr. C. M. Douglas, was at the time of its initiation a student in the faculty of arts.

It is only to be noted that the Scotch settlements have not secured men of so much maturity of years and experience as those in London, nor have they received such strong financial backing. Their buildings are plain but substantial. They have not attempted so much of political or municipal reform, but have more concerned themselves with the moral and social influences of family life and individual character, yet the Edinburgh settlements have made valuable studies of the social conditions of the life of the poor, and by their athletic, social, and literary gatherings have strongly influ-

enced their districts. Two university halls have also been established in Edinburgh for the double purpose of improving the social life of the students and of awakening in them a theoretical and practical interest in the social life of the poor. The Glasgow Students' Settlement, in Garscube Cross, was founded to aid the work of the University Missionary and Total Abstinence societies, but has separated from them and has been reconstructed on a more independent basis. Nevertheless, owing to this connection, temperance and religious effort have always had an important place. The Toynbee House, in Cathedral Court, Rotten Row, Glasgow, has taken Toynbee Hall as its model more than perhaps any of the other Scotch settlements. It has established its house in one of the buildings of the Glasgow Workman's Dwellings Company, and has shown peculiar interest in the housing of the poor in that city. It has also social and literary clubs for men, and girls' and women's clubs for instruction in sewing, cooking, and music, and a small circulating library is managed with success.

On the Continent, the only institution at all closely resembling the settlement is the "Onshuis" at Amsterdam. It was founded by Mr. James, a merchant of wealth. Students in the faculties of law and science give lectures, and other educational and social agencies are employed to bring culture to the poor. Its interest in social and political problems is strong, but mainly from the radical and socialistic standpoint. In religion it has assumed a decidedly negative attitude. The clergymen are occasionally invited to lecture, they are pledged not to speak on religious topics, nor are these subjects otherwise discussed.

In Berlin, an attempt was made in 1890 by Paul Goehre, a theological student, to found a settlement. He had spent three months as a hand laborer in Chemnitz, and his

On the Continent.

report in *Dreimonate als Fabrik-Arbeiter* awakened decided interest in many of the German universities. Several students volunteered to become residents, but the professors did not favor the scheme, urging that the student should rather give his time to study than to practical movements. The popular belief maintained in Germany that the Government should be responsible for all lines of education and municipal reform diminished the sympathy of others, and the movement did not materialize.

While in Great Britain the men's settlements have been on the whole stronger and better equipped, both in respect to buildings and workers, than the women's settlements, in America the reverse is true. The struggle for wealth seems to leave few men willing to be content with moderate means and to devote their time to altruistic effort.

The New York University Settlement was founded by Stanton Coit, Ph.D., in May, 1887. He was afterward succeeded by Charles B. Stover, but returned to assume the leadership for the winters of 1892 and 1893. The present head worker is James B. Reynolds.

The settlement maintains a kindergarten,

clubs, and classes of a literary, athletic, domestic, and social character. It aims to supply a need for the maintenance of a free library with 3000 volumes. At present it is patronized mainly by the children and youth of the district, as their elders are generally unable to read English. Each winter a course of lectures on social and economic subjects is given. Musical entertainments of a superior character have also been provided. Annual art exhibitions are held at the settlement, lasting for six weeks and visited by from 50 to 100,000 persons. During the summer one or more residents devote themselves to the distribution of flowers among the poor. An appeal for fresh flowers sent out through the country newspapers brings sometimes 50 boxes a day. The Sanitary Union has secured the cleaning of dark alleys and some unsanitary houses and obtained the closure of 22 sweat shops. Weekly conferences with the teachers of the Tenth Ward have been held, at which questions of education and pedagogics are discussed. During times of special distress canvass of the unemployed is made by the workers of the settlement, which has proved of decided value to movements initiated for the relief of the general distress.

The Prospect Union, or Harvard University Settlement, is located in Cambridgeport, Mass. It has done strong work along educational lines through the cooperation of large numbers of Harvard men, who have conducted classes, held discussions, and given lectures. The director is Robert Ely. The East Side House, in New York, is carried on with George Gordon as resident manager. It acts as one of the stations of the library association for the distribution of books; a successful kindergarten is maintained, but the men's club is the center of interest, and has achieved a phenomenal success.

The College (women's) Settlement Association was formed in 1890 to unite the women's settlements in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, to aid in the financial support of the settlements, and still more to interest women in the work of social improvement. Classes and lecture courses have been conducted by all, and house visitation has been an important and successful feature.

At the New York settlement the leading efforts are a penny provident bank, library, kindergarten, clubs, and district visiting. It also has a delegate on the District Committee of the Charity Society, and has been active in connection with special relief movements. The Philadelphia settlement, besides its regular work, has done important work in political reform in the district, and the Boston settlement has distinguished itself by its interest in labor movements. The Hull House, of Chicago, is considered in a special article.

The settlement movement at the present time seems to be rapidly extending. The value of residents, which is its characteristic feature, has been thoroughly approved. In America, unfortunately, some organizations, which have no residents, but only hoped to obtain them in time, have called themselves settlements. Others, distinctly below the intellectual standards

The Settlement in New York.

of earlier settlements, and practically only evangelical missions, are using the same title. Nevertheless, the central principle of the settlement movement, the residence of a small corps of workers, and the combination of sympathy and trained intelligence in all work planned and executed have made the settlement powers for good in their respective communities, and have given their opinions on various questions of recognized value. JAMES B. REYNOLDS.

References: *Neighborhood Guilds*, by Stanton Coit; *English Social Movements*, by R. A. Woods; *The Social and College Settlements of America*, by Percy Alden, an article in the *Outlook* for June 22, 1895.

For Women's Social and College Settlements, see article WOMEN'S COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS. The following is a list of the more important men's settlements:

Toynbee Hall, 28 Commercial Street, London (East), founded 1885.

Oxford House, Bethnal Green, London (East), 1885.

Chalmers University Settlement, 10 Ponton Street, Fountainbridge, Edinburgh, 1887.

University Settlement, 26 Delancey Street, New York, 1887.

Leighton Hall Neighborhood Guild, 8-10 Leighton Crescent, Kentish Town, London, 1889.

Trinity College Settlement, 131 Camberwell Road, London, S. E., 1889.

Rugby House, 292 Lancaster Road, 1889.

Students' Settlement, 10 Possil Road, Garscube Cross, Glasgow, 1889.

Mansfield House, 167 Barking Road, Canning Town, London, 1890.

New College Settlement, 37 Pleasance, Edinburgh, 1890.

East Side House, Seventy-sixth Street and East River, New York, 1891.

Newman House (Roman Catholic), 108 Kennington Road, London, S. E., 1891.

Northwestern University Settlement, 26 Rice Street, Chicago, 1891.

University Hall, Gordon Square, London, W. C., 1891.

Bermondsey Settlement, Farncombe Street, Jamaica Road, London, S. E., 1892.

Andover House, 6 Rollins Street, Boston, 1892.

Association House, 259 West Sixty-ninth Street, New York, 1892.

Epworth League House, 34 Hull Street, Boston, 1892.

Minster Street Neighborhood Guild, 618 Minster Street, Philadelphia, 1893.

Whittier House, 174 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J., 1893.

Church Settlement House, 1556 Avenue A, New York, 1894.

Chicago Commons, 140 North Union Street, Chicago, 1894.

Prospect Union, 744 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridgeport, Mass.

USURY literally means and originally meant *use-money*, the payment of money for the use of money, and sometimes even payment for the use of any article. It was identical with our term interest. Only in modern times has it been limited to mean the taking of inordinate or excessive interest. In this article we consider the ethics of usury or interest-taking. (For the economic and other questions, see INTEREST; CAPITAL.)

Usury or interest-taking among all ancient peoples was considered sin. The Hebrew condemnation of usury is well known: "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury" (Deut. xxiii. 19). This condemnation occurs repeatedly in the Old Testament. (See Lev. xxv. 35-37; Ex. xxii. 25; Neh. v. 7, etc.) Ps. xv. 5 describes the righteous man as one "who putteth not out his money to usury." It is true that the Hebrew could take usury of a non-Hebrew! "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury" (Deut. xxiii. 20), but this was probably due to the or-

ganic and national conception of Hebrew morality. All races originally condemned usury. Herodotus says the Persians repudiated all buying and selling. Yet usury was everywhere practised. In Greece and Rome it gradually developed a plutocracy by putting all the small creditors into the power of the rich, and often reducing the poor to literal slavery. Aristotle ranks usury with prostitution. He says:

"Such are all they who ply illiberal trades; as those, for instance, who keep houses of ill-fame, and all persons of that class; and usurers, who lend out small sums at exorbitant rates; for all these from improper sources, and take more than they ought" (*Nicomachean Ethics*, IV., § 1).

Plato says:

"Of the two sorts of money-making, one, as I have just said, is a part of household management, the other is retail trade; the former necessary and honorable, the latter a kind of exchange which is justly censured; for it is unnatural, and a mode by which men gain from one another. The most hated sort, and with the greatest reason, is usury, which makes a gain out of money itself, and not from the natural use of it. For money was intended to be used in exchange, but not to increase at interest. And this term usury [*rákos*], which means the birth of money from money, is applied to the breeding of money, because the offspring resembles the parent. Wherefore of all modes of money-making, this is the most unnatural" (*Politics*, I., 10, 4, Jowett tr.).

Cato, on being asked what he thought of usury, asked the speaker what he thought of murder. Nevertheless, in both Greece and Rome usury was common, and laws were in vain passed against it. The opposition of the Church Fathers is well known.

Chrysostom says (*Homily on St. Matthew*):

"Nothing is baser than the usury of this world, nothing more cruel. Why, other persons' calamities are such a man's traffic; he makes himself gain of the distress of another, and demands wages for kindness, as tho he were afraid to seem merciful; and under the cloak of kindness he digs the pitfall deeper by the act of galling a man's poverty."

And again (*Homily LVI.*):

"How many have lost their very principal for the interest's sake! How many have fallen into perils for usurious gains! How many have involved themselves and others in extreme poverty through their unspeakable covetousness! . . . But what is the plea of the many? 'When I have received the interest I give to the poor,' one tells me. Speak reverently, O man; God desires not such sacrifices. Deal not subtly with the law. Better not give to a man, than give from that source; for the money that hath been collected by honest labors, thou often makest to become unlawful because of that wicked increase; as if one should compel a fair womb to give birth to scorpions. And why do I speak of God's law? Do not even ye call it filth? Why, are there not many honest trades—in the fields, the flocks, the herds, the breeding of cattle, in handicrafts, in care of property?"

Basil says (*Second Homily on Psalm xiv.*):

"In truth, it is the last pitch of inhumanity that one man, in the need of the bare necessities of life, should be compelled to borrow and another, not satisfied with the principal, should seek to make gain and profit for himself out of the calamities of the poor. The Lord gave His own injunction quite plainly in the words, 'From him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away.' But what of the money lover? He sees before him a man under stress of necessity, bent to the ground in supplication. He sees him hesitating at no act, no words of humiliation. He sees him suffering undeserved misfortune, but he is merciless. He does not reckon that he is a fellow-creature. He does not give in to his entreaties. He stands stiff and sour. He is moved by no prayers; his resolution is broken

by no tears. He persists in refusal, invoking curses on his own head if he has any money about him, and swearing that he is himself on the lookout for a friend to furnish him a loan. He backs-lies with oaths, and makes a poor addition to his stock in trade by supplementing inhumanity with perjury. Then the suppliant mentions interest, and utters the word security. All is changed. The frown is relaxed; with a genial smile he recalls old family connection. Now it is 'my friend,' 'I will see,' says he, 'if I have any money by me. Yes, there is that sum which a man I know has left in my hands on deposit for profit. He named very heavy interest. However, I shall certainly take something off, and give it you on better terms.' With pretenses of this kind and talk like this he fawns on the wretched victim, and induces him to swallow the barb. Then he binds him with written security, adding loss of liberty to the trouble of pressing poverty, and is off. The man who has made himself responsible for interest which he cannot pay has accepted voluntary slavery for life. Tell me, do you expect to get money and profit out of the pauper? If he were in a position to add to your wealth, why should he come begging at your door? He came seeking an ally, and he found a foe. He was looking for medicine, and he lighted on poison. You ought to have comforted him in his distress, but in your attempt to grow fruit on the waste, you are aggravating his necessity. Just as well might a physician go in to his patients, and instead of restoring them to health, rob them of the little strength they might have left. This is the way in which you try to profit by the misery of the wretched. . . . You call this profit, you get from these sources kindly and humane! Woe unto them that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter, and call inhumanity humanity."

Of the man who has borrowed on interest Basil says further on :

"At first a man is bright and joyous; he shines with another's splendor. . . . But the money slips away. Time as it runs on adds the interest to its tale. Now night brings him no rest; no day is joyous; no sun is bright; he is weary of his life; he hates the days that are hurrying on to the appointed period; he is afraid of the months, for they are the parent of interest. . . . Usury is the origin of lying, the beginning of ingratitude, unfairness, perjury."

Such are examples of the position of the Fathers. Council after council forbade usury, especially upon the part of the clergy. Yet it grew. It was gradually allowed, even by the canon law under the form of one exception after another. It was, however, still condemned on principle. Protestantism, too, first condemned usury, and often with unmeasured terms. The usurer's house was the house of the devil. One per cent. was enough to shut out the kingdom of heaven. Archbishop Sands is quoted as saying, "This canker [usury] hath corrupted all England;" Luther as saying, "To exchange anything with any one and gain by the exchange is, to steal." Interest was forbidden as late as an act of Edward VI. Beginning with Henry VIII., however, the endeavor was only to control the rate of interest. Calvin was the first Christian thinker to nominally allow interest. Locke, Hume, Adam Smith, and, above all, Jeremy Bentham, argued that it was justifiable. Bentham's celebrated argument was that the effort to condemn and forbid interest simply raises the rate of interest. Men at times must borrow. The lender does a real service to the borrower. Under equity he is entitled to some reward or interest. If all interest is forbidden, he will then secretly ask a higher rate of interest because of the risk run. It is also argued by those of this school that the attempt to control interest places useless and harmful checks on the natural flow of commerce.

To-day civilization is largely based on inter-

est, and few but the extremest radicals condemn it. It is held that he who lends does a real and often a very great service to the borrower, and therefore while excessive and extortionate interest is condemned, that a moderate interest is justifiable, and gives a right stimulus for saving to persons, and enables widows, colleges, and even churches, to loan capital and live upon the interest. To destroy interest, it is argued, would harm the worker and overthrow civilization. On the other hand, radicals who condemn all interest argue that labor of hand or brain is all that men ought to receive pay for, and that he who lends money lends stored-up labor, perhaps, and therefore should get back what he lends and no more, because, in the loaning, he has himself done no labor. They argue that the power which interest gives to the idler who has either himself made or inherited money to live in idleness and receive interest from those who toil is the foundation of social evils, creating classes, developing luxury, enslaving the poor to support the rich.

In *Fors Clavigera* Mr. John Ruskin, taking the view that good life only is wealth, and that exchange should only be exchange of living services, thus speaks of interest or usury :

"Usury is properly the taking of money for the loan or use of anything (over and above what pays for wear and tear), such use involving no care or labor on the part of the lender. It includes all investments of capital whatsoever, returning 'dividends' as distinguished from labor wages, or profits. Thus anybody who works on a railroad as plate-layer or stoker has a right to wages for his work; and any inspector of wheels or rails has a right to payment for such inspection; but idle persons who have only paid £100 toward the road-making have a right to the return of the £100, and no more. If they take a farthing more they are usurers. They may take £50 for 2 years, £25 for 4, £5 for 20, or £1 for 100. But the first farthing they take more than their hundred, be it sooner or later, is usury.

"Again, when we build a house, and let it, we have a right to as much rent as will return us the wages of our labor and the sum of our outlay. If, as in ordinary cases, not laboring with our hands or head, we have simply paid say £1000 to get the house built, we have a right to the £1000 back again at once, if we sell it; or, if we let it, to £500 rent during 2 years, or £100 rent during 10 years, or £10 rent during 100 years. But if, sooner or later, we take a pound more than the thousand, we are usurers.

"And thus in all other possible or conceivable cases, the moment our capital is 'increased' by having lent it, be it but in the estimation of a hair, that hair-breadth of increase is usury just as much as stealing a farthing is theft, no less than stealing a million."

In another letter in *Fors Clavigera* Mr. Ruskin, however, says :

"An impatient correspondent of mine, Mr. W. C. Sillar, who has long been hotly engaged in testifying publicly against the wickedness of taking interest, writes to me that all I say is mysterious; that I am bound to speak plainly, and above everything, if I think taking interest sinful, not to hold back stock.

"Once for all, then, Mr. Sillar is wholly right as to the abstract fact that lending for gain is sinful, and he has in various pamphlets shown unanswerably that whatever is said either in the Bible or in any other good and ancient book respecting usury, is intended by the writers to apply to the receiving of interest, be it ever so little. But Mr. Sillar has allowed this idea to take possession of him body and soul, and is just as fondly enthusiastic about abolition of usury as some other people are about the liquor laws. Now of course drunkenness is mischievous, and usury is mischievous, and whoredom is mischievous, and idleness is mischievous. But we cannot reform the world by preaching temperance only, nor refusal of interest only, nor chastity only, nor industry only. I am my-

self more set on teaching healthful industry than anything else as the beginning of all redemption; then purity of heart and body; if I can get these taught, I know that nobody so taught will either get drunk, or, in any unjust manner, 'either a borrower or a lender be.' But I expect also far higher results than either of these, on which, being utterly bent, I am very careless about such minor matters as the present conditions either of English brewing or banking. I hold bank stock simply because I suppose it to be safer than any other stock, and I take the interest of it, because the taking interest is, in the abstract, as wrong as war, the entire fabric of society is at present so connected with both usury and war, that it is not possible violently to withdraw, nor wisely to set example of withdrawing, from either evil. I entirely, in the abstract, disapprove of war; yet have the profoundest sympathy with Colonel Yea and his fusiliers at Alma, and only wish I had been there with them. I have by no means equal sympathy either with bankers or landlords, but am certain that for the present it is better that I receive my dividends as usual, and that Miss Hill should continue to collect my rents in Marylebone.

"Ananias over again, or worse,' Mr. Sillar will probably exclaim when he reads this, and invoke lightning against me. I will abide the issue of his invocation, and only beg him to observe respecting either ancient or modern denunciations of interest, that they are much beside the mark unless they are accompanied with some explanation of the manner in which borrowing and lending, when necessary, can be carried on without it."

Most Socialists hold that interest is not differ-

ent from rent or from the trader's profits, and therefore is to be overthrown, not by singling it out for especial condemnation, but by bringing in a cooperative civilization which will destroy rent, profits, and interest. A man under the system who makes or inherits money has power to-day, because there are people without money who cannot by themselves create money, and who will therefore give payment for loans of money. The landlord, the tradesman, and the capitalist all make money from the necessities of the poor by giving something to the poor and getting their promise to pay back more than is given. The capitalist rarely runs any risk, because he takes a mortgage on the loan worth more than the loan. It is, therefore, the present evil system that compels the poor to borrow. Socialists would, therefore, overthrow interest by replacing the present system by a cooperative civilization. (See INTEREST; CAPITAL.)

References: *Usury*, by W. Cunningham; *The Ethic of Usury and Interest*, by W. Blissard (1892).

UTILITY. See VALUE.

UTOPIA. See MORE.

V.

VAILLANT, MARIE EDOUARD, was born in 1840 at Vierzon, France. He became a student of the *École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures*, and a civil engineer in 1862. He was also a physician and surgeon. He was a member of the Commune in 1871, and has been prominent as a socialist ever since; elected to the Municipal Council of Paris in 1884, and as a deputy in 1893, he has become a leader of the *Parti Ouvrier*.

VALUE (from Latin *valere*, to be strong, to be valiant, to be worth) is a term sometimes loosely used, even by economic writers, to include the worth of an article measured in any way. It is, however,

Definitions. increasingly used in economic science in a narrower sense to mean what a commodity will bring in exchange for other articles. Adam Smith, even in his day, clearly differentiated between *value in use* or the *utility* of an article to its possessor, and *value in exchange*, or what an article will exchange for in the market. This distinction is fundamental, and is observed by all economists. Air, for example, has great value in use. Man cannot live without air. But air has ordinarily little exchange value. Diamonds, on the contrary, with a low use value, have great exchange value. In modern terminology, however, value in use is usually called *utility*, and by *value* is simply meant *value in exchange*.

Says Professor Marshall (*Principles of Economics*, 1st ed. Book I., chap. i., Sec. 8): "Value by itself always means value in ex-

change." Says J. E. Cairnes (*Political Economy*, Book I., Sec. 1): "The sense proper to value may, I think, be said to be universally agreed upon by economists, and I may therefore define it at once as expressing the ratio in which commodities in open market are exchanged against each other."

It is still necessary, however, to distinguish *value* from the cognate words "price" and "cost."

"Price," says Professor Fawcett, "is a particular case of value." *Value* is what an article will exchange for. Price is what an article will exchange for in money (*q.v.*).

Says Mill (*Political Economy*, Book III., chap. i., Sec. 2): "By the price of a thing, therefore, we shall henceforth understand its value in money; by the value or exchange value of a thing, its general power of purchasing."

Professor Hadley (*Economics*, pp. 91, 92) defines *price* "as the quantity of money for which the right to an article or service is exchanged," and says, "A price is a fact; a value is an estimate of what a price ought to be. . . . Value being essentially an ethical term, we may have as many different theories of value as there are different views of business ethics."

Cost is different from either *value* or *price*. Cost may be defined as the sum of sacrifices of any kind involved in the production of an article. Articles frequently sell for much more or for much less than the cost to produce—that is, their value and their price are different from their cost.

Says Marshall (*Principles of Economics*, Book V., chap. iii., Sec. 2):

"The production of a commodity generally requires many different kinds of labor and the use of capital in many forms. The exertions of all the different kinds of labor that are directly or indirectly involved in making it, together with the abstinences or rather the waitings required for saving the capital used in making it—all these efforts and sacrifices together will be called the *real cost of production of the commodity*."

Remembering these definitions, we now come to consider the important and much-discussed question of the theory of value. Passing by the innumerable small variations made by different advocates of the different theories, we may recognize two main theories of value. The value of an article is believed by one school to depend upon its *cost* of production, and by the other to depend upon its *utility*. Adam Smith, Ricardo, the classical economists, most German socialists, and most individualistic or anarchistic radicals, hold to the former view. Professor Hadley (*Economics*, p. 93) calls it the socialistic theory. On the other hand, most modern economists and most Fabian socialists hold to the latter view. Both views, however, it must be remembered, have been variously stated.

Adam Smith held that value must tend to the cost of production, because he argued that no man could afford to sell an article for much less than it cost to produce, while no man would pay much more, since
Cost Theory. he would rather produce it or cause it to be produced himself. He says (*Wealth of Nations*, Book I., chap. v.): "Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities. The real price of everything, what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it."

The followers of Adam Smith very much developed this view, but spent more time in analyzing it than in asking if it be true. Ricardo makes value depend upon the quantity of labor and the scarcity of the articles; but since most articles can be easily multiplied, he makes the quantity of labor the main source of value. Mill calls attention rather to the wages cost of labor than the quantity of labor. Cary makes the important point that value depends on what it would cost to reproduce an article at the time of its sale rather than on what it originally cost. Inventions and other elements are steadily lowering the cost of production. Articles originally made by expensive processes are continually sold for less than they originally cost, because invention makes it possible to reproduce them at a much less cost. Such are the main points as to value developed by the classical school.

From this view Karl Marx and most German socialists argue that labor (of mind or hand), being the only source of value, only the laborer should share in the result. When, under the wage system, the capitalist has a monopoly of land and machinery, the laborer, say the socialists, is compelled to work for him, and the capitalist is enabled to take a portion of the value the laborer produces, and thus to rob the laborer, who, by the theory, has produced all the value. That portion of value produced which goes to

the capitalist Karl Marx calls *surplus value* robbed from the real producer. Hence such socialists argue that if the community owned all the land and capital, the monopolist could not take from the laborer any portion of the product, and the laborer would receive the whole value of his product. Anarchists and extreme individualists would get the same result by doing away with the governmental control of monopolies which secure the monopolists in their monopoly, and, leaving every man free to obtain land and capital, secure to every worker the value he produces.

We now come to the second school. It is now denied by most economists that value depends upon cost of production, and that labor is the only source of value. As a matter of fact, value, says the modern school, has often very little relation to the cost of production. A certain quack medicine that happens to hit the public fancy can often command prices bearing no reference to the cost of production. Houses continually sell for prices often much above and often much below their cost of production; so with books, so with wines, so, indeed, with most things, even including such stable articles as grain, iron, etc. The old theory, therefore, does not explain the facts, and a new theory must be developed. Jevons was the first prominently to develop the new theory, which is often associated with his name. According to this theory, the value of an article depends upon its *final utility*. According to this, the value of an article depends upon how useful to the community another article of the same kind would be. If the community desires more medicine, more houses, more books, more jewels, more bread of a certain kind, the price is high; if the community does not desire more, the price falls. Says Jevons (*Theory of Political Economy*):

Utility Theory.

"A great undertaking, like the Great Western Railway or the Thames Tunnel, may embody a vast amount of labor, but its value depends entirely upon the number of persons who find it useful. . . . Labor once spent has no influence on the future value of any article; it is gone and lost forever. In commerce by-gones are forever by-gones; and we are always starting clear at each moment, judging the value of things with a view to future utility."

As to how far labor does affect value, Jevons says:

"But the labor is never the cause of value, it is, in a large proportion of cases, the determining circumstance, and in the following way: Value depends solely on the final degree of utility. How can we vary this degree of utility? By having more or less of the commodity to consume. And how shall we get more or less of it? By spending more or less labor in obtaining a supply. According to this view, then, there are two steps between labor and value. Labor affects supply and supply affects the degree of utility which governs value, or the ratio of exchange. But it is easy to go too far in considering labor as the regulator of value; it is equally to be remembered that labor is itself of unequal value. . . . I hold labor to be essentially variable, so that its value must be determined by the value of the produce, not the value of the produce by that of the labor."

Such, in brief, is Jevons' view. His phrase, however, has mainly given place to another. The Austrian, Professor Wirsler, has given us the phrase *marginal utility* in place of *final*

utility, as indicating the utility of an article on the margin of production—*i.e.*, on the margin of doubt, whether it be worth while to produce it or not, since it is when one is debating whether it is worth while to obtain an article or not that its value is fixed. This theory, indeed, has been mainly developed by the Austrian school of economists, the more recently the younger American economists have carried the theory even further than the Austrians. This has led to what is sometimes called psychologic economics. If value depends on how much the community desires an article, it follows that value is affected by all the psychologic elements which affect desire. Professor Patten, for example, emphasizes the distinction between pain and pleasure motives. In eighteenth century philosophy, he says, value was estimated by the pains of production, "the toil and trouble" of labor. To-day we think more of the pleasure motives, the utility of an article.

Some English authorities, like Marshall and Edgeworth, incline to a balanced view between the cost and utility theories. Professor Marshall (*Principles of Economics*, note to Book V., chap. xiv.) uses the illustration of a pair of scissors, and says :

"The 'cost of production principle' and the final utility principle are undoubtedly component parts of the one all-ruling law of supply and demand; each may be compared to one blade of a pair of scissors. When one blade is held still and the cutting is effected by moving the other, we may say with careless brevity that the cutting is done by the second, but the statement is not one to be made formally and defended deliberately."

Professor Böhm Bawerk, however, in an article in the *American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September, 1894, asks, supposing that cost does determine price, on what cost depends, and he answers, in substance :

On what wages are paid to the workers and to those who furnish the capital—on what does that depend? Not fundamentally on the workers. Except in the few cases mentioned above [work in overtime or work for other reasons than commercial], men are not free to work or not, as they please. They have to work. At what wages? They cannot long receive less wages than they can live on, according to their standard of living, but they can receive more. How much more? That depends on how much more the employer can afford to give and how strong the employees are in forcing him to give all he can. But how much the employer can give depends on the demand for the article; hence final utility is still a dominating influence.

This view, too, now widely accepted, is accepted by some socialists, and especially by most Fabian socialists. They come to the same conclusions as German socialists, but not on the ground that labor is the only source of value, or that cost determines price. They base their socialism mainly on grounds of expediency (see SOCIALISM), and argue that just because value is determined, in part, by the whims and desires of society, it is not wise to leave the individual worker subject to the whims and caprices of a changing market. Some of them argue, too, that it is just that since the individual produces no value, and society enters into all production, the product should belong not to the individual, but to society for the good of all. In conclusion, Ruskin's view, which plays more or less

into the psychologic view of the modern holders of the utility theory, must not be forgotten. He says (*Munera Pulveris*, chap. i., Sec. 12) :

"Value signifies the strength or 'availing' of anything toward the sustaining of life, and is always twofold; that is say, primarily, intrinsic, and secondarily, effectual. . . . Value is the life-giving power of anything; cost, the quantity of labor required to produce it; price, the quantity of labor which its possessor will take in exchange for it. . . . Intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life. . . . It does not in the least affect the intrinsic value of the wheat, the air, or the flowers that men refuse or despise them. Used or not, their own power is in them, and that particular power is in nothing else. But in order that this value of theirs may become effectual, a certain state is necessary in the recipient of it. The digesting, breathing, and perceiving functions must be perfect in the human creature before the food, air, or flowers can become of their full value to it. The production of effectual value, therefore, always involves two needs; first, the production of a thing essential, useful; then the production of the capacity to use it. When the intrinsic value and acceptant capacity come together there is effectual value or wealth." Ruskin's view, then, is (see *Unto the Last*) that all labor should be equally paid, and thus the good workmen be rewarded not by higher pay for a given piece of work, but by being more in demand and in this sense better paid. Thus valuable work will be produced, and there will be no competition to get "cheap" work.

VENICE. See BANK OF VENICE.

VERINDER, FRED, was born in Bethnal Green in 1858. He was one of the founders and has been the first and only secretary of the Guild of St. Matthew. He was long sub-editor of the *Church Reformer*, and is secretary of the English Land Restoration League, organizer of the Red Van Movement, and contributor to various socialist papers.

VIVIS, LUDOVICO, was a Spanish philanthropist and author of a Utopia *De Commune Rerum* (1635).

VOLLMAR, GEORGE V., was born at Munich in 1850, of aristocratic family, and educated by the Benedictine fathers. He entered the cavalry in 1865, and went through the Austrian campaign. He then offered his sword to the Pope, but joined the Bavarian army in the Franco-Prussian War. Wounded and crippled for life, he set himself to complete his education, and left the hospital a socialist. He edited a socialist paper in Dresden. Banished by Bismarck's anti-socialist law, he spent his exile in France and Switzerland. In 1881 he was elected to the Reichstag, but was arrested and again banished. In 1884 and in 1890 he was returned for Munich. He is the main leader of socialism in Bavaria, and the first lieutenant of Bebel and Liebknecht, and among the more conservative of German socialists. In 1891 he published *Ueber die nächsten Aufgaben der deutschen social Demokratie*.

VOLUNTARYISM is a system of social thought developed by Mr. Auberon Herbert (*q.v.*), and advocated in his paper *Free Life*. Mr. Herbert says :

"Voluntaryism asserts the sovereignty—the self-ownership—of the individual; denies that the State, which is but a collection of individuals, possesses any larger right to use force than the individual possesses,

and, therefore, opposes all force-action on the part of the State, except for the one purpose of maintaining individual self-ownership by protecting person and property against violence and certain coarse forms of fraud. *The Free Life* opposes all force-action by the State in matters connected with religion, education, health (except where person or property is injured by an aggressive act), the professions, labor, insurance, poor law, trade, banking, drink, morality, marriage, and the taking of money for public purposes.

"*The Free Life* believes in the weapons of reason, persuasion, and example; believes in the infinite development of ideas and of human resource and inven-

tion, where men are left free; believes in a society based upon the friendly exchange of voluntary services, and not in State-made virtues or in legal persecutions of each other, or in coercion of minorities by majorities, or in the bribery of politicians of their supporters out of private property or the common compulsory fund. It is opposed to all forms of pensions and official vested interests; it denounces all public debt as fatal to prosperity and most unrighteous as regards our successors; it would sell public property and make every voluntary effort in order to get rid of existing debt, but refuses all responsibility for any debt, central or local, incurred after the year 1893."

W.

WAGES—(See also **WOMAN'S WAGES**.) We consider the subject of wages under three heads: I. The Asserted Laws or Theories of Wages; II. The Statistics of Wages; III. Real Wage Conditions; are they improving or not?

I. THE LAW OF WAGES.

There have been six main theories presented as to the law or laws governing wages. Various-ly stated by different writers, they are substantially as follows:

I. THE WAGE FUND THEORY.

This theory, suggested by Adam Smith and developed by his followers, is given up to-day by all economists in its original form, tho some, like Professor Taussig, of Harvard University (*Economics*, 1896), assert that it contains valuable truth, and when properly stated is wholly true. As originally stated it is this: Wages, like everything else, are governed by supply and demand, and in the aggregate depend upon the proportion of laborers to the capital available for employing labor, this capital being denominated a *wage fund*. Adam Smith says (*Wealth of Nations*, Book I., chap. viii.):

"The demand for those who live by wages, it is evident, cannot increase but in proportion to the increase of the funds which are destined for the payment of wages."

This hint his followers developed. Malthus and Ricardo hold the same, but argue that wages cannot rise, even by increasing the wage fund; because if the wage fund is increased and wages be temporarily raised, population, according to Malthus, always pressing on the limits of subsistence, will be enabled to expand, and the increase in the number of laborers will increase the supply relatively to the wage fund, and therefore lower wages. Ricardo says (*Principles of Political Economy*, chap. v.):

"By the encouragement which high wages give to the increase of population, the number of laborers is increased, wages again fall to their natural price, and, indeed, from a reaction, sometimes fall below it. . . . The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborers, one with another, to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution. . . . The market price of labor is the price which is really paid for it from the natural operation of the proportion of the supply to the demand; labor is dear when it is scarce, and cheap when it is

plentiful. However much the market price of labor may deviate from its natural price, it has, like commodities, a tendency to conform to it."

Similarly argue Senior, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and most of the older writers of this classical school, tho on this subject, as on others, Mill later somewhat modified his views, and is often inconsistent.

This wage fund theory naturally leads to and did historically lead to the next theory we consider.

2. THE GERMAN SOCIALIST THEORY OF THE IRON LAW OF WAGES.

According to this theory, wages under competition can never be higher than that which will just support the laborer and enable him to renew his kind. The theory directly follows, its holders argue, from the wage fund theory as stated by Ricardo. It is true that Ricardo himself did not hold this theory, sometimes fathered upon him. He held that the condition of the laborer could be raised by education, if he could be taught by moral ways to avoid overpopulation; but the German socialists claimed that under the intense struggle to live the laborer could not be sufficiently educated, and that the only way was to stop the competition and introduce a socialism which would lead to education rather than to depend on education to lead to socialism. The economic condition, they argued, is the key to all else, and civilization creeps on its belly. Hence they argued that under competition, by an iron law (Lassalle's phrase) the condition of the laborer can never be one of more than mere existence, and the only change for improvement is to replace the competitive system by socialism.

But now a new theory arose.

3. THE THEORY THAT PRODUCTION FURNISHES THE TRUE MEASURE OF WAGES.

This theory, first clearly advocated by President Walker (*Wages Question*, 1876), argues that the wage fund theory and its socialistic corollary are wholly false, and wages depend upon the productivity of labor. Wages, it says, are not dependent upon capital, because men without capital can and often do employ labor, provided they can know that the laborers employed will produce enough value to enable

them to pay the laborers out of the product and leave a balance for the employer. Employers are able to do this—as often on a farm—by giving the laborer merely his board till the harvest comes, and then paying him more out of the harvest his labor has produced. Or he can do it by borrowing capital, provided out of the product of labor he can pay for the capital borrowed, the laborers themselves, and leave a profit for himself. Hence wages depend on product. Says President Walker (*Wages Question*, chap. viii.):

“The popular theory of wages . . . is based upon the assumption that wages are paid out of capital, the saved results of the industry of the past. Hence, it is argued, capital must furnish the measure of wages. On the contrary, I hold that wages are, in a philosophical view of the subject, paid out of the product of present industry, and hence that production furnishes the true measure of wages. . . . The employer purchases labor with a view to the product of labor, and the kind and amount of that product determine what wages he can afford to pay.”

This view has been very widely accepted in both England and America. Writers like Edward Atkinson have accepted it, arguing that the only way to raise wages is to raise the product. Mr. Atkinson says (*What Makes the Rate of Wages?*):

“In treating this question of the rate of wages, it must constantly be kept in mind that money is but the instrument of exchange, that real wages are what the money will buy, and there cannot be more real wages than the whole product less the share of capital. If, then, we can even approximate the value of the product and divide by the known number of persons employed, we then approximate the annual measure or average rate of wages in terms of money.”

Capital must be paid first, Mr. Atkinson argues, in order to induce it to contribute; but it is only paid just what is necessary in the market to obtain it, and the rest of the product goes to wages. Wages thus are a result, and their measure or rate is, and must be determined in the long run, by what the product will bring. The practical result of this theory is that the only way to raise wages is to increase the efficiency of the laborer, and so increase the product. Doing this, the holders of the theory argue, will give the laborer an ever-increasing share of an ever-increasing product. The relative share of capital, it is claimed, will fall, because as wealth increases the competition of capital will grow more and more, and thus lower the rate of interest, and leave more of the product to go to the laborer. Interest is lowest, it is argued, in the wealthiest countries, and wages are there highest. Machinery increasing, the product increases; therefore, the share of the laborer. Such is, in brief, this roseate theory held to-day by many economists and embraced by most capitalists. But few working men or radicals accept it. They argue that the facts do not support the theory. They say it is true that the rate of interest is lowest in richest countries, but that the very competition of abundant capital and temporary rise of wages force capital more and more to employ machinery, and that on a large scale, thus tending to make the laborer, and especially the skilled laborer, less and less necessary, and so throwing on the market an increasing number

of unemployed laborers, whose competition tends to lower wages, and leaves the employer with a low rate of interest, to yet accumulate large profits by multiplying small rates of profits in large concerns, while the small concerns are unable to meet the competition, and so throw their employees upon the market to compete for work, and so still more lower wages. The falling in the rate of interest does not show, say these critics, a falling in the share of capital. Capital gets its share, not only interest, but in dividends, and dividends in large concerns may be very high (as in England) where interest is very low. The fact is, they point out to-day that wealth is amassing, and that real wages are not rising, but falling, because even tho nominal wages do not fall, men are working on less and less time, and therefore receive less money because of unemployment (*q. v.*, see also Part II. of this article, “Statistics of Wages”). Wages, then, do not, so these critics urge, necessarily rise and fall with production, but are often lowest when production is highest, because a so-called overproduction discharges laborers and materially lowers their income. Hence a new theory must be sought, and we have

4. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND UPON THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

This theory, born of the so-called eight-hour philosophy (see SHORT-HOUR MOVEMENT), held to-day by most American trade-unionists, except those who are socialists, and developed at length by Mr. George Gunton (*q. v.*) in his various writings, argues that wages depend upon what the working man considers the lowest level upon which he can live. Competition, it argues, can reduce wages to the lowest limits he will work for, but not lower, because he will then starve rather than work, or so strenuously organize a strike that wages will have to rise. Now, what he will work for depends upon the standard of living in the different countries and trades concerned. An American will starve or strike rather than accept Chinese wages, because the American standard of living demands higher wages. The price of labor, like all other commodities, depends on the cost of production. A skilled laborer receives more than an unskilled, because it costs more to produce and maintain him in the standard of living necessary to his being a skilled laborer. A Chinaman receives low wages, because he will live in a low way. Wages in crafts which cannot be prosecuted all the year are *per day* higher than those in crafts which can be prosecuted all the year round, because in a portion of the year the laborer has to earn enough to keep him all the year. Wages in trades where the wife and child as well as the man habitually work (as in the cotton trade) are lower than trades where women and children do not work, because the wage of the wife and child, supplementing the man's wage, enables the family to maintain the standard of living of their class without the man's wage alone equaling that amount. City wages are higher than country wages, because it costs more in the city to live on the same plane of living as in the country. Wages in piece work are in the long

run the same as in day work, because under competition the employer cannot pay higher wages than the workman can be obtained for, and under competition the workman will always work under any system for that which will enable him to secure the standard of living he considers necessary. All these cases show, argue the holders of this theory, that wages in any country and in any trade depend, not, as the socialists say, on what will just support and renew the laborer's life, but on what will maintain and renew his life according to the standard of living he considers necessary. The one way to raise wages, therefore, argues this school of thought, is to raise the laborer's standard of living. Hence their one aim is to multiply the laborer's wants and prevent his living cheaply. If laborers are enabled, by reduction in the cost of living, to live more cheaply, wages, they say, will fall. "Bone soup" living means "bone soup" wages; economical living means economical wages. They strive to make laborers expensive. The one best way they consider to develop the workman's wants is to limit his hours of labor, thus increasing his social and educational opportunities, and so raising his standard of living. Hence the connection of this view with the short-hour movement (*q.v.*).

But this theory, like all the others, has its critics. It is argued that, however hard the laborer tries to maintain his standard, men will lower their standard rather than starve, and that when, as to-day, machinery is discharging men, these men will work for wages which will support life even far below the standard of living in their trade and country, and hence, by their competition, lower all wages. In some skilled trades intelligent workmen, by labor combinations, may long keep up their standard of wages; but unskilled laborers cannot; while machinery may enable, as in the printing trade to-day, the employer to do without skilled labor, and so reduce even the skilled laborer to the condition of an unskilled laborer competing for work. Wages thus, say these critics, do not so much depend on the standard of living as the standard of living depends on the wages men can secure.

Another theory is therefore presented.

5. HENRY GEORGE'S THEORY OF WAGES.

Henry George says (*Progress and Poverty*):

"Wages depend upon the margin of production or upon the produce which labor can obtain at the highest point of natural productiveness open to it without the payment of rent."

Wages cannot be lower, he argues, than men can get by working for themselves, without paying rent, because men prefer to work for themselves, and will only work for an employer provided he will pay more than they get by working for themselves. On the other hand, Mr. George also argues, employers will not pay more than just enough to secure the laborer, because under competition they cannot pay more than they have to. If they do pay more somebody else will pay less, and so be able to undersell them, and force them to pay lower wages.

Mr. George says (*Progress and Poverty*):

"When land is free and labor is unassisted by capital, the whole produce will go to labor as wages. When land is free and labor is assisted by capital, wages will consist of the whole produce, less that part necessary to induce the storing up of labor as capital. When land is subject to ownership and rent rises, wages will be fixed by what labor could secure from the highest natural opportunities open to it without the payment of rent."

Therefore the one way to raise wages, according to Mr. George, is to give men opportunity to labor without paying rent.

But this theory, in its turn, is contradicted by the facts. Wages are not the highest where there is most free land, but where there is least. Wages are highest not in the center of Africa, but in New York City. If it be said that in Africa the laborer gets a larger proportion of his produce than in New York City, it may be true, but nine tenths of 30 cents is less than three tenths of \$3. The presence of capital and machinery enables the employer to pay not only higher, but much higher wages than the employer can make on land without capital at the margin of production. It is true that the competition of labor tends to lower these wages, but the mere opening of opportunities in land cannot check this competition, because in civilized countries land without capital is useless, or so nearly useless that those with capital can afford to pay very much more for it than the man without capital, and hence in the open market will get the land, whether the price be paid to the landlord, as under the present system of land tenure, or to the government, under the single tax plan. It may be said that this will force all land to be used by those who can use it best, and so employ labor and raise wages; but with machinery constantly improving in agriculture, as in all trades, the laborer grows less and less necessary to the employer, and the competition of the laborer, replaced by machinery, can lower wages under a single tax system as well as under any other form of land tenure. Wages, therefore, do not depend on access to land.

We come, then, to the last general theory which has been propounded.

6. THE THEORY THAT WAGES DEPEND, AS IN ANY OTHER CASE OF VALUE, ON THE MARGINAL OR FINAL VALUE OF THE LABORER.

(For a full statement of marginal or final value, see VALUE.) This theory is rather a way of looking at things than the statement of a definite law. It simply states that no one law of wages exists; that wages depend on the value to the wage-payer of the laborer he is considering—*i.e.*, on the margin of employing. Each worker will get what his labor is worth to the employer at the time when his wage is decided upon. What the laborer is worth depends upon the state of the market, the ability of the laborer, the standard of living, psychological conditions, etc. The theory, therefore, simply states that no definite law of wages can be laid down. It is undoubtedly a great advance on any other, because it is undoubtedly true that wages are the resultant of many forces. All the above laws of wages contain elements of truth. Those who argue that wages depend on production are fond of declaring the wages fund theory ex-

ploded; but, as Professor Taussig says (*Wages and Capital*, p. 37):

"In whatever sense we use the term capital, it will still appear that current wages, considered with reference to any but a very short period of time, are derived in the main from capital."

Thus the wage fund theory has some truth. The socialist theory certainly has some, for under competition wages do tend to what will just support life. So with all the theories. The standard of living, the margin of production, the productivity of labor, do all affect wages. Wages are the resultant of many economic forces. This seems to-day all that economy can say.

II. STATISTICS OF WAGES.

In treating of statistics, it is first necessary to ask how far they are reliable. This is necessary with all statistics, but especially with wage statistics. Says Professor R. Mayo-Smith (*Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I., No. 1):

"Altho many recognize the desirability of statistics of wages, few people realize the difficulty of obtaining them. In the first place, there are three distinct investigations which must be carried on before our statistics of wages are of any value. The first is the inquiry, What are the wages or earnings? the second is, What are the prices of the commodities which the laborer consumes, or the cost of living? and the third is, In what proportion are the wages applied to meeting the different items in this cost of living? Each of these questions has its peculiar difficulties when one attempts to answer it. Take, for instance, the answer to the first question, wages or earnings. The great majority of laborers are now paid by the day, so that the most convenient form of answering the question of wages is to give the day-wages. But in some trades men work only a portion of the year; in others they may be thrown out of work at any time; in many they are forced to be idle part of the year; in all there are days lost from sickness and accident, and this loss is not the same in different trades. From the day's wages it is impossible to arrive at the year's earnings; and the same remark is true of weekly wages, and even of monthly. If working men kept accurate accounts of income and expenditures, we might apply to them and get the actual annual earnings, which would give us a notion of the actual income of the working class for a certain period. Even then it might be a time of commercial depression, and the actual earnings be a false index of the general earnings—even more false than the day's wages.

"Again, the wage-receiving class falls into three great bodies, men, women, and children, which of course receive different rates of wages. The distinction of sex is one easily drawn, but that between grown persons and children is not so easy to make. It is evident, however, that in answering the question, What are wages? we must have some sort of classification, and not mix up wages of men, women, and children.

"Again, the laboring class is employed in many different occupations, requiring varying degrees of skill and strength. An average rate of wages has a good deal the same doubtful value as an average income of a millionaire and a hundred of his employees; it represents neither one thing nor another."

To show how difficult the effort is to get and correctly use wage statistics, Professor Mayo-Smith analyzes the comprehensive report for 1884 of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, which bureau, he says, "enjoys the highest reputation of any of the bureaus."

The statement of the facts of wages upon which the report is based, obtained by personal agents directly from the pay-roll of a large number of establishments, Professor Mayo-Smith believes to be reliable. The averages drawn as to the wages of men in the same branch of the same occupation are correct, but beyond this Professor Mayo-Smith thinks the averages of very

little value. The average wages in occupations are obtained by averaging skilled and unskilled labor, an utterly misleading average. The average weekly wage paid to all men in the cotton industry is said to be \$3.44, but this is obtained by averaging the wages of overseers, at \$30 per week, and of lapmen, at \$5. Now one wage at \$30 would average as much as five wages at \$6. The result, therefore, for the majority of workers is materially misleading. Still worse are the averages of all occupations. The average wage to all employees in all occupations is said to be \$10.31. This is utterly misleading.

Says Professor Mayor-Smith:

"If, when W. H. Vanderbilt was president of the New York Central Railroad, we had obtained from statistics the average wealth of all persons employed by the company in its Forty-second Street station, of what value would it have been?"

"Perhaps I have now shown sufficiently the fallacious character of these averages drawn by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. This does not affect the validity of the original detailed tables. These, if they are taken, as they are said to be, from the actual pay-rolls of 210 establishments, are of very great value in forming a judgment concerning the wages received by American laborers."

So far Professor Mayo-Smith. But even this does not wholly state the case. Many statements of wages, and perhaps particularly of American wages, are open to suspicion as biased by political views. Protectionists and conservatives are usually anxious to show that American wages are high. Writers interested in reform are in danger of estimating wages too low in order to show the need of reform. Such dangers can perhaps be best avoided by giving statements as to wages prepared by both conservatives and radicals, *both of which statements should be studied by any one who would arrive at the truth.*

(a) IN THE UNITED STATES.

The leading official authority on wage statistics in this country is undoubtedly the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor. We quote in his own words the conclusions he arrives at, reminding the reader, however, that, as we shall soon see, these conclusions are most seriously questioned by many scholars. In his book, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, published in 1895, Mr. Wright says (p. 191), speaking of wages in manufactories:

"In 1850 the average number of employees was reported at 957,059 and the total wages as \$236,755,464. In 1890 the number is reported as 4,712,622 and the wages as \$2,283,216,320. Owing to improved statistical methods, the totals for 1890 include certain elements not reported, or not fully reported, for previous years. Reducing the figures, as far as possible, to a comparable basis, the number appears as 4,286,523 and the total wages \$1,911,137,838, an increase of 3,329,464, or 347.88 per cent., in number, and of \$1,674,382,374, or 707.22 per cent., in total wages, over 1850. During the same period the average annual earnings per employee increased from \$247.38 to \$445.85, being an increase of \$198.47, or 80.22 per cent."

This statement Mr. Wright bases on census returns. Of wages in special departments in manufacturing and in other industries, Mr. Wright gives the following figures for 1891:

"Common and agricultural laborers, sums varying from \$2.50 per day in Montana to 75 cents in the Carolinas and \$1.25 in New York; masons, from \$4.50 and \$5 in Colorado and California to \$2.50 in North Carolina and \$2.50 and \$3.36 in Pennsylvania; carpenters in

New York, \$3.50; bricklayers and their helpers, \$4 and \$2.50 respectively; locomotive engineers, \$3.77; firemen, \$1.96." These wages, however, Mr. Wright tells us, "considered by themselves, convey a wrong impression of the average wages. While the pay of overseers in the carding and weaving department of a cotton factory ranged as high as \$5 per day in 1891, we find, by the examination of 64 cotton and woolen factories, scattered throughout 20 States and employing 31,657 hands, that 21,338 employees, or 67 per cent. of the total, received between 41 cents and \$1.20 per day, while only 24 employees received \$5 or more per day. The average daily wages for the industry, then, is nearer \$1 than \$5. For the same reason, the daily wages in the manufacture of iron and steel is between \$1 and \$2, altho the rates ranged from

41 cents to \$10.40 per day. Grouping a number of representative establishments of the principal manufacturing industries which employed a total of 59,784 hands, it is found that 20,969, or 35 per cent. of the employees, received from \$1 to \$1.60 per day. Therefore, the average daily wages for all classes of mechanics and operatives in factories may be considered as having been between \$1 and \$2, altho the proportionate number receiving more than \$2 per day was somewhat larger than the proportion receiving less than \$1 per day."

The wages paid by manufacturers in the different States the Census of 1890 gives as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND TOTAL WAGES.		Value of Products, including Receipts from Custom Work and Repairing.	STATES AND TERRITORIES.	AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES AND TOTAL WAGES.		Value of Products, including Receipts from Custom Work and Repairing.
	Em ployees	Wages.			Em- ployees.	Wages.	
Alabama.....	33,821	\$12,676,029	\$51,226,605	Montana.....	2,666	\$1,948,213	\$5,597,573
Alaska.....	86	22,173	58,440	Nebraska.....	23,876	12,984,571	93,037,794
Arizona.....	528	358,127	947,547	Nevada.....	620	445,503	1,105,063
Arkansas.....	15,972	5,749,888	22,659,179	New Hampshire.....	63,361	24,248,954	85,770,549
California.....	83,642	51,538,780	213,403,996	New Jersey.....	187,398	96,778,726	354,573,571
Colorado.....	17,067	12,285,734	42,480,205	New Mexico.....	944	522,727	1,516,195
Connecticut.....	149,939	75,990,600	248,336,364	New York.....	850,084	466,846,642	1,711,577,671
Dakota.....	4,269	2,101,299	7,810,855	North Carolina.....	36,214	7,830,536	49,375,450
Delaware.....	21,900	9,892,387	37,571,848	North Dakota.....	1,847	1,002,881	5,028,107
District of Columbia.....	23,494	14,622,264	39,334,437	Ohio.....	331,548	158,768,883	641,688,064
Florida.....	13,927	6,513,068	18,222,800	Oklahoma.....	195	71,918	180,445
Georgia.....	56,383	17,312,196	68,917,020	Oregon.....	18,798	11,535,229	41,432,574
Idaho.....	774	324,202	1,396,006	Pennsylvania.....	620,562	305,591,003	1,331,794,901
Illinois.....	312,198	171,523,579	908,640,280	Rhode Island.....	85,976	37,927,021	142,500,625
Indiana.....	124,349	51,749,976	226,825,082	South Carolina.....	24,662	6,590,983	31,926,681
Indian Territory.....	175	79,830	248,932	South Dakota.....	2,422	1,008,418	5,682,748
Iowa.....	59,174	25,878,997	125,049,183	Tennessee.....	42,759	16,809,351	72,355,286
Kansas.....	32,843	16,328,485	110,219,805	Texas.....	39,475	18,586,338	79,433,551
Kentucky.....	65,579	27,701,746	126,719,857	Utah.....	4,980	2,715,805	8,911,047
Louisiana.....	31,991	13,159,594	57,806,713	Vermont.....	24,894	10,006,540	38,340,066
Maine.....	75,780	26,526,227	95,689,500	Virginia.....	59,591	19,644,850	88,363,824
Maryland.....	107,954	41,526,832	171,824,593	Washington.....	20,366	12,658,614	41,768,022
Massachusetts.....	485,182	239,670,509	838,160,403	West Virginia.....	21,969	8,329,097	38,702,125
Michigan.....	163,941	66,347,798	277,896,706	Wisconsin.....	132,031	51,843,708	248,546,164
Minnesota.....	79,629	38,189,239	192,033,478	Wyoming.....	1,144	878,646	2,367,601
Mississippi.....	15,817	4,913,803	18,705,834				
Missouri.....	143,139	76,417,364	324,561,993	Total.....	4,712,622	\$2,283,216,529	\$9,372,437,283

Number of establishments reporting, 322,638; capital, \$6,139,397,785; miscellaneous expenses, \$615,337,620. Officers, firm members, and clerks, average number, 426,099; total wages, \$372,078,691. All other employees, average number, 4,050,785; total wages, \$1,799,671,492. Cost of materials used, \$5,021,453,326; value of products, \$9,056,764,996.

So far the conservative and official view. We now consider the facts which make many students question the somewhat roseate statistics given above.

First, however, we must note that, even accepting the statistics collected by official investigations, there is not the steady recent advance in American wages usually claimed by official authorities. Dr. Charles B. Spahr, whose cautious and accurate scholarship is vouched for by his selection to lecture on the statistics of the distribution of wealth at Columbia University, gives, in a book published in 1895 (*The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*, pp. 110, 111), a table of wages based on wage returns collected for the famous Aldrich Senate Report of 1893, No. 1394 of the Fifty-second Congress, Second Session, and it is as follows:

INDUSTRIES.	Average Wages.		
	Average Wages.	Average Wages.	Average Wages.
Agricultural implements.....	\$1.38	\$1.91	\$1.72
Ale, beer, and porter.....	1.20	2.01	2.42
Books and newspapers.....	1.04	2.17	1.55
Building trades.....	1.56	2.86	2.64
Carriages and wagons.....	1.21	2.27	2.44
City public works.....	1.23	2.13	1.81
Cotton goods.....	.78	1.49	1.24
Dry goods.....	.95	1.41	2.10
Ginghams.....	.81	1.60	1.31
Groceries.....	1.09	1.65	2.14
Illuminating gas.....	1.18	2.74	1.99
Leather.....	1.26	1.94	1.63
Lumber.....	.69	1.40	1.32
Metals and metallic goods.....	1.44	2.33	2.01
Paper.....	.88	1.34	1.36
Railroads.....	2.64	2.77	2.55
Sidewalks.....	1.80	3.64	3.55
Spice.....	1.12	1.61	1.62
Stone.....	.96	1.75	1.46
White lead.....	1.15	1.75	1.40
Woolens.....	.86	1.28	1.38
Totals.....			
Average daily wages.....	\$1.18	\$2.04	\$1.69

Says Dr. Spahr :

"The wages given in the table are currency wages. In the year 1873, however, currency was worth 11 per cent. less than gold. The comparative wages in gold were therefore as follows :

DATE.	Daily Wages in Gold.
January, 1860.....	\$1.18
January, 1873.....	1.81
January, 1891.....	1.69

"In other words, wages in gold in the urban establishments reporting advanced $53\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. during the 13 years between 1860 and 1873; but during the succeeding 18 years, despite the continued advance in the productivity of labor, they lost enough to reduce the net gain to 43 per cent."

Here evidently is a fall in wages since 1873. (How, nevertheless, from these facts the Aldrich Report ingeniously if not ingenuously argues that wages have risen since 1873 we shall see in Part III. of this article.)

But these statistics are certainly too favorable to present average wages for at least four reasons. In the first place, they are confessedly wages paid in urban industries, which are notoriously higher than wages in rural sections; secondly, they are from pay-rolls as returned by the employers, and from the oldest and largest establishments, which, as a rule, pay the highest rate of wages; thirdly, they wholly ignore the enormous question of how many days in the year the worker has employment; fourthly, they are too favorable to day, because wages are now almost universally lower than in 1891. Says Dr. Spahr (*idem*, pp. 111, 112) :

"According to the latest volumes of the Connecticut Labor Report and the Massachusetts *Statistics of Manufactures*, the nominal rate of wages in 1894 had declined about 7 per cent. below the level of 1892, while the yearly incomes of laborers had been still further reduced by the lack of employment. The Connecticut report covers nearly half the manufacturing labor in that State. Directly from the books of the employing establishments were taken the numbers of employees, hours of labor, and wages for 1892, and for the period between June, 1893, and August, 1894, in which the fall of prices was most rapid and the stoppage of production greatest. It was found that a little over half of the establishments had reduced wages, and that the usual cut had been 10 per cent. The heavy losses of the wage-earners, however, came, not from reduced pay during employment, but from reduced employment. The average number on the pay-rolls had been cut down 13 per cent., and many of those nominally retained received work irregularly. All of these reductions reflected themselves in the total wage payments. These had decreased 25 per cent. If these firms were typical of the State at large, the great mass of families in Connecticut had had their incomes reduced one fourth. The Massachusetts reports are for the calendar years, and the changes are registered in the following tabular statement :

	1892.	1893.	1894.
Total value of product.. .. .	100	92	83
Average wages when employed.....	100	96	93
Total wages for year.....	100	92	84

From these statistics averaging the Massachusetts reported lowering of income of 16 per

cent., and the Connecticut lowering of 25 per cent., laborers' incomes between 1892 and 1894 fell at least 20 per cent., which would reduce the average wage of \$1.69, reported by the employers in 1891, to \$1.36 as the average wage to the American employee in urban manufactures in 1894. According to the Pennsylvania Bureau of Labor Statistics, from 1892-94 average wages fell 13 per cent. and the number employed 24 per cent.

As for wages in agriculture, the Department of Agriculture reported in 1890 the wages of the farm hand, with board, at \$12.45 per month. Since 1890 the depression in agriculture must have lowered wages at least 20 per cent., if not nominally, at least practically, by reducing employment. As to wages in mines, Dr. Spahr accepts both the statements and the conclusions of the Senate Report. He says (*idem*, p. 113) :

"The returns for mines were fortunately prepared by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, and are singularly impartial. For the years selected for comparison, they run as follows :

	1860.	1873.	1891.
Anthracite coal (Pennsylvania)	\$1.08	\$2.51	\$1.91
Iron ore (New Jersey).....	1.06	1.94	1.31
Iron ore (Cornwall, Pa.).....	.85	1.85	1.83
Iron ore (New York).....	1.25	2.30	1.65
Iron ore (Oxford, N. J.).....	1.00	2.12	1.20
Rough average in currency....	\$1.05	\$2.14	\$1.58
Rough average in gold.....	1.05	1.90	1.58

"So few returns would indeed furnish an unsafe basis for generalization, were it not for the vast amount of labor Mr. Weeks has devoted to the question of miners' wages. The returns give average wages in what he believed to be typical mines. Since 1891, as is widely known, miners' wages have again suffered reductions, comparable only with those that have taken place in the earnings of farmers."

Thus far, it must be remembered, we have simply asked what wages are paid. We have yet in Part II. to ask what the wages are really worth measured by what they will buy, and whether the condition of the wage worker is really improving or not.

(b) WAGES IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A General Report on the Wages of the Manual-labor Classes in the United Kingdom, published in 1896 by the Board of Trade, concluding an examination begun in 1886, says :

"The general effect of the summary of the wages census is to show an average rate of wages for men of £1 4s. 7d. per head, equal to £64 per annum if the weekly rate were multiplied by 52. Questions, of course, arise upon such a statement as to regularity of employment, overtime, and the like (which are being investigated specially in the department), but, considering that the year 1886, to which the census primarily relates, was a year of depression, and that the tendency since has, on balance, been upward, it is not considered that the figure above given is much in excess of the average weekly rate of wage of men for the average of the last few years.

"The corresponding average rate for women is stated as 12s. 8d.; for lads and boys, 8s. 11d.; and for girls, 6s. 4d.

"The proportion of men paid at less than £1 per week is 24 per cent.; between £1 and £1 10s., 53 per cent.; and above £1 10s., about 18 per cent. The great bulk of women are paid less than £1 a week, and their average wage comes out as about half that of men. Of course,

Great Britain.

these proportions only apply to that part of the industrial mass fairly represented by the trades dealt with in the tables comprised in the summary, but these groups of trades are considered to be samples of the great mass of occupations.

"The general average rate for men, women, boys, and girls, based on the actual amounts paid in wages in the previous year by the firms returning the schedules, appears to be £47 a year. This figure is based on 8073 returns, relating to 816,106 persons in private employment.

"The results obtained in the above manner are next compared with those obtained for particular industries (railway service, etc.) by other methods, the conclusion being arrived at that the broad results shown by the census summary would not be sensibly modified by including the great mass of other employments. The average rates for most of the trades tested are about the same as the average rate in the census summary, that for railway servants (men only) being £60 a year. The lower wage of agricultural laborers (estimated at £33 per annum for men) would be balanced by the more highly paid trades, such as building (£73 per annum per man).

AVERAGE RATES FOR VARIOUS TRADES.

"Turning to the particular trades dealt with in the report, we have the following summary, showing the average weekly rates for men, lads and boys, women, and girls respectively :

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED TRADES, IN OCTOBER, 1886, FOR A FULL WEEK'S WORK, EXCLUSIVE OF OVERTIME.

TRADES.	Men.		Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.
	s. d.	s. d.			
Pig iron (blast furnaces).....	24	6 10 8	.....	.....	.....
Iron and steel shipbuilding.....	29	3 12 2	.....	.....	.....
Engineering, etc.....	25	9 0 1	.....	.....	.....
Brass work and metal wares.....	29	7 8 5	12 11	6 2	.....
Wood shipbuilding.....	28	4 6	.....	.....	.....
Railway carriage building.....	25	2 10	20 5	.....	.....
Boot and shoe factories.....	24	3 8	15 3	.....	5 6
Breweries.....	24	3 9	9 4	.....	.....
Printing and engraving (large works).....	33	8 8	7 11	9	5 7
Newspaper-printing works.....	37	1 8	4 12	2	6 6
Brick and tile works.....	22	10 9	0 9	4	7 7

"The average rates of wages for persons engaged in the textile, mining, and other industries, dealt with in previous volumes, are given here for comparison.

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES IN THE UNDERMENTIONED TRADES, IN OCTOBER, 1886, FOR A FULL WEEK'S WORK, EXCLUSIVE OF OVERTIME.

TRADES.	Men.		Lads and Boys.	Women.	Girls.
	s. d.	s. d.			
Cotton manufacture.....	25	3 6 10	.....	.....	.....
Woolen manufacture.....	19	4 6 8	.....	.....	.....
Jute and stuff manufacture.....	19	4 6 8	.....	.....	.....
Silk manufacture.....	26	3 7 4	.....	.....	.....
Carpet manufacture.....	24	5 0 11	.....	.....	.....
Hosiery manufacture.....	27	3 6 8	.....	.....	.....
Lace manufacture.....	20	2 0 0	.....	.....	.....
Smallwares manufacture.....	22	11 10	8 2	5 7	.....
Coal, iron-ore, and ironstone mines.....	16	6 7 0	5 10	4 9	.....
Metalliferous mines.....	27	5 0 11	.....	.....	.....
Police.....	20	9 0 6	9 0*	.....	.....
Roads, pavements, and sewers.....	27	2 12 3	.....	.....	.....
Gasworks.....	24	9 11 1	.....	.....	.....
Waterworks.....	24	9 11 1	.....	.....	.....

* Women and girls.

"Seamen.—With regard to seamen, we have the following average monthly rates of wages (in addition to food) in 1892 :

	SAILING-VESSELS.		STEAM-VESSELS.	
	Home Trade.	Foreign Trade.	Home Trade.	Foreign Trade.
Petty officers.....	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Sailors—men.....	4	0 0	5	7 1
Boys.....	3	1 0	4	2 2
	1	4 8	1	7 4

"Railway Service.—The railway returns, tho not uniform with the other tables, are important as covering practically the whole of the persons employed in railway service. They show that about 95 per cent. of railway workers are fairly constantly employed. Omitting minor departments, and women and boys, a number of details may be condensed in the following table, which shows the percentage number of men paid in 1891 at weekly rates falling within the under-mentioned limits, and the total number employed and average annual rate of wages for the principal departments of railway service.

DEPARTMENT.	PERCENTAGE NUMBER OF MEN PAID.		
	Over £1 10s.	Over £1 and up to £1 10s.	Up to £1.
Coaching.....	4.0	55.7	40.3
Goods.....	4.4	55.9	39.7
Locomotive, carriage, and wagon.....	27.4	42.7	29.9
Engineers.....	6.6	30.1	63.3

"Army and Navy.—The information with regard to the army shows that, taking the value of all the different allowances by which the soldier's remuneration is made up, as well as the pay in money, the remuneration of the private in the infantry comes out at about £40 per annum, and in cavalry and artillery at about £45. The average remuneration of all ranks in the infantry, exclusive of officers, is about £46, and in cavalry and artillery about £52 10s."

See also WOMAN'S WAGES for that particular subject, and Part III. of this article for statements as to the rise and fall of English wages. The above figures err undoubtedly by putting figures too high, as higher wages are more easily reported.

According to the United States Consular Reports of March, 1895, wages in France are as follows : Average general wage per working day of 10½ hours as an average, \$19 for men and 61 cents for women ; 67 per cent. of the laborers are reported as males, 24 per cent. as females, 6 per cent. as children, and 3 per cent. as foremen. These wages are in manufacturing industries, varying for men from \$1.79 in stone-cutting to 94 cents in chemical industries, those in textile industries averaging 97½ cents for men and 52 cents for women.

Perhaps the most careful recent study of comparative wage conditions in different countries is that made by Professor E. R. L. Gould, and embodied in the Seventh Annual Report (1891) of the United States Commissioner of Labor. He gives the following tables for different industries and different nations :

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY.

INDUSTRY.	Families.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY.		INDUSTRY.	Families.	AVERAGE PER FAMILY.	
		Income from all Sources.	Expenditure for all Purposes.			Income from all Sources.	Expenditure for all Purposes.
UNITED STATES.				GERMANY.			
Pig iron.....	762	\$591.61	\$546.23	Bar iron.....	22	282.20	288.07
Bar iron.....	623	784.11	671.50	Steel.....	35	250.13	252.19
Steel.....	183	663.56	563.50	Bituminous coal.....	18	391.49	369.39
Bituminous coal.....	508	550.30	524.71	Coke.....	10	389.51	393.32
Coke.....	249	572.57	462.69	Iron ore.....	19	348.71	365.01
Iron ore.....	165	401.65	390.93	Cotton.....	72	302.11	282.58
Cotton.....	2,132	657.76	610.61	Woolen.....	24	275.99	281.59
Woolen.....	911	663.13	594.09	GREAT BRITAIN.			
Glass.....	1,276	859.64	769.06	Pig iron.....	65	456.86	435.31
BELGIUM.				Bar iron.....	114	519.99	480.67
Pig iron.....	11	374.53	372.51	Steel.....	166	589.13	530.82
Bar iron.....	75	359.37	353.45	Bituminous coal.....	15	379.09	359.27
Bituminous coal.....	10	426.55	371.36	Coke.....	341	556.14	502.13
Coke.....	4	378.26	393.86	Cotton.....	131	515.64	481.04
Glass.....	24	627.67	492.42	Woolen.....	26	501.69	460.44
FRANCE.				SWITZERLAND.			
Bar iron.....	40	464.74	401.09	Cotton.....	52	358.56	346.68
Cotton.....	116	365.94	333.70				
Woolen.....	179	424.51	384.05				

GENERAL TABLE OF FAMILY BUDGETS FOR THE COAL, IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES, CLASSIFIED BY NATIONALITIES.

NATIONALITIES.	FAMILIES.		DWELLINGS.			FAMILIES ENTIRELY MAINTAINED BY EARNINGS OF HUSBAND.		YEARLY INCOME OF FAMILY.		
	Total Number.	Average Number of Persons in Family.	Owning their Homes	Giving Information concerning Size of Dwelling.	Average Number of Rooms per Family.	Number.	Proportion.	Total Earnings of Family.	Earnings of Husband.	Proportion of Earnings of Husband to Total Earnings.
Americans.....	1,294	4.8	236	959	3.9	834	63.7	\$583.68	\$520.43	89.2
British in Great Britain*	525	5.1	11	435	4.0	270	51.4	522.08	423.79	81.2
British in United States.....	796	5.4	178	569	4.6	546	68.6	692.01	556.74	80.4
French in France.....	22	5.0	....	3	4.0	6	27.3	432.18	307.75	71.2
French in United States.....	24	4.8	5	19	3.7	16	66.6	563.82	463.77	82.3
Germans in Germany.....	66	6.3	13	52	2.8	27	40.9	345.03	253.51	73.5
Germans in United States.....	276	5.0	106	158	4.0	202	73.2	635.30	569.57	89.7
Belgians in Belgium.....	118	5.7	7	82	3.6	44	37.3	389.26	241.06	62.0
Other nationalities in United States.....	83	5.2	15	60	3.6	41	49.4	513.79	451.71	87.9
Average in Europe.....	770	5.3	31	608	3.7	374	48.6	470.96	368.30	78.2
Average in United States.....	2,490	5.0	540	1,782	4.1	1,581	62.3	622.14	534.53	86.0

* The English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish are here included.

Dr. Gould argues that the first condition of a true economic basis for society is that the earnings of the husband alone should be sufficient to support the family. The desertion by mothers of the home for the factory is, in his opinion, a fundamental factor of modern social discontent. Yet it is only in two cases, those of the bar-iron and steel manufactures in the United States, that the family can be supported without the addition of the earnings of the wife or the children. The second element upon which Dr. Gould insists is

that the family must have sufficient food. Here the American has the advantage of the European. The family of the American is better nourished than that of a worker in any other country. But if the American spends more on food he spends less on drink. In Europe the publican received three fifths as much as the landlord, and if the European worker would become teetotal he could add two more rooms to his home. The American, Dr. Gould thinks, does not save as

much, and he is not sorry for it. Dr. Gould's paper is notable indeed as giving expression to the first distinct protest against the doctrine that Thrift is one of the greatest of the virtues. He thinks that the practice of saving may sometimes prevent the civilization of the toiler, and is therefore morally and industrially bad.

When Dr. Gould comes to compare the statistics which he has collected concerning the foreign working man at home and the foreign working man in America, he is rather startled to discover that the average working man of American birth in the classified trades earns less than the Briton or the German. When the Briton goes to America, he increases his family, lives in a bigger house, for which he pays much more rent, eats more food, spends much more on his clothes, but spends almost the same amount on books and newspapers, tho he cuts down his expenditure on drink from 5 per cent. of his income to 3.6 and his expenditure on tobacco from 2.6 per cent. to 1.7. The greatest change in the consumption of alcohol takes place when the Frenchman goes from France to America. In France he spends 13 per cent. of his income on alcohol, whereas in America he only spends 6 per cent. The home-bred American only spends 2.9 per cent.

The average income of a family in Europe in the selected industries is £94 a year, while in the United States it is £124. The average saving is £6 11s 6d in Europe against £13 5s. in America. Dr. Gould mentions a curious fact when he analyzes Britons into English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. At home, measured by their earnings and their standard of living, the Scotch are the first, the English ranking second, the Welsh third, and the Irish last. In America, the Scotchman keeps the lead, but the second place is taken by the Irishman, the third by the Welsh, while the Englishman comes last.

The table showing the family budgets for the coal, iron and steel industries, classified by nationalities, bears very directly upon the immigration question. From this table it is seen that "the average workman in the allied industries of American birth earns less than the Briton or the German, tho he is ahead of other nationalities. In the relative size of his contribution to the family support he only gives place to the German, whose habits in this respect have undergone a marked change since his transplanting in the New World. The proportion of cases in which the husband actually supported the family are fewer, the total earnings of the family are less, the house accommodation is slightly inferior, a smaller per capita expenditure appears for food and clothing for the native American than for the Americanized Briton and German. In other words, in all important respects, except the consumption of alcoholic drinks, these latter seem to be living on a higher level. As regards the other nationalities, the American conserves his leadership, tho the expatriated Frenchman is not far behind.

In the coal-mining industry in Europe the proportion of persons buying books and newspapers is 12 per cent. higher than that amount in the United States, altho the average sum per head spent by the American miner is higher than that of Europe. It is also notable as indicative of the superior sobriety of the American miner that only 60 per cent. use alcohol, while 83 per cent. of the European miners are as yet innocent of a temperance pledge. The proportion among steel workers is much lower, being only 38 per cent. in America and 53 per cent. in Europe. The lowest average in tobacco is obtained by the steel workers of Europe; only 51 per cent. are said to use it, while 80 per cent. of the European coal miners smoke, or snuff, or chew.

The size of the average family in Europe is greater than that in America, but the difference is not so great as might have been expected. As a rule the total of a husband's earnings only average from 74 to 89 per cent. of the total earnings of a family.

Says Dr. Gould: "This revelation will surprise many, yet if the statistics before us mean anything at all, they teach the lessons we have outlined."

III. REAL WAGE CONDITIONS.

Are conditions improving or not? We now ask what wages really mean, and whether the condition of the wage earner is improving or not. Here, as before, we are met with opposing views, and we in brief present both.

(a) THE FAVORABLE VIEW.

Most conservative writers maintain that, how-

ever poor the condition of the wage worker is to-day, he is at least far better off than ever before in the world's history. Mr. John Rae adduces evidence in his *Contemporary Socialism* (1st ed., p. 390) "to show how greatly improved the working class standard of living now is from what it was 200 years ago in the good old times socialist writers like to sing of." He says:

"If poverty were increasing with the increase of wealth, it would show itself either in an increase of pauperism or in a decline in the general standard of living among the laboring classes or in a fall in the average duration of life, and these symptoms would be most acute in the countries that are the most wealthy and progressive." To prove that these symptoms of increasing poverty do not exist, he quotes Sir M. Hale and Gregory King, writers of the seventeenth century, to show that in their day 1 out of every 10, or, including children, 1 out of every 6 received alms. To-day Mr. Rae says it is only 1 out of 30. Wages at that time could not support the laborer. Everything was higher then except butcher meat, but half the population had meat only twice a week, and a fourth only once. The laborer lived chiefly on bread and beer, and bread was as dear as now. Fuel, light, and clothing were all much dearer. The death-rate in London was then 1 in 27, instead of 1 in 40 as now.

In the United States, Mr. Edward Atkinson takes the same roseate view of rising wages. In an article on "Low Prices, High Wages, Small Profits" in *The Century* (vol. xxxiv., pp. 569-584), he comes to the conclusion that wages during the last half century have steadily risen, while prices have steadily fallen, so that the real condition of the workman has vastly improved.

He takes from the census of 1880 the following average of wages for employes, other than foremen and overseers, in 100 establishments reporting under more than 100 separate titles, employing men, women, and children, and then carefully calculates the purchasing power of these wages based on average consumption, and comes to the following results:

	Average per Day.	Per Year.	Purchasing Power.
1860.....	\$1.33	\$399	\$1,290
1865.....	1.88	564	1,013
1870.....	1.94	582	1,337
1875.....	1.77	511	1,372
1880.....	1.71	513	1,543
1885 } est.....	1.80	540	1,800
1886 }			

He shows that the cost of the materials for food, of materials for clothing, boots, and shoes, with fuel, have fallen, representing about 70 per cent. of the cost of living on the part of well-to-do mechanics. Of rent he says:

"In some regions rents have declined, in others they have been stationary; in crowded cities they have either advanced in some small measure, or else the apartments hired for a given sum of money have not been equal to those previously occupied. So far as I have been able to compare rents, however, either those paid to a landlord or the rental value of premises owned by the occupant, there has not been, on the average, much variation from the rule affecting commodities in the period under consideration." Only the lowest class of unskilled laborers Mr. Atkinson considers not to have improved their conditions, and this because they have been temporarily displaced by machinery. He says, "While work has also been continuous and well paid for every intelligent mechanic or artisan who has chosen to control his own affairs and to make his own bargains, it has been much less continuous for many classes of factory operatives of a lower grade, and it has been absolutely intermittent

with respect to great numbers of common laborers. One of the penalties which society must pay for the application of science and invention to the useful arts is this temporary displacement of unskilled laborers from the occupations in which their work had been previously required, but which is no longer required when some new machine or improvement renders it unnecessary.

"On the other hand, without these applications of science to agriculture and to manufactures, the normal increase of population would without question tend to outrun the means of subsistence. It therefore follows that by their application, while the few are for a time left behind in the race, the many gain in welfare; the means of subsistence rapidly outrun the increase of population, and the many are thus enabled to enjoy better and better conditions of life.

"Thus the problem of 'progress and poverty' marches alongside the actual progress from poverty. This problem of 'progress and poverty' calls for the urgent attention of the student and the statesman in order to abate the great disparity of condition which becomes more conspicuous the more the general progress is assured."

Mr. Carroll D. Wright similarly argues the improved condition of the wage worker. In his *The Industrial Evolution in the United States*, and in his article "Wages" in the latest edition of *Johnson's Cyclopaedia*, he sums up the wage history of the United States substantially as follows:

"In 1633 the Massachusetts Bay Colony, by the action of the general court, made it a rule that carpenters, sawyers, masons, bricklayers, tilers, joiners, wheelwrights, mowers, and other master workmen should not receive more than 25 a day, the workman to pay his own board; but should he elect to board with his employer, then he was to receive 12d. a day. The rates of inferior workmen were to be fixed by the constable.

Skilled tailors were to be paid 12d. a day, poorer ones 8d. At the close of the seventeenth century common laborers were paid 25 a day, as they had been 40 years before. At the close of the colonial period laborers on farms were paid 40 cents a day; butchers, 33½; carpenters, 52; ship and boat builders, about 90; shoemakers, 73 cents; blacksmiths, 70 cents. Prices were uneven; there was no common market. Wheat might bring at one place 55., at another 105. \$1. Mr. Wright thinks, could then buy 1 bushel of winter wheat, 1 gallon of common molasses, a bushel of barley or of rye, 1½ bushels of corn. A common grade of wheat flour was \$16 per barrel. Butter, cheese, and meats were cheaper than now. Sugar, tea, and coffee were dearer than now. Common necessities were cheap.

"After the colonial period wages slowly rose. Laborers received in 1790, 43 cents a day; in 1800, 62½ cents; from 1800 to 1810, 82 cents per day; from 1810 to 1820, 90 cents; from 1820 to 1850, from 87½ cents to \$1. Carpenters in 1790 were paid less than 60 cents per day; in 1800, over 70 cents; in 1810, \$1.00; in 1820, \$1.13; from 1830 to 1840, \$1.40 in the Northern States. Cotton-mill operatives received until 1830, 44 cents per day; just prior to 1840, 90 cents, and from 1840 to 1850, \$1.00 per day. Woolen mill operatives were paid higher prior to 1830, being paid \$1.12. In 1840, carpenters were paid \$1.50 per day in New York, and in 1851, \$3.50. Bricklayers and their helpers received \$1.75 and \$1 respectively in 1851, and \$4 and \$2.50 in 1891. Locomotive engineers and firemen received \$2.14 and \$1 in 1840 and \$3.77 and \$1.96 in 1891, these figures being taken from actual pay-rolls. The great crises of 1837 and 1857 depressed wage rates, which did not recover before

Early Part of this Century.

1860." Comparing wages in 1860 and 1880, Mr. Wright uses the above referred to Aldrich Senate Report, calling it "a most excellent one, and indicates the general course of wages better than any other statement yet made." According to this, he says: "Wages stood at 87.7 per cent. in 1840 as compared with 100 per cent. in 1860; in 1866 they stood at 152.4 per cent. and in 1891 at 1607." "To be more correct, however," says Mr. Wright, "the rates should be taken in accordance with the importance of each industry relative to all industries. . . . On the latter basis wages have increased 68.6 per cent. since 1860 and 86.1 per cent. since 1840. . . . It is fair to say that wages in the leading industries of the country are 80 per cent. at least higher than they were in 1840.

Very many wages are double what they were at that date."

Of prices Mr. Wright says: "With this increase there has been in every direction a decrease in the working time of each day, and a general decrease in the cost of living, taking all articles into consideration. The decrease in the cost of living, however, has not been equal to the increase in wages. Rents are much higher, and so are meats and some other articles; but taking the wholesale prices of 223 of the leading articles of consumption, it is found that there has been a decrease since 1860 of about 6 per cent."

Present.

(b) THE UNFAVORABLE VIEW.

We present under this head the views of those who hold that the position of the wage earner at present is not improving, and that, at least relatively to the advance of society, it is not even equal to what it formerly was in economic status. The holders of this view do not, indeed, deny that, on the whole, society progresses, nor that in many respects the position of the wage earner to-day is in advance of his position at any former time in the world's history; but they do deny that his position is what the writers above quoted seem to imply, and they do deny that the wage earner, generally speaking, has had anything like his fair share of the world's progress. Some of them even maintain that in many important respects he is worse off than his fathers, and that his cause of complaint against the present industrial system is based upon the most careful estimates of economic facts. Those who hold this view make one or both of two points. They show, in the first place, that wages to-day are not rising; and, secondly, that in the long run, even if his wages have risen, the economic status of the laborer is not by any means in all respects to-day as favorable as formerly.

The belief that American wages have steadily risen in recent years is largely based on the Aldrich Senate Report of 1893. It is on this report that Mr. Wright bases his roseate statements. Now, this report is believed by many scholars to be utterly unreliable. Dr. Spahr, in his *Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (copyright by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston), argues the utter worthlessness of its conclusions, and says (p. 103):

"The statisticians employed to summarize the returns were to a hurtful extent in sympathy with the political aim of the investigation. This criticism in no degree applies to Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, whose work is in the highest degree conscientious and intelligent. But Mr. Weeks's conclusions are not embodied in the committee's comprehensive summary for 'all' occupations. It is this summary that has spread so much misinformation throughout the country. Some of the more serious errors in the report are apparent upon a casual examination. When any one at all familiar with the course of wages in recent years takes up the report, he is astonished to see that the wages of clerks in stores have risen out of all proportion to wages in other industries. In the metal works, as he would expect, currency wages are reported to have fallen since 1873; so, too, in the cotton factories; but in stores, where the invasion of women and girls is believed to have depressed wages to an unusual extent, he finds it reported that an advance of nearly 40 per cent. has taken place. If, to understand the anomaly, he takes the trouble to consult the original data, he discovers that for the metal works and cotton factories the returns covered many establishments and many hundred employees, while for stores the returns covered but one dry-goods store and one grocery, employing together less than 30 clerks. Yet the committee, in its table of 'simple averages for all indus-

tries,' made the uninvestigated industry count as much as either of the thoroughly investigated ones. And the committee did not stop here. Despite this assumed rise of nearly 40 per cent. in the wages of clerks, the table of 'simple averages' still showed that currency wages had fallen 4 per cent. since 1873. Thereupon the committee proceeded to make a table of 'weighted averages,' assuming that the incredible advance of 40 per cent. in wages had been received by all the clerks in the country, and that since these outnumbered the employees in metal works and cotton mills put together, therefore the returns for less than 30 clerks ought to outweigh those for more than 1500 metal workers and more than 3000 cotton operatives. By this means currency wages in 1891 were made to rise one per cent. above the level in 1873.

A False Report.

"To cut short the criticism, in order to get at the facts reported, it is necessary to throw away the work done by the committee's experts, and return to the original reports made by the employers."

As we have seen above (Part II. of this article), accepting the returns of the report itself, Dr. Spahr shows that real wages, instead of rising since 1873, fell materially down to 1891, and in 1894 were 20 per cent. lower than in 1891.

The only industries in which wages rose between 1873 and 1891, according to the returns gathered by the report, were in the manufacture of ale, beer, and porter; the making of carriages and wagons; in the case of the clerks of the two dry-goods and grocery stores mentioned above; in the making of paper, of spice, and of woolens. Nor does Dr. Spahr begin to show the whole extent of the injustice by which the experts of this report twisted a fall of wages into a rise of wages. In the report itself the facts showing the fall of wages in the cotton and metal industries alone cover 686 pages, while the facts which the experts have magnified to overbalance the fall in wages cover only 11 pages. Yet it is on such a report that most writers, including Mr. Wright, have based their statements of the rise of wages.

As to the argument that while wages have risen, the cost of living to the workman has fallen, this statement is equally open to suspicion.

The Aldrich Report (p. 9) claims only a fall in the cost of living of some 4 per cent. since 1860. It compares the prices in 1860 and in 1891 of the various elements of the cost of living (in the proportion in which they enter into a working man's expenditure), and calling those of 1860 as 100, it finds that they stood in 1891 as follows: Rent, 100.0; food, 103.7; fuel, 98.1; lighting, 48.1; clothing, 75.1. All others, 95.3. Average, 96.2. Thus it

shows that the price of food has risen, but that, arguing that rents have remained stationary since 1860, the price of other commodities has fallen enough to make it 3.8 per cent. cheaper for a man to live in 1891 than in 1860. Now, who acquainted with city life believes that rents have not risen since 1860? Mr. Wright himself admits in his *Johnson's Cyclopaedia* article, that "rents are much higher." As for the other prices, the Report says they are based on the *wholesale* prices. Now, wholesale prices have notoriously fallen much more than retail prices. Unfortunately, the price of the workman's loaf, his fuel, his lighting, and to a less extent his other expenses, does not fall with the wholesale price of wheat, oil, and coal. The producers of

wheat, oil, and coal may get less to day, but the working class retail consumer by no means always benefits by the fall. Tables based on wholesale prices are utterly misleading so far as workmen are concerned. Yet it is only on such tables that a lower cost of living can be made out. And even with such calculations, it should be noted that the cost of food has risen, and that the things which are cheaper are clothing, light, and fuel. The decrease in fuel is reported as only 2 per cent. at wholesale. At retail it has probably not fallen. Clothing is 25 per cent. cheaper, but may be 25 per cent. less enduring. Lighting is 50 per cent. cheaper, but is only one item. The things which are of supreme necessity—rent, food, and fuel—have not fallen. For the poorest living is not cheaper. The better class of workmen who can spend for manufactured articles get them cheaper; this is all. In retail prices, the workman's wage does not go so far for the necessities of life as in 1860. Even since 1873 *retail* prices of *necessities* have not fallen as much as is generally supposed. Mr. Atkinson's and Mr. Wright's statistics as to wages are based on official reports shown to be false, and as to prices shown to be misleading.

As for the second point, admitting that wages are higher to day than early in the century, which no informed scholar denies, it does not follow that the laborer's real economic status is improved. Early in the century life was simple, wages were low, hours were long. But the workman who was faithful had a practical security of work. He often lived in a little home of his own whose garden could supplement his low wage. To-day his wage is all, and he has no security of work. The problem of the unemployed is the pressing problem of the present situation. If hours were long early in the century, the worker working at his little cobbler's bench or in a little shop, where some one could read aloud, had much more real opportunity to develop his own individuality than to-day, the working at shorter hours, in crowded factories amid machinery driven at its utmost speed. In real freedom and economic status, more than wages, therefore, must be taken into consideration before we can admit advance. As for comparison with a remoter past, Mr. Rae, as quoted above, argues that the working man is vastly better off to-day than "200 years ago, in the good old times socialist writers like to sing of," but no socialist writer sings of 200 years ago. By exactly picking his dates, Mr. Rae seems to prove progress for the working classes. Hale and King, whom Mr. Rae quotes, wrote in the last part of the seventeenth century. Two hundred years before that and 50 years after that Mr. Rae would have found a very different state of things. In the fifteenth century, before the English laborer had been driven off from the land, and was still under a form of feudal tenure, and yet no longer a serf, he was in what Mr. J. E. Thorold Rogers has called the "golden age of England." In the first part of the eighteenth century, when there was a revival of handicraft and machinery was not developed and monopolized, wages were higher than they were either immediately before or immediately after. It is to these times rather than to the seventeenth century that

socialist writers are apt to revert. And for the view that compared with these periods the present condition of the wage earner is not so favorable, they have good authority. As for Great Britain, comparing conditions in 1837 and 1897, Sydney Webb says in *Labor in the Longest Reign*:

"If we might sum up in one general impression the different facts as to comparative wages, we should, I think, have to come to this conclusion: While the skilled male craftsman has largely increased his income, and a practically new class of responsible and fairly well-paid laborers and machine-minders has come into existence, there exists now a greater sum, tho a smaller proportion of hopeless destitution than at any previous time. It appears, at any rate, highly probable that in 1897 there are positively more people in Great Britain who are existing at or near starvation wages than there were in 1837, altho their number bears a smaller proportion to the whole.

"Mr. Charles Booth tells us, in the effective 'eloquence unadorned' of his columns of statistics, that some 32 per cent. of the whole four millions of London's population fall within his four classes of 'poverty,' earning not more than a guinea per week per family. It is difficult to believe that, even in 1837, the percentage of persons at a corresponding low level can have been greater. It is practically certain, remembering the great increase in the total population, that at no previous time were the actual numbers more than at present. It has been reserved for our own prosperous time to produce the spectacle of over a million of people within one city living 'in poverty.' And when we examine closer into Mr. Booth's appalling details, and begin to realize that out of this huge residuum nearly a third are actually below what can be called even full subsistence for a London family, we shall begin to feel that our boasted progress since 1837 has not, after all, taken us very far. The 300,000 Londoners who fail to get even 18s. a week per family, and live in 'chronic want,' can never have been poorer. Their actual number in the much smaller city of 1837 cannot have been so great. And if we take into account the slums of our other great cities, and realize that we have in our midst a class of at least a million persons, besides the million at any one time in receipt of poor law relief, who live in 'chronic want' of even the necessaries of life, we shall begin to understand how very partial, after all, has been our progress.

"It is often assumed that this huge residuum which is existing in our midst at starvation wages is made up entirely of unskilled laborers, women plying the needle, and drunkards and wastrels of all kinds. But this is not the case. The unskilled laborer, indeed, is morally entitled to full subsistence, tho he does not always get it; but even men with a trade are sometimes little better off. We find to-day numerous small classes of skilled craftsmen in large towns whose weekly earnings do not amount to a pound a week. The Sheffield fork-grinders, for instance, working at a horribly unhealthy and laborious trade, are constantly found working at time-work for 16s. to 20s. for a full week of fifty-six hours, subject to considerable reductions for lost time. Similarly the Sheffield table-blade grinders, who do the common work, do not get more than a guinea a week net when working full time. Even in the comparatively prosperous textile industries there are large classes of men working as weavers, card-room operatives, etc., who do not make a pound a week."

Professor Rogers is not blindfold to the conditions of the past, yet in a carefully balanced paragraph he says (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, chap. vi.):

"The life of our ancestors, tho laborious, was not without its hopes. All the necessaries of life in ordinary years, when there was no dearth, were abundant and cheap, and even in dear years, the margin of wages or profits over the bare wants of life was considerable enough to fill up the void, even tho the laborer had to subsist for a time on some cheaper food than wheaten bread. Meat was plentiful; poultry found everywhere; eggs cheapest of all. The poorest and meanest man had no absolute and insurmountable impediment put on his career, if he would seize his opportunity and make use of it.

"I am well aware that in many particulars he was far behind his descendants in the conveniences and comforts of life. His diet, as I have allowed, was coarse

tho plentiful, and during a great part of the year was unwholesome. It took three centuries before the Dutch, who were for a long time the center of economic civilization, were able to discover and adopt those succulent and wholesome roots which have given health to man by banishing the loathsome diseases of the middle ages, and have rendered it possible to improve the breeds of cattle. I am well aware that such medical skill is now at the service of the poorest as princes and prelates desired, but were entirely without in the middle ages. I am quite familiar, as we all are, with the victories which human ingenuity has acquired over nature. . . .

I know that four grains of wheat and barley or any other grain are produced by modern tillage when one was with difficulty raised before; that the modern ox has been selected, bred, and fed from 400 pounds or less to 1200 pounds or more; that sheep, which once yielded a pound of wool precariously, now produce seven or nine pounds; that the powerful cart horse has taken the place of the wretched and stunted pony of the old English breed. . . . I know that many of our fellow-countrymen have exchanged squalid habitations and uncleanly practices for houses built by the newest lights of sanitary science and for fastidious cleanliness. I am alive to the fact that what were once the luxuries of the very few have now become the habitual comforts of the many, and that enterprise has scoured the earth to make these and newer luxuries abundant and cheap. I know that owing to the spread of knowledge, the adaptation of industry, the energy of invention, and the extension of trade, the population of England and Wales is tenfold what it was six centuries ago, that trim gardens, magnificent mansions, noble parks, rows of banks and houses, vast and splendid cities, occupy sites which were covered by squalid hovels or frequented by wild boars, curlews and bitterns, or were marsh fens and wild moors. I can see, without being reminded, that the most lofty and subtle, those of literature, are now common and profuse, and that the world of civilization is so strong that there seems no possible danger of its becoming destroyed by a new incursion of barbarians, not even of those barbarians whom it creates. The inhabitants of this country, at least those whom the historian and politician think worth instructing and consulting, enjoy the refined pleasure of criticising and, as many of them believe, conducting in no small degree the affairs of their own country and even of other peoples. . . .

I do not need to be told that the wealth of London is such, that a single block of buildings pays a higher rent to its fortunate owner than was derived from the whole customs of the port in the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors, that in a few hours a loan could be raised in London sufficient to equip and provision an army more numerous than all the men at arms were in medieval Europe, and this probably without deranging the course of trade or materially interfering with the functions of credit. And I suspect that when we are invited to consider all these things and more of the same nature, as the prodigious strength of modern governments, the boundless resources of modern societies, the priceless collections of art and letters, the ceaseless activities of enterprise and the ever-increasing discrepancies of science, it is fancied that a complete answer is given to those who entertain misgivings because they believe there is a reverse to the picture, another side to the shield, which these triumphant eulogies on modern progress would have us conceal or forget. . . .

It may be that the progress of some has been more than counterbalanced by the distresses and sorrows of many, that the opulence and strength of modern times mock the poverty and misery which are bound up with and surround them. . . . It may be well the case, and there is every reason to fear it is the case, that there is collected a population in our great towns which equals in amount the whole of those who lived in England and Wales six centuries ago, but whose condition is more destitute, whose homes are more squalid, whose means are more uncertain, whose prospects are more hopeless than those of the poorest serfs of the middle ages and the meanest drudges of the medieval cities."

In another passage (*idem*, chap. xix.) he thus sums up the economic history of the English laborer in the following words:

"I have shown that from the earliest recorded annals, through nearly three centuries the condition of the English laborer was that of plenty and hope; that

Progress.

Reverse Picture.

from perfectly intelligible cause it sunk within a century to so low a level as to make the workmen practically helpless, and that the lowest point was reached just about the outbreak of the great war between King and Parliament. From this time it gradually improved, till in the first half of the eighteenth century, it still far below the level of the fifteenth, it achieved comparative plenty. Then it began to sink again, and the workman experienced the direst misery during the great continental war. Latterly, almost within our own memory and knowledge, it has experienced a slow and partial improvement, the causes of which are to be found in the liberation of industry from protective laws, in the adoption of certain principles which restrained employment in some directions, and most of all in the concession to laborers of the right so long denied of forming labor partnership."

Some still more pointed passages from Mr. Rogers's work are as follows :

"I am convinced that at no period of English history for which authentic records exist was the condition of manual labor worse than it was in the 40 years from 1782 to 1824, the period in which manufacturers and merchants accumulated fortune rapidly, and in which the rent of agricultural labor was doubled" (chap. ii.). "I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessaries of life" (chap. xii.). "The mass of English workmen are far better off now than they were 10 generations ago; the population has greatly increased. But relatively speaking, the working man is not so well off as he was in the fifteenth century, when the population was not one tenth of what it is now" (chap. xii.). "I contend that from 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy, concocted by the

Conspiracy.

law, and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him into irremediable poverty" (chap. xiv.). "We have been able to trace the process by which the condition of English labor had been continuously deteriorated by the acts of government. It was first impoverished by the issue of base money. Next it was robbed of its guild capital by the land thieves of Edward's regency. It was next brought in contact with a new and more needy set of employers, the sheep masters, who succeeded the monks. It was then with a pretense, and perhaps with the intention of kindness, subjected to the quarter sessions amendment, mercilessly used in the first half of the seventeenth century, the agricultural laborer being still further impoverished by being made the residuum of all labor. The agricultural laborer was then further mulcted by inclosures, and the extinction of those memorial rights of pasture and fuel which he had enjoyed so long. The poor law professed to find him work, but was so administered that the reduction of his wages to a bare subsistence became an easy process and an economical expedient" (chap. xvii.). "Some of the working classes in London, and those who have been long educated in the machinery of labor partnership, have at last regained the relative rate of wages which they earned in the fifteenth century, tho perhaps in some particulars the recovery is not complete" (chap. xix.). "I make no doubt the ordinary hardships of human life in England were greater and, I am sure, they were more general six centuries ago than they are now. Life was briefer, old age came earlier, disease was more deadly, the risks of existence were more numerous. But the extremes of wealth and poverty were by the fact of these common conditions less widely separated. Above all things,

Grinding Poverty.

what is now characteristic of human life, that one half of the world does not know how the other half lives, a very moderate statement of the fact, was not true of the early ages of English progress. . . . The grinding, hopeless poverty under which existence may be just continued, but when nothing is won beyond bare existence did not, I am convinced, characterize or even belong to medieval life. That men died from want I can believe, but I do not think that they lived and died by inches, so to speak. There were many means by which occasional distress was relieved" (chap. xv.). "I do not imagine that the present privileges and allowances of laborers in husbandry are to be reckoned as spontaneous acts of generosity on the part of employers, in whom I have never seen any such tendency, but simply as the curtailed and by no means equivalent sur-

vivals of much larger and more solid advantages, which could not, perhaps, with safety be suddenly and entirely extinguished. It is probable, too, that the wages of labor were far more continuous in agricultural operations than they are now. . . . The wages of ordinary agricultural labor earned by women are not more than a third of the amount which they were four centuries ago" (chap. xix.).

After all these quotations it is impossible to deny that there is some ground for the socialist question, whether the laborer is better off today than of old. It is true that it is fashionable in certain quarters to question Mr. Rogers' authority; but, in the first place, Mr. Rogers' assertions are based on the study of thousands of accounts as to prices actually paid and wages actually received, preserved in the musty archives of English libraries and written without the slightest thought of what use they would be put to. Mr. Rogers, too, commenced his study of them with views contrary to those that later study compelled him to adopt. Secondly, Mr. Rogers is not alone in this view. Mr. Newmarch, in his *History of Prices*, comes to substantially the same conclusions, and most of them can be supported from Hallam's and other histories of the Middle Ages. (See also WEALTH; WOMAN'S WAGES.)

References: *Historical Review of Wages and Prices, 1752 to 1860*, by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor; *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, by Carroll D. Wright; *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*, by C. B. Spahr (1896); *Statistical Statements by Dr. Robert Giffen of the British Board of Trade; Reports of the British Board of Trade Foreign Reports of the Royal (British) Commission on Labor*.

WAGES OF SUPERINTENDENCE.—

It is often forgotten that the employers of labor usually, tho not always, do important work themselves. They furnish to an industry the most important work of superintendence, of planning the work, of obtaining the raw material, of providing the plant and machinery—in a word, of managing the business. This work is almost always of the extremest importance. Especially under sharp competition, management is sometimes nine tenths of the element of success. It demands usually large and varied talents, concentration of thought, attention to small details, and yet ability to run the business as a whole. It demands long hours and continuous responsibility. The employee who works even long hours, when his hours are over is free. The employer is often never free. He sometimes works all day and worries all night. His work, therefore, is often long and exacting, as well as of the utmost importance. He is, as such, a skilled wage-worker, and what he earns as such (not as a mere capitalist, but as performing the work of superintendence) is money earned by hard labor, and may be, as it is often, called the wages of superintendence. It is often high wages, but even so is often wholly earned. Socialists do not object to wages of superintendence. They recognize the importance of superintendence and its value in production, only they would have it performed for the community and not for private stockholders. The very same men, they say, who do such work to-day for private firms could do it under socialism for the people, as, indeed, does occur when a railroad goes into the hands of a receiver.

WAGNER, ADOLF HENRI GOTTHILF, was born at Erlangen in 1835. Studying at the University of Heidelberg, he became in 1858 professor in the Commercial College of Vienna, and then at Hamburg, Dorpat, Freiburg, and since 1870 at Berlin. He is prominent as a leader in the historical school of Germany, and particularly as a Socialist of the Chair (*q.v.*), and a sympathizer with German Christian Socialism (*q.v.*). He is best known for his studies in finance and his general economic treatise. Among his works are: *Die Geld und Kredit theorie der Peelschen Bankacte* (1862); *System der deutschen Zettelbank-Gesetzgebung* (1873); *Lehrbuch der polit. Oekonomie* (1872). (See **POLITICAL ECONOMY**.)

WALKER, AMASA, was born in Woodstock, Conn., in 1799. Educated in public schools, he became a merchant in Boston in 1825, and gained prominence in the construction of the early railroads, and also in the anti-slavery and temperance reforms. He was Professor of Political Economy in Oberlin College, Oberlin, O., 1842-49; in the Massachusetts Legislature, as a member of the House in 1848, and of the Senate in 1849; Secretary of State, 1851-52. He was in Congress 1862-63, and Lecturer on Political Economy at Amherst College, 1861-66. He died at North Brookfield in 1875. His most important work was *The Science of Wealth* (1866).

WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA, son of Amasa Walker (*q.v.*), was born in Boston, in 1840, and graduated at Amherst College in 1860. He studied law at Worcester, but entered the army in 1861 as sergeant-major. He was constantly promoted, and became brevet brigadier-general in 1865. He was wounded at Chancellorsville, was captured at Ream's Station, and confined at Libby Prison, where his health became shattered. After the war he was teacher at Williston Seminary, 1865-68; editor of the *Springfield Republican*, 1868-69; chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department at Washington, 1869; Superintendent of the ninth United States Census, 1870; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871-72; Professor of Political Economy and History in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, 1872; Superintendent of the tenth United States Census, 1880; and President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, 1881, which position he held till his death in 1896. His main writings have been *The Wages Question* (1876); *Money* (1878); *Political Economy* (1883); *Land and its Rent* (1883); *The Making of a Nation* (1895); *International Bimetallism* (1896). He is best known in economics as the main originator of the theory that wages depend upon production, for his Ricardian views of rent, and his advocacy of international bimetallism. He is considered by many, like Dr. Ingram (see **POLITICAL ECONOMY**), as among the ablest of American economists.

WALKING DELEGATE, THE, is the paid secretary of a trade-union. His duties usually are to pay out the sick and out-of-work benefits of the union; to see that they are only

paid to those really entitled to them; to visit the sick members; to care for the burial of members who have died; to try and secure work for members out of work (thus often having an office and acting as an employment bureau); to investigate troubles between members and employers; to try and secure redress from the employers if the case is found to need it; to report to the union if the employer will not grant redress—to advise the union whether or not it is advisable to strike; if the union votes to strike, to give the signal to the members when to strike and to take charge of the strike.

It is this last duty which has made the name of the walking delegate so unpopular with employers. They see him give the signal to strike; at his signal they see their men lay down their work; the walking delegate visits the employer to represent the men; the employer not unnaturally thinks that the walking delegate, who appears to be, and often is, the leader of the union; is the person who has stirred up the evil, and that at his *order* his men have struck. He therefore thinks that his men are under the tyranny or at least the influence of this "paid agitator," and lays at his door most of the evil of the strike.

As a matter of fact, in no trade-union is a walking delegate ever allowed to order a strike. He is always the servant of the union, usually poorly paid, and can only give a signal when the union has voted to strike—never an order. English and American trade-unionists are singularly democratic and jealous of authority. They never put themselves under a walking delegate.

Employers too often resent dealing with their men through a walking delegate; they say that they wish to deal with their men directly. They forget that any body of men has unquestioned right to deal through a representative. Corporations continually do so. Trade-unions do so because they have learned that an employee dependent upon an employer cannot face the employer as can a walking delegate who is independent of the employer. Hence the need and justice of employing a walking delegate to conduct such negotiations. The walking delegate's main duty, however, is to care for the sick and out-of-work. Strikes come but rarely; the sick and needy are always present.

Dr. Rainsford, of New York City, says concerning walking delegates:

"I believe the labor leaders in the United States, taking them all in all, are just as good as the leaders in law or finance or society or politics. . . . I know a man who for years in this country has occupied one of the first positions as a labor leader. No word is too bad to be said about him by most of the press and some of the colleges; and I know, as a matter of fact, that the man, with a large family of children, never drew but one half his salary during the whole time he held office, and put the other half back into the treasury of his organization. I know a man who, if my judgment amounts to anything, is one of the ablest men in the United States—a man who has great powers of tongue and great powers of organization, and a true, whole-souled man, and altho, alas! he is outside the Christian Church, I venture to say, a large, whole-souled Christian, too. That man is at the head of an enormous federation in this country, and has never taken but two dollars and fifty cents a day, which is due to him from his trade, and he has never taken even his two dollars and fifty cents a day except when he was engaged in the active business of his federation; and when he has not been engaged in their

business he has worked at his trade like anybody else. And I will tell you that this winter, with an old mother to support, that man walked the streets in the cold for three long weeks to get work (and there is no better workman at his trade), because boss after boss said 'Mr. So and So, you are upholding labor unionism, and we won't give you work.' That man walked for three weeks before he could get a job for two dollars and a half a day, rather than give in and surrender his principles. I say that if our Lord and King were back on the earth, I believe from my soul that those men would be in His train."

WALLACE, ALFRED RUSSEL, was born at Usk, in Monmouthshire, in 1822. In 1848 he visited the Amazon River, and in 1854-62 the Malaysian Islands. He corresponded with Darwin as early as 1858, stating principles of natural selection. His first book on *Evolution* was published in 1870. He has since written other books, and *Darwinism* in 1889. He early became interested in social questions, and in 1882 published his able and radical book on *Land Nationalization*. He has recently avowed himself a full socialist.

WALLACE, J. BRUCE, was born in India, in 1853, his father being a missionary there of the Presbyterian Church. He was educated in Europe and at Queen's University, Ireland, entering the Congregational ministry in 1878. In 1885 he renounced the regular ministry to devote himself to Christian Socialism, and in 1887 began to publish a paper, *Brotherhood*, in Ireland. In 1891 he settled in London, and published *Brotherhood* there. In 1892 he became pastor of the South Road Church (now "The Brotherhood Church"). In January, 1894, with others, he organized "The Brotherhood Trust" (*q.v.*).

WAR.—(See ARMY AND NAVY; INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION, for their respective subjects.) We give here some statistics of the size of armies and the cost and destructiveness of wars. Ancient armies were not usually so large, costly or destructive as modern armies, though probably far more destruction of life took place in ancient days as the result of war than in modern days, because warfare was far more constant, and because the very cost and destructiveness of modern methods and engines of war have made the wars more difficult to commence or sustain. Reliable statistics of the size of ancient armies do not exist.

According to Herodotus, the army of Sesostris consisted of 200,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, 2700 war chariots. This is probably, however, an exaggeration. At Platæa the Persians are said to have brought into the field 300,000 men, besides 100,000 at Mycale the same day. The victorious Greeks were of course comparatively but a handful. Darius had, according to Quirites, 600,000 infantry, but this is almost certainly a gross exaggeration. Alexander at Arbela is said to have had 60,000 fighting men. Hannibal, in warring with Rome, had 100,000 men, counting all Carthaginian forces in Africa, Spain and Italy. Rome in the second Punic war had 100,000 men. Under the empire, the Roman legions were vastly multiplied, but scattered over the empire, from Britain to Syria, and from Spain to the Danube. The armies in one war were not usually very large.

The Middle Ages saw constant battling rather than large armies. The army of Napoleon at the time of the Russian campaign was one of the largest of the world, counting in all 1,200,000 men, tho of these only 850,000 were actually in the field.

Of the cost and destructiveness of wars in the

present century, Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics* (1892) gives the following figures :

	Cost in Millions of Dollars.	Loss of Life.
England and France, 1793-1815.....	\$6,250	1,900,000
England, France and Russia, 1854-56.....	1,525	485,000
United States (Civil), 1863-65.....	3,700	656,000
France and Germany, 1870-71.....	1,580	290,000
Russia and Turkey, 1876-77.....	950	180,000

The cost in millions of dollars and loss *per year* in these wars were :

	Cost in Millions of Dollars.	Loss of Life.
England and France.....	\$272	82,635
England, France and Russia.....	508	161,667
United States (Civil).....	1,233	218,666
France and Germany.....	790	145,000
Russia and Turkey.....	475	90,000

According to these figures, the Civil War of the Rebellion was *per year* the costliest and most destructive war of modern times, and probably of all times. In absolute cost and destructiveness it was only exceeded by the wars between England and France, which lasted 22 years.

The War of the Revolution is said to have cost about \$135,000,000. About 300,000 American troops were engaged at various times during the war, of which 130,000 were regulars. When Washington took command he had 14,500 men, and estimated the British at 11,000, which was soon increased, however, to 25,000. Later, General Burgoyne led 8000 from Canada and 1000 Indians. The British forces were largely Hessian mercenaries, for which the German princes were paid some \$850 per head; 7000 French aided the Americans. In the War of 1812, the United States had in all branches of the service 576,622 men; in the war with Mexico, 112,230.

In the Civil War, the Northern troops engaged at any time in the war numbered 2,772,408. The Confederate troops are estimated at a total of 600,000 or 700,000. The Northern loss by deaths in field, hospital, or elsewhere was 349,944, or about 13 per cent. The Confederate total loss by death was about 350,000, or some 50 per cent. At Gettysburg (3 days) the Northern troops killed were 3070; the killed, wounded and missing were 23,000. At Spottsylvania (11 days) the corresponding numbers were 2725 and 18,395; at the Wilderness (3 days), 2246 and 17,666; at Antietam (1 day), 2108 and 12,410. Gettysburg was thus the greatest battle and Antietam the bloodiest. The Confederate troops lost at the Seven Days' Battle in Virginia 3478, and killed, wounded, captured, or missing, 20,614. At Antietam (in 9 days) the corresponding figures were 1886 and 12,601; at Gettysburg, 2502 and 20,448; at Chickamauga, 2268 and 116,971. The United States Ordnance Department served out during the war 7892 cannon, 4,022,000 rifles, 12,000 tons of powder, and 1,022,000,000 cartridges. If all the Confederate loss was due to cartridges, only 1 cartridge in about 3000 killed. In the Crimean War according to Mulhall, 97,860 British, 309,490 French, and 165,000 Turks took the field against 888,000 Russians. The British lost 22,182, or 22½ per cent.; the French, 95,615, or 31 per cent.; the Turks, 45,400, or 27 per cent.; the Russians, 446,600, or 50 per cent. In the Franco-German War, 710,000 French took the field, and lost 138,770, or some 20 per cent.; 1,003,000 Germans fought and lost 447,751, or little over 4 per cent.

United States Wars.

Other Wars.

WARD, LESTER FRANK, was born at Joliet, Ill., in 1841. He attended various schools, served in the Civil War, graduated at Columbian University in Washington in 1869. He has been chief of the navigation division and librarian of the United States Bureau of Statistics; chief of paleobotany for the United States Geological Survey, and honorary curator of fossil plants in the national museum. His scientific papers number over 400. His two works on sociology, *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) and *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1893) are among the most learned contributions to that science. (See SOCIOLOGY.)

WARREN, JOSIAH, was born near Boston, in 1799. Of unusually thoughtful disposition, tho without great advantages, when Robert Owen founded the community of New Harmony (*q.v.*) Warren became interested and joined it. Its failure set him to thinking. He came to the conclusion that in the community the individual had been made too little of, and that the need was not more socialism, but more individualization. He concluded, secondly, that cost was the true basis of price. (See VALUE.)

This was about 1827. Warren then determined to test the cost theory, and he started a store in Cincinnati, which he conducted for two years, doing business to the amount of \$150,000. For the details, see Warren's *Practical Details of Equitable Commerce* (now out of print). Business was not centralized as now, and the retailer realized large profits. Warren marked his goods with the cost and added 7 per cent. for rent, fuel, etc., exclusive of the labor of himself and the employees. This 7 per cent. was carefully computed, and was invariable, but it allowed no profit. A clock was kept in the store, and every customer was timed and charged so much an hour for the time of the salesman. The charge for time was reduced with the increase of business. Finally Warren issued his own money in the shape of labor notes, which he exchanged for the labor notes of his customers. His notes became a popular circulating medium.

The experiment satisfied him, and he closed his store, and later published his principal work, *True Civilization* (1846). Warren set the type for it himself.

Warren next went to Ohio and started a community based on his ideas. He converted Stephen Pearl Andrews (*q.v.*). Later he founded Modern Times, a community on Long Island, but neither community prospered. He then lived a sort of hermit life, partly in Princeton, Mass., and died at Charlestown in 1874. He is considered by the philosophical anarchists, as with Proudhon, the founder of their system of thought. (See ANARCHISM.)

WASHINGTONIAN MOVEMENT.—This celebrated moral suasion crusade had its origin in the reformation of a Baltimore drinking club of six men—W. K. Mitchell, a tailor; J. F. Hoss, a carpenter; David Anderson and George Steers, blacksmiths; James McCurley, a coachmaker, and Archibald Campbell, a silversmith. They were induced to change their habits by the address of a temperance lecturer,

and signed the following pledge (April 6, 1840): "We, whose names are annexed, desirous of forming a society for our mutual benefit, and to guard against a practice—a pernicious practice—which is injurious to our health, standing, and families, do pledge ourselves, as gentlemen, that we will not drink any spirits or malt liquors, wine, or cider."

They took the name of "The Washington Temperance Society," and were familiarly known as "Washingtonians." By the end of 1840 this Baltimore organization had 700 members; and under the leadership of John H. W. Hawkins, the most prominent Washingtonian agitator, the crusade spread to other cities and States. Its force was spent by 1843, but the energy developed by it was of great and lasting benefit to the general temperance cause.

WATERED STOCK. See STOCK WATERING.

WATER-WORKS, MUNICIPAL, are almost the only instance in which the United States is in advance of Europe in adopting the principle of public ownership. The first water-works in the United States were built at Boston in 1652 by the Water-Works Company. The second were built at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1761. By 1800 there were 16, only one being owned by the public. In 1890, of the 1878 works in the United States, 806, or 43 per cent., were owned by cities.

The average rates charged private consumers by 430 companies, as shown by the *Manual of American Water-Works* for 1889-90, were 43 per cent. higher than those charged by 318 cities for the same service. Many of these water-works are very profitable.

For New York City, Mayor Strong, in his message concerning the Department of Public Works (1897), makes the following report from the Bureau of Water-Register:

"For the first time in the history of the city the revenue collected last year from water rents was more than enough to reimburse the city for the entire outlay of the Department of Public Works, which is taken from taxation. To express it in another way, our water rents paid for road pavements, street lighting, care of and repairs to the entire water system, care of and repairs to public buildings, salaries, wages, and all other administrative expenses."

The report of the Water Department of Chicago for 1897 shows that the receipts were \$3,226,000 and the operating expenses, \$285,000, leaving net earnings of \$2,941,000. The investment in the Chicago Water-Works, according to the New York *Sun*, was \$28,000,000, so that, besides interest on bonds for this amount, the net profits are \$1,500,000. The public also receives free water in its parks, streets, and public buildings. (For water-works in Europe, see articles BERLIN; BIRMINGHAM; GLASGOW; LONDON; PARIS.)

WAYLAND, FRANCIS, was born in New York in 1796, and graduated at Union College in 1813. He studied medicine, but later entered the Baptist ministry. He was tutor at Union College, 1817-21; pastor of the First Baptist

Church in Boston, 1821-26; President of Brown University, 1827. He died in 1865. His sociological writings are: *Elements of Moral Science* (1835); *Elements of Political Economy* (1837).

WEALTH.—We consider this subject under four heads: I. Definitions; II. Statistics of Wealth; III. The Concentration of Wealth; IV. Is the Concentration of Wealth Increasing or Decreasing?

I. DEFINITIONS.

Wealth is usually defined in economic science as "useful or agreeable things which possess exchangeable value" (Mill). Of this definition Mill says (*Political Economy*, "Preliminary Remarks"):

"Things for which nothing could be obtained in exchange, however useful or necessary they may be, are not wealth in the sense in which the term is used in political economy. Air, for example, tho the most absolute of necessaries, bears no price in the market, because it can be obtained gratuitously; to accumulate a stock of it would yield no profit or advantage to any one; and the laws of its production and distribution are the subject of a very different study from political economy. But tho air is not wealth, mankind are much richer by obtaining it gratis, since the time and labor which would otherwise be required for supplying the most pressing of all wants can be devoted to other purposes. It is possible to imagine circumstances in which air would be a part of wealth."

Senior's definition of wealth, quoted by Jevons (*Theory of Political Economy*, p. 175), is the same, that wealth consists of "those things and those things only which are transferable, are limited in supply, and are directly or indirectly productive of pleasure or preventive of pain."

On the other hand, many reform writers identify wealth with well-being on the ground that it is impossible to divorce immaterial factors from material factors, and still be true to the facts of life. John Ruskin, *e.g.*, argues that no article is useful except to those who can use it. Hence he says:

"Wealth, therefore, is 'the possession of the valuable by the valiant'; and in considering it as a power

existing in a nation, the two elements, the value of the thing and the valor of its possessor, must be estimated together. Whence it appears that many of the persons commonly considered wealthy are in reality no more wealthy than the locks of their own strong boxes are, they being inherently and eternally incapable of wealth, and operating for the nation, in an economical point of view, either as pools of dead water and eddies in a stream (which, so long as the stream flows, are useless, or serve only to drown people, but may become of importance in a state of stagnation, should the stream dry); or else as dams in a river, of which the ultimate service depends not on the dam, but the miller; or else as mere accidental stays and impediments, acting not as wealth, but (for we ought to have a corresponding term) as 'illth,' causing various devastation and trouble around them in all directions; or lastly, act not at all, but are merely animated conditions of delay (no use being possible of anything they have until they are dead), in which last condition they are nevertheless often useful *as* delays and 'impedimenta,' if a nation is apt to move too fast."

Some writers on reform distinguish between riches and wealth. Says G. Bernard Shaw in the *Fabian Essays*:

"It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally impossible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in the country annually is mounting perhaps by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of an excessive purchasing power, in the hands of a class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets them offering a price for luxuries. The moment a price is to be had for a luxury, it acquires exchange value, and labor is employed to produce it. A New York lady, for instance, having a nature of exquisite sensibility, orders an elegant rosewood and silver coffin, upholstered in pink satin, for her dead dog. It is made; and meanwhile a live child is prowling barefooted and hunger-stunted in a frozen gutter outside. The exchange-value of the coffin is counted as part of the national wealth; but a nation which cannot afford food and clothing for its children cannot be allowed to pass as wealthy because it has provided a pretty coffin for a dead dog."

II. STATISTICS OF WEALTH.

The census valuation of real and personal property in the United States (Alaska excluded) in 1890 was as follows:

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total.	Real Estate with Improvements Thereon.	Live Stock on Farms, Farm Implements and Machinery.	Mines and Quarries, including Product on Hand.	Gold and Silver, Coin and Bullion.
The United States.....	\$65,037,091,197	\$39,544,544,333	\$2,703,015,040	\$1,291,291,579	\$1,158,774,948
North Atlantic Division.....	\$21,435,491,864	\$13,995,274,364	\$430,770,756	\$424,071,494	\$390,431,535
South Atlantic Division.....	5,132,980,666	2,923,418,932	108,075,819	61,415,252	140,731,530
North Central Division.....	25,255,915,549	15,125,481,180	1,447,471,577	220,544,444	387,040,555
South Central Division.....	6,401,281,019	3,538,805,433	499,372,600	40,915,904	170,393,078
Western Division.....	6,811,422,099	4,051,564,424	217,324,288	544,343,485	70,176,250

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total.	Machinery of Mills and Product on Hand, Raw and Manufactured	Railroads and Equipments, including Street Railroads.	Telegraphs, Telephones, Shipping, and Canals.	Miscellaneous.
The United States.....	\$65,037,091,197	\$3,058,593,441	\$8,685,407,323	\$791,755,712	\$7,893,708,821
North Atlantic Division.....	\$21,435,491,864	\$1,739,752,192	\$1,445,910,383	\$351,283,023	\$2,747,968,117
South Atlantic Division.....	5,132,980,666	180,991,025	943,510,336	76,132,083	608,705,689
North Central Division.....	25,255,915,549	873,977,334	3,937,237,117	160,425,950	3,103,737,392
South Central Division.....	6,401,281,019	138,558,243	1,288,746,449	53,994,196	760,494,116
Western Division.....	6,811,422,099	125,314,647	1,070,003,038	59,920,460	672,773,507

The following estimate of the nation's income on *The Present Distribution of Wealth of the United States* (1896):

NATIONAL INCOME, 1890.

INDUSTRY.	Number Engaged.	Method of Reckoning Income.	Wages.	Profits.	Total Income.
Agriculture	8,497,000	Includes \$140,000,000 house rent* ..	.....	.....	\$2,600,000,000
Mines	359,000	Wages at \$370 (official estimate for coal miners); profits, etc., 60 per cent. of wages, as in 1880†.	\$130,000,000	\$80,000,000	210,000,000
Manufactures and mechanical trades.....	5,091,000 (4,659,000 Wage Earners)	Wages, \$360; profits, etc., two thirds, as in Massachusetts‡.....	1,674,000,000	1,116,000,000	2,790,000,000
Railroads.....	462,000	Net profits official, wages, etc., same per cent. as in 1880.....	300,000,000	331,000,000	630,000,000
Others in trade or transportation.....	2,863,000	Net product the same per head, as in manufactures. ....	.....	.....	1,570,000,000
Teachers.....	342,000	Wages at \$250 (official estimate 1889, \$230 for public schools)§ ....	.....	.....	86,000,000
Ministers	88,000	Salaries at \$900; official estimate for Methodist Church, North, \$843 + \$53 fees|| .....	.....	.....	80,000,000
Physicians and lawyers.	195,000	Earnings one third more than ministers, or \$1,200¶.....	.....	.....	234,000,000
Other professions	320,000	Earnings at \$800 .....	.....	.....	260,000,000
Servants and laborers..	3,357,000	Wages at \$200 .....	.....	.....	670,000,000
All others.....	1,172,000	Earnings at \$400 .....	.....	.....	470,000,000
Urban real estate (excluding stores and factories).....		Six and two thirds per cent. on estimated value**.....	.....	.....	1,200,000,000
	22,735,000				\$10,800,000,000

* In agriculture the cost of seed, fertilizers, etc., and the expenses for stock and implements, are offset by fuel and betterments.

† It is true that miners' wages are not net. (The Iowa Labor Report for 1890-1891 estimates the cost of powder, smithing, and oil at about one-fifth of nominal wages.) Nevertheless, the average wages of coal-miners are exceptionally low.

‡ In the building trades, wages are much higher than in manufactures, but profits are much less. The net product per hand is about the same.

§ Teachers' wages are often for a very few months' employment.

¶ Ministers' salaries in the Congregational Church average \$1047. Nevertheless, in the great denominations, especially those strong in the South and among the negroes, salaries are very much lower.

** Physicians' incomes are estimated somewhat higher than this by Dr. George F. Shrady (*Forum*, 1894), who makes \$1200 the average outside the cities. It seems probable, however, that Dr. Shrady had in mind only the East and North.

** From the value of non-agricultural real estate (\$26,000,000,000) must be subtracted about \$2,650,000,000 for factories and shops, as much more for stores, and a third sum of nearly equal magnitude for untaxed property—chiefly public. The total income from house and office rents, as estimated in the text, is one seventh of the total income of the non-agricultural population.

FOREIGN HOLDINGS OF AMERICAN WEALTH.

Respecting the foreign holdings of American wealth, the most careful estimate, perhaps, is that made by M. Georges Martin, and published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of Paris*, April, 1891. It relates only to the securities quoted on European exchanges; but such securities represent the great body of American property held abroad. The estimate is briefly as follows:

222 SECURITIES QUOTED EXCLUSIVELY IN EUROPE.

Aggregate Value.	Europe's Share of Principal.	Europe's Share of Interest.
\$694,000,000	\$694,000,000	\$34,700,000

267 SECURITIES QUOTED ALSO IN AMERICA. STOCKS AND BONDS, INCLUDING STATE BONDS.

Aggregate Value.	Europe's Share of Principal.	Europe's Share of Interest.
\$3,238,000,000	\$1,079,000,000 (min.)	\$54,000,000
	to \$1,619,000,000 (max.)	to \$81,000,000

FEDERAL BONDS.

Aggregate Value.	Europe's Share of Principal.	Europe's Share of Interest.
\$735,000,000	\$73,500,000	\$3,000,000

AGGREGATE PRINCIPAL	AGGREGATE INTEREST.
From \$1,846,000,000	From \$91,700,000
To \$2,386,000,000	To \$118,700,000

THE MINIMUM DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1890.

Estimate of Mr. George K. Holmes, the head of the Bureau of Mortgages (*Political Science Quarterly*, 1893):

Railroad companies (funded debt).....	\$4,631,473,184
Street railway companies (funded debt)..	151,872,289
Telephone companies (funded debt)....	4,992,565
Telegraph, public water, gas, electric lighting and power companies (estimated).....	200,000,000
Other quasi-public corporations (to make round total).....	11,661,962
Total debt of quasi-public corporations.....	\$5,000,000,000

Real estate mortgages (estimated).....	\$6,000,000,000
Crop liens in the South (estimated).....	350,000,000
Chattel mortgages (estimated).....	300,000,000
National banks (loans and overdrafts)....	1,986,058,320
Other banks (loans and overdrafts, not including real estate mortgages).....	1,172,918,415
Other private debts (to make round total)	1,191,023,265

United States.....	\$891,960,104
States.....	228,997,389
Counties.....	145,048,045
Municipalities.....	724,463,060
School districts.....	36,701,948

Total public debt (less sinking fund) \$2,027,170,546

Total debt of other private corporations and individuals.....\$11,000,000,000
Total private debt.....\$16,000,000,000

Grand total.....\$18,027,170,546

ESTIMATED WEALTH OF THE NATION—1825-97.

(In Millions of Dollars.)

Wealth from 1825 to 1870 estimated by the Director of the Mint, Report for 1881, p. 321; from 1870 to 1897, estimated by G. B. Waldron, in *Handbook of Currency and Wealth*, except for census years 1880 and 1890.

Year.	Wealth.	Year.	Wealth.	Year.	Wealth.	Year.	Wealth.	Year.	Wealth.
1825.....	3,273	1840.....	5,226	1855.....	11,488	1870.....	*26,460	1885.....	52,908
1826.....	3,377	1841.....	5,392	1856.....	12,396	1871.....	27,781	1886.....	55,138
1827.....	3,484	1842.....	5,593	1857.....	13,318	1872.....	29,164	1887.....	57,462
1828.....	3,594	1843.....	5,739	1858.....	14,252	1873.....	30,618	1888.....	59,883
1829.....	3,708	1844.....	5,922	1859.....	15,200	1874.....	32,145	1889.....	62,407
1830.....	3,825	1845.....	6,109	1860.....	16,160	1875.....	33,747	1890.....	65,037
1831.....	3,946	1846.....	6,302	1861.....	17,013	1876.....	35,430	1891.....	67,778
1832.....	4,071	1847.....	6,501	1862.....	17,906	1877.....	37,197	1892.....	70,636
1833.....	4,200	1848.....	6,707	1863.....	18,838	1878.....	39,051	1893.....	73,610
1834.....	4,333	1849.....	6,918	1864.....	19,809	1879.....	40,998	1894.....	76,713
1835.....	4,470	1850.....	7,136	1865.....	20,820	1880.....	43,082	1895.....	79,945
1836.....	4,612	1851.....	7,981	1866.....	21,869	1881.....	44,856	1896.....	83,315
1837.....	4,759	1852.....	8,838	1867.....	22,958	1882.....	46,746	1897.....	86,825
1838.....	4,900	1853.....	9,708	1868.....	24,086	1883.....	48,716		
1839.....	5,066	1854.....	10,591	1869.....	25,253	1884.....	50,769		

* On a gold basis.

In an article in *The North American Review* for June, 1895, Mr. M. G. Mulhall, the English statistician, gathers the following results from the census figures of the United States from 1850-90:

"If we would classify the whole wealth of the Union under two heads, urban and rural, the result at different dates would be as follows:

URBAN AND RURAL WEALTH OF THE NATION.

YEARS.	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Total.	Urban.	Rural.
1850.....	3,169	3,967	7,136	44.4	55.6
1860.....	8,180	7,980	16,160	50.6	49.4
1870.....	15,155	8,900	24,055	63.0	37.0
1880.....	31,538	12,104	43,642	72.2	27.8
1890.....	49,055	15,982	65,037	75.4	24.6

"In the table rural wealth is the aggregate of the value of lands, cattle, and implements at each census; the rest is urban. We find that rural agricultural wealth has only quadrupled in 40 years, while urban has multiplied sixteenfold. This would seem to point to the conclusion that farming has not been so profitable as commerce, manufactures, banking, railways, and other pursuits. But it is to be observed that in late years the increase of urban population has been much greater than that of rural, and that the number of hands engaged in agriculture is by no means comparable with that of persons engaged in city or town life. The following table shows the increase of wealth per head in the two great classes that make up the American people.

"Before 1860 the accumulation of wealth for each rural worker was much greater than that corresponding to persons of the urban classes. Between 1860 and 1870 the farming interests, especially in the Southern States, suffered so severely by reason of the war that the increase per head fell below \$18 yearly; but during the last 20 years the increment of rural wealth has been almost uniform at \$47 per head per annum of the number of rural workers. Looking back to 1870, we find that since that year the accumulation of wealth among urban workers has averaged over \$82 per annum, or 73 per cent. more than among rural workers, which suffices to explain the influx of population into towns and cities."

ANNUAL ACCUMULATIONS BY URBAN AND RURAL WORKERS.

PERIODS.	NUMBER OF WORKERS.			YEARLY ACCUMULATION, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.			PER WORKER, YEARLY.	
	Urban.	Rural.	Totals.	Urban.	Rural.	Totals.	Urban.	Totals.
1871-60.....	11,216,000	3,820,000	15,036,000	501	401	902	\$44.70	\$15.00
1861-70.....	14,462,000	5,133,000	19,595,000	698	92	790	48.30	17.90
1871-80.....	18,183,000	6,797,000	24,980,000	1,638	320	1,958	90.00	47.10
1881-90.....	23,905,000	8,215,000	32,120,000	1,752	388	2,140	73.30	47.30

Per Capita Wealth.

The total wealth of the United States as given by the census in round numbers is \$65,000,000,000, or about \$1000 per head, or, reckoning five to a family, \$5000 per family. The total income is reckoned by Dr. Spahr at \$10,800,000,000, or about \$421 for each person engaged in remunerative business, including men, women and children. For what men do earn, see article WAGES. Men's wages are usually above the average, if skilled, because women and unskilled laborers receive less.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The (English) *Fabian Tract*, No. 5, revised edition (1895), says :

"The annual income of the United Kingdom was estimated by the following authorities at from twelve to thirteen hundred million pounds sterling; or, the population in 1881 being nearly 35,000,000, about £35 per head, or £140 per adult man.* In 1840 it was about £20½, and in 1860, £26½ per head (Mr. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 245; Sir Louis Mallet, K.C.S.I. (India Office), 1883-84, *National Income and Taxation* (Cobden Club), p. 23, £1,280,000,000; Professor Leone Levi (King's College, London), *Times*, January 13, 1885, £1,274,000,000; Mr. R. Giffen (Board of Trade), *Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., pp. 460, 472 (1886), £1,270,000,000; Mr. Mulhall, 1892, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 320, income for 1889, £1,285,000,000; Professor A. Marshall (Cambridge University), *Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference*, p. 194 (January, 1885), upward of £1,125,000,000.

"Since these estimates were made the gross assessments to income tax have risen (1882-83 to 1892-93) by £99,345,041 (*Statistical Abstract*, C-7143, and *Inland Revenue Report*, 1892-94, C-7557). Allowing for a corresponding rise in the incomes not assessed and in the wages of manual labor, we may estimate the income for 1893-94 at not less than £1,450,000,000. The population has risen from 34,884,848 in 1881 to 37,731,915 in 1891.

"These figures (which are mainly computed from income-tax returns and estimated average rates of wages) mean that the price in money of the commodities and services produced in the country during the whole course of a year was about £152 per adult man.† Most of these commodities and services were used up within that period in maintaining the 37,000,000 inhabitants, and Mr. Giffen estimates that about £200,000,000 is 'saved' annually (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 107). The bulk of this 'saving' exists in the form of new railways, houses, roads, machinery, and other aids to future labor. . . .

(a) Rent.

"The total 'gross annual value' of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1892-93, was £202,710,218; the rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., amounted to £28,576,080 (*Inland Revenue Report*, 1893-94, C-7557). Many of these are far from being fully assessed, and the total 'rent' of the United Kingdom must, therefore, exceed two hundred and thirty millions sterling, or nearly one sixth of the total produce.

(b) Interest.

"The profits of public companies, foreign investments, railways, etc., assessed to income tax in the United Kingdom in 1892-3, amounted to £139,496,934. The interest payable from public funds (rates and taxes) was, in addition, £45,470,978 (*Inland Revenue Report*, 1893-94, C-7557).

* It has been assumed throughout that one person in every four is an adult male, and that there are, on an average, five persons to each family group.

† It may be observed that the estimated amount of "money" or currency in the country is about £130,000,000, or under £4 per head, including bank notes. Gold coin and bullion, between £80,000,000 and £100,000,000; silver and bronze, £15,000,000; bank notes, beyond gold reserves, £24,000,000 (W. S. Jevons, *Investigations in Currency and Finance*, p. 272; Report of Deputy-Master of the Mint, 1889; Mr. Goschen's Speech on Second Reading of the Coinage Act, 1891).

‡ In 1843 this total was (for Great Britain only) £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom), £124,871,885.

"That these amounts are understated may be inferred from Mr. Mulhall's estimate of the stocks, shares, bonds, etc., held in Great Britain alone, as being worth £2,655,000,000, producing an annual income of upward of £220,000,000 (*Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 106). Sir Louis Mallet estimates the English income from foreign investments alone at £100,000,000 annually (*National Income and Taxation* (Cobden Club), p. 13), and later returns show that this estimate must be increased by £20,000,000.* Nearly the whole of this vast income may be regarded as being received without any contemporary services rendered in return by the owners as such.

"We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with 'wages of superintendence' in business profit, both for the purpose of the income-tax returns and in ordinary speech. Mr. Giffen estimated it in 1884, apart from any earnings of personal service, at £80,000,000 (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 402). Allowing for the increase since then, the total amount of interest cannot therefore be less than £280,000,000.

"Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding section, we have a total of £510,000,000 for rent and interest together. This estimate receives support from the fact that the amount under these heads actually assessed for income tax was in 1892-93, £400,000,000 (*Inland Revenue Report*, C-7557). It has often been stated by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that large amounts of interest escape assessment, and it is well known that much is assessed under other heads.

(c) Profits and Salaries.

"It is convenient for statistical purposes to include under this head all those who do not belong to the 'manual-labor class.' If we take the 'rent of ability' to have increased in the same proportion as the assessments to income tax, this prosperous body may be estimated to receive for its work about £410,000,000 annually.

"Mr. R. Giffen, total income, less rent, interest, and wages of manual-labor class (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 404), £313,000,000; Professor A. Marshall, earnings of all above the manual-labor class (*Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference*, p. 194), £300,000,000; Mr. Mulhall, income of tradesmen class only (*Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 320), £244,000,000; Mr. R. Giffen, salaries of superintendence assessed to income tax alone (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 404), £180,000,000.

"The total drawn by the legal disposers of what are sometimes called the 'three rents' (on land, capital, and ability) amounts, therefore, at present to about nine hundred and twenty million pounds sterling yearly, or nearly two thirds of the total produce. The following estimates, framed some years ago, support this view: Mr. Giffen, *Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 467, £720,000,000; Mr. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 246, £818,000,000; Professor Leone Levi (King's College, London), *Times*, January 13, 1885, £753,000,000; Professor Alfred Marshall (Camb.), *Report on Industrial Remuneration Conference*, p. 194, £675,000,000.

"The manual-labor class receives, on the other hand, for all its millions of workers, only some five hundred and thirty millions sterling: Mr. Giffen, *Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 467, £550,000,000; Mr. Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 320, £467,000,000; Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. xlviii., p. 631, £600,000,000; Professor Leone Levi (as above), £521,000,000; Professor A. Marshall (as above), £500,000,000.† P.—Total produce, £1,450,000,000; W.—Income of manual-labor class, £530,000,000; income of the legal proprietors of the three natural monopolies of land, capital and ability, £920,000,000.‡

* See *Fabian Tract*, No. 7, "Capital and Land," p. 6.

† These estimates, which are based on average rates of wages, multiplied by the number of workers, assume, however, reasonable regularity of employment, and take no account of the fact that much of the total amount of nominal wages is reclaimed from the workers in the shape of ground rent. Much must, therefore, be deducted to obtain their real net remuneration.

‡ In this connection it may be mentioned that the total income of the charities of the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounts to £10,040,000, or little over 1 per cent. of the foregoing total. £2,040,000 of this, it may be added, is expended upon Bible societies alone (Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 112). The total cost of poor relief in 1891-92 was £10,815,030 (*Statistical Abstract*, C-7143).

ESTIMATED WEALTH OF THE LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD—1888.

Adapted from Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, 1892, page 589. English pounds converted into dollars at \$4.8665 per pound.

(All figures except the last column in millions of dollars.)

COUNTRIES.	Land.	Cattle, etc.	Houses.	Railways.	Other.	Total	Per Capita.
United Kingdom.....	7,514	2,015	11,796	4,210	20,210	45,745	\$1,202
France.....	13,081	2,633	8,293	2,774	15,061	41,842	1,090
Germany.....	8,833	2,395	5,996	2,490	11,693	31,326	681
Russia.....	7,334	4,151	3,411	1,528	8,342	24,766	268
Austria.....	6,672	1,879	2,438	1,494	6,277	18,760	482
Italy.....	5,752	1,085	1,917	672	4,993	14,419	487
Spain.....	4,788	1,040	1,655	457	4,298	12,244	720
Portugal.....	642	141	341	92	770	1,986	423
Sweden.....	1,168	321	389	136	1,086	3,100	608
Norway.....	487	121	83	34	448	1,183	594
Denmark.....	1,056	277	195	49	389	1,966	1,119
The Netherlands.....	1,528	321	642	170	2,108	4,760	1,025
Belgium.....	1,835	331	516	345	1,873	4,900	813
Switzerland.....	1,071	117	195	180	841	2,404	803
Roumania.....	1,236	336	243	141	930	2,886	535
Servia.....	457	136	97	29	337	1,056	526
Greece.....	672	205	97	29	457	1,460	788
Bulgaria.....	438	97	97	39	327	998	341
Turkey.....	1,363	277	195	79	974	2,886	584
Europe.....	65,027	17,894	38,596	14,867	81,412	218,696	\$633
United States.....	12,458	5,529	13,870	9,485	21,066	62,408	1,022
Canada.....	1,372	389	618	618	1,655	4,760	954
Argentine Republic.....	540	321	462	735	921	2,477	608
Australia.....	2,594	506	1,163	457	1,962	6,682	1,801
Cape Colony.....	122	83	83	88	281	657	633
Total.....	83,013	24,722	54,792	25,865	107,297	295,689	\$701

III. THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

(a) IN THE UNITED STATES.

An estimate of the distribution of the wealth in the United States was made by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman in the *Forum* for 1889 and for January, 1891. It was based on careful estimates of the wealth of the very wealthy, a list of which he gave, and estimates of the division of the remaining wealth of the country between the middle class and the poor, based on assessors' returns. Mr. Shearman came to the conclusion that 1.4 per cent. of the population own 70 per cent. of the wealth; 9.2 per cent. of the population own 12 per cent. of the wealth; and 89.4 per cent. of the population own only 18 per cent. of the wealth.

Mr. G. K. Holmes, expert on wealth statistics for the tenth census, follows the contrary method, and by estimating the wealth of the poor, arrives at the wealth of the rich. He finds that 0.3 per cent. of the people own 20 per cent. of the wealth; 3.97 per cent. of the people own 51 per cent. of the wealth; and 91 per cent. of the people own only 29 per cent. of the wealth.

The fact that Mr. Holmes is not a partisan, either of conservatism or radicalism, gives to his estimates an unwonted value. As published in the *Political Science Quarterly* and in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* they are in brief as follows:

Tenants of farms and homes...	7,871,099	\$2,837,049,500
Owners of mortgaged farms and homes worth less than \$5,000.....	1,483,356	2,614,955,764
Owners of free farms and homes worth less than \$5,000.....	3,078,077	10,946,616,952
Owners of farms and homes worth \$5,000 or over.....	1,257,620	48,600,000,000

A third estimate was made by Dr. Charles B. Spahr, based on returns from the clerks of the surrogate courts in New York State. As given by Dr. Spahr in his *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (1896), his conclusions are as follows:

FOR KINGS COUNTY (NEW YORK CITY)

	Number.	Realty.	Personality.	Total.
\$50,000 and over....	27	\$2,872,100	\$4,101,000	\$6,973,100
\$50,000 to \$5,000....	147	1,029,250	1,070,080	2,099,330
Under \$5,000.....	336	135,330	376,700	512,030
	510	\$4,036,680	\$5,547,780	\$9,584,460

THE UNITED STATES, 1890.

ESTATES.*	Number.	Aggregate Wealth.	Average Wealth.
The wealthy classes, \$50,000 and over....	125,000	\$33,000,000,000	\$264,000
The well-to-do classes, \$5,000 to \$50,000.....	1,375,000	23,000,000,000	16,000
The middle classes, \$500 to \$5,000.....	5,500,000	8,200,000,000	1,500
The poorer classes, under \$500.....	5,500,000	800,000,000	150
	12,500,000	\$65,000,000,000	\$5,200

The conclusion reached, therefore, is that less than half the families in America are property-

less ; nevertheless, seven eighths of the families hold but one eighth of the national wealth, while 1 per cent. of the families hold more than the remaining 99. Dr. Spahr adds :

“ Since the completion of this study, a volume has appeared that must set at rest all question as to extreme moderation of the estimates reached. Part II. of the Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894 publishes the inventoried probates for the entire State of Massachusetts during the three years 1880, 1890, and 1891. Altho the estates for which no inventories are filed are, as a rule, the largest, the following concentration of property is exhibited :

INVENTORIED ESTATES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1880-91.

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

“ In other words, the estates of \$50,000 and over aggregated 55 per cent. of the total amount of property ; while estates less than \$5000 aggregated but 11 per cent. of the total.”

As to the development of trusts, says Mr. G. B. Waldron (*A Handbook on Currency or Wealth*) :

“ Of the manufacturing and mechanical industries, whose statistics were returned in the census of 1890, there are 43 whose manufactured product for the year 1889 was above \$30,000,000, whose capital averaged above \$10,000 per establishment, and which admitted of comparison with the census of 1880. Of these 43 industries we have chosen 30 as especially illustrating the growing concentration of capital during the 10 years from 1880 to 1890. (See pp. 106 and 107.)

“ It is a significant fact that while in 1880 these industries were carried on by 84,708 establishments, or about 33 per cent. of the total number of manufacturing establishments of the country, the same industries in 1890 were carried on by only 69,659 establishments, or about 22 per cent. of the total establishments, and fewer in number by over 15,000 than in 1880.

“ The value of the total product of these 30 industries in 1880 was \$3,125,915,574, or 58 per cent. of the total manufacturing products of the country. In 1890 these same industries produced products to the value of \$4,595,804,626, or about 51 per cent. of the total product.

“ The concentration of capital in these 30 industries is shown from the fact that in 1880 their total capital was \$1,735,577,549, or an average of \$20,489 per establishment, while in 1890 their total capital reached \$3,468,277,249, or \$49,789 per establishment, a gain of 143 per cent. in 10 years. There has been a similar concentration of employees in these industries. In 1880 the 84,708 establishments used 1,340,400 employees, or an average of 16 to an establishment. In 1890 there were 1,964,232 employees in these industries, or an average of 28 to an establishment.”

(b) OTHER COUNTRIES.

(For Great Britain, see also Part II. of this article.) Dr. Spahr, however, in his *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*, gives much information as to the distribution of property in Great Britain and other countries.

After a careful analysis, he says :

“ The table, therefore, for the property-owners of the United Kingdom would divide the aggregate private wealth approximately as follows :

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

(United Kingdom, 1891.)

	Persons Owning.	Amount Owned.
Below £1,000.....	2,000,000	£300,000,000
£1,000 to £10,000.....	500,000	2,000,000,000
£10,000 and over.....	125,000	7,900,000,000
	2,625,000	£10,700,000,000

The number of property-owning families would be about one third less than the number of property-owners. There remain, therefore, nearly 6,000,000 families, or more than three fourths of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, without any registered property whatever. They have, indeed, their household goods, but the total value of these can hardly exceed £100,000,000. If we sum up, therefore, the results of our inquiry, we find that less than 2 per cent. of the families of the United Kingdom hold about three times as much private property as all the remainder, and that 93 per cent. of the people hold less than 8 per cent. of the accumulated wealth.”

Of incomes, he says (p. 79) :

“ The minimum concentration would be as follows :

UNITED KINGDOM in 1885.

INCOMES.	Number.	Aggregate.
£1,000 and over.....	130,000	£420,000,000
£1,000 to £100.....	1,400,000	290,000,000
Below £100.....	14,500,000	470,000,000
	16,030,000	£1,180,000,000

“ In brief, about 1 per cent. of those having incomes receive over 35 per cent. of the national income, while about 10 per cent. receive half as much again as the remaining 90.”

For Paris, Dr. Spahr gives a table based on one prepared by Leroy Beaulieu from reports of the taxes on rent.

In a condensed form the table stands thus :

Number of Incomes.	Classes of Incomes.	Amount of Incomes.	Percentage of No.	Percentage of Amt.
468,641	Below 2,400 f.	750,000,000 f.	68.4	24
156,590	2,400-7,500 f.	640,000,000 f.	22.8	20.46
44,853	7,500-32,000 f.	610,000,000 f.	6.5	19.54
14,868	Above 32,000 f.	1,125,000,000 f.	2.3	36
684,952		3,125,000,000 f.	100	100

“ In brief, the incomes above \$6000, tho numbering less than 2½ per cent. of all, aggregated more than one third of the total income of the city ; while incomes above \$1500, tho numbering less than 10 per cent. of all, aggregated more than one half of the total income.”

Of Germany, Dr. Spahr says (pp. 83, 84) :

“ In Germany the degree of concentration is less than in Great Britain or Paris, tho each decade and each reform in the method of assessing the income tax reveals greater concentration. A dispassionate statement of the change that has been going on was made by the

late Professor Roscher.* Between 1852 and 1873 the number of incomes in Prussia assessed between \$300 and \$750 increased 175.5 per cent.; the number assessed between \$900 and \$18,000 increased 470.6 per cent.; while the number assessed at more than \$40,000 increased 2200 per cent. This disproportionate increase of large incomes continues to the present day. Soetbeer's table of Prussian incomes for 1890 is shown to be obsolete, or worse, by the assessments for 1892-93. His estimates for the large incomes must be doubled to conform with the newer tax lists. From these it appears that a little over 1 per cent. of those receiving incomes hold more than 20 per cent. of the income of the kingdom, while 10 per cent. hold nearly one half of it."

Of Basel, Dr. Spahr says (p. 87) :

"In this Swiss city, where all but the very small incomes are given officially, the wealthiest 5 per cent. of the families held more than half of the income, and the wealthiest 10 per cent. fully three fifths of it. The similarity, however, between this result and that reached for the United Kingdom and for Paris does not indicate that incomes are as concentrated in Basel as in Paris or England, but merely demonstrates that

the estimates previously given respecting the concentration of incomes were minimum estimates."

IV. IS THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH INCREASING ?

(a) THE NEGATIVE VIEW.

Among those who hold that the concentration of wealth is not on the increase perhaps the ablest argument has been made by Mr. Giffen, president of the English Statistical Society, and the most popular argument by Mr. W. H. Mallock. In the United States, the strongest holder of this view is Mr. Edward Atkinson.

Mr. Giffen, in his inaugural address as president of the Statistical Society in 1883, based an argument for the growing diffusion of wealth upon probate returns and assessment records. He presented the following tables and statement :

STATEMENT OF NUMBER OF PROBATES GRANTED IN 1882, WITH AMOUNTS OF PROPERTY PROVED, AND AVERAGE PER PROBATE FROM FIGURES (SUPPLIED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF INLAND REVENUE); AND COMPARISON WITH A SIMILAR STATEMENT FOR 1838 (FROM PORTER'S "PROGRESS OF THE NATION," p. 600 *et seq.*).

	NUMBER OF PROBATES.		AMOUNT OF PROPERTY.		AMOUNT OF PROPERTY PER ESTATE.	
	1882.	1838.	1882.	1838.	1882.	1838.
England	45,555	21,900	£118,120,961	£47,604,755	£2,600	£2,170
Scotland	5,221	1,272	13,695,314	2,817,260	2,600	2,200
Ireland	4,583	2,196	8,544,579	4,405,240	1,900	2,200
United Kingdom.....	55,359	25,368	£140,360,854	£54,887,255	£2,500	£2,160

"In spite of the enormous increase of property passing at death, amounting to over 150 per cent., which is more than the increase in the income-tax income, the amount of property per estate has not sensibly increased. The increase of the number of estates is more than double, and greater, therefore, than the increase of population; but the increase of capital per head of the capitalist classes is in England only 19 per cent., and in the United Kingdom only 15 per cent. Curiously enough, I may state, it is hardly correct to speak of the capitalist classes as holding this property, as the figures include a small per cent. of insolvent estates; but allowing all the property to belong to the capitalist classes, still we have the fact that these classes are themselves increasing. They may be only a minority of the nation, tho I think a considerable minority, as 55,000 estates passing in a year represent from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons as possessing property subject to probate duty; and these figures, it must be remembered, do not include real property at all. Still, small or large as the minority may be, the fact we have before us is that in the last 50 years it has been an increasing minority, and a minority increasing at a greater rate than the increase of general population. Wealth, to a certain extent, is more diffused than it was. . . . The next piece of statistics I have to refer to is the number of separate assessments in that part of schedule D known as Part I., *viz.*, trades and professions, which excludes public companies and their sources of income, where there is no reason to believe that the number of separate assessments corresponds in any way to the number of individual incomes. Even in Part I. there can be no exact correspondence, as partnerships make only one return; but, in comparing distant periods, it seems not unfair to assume that the increase or decrease of assessments would correspond to the increase or decrease of individual incomes. This must be the case, unless we assume that in the interval material differences were likely to arise from the changes in the number of partnerships to which individuals belong, or from partnerships as a

rule comprising a greater or less number of individuals. Using the figures with all these qualifications, we get the following comparisons :

NUMBER OF PERSONS AT DIFFERENT AMOUNTS OF INCOME CHARGED UNDER SCHEDULE D IN 1843 AND 1879-80 COMPARED (IN ENGLAND).*

	1843.	1879-80.
£150 and under	39,366	130,101
200 and under	28,370	88,445
300 and under	13,429	39,806
400 and under	6,781	16,501
500 and under	4,780	11,317
600 and under	2,672	6,894
700 and under	1,874	4,054
800 and under	1,442	3,595
900 and under	894	1,396
1,000 and under	4,228	10,352
2,000 and under	1,235	3,131
3,000 and under	526	1,430
4,000 and under	339	758
5,000 and under	493	1,439
10,000 and under	200	785
50,000 and upward.....	8	68
Total	106,637	320,162

"Here the increase in all classes, from the lowest to the highest, is between two and three times, or rather more than three times, with the exception of the highest class of all, where the numbers, however, are quite inconsiderable; again a proof, I think, of the greater diffusion of wealth, so far as the assessment

* *Political Economy*, Book III., chap. vii., sec. ccv.

* The figures for 1843 cannot be given for either Scotland or Ireland.

of income to income tax under Schedule D may be taken as a sign of the person assessed having wealth of some kind, which I fear is not always the case. If the owners of this income, at least of the smaller incomes, are to be considered as not among the capitalists, but among the working classes—a very arguable proposition—then the increase of the number of incomes from £150 up to, say, £1000 a year, is a sign of the increased earnings of the working classes, which are not usually thought of by that name. The increase, in this instance, is out of all proportion to the increase of population."

Mr. W. H. Mallock, in his book *Classes and Masses* (1896), has made a more popular argument to show that the poor are not growing poorer and the rich richer, that the middle classes are not disappearing. He admits that there are absolutely more poor to-day in Great Britain than formerly, but says that in proportion to the population there are not so many, while the increase of the moderately well-to-do has been enormous. In 1850 he says that there were 9 paupers for every 200 inhabitants, and in 1882 only 5.

Basing his statements on statistics tabulated by Professor Leone Levi, Mr. Mallock argues that according to the returns of those paying taxes on incomes, the working classes have increased 15 per cent. and the middle class over 300 per cent.

In the United States, Mr. Atkinson comes to similar conclusions. He quotes from census and other reports to show that wages are rising and prices are falling (see, however, WAGES), and thus argues that the real wages of most workers are rapidly rising. On the other hand, he shows that the rate of interest is falling; that the amount of capital relative to production is increasing; and from this argues that the wealthy get a steadily lessening share of an ever-increasing product. He sums up his conclusions thus (*The Century*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 569-584):

"Leaving wholly out of view the transfer of property already saved from one person to another in the gambling operations of the stock exchange, such incidents being of no material consequence except to those who engage in them, we may observe—

1. That the direction and use of capital are becoming more and more a matter of scientific training, as the margin of profit in every art comes to a less and less fraction of the product made or distributed. The merchant adventurer has gone the same way with the craftsman and his apprentice—he has disappeared with the removal of the mysteries of trade.

2. Altho great fortunes have become more conspicuous, their number is very small, and their aggregate amount is yet smaller in proportion to the amount and great number of moderate fortunes which are not conspicuous, but which are steadily increasing.

3. Adjacent to every city are suburbs or neighboring towns which are filled with comfortable dwellings of moderate size, which give evidence of comfort and welfare steadily increasing on the part of an increasing portion of those who perform the practical work of the country. These are the dwelling-places of their respective owners or occupants, who are not capitalists in any sense, but who have assured to themselves an abundant subsistence, a home, and a safe position in the community.

4. While great bonanza farms are conspicuous, they are also few in number; the increase in small farms is very rapid; and perhaps the increase has been yet more rapid compared to what it had been before agricultural machinery, science, and invention had come nearer to the farm.

5. By comparison with this rapid progress, not only of those who are in a position of wealth, but of the vast number who, altho not making great savings, are living year by year more comfortably, better housed, better clothed, and better fed, the bad condition of the very poor, and the more uncertain position

of the common laborer, whose opportunity for work is intermittent, becomes more apparent, and therefore demands urgent attention."

Of the lessening share of capital and its contribution to production, he says:

"It is not too much to say that one half as much capital as was required to do the general work of life in 1865 will now suffice to aid labor in compassing the same amount of product. That is to say, it took twice as many dollars' worth of capital to accomplish a given product 20 or 25 years since as is now needed.

"On the other hand, the owner of the capital is now compelled, whether he will or not, to be satisfied with one half the income on each unit or dollar's worth of the present capital, if he trusts only to his capital for his means of living.

"The commerce of the world now turns from one side of the globe to the other on a margin of a cent on a bushel of grain, a dollar a ton of metal, a quarter of a cent a yard on a textile fabric, or the sixteenth of a cent a pound on sugar. The cube of coal, as I have before stated, which would pass through the rim of a quarter of a dollar, when used in connection with the compound engine, will drive a ton of food and its proportion of the steamship two miles on its way from the producer to the consumer; by the invention of the triple compound, one fourth even of this fuel has been saved. The profit or loss of this great nation turns on the price of a daily glass of lager beer.

"The most beneficent factor in the lowering of prices and in raising wages has been the extension of the railway system and the reduction in the charge for the service. Vanderbilt was the typical railroad man of his day; he was also the great communist of his time, because he reduced the cost of moving a barrel of flour a thousand miles to so small a sum, that it can hardly be measured in a loaf of bread, at a margin of profit to himself and his associates which is now less than the value of the empty barrel at the end of the line."

(b) THE CONTRARY VIEW.

The best answer to Mr. Giffen's argument is Dr. Spahr's in his *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (copyright by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston). Says Dr. Spahr (pp. 15-18):

"Mr. Giffen contends that during the era of savings-banks the number of estates less than £1000 has increased more than the number of larger estates. This, however, is a point that was never questioned.

"The facts which Mr. Giffen at first could not, and at last did not, state, are the facts that tell the situation. Printed at some length, the comparative tables for 1838 and the present time run as follows:

ESTATES IN 1838.*

	Num-ber.	Amount.
Between £20 and £100.....	3,945	£214,660
Between £100 and £1,000.....	14,391	5,330,000
Between £1,000 and £10,000.....	6,006	18,284,000
Between £10,000 and £100,000.....	984	23,253,000
Above £100,000.....	39	7,912,000
	25,365	£54,993,660

ESTATES IN 1891.

	Num-ber.	Amount.
Below £100, and not taxed.....	18,063	£1,060,000
Between £100 and £1,000.....	34,213	11,579,000
Between £1,000 and £10,000.....	12,203	39,957,000
Between £10,000 and £100,000.....	2,598	70,471,000
Above £100,000.....	170	43,328,000
	67,247	£166,395,000

* Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, pp. 609 et seq.

"In other words, the exceptionally great increase in the number of estates under £1000 was entirely in the savings-bank depositor class, and the increase here was in part due to the fact that in 1838 estates under £200 were not recorded. In 1838 the 18,000 estates less than £1000 held 10 per cent. of the personal property admitted to probate, while in 1891 the 52,000 estates of this character held less than 8 per cent. On the other hand, the smallest increase in the number of estates above £1000 was in the class of medium holdings. In 1838 the estates with more than £10,000 held 57 per cent. of the wealth, while in 1891 the estates of this character held 67 per cent. If we consider the comparative gains of the very rich, the contrast is still more striking. In 1838 the personal estates worth over £100,000 aggregated but one and a half times as much wealth as the estates less than £1000; in 1891 they aggregated three and a half times as much. Common observation has not exaggerated the relative gains of the richer classes.

"These figures, it must be recalled, relate only to personal property, where the law and customs of primogeniture do not seriously impede the division of estates. They therefore reveal only the brighter part of the history. The number of owners of real estate has been artificially kept from increasing with the increase of the population. New buildings have been erected by new owners, but the ownership of the land remains in as few hands as it did half a century ago. Indeed, the ablest authority upon this subject maintains that the number of landowners is still diminishing.*

"Gregory King's table of the comparative incomes of the various classes in 1688 proves indisputably that England at the close of the Middle Ages was pre-eminently a nation of small proprietors. As Prothero remarks concerning it, 'whatever allowance is made for errors, the contrast is startling enough' between the England in which 'three fifths of the agriculturists enjoyed proprietary interests in the soil' and the England of to-day, in which four fifths of the agriculturists are hired laborers. This contrast is heightened when King's table is compared with the returns in the New Domesday Book of 1875. King placed the total rent of agricultural land at £10,000,000, yet estimated the aggregate income of 1500 lords, baronets, and knights at less than one fifth of that sum. In our day Arthur Arnold estimates that four fifths of the United Kingdom belongs to a smaller proportion of the population."

As for Mr. Mallock's contention that the advance in modern wealth has been mainly by the enormous growth of a middle class out of the ranks of the working classes, it must be remembered what he means by the middle class. He includes (they are his own words) all receiving an income less than £1000. He is thus able to include in his middle class many very wealthy, and thus to show a large middle class and a small wealthy class. But accepting his division, no one claims that the *number* of the extremely rich has lately increased. It is only their wealth which has increased. In 1838 (see tables quoted above) they had in personal property £49,449, and in 1891, £153,756. The rich, in spite of Mr. Mallock, are getting richer. As for those getting less than £1000, the 18,000 estates of this kind held in 1838 10 per cent. of the personal property, and in 1891 the 52,000 of this kind held only 8 per cent. of the property. Mr. Mallock makes small gain for his cause by showing that the middle class is growing in numbers. It is their relative wealth that is disappearing, as the rich, he admits, do grow richer and the poor grow relatively poorer.

As for the United States, since 1873 the poor have grown relatively, if not absolutely, poorer. (See WAGES for proof of this.) Mr. Atkinson's statements that wages have risen

and prices fallen are based on government reports, shown in article WAGES to be false. As for his argument that the rich are not getting richer, because the rate of interest is falling, and it takes more capital relatively to production than formerly, it must not be forgotten that the rate of interest is not the same as the rate of profits.

The
United
States.

These may be high where interest is low, and the fact that it does take more capital to-day than formerly relatively to production simply shows that only the strongest concentration of capital can succeed to-day, and therefore that the productive capital of the country is in concentrated hands. They may make profits to-day at lower rates, but they have such enormous accumulations that their income is vastly larger than before. Never was capital thus so concentrated as now.

In the United States, then, wealth has increased phenomenally; wages since 1873 have fallen; the concentration of capital has increased; the number of the out of work has grown. (See UNEMPLOYMENT.)

References: C. B. Spahr's *The Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States* (1896); J. R. Common's *Distribution of Wealth*; Edward Atkinson's *Century articles*.

WEBB, BEATRICE, daughter of Richard Potter, some time President of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, etc., was born in 1858. A pupil of Herbert Spencer, she studied actual working-class life in Lancashire and East London; in 1885 joined Mr. Charles Booth in his social investigations, and contributed articles, on the docks, the tailoring trade, and the Jewish community, to *Life and Labor of the People*. In 1888 she gave her experience in sweating dens to the House of Lords Committee on Sweating. In 1891 she published *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain*. In 1892 she married Sydney Webb (*q.v.*). In 1894 they published *Trades-Unionism*. She is a member of the Fabian Society (London).

WEBB, SYDNEY, LL.B. (London University), barrister at law, was born in 1859, and educated in Switzerland and Germany; in 1878, after some business experience, he entered, by open competition, the English civil service, filling places successively in the War Office, Inland Revenue and Colonial Office. He was joint editor of *The Colonial Office List*, but resigned in 1891. He published in 1889 *Socialism in England*; he contributed the "historical" chapter in *Fabian Essays in Socialism*; in 1891 he published, in conjunction with Harold Cox, *The Eight-Hours Day* (Scott) and *The London Programme* (Sonnenschein), and in 1894, in conjunction with his wife, Beatrice Webb (*q.v.*) *Trades-Unionism*. Author of many articles and pamphlets on socialism, economics, and English politics; he has been a member since 1885 of the Fabian Society (London); elected for Deptford to the London County Council, 1892; vice-chairman of Local Government Committee, and chairman of the Technical Education Board of that body.

WEITLING, WILHELM, was born at Magdeburg in 1808. He became a tailor, but

* Hon. George C. Brodrick, *English Land and English Landlords*, chap. iii. (Published by the Cobden Club.)

later traveled through Germany, one of the earliest pioneers of German socialism, declaring that he was converted to communism by the reading of the New Testament. He preached a Utopian socialism, mainly fashioned after the ideas of Fourier and Cabet. In 1847 he went to America, but returned to Germany at the Revolution of 1848. Later he came again to America, and formed a socialist society in New York City called the Arbeiterbund. He interested himself for four years in a socialistic colony situated in Wisconsin, but remained mainly in New York, living as a clerk, but devoted himself to reform, inventions, and science. He wrote *Die Menschheit wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte* (1838); *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit* (1842); and *Das Evangelium eines Armen Sünders*. His constructive idea was a federation of the families of the world, with leaders chosen by acclamation, who should divide the products of labor, giving to all a fixed share, and to those who produced more than the average certain luxuries, on condition of their being soon consumed to prevent accumulation. He died in 1874.

WELLS, DAVID AMES, was born at Springfield, Mass., in 1828, and graduated at Williams College in 1847; Lawrence Scientific School, Cambridge, in 1851. He was engaged in scientific pursuits and inventions in chemistry till 1861. In 1862 and 1867 he visited Europe on commissions of the United States Government; was United States Special Commissioner of Revenue, 1866-70. He became University Lecturer on Political Economy at Yale College in 1872. He has produced 15 important reports for the United States, and numerous papers for scientific bodies in Europe and America. His principal economic writings are: *The Creed of the Free Trader* (1875); *Robinson Crusoe's Money* (1876); *Practical Economics* (1886); *Economic Changes* (1889); *Relation of the Tariff to Wages* (1888). He is best known for his able advocacy of free trade (*q.v.*), civil service reform, and gold monometallism. (See **MONOMETALLISM**.)

WESCOTT, BROOKE FOSS, Bishop of Durham, was born near Birmingham in 1825. He was educated at Trinity College, where he was successively Scholar, Fellow (1849), and Professor of Divinity (1870). He was also at different times assistant master at Harrow, a canon of Peterborough and of Westminster, chaplain to the Queen and to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1890. Besides his numerous writings on the Bible and other religious subjects, he has written *Social Aspects of Christianity*; *The Incarnation and Common Life*. He is President of the Christian Social Union (*q.v.*).

WHATELY, RICHARD, was born in London, Eng., in 1787. He studied at Oriel College, Oxford; became a Fellow of Oriel in 1811; was Bampton Lecturer for 1822; rector of Halesworth, 1822-25; Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, 1830-31; and appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1831. He was prominent for carrying out the principles of the Ro-

man Catholic Relief Act; was for 20 years the leading member of the Irish National Board of Education. He is also associated with "Broad Church" divinity. Besides numerous philosophical and religious writings, he published *Lectures on Political Economy* in 1831.

WHISKY RING.—This was a conspiracy between United States revenue collectors and distillers, originating in St. Louis in 1872, spreading into many Western cities, and attaining great political power. Its aim was to defraud the Government in the collection of the tax on distilled spirits. The method of defrauding was by the secret shipment of whisky reported as stored. In 1874 a discrepancy was discovered between the returns of shipments of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis and those of the revenue officers. Benjamin H. Bristow, Secretary of the Treasury, unearthed the fraud. A general seizure in three cities was made May 10, 1875. Property aggregating \$3,500,000 in value was seized, and 238 persons were indicted. When the papers in these cases were laid before President Grant, he indorsed one of them, with the injunction, "Let no guilty man escape." O. E. Babcock, President Grant's private secretary, was implicated, but tho acquitted, his guilt was generally conceded. No charge was ever made implicating Grant, but his tenacity in supporting his friends, even when their guilt was evident to others, made it easy for the ring to put many obstacles in Bristow's way. In one case, even, documents were tampered with. Many convictions were obtained, among others that of the chief clerk of the Treasury, Avery.

WHITE CROSS SOCIETY, THE.—The White Cross movement was begun, publicly, February 14, 1883, at Bishop-Auckland, Eng., by the Bishop of Durham, Miss Ellice Hopkins being present and bearing a prominent part. The work was taken up in this country by the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., Rector of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, New York City, aided by his young men, during the winter of 1883-84. It has now spread throughout the United States.

The principal purposes of this organization are:

(1) To urge upon men the obligation of personal purity; (2) to raise the tone of public opinion upon the subject of morality; (3) to secure proper legislation in connection with morality.

The member promises by the "help of God" (1) to treat all women with respect, and endeavor to protect them from wrong and degradation; (2) to endeavor to put down all indecent language and coarse jests; (3) to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women; (4) to endeavor to spread these principles among my companions, and to try and help my younger brothers; (5) to use every possible means to fulfil the command, "Keep THYSELF pure."

The methods of the White Cross are of a varied character. All aim to fulfil its declared object: "By the full presentation of those spiritual truths which form distinguishing characteristics of Christianity, and demonstrate its unalterable hostility to every form of impurity." The methods do not favor so much the creation of new machinery as utilizing that already existing. (See **SOCIAL PURITY**.)

WHITE RIBBONERS. See **WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION**.

WILBERFORCE, WILLIAM, was born at Hull, Eng., in 1759. The son of a wealthy merchant, he was educated under Methodist principles at Wimbledon and at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1780 he was elected to the House of Commons and became an intimate friend of Pitt, tho always voting independently. In 1787 he organized a society against vice, and soon after was influenced by Clarkson toward his great lifework. In 1789 he first proposed the total abolition of the slave trade, and in 1807 his bill was carried in the House of Commons and through the House of Lords. He still, however, labored for its victory in Parliament and without. In 1822 he shared in the founding of an anti-slavery society. He died in 1833, one month before the passage of the Emancipation Bill. (See SLAVERY.) He was interested in many other reforms, and published in 1797 *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes Contrasted with Real Christianity*.

WILLARD, FRANCES ELIZABETH, was born in Churchville, N. Y., September 28, 1839. Her ancestors were Puritans, having emigrated from Kent, Eng., on account of religious persecution, in 1634. Miss Willard's parents removed to Oberlin, O., in 1841, where they were students in the college until 1846, when they went to Wisconsin and founded "Forest Home," near Janesville, going to Evanston, the chief suburb of Chicago, where they built "Rest Cottage," in 1858. Here Miss Willard graduated from the Women's College, which later became connected with the Northwestern University. In 1861 she became a teacher, and continued in this capacity for 15 years, beginning in the public school of her own town and ending as Professor of English Composition in the university. In 1868 she went abroad, where she traveled and studied for nearly two years and a half. On her return she was made president of the Women's College in Evanston, and began to lecture on woman's higher education, women's foreign missionary work, and kindred topics. In 1874, after the women's temperance crusade, she began her temperance work as president of the Chicago W. C. T. U. She was also made secretary of the Illinois W. C. T. U., and in November of that year, at the first convention of the National W. C. T. U., became its corresponding secretary. The headquarters established by Miss Willard in Chicago were the first attempt to organize and systematize an office for the new movement.

In 1878 Miss Willard became the chief editor of the Chicago *Daily Evening Post*. In that year she was elected president of the National W. C. T. U. on the issue of a wider outlook for the society, which should embrace correlated movements.

In 1879, presiding over her first national convention in Boston, she suggested the following classification of departments, with a superintendent for each: Preventive, Educational, Evangelical, Social, Legal, and Department of Organization.

In 1880, accompanied by the Misses Gordon,

Miss Willard made a tour of all the Southern States, introducing a knowledge of the spirit and method of the White Ribbon Movement.

In 1883 Miss Willard and her secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, visited every State and Territory in the United States and several Canadian provinces, holding the first temperance conventions ever called together in several of the Western Territories. From that time the Temperance National Society has had duly elected delegates to its conventions from almost every one of the 50 subdivisions of the United States. In 1883, on her return from California, she proposed to the National W. C. T. U. a plan for organizing the World's W. C. T. U., which was accepted, and the polyglot petition to all governments was sent out. This petition has now received 3,000,000 signatures and attestations in 50 languages.

She has been allied with the Prohibition Party from the time when, on her trip to the South, in 1881, she found there was no "bloody chasm." If the Republican Party had favored the home protection movement she would not have left it; but as it took no such action she went to the Prohibition Party Convention in Pittsburg (1884), and by invitation of the Kansas delegation seconded the nomination of Governor St. John for President of the United States, from which time she has cooperated with the Prohibition Party, in whose favor the National W. C. T. U. Convention declared in 1884 at the St. Louis Convention.

In 1885 she urged upon the National W. C. T. U. Convention the importance of adding a Department of Social Purity work to those already formed, which was done, and she was placed at its head. Petitions were then circulated in all parts of the United States asking for the better protection of women, and much has been gained in the way of legislation. She was made a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, to which she has belonged since her girlhood, but a ruling of the bishops prevented any recognition of this election. She is now editor-in-chief of the *Union Signal*, official organ of the World's and National W. C. T. U., and corresponding editor of Lady Henry Somerset's paper, *The Woman's Signal* (London), also one of the editors of *Our Day*, founded by Joseph Cook of Boston. She has also written *Nineteen Beautiful Years, Hints and Helps for the W. C. T. U., Women and Temperance, How to Win, Woman in the Pulpit, A Classic Town, Glimpses of Fifty Years, A Young Journalist*, and has collaborated a volume entitled *A Great Mother, the History of St. Courageous*.

Miss Willard is one of the founders of the National and International Women's Council, having been chairman of the committee that drafted its constitution and plan of work, and was first president of the council.

In 1892, on the death of her mother, Miss Willard's health became impaired, and she has since then had to devote much time to resting in England and elsewhere, yet continually lec-

Temperance Work.

Other Reforms.

turing and guiding the movements she has at heart.

Miss Willard's devotion to the cause of woman's suffrage and the labor movement is well known. She is the author of the "home protection" movement, which means the ballot for women as a method of temperance work; also of the expressive phrase "The do-everything policy of the W. C. T. U." She has often stated her platform in these words: "No sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship!" In economics she calls herself a Christian Socialist.

To her constant diligence in work is owing the fact that she has built up the largest organization of women in the world. Her remarkable talents, that would have won for her fame in any calling in life, have been devoted to the cause of reform. The salient feature of her fame will always be the fact that she combined an equal talent for writing, speaking, and organization, a combination as rare as it is invaluable in the leader of a great new movement.

ISABEL SOMERSET.

WILSON, WOODROW, was born December 28, 1856, at Staunton, Va., where his father was pastor of the Presbyterian Church. He studied one year at Davidson College, North Carolina, and four years, 1875-79, at Princeton. After studying law at the University of Virginia, he practised his profession in Atlanta. He left his work at the law to study at Johns Hopkins University, 1883-85, taking the degree of Ph.D. in the year 1886. Dr. Wilson has been Professor of History and Political Economy at Bryn Mawr College and Wesleyan University, and since 1890 at Princeton College.

The principal works of Professor Wilson are: *Congressional Government, a Study in American Politics* (Boston, 1885); *The State, Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (Boston, 1889). Of the last work the chapter on the government of the United States has been published separately under the title *State and Federal Governments of the United States* (Boston, 1889). Professor Wilson has also contributed articles to the *International Review*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *Overland Monthly*, on political subjects.

WINKELBLECH is the name of a little-known German professor of chemistry, who, under the pseudonym of "Carl Marlo," wrote in 1850 a book now recognized as one of the ablest statements of German socialism. He was traveling to study technological subjects when, in 1843, at Modum, Norway, he met a German artisan and became interested in what he heard and saw of the sufferings of the working classes. The result was his book *Untersuchungen über der Organization der Arbeit oder System der Weltökonomie* (1851-55). Winkelblech died in 1865.

WOLOWSKI, LOUIS FRANÇOIS MICHEL RAYMOND, was born at Warsaw in 1810. He studied in Paris, but took part in the Polish Revolution of 1830. He became Professor of Law in the Conservatoire des Arts and Métiers at Paris in 1839, and sat in the Con-

stituent Assembly in 1848. His best-known works are: *De l'Organisation du Travail* (1843); *L'Or et l'Argent* (1870). He died at Gisors, France, in 1876.

WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNIONS, THE NATIONAL AND THE WORLD (see WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, BRITISH), are organizations of Christian women for the protection of the home, the abolition of the liquor traffic, and the triumph of Christ's golden rule in custom and in law. They are lineal descendants of the great Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74.

In December, 1873, under the inspiration of an address delivered by Dr. Dio Lewis, of Boston, the women of Hillsboro, Washington Court House, and other Ohio towns were moved to concerted action against the saloon. They gathered in the streets to pray, and marched, two by two, into saloons. They besought the men who drank, and the men who sold, to cease to gratify the appetite for stimulants and the appetite for gain, and invited them to move with the procession, as it ended its day's work at the altars of God, where the women knelt in consecration, and countless tempted men in repentance and faith. The movement spread east, west, north, and south. In 50 days it swept the liquor traffic out of 250 towns and villages. The leader of the first Crusade band was Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson, wife of Judge Thompson, of Hillsboro, known for many years as "Mother" Thompson.

But the saloon was found to be but the outcropping of the liquor system; that system was protected by law and entrenched in the very heart of our governmental life. The powers controlling it soon rallied from the shock of the sudden onslaught, and entrenched themselves even more strongly behind barricades, political and legal. The logic of events soon forced the women to enlarge the circle of their work until it should include not only "mental suasion for the man who thinks and moral suasion for the man who drinks, but legal suasion for the drunkard-maker and prison suasion for the statute-breaker."

A call for permanent organization went forth from the Chautauqua (New York) Sunday-School Assembly, August, 1874.

The National W. C. T. U. of the United States was organized November 18, 19 and 20, 1874, in Cleveland, O., the first president being Mrs. Wittenmeyer, of Philadelphia, and the first corresponding secretary, Miss Frances E. Willard (*q. v.*), of Chicago. It was incorporated March 1, 1883, in Washington, D. C.

It has now 49 auxiliary States and four territorial unions, besides that of the District of Columbia, and is the largest society ever composed exclusively of women and conducted entirely by them. It has been organized by every State and Territory of the nation, and locally in about 10,000 towns and cities. (For local convenience, California and Washington are divided into two unions each. In two States also there are separate unions of the colored women. Alaska is not organized.)

At the last National Convention the paid-up membership was reported as 147,656, but this by

History.

no means represents the full number enrolled. Without doubt there are 250,000 white-ribboners in the United States, with a direct following of as many more.

Each member is required to sign the pledge and pay the annual membership dues, which dues vary in different States, but are usually about 50 cents. Of this amount a certain per cent. is paid into the State treasury, and from the State treasury 10 cents per member is paid into the treasury of the National organization. Men are admitted as "honorary members." The National motto is, "For God, and home, and native land."

The badge is a knot of white ribbon, and was adopted in the convention of 1877. There was a division of opinion as to the proper badge, one party favoring red, white and blue; the other, royal purple. Miss Winslow, editor of *Our Union*, moved that the factions unite upon pure white. This motion was carried unanimously. White light includes all the prismatic colors, so the white ribbon is symbolic not only of purity and peace, but it includes all the correlated reforms that center in the protection of the home.

At noon each white-ribboner the world over is expected to lift her heart to God in prayer for His blessing on the work and workers, and the overthrow of the liquor system and its allies.

The declaration of principles is the following :

"We believe in the coming of His Kingdom whose service is perfect freedom, because His laws, written in our members as well as in nature and in grace, are perfect, converting the soul.

"We believe in the gospel of the Golden Rule, and that each man's habits of life should be an example safe and beneficial for every other man to follow.

"We believe that God created both man and woman in His own image, and, therefore, we believe in one standard of purity for both men and women, and in the equal right of

Principles. all to hold opinions and to express the same in the home, on the platform, in the pulpit and at the ballot-box.

"We believe in a living wage ; in an eight-hour day ; in courts of conciliation and arbitration ; in justice as opposed to greed of gain ; in 'peace on earth and goodwill to men.'

"We therefore formulate, and for ourselves adopt the following pledge, asking our sisters and brothers of a common danger and a common hope to make common cause with us, in working its reasonable and helpful precepts into the practice of every-day life :

"I hereby solemnly promise, GOD HELPING ME, to abstain from all distilled, fermented and malt liquors, including wine, beer and cider, as a beverage, and to employ all proper means to discourage the use of and traffic in the same.

"To confirm and enforce the rationale of this pledge, we declare our purpose to educate the young ; to form a better public sentiment ; to reform, so far as possible, by religious, ethical and scientific means, the drinking classes ; to seek the transforming power of divine grace for ourselves and all for whom we work, that they and we may willfully transcend no law of pure and wholesome living ; and finally we pledge ourselves to labor and pray that all these principles, founded upon the Gospel of Christ, may be worked out into the customs of society and the laws of the land."

Its lines of work are : I. Organization ; II. Preventive ; III. Educational ; IV. Evangelistic ; V. Social ; VI. Legal.

Besides these there are : 1. The affiliated interests. 2. The standing committees.

Under the six chief heads are grouped various departments, each one under the charge of a national superintendent. The total number of departments is 40 ; of affiliated interests, 3 ; of standing committees, 7 ; of branches, 2.

The principal results that the organization has been instrumental in securing are thus stated :

"Its auxiliaries have been, confessedly, the chief factors in State campaigns for statutory prohibition and constitutional amendments. It began the movement for scientific temperance education in the public schools, having been instrumental in securing laws to that end in all but four of the States ; and besides this it has secured Congressional legislation, by means of which all the Territories and the District of Columbia are brought under the same beneficent statutes.

"The work of the National W. C. T. U. among the children in Sunday-schools, Loyal Temperance Leagues and Kindergartens ; its efforts to influence college students and to train and organize young women for a philanthropic life ; its evangelistic work for non-churchgoers, for railway employees, soldiers, lumbermen, miners (especially for the drinking men of all classes), all these have proved the breadth of its comprehension and the tirelessness of its zeal. Its efforts to reach the pauper and the prisoner, to establish reformatories and homes for the wretched victims of inebriety and their suffering children, and its temperance Flower Mission must appeal to every true heart.

"It is permeating public sentiment by its steady advances upon the press through monthly and weekly temperance papers, and by its countless conventions.

"It has sought to purify the holidays of the people, coming with its sisterly influence to the fairs, celebrations, encampments, and expositions, and by its unrequited toil providing refreshments, keeping alcoholic poisons off the grounds, and circulating pure water and pure literature. It has battled for the maintenance of the Sabbath, sought to introduce the unfermented juice of the grape at the sacramental table, and to secure a day of prayer for temperance in the Week of Prayer.

"It has circulated countless petitions and addressed synods and conferences, teachers' associations and medical societies, as well as legislatures, State and national, always for one object and with one plea :

"We beseech you to refrain from the use of alcoholics, and to outlaw the liquor traffic."

"In recent years it has bravely championed the cause of woman's ballot, the labor movement and social purity. It seeks to instruct the youth of the nation, uplifting and preserving them from the ways that take hold upon death. It also strives to redeem outcast women from a slavery worse than that of chains, and by better laws to secure protection to women and girls from the outrage of brutal men. It has been instrumental in raising the age of consent in nearly every State in the Union, and its influence is being strongly felt in the purification of our literature and art."

The affiliated interests of the National W. C. T. U. are : The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, the National Temperance Hospital, and the Temple.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association is a publishing house owned and controlled entirely by women, and is one of the mightiest forces in the great temperance propaganda. It issues the official organ, *The Union Signal*.

The Temperance Hospital was formally opened in 1886. At first located on Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, it is now occupying larger and more convenient quarters on Diversey Avenue. Its basic principle is the cure of disease without the use of alcohol as an active medicinal agent.

The Temple is a large, handsome structure on a principal street in Chicago, intended as a monument to the W. C. T. U., a source of revenue to the society, and the central home of its manifold labors. The building has been the office home of the National Union for five years, tho it is not yet the property of the W. C. T. U.

THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

is composed of the unions of the various nations where the white-ribbon work is known, and was organized in November, 1883.

It is now organized in 40 nations, with a total membership of about 500,000.

Its officers are: Frances E. Willard (*q.v.*), president; Lady Henry Somerset (*q.v.*), vice-president; Agnes E. Slack, secretary; Mrs. Mary E. Sanderson, treasurer.

It has organized a polyglot petition addressed to the governments of the world asking them to do away with the manufacture of and traffic in alcoholic liquors and opium and the legalization of impurity. It has already been presented to the President of the United States and to Queen Victoria, and its journey around the world will, probably, be undertaken in the near future.

DEPARTMENTS.

Organization.—This department is intended to systematize the work of national organizers; sending them out, upon consultation with Presidents, to such States and Territories as are in greatest need of help, that they may increase the number of local auxiliaries, and "strengthen the things which remain," introducing our methods, emphasizing the *regular payment of dues*, circulating *The Union Signal*, and building the local unions upon strong foundations of consecrated, combined and intelligent effort.

Young Women's Branch.—This department aims to enlist young women to form separate societies (Y. W. C. T. U.) for the purpose of making total abstinence a fashionable social custom, to the end that young men may be held to a higher standard of personal habits, and thus by a power, analogous to that which has effectually restrained their sisters, be shielded from contamination; also to teach young women the scientific and ethical reasons for total abstinence and prohibition, and to develop a new army of trained temperance workers to whom the care of the children's work may at once be intrusted, and who will eventually replace the veterans of the W. C. T. U.

The methods are, first, a social club (the Y. W. C. T. U. itself) in which young gentlemen become honorary members by signing the pledge and paying the membership fee; private and public entertainments; a systematic course of reading and work in Loyal Temperance Legions, night schools for boys, reading rooms, kitchen gardens, etc.

Loyal Temperance Legion Branch.—This department aims, by a regular course of study, scientific, ethical and governmental, to make our boys and girls *intelligent* total abstainers; to develop by thorough organization business methods and practical helpfulness, an army of disciplined temperance workers and enthusiastic temperance givers; identify its members, through their payment of dues and consequent representation in national and State conventions, and through their drill in department work, with the interests of the W. C. T. U., present and future.

Work among Foreigners.—This department aims to interest all persons to whom English is not the native tongue in Gospel Temperance methods and measures, and to influence them through the work of the W. C. T. U.; to introduce and circulate temperance literature; to have addresses given in their language, and, if possible, to establish newspapers; to make the vote of foreigners a temperance vote through conviction of right principles and by personal appeal and combined action. Send to national superintendent for leaflets in German and all other languages.

Work among Colored People.—This department is for the pursuance among colored people of all branches of work enumerated.

Health and Heredity.—The aim of this department is the development of the highest life, physical, mental and spiritual; instruction in the laws of health in relation to dress, food, air, exercise, cleanliness, sanitation, ventilation, mental and moral hygiene.

Preventive. It teaches the law of heredity and the right of every child to be well born. It is eminently a department for study. It is fundamental.

Non-Alcoholic Medication.—This department pre-

sents to the W. C. T. U., and through it to people in general, the teachings of eminent physicians who discard alcohol as medicine. It is vital to the success of the temperance cause, as total abstinence and prohibition principles can never triumph while alcohol continues to be a popular remedy. Its plans are the study of department literature by every W. C. T. U., and free distribution of the same; lectures showing superiority of the non-use of alcohols in sickness; distribution of pamphlets prepared by well-known and successful non-alcoholic physicians among teachers, pastors, editors, doctors, medical students and other leaders of thought.

Scientific Temperance Instruction.—This department aims to secure a nation of intelligent total abstainers through compulsory education of the whole people in their **Educational**, schools and colleges as to all laws of health, including those relating to the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics.

Its methods of work are the enactment and enforcement of laws requiring this study in schools under State and national control. Enforcement involves vigilance to insure right text-books and methods of teaching as presented in the *School Physiology Journal*, a monthly publication for teachers.

As the result of the work of this department, there are now 16,000,000 children of school age under temperance laws in the United States.

Physical Culture Department.—This department purposes securing State laws making *Physical Education* compulsory in all schools under public control. It seeks the highest possible physical development, under circumstances of health, upon which is based the most successful moral and intellectual growth of the child.

The plans promise great good to the mothers of the future through an improved understanding and practice of laws governing health, including common-sense methods in dress, and the use of nourishing food.

Sunday-school Work.—The Sunday-school department aims to teach the great principles of total abstinence and prohibition because of the "Thus saith the Lord" revealed in the Bible. Through the quarterly temperance lessons of the international lesson series, temperance exercises in the Sunday-school, pledge signing, concerts, rallies, mass-meetings, etc., these principles are emphasized. Special effort is made in these directions on Universal temperance Sunday—the fourth Sunday of each November.

Temperance Literature.—This department aims to prepare and circulate books, papers, leaflets, etc., for the general education of public sentiment, and also for topical study in *all the departments* of W. C. T. U. work, that our local meetings may be made interesting and profitable, and our members thoroughly educated in *all branches* of temperance reform.

Presenting the Cause.—This department aims to secure the presentation of our work before all the societies above indicated and any others of suitable character, in towns, counties, districts, States and the nation, that the W. C. T. U. and the principles it advocates may be known and indorsed in influential quarters. The method is to endeavor through members of these associations to secure the passage of a resolution approving our work and committing the associations themselves to do all in their power in their respective fields to advance the cause of total abstinence and prohibition. Our cause should also be presented to the leading associations by our ablest speakers, arrangements being made through the local unions.

Temperance and Labor.—This department is educative, aiming to assist our members to comprehend the changed industrial situation, with its effect on the work and life of the wage-earners. The methods are conferences for the study of the labor question, circular letters, addresses, articles for the press and study in our unions of standard books on the history of labor, and especially of the present conditions of laborers, and by contact with laborers as well as employers. It shall be our especial aim to ameliorate the condition of wage-earning women and children. On the other hand, we aim to discover the total abstainer in labor organizations, and to aid and encourage them to arouse interest among wage-earners in the study of the liquor problem, furnishing them with specimens of the most effective temperance literature, whether of books, papers or pamphlets, and aiding them to secure the best speakers on temperance. We also aim to secure the cooperation of laborers' wives and daughters in our unions, and to secure the publication of temperance information and argument in labor journals and the newspapers patronized by wage-earners.

W. C. T. U. Schools.—This department aims to establish schools at all summer assemblies and camp-meetings where the society's work is brought to the attention of the people; where the aim and needs of each department may be studied and the best methods brought out by competent teachers, to the end that trained workers may take the places of those now unskilled.

The Press.—This department aims to provide the press, both religious and secular, with the latest and most important news concerning the W. C. T. U. work in every department; to bring constantly before the reading public, facts, illustrations, statistics and quotations, directly and indirectly helpful in educating the public mind and conscience along this line of reform; and to correct in the same columns whence they emanate inaccurate statements with regard to our principles, methods or leadership. Particular attention is paid to the metropolitan and associated press and cooperative newspapers, also the capital cities during sessions of the legislature. To this general statement it may be added that "the printed part is less than that which, yet unprinted, waits the press."

Narcotics.—To educate is the first aim of this department; to instill into the minds of the young the injury done by tobacco and to teach adults the effects of tobacco, opium and other narcotics, not only upon the parent, but the offspring; also, to secure laws prohibiting the sale of all narcotics, including tobacco in all its forms. The special work is to organize anti-tobacco leagues, and thereby not only educate but pledge the children against tobacco, particularly in its most dangerous form, the cigarette. The lecturers are fully equipped to carry out the aims and objects of this department, and will build up and strengthen any union calling them.

School Savings Banks.—This department is in the interest of life's great economic and protective forces. Its mission is to establish the savings system in schools throughout the land; to give every child initial instruction in practical thrift; to make the boy and girl alike self-responsible, understanding, happy, temperate, industrious property-owners. Its superintendent has studied economic problems the past two years abroad, with figures, facts and literature. The school savings banks teaching in 400 schools in the United States proves it one of the greatest known popular reform factors. It curtails extravagance, intemperance, labor troubles, pauperism and crime, and directs thought into healthful, uplifting channels. The system is simple, occupying but fifteen minutes per week of school time.

Kindergarten.—This work aims to develop the child harmoniously—the head, heart and hands. In the kindergarten he is given an opportunity to express himself in work, play and song. The teacher aims to direct the child's activities into the right channel and seeks to make the school the natural, normal environment in which his best self can bud forth and grow, thus producing temperate living. If we can begin with the little child we can *form*, which is far better and easier than to *reform*.

Medal Contest Work.—This department aims to set W. C. T. U. principles before the public in the attractive form of public entertainments. Recitations, chiefly by children and young people, are given on prohibition, total abstinence, narcotics, purity, and the various other lines of our work. Judges are appointed, who pronounce upon the merits of the speakers, and a medal is awarded the successful contestant.

This department aims to keep brightly burning upon our altars the sacred fire which was kindled in the Crusade.

To train spiritually the individual worker. To permeate, by its devotional services, Bible readings and consecration, all other departments with the evangelistic spirit. To secure the establishment of the 11 A.M. devotional hour in all conventions.

Evangelistic. To emphasize the importance of the noontide prayer. To arouse the church. To reach the masses by visitation, Gospel missions and conferences, Crusade Bands, wayside services in jails, halls, cottages, depots, etc. To enlist more women who shall preach the Gospel, and to train the workers.

Its methods are, first to secure a superintendent in each State, district, county and local union, through whose instrumentality local unions shall hold meetings with non-churchgoers, thus bringing to them a knowledge of the saving power of Christ.

Unfermented Wine.—This department aims to secure the use of unfermented wine at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; to awaken conviction in every mind that Christ did not make use of or bless intoxicating wine. Methods—Appeals to the ministry and

church officials; presenting petitions and resolutions to religious bodies; proving by the testimony of ancient and modern authorities and missionaries that unfermented wine was in use all through Bible times; securing the preaching of sermons against the use of intoxicating wine upon the Lord's table, as against any other sin, and the extensive circulation of literature upon this subject.

Proportionate and Systematic Giving.—This department seeks to create sentiment in favor of the title system or other methods of proportionate giving, as the most promising means of securing a pure and ample treasury for the Lord's work. The judicious and faithful distribution of systematic giving literature in all the families represented in the unions, also essays and addresses on the subject, and testimonies from those who have adopted the methods, constitute the plan of work.

Penal and Reformatory Work, including Police Station Work.—This department aims to carry gospel temperance to the inmates of prisons and jails; to cooperate in the work of Prisoners' Aid Association; to aid in establishing woman's reformatory prisons and industrial homes for the criminal classes; to secure the appointment of women on State boards of charities and the maintenance of matrons in all prisons and police stations where women are arrested or imprisoned. The gospel and police matron work is directly related to the W. C. T. U., and carried on by personal visitation, by letter and literature.

Work in Almshouses.—The aim of this department is to better the condition of the unfortunate and outcast by establishing libraries, regular Sabbath services, with frequent visitations in these institutions, hoping to bring additional brightness into the lives of those who are not able to obtain it for themselves, and, if possible, to cooperate with State boards of corrections and charities in their work of improving these institutions by bringing practical help along the lines of prevention and cure.

Securing Homes.—The object of this department is to secure a home for every homeless, unprotected child within our borders. These homes must be sought out with great care by our superintendents. In large towns and cities these children are often "at our doors," but we must seek out the waifs of remote and less populous districts. As individuals, members of unions, and church associations, we have become familiar with this work. But now we desire to extend it, to make it more efficient through the concerted action of our organization.

Cooperation with existing children's aid societies is recommended, rather than the forming of new ones, by our unions. These exist in every city and are glad to welcome us as coadjutors.

Work among Railroad Employees.—This department includes work among railroad men, telegraph operators, street-car men, policemen, express and hackmen, and train news agents, with their respective families, and aims to carry the Gospel and temperance, pledge to them all, and to organize among them gospel and temperance clubs, or "R. R. Unions." Cottage meetings, noon shop meetings, and personal work in connection with the mass-meetings is the line followed, with the distribution of literature, etc.

Among Soldiers and Sailors.—This department aims to reach the army and navy with gospel temperance work, also by means of the pledge and temperance literature, through cooperation with commandants and chaplains, by correspondence, articles in papers read by soldiers and sailors, and personal visitation. Also to enlist in this peaceful war all veterans, and to inculcate in the young a spirit of patriotism by securing their aid in the effort to place a flag on every school-house.

Among Lumbermen.—This department aims to carry gospel temperance, by means of the written and spoken word, to the great armies of men in the logging camps, destitute as they are of Christian teaching, and sure to fall an easy prey to the saloons unless forewarned and forearmed.

Among Miners.—This department aims to do for miners the same that is stated above relative to the lumbermen.

Sabbath Observance.—The aim of this department is to educate and arouse the public intellect and conscience, through leaflets, press articles, petitions and all other available means, to the religious, scientific and other reasons for Sabbath observance, especially raising a higher practical standard among professed Christians, and testing our own lives by the Word of God. Also to secure and maintain good Sabbath laws and usages, thus protecting all in their right to a civil rest day and fostering morality.

Mercy Department.—This department aims to develop in our young people the tenderest consideration toward all who are capable of pain, never needlessly inflicting it, and shielding the lower animals from both pain and danger so far as possible, also securing the enactment and enforcement of laws for this beneficent purpose.

Purity Department.—This department aims to exhibit the relations existing between the drink habit and the nameless habits, outrages and crimes which disgrace modern civilization; and especially to point out the brutalizing influence of malt liquors upon the social nature; this study to be conducted by means of mothers' meetings, leaflets, pamphlets, etc., cooperating with the White Cross Army and circulating its literature.

It seeks to establish a single code of morals, and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women. It has in view a distinct effort to impress upon the minds of men and women, youth and maidens, the absolute demands of religion and physiology for purity in thought, word and deed.

It endeavors to secure legislation of a character calculated to protect the honor and purity of the young, and defend women and girls from the depravity of brutal men.

Purity in Literature and Art.—The germ thought of this department is "The Inner Mission"—the Bible as the highest expression of literature. Christ in art now rules the whole kingdom of art. It seeks the elevation of the press, and to this end scrutinizes the literature on news-stands, railroads and steamboats, library shelves, in mail matters, bill posters, shows, exhibitions, art galleries. Its methods are to appeal to Congress, legislators, councils, magistrates and courts for the enforcement of existing and creation of better laws; also lectures and literature to arouse public sentiment.

Parlor Meetings.—This department aims to interest the conservative social classes of society by the use of conservative social means. The meetings are held in homes, the audience gathered by invitation. The methods must vary to meet the varied character of social demands. Religious services, music, a brief address, conversational discussion, distribution of literature and circulation of autograph pledge-books are recommended. Gentlemen may be invited and honorary membership solicited. Refreshments add to the social character of the hour.

Social and Legal.

Flower Mission.—This department aims to graft our gospel work upon a beautiful form of philanthropy. Bouquets are to be tied with white ribbons and a Scripture verse or suggestion relative to temperance to be attached; literature to be circulated to accompany the flowers, and the total abstinence pledge offered at appropriate times.

State and County Fairs.—This department aims to bring temperance ideas and practices in contact with the people, at fairs and other great holiday gatherings, by means of a booth (suitably designated by mottoes, pictures and other decorations), where temperance drinks are dispensed and literature circulated; also to secure, if possible, favorable reference to the subject of temperance in public addresses, made either by those appointed by authorities of the fair, or if this be impracticable, presentation of the subject by our own speakers. This department protests against the sale of intoxicants on holiday occasions, and makes systematic effort to secure the enactment and enforcement of law to this end.

Legislation and Enforcement of Law.—This department aims to secure prohibition by constitutional and statutory law in every State and Territory, and to secure a prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution. Methods are varied, as the manifold work of the W. C. T. U. As all roads once led to Rome, so every purpose and plan points to the consummation defined under this all-embracing "aim." Specifically, petitions to legislative bodies, systematic efforts to enforce existing laws, and a course of study and reading for local unions are included under this department.

Franchise.—This department aims to aid the States that desire to utilize the school ballot for temperance purposes, if already conferred, or to secure in whole or in part the ballot for women as a weapon of protection to their homes from the liquor traffic and its attendant evils. Methods—circular letter with instructions, forms of petition, etc.; distribution and sale of appropriate literature; articles to the press; correspondence and public addresses.

Peace and International Arbitration.—This de-

partment aims to secure such training for the children in home, Sunday-school, public school, and Loyal Temperance Legion, as will make them despise physical combat, and will lift them to a plane where the weapons are arguments, parliamentary usage and law; all of these having above them the "sword of the Spirit," that weapon which is, above all others, worthy of reasonable and responsible beings.

The department also contemplates international arbitration as the method that shall universally replace war, and in this interest, literature will be circulated, public meetings addressed, petitions signed, and cooperation with the peace societies of this and other nations sought.

Christian Citizenship. *Object.*—To study the science of government and the rights and duties of citizens, to educate and influence voters, to combat the evils of organized society at the caucus, convention and ballot-box.

Standpoint.—This is Christian. *Christian* principles and ethical standards must be introduced and maintained in all the social and political relations of mankind.

Work.—Organize the local union for study and work. Organize the boys and girls for training. Organize the voters for direct action. Hold public meetings, circulate literature.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.—(For an account of the woman suffrage movement in England and America, see articles **WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND**, by Helen Blackburn, and **WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES**, by Rachel F. Avery. For woman's industrial position, see article **WOMAN'S WORK AND WAGES**. On other points, consult articles **AGE OF CONSENT**; **DIVORCE**; **FAMILY**; **HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION**; **MARRIAGE**; **PROSTITUTION**; **SOCIAL PURITY**, etc.) We consider in this article, I. Woman's Political and Social History; II. Woman's Present Legal Status; III. The Arguments For and Against Woman Suffrage.

I. WOMAN'S POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

In prehistoric times and among barbarous tribes, women have occasionally been honored more than in later periods. The savage queen has sometimes been recognized as the superior of the savage king. Women in the legendary or heroic period of Greek history occupy a distinctly higher place than in the classic period. The cause for this is undoubtedly that early in the history of man customs have not yet hardened into social laws, and the position accorded to women depended, therefore, less upon social ideas and more upon the character of women. All history shows the same. Women of beauty or of ability, therefore, can secure a comparatively high place.

Primitive Times.

Around woman, too, more than around man develops the family and the home. (See **FAMILY**.) Yet if this be true, it is not so much that women are elevated as that men are debased. The first women, like the first men (see **SOCIOLOGY**), must be thought of as little more than slightly developed animals. If society first formed around the mother, force was the first law, and woman was usually looked upon as a slave, and later as a slave or a toy. She was early exposed to all those revulsions of feeling that follow the gratification, among rude men, of the animal passion. Marriage was regarded ere long, if not at first, as the ownership of women by men as their property. Chastity on the part of women was at first to large extent a property right. Men demanded it in their

property; to far less extent was it considered a merit in themselves. The unequal standard of morals for the two sexes is as old as human history. Women were often bought by their husbands from their fathers. In the Book of Genesis Jacob purchases Leah and Rachel, and pays their father for them in work. The payment of the husband to the father was in Greek called the *édva*, in Latin the *mundrum*. The modern wedding ring is usually supposed to be a relic of this sale. Among the Germanic tribes, where woman was more highly honored, the husband gave a gift, not to the father, but to the bride herself. It was usually given on the morning after the wedding night, and called the *morgengabe*. It is preserved in the modern jointure. In Greece the sale of the daughter by the father was early replaced by a gift from the father to the husband for the use of his wife; and later this dowry was secured to the wife in most cases of separation. All these monetary transactions show how far marriage has its basis in property considerations.

Greece was probably the first country to develop monogamy and to place women on an established basis of honor and of love. The parting of Hector and Andromache, the fidelity of Penelope to Ulysses, the love of Alcestis dying for her husband, the filial piety of Antigone, the heroic death of Polyxena, the resignation of Iphigenia to her father, who would sacrifice her life to fulfil his vow, the joyous love of Nausicaa, are pictures of Grecian womanhood in the early age, which, Lecky says, "Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization, have neither eclipsed nor transcended." Yet the heroes of that age had concubines. Female captives were little respected. Woman was always regarded as the inferior of man.

In the classic age of Greece, woman was legally more protected, was considered more capable of intellectual equality with man; yet morals were much deteriorated and a sensual conception of woman far more developed. The virtuous woman was secluded. In Xenophon's picture of the married life, the young wife is portrayed as an innocent child, petted and tutored by her husband. At a later stage, Plutarch conceives of husband and wife as equals; but usually the virtuous woman was under the tutelage first of her father, then of her husband; if widowed, of her sons. Marriage was regarded in civic light as the means of producing citizens. Protected somewhat by the law, the Greek wife was by custom fettered exclusively to household circles.

The Greek *hetæra*, or courtesan, was, on the contrary, free to develop mind and body, and became the intellectual companion of man. Statesmen like Pericles and philosophers like Socrates honored the *hetæra* in public and in private. Says Lecky (*History of European Morals*, vol. ii., chap. v.): "If we can imagine Ninon de l'Enclos at a time when the rank and splendor of Parisian society thronged her drawing-rooms, reckoning a Bossuet or a Fénelon among her followers—if we can imagine these prelates publicly advising her about the duties of her profession, and the means of attaching the affec-

tions of her lovers, we shall have conceived a relation scarcely more strange than that which existed between Socrates and the courtesan Theodota." Aspasia won the love of Pericles by her genius as well as by her beauty. The courtesan Leontium was among the followers of Epicurus. Socrates owned his deep obligation to the courtesan Deotima.

Courtezans were honored, too, in connection with religion. They were the voluptuous priestesses of Aphrodite. The form of Phryne, carved in gold, stood in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Schools of vice at Miletus, Tenedos, Lesbos, and Abydos were connected with the temples. The love of beauty in a climate where the eye could become acquainted with the nude in the gymnasia and the baths, the worship of life and the instruments of the propagation of life, tended to this result. In Pompeii a symbol of the male organ of generation seems commonly to have been stamped on bread as representing the sustainer of life. Nor must the sensuality of Greece and Rome be regarded as exceptional. (See PROSTITUTION.) Says Lecky (*idem*, chap. v.):

"There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful and in some respects the most awful upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed for the most part to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the efficient guardian of virtue. But for her the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder would have known the agony of remorse and despair. In that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people."

In Rome, woman, except in the very earliest period, was given more legal rights than in Greece. Marriage was regarded in law and in social ideals as a contract between equals. This in the earliest period was overridden, it is true, by the **Rome.** terrible powers given to the father of the family (see FAMILY); but this was gradually modified, and the Roman and Stoic exaltation of the individual was extended to the wife. "*Ubi tu Caius, ego Caiâ,*" the Roman wife could say. This tendency to conceive of marriage as a contract between sovereign individuals led to easy divorce. The disintegration of marriage ties that set in is well known. (See FAMILY.) Seneca says that marriage was contracted to give piquancy to adultery. Friends exchanged wives. Under the empire the sensuality of the East was added to the vices of the West. In the East, alike in ancient Babylon, in Persian poets and Arabian Nights tales, the conception of woman is almost purely sensual. The Jewish conception was to an extent, tho only to an extent, an exception to this. The women of the Jewish Scriptures show strength rather than the beauty of family love. Miriam, Deborah, Jael, Jezebel, Athaliah, Esther, are heroines. Ruth almost alone

represents a pure idyllic life. But the institutions of the Mosaic code, the polygamy of early Jewish life, the symbolism of the Song of Songs, show the sensual basis of the Jewish conception of woman out of which she could arise only by heroic deeds. Lecky thinks the Jewish type of woman far inferior to those of Greek poetry or Roman history. We find, however, a distinct evolution. Polygamy seems to have disappeared after the purging sufferings of the Babylonish captivity. The pictures in the New Testament of Elizabeth, of Anna, and, above all, of Mary, even before the influence of Christianity, show the comparatively high and pure development of the Jewish woman in the days immediately before Christ.

The influence of Christianity on the legal and political status of woman has been much discussed. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM.) Viewed from

the standpoint of modern ideas, the Pauline conception of woman is distinctly low. "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church, and He is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything," so St. Paul writes to the Ephesians (chap. v. 22-24). Those who assert the low estimate of women held by St. Paul have undoubtedly no little basis for their view, even tho St. Paul immediately added, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it." Marriage also by the Church fathers, and, to some extent, even in the pages of the New Testament, is conceived of as at best a weakness, a legal concession to the flesh. Paul writes to the Corinthians that "it is good for a man not to touch a woman; nevertheless to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife and every woman have her own husband" (1 Cor. vii. 1, 2). In the same letter he says: "The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife." The extremes to which the early Church carried the praise of virginity and the identification of marriage with sin is well known. Jerome says that tho marriage may replenish the earth, virginity replenishes heaven (Westermarck's *History of Marriage*). (See FAMILY.)

Nevertheless, the ideas of the early Church must be compared not with our ideas, but with those of that day, and the purity of the Christian family and the honor paid to woman is as light itself compared with the darkness of the impurity of the pagan world.

Christ's teaching that evil consists in the impure heart rather than in the body, that he "who looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart," indicates an almost infinite advance in moral elevation. The mere fact that marriage became the symbol of the espousals of Christ and His Church indicated and led to an elevation of the wedded life. "Concubina" is never written on a Christian grave. Says Origen:

"There is not a Christian community which has not been exempted from a thousand vices and a thousand passions" (*Contra Celsum*). (For the influence of Christianity on the Roman legislation in regard to woman, see CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) "Tutelage of women must be done away with," say Justinian's *Institutes*. Many laws were passed giving woman more legal rights and protection.

Coming to woman's position in the Middle Ages, it appears the result of the blending of many influences, the laws of the Roman Empire, the ideals of Christianity, the asceticism of the clergy, the traditions of Germanic tribes, the romanticism of chivalry, and the lust of warlike men. (See MIDDLE AGES; FAMILY; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.) The Germanic tribes honored woman, yet rather, as we have seen above, on the basis of savage equality than of legal status. Compared with the corruption of Rome, the purity of Germanic marriage struck Tacitus, and, through him and similar writers, has been much emphasized, but its purity did not begin to compare with that of early Christianity. Polygamy was allowed to princes; the wife was usually bought; the male adulterer, by some laws at least, was allowed simply to pay the injured husband or to provide him a new wife. (See CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM.)

The influence of the Church in the Middle Ages was twofold. The influence of monasticism and asceticism on the ordinary life of woman was almost wholly bad. To conceive of marriage as sin was to give it over to sin. The terrible reactions of asceticism and the corruption developed by monasticism (*q. v.*) are well known. (See MIDDLE AGES.) Nevertheless, the nunneries did enable some women to escape the violence of the times and develop saintly lives.

In connection with this was the development of Mariolatry. The worship of the Virgin has probably more connection with the romantic and partly sensuous ideas of medieval chivalry than all writers are willing to admit. Yet no one can question its influence in part for good. Says Lecky:

"It is also a striking illustration of the qualities which prove most attractive in women that one of whom we know nothing except her gentleness and her sorrow should have exercised a magnetic power upon the world incomparably greater than was exercised by the most majestic female patriots of paganism. Whatever may be thought of its theological propriety, there can be little doubt that the Catholic reverence for the Virgin has done much to elevate and purify the ideal of woman and to soften the manners of men. It has had an influence which the worship of the pagan goddesses could never possess, for these had been almost destitute of moral beauty, and especially of that kind of moral beauty which is peculiarly feminine. It supplied in a great measure the redeeming and ennobling element in that strange amalgam of religious, licentious, and military feeling which was formed around women in the age of chivalry, and which no succeeding change of habit or belief has wholly destroyed."

But the worship of the Virgin was an effect as well as a cause. Lecky admits this when he says: "The position that was gradually assigned to the Virgin as the female ideal, in the

belief and the devotion of Christendom, was a consecration or an expression of the new value that was attached to the feminine virtues." Whence chivalry came no man wholly knows. It had a deep root in sensuality. No one can read the romances of the Middle Ages, the poetry of the minnesingers or the troubadours, without realizing this. Its honoring of woman was in part borne of degrading views. Men cannot pay certain forms of respect to women without giving them, in their very adulation, the grossest insult. To praise a woman's weakness is to acknowledge it, and to show that one's ideal of womanhood is weak. To worship physical love is to confess to a low type of loving. The connection between chivalry and licentiousness is always close. Nevertheless there was another root. Woman in the Middle Ages stood for the softening of war and violence and strife. When the knight knelt before his lady, he rose to a nobler manhood, and chivalry honored the source of the higher life. The chivalry of the Middle Ages was far higher than the classic worship of the *hetære*; it was undoubtedly far lower than the less romantic love of women at the present time.

The effect of the Protestant Reformation on the social status of woman was undoubtedly good, tho not an unmixed good. Its greatest effect in this respect was to condemn celibacy, the false praise of virginity, and the condemnation of marriage. Second only to this was its effect in freeing woman from subjection to the confessor and the priest. The sanctity of married life, the inviolability of the home, are almost distinctively Protestant conceptions. Undoubtedly, with these enormous strides forward, certain evils came in. The tendency to secularize the marriage relation has to some extent tended also to commercialize it and to increase divorce (*q. v.*). However, of this secularizing and liberalizing tendency has come the modern movement toward woman's rights. It has, however, only developed in our own century. Milton, in his day, makes Eve say to Adam (*Paradise Lost*, Book IV.):

"God is the law, thou mine;
To know no more is woman's happiest knowledge and
her praise."

Even Rousseau says:

"Women are specially made to please men. . . . All their education should be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to bring them up when young, to take care of them when grown up, to counsel, to console them, to make their lives agreeable and pleasant—these in all ages have been the duties of women, and it is for these duties that they should be educated from infancy. . . . Being incapable of judging for themselves [as to religion], they ought to accept the decision of their fathers and their husbands like that of the Church" (*Emile*, ch. v.).

In 1797 Charles Fox said in a speech:

"It has never been suggested in all the theories and projects of the most absurd speculation, that it would be advisable to extend the elective suffrage to the female sex."

This brings us, however, to our own century, and we pass to consider:

II. WOMAN'S PRESENT LEGAL STATUS.

(a) IN THE UNITED STATES.

The brevity of this article prevents any attempt to give a full statement of the conditions prevailing for women under the laws of each State and Territory, no two of their codes being exactly alike; but the following statement has been compiled by Mrs. Rachel F. Avery for this encyclopædia from Jessie J. Cassidy's *Legal Status of Woman* (1897). Says Mrs. Avery:

"With the early ideas of woman as a chattel, it followed naturally that men making the laws should provide that whatever the woman possessed should also, with her person, become the property of her husband when she married. Slowly but surely this idea has had to give way to the realization of woman as a distinct creation, with individual rights of her own; we therefore find recorded in the laws and statutes and, in a few cases, in the constitutions of our States and Territories, a gradually increasing recognition of the wife's right to hold property after marriage. *Full control of property by the woman after marriage* exists in Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma Territory, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming. In Nevada and South Dakota the wife may have full control, provided a list of her property be filed with the County Recorder; but this demand of the law would put such control out of the hands of many women. The first year which gave such a right to a woman was 1844, and the last such change in her favor was made in 1895.

Partial control by the woman after marriage prevails in Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Property is entirely in the hands of the husband in Florida, Idaho and Texas.

The Power to Will Property.—Since Connecticut set the example of giving this right to women, early in the century, all the other commonwealths have one by one followed; but this does not mean that a wife may will all her property away from the husband, no matter how unworthy he may have proven himself, unless she has legally separated herself from him. She has still no right to devise by will a dollar's worth of the earnings of the marriage copartnership, these being considered as a part of her husband's estate. In the matter of the recognition of the earning power of woman in marriage, it remains for the States where women are fully enfranchised to set an example in legislation. As things now stand, the hardest working wife, dying before her husband, dies penniless (unless having inherited money or earned it outside the home in some State where she has the right to her own wages), and unable to provide by will for aged parents or her children by a preceding marriage. The husband, on the other hand, dying before his wife has it in his power to so provide to the extent of quite a liberal proportion of their joint earnings, should it please him so to do, provided he does not will away from the wife her dower. It is no mere phrase, but a fact of law that the average wife is 'buried from the home of her husband,' for while he is alive she has no home of her very own.

A wife has right to her own wages in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

She has partial right to her own earnings in Arizona, California, Georgia, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma Territory, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee and Virginia.

She has no control of her own earnings in Louisiana and Texas.

"In Pennsylvania the woman must present a petition under oath to the Court of Common Pleas that she intends to take advantage of the Act of 1872, giving her a right to her own wages, before she can really claim

them; this seems an unnecessary addition to the labor of earning them; but the climax of man's generosity to woman is surely reached in Nevada, where the Act of 1873, relating to wages of married women, states that 'her earnings are the wife's, if the husband has allowed her to appropriate them to her own use, and are deemed a gift from him to her.' Think of the privilege of being kindly permitted to 'appropriate' your own earnings, provided you would be careful to consider them 'a gift' from your husband!

"The right of married mothers to their children has been refused longer than any other personal right," says Cassidy in her 'Legal Status of Woman,' from which this article is compiled. Men have been willing to give the child born out of wedlock to its mother, but legal heirs they have wished to hold in their own power.

"Mothers and fathers are equal in power in Colorado, Kansas, Maine, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.

"In all the other States and in the Territories the mother is at a disadvantage, varying from the point of being simply ignored legally while the father is living, to the more crushing injustice of having no power to prevent the father from willing a way from her custody the youngest infant or even 'a child likely to be born.' It is sometimes claimed that such laws as this last mentioned (still holding in Minnesota and North Carolina) are dead letters, but this is not the case; they are dead only so long as no case arises under them, but put to the test, they are as stern realities as if they had been enacted but yesterday."

For other phases of woman's legal position see articles upon MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE; AGE OF CONSENT; WOMAN'S WORK AND WAGES, etc.

(b) IN GREAT BRITAIN.

In Great Britain there has been recently great advance in woman's legal status. Down to 1839, an English mother had no right to her own offspring. Her husband, even during her lifetime, could with immunity place his children under the control of his mistress, or wherever he would, and deny the mother all access to them. After that year a mother, not guilty of adultery, could be protected in her right to care for her children up to the age of seven and to have access to them to a later age. In 1873, on special application, a mother could gain the right to care for her children to the age of 16. All other legal powers were, however, vested in the father, and even after his death the mother was not the natural guardian of her own children. She was so recognized only by the law of 1886. The father may yet, however, appoint a guardian to act with the mother after his death. Up till 1857, a man who abandoned his wife could return to her, appropriate her earnings, and sell all she had acquired, and do this repeatedly. The Act of 1857, however, protected the earnings of a deserted wife, and the Act of 1886 secured her alimony from her husband. In all cases, however, except desertion, the husband had full power over the wife's earnings. He could be compelled to give her a bare maintenance, but otherwise he could spend her earnings in the brothel or where he would. Only by the law of 1870 were the wife's own earnings protected. All other property was, however, left wholly unprotected. By common law the wife possessed nothing. All property willed to her after marriage over £200 was her husband's. She could not sue or be sued, and could make no contract without the husband's consent. The courts of chancery somewhat modified this, till acts of 1882 and 1893 gave the wife ample protection. If a wife, however, dies intestate, all her property goes to her husband. If the husband dies intestate, and has no children, his wife only receives £500 more than one half his property, unless it does not exceed £500, the rest going to his nearest blood relations. In the divorce court, too, a husband need only prove adultery. The wife must prove adultery and some aggravation, like cruelty or desertion.

(c) ON THE CONTINENT.

On the continent less advance has been made, though in Russia woman's property has been from the earliest times perfectly secure and unaffected by marriage. In Switzerland, the custom of treating women as perpetual minors only wholly disappeared in 1881. Women's earnings were protected in Sweden in 1884 and in Denmark in 1880. The property of married women was protected in Norway in 1888. New civil codes in Germany and Italy indicate advance.

Of Germany, Mrs. Bertrand Russell writes in *The Nineteenth Century* for September, 1896:

"Associations founded for political objects may not have women, scholars, or apprentices as members, nor may women, scholars, or apprentices be present at any meetings of such associations." So runs the Prussian Coalition law, and the laws of Bavaria, Brunswick, and some of the smaller States impose the same limitations on women. These laws explain in a large measure why there is not in Germany any strong and well-organized woman movement. But besides the political there is also a social cause. The incomes of the professional and mercantile classes are much smaller than in England, and German women are therefore obliged to devote a great part of their time and thought to household work.

If unmarried girls of the middle class have revolted to some extent, the cause has been mainly economic. Self-support rather than self-development was their aim, and tho it was a narrow aim it had in it the germ of a larger movement. Their first and most important question was that of higher education. German women could not attend the universities, tho, absurdly enough, foreign women were admitted, and they could not study or practice law or medicine. At last women are permitted to practice medicine, tho the training and degree for it must still be obtained abroad. German women may also now attend lectures in most of the German universities, but without being allowed to matriculate, and generally on the sufferance of the professors. In the course of all this agitation, for even these few concessions have not been won without very great efforts, the women of the middle classes began to realize that no real improvement could be effected in their position without some change of the laws. A woman is entirely under the guardianship of her husband, and her property and earnings are wholly at his disposal. After her children are four years old, she only has as much control over them as the law allows to those grossly immoral or inebriate fathers whose control has had to be supplemented by legally appointed guardians. And after the death of the father his will or the law may appoint a third person as guardian, who will have equal control with the mother over the children. If the mother marries again, she loses all control over children. . . . The future of the woman movement in Germany undoubtedly lies with the Social Democratic party, the only strong political party in the world that demands the full equality of the sexes."

Of France, Jeanne E. Schmake says, in *The Forum* for September, 1896 (condensed):

"The question of religious differences cannot be passed over when treating of the women's question in France, because of the stress laid upon it by the women themselves. Whatever may be the religious attitude of political France, the majority of French women are Catholics; whereas up to January, 1893, the women's movement in Paris was ostensibly hostile to Catholicism, and the tenets of its leaders extreme Republicanism. Among the more thoughtful, it came to be pretty generally admitted that there was room for some association of no special political or religious tendency—simply groups of men and women united on one point—viz., the amendment of laws concerning women, with perhaps no other point of contact of opinion. A powerful association was gradually forming. Among its earliest members were the leading journalists of Paris, deputies and senators of every shade of opinion, celebrated scientists and jurists, and a few of the best-known female authors, among whom was Madame Adam, now for the first time taking part in the women's movement. Then, as if to give special significance to the new mode of action, a few women of the old French aristocracy, notably the Duchesse d'Uzès, joined the movement. With such a staff the actual work was comparatively easy, and I willingly consented to direct the young association; and we started *l'Avant Courrière* on January 30, 1893.

"Taking into consideration that the civil code is the one great obstacle to the emancipation of women in France, we decided to attack it. We were not long in coming to the conclusion that, financial freedom being the root of all liberty, we must first set to work to obtain for married women the right to their own earnings. . . .

Germany.

France.

"On February 27, 1896, the bill conferring upon married women the power of free disposition of their earnings passed the Chamber of Deputies without opposition—the first time in French history that a woman's rights movement has received support from the government. It is difficult to predict what reception we shall get in the Senate, yet even there we have many friends, and therefore have the right to be hopeful. This very important modification of the French marriage laws affects about 4,500,000 workwomen, not to speak of authors, musicians, painters, actresses, teachers, shop-assistants, and domestic servants—in all about 6,000,000 women-workers, who, if married, have, as the law now stands, no right to their own earnings, if that right has not been stipulated for by a legal agreement made at the time of their marriage."

III. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(a) ARGUMENTS FOR IT.

The arguments for woman suffrage are based partly upon the asserted natural rights of woman, partly upon the need of woman's influence in politics both to protect her own sex and to purify the increasingly important realm of political action; thirdly, upon the good results of woman suffrage where already tried. Upon the first point, says a leaflet published by the American Woman Suffrage Association :

"The basic argument for woman suffrage is that women have as clear a title to the ballot as men have. It is urged that women are governed, but without their consent. From the Declaration of Independence is quoted: 'Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' In the support of the claim that the suffrage is a right of both sexes alike, the late George William Curtis said, in an address before the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1867 :

"The rights which they [the fathers of the republic] declared to be inalienable are what are usually called natural as distinguished from political rights, but they are not limited by sex. A woman has the same right to her life, liberty and property that a man has, and she has consequently the same right to an equality of protection that he has; and this, as I understand it, is what is meant by the phrase, 'the right of suffrage.' If I have a natural right to my life and liberty, I have the same right to everything that protects that life and liberty which any other man enjoys. I ask, the same for every woman in this State.

"Our fathers answered the question of the best and surest protection of natural right by their famous phrase, 'the consent of the governed.' That is to say, since every man is born with equal rights, he is entitled to an equal protection of them with all other men; and, since government is that protection, right reason and experience alike demand that every person shall have a voice in the government upon perfectly equal and practicable terms—that is, upon terms which are not necessarily insurmountable by any part of the people.

"I deny that the people of the State of New York can rightfully—that is, according to right reason and the principles of this government derived from it, permanently exclude any class of persons or any person whatever from a voice in the government, unless it can be clearly established that their participation in political power would be dangerous to the State."

Upon the second point, the need for woman suffrage, it is claimed that women cannot be adequately protected while men alone make the laws, and the denial of the franchise to women is denounced as a stigma degrading her to the same category with idiots, lunatics, and criminals. It is urged that woman's mind would be broadened and elevated by a study of public questions, and, further, that voting is the quietest, easiest, most dignified, and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It is asserted that women need the ballot to protect their business interests and to acquire social

and personal rights that are now denied them. It is claimed that woman suffrage would increase the strength of the home element in politics, secure the election of better men to office, and introduce higher moral standards into government.

(For evidence of the need of woman to protect her sex in legislation, see Sec. 2 of this article, on "Woman's Present Legal Status." See also article AGE OF CONSENT.)

Concerning the results of woman suffrage, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the *Woman's Journal* of Boston, writes the *Voice* of November 9, 1893, as follows :

"In England, Mr. Gladstone is on record as saying the women have exercised municipal suffrage "without detriment and with great advantage." Lady Randolph Churchill and the band of highly conservative English women who published a "remonstrance" against granting parliamentary suffrage to women, a few years ago, were careful to say that they had no objection to municipal suffrage, and even thought its responsibilities had exerted a beneficial effect on the character of women.

"In the States where women have school suffrage only, the vote of women has generally been small, as the vote of men is always small wherever the school committee are chosen at a separate election; but the women who have voted have been almost without exception of the intelligent and respectable class.

"The statement has been widely circulated that the vote of the Boston women for the school board is falling off. At the last school election in Boston, 4000 more women voted than at the previous election; and the women's vote for the past five years has averaged more than six times what it averaged for the five years previous."

"In Wyoming, full suffrage was extended to women by the Legislature of that Territory in 1869. The results proved so satisfactory that the law was continued upon the statute book for 20 years. In 1889, the constitutional convention elected to frame a constitution for the new State of Wyoming and embodied a woman suffrage clause in the constitution by a five-sixths vote. The constitution containing this woman suffrage clause was submitted to the people (the people in this case meaning both men and women), and was ratified by a very large majority. Wyoming was admitted to the Union with this clause in its constitution by a vote of 132 to 119 in the House of Representatives and a vote of 29 to 18 in the Senate. The House of the Wyoming Legislature of 1893, just before adjournment, passed by a unanimous vote the following concurrent resolution :

"Be it resolved by the Second Legislature of the State of Wyoming :

"That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this State, and that without any violent and oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilization and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly 25 years of woman suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poorhouse, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the State, is almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilized community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

"Resolved, That an authenticated copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the governor of the State to the Legislature of every State and Territory in this country, and to every legislative body in the world; and that we request the press throughout the civilized world to call the attention of their readers to these resolutions."

"Every governor of Wyoming for more than 20 years has testified that much good has resulted from woman suffrage."

More recent experience bears out, according to the woman suffrage believers, these good results. The first legislature elected in Colorado after the granting of woman suffrage raised the age of consent from 14 to 18, and gave a

married woman an equal voice with her husband in regard to children. At the last election in Denver, the women are credited with defeating the saloon element. A correspondent of the *Congregationalist* writes from Sydney, South Australia, under date of May 9, 1896, that it is generally conceded there that woman suffrage has made parliamentary elections more orderly. It is true that nowhere has woman suffrage introduced startling changes, but this is neither to be expected nor desired.

OBJECTIONS TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE ANSWERED.

The main objections to woman suffrage are that (1) women are physically disqualified from participation in the actual work of government; that they are unfitted for service in the fire and police departments and for the work of paving and lighting streets, building roads, and other forms of public property; (2) home duties would prevent woman, even if she were physically able, from participating in the administration of law, chiefly in such capacities as police officer and juror; (3) woman suffrage would divide the husband and wife and leave the family no longer a social unit; (4) women are now virtually represented at the polls and in government.

To the first objection cited above the answer is, that what the voter needs is not personal knowledge of how to build sewers, construct aqueducts, run law courts, etc., but sufficient judgment and common sense to elect honest men to office to attend to these things. Women share in the results of these material things of government, and if the work has been badly performed, women suffer quite as much as the men, and therefore are entitled to a voice in the choosing of men who shall control these matters.

To the second objection answer is made that a woman need not cease to be domestic because she is also patriotic and takes an intelligent interest in public questions. Such a patriotic woman will be a more rational companion for her husband and a broader-minded mother for her children. Women owe the men of their families mental and spiritual companionship. In none of the States is the ability to bear arms or serve as juror or police officer regarded as a qualification for the suffrage. Not all male citizens, but only able-bodied male citizens, are subject to police duty. Women at home have as much time for voting as busy men, and they have more time for thought.

To the third objection, reply is made that in matters of opinion and belief the unit must necessarily be the individual, not the family: The family ought to be a unit in affection, but it cannot always be a unit in opinion, and it rarely is so.

There is no country where the franchise is given to every head of a family and to no one else. No matter how many men over 21 years of age there may be in a household, each of them has a vote to represent his opinion. With the family as the suffrage unit, a widower who had lost his wife and children would be debarred from voting, because he is no longer the head of a family.

To the fifth objection, that women are represented already, the reply is, men cannot repre-

sent women, because they are unlike women. Women as a class have tasks, interests and occupations which they alone can adequately represent. Men specially represent material interests; women will specially represent the interests of the home. The laws relating to the liquor traffic and to social purity, and the laws giving the husband power of disposing of his wife's property or children without her consent, and many other laws that might be cited, are evidence that the views of women are not represented in government. James Otis, one of the earliest American orators and a contemporary of Patrick Henry, said: "No such phrase as 'virtual representation' was ever known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and an illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd."

Other objections are: (1) politics are necessarily corrupting; (2) women would vote as their husbands or fathers do; (3) the best women will not vote; (4) most women do not want to vote; (5) woman suffrage would only double the vote without changing results; (6) woman suffrage would diminish respect for women.

The answers generally made to these objections are: (1) "If politics are necessarily corrupting," why not advise good men to quit voting? (2) Many women have no husbands and no living fathers. If they have and vote as these men do, there will be no quarrel; if they vote differently, then this objection falls to the ground. (3) Women who *will not* vote are not the best women. Women who are really conscientious will not shirk their duties when the time comes. (4) There is frequently an election toward which a majority of the voters may be said to be indifferent. It has been shown by statistics that, except in years of presidential election, a majority of men in Massachusetts do not vote. (5) But the quality of the voters changes the quality of politics. A political party of men and women will not be the same as a party of men alone. (6) Voting is power. Power always commands respect. Women armed with the ballot will be stronger and more respected than ever before.

THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The arguments against woman suffrage are as various as those claimed for it. The main argument is that influence and power, even political influence and power, are and ought to be of more kinds than one. Voting is not the only means of political and social power. Quiet home influences are greater powers, even in politics, and in this realm woman is supreme. Men rule the outer world, women the inner. To drag women into the public arena is to weaken her influence at home and to violate that law of sex which nature has made, not man.

That women do not need to vote in order to secure proper legislation can be seen by the fact that without the ballot, laws almost revolutionary have been enacted in favor of women in almost all countries within the last few years. In England and in many American States, women are legally protected as much as men. Some injustices doubtless remain, but these are abated by instances where women are more pro-

tected than men. Says Dr. Goldwin Smith, in *Essays on Questions of the Day* :

"The law regarding the property of married women has been so far reformed in the interests of the wife, that, instead of being unduly favorable to the husband, it seems rather inspired by mistrust of him. The practice is still more so. It has become the custom to tie up a woman's property on marriage so that she shall not be able, even if she is so inclined, to make provision for her husband, in case he survives her, in old age, and save him from the necessity of receiving alms from his own children.

"That the administration of the law has been unfavorable to women few will contend. In jury cases, at least, the difficulty is not for women to get justice against men, but for men to get justice against women."

Says Francis M. Scott, of New York : "The law of this State not only does not discriminate against woman in any respect, save that of voting, but actually affords to her many special privileges and immunities not enjoyed by men."

Undoubtedly laws could be improved for both men and women ; but all cannot be done in a day, and the fact, which no one can deny, that enormous progress has recently been made in the legal status of women without woman suffrage shows that it is *not* necessary to such progress. Nor does woman suffrage necessarily bring great improvement. Even its friends do not claim that it has accomplished much. Says a tract, *Woman Suffrage Tested by its Fruits*, published by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Woman :

"In Wyoming, full suffrage was given to women in 1869, and has been exercised by them ever since, at first under the territorial and later under the State form of government.

"Wyoming enjoys the distinction of legalizing gambling. Licenses are granted for gambling just as they are for liquor-selling, tho at a higher rate.

"There is another section of the Wyoming statutes in which we fail to recognize the gentle and humanizing influence of women. It is Section 875, and defines 'excusable homicide' thus : 'When committed by accident or misfortune in the heat of passion upon any sudden or sufficient provocation, or upon a sudden combat ; provided that no undue advantage is taken, nor any dangerous weapon used, and that the killing is not done in a cruel or unusual manner.' There may be other States which pronounce killing 'excusable' when done in 'the heat of passion,' provided it is not attended by unusual cruelty, but we do not recall them."

Of Colorado, a writer in *The Outlook* for March 20, 1897, says woman suffrage has not purified politics ; that the laws of the State as regards social purity and the rights of married women are not yet abreast of some of the Eastern States, while Wyoming is far behind Colorado.

The bad results of women's entry into the public arena are not so easily shown, because they consist mainly in the weakening of the home life and the quiet influence of women. But though they cannot be shown, they may be, and many believe that they are most marked and most threatening.

Feeling that there is a profound law of nature which enthrones woman in the home as men in political life, most women do not want the suffrage. Says the tract, *Tested by its Fruits* :

"How small is the proportion of women who really wish the ballot may be inferred from the 'referendum' upon the question of municipal suffrage for women, taken in Massachusetts in 1895. The opportunity was given to women at that election, without any expense, or any trouble beyond that of registering and voting,

to say whether they wanted municipal suffrage. Out of about 575,000 women entitled to vote, only 22,204 expressed a desire for the ballot. In Massachusetts, therefore, where the suffrage agitation has been as active as anywhere in the Union, less than 4 per cent. of the women want to vote. Assuming that this ratio holds generally, the suffrage proposition is that the ballot shall be forced upon the 96 per cent. of indifferent or reluctant women, because the 4 per cent. wish it."

Victoria Woodhull Martin, in the *Humanitarian* for July, 1896, says upon this point :

"In England, while other aspects of the woman's movement have gained ground, this (the suffrage phase) has moved slowly. Little has been achieved beyond a monster petition ; despite the platitudes of vote-catching ministers, the bill was relinquished in the last Parliament amid ribald laughter, and this session it has been dropped with a silence which is even more contemptuous."

Says Heloise Jamison, in the *Woman's Journal* for May, 1894 :

"Woman's place is in the forefront of life, that of the family and of the nation.

"Woman's chance of saving, elevating, caring for them lies in staying with them behind the barrier that love has raised. Her chance of protecting herself and man is to go with him to the edge of battle, pray for him in the needs-must of public duty, be the incentive for his return, and the reward of his hard endeavor.

"The destiny of the race is in her hands. God and man have placed it there, and it is in no spirit of self-praise or gratulation that she must carry on what is, after all these ages, but just begun. Every power in her must awake ; she will decide what public work is consistent with this final duty and what is not. Chivalry is no myth of the Middle Ages, but a truth of the century about to dawn. The names of mother, wife, sister must not become the football of sentiment-mongers or of mistaken realists in thought. If the ballot would be a hindrance, we must have none of it."

References : *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Stanton, Anthony, and Gage ; *The Legal Status of Women*, Jessie J. Cassidy ; *The Matriarchate*, Elizabeth Cady Stanton ; *The Subjection of Woman*, John Stuart Mill ; *The Rights of Women*, Ostrogorski ; *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, Mary Wollstonecraft ; *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, Margaret Fuller ; *History of Woman*, Lydia Maria Child. For views opposed to woman suffrage see Helen K. Johnson's *Woman and the Republic*.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

—The woman suffrage movement in England is a natural outgrowth from the great Reform Act of 1832, which, by admitting £10 householders to vote, gave a wide extension to the electorate in a popular direction. But the extension applied to men only ; the act excluded women from all share in its provisions by restricting the new franchises to "male persons."

This was the first time that the word "male" had been used in the electoral law of England ; hitherto the words used had always been of a generic character—"persons," "freeholders," etc. Yet at the very time Parliament thus deliberately excluded them from this right of citizenship, numbers of women were taking a keen interest in the great public questions of the time. The long struggle over the Reform Bill had called out the enthusiasm of the sisters, wives, and mothers, as well as of the brothers, husbands, and fathers of the land. The interest women were thus learning to take in public questions was still further developed by the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

An article in the *Westminster Review* from the pen of Mrs. John Stuart Mill in 1851, and a pamphlet on the *Right of Women to the Po-*

litical Franchise, by "Justitia," in 1855, were among the early indications that a strong feeling was gradually growing up among thoughtful people against the exclusion of women from the franchise—a feeling that only waited an opportunity to take definite form of expression. That opportunity came when the return of Mr. John Stuart Mill, as member for Westminster in 1865, gave the women's cause a champion in the House of Commons just at the very time when a further extension of household suffrage was in prospect.

Three thoughtful women already engaged in promoting the employment and higher education of women—Miss Jessie Boucherett (who in 1859 had founded the Society for Employment of Women), Miss Barbara Leigh-Smith, or, as she had then become, Mrs. Bodichon, and Miss Emily Davies (the future founders of Girton College)—consulted Mr. John Stuart Mill. He said he would be glad to present a petition if it were signed by 100 women; he would not like to present one with less than 100 names. They set to work and procured the signatures of 1499 women to a petition of which the terms were as follows:

"That it having been expressly laid down by high authorities that the possession of property in this country carries with it the right to vote in the election of representatives in Parliament, it is an evident anomaly that some holders of property are allowed to use this right, while others, forming no less a constituent part of the nation, and equally qualified by law to hold property, are not able to exercise this privilege. "That the participation of women in the government is consistent with the principles of the British constitution, inasmuch as women in these islands have always been held capable of sovereignty, and women are eligible for various public offices.

"Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honorable house to consider the expediency of providing for the representation of all householders, without distinction of sex, who possess such property or rental qualification as your honorable house may determine."

The petition was presented by Mr. Mill in May, 1866. In the autumn of that year a paper was read by Mrs. Bodichon at the Social Science Congress in Manchester, on reasons for the enfranchisement of women. This paper attracted considerable attention to the subject, and its immediate result was the formation of a Woman Suffrage Committee in Manchester, and the introduction of Miss Lydia Becker to the movement with which henceforth her life became identified. As honorable secretary of the Manchester Committee, she threw all her great powers of mind into the work.

On May 20th, 1867, Mr. Mill introduced his amendment to the representation of the People's Bill to leave out the word *man* and insert *person*. The amendment was rejected by 106 to 83.

In the autumn of 1868 a general election took place, and constitutional lawyers like Mr. Chisholm Anstey having given it as their opinion that women who held qualifications under the early franchises in force before the Act of 1832 were legally entitled to vote, 5000 women in Manchester and others in various places applied to have their names on the register. The revising barristers were uncertain; some allowed, some disallowed the claim; a test case* was

brought before the Court of Common Pleas and argued before Lord Chief Justice Bovill; judgment was given against the claim on the ground that it was contrary to usage for women to vote.

After this decision, the movement became definitely organized, and a band of earnest women, some of whom have passed away and some continue still in the work, set themselves resolutely to the task.

The next important step was the introduction in 1870 of the "Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women," by Mr. John Bright, M.P. The bill, which consisted of one clause, was as follows:

"That in all acts relating to the qualification or registration of voters, or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females, for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

The second reading was carried on May 4 by 124 votes to 91; but when it came into committee on the 12th, the opponents rallied in force and cast it out by 220 votes against to 94 in favor.

Again and again a bill was introduced, again and again debates took place in the House of Commons, with varying results.

In 1879 the procedure was varied by the introduction of a resolution in place of a bill. The resolution, which was moved by Mr. Leonard Courtney, was in the following terms:

"That in the opinion of this house it is injurious to the best interests of the country that women, who are entitled to vote in municipal, parochial, and school-board elections, when possessed of the statutory qualifications, should be disabled from voting in parliamentary elections, altho possessed of the statutory qualifications, and that it is expedient that this disability be forthwith repealed."

In the autumn of 1879 the Social Science Congress again met in Manchester, when Miss Becker read a paper on the *Progress of the Enfranchisement of Women*, in which she gave a sketch of the progress of the movement since 1866, and noted that during that period there had been presented to the House of Commons 9563 petitions in favor of the bill, with upward of 2,958,848 signatures, and that between 1300 and 1400 public meetings had been held, being an average of above two meetings per week during the last 13 years.

In 1880 anticipation was now becoming general of a new reform bill which should extend to the agricultural laborer in the counties the same household suffrage which had been extended to dwellers in boroughs by the Act of 1867, and the workers for woman suffrage hoped that this bill would bring them the fitting opportunity foreshadowed by the chancellor of the exchequer.

Mass meetings of women now became the most prominent feature of the work, and a series of magnificent meetings, when the largest halls of the largest towns overflowed with thousands of women, mark the work of the next three years.

At last the long-expected Reform Bill was introduced in 1884. Mr. William Woodall moved

* *Charlton vs. Lings.*

a new clause for the inclusion of women, but was met by determined resistance on the part of the Government, Mr. Gladstone stating in the most emphatic manner that the Government would decline all further responsibility for the Franchise Bill if the clause was adopted. The division list showed 271 against to 135 in favor.

A brighter prospect arose for a time in 1886, when the Parliamentary Franchise Extension to Women Bill actually passed a second reading; but Parliament was dissolved before the bill reached the stage of going into committee. In the general election which followed, for the first time a clear majority of the members elected pronounced themselves, at the time of their election, in favor of the principle of woman suffrage.

Yet for five successive sessions the pressure of public business precluded the question coming forward.

It was not until 1892 that the parliamentary leaders obtained a day (April 27) for a debate, when the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour concluded his speech with the following words:

"You will give a vote to a man who contributes nothing to taxation but what he pays on his beer, while you refuse enfranchisement to a woman because she is a woman, whatever her contribution to the State may be. She has sufficient ability to look after lighting and paving, but is not so fitted to look after the interests of the empire as a man who cannot point out on the map the parts of the world of which that empire is composed. I think from all I can hear that this bill is not likely to be successful on this occasion; but, depend upon it, if any further alteration of the franchise is brought forward as a practical measure, this question will again arise, menacing and ripe for solution, and it will not be possible for this house to set it aside as a mere speculative plan advocated by a body of faddists. Then you will have to deal with the problem of woman suffrage, and to deal with it in a complete fashion."

The opponents of the measure made unusual efforts to prevent its passage. Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., which was widely circulated in pamphlet form, urging members to vote against it; yet it was only lost by the narrow majority of 23.

Other efforts have met similar fates in later years. But the advocates of the measure are by no means daunted, for they see unmistakable indications of the growth of opinion throughout the country, especially as seen in the readiness to sign the appeal from women in favor of woman suffrage which was circulated throughout the country in the winter of 1893-94 and ensuing spring. This appeal received 248,000 signatures of women of all ranks, parties, and occupations, and furnishes evidence of the continued growth of the movement which will be brought before the attention of members of Parliament whenever there is again prospect of a debate in the House of Commons.

HELEN BLACKBURN.

LOCAL FRANCHISES EXERCISED BY WOMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Municipal.—The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 restricted the franchise for town councils elections in England and Wales to male persons. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1869 removed the restriction. The Scotch Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 extended the report to women in Scotland.

School Board.—The Education Act of 1870, by which school boards were created, gave women precisely the same rights as men, both as regards electing and being elected.

County Councils.—The Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1889, creating county councils in England and Scotland, gave women the right of voting. They are not, however, eligible for election.

Poor Law Guardian Vestries.—These old parochial bodies, in which women rate-payers could vote and be elected, have all been changed by the Local Government Act of 1894, which has vested their duties in parish and district councils.

Parish and District Councils.—The first elections for these new bodies were held in December (1894). Women can elect and be elected, and for the first time married women were declared qualified to vote, provided they possess a qualification separate from their husbands.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

—The year 1848 is to the history of the struggle for woman's political rights what 1776 is to the story of the American Revolution. So strongly did the men and women who inaugurated the struggle for "woman's rights" feel this analogy that at the first convention held for this purpose they used the Declaration of Independence as the model and framework of their own declaration of principles.

But no great movement comes unprepared for or unheralded, and the Woman's Rights Convention of 1848 had had its John the Baptists crying in the wilderness of prejudice and injustice.

In 1790 Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in London, attracted attention from liberal thinkers. Harriet Martineau, by her numerous writings upon political economy, demonstrated practically woman's ability to enter the realm of politics. As early as 1820 Frances Wright, of Scotland, visited this country, and in 1828 lectured in **Beginnings**, many places, striving to arouse the people to the danger threatening from the attempt to unite Church and State. All her influence was toward the recognition of woman equally with man in national affairs. Ernestine L. Rose, a brilliant and beautiful Polish woman, worked earnestly in this same direction.

It would be impossible to even mention here the host of women who, in the first half of this century, bore witness to their faith in the powers of their own sex to fill a wider "sphere" than the one appointed to them by the men of their day and generation. Emma Willard, in education; Elizabeth Blackwell, Clemence Lozier, Ann Preston, Hannah Longshore, Marie Zakrzewski, and Mary Putnam Jacobi, in medicine; Sarah and Angelina Grimke, Lydia Maria Child, Abby Kelley, Sarah Pugh, and Lucretia Mott, through their participation in the anti-slavery struggle; Margaret Fuller, in her literary work; Antoinette L. Brown, in the ministry; Susan B. Anthony, in the temperance work; Lucy Stone, at Oberlin, and in 1847 from the pulpit of her brother's church at Brookfield, Mass.—these all stood as pioneers making ready the way for the response to the call for the convention which made the first organized demand for "equality of rights for woman, social, religious, and political."

One other influence, and perhaps the greatest of all, leading directly to the calling of the Seneca Falls Convention, cannot be omitted here. This was the exclusion from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London in

1840, of the women sent there as delegates. A number of anti slavery societies in this country elected women to represent them in the deliberations of that body; the English members were unprepared for this, and regarded it as an innovation not to be endured; a most exciting discussion filled the first day of the convention. Wendell Phillips, George Braburn, also of Massachusetts, the venerable George Thompson, and Henry B. Stanton, stood as the advocates of the rights of the women as delegates. The clergymen were, as a body, bitterly opposed to their admission. By an overwhelming majority, the World's (?) Anti Slavery Convention refused to accept the women coming from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts fully credentialed as delegates, among whom were Lucretia Mott, Abby Kimber, Ann Green Phillips, Abby Southwick Sarah Pugh, and Mary Grew. William Lloyd Garrison, who, owing to delay at sea, arrived too late to take part in the discussion of the woman question in the convention, declined to take his seat as a delegate in a body which had refused the women, and sat with them in the gallery, a silent spectator during the ten days' discussion of a subject of such deep interest to him as the freedom of the slaves. He should be honored by every self respecting woman for this testimony in her behalf. Nathaniel P. Rogers, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, of Concord, N. H., approved of Mr. Garrison's attitude, and decided to decline his seat in the convention; so the women delegates had two American men who felt strongly enough this illogical and unjust discrimination against sex to sit with the disfranchised women throughout the convention.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had accompanied her husband, Henry B. Stanton, to London for the convention, in conversation with Lucretia Mott about the iniquitous attitude of the assembly on the woman question, decided that men needed educating on this subject as much as upon the freedom of the black slaves, and they agreed that later they would have a convention to discuss the position and rights of women. This was the seed from which grew the meeting of which the following is the call, which appeared in the *Seneca County Courier* of July 14, 1843:

"*Woman's Rights Convention.*—A convention to discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights of woman will be held in the Wesleyan Chapel, at Seneca Falls, New York, on Wednesday and Thursday, July 19, 20, current, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M. During the first day the meeting will be exclusively for women, who are earnestly invited to attend. The public generally are invited to be present on the second day, when Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, and other ladies and gentlemen will address the convention."

This call was without signatures; it was issued by Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright (her sister), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock. Altho not invited to the first day's sessions, men came, and in such numbers as made it impossible to exclude them. It was therefore decided to have a man preside, and James Mott took the chair. After a number of addresses, the new declaration of independence, entitled a Declaration of Sentiments, was presented, and, after discussion and slight

amendment, accepted. It followed exactly the form of the Declaration of 1776, substituting the words "all men" for "King George." As the original document related eighteen grievances, so that of the women contained exactly that number. Let me quote some of these:

"The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

"He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has had no voice.

"He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

"Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

"He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

"He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

"After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

"He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known.

"He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

"He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

"Among the resolutions passed by the convention were the following, the only one which occasioned much discussion being that upon suffrage.

"*Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

It will be seen that the Declarations and Resolutions in this very first convention demanded all the most radical friends of the movement have since claimed, such as equal rights in the universities, in the trades and professions; the right to vote; to share in all political offices, honors, and emoluments; to complete equality in marriage; to personal freedom, property, wages, children; to make contracts; to sue and be sued; and to testify in courts of justice. At this time the condition of married women under the common law was nearly as degraded as that of the slave on the Southern plantation.

Since 1843 the work of the advocates of woman suffrage has been to make good the claims set forth at Seneca Falls. To this end they have held conventions, organized associations all over the country, instituted courses of political study in their equal suffrage clubs, in preparation for their exercise of political functions, circulated petitions, sent out lecturers, worked to change laws through various State legislatures and in constitutional conventions, through amendments to State constitutions, and through their national associations, sought to secure from Congress the submission of an

amendment to the National Constitution enfranchising the women of the United States.

For many years this was carried forward by individuals working through other associations. Finding the work for woman suffrage was

hampered by its close association with the question of negro suffrage, **Associations,** and the Fifteenth Amendment to the National Constitution, those who felt strongly that the woman's

hour had come and that she should not be made to wait until all sorts and conditions of men had first been admitted to the political kingdom, organized in May, 1869, in New York, the National Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as president, her co-worker Susan B. Anthony being on the official board. This organization bent its efforts chiefly toward national legislation to secure its object.

In November of the same year, in Cleveland, O., there was formed the American Woman Suffrage Association, with Henry Ward Beecher president, and Lucy Stone and Henry B. Blackwell among its active workers. In 1889 these two bodies of workers joined and formed the National American Woman Suffrage Association, with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as its president, Susan B. Anthony vice president-at-large, and Lucy Stone chairman of the executive committee. This society has its active auxiliary associations in 41 States and Territories, with national headquarters in New York City. In its ranks are to be found all the active workers for the equal political rights of woman.

In December, 1869, the Territorial Assembly of Wyoming enfranchised the women of that Territory upon exactly the same terms as men, giving them the right to serve on juries and hold all territorial offices in the gift of the voters. In 1870 the grand and petit juries at Laramie were composed of both men and women, and the results were eminently satisfactory to all except the convicted criminals. The presiding judge, Chief Justice Howe, gave this as his opinion: "In eighteen years' experience I have never had as fair, candid, impartial, and able a jury in court as in this term in Albany County;" and Associate Justice Kingman said: "For twenty-five years it has been an anxious study with me, both on the bench and at the bar, how we are to prevent jury trials from degenerating into a perfect burlesque; and it has remained for Albany County to point out the remedy and demonstrate the cure for this threatened evil."

When, in 1890, Wyoming prepared her Constitution for Statehood, the women stood upon precisely the same political footing as the men, and this attitude was maintained even when, in the United States Congress, opposition was made to her admission as a State unless the men were willing to yield the point and leave Wyoming's women disfranchised. Wyoming is, therefore, the first true republic, the first star upon the woman suffrage flag.

In 1893 Colorado enfranchised her women by a legislative enactment ratified at the polls, at which election the majority in favor of woman suffrage was 6000. The women there have not

been slow to use their newly acquired opportunity, and have already become a power in public affairs. In the elections this spring in Denver (1897), they have cooperated successfully with the organizations struggling heretofore unsuccessfully for a better city government, and have won a notable victory over the gambling and saloon element which has had control there. That there has been no rush for office by the women is shown by the fact that the women's organizations which helped so effectually to win this victory for law and order asked for not a single name of a woman upon the list of nominations made by them in joint session with the men's organization.

In the now nearly four years of women's voting in Colorado, five women have been elected to the Legislature there. The first bill introduced by a woman as a member of that body was by Carrie Clyde Holly, to raise the age of consent from 16 to 21 years; there was so much opposition from the male members of the Legislature that it was finally compromised to stand at 18.

The women of Utah have now the full franchise, secured to them in the Constitution with which Utah came in as a State in 1896. As early as 1870 they had been enfranchised by the Territorial Legislature, but were disfranchised by Congress (Edmunds Bill) in 1887. This was done as a blow to polygamy; but it was questionable justice to disfranchise all the women of the territory, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, when in reality it can be only men who are polygamists, no woman of them all having more than one husband. The fall election of 1896 placed one woman, Martha Hughes Cannon, in the Utah Senate.

Idaho, by an amendment to its Constitution, passed in November, 1896, gave its women the ballot on the same terms with the men of the State. No election has taken place since then to show the interest the new citizens feel in public affairs; but as the women there labored earnestly for their own enfranchisement, it is but fair to expect them to use their hardy won right.

Kansas women received the municipal suffrage by legislative enactment in 1887; this, of course, does not enfranchise all the women of that State, as those outside of the cities cannot vote except upon certain elective trusteeships and upon school bonds and appropriations. Thousands of the Kansas women vote in the cities, **Limited Suffrage.** and there have been 14 women elected as mayors of small cities, and at one time two such municipalities boasted their entire City Council as made up of women, with a woman mayor to cooperate with them. In most such cases the women were elected to cope with some difficulty of municipal government with which the men hesitated to deal on account of rendering themselves unpopular in a business way. In all such the records show that the women solved the difficulty, and then willingly returned to private life at the next election.

In 19 States and two Territories, women vote for all trustees and directors where elective, which in most cases includes school directors.

These are Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin, and the Territories of Arizona and Oklahoma.

In Kentucky, women can vote on school appropriations and bonds, provided they live in the country districts and are either widows or spinsters. Just why spinsters should be more interested in the schools than mothers is a mystery, and also why widows should have more rights in this direction than should mothers of children, even if their husbands *are* alive; but the mind of the average legislator is apt to be mysterious to the layman, and especially to the laywoman.

On this question of appropriations, women vote (in addition to Kentucky, on conditions named above) on the same conditions as the men in Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey (the only vote they have there), North Dakota, and Vermont.

In Louisiana and Montana they vote as to public improvements if they are taxpayers.

Among the results of the struggle of the last 50 years for the enfranchisement of women may fairly be claimed the great improvement in her legal status (see article WOMAN'S RIGHTS), a marked change in morals looking toward the same standard for man and woman, her admission to most of the great institutions of learning, and to the professions and business life. In many cases these advantages, where they involved legislation to bring them about, were given, as compromises to women asking enfranchisement, by men unwilling to grant rights, but anxious to quiet the demands for that right which, once gained and exercised, will guarantee to its possessors all other rights which may come through law.

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY.

WOMAN'S WORK AND WAGES.—(For the economic and social position of woman in primitive, classic, and medieval times, see FAMILY; MARRIAGE; DIVORCE; WOMAN'S RIGHTS; CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL REFORM; CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM. For woman's legal status today, see WOMAN'S RIGHTS.) We here consider alone woman's industrial condition in modern times.

Woman's work has changed with economic changes. Previous to the introduction of machine industry, woman played perhaps a more important part in economic production than today, but was not a wage-worker. Industry was carried on largely in the home, each family being largely self-sustaining, doing its own spinning, weaving, brewing, cheese and butter making. Woman played naturally a large part in this life, but as wife or daughter or as household maid, not as a wage-worker in the modern sense. Her industrial position was often severe, but honorable, and approximately equal with man's. In New England, in 1791, Mr. Hamilton, in his report to Congress, on manufactures, speaks of the vast scene of household manufacturing which contributes more largely to the supply of the community than could be imagined without having it made an object of

particular inquiry. Great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges, and flannels, linsey-woolseys, hosiery of wool, cotton, and thread, coarse fustians, jeans and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bedticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, toweling and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, were made in the household way, and, in many instances, to an extent not only sufficient for a supply of the families in which they were made, but for sale, and even in some cases for exportation. To less extent the same was true of England, tho here production was earlier specialized and localized.

With the development of the factory system, however, this was changed. Production was taken from the home, and woman in the home was left to do only domestic work, to become the domestic drudge. To an extent, however, she followed industry into the factory. The textile factories of England were full of women brought in from the rural districts, or with children sometimes brought from the almshouses. They worked cheaper than men and replaced men. Their pay was the cheapest, their surroundings the worst, the moral tone the lowest. Factory towns and factory labor developed the utmost degradation. This created such a prejudice against factories that when later factories were developed in New England, from 1815-30, women could only be induced to work in them by offer of higher pay. Partly for this reason and in part because popular education was very much farther advanced in America than in industrial England, factory life in the United States started on a higher level than in England. Girls from American homes in factory towns and the surrounding villages worked in the factories and maintained, as shown by *The Lowell Offering*, a high level of character. There was little opening, too, for women in other lines. Harriet Martineau, in 1840, found in America only seven employments open to women—teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in cotton mills, in book binderies, type-setting, and household service.

But this gradually changed. The successes of American life developed a growing number of families whose daughters did not need to work for a living, and factory work became despised. Irish and other European and, later, French Canadian families came in to do factory work. On the other hand, growing ideals of woman's rights and woman's independence opened other spheres for women—the store, the office, the studio, and, later, the professions. Woman's admission to professional life was contingent upon her admission to institutions of higher education. In no respect has the century seen greater changes than in this. In the United States in 1803, of 43 academies or higher schools fitting for college in Massachusetts, only three were for girls, tho a few others admitted both girls and boys. The first female seminary was opened by the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1749. The first female seminary to approach college rank was Mount Holyoke, opened at South Hadley, Mass., by Mary Lyon in 1836.

First Half
of the
Century.

Vassar College, the next, dates from 1865. In this movement the West led the East. Oberlin College was founded in 1833, open to both men and women. Harvard Annex, affiliated to Harvard College, was not opened till 1879.

This higher education led to professional life, tho in a few instances women entered professional careers in the United States at earlier dates. Mrs. Margaret Draper was connected with the *Massachusetts*

Women in Professions. *Gazette and News Letter* during the Revolutionary War. The first *daily* newspaper in the world is said to have been established and edited in London, Eng., by a woman, *The Daily Courant*, by Elizabeth Malet. In 1841 Mrs. Lydia Maria Child edited the *Anti-Slavery Standard*.

In medicine the pioneer names are Harriet K. Hunt, of Boston, who from 1822-72 practised medicine without a diploma, and, above all, Elizabeth Blackwell (*q.v.*), who, after a long struggle, received a diploma at Geneva, N. Y., in 1849. Mr. Gregory, of Boston, opened a so-called school of medicine for women in 1848, but the first adequate woman's medical institution was Miss Blackwell's New York Infirmary, chartered in 1854. Women from earliest times had been midwives and nurses; but the New England Hospital first announced the training of nurses in 1863. By 1886 there were 29 training schools for nurses.

In law Mistress Brut seems to have practised in Baltimore in 1647. After her the first woman lawyer in the United States was Arabella A. Mansfield, of Mount Pleasant, Ia., who was admitted to the bar in 1864. By 1879, women were allowed to plead before the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the ministry, after the preaching of Anne Hutchinson, in Boston, in 1634, of Lucretia Mott (*q.v.*) among the Friends, and Anne Lee among the Shakers in 1770, no women seemed to have preached till recent years, tho among the Primitive Methodists and similar bodies women always exhorted. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell seems to have been the first woman ordained in the United States (in 1852, in the Congregational Church). (For statistics of women's occupations, see article OCCUPATIONS.)

In Great Britain, women are entering professional life only less swiftly than in the United States. An act of 1868 for the first time opened pharmacy to women. The University of Edinburgh here led the way. In 1874 a special medical school for women was opened in London. In 1876 all medical bodies were allowed to open their doors to women. By 1895, 264 British women were registered as duly qualified medical practitioners. As for education, eight out of the ten universities of Great Britain now throw open examinations and degrees to women. Oxford and Cambridge do not, but Hitchin, Girtou, Newnham, and Somerville colleges exist for them, and they are all admitted to most lectures and examinations.

In Europe, women are now admitted to universities in France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Germany is behindhand in this, but the sentiment is changing. Russia, once a leader in woman's higher education, is now reactionary on this point.

Such is, in brief, the general survey of woman's industrial professional position during the century. Perhaps woman's more industrial advance during the century has not been in the professions, but in commerce, as saleswomen, clubs, type writers, etc. Here the change has been almost revolutionary. We come now to consider her economic position.

For the United States, Mr. Carroll D. Wright has summarized the facts as to woman's work and wages in chap. xvi. of his *Industrial Evolution in the United States*.

In 1850 there were 225,298 female and 741,671 male employees in manufacturing industries in the United States—*i.e.*, women furnished 23.30 per cent. In 1890 there were 757,065 females, which was only 17.21 per cent. of the employees. Thus, in manufacturing, women play a relatively less important part than formerly—a larger porportion of their work doubtless being done by machinery. On the other hand, the number of occupations open to women has largely increased; and, taking all bread-earning occupations, the proportion of women to men is steadily gaining.

Mr. Wright argues in the above-mentioned chapter that women are not replacing men, but that men are being freed for other occupations, and that women are in part replacing the children to-day employed to a smaller extent in manufactories than formerly, their employment being prevented by factory laws. This view, however, is not held by all. Mr. Wright says that in 1870, 114,628 children of both sexes were employed in manufacturing industries, and formed 5.58 per cent. of all employees, while in 1890 there were only 120,885 children, or only 2.57 per cent. of the total number. But even on this showing the actual, if not the relative number of children had increased, so that women can scarcely be said to have replaced children, while under article "Child Labor" will be found very serious evidence to show that the census estimate of the number of children employed in 1890 is very considerably too low. In some States and in some industries child labor has been limited by legislation; but it is exceedingly doubtful if this is true of all portions of the country and all manufacturing industries. It must be remembered, too, that Mr. Wright's statement is only of the manufacturing industries. Taking the great number of children now employed in stores, or who sell papers, run errands, etc., in the cities, child labor in the United States has probably not been lessened and women can by no means be said to have replaced children. Mr. Wright further argues that they have not displaced men, because by the census reports a larger proportion of the male population is reported as having occupations in 1890 than in 1870. But having an occupation is by no means synonymous, unfortunately, with having work at one's occupation, which point the census fails to touch. The growing problem of unemployment (*q.v.*), therefore, leaves us still to ask if women working at cheaper wages have not replaced men working at higher wages.

The evidence certainly indicates that it is. A recent bulletin of the Department of Labor of the United States, edited by Mr. Wright, gives the following table:

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE CENSUSES OF 1870, 1880, AND 1890, BY CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	1870.		1880.		1890.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Agriculture, fisheries and mining.....	93.53	6.47	92.57	7.43	92.46	7.54
Professional service.....	75.14	24.86	70.61	29.39	66.99	33.01
Domestic and personal service.....	57.91	42.09	66.28	33.72	61.76	38.24
Trade and transportation.....	98.39	1.61	96.63	3.37	93.13	6.87
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	85.56	14.44	81.52	18.48	79.82	20.18
All occupations.....	85.32	14.68	84.78	15.22	82.78	17.22

Of this table the report says :

"From tables presented it will be seen that the proportion of females 10 years of age or over employed in all occupations in the United States rose in its relation to the whole number employed from 14.68 per cent. in 1870 to 17.22 per cent. in 1890, while the males decreased in proportion from 85.32 per cent. in 1870 to 82.78 per cent. in 1890, fully corroborating the facts obtained in the present investigation that the females are to some extent entering into places at the expense of the males. The causes for this state of affairs will be referred to later on under the appropriate table.

"Looking at particular classes of occupations, we find that the proportion of females engaged in agriculture, fisheries, and mining rose from 6.47 per cent. in 1870 to 7.54 per cent. in 1890; in professional service, from 24.86 per cent. to 33.01 per cent.; but in domestic and personal service there was a drop from 42.09 per cent. in 1870 to 38.24 per cent. in 1890, and a corresponding gain in the proportion of males to the whole number employed from 57.91 per cent. in 1870 to 61.76 per cent. in 1890. In trade and transportation the females show the largest gain, it being from 1.61 per cent. in 1870 to 6.87 per cent. in 1890. This is due to the entry of women into employment as clerks in the trade and transportation departments of business. There has also been a very large gain in the proportion of females engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, the percentage being 14.44 in 1870 and 20.18 in 1890. The males, on the other hand, have dropped in proportion from 85.56 per cent. in the former year to 79.82 per cent. in the latter. The fact is absolutely demonstrated, therefore, that the proportion of females, taking all the occupations in the country into consideration, is gradually increasing."

According to the twentieth annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor (1889) :

"In 1875, the males formed 73.19 per cent. and the females 26.81 per cent. of all persons employed in gainful pursuits. In 1885, the males were 66.62 per cent. and the females 33.38 per cent. of the total persons employed. This shows an absolute gain of women in industry of 6.57 per cent., and an industrial displacement of an equal percentage of men. Of the total gain in number of employees from 1875 to 1885, the percentage for males was 46.19 and for females 53.81.

"From 1875 to 1885, the male population increased 17.44 per cent.; in industry, the males increased 20.30 per cent. During the same period the female population increased 17.69 per cent.; the women in industry increased 64.56 per cent. The female net excess was 0.25 per cent. as regards population and 44.26 per cent. as regards representation in gainful pursuits.

"In 1875 there were 19 branches of industry in which women were not employed; in 1885, there were but 8 branches of industry in which women were not employed. In both 1875 and 1885 there were 15 branches of industry in which women were in a preponderance, representing 50 or more per cent. of all persons employed therein."

The same is true of England. According to figures quoted in Mr. Hobson's *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, drawn from the census and from Mr. Booth's *Occupation of the People*, the number of males engaged in manufactures

in Great Britain increased from 1841-91, 53 per cent., the number of females 221 per cent. In the last decade there seemed a check to this, but it was mainly due to a check in one industry—the cotton trade—and to decay in the linen and lace industries. In every other industry the relative increase of women has been steady. In other branches of the textile and dress industries, which employ 1,319,441 out of 1,840,898 women in industry, the gain of woman labor was marked. Mr. Hobson adds :

"Wherever women have got a firm footing in a manufacture a similar movement is traceable; the relative rate of increase in the employment of women exceeds that of men, even where the numbers of the latter do not show an absolute decline. Such industries are wood furniture and carriages; printing and book-binding; paper, floorcloths, waterproof; feathers, leather, glues; food, drink, smoking; earthenware, machinery, tools. Women have also obtained employment in connection with other industries which are still in the main 'male' industries, and in which no women, or very few, were engaged in 1841. Such are fuel, gas, chemicals; watches, instruments, toys. The only group of machine industries in which their numbers have not increased more rapidly than those of men since 1851 are the metal industries. Over some of these, however, they are obtaining an increased hold. In the 'more mechanical portions' of the growing 'cycle' industry, hollow-ware, and in certain departments of the watchmaking trade, they are ousting male labor, executing with machinery the work formerly done by male hand-workers. . . .

"The recent statistics of tailoring and shoemaking, which are becoming more and more machine industries, mark this movement strongly. In the tailoring trade, while male workers increase from 107,668 in 1881 to 119,496 in 1891, female workers increase from 52,980 to 89,224. In the boot and shoe trade, while men increase from 180,884 to 202,648, women increase from 35,672 to 46,141."

Of the meaning of this development of woman's work we shall speak later. It is necessary first to show what are woman's wages. If women in industry received high wages, all would perhaps be well, but such is not the case.

Women's wages are notoriously low. According to Mr. Wright (see above), women's wages in the cotton factories of New England averaged in 1831 from \$2.20 to \$2.60 per week; in 1880 the average for women ranged as high as \$6.37, **Wages.** and in 1890 in the entire United States it was \$5.53, ranging from \$3.21 to \$6.42. The average annual wages for women clerks in the United States for all industries was, in 1890, \$462; \$890 for men. Women operatives received \$276.

According to Mr. Wright (in the report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1889), the following was the weekly average earnings of women in industries in various cities :

CITIES.	Average Weekly Earnings.
Atlanta.....	\$4.05
Baltimore.....	4.18
Boston.....	5.64
Brooklyn.....	5.76
Buffalo.....	4.27
Charleston.....	4.22
Chicago.....	5.74
Cincinnati.....	4.59
Cleveland.....	4.63
Indianapolis.....	4.67
Louisville.....	4.51
Newark.....	5.10
New Orleans.....	4.31
New York.....	5.85
Philadelphia.....	5.34
Providence.....	5.51
Richmond.....	3.93
St. Louis.....	5.19
St. Paul.....	6.02
San Francisco.....	6.91
San José.....	6.11
Savannah.....	4.99
All cities.....	5.24

The report adds :

"Much is heard at the present time of the very low wages paid working women. It must be clear that they do not rise, on the average, above \$5 per week, or \$5.24 as indicated by this report. The summary by cities, Table XXX., on pages 530 and 531, would seem to indicate that the majority are in receipt of fair wages, when the whole body of working women is considered ; but 373 earn less than \$100 a year, and quite a large number (1212) earn from \$100 to \$150 a year ; that is, the earnings of these women, distributed by weeks over the whole year, do not amount to more than \$2 or \$3 per week. These are the great exceptions, but the figures tell a sad story, and one is forced to ask how women can live on such earnings."

The correctness of this report is supported by the findings of various bureaus and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Connecticut in 1888. Of 4325 women reported in five principal industries, only one received as much as \$10 per week ; 45 received as much as \$8 ; nearly three fifths of all who worked by the week got only between \$5 and \$6.

And it must be remembered that these are in factories. In the sweating shops, woman's pay is far less. In an article in the *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association* for June, 1895, Miss Isabel Dutton, of the College Settlement Association, mentions girls and women sewing knee pants, 12 seams each, besides the pocket stitching, for from 18 to 22 cents per dozen. Finishers (usually girls) receive from 4 to 7 cents for sewing 120 buttons and making 36 button-holes. (See *TAILORING TRADES*.)

Part VII. of the twentieth annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of the Statistics of Labor (1889) considered especially women in industry, and comes to the following conclusions, among others :

"In the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the Commonwealth, in 1885, the proportion of female partners was 1 in 16 ; that is, of the whole number of partners, one sixteenth were women.

"In the same industries, and at the same time, the proportion of female stockholders was 1 in 3.69 ; that is, of the whole number of stockholders in manufacturing corporations, more than one fourth were women.

"In 1885 the females were 33.38 per cent. of the total persons employed.

"Of the whole number of persons in industry, 73.97 per cent. were single and 26.03 per cent. were married. Of the males, 67.69 per cent. were single and 32.31 per cent. were married. Of the females, 88.29 per cent. were single and 11.71 per cent. were married. In 1885 as compared with 1875, the increase in married females was 39.64 per cent.

"The females in industry considered were at least 10 years of age. Those from 10 to 13 years of age formed 0.13 per cent. of the total ; from 14 to 19 years of age, 23.19 per cent. ; from 20 to 29 years of age, 41.08 per cent. ; from 30 to 39 years of age, 15.05 per cent. ; 40 years of age and over, 20.55 per cent.

"Of the total female population from 10 to 13 years of age, 0.55 per cent. were engaged in gainful pursuits ; from 14 to 19 years of age, 61.11 per cent. ; from 20 to 29 years of age, 59.77 per cent. ; from 30 to 39 years of age, 30.44 per cent. ; from 40 to 49 years of age, 22.58 per cent. ; from 50 to 59 years of age, 19.79 per cent. ; from 60 to 79 years of age, 21.80 per cent. ; 80 years of age and over, 15.84 per cent. ; those whose ages were unknown, 45 per cent.

"More than one fifth of the women engaged in gainful pursuits in Massachusetts in 1885 were unemployed for a greater or less period during the year.

"The figures given and comparisons made in relation to births, marriages, and deaths show conclusively that the presence of women in industry has not decreased the number of births or marriages, nor increased the number of deaths, for 50 cities and towns, having large percentages of women at work, with 64.39 per cent. of the total population, had 69.99 per cent. of the total number of births, 69.18 per cent. of the whole number of marriages, and but 63.53 per cent. of the total number of deaths.

"Of the whole number of women reporting, 6 were paid less than \$25 per month ; 88, \$25 and under \$50 ; 144, \$50 and under \$75 ; 88, \$75 and under \$100 ; 73, \$100 and under \$200 ; 2, \$200 and under \$300, and 2 a salary in excess of \$300 per month. Forty-eight failed to answer the questions concerning compensation.

"One hundred and fifty reports stated that men received more pay than women for the same grade of work, 95 reported the same pay for women and men, while 5 reported that men received less pay than women, and 202 failed to answer the question."

With these facts before us, there is seen to be a dark side to the boasted advance of woman into industry. If women become wage workers only by the lowering of their fathers', brothers', and husbands' wages, it is doubtful if the total income of families is raised by the woman's wage. And if the family income is not raised, it is doubtful if woman's real social and economic status is raised. Undoubtedly many women are more economically independent of men than they were, and this is doubtless an advantage, but the question is whether this independence cannot be gained without woman's becoming a competitor with man.

The trade-union view is that men's wages should be high enough to maintain a family without their wives or children being compelled to work, and that those women who, unmarried, widowed, or orphaned, need or desire to work should be paid equally with men for equal work. Socialists, however, maintain that this desirable condition is impossible under competition, and that so long as competition lasts, women who can work cheaper than men, because they do not usually have families to support (and the usual condition fixes the rate of wages), will be employed more and more to the exclusion of men. The only way out, therefore, says the socialist, is to raise the condition of both men and women through socialism (*q.v.*), which alone, by replacing competition by cooperation, can save the family, rescue women from low wages and its resultant evils of prostitution (*q.v.*), etc. Extreme individual-

Condition.

Competition with Men.

ists argue that, in the long run, competition will take care of itself ; that women in stores and factories, even at low wages, are better off than in low homes ; that gradually women will come to do what they can do best, and men be forced into those lines which they can follow best. More moderate views assert that women should have a permanent place in industry, but that they should be protected by legislation, and, above all, educated by working women's clubs, trade-unions, etc., toward cooperative and organized effort.

Whichever view be correct, woman's present industrial status is for the large majority bad in the extreme. Says the *Bulletin* above quoted for May, 1897 :

" Out of 782 instances in which men and women work at the same occupation and perform their work with the same degree of efficiency, men receive greater pay in 595, or 76.1 per cent., of the instances, and women receive greater pay in 129, or 16.5 per cent., while in 58 instances, or 7.4 per cent., they receive the same pay

for the same work. The men receive 50.1 per cent. greater pay than the women in the 595 instances in which they are given greater pay, while the women receive but 10.3 per cent. greater pay in the 129 instances in which they are paid higher wages. Out of the 228 instances in which men and children (persons under 18 years of age) work at the same occupation with a like degree of efficiency, men receive greater pay in 182, or 79.8 per cent., of the instances, and children receive greater pay in 24, or 10.5 per cent., while in 22 instances, or 9.7 per cent., they receive the same pay for the same work performed with the same degree of efficiency. The men receive 57.7 per cent. greater pay than the children in the 182 instances in which they are paid more, while the children receive but 8.6 per cent. greater pay in the 24 instances in which they are paid higher wages."

As to the conjugal condition of women in remunerative employment in the United States, the *Bulletin* quoted above (May, 1897) says :

" That the conjugal condition of females 10 years of age or over engaged in each great class of occupations may be ascertained, the following table has been drawn from census results :

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE OR OVER IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE CENSUS OF 1890, BY CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS AND CONJUGAL CONDITION.

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	SINGLE AND UNKNOWN.		MARRIED.		WIDOWED.		DIVORCED.		Total.
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
Agriculture, fisheries and mining.....	295,148	43.44	152,956	22.51	225,548	33.39	5,871	0.86	679,523
Professional service.....	273,898	87.88	21,649	6.94	14,337	4.60	1,803	0.58	311,687
Domestic and personal service.....	1,164,960	69.85	214,068	12.84	272,109	16.32	16,561	0.99	1,667,698
Trade and transportation.....	187,829	82.23	16,875	7.39	22,219	9.73	1,498	0.65	228,421
Manufacturing and mechanical industries....	811,990	79.05	109,712	10.68	96,055	9.35	9,485	0.92	1,027,242
All occupations.....	2,733,825	69.84	515,260	13.16	630,268	16.10	35,218	0.90	3,914,571

" There is much discussion as to the number and percentage of married women employed in industrial pursuits. The foregoing table gives the facts. It is found that the married women constitute 13.16 per cent. of all the women engaged in the occupations of the country. The largest percentage in any one class of occupations is found in agriculture, fisheries, and mining, where it is 22.51. This is due largely to the fact that in agriculture there are a great many colored women employed. The smallest percentage of married women, 6.94, is to be found in professional service, while in manufacturing and mechanical industries 10.68 per cent. are married."

In Great Britain, the main spheres of woman's economic work may be classified under four heads : (a) domestic service, including work in hotels, etc. ; (b) factory labor, particularly textile work ; to a less extent printing, watch-making, and other chemical works, food-manufacturing, rope-making, rag-picking ; (c) shop service, as shop assistants, dressmakers, milliners, barmaids, and waitresses of all kinds ; (d) home work, in the sweated trades, particularly shirt-making and tailoring.

From the *Final Report of the Labor Commission* it would appear for woman's labor outside of domestic service by statistics carefully collected on pp. 476-504, that the mean of the estimated wages for women and girls in the trades referred to (including 800,000 women out of 1,800,000) was 11s. 5d. per week, a conclusion corroborated by Mr. Giffen's estimate for the commission of 11s. 3½d. Of this conclusion C. G. Robertson, in the *Economic Review* for April, 1895, says.

" The bearing of this statement is only apparent, however, (1) when it is remembered that it includes both women and girls, i.e., young persons under 18 years of age ; (2) when compared with the average rate of men similarly obtained. This is stated to be 24s. 7d. But here it must be borne in mind that the estimate for men does not include the wages of boys ; so that to obtain a fair comparison it is necessary to state the calculation for women alone, which, on Mr. Giffen's estimate, is 12s. 8d. So that, excluding domestic servants, in both cases the average rate of women's wages is 94 per cent. below those of men."

" Another consideration at once suggests itself. It is the average rate which has been stated—what does this mean ? In 13 of the trades selected for making the actual average, the wages of the women rise considerably above the mean as estimated. For example, the wages of shop assistants and barmaids, and the majority of those employed in factories, range from 22s. to 12s. 6d. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that in several trades, such as the linen trade, the woolen and worsted industries, the wages range from 11s. 6d. to 10s. 2d. Below this come various industries for which the mean is appallingly low. Let me give some examples. Woolen spinners in Leeds make on an average 7s. 6d. a week, and 6s. in Ireland. The average for spike nail-makers in Worcestershire is only 4s. 6d. This is also the mean for straw-plaiters at Luton ; in sack-making it amounts nearly to 7s. 6d. ; and in the trades manufacturing food to 8s. 5d. When we come to the home industries, the same ghastly low rate is equally apparent ; tho it is true that the Lords' Report on the Sweating System fixes the mean for 'sweated' trades at 12s., it must be remembered that this does not cover all home industries. Thus in various cases we find the weekly wage stated to be 2s. 2d., 3s., 3s. 6d., 2s. 4d., and even in one case 1s. 1½d. The full significance of these terrible figures is only grasped when it is pointed out that they are not a mere supplementary wage, but the return for eight, nine, ten hours' work per diem, or even longer."

In some of the trades, however, there is shown to be an upward tendency. In the cotton hosiery and woolen industries this is said

to be 27 per cent.; from 1861-81 in hosiery and carpet, 31 per cent.; in boot and shoe and rope making, 9 per cent. But wages in other industries have either remained stationary or declined, and the still more important fact must be remembered that these statistics refer only to 800,000 women out of 1,800,000, the remaining 1,000,000 being mainly the unorganized and underpaid.

"In the evidence given before Group C of the Labor Commission, in regard to women working, we are informed that in the confectionery trade, the wages range from 5s. a week to 9s. 12s. is the highest paid to a weekly worker."

"In the sack-making trade. 'The ordinary sack of course has to be sewn down both sides and hemmed along the top, and they receive 1s. 7d. per 100 for doing them; and it takes a skilled woman working hard, long hours, two days to do 100. . . . The employers, if they were spoken to about it, would show you the book, and they would say, 'Look how this woman can earn 10s., 12s., or 14s. a week,' and they will show you the book with, against the woman's name, the amount received; but they do not say that that woman has, perhaps, three or four children, and a neighbor's child, working for her and helping her; that is where the falsity of the impression is when you see an employer's book of out-work."

"But the amount paid for shirt-making in London is lower even than this.

"For making shirt fronts ½d. each is paid, and by working very hard a woman can make 12 in a day 10 hours long, thus earning sixpence."

Mr. Sydney Webb says (*Labor in the Longest Reign*):

"Consider, too, the wages which our civilization allots to adult able-bodied women. It is difficult to believe that the 'shilling a day' wages of unskilled women in the East End of London, the 6/- to 7/- a week earned by the Belfast rope maker or tobacco-worker, or even the 10/- or 12/- earned at piecework by the skilled linen-weaver or Glasgow cotton-mill operative, represents any appreciable advance on the scale of the past generation. Women's wages for unskilled labor still gravitate, as a rule, pretty close to the subsistence level, below which they can never have sunk for any length of time. Out of the four millions of women who are working for wages at the present time, a very large percentage must be earning practically no better subsistence than their grandmothers did. It is at least doubtful whether any previous age could show so large a total number at this low level."

Low wages and unhygienic conditions are not the only evil in woman's work. Says a tract on *Woman's Wages*, published by the Humanitarian League of England:

"Illegal fines and exorbitant fines are only too common. Fining for being late, when the work is piecework, is illegal; and tho of course it is undoubtedly necessary to ensure punctuality, it is better to do so in a legal manner, by dismissing the girl. A girl who is lazy does not mind paying a fine half so much as she minds dismissal—it is a more efficient method of reform. But fines are of course more remunerative for the employer, and as the culprit is a woman, he knows she will not have the courage (unless she belongs to a union) to demand her fines back again. Even if, when she arrives late, there is no work for her, the fine is, in some places, deducted from the next day's earnings.

"The fines in the weaving trade for bad work are sometimes enormous. For a fault which it was impossible to prevent, a girl in a mill at Keighley was fined 4s. 6d., and as her wage for weaving the piece was only 3s. 6d., the extra shilling was deducted from the next week's wage. The fines have risen as high in one instance as 12s. out of a wage of 13s. The grievance in cases like this is that frequently no explanation is given as to how the work is bad, and the goods are sold as undamaged.

"A woman for making waistcoats received 2s. 2½d., and was fined 1s. 1d. out of that amount for bad work. She offered to alter the waistcoats if she could only be told how they were defective—the 2s. 2½d. happened to be the whole of her week's wage. But no, this was

not allowed. She received 1s. 1½d., and the waistcoats were sold at full price as undamaged goods.

"Besides all this, however, there is another thing—a matter which surely requires the grave attention of those 'rescue' workers mentioned above. A premium is sometimes put on impropriety of conduct on the women's part by a foreman. That is, a woman who will submit or respond to his coarse jokes and language and evil behavior receives more work than the woman who feels and shows herself insulted by such conduct, and wishes to preserve her self-respect. The pittance earned by some of these women is earned at the expense of more than only hard toil. Even when this coarseness is confined to language only, it causes deep suffering to some of the women. They feel, they know, that because they are women, and therefore regarded as helpless and inferior, they are spoken to as men are not spoken to, and the sting enters their souls. These things it is almost impossible to bring home to any one firm or any foreman; for when the matter is investigated publicly, the women deny it from fear, the overseers of course deny it, and the employer denies it, because he very seldom knows anything about it."

(For this subject, see also PROSTITUTION.) It is often said that great stores where young women are employed in large numbers together with men are hotbeds of every evil. Stories are frequent of young women who can only obtain employment by submitting to indignities from their employers. That this is common is both asserted and denied on good authority. The truth probably is that in aggravated form such cases are not frequent in most stores, and that the ranks of prostitution are not mainly swelled from the great stores and factories. But it is also probably true that if aggravated cases of this kind are not common, what is common indirectly leads to almost the same result. There can be little doubt that girls in stores and factories are subjected to a slow but insidious moral deterioration by the language and manners and treatment of employers, as well as fellow-clerks, and perhaps especially of their immediate department heads.

As to the reasons why women's wages are lower than men's, the following are probably the more effective:

1. The woman is not usually called upon to support a family. She therefore can work cheaper than the married man, and under competition for work is usually compelled to work as cheap as she can.

Woman's work, either as daughter **Reasons for** or as wife, is usually given to add **Low Wages** to the father's or husband's wage. Even those widows who do have to support a family cannot get more wages, because the wage under competition is necessarily fixed by the average.

2. Women often work merely for pin-money, and the effect of the competition of this class brings down the general wage. "Home workers," says an umbrella worker, "are used as a screen for reducing the others." The work done by women in prisons, convents, reform schools, etc., tends to lower the wage of regular workers.

3. Women do not look to industry as a permanent occupation so much as do men. They intend to marry, or at least know that they may marry. Hence they do not organize trade-unions to raise wages.

4. Because they may marry, and for other physical reasons, their work is more intermittent, and therefore sometimes less valuable than man's.

5. They are newer in most industries than men, and therefore usually not so skilled.

6. They are unequal in strength, tho some work they can do better than men.

7. Being inexperienced and often less skilled in industry than men, they have fewer unions and are less capable of trade-union organization than men. Wherever women are organized their wages much more nearly approximate men's. (See WOMAN'S RIGHTS; SOCIALISM; FAMILY.)

In the above-quoted English labor report, where woman's work is most carefully studied, are the following propositions:

"The majority are in favor of strictly enforcing the sanitary clauses of the factories and workshop acts, and of giving the home secretary further statutory powers by which all those workshops not included

Reform Propositions.

under the present law would pass under his control, so that occupiers, owners, contractors, and shopkeepers would be primarily responsible for the condition of their premises and the health of their employees. They would extend the factories acts to include laundries, so far as young persons and sanitary matters are concerned; and they view with satisfaction the recent vigorous step taken by the present home secretary of reinforcing the number of inspectors by women officials, and the regulations framed by the advice of departmental committees for specially unhealthy or dangerous trades. Furthermore, they urge the spread of combination, or trade-unionism, among women, and they advocate the reduction of days in which overtime, under the Factories Act, may be worked by women and young persons—the latter to be forbidden overtime altogether.

"The Minority Report is more explicit. Starting from the statement, with which all must, I think, cordially agree, that 'the economic degradation of the women and girls in many of the industries of the great cities constitutes one of the most serious of industrial problems,' it places the only hope for women in a vigorous system of industry on a collective basis. It would, as immediate steps, regulate by law the hours of all shop assistants, and introduce special legislative changes, like the prohibition of the labor of married women in trades like the white-lead industry, and place laundries under the working of the factory acts."

References: Helen Campbell's *Prisoners of Poverty* (1899). See also the authorities quoted in this article.

WOMEN'S CLUBS, THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF, was incorporated in 1892. It is composed of over 350 women's clubs, having a membership of 50,000 women in the United States and foreign countries. Sorosis, the first woman's club in the United States, was founded in New York City in 1868. The purpose of the Federation is declared in its articles of incorporation to be "to bring into communication with one another the various women's clubs throughout the world, that they may compare methods of work and become mutually helpful. Constitutions of clubs applying for membership should show that no sectarianism or political test is required, and, while the distinctively humanitarian movements may be recognized, their chief purpose is not philanthropic or technical, but social, literary, artistic, or scientific culture." Meetings of the Federation are held biennially. There are 24 State federations (representing some 800 clubs) auxiliary to the General Federation, and 450 single clubs in 41 States. Several foreign clubs are members of the Federation—the Pioneer Club of London, Woman's Club of Bombay, and Educational Club of Ceylon, clubs in South Australia, etc.

WOMEN'S COLLEGE SETTLEMENTS.

—To write with any degree of definiteness or inclusiveness under the title of Women's College Settlements is an impossibility. Altho there are many settlements where a woman is the head worker or the motive power, as in Hull House, Chicago, yet these same settlements number men among their trustees and residents. Many college and university settlements have as valuable residents and committee workers non-collegiate women. Many social settlements number not a few of college graduates. In brief, the settlement movement is at basis one.

The ideals which led women into settlement life are the same which influenced men. Believing that the separation which prevents understanding and sympathy, in many cases between the rich and the poor, between those who have had few opportunities and those who have had many, to be wrong and the source of great evil, they would make that understanding and sympathy possible, that separation impossible. By the establishment of a home in the midst of the working people, not with any spirit of patronage or curiosity, but with a desire for a life of simplicity, with a wish to know as friends those who are bearing a large part in the real work of the world, would the women interested in settlements express their ideals. Their hope has been that their simple home being a real home for the neighborhood, may serve as a wedge toward breaking down class distinctions. "If it shall create any higher ideals or quicken any aspirations, if it shall awaken any soul to a sense of its own nature, the object of a college settlement will surely be attained."

It would seem as if the settlements in England and Scotland submitted to classification under the title of this article better than those in America. The bibliography of college, social, and university settlements compiled by Miss M. Katharine Jones, of the College Settlements Association (edition of 1895), gives the following: A member of one of the leading of these settlements has assured the author at date of writing (April, 1897) that none of great importance have been added to the list since then: St. Margaret's House, 9 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, E. London; Settlement of Women Workers, 461 Barking Road, Canning Town, E. London; Mayfield House, Old Ford Road, Bethnal Green, E. London; Women's University Settlement, 44-46 Nelson Square, Southwark, S.E. London; Women's House of Bermondsey Settlement, 149 Lower Road, Rotherhithe, S.E. London; College of Women Workers, Dartmouth Row, Blackheath Hill, S.E. London; York House, 527 Halloway Road, N. London; University Settlement, Art Museum, Ancoats's Hall, Manchester.

Among the principal of the settlements in America, which may perhaps be classified under the heading of the article, are such as: The Church Settlement House, 1556 Avenue A, New York City; The Nurses' Settlement, 265 Henry Street, New York City; St. Peter's House, 100 Pine Street, Philadelphia; Whittier

Ideals.

House, 174 Grand Street, Jersey City; Kingsley House, 1709 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh; Social Settlement of Cincinnati, O.; Lucy House, 1835 Carr Street, St. Louis, Mo.; A Log Cabin College Settlement, Grace Post Office, Buncombe County, N. C.; The Manse, 1730 Eighth Street, West Oakland, Cal.

This is by no means an adequate or complete list. There are constant overlappings, and the writer has not been given sufficient time to obtain accurately a list of the new settlements which have sprung up all over the country in the years 1895 and 1896, and which would have a right to be included.

In connection with the subject of women's settlements, it would be a mistake to fail to mention such settlements as Professor Geddes' in Edinburgh; that of the Minster Street Settlement in Philadelphia, and of Chicago Commons, where a family is the nucleus and center of the settlement life. There is, however, a group of settlements in America which come naturally under the heading of women's college settlements. They were established by college women, are controlled by college women, and have a majority of college women as residents.

THE COLLEGE SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION.

The ideals on which the College Settlements Association are based had been proved practical in England before they were put into definite form in the United States. Its

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immediate origin was due to the earnest thought of three college women, all of whom have been more or less closely connected with the work ever since. They were Miss Vida Dutton Scudder, Mrs. Jean Fine Spahr, and Mrs. Helen Rand Thayer. Gradually more and more were drawn into the movement, and a large number of college women give it their direct support. It is the one practical undertaking in which the college women of America are engaged collectively and widely aside from the fellowships of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae.

In February, 1890, the constitution and by-laws of the College Settlements Association were formed. January 5, 1894, the association was incorporated. Its government is vested in an electoral board, the officers of which are a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. The membership is not limited to college women, and any one may become a member by the annual fee of \$5. Each college which contributes through faculty, alumnae, or undergraduates \$100 is entitled to two members on the board—one to represent the alumnae, one the undergraduates. Each member serves for two years. Two electors also are chosen by non-collegiate members. Associate electors to the number of 10 may be elected by the board. Head workers *ex officio* are members of the board, and a delegate is sent to each of the semi-annual meetings in spring and fall from each local committee. The report for 1895-96 shows representation from 11 colleges—Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Wells, Packer Institute, Cornell University, Swarthmore, Elmira, Woman's College of Baltimore, and Barnard. The standing committee

of the association consists of the officers *ex officio*, and a fifth member chosen by the board. There are also local executive committees for each settlement, three members on each of which being chosen by the board.

The first settlement of the association was opened at 95 Rivington Street, October, 1889, at about the same time as Hull House, Chicago. Its head workers have been Miss Jean Fine, Miss McLain, and Dr. Jane Elizabeth Robbins. The Philadelphia Settlement was assumed by the association April, 1892. Miss McLain, Miss Dora Freeman, Miss Helena S. Dudley, and Miss Katharine B. Davis have acted as head workers. In December, 1892, Denison House, 93 Tyler Street, Boston, was opened. In October, 1896, it enlarged its quarters by including 91 Tyler Street under its roof. The head worker is Miss Helena S. Dudley. The work of these three settlements differs largely, according to the demands and needs of the neighborhood, and follow social, educational, civic lines, as the case may be. Altho many opportunities have arisen to increase the number of settlements under the control of the College Settlements Association, it has been deemed wise by those in charge to confine the activities of the association to the increased effectiveness of the three until the funds should be greatly augmented and the possibility of obtaining a greater number of effective and permanent workers more certain.

As regards the practical workings of these settlements, each resident pays board varying from \$4.50 to \$6.50 a week. An appropriation is made every year to each settlement from the general fund. There are also local donations. For the year September, 1895, to October, 1896 (thirteen months), the receipts of the general treasurer were \$7784.32. The receipts for each settlement, including the appropriations from this general fund, were as follows: For New York, \$8224.59; for Philadelphia, \$6405.15; for Boston, \$7322.67, which last does not include receipts from board account. The expenses of the association are kept at the minimum. No officer receives a salary, and the chief expenses are for printing and for postage (in part).

Practical Working.

The College Settlements Association have offered fellowships for the study of social and economic problems. These fellowships have been held by Miss Amelia Shapleigh (1892-93); Misses Ada S. Woolfolk, Isabelle Eaton, and Katharine Pearson Woods (1893-94); and Miss Mabel Sanford (1894-95).

The publications of the association have been the Annual Reports, including Lists of Subscribers; the *By-Laws*; *A Study in Dietaries*, Report of Miss Amelia Shapleigh, Fellow (1892-93); *Receipts and Expenditures of Certain Wage-Earners in the Garment Trades*, by Miss Isabelle Eaton, Fellow (1893-94), published by American Statistical Association June, 1895; *A Bibliography of College, Social and University Settlements*, compiled by M. Katharine Jones, first edition October, 1893; second and revised edition October, 1895; *The Work-Shop at Wells Memorial during 1893-94*, by Helena S. Dudley; *Report on Questions Drawn up by*

Present Residents in our College Settlements Association, and Submitted to Past Residents, by Vida D. Scudder, published by the Church Social Union, September, 1896.

CAROLINE WILLIAMSON MONTGOMERY.

WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL BRITISH, was organized at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1876, under the lead of Mrs. Margaret Parker, of Dundee, Scotland, as the result of interest in the Woman's Temperance Crusade in the United States. (See WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.) Mrs. Parker was chosen president, and in 1877 Mrs. C. L. Balfour, succeeded by Mrs. M. Bright Lucas, sister of John Bright. In 1885 the association was affiliated to the World's Women Christian Temperance Union (*q.v.*), of which body Mrs. Lucas was the first president. The pledge of the British Women's Temperance Association is, "I promise by God's help to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, and to try to induce others to do the same."

Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas was also president of the Bloomsbury branch of the Women's Liberal Association, and in 1892 the British Women's Temperance Association passed the following vote:

Resolved, That all class legislation is unjust, and that therefore responsible women should participate in framing the laws by which they are governed. We hold the spiritual and moral forces of women must be brought to bear directly upon the ballot-box; and in view of the great moral gain that has been realized by granting the municipal and other votes to women, and holding that their vote will always be the enacting clause of all temperance legislation, we ask the parliamentary vote should be extended to them.

In the year 1893-94, 1500 meetings were held by members of the National Executive Committee, and 2000 in all were reported to headquarters; 300 new societies were formed; 8,500,000 pages of literature were issued, including the organ, *The Women's Signal*, which had a circulation of 16,271 per week.

The program of work adopted by the Council for the year 1895 was as follows:

- "1. Evangelistic work, to arouse the conscience of the Christian Church to its responsibilities.
- "2. The preparation and circulation of temperance literature.
- "3. To secure the passing of the Government Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill.

- "4. To secure the passing of an imperial measure prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday.
- "5. To secure the passing of the Grocers' License Abolition Bill.
- "6. To secure the passing of a measure prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks to children.
- "7. To secure the closing of public-houses on parliamentary and municipal election days
- "8. To secure effective legislation for the treatment of inebriates.
- "9. To secure the prevention of the hawking of intoxicants in railway stations, and the sale of the same on steam and pleasure boats and ocean steamers.
- "10. To secure the enforcement of the Truck Act.
- "11. The opposing of licenses at Brewster Sessions.
- "12. To secure the election of temperance candidates as poor law guardians, as members of school boards, and all other public bodies.
- "13. To secure scientific instruction in schools.
- "14. To promote the use of unfermented wine at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
- "15. Preventive and reformatory work among women.
- "16. Work among barmaids, and against the employment of women in public-houses, and other demoralizing resorts.
- "17. Work for the prevention of granting liquor licenses to theaters, concert halls, and other places of entertainment.
- "18. Work among municipal women voters, to secure their influence and votes as electors in favor of temperance.
- "19. Prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to native races."

The departments of the association are: Organization; Speakers' Bureau; "Y" (Young Women's) B. W. T. A.; Temperance Legions; Evangelistic; Bible Lessons and Study; Unfermented Wine at the Sacrament; Preventive; Social Purity; Social; Drawing-Room Meetings; Facts; Educational; Health and Hygiene; Adult Schools; High Schools and Private Schools; Legal; Brewster Sessions; Police Matrons; Women as Poor Law Guardians; Members of School Boards, etc.; Work Among Women Municipal Voters; Political; Literature and Press; Inebriate Women; Native Races; Traveling. The Association supports a white-ribbon (publishing) company, an industrial farm home, a retreat for inebriate women, St. Mary's Training Home for Girls Alpha House, a preventive and rescue home. A Scotch Christian Union of the British Women's Temperance Association was organized in 1876. (See WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.)

WOOL.—The statistics of this and the following table are from *The Wool Book*, compiled for the National Association of Wool Manufacturers by S. N. D. North, secretary.

THE WORLD'S WOOL SUPPLY SINCE 1860.

COUNTRIES.	1860. Lbs.	1870. Lbs.	1880. Lbs.	1891. Lbs.	1896. Lbs.
United Kingdom.....	140,000,000	150,000,000	149,000,000	147,475,000	*135,000,000
Continent of Europe.....	500,000,000	485,000,000	450,000,000	639,917,000	611,978,508
North America.....	110,000,000	176,000,000	270,000,000	349,100,000	289,474,708
Australasia.....	60,000,000	175,000,000	308,000,000	550,000,000	643,000,000
Cape Good Hope.....	26,000,000	43,000,000	60,000,000	128,681,600	931,000,000
River Plate.....	43,000,000	107,000,000	256,000,000	376,700,000	329,000,000
Other Countries.....	76,000,000	69,000,000	133,000,000	294,900,000	345,649,792
Grand totals.....	955,000,000	1,295,000,000	1,626,000,000	2,456,773,600	2,582,103,000

* Fleece washed, 1895.

SHEEP IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1896.

STATES.	Number.	Value.
Maine.....	258,836	\$536,438
New Hampshire.....	87,111	184,849
Vermont.....	181,550	349,593
Massachusetts.....	48,395	159,793
Rhode Island.....	11,279	38,067
Connecticut.....	34,520	91,802
New York.....	899,179	2,137,798
Pennsylvania.....	45,089	182,340
Delaware.....	907,672	1,937,667
Maryland.....	12,358	35,739
Virginia.....	129,884	343,375
North Carolina.....	426,889	894,760
South Carolina.....	343,194	473,069
Georgia.....	74,465	119,762
Florida.....	378,769	519,368
Alabama.....	101,777	183,573
Mississippi.....	271,111	311,534
Louisiana.....	343,996	423,115
Texas.....	146,571	203,353
Arkansas.....	3,065,256	3,839,549
Tennessee.....	188,722	246,662
West Virginia.....	439,456	651,068
Kentucky.....	514,783	894,281
Ohio.....	858,366	1,603,257
Michigan.....	2,754,613	5,247,538
Indiana.....	1,491,079	2,841,189
Illinois.....	727,599	1,660,779
Wisconsin.....	604,470	1,670,687
Minnesota.....	770,350	1,498,176
Iowa.....	435,381	844,290
Missouri.....	565,137	1,399,279
Kansas.....	774,738	1,475,953
Nebraska.....	258,390	419,966
South Dakota.....	102,620	417,234
North Dakota.....	320,247	624,354
Montana.....	359,828	710,732
Wyoming.....	3,061,502	4,740,429
Colorado.....	1,393,693	2,513,944
New Mexico.....	1,319,049	2,251,881
Arizona.....	2,738,930	2,732,554
Utah.....	746,546	930,196
Nevada.....	1,998,441	3,157,537
Idaho.....	544,977	930,372
Washington.....	1,011,852	2,281,726
Oregon.....	756,346	1,318,462
California.....	2,639,949	3,599,983
Oklahoma.....	2,962,126	5,483,784
Total.....	22,322	36,887
Total.....	38,298,783	65,167,735

WORKING GIRLS' CLUBS. See WORKING WOMEN'S CLUBS.

WORKING MEN'S CLUBS, apart from labor unions and benefit or friendly societies, are almost unknown in the United States, but have reached a large development in England and on the continent. According to Charles Booth's *Life and Labor of the People* (vol. i.), there are 115 such clubs in East London and Hackney alone. Of these, 32 are usually called "proprietary" clubs, and strictly secret, and have a very shady reputation. Gambling and chiefly betting are their main objects, connected more or less with dancing and dramatic entertainments, being sometimes little better than dancing saloons of the lowest type. They are exposed to police raids, and not long-lived, continually disappearing in one street to appear in another. Thirty-three are philanthropic clubs, more or less supported and superintended by Church and other philanthropic organizations. Prominent among such are the large University Club and the United Brothers. All these except one are teetotal and mainly educational and social.

Thirty-two clubs are political, of which 22 are Liberal and Radical, 6 Conservative, 3 Socialistic, and 1 Irish Home Rule. Of the Conservative Club, only one is called a working man's club, and seven of the Liberal clubs are mainly of the **London** middle class. In all the clubs an unorganized socialism rather than old-fashioned radicalism is the dominant note. All these clubs have a bar, and breweries often help in fitting them up. They also have concerts, lectures, entertainments, dancing, and dramatics. Billiards and whist are greatly played. It is declared by their enemies that they are mere drinking dens, and take the men from their homes; but Mr. Booth declares the former accusation to be without foundation, and that most of the members, if not at the clubs, would be on the street. They give an opportunity for political education such as American workmen are almost without. The American workman is organized for political purposes usually only in the heated campaigns with partizan spirit. The English and European working men's clubs discuss politics all the year round, and to an extent in a broad spirit because they are not merely political. It was to these clubs that the lecturers of the (English) Fabian Society (*q. v.*) went, and largely changed their political spirit from one of cheap negative radicalism to one of constructive evolutionary socialism.

Eighteen of the clubs are social, dancing, dramatic, literary, etc. In all the clubs the fee is usually 6*d.* per month; the average membership is from 300 to 400; the hours are from 6.30 P.M. to 12.30 A.M., and on Sunday from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 6.30 P.M. to 11.30 P.M. The management is by a committee, and the sale of drinks makes them largely self-supporting. Gambling and excessive drinking in the open clubs are rare.

On the continent also working men's clubs are also very common, but are usually gymnastic, socialistic, or under the patronage of the

WOOLMAN, JOHN, was born at Northampton, N. J., in 1720. His youth was spent on a farm, and he always lived by the labor of his hands, chiefly as a tailor. He began his public ministry at Mount Holly, N. J., about 1742 by teaching poor and neglected children. As a Friend (or Quaker) he spent much of his time traveling and preaching. In a tract, *On the Keeping of Negroes* (two parts, 1753-1862), he pointed out the dangers of slavery. In 1772 he visited England, and died there, at York, in that year, of small-pox. Channing considered his *Journal*, which has been published with an introduction by Whittier, as the purest and sweetest of autobiographies.

WOOLSEY, THEODORE DWIGHT, was born in New York in 1801, and graduated at Yale College in 1820. He read law in Philadelphia; studied theology at Princeton; was tutor at Yale 1823-25; studied languages abroad 1827-30; was elected Professor of Greek at Yale in 1831, and president in 1846; resigned in 1871. His writings on social science are: *An Introduction to the Study of International Law* (1860); *An Essay on Divorce and Divorce Legislation* (1860); *Political Science* (1877); *Communism and Socialism* (1879). He died in 1889.

Church. The Roman Catholic Church has been especially active in this direction. (See SOCIALISM; CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM; COOPERATION.)

In the United States, working men's clubs of the English political type are almost unknown. In the large cities there are numberless ephemeral clubs of boys and young men of the working classes for social purposes purely, and very largely of a low type, like the English proprietary clubs. There are also a growing number of philanthropic clubs connected with churches, settlements, or the Good Government Clubs. (See CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM; INSTITUTIONAL CHURCHES; UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS; GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS.) Many working men also belong to benefit or friendly societies of one kind or another. (See also TRADE-UNIONS.)

WORKING WOMEN'S CLUBS.—A working woman's club or society is an organization formed among busy young women and girls to secure, by cooperation, education, opportunities of social intercourse, and the development of higher and nobler aims in life. They are non-sectarian and self-governing, and they endeavor as far as possible to meet their own expenses by means of fees, entertainments given by the members, sales of articles made in classes, or by good business management in the subletting of club rooms.

In most clubs girls are admitted who have passed the age of fourteen. Some require the indorsement of a club member for admission, others welcome freely all new-comers, believing that the general intelligence and serious purpose of the other members will exclude the unworthy.

The fees in clubs vary from 10 cents to 25 cents a month, while in some clubs yearly fees of \$1 or \$1.50 are preferred.

The advantages of clubs to young working women are pleasant rooms, library and piano, lectures, talks, entertainments and dances, classes in dressmaking, sewing, embroidery, millinery, cooking and domestic science; also, where the city does not provide them, classes in stenography, typewriting, book-keeping and the studies common to the grammar schools. The clubs aim to bring together women from factories, shops and homes, many whom the circumstances of life tend to separate, and by business meetings and discussions to train them all to a better mutual understanding and habits of self reliance.

The clubs are governed by the members for the members. Officers are chosen from the membership of the clubs, and are elected by ballot. Matters of business are presented at monthly business meetings and decided by a majority vote. All questions arising as to the government of the clubs are carefully discussed and settled in the same way.

The following is the usual list of officers: President, vice-president, secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurer, librarian or steward.

Many clubs are governed by a council consisting of 12 members, including the six officers.

The six members who are not officers are elected by ballot, and hold office two years. This council has general charge and control of the funds and property of the club. The government of individual clubs is always vested in the members of the club.

The movement began in Philadelphia, where a stand has been made for thorough technical training. Florence Nightingale asserts that half the trouble in women's lives results from their lack of **Beginning** training; and Carroll D. Wright gives the same reason the foremost place in summing up the causes why women get lower wages than men.

Clear-headed women in New York City next took up the club idea, and slowly evolved the principles of *cooperation*, *self-government* (by the members for the members), and *the effort for self-support*. This raised the clubs from the demoralizing basis of charity; and it is easy to see how the working of these three principles tends to develop the noblest qualities of self control and self-respect.

The work began in Boston in the present decade, gradually extending through New England. Already there has come the necessity of organizing on a State basis.

The recognized associations of clubs now existing (1897) are the Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Brooklyn, Massachusetts, and Illinois. There are many independent clubs in other States; some, however, are affiliated with these existing associations.

The State association has no control over the methods of individual clubs, claiming only allegiance to the three cardinal principles, independence of other organizations and loyal cooperation for the common good. To put the clubs in close touch and provide for an interchange of experience, there is a board of directors meeting once a month. Each club annually elects one representative to serve on this board. But the chief power is vested in a general council, meeting quarterly, and composed of all the officers of all the clubs belonging.

The junior clubs are inside organizations, consisting of girls under 15 who are too young for the club proper. They use the rooms once a week, pay 10 cents for monthly dues, and generally have separate officers and constitution, the older club members cooperating with them.

Every club does some kind of practical work for the benefit of others, and many societies have regular organizations for this purpose known by different names. The work done is various and interesting. Christmas gifts and pleasures are arranged for poor children who are not reached in other ways, and mothers are also remembered. Boxes and barrels are filled with useful articles made at the clubs and sent to various places where there is need of them. Hospitals are visited, and a variety of articles made at the clubs for the comfort of patients are given. Flowers and fruits are distributed among the sick and suffering poor, also jellies, fresh egg and delicacies. Garments are made and given to day nurseries and other institu-

**Organi-
zation.**

**Forms of
Government.**

tions, where they are greatly needed. Entertainments are held, and the proceeds sent to selected objects, destitute families chosen and provided with special help to tide them over a hard place, and at a few clubs baskets of necessary articles for the sick are provided, and loaned to families where there is sickness. The Three P Circle, working under the words "Purity, Perseverance, Pleasantness," is another inside band of great power.

The Mutual Benefit Fund is an outgrowth of the New York Association, providing for its members in cases of illness or death. In other associations there are small benefit funds connected with individual clubs. The Penny Provident and Stamp Saving Societies have stations in all the associations of clubs.

In summer the members of clubs meet at various vacation houses. Those owned by the Auxiliary Society of Working Girls' Societies of New York, at Miller's Place, Long Island, are the largest. In Connecticut, smaller houses in the country and by the sea, at Sayport, are to be found, while in Massachusetts the club girls gather at Princeton in the largest numbers, and are found also in smaller cottages loaned or presented to individual clubs. The Pennsylvania and Illinois associations have club vacation houses.

Excursions on Saturday afternoons during the summer are another feature of club life.

The clubs vary in membership from 25 to 600, the largest clubs being in Philadelphia. The clubs are beginning to interest themselves more and more in questions relating to the labor of women, such as industrial training schools, trade organizations, shorter hours, consumers' leagues and protective legislation.

These clubs have held three conventions, one in New York in April, 1890, another in Boston in May, 1894, a third in Philadelphia in April, 1897. At the last convention it was decided to form a National League of Working Women's Clubs, but the organization has not yet taken shape.

EDITH M. HOWES.

WRIGHT, CARROLL DAVIDSON, was born in Dunbarton, N. H., in 1840. He began the study of law, but enlisted in the Northern Army in the War of the Rebellion, and became colonel. In 1865 he was admitted to the bar. In 1871 he was State Senator in Massachusetts, and served two years. From 1873-88 he was Chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Massachusetts. In 1875 and 1885 he had charge of the Massachusetts census. In 1888 he was appointed United States Commissioner of Labor. In 1895 he was elected a Professor of Political Science in the Catholic University. Besides his very numerous reports (see Appendix) he has written *Industrial Evolution in the United States* (1892).

X.

XENOPHON was born in Athens in 444 or 434 B.C. Attracted by the teaching of Socrates, his *Memorabilia of Socrates* is his greatest work. He, however, served under Cyrus the younger, in his war against Artaxerxes, and when Cyrus fell (B.C. 401) Xenophon conducted the famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks to the Black Sea and thence by water to Byzan-

tium. At Coronea, however, Xerxes fought against the Thebans, allies of Athens, and hence was banished from Athens and his property confiscated. He was recalled, however, and died at Athens. His *oikonomikós*, or study of household economics, is the best study of that subject which has come down from ancient Greece. (See POLITICAL SCIENCE; WOMAN'S RIGHTS.)

Y.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS are associations on a specific Christian basis organized for the physical, mental, social and spiritual benefit (a) of their members, and (b) of young men in general. The first organization was made in London in 1844, under the lead of Mr. George Williams. It is now organized in almost all parts of the world, with an International Committee having headquarters in New York City and Geneva, Switzerland. The international conventions have been very large and noteworthy gatherings. The *World Almanac* for 1897 gives the following tables of the number of these associations all over the world, by country and number. It will be noticed that Germany follows the United States in the number of associations, and that Great Britain is rather a poor third:

AMERICA.		ASIA.	
United States.....	1,363	India.....	80
Canada.....	86	Ceylon.....	21
South America, etc..	17	China.....	8
EUROPE.		Japan.....	35
England, Ireland		Turkey.....	20
and Wales.....	834	Persia.....	2
Scotland.....	221	Syria.....	13
France.....	131	Egypt.....	3
Germany.....	1,180	AFRICA.	
Netherlands.....	817	Madagascar.....	2
Denmark.....	150	South Africa.....	16
Switzerland.....	399	West Central Africa	1
Norway.....	144	North Africa.....	3
Sweden.....	52	OCEANICA.	
Italy.....	58	Australia.....	13
Spain and Portugal.	9	New Zealand.....	2
Belgium.....	35	Hawaii.....	5
Austria.....	17	Total.....	5,764
Hungary.....	8		
Russia.....	17		
Turkey.....	1		
Bulgaria.....	1		

NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

	Num-ber.		Num-ber.
Alabama	16	New York.....	162
Arizona.....	1	North Carolina.....	33
Arkansas.....	6	North Dakota.....	9
California.....	34	Ohio.....	67
Colorado.....	11	Oklahoma.....	1
Connecticut.....	25	Oregon.....	15
Delaware.....	1	Pennsylvania.....	142
Dist. of Columbia.....	2	Rhode Island.....	6
Florida.....	1	South Carolina.....	27
Georgia.....	20	South Dakota.....	34
Idaho.....	2	Tennessee.....	36
Illinois.....	108	Texas.....	32
Indiana.....	31	Utah.....	1
Indian Territory.....	1	Vermont.....	14
Iowa.....	54	Virginia.....	56
Kansas.....	30	Washington.....	11
Kentucky.....	27	West Virginia.....	12
Louisiana.....	6	Wisconsin.....	37
Maine.....	16	Alberta.....	1
Maryland.....	22	British Columbia.....	3
Massachusetts.....	77	Manitoba.....	7
Michigan.....	36	New Brunswick.....	8
Minnesota.....	19	Nova Scotia.....	18
Mississippi.....	8	Ontario.....	42
Missouri.....	36	Prince Edw'd Island.....	3
Nebraska.....	25	Quebec.....	4
Nevada.....	1		
New Hampshire.....	13	Total.....	1,455
New Jersey.....	45		

The total membership of these American associations is 263,298 ; they occupy 315 buildings of their own, valued at \$16,759,800, and have a total net property of \$16,655,014, including 670

libraries, containing 479,563 volumes. They employ 1248 general secretaries and other paid officials, and expended last year for current expenses—local, State and National—\$250,170. In 1872 railroad Y. M. C. A.'s were begun in the United States, and in 1893 numbered 100, with 25,000 members. In 1877 college Y. M. C. A.'s were begun, and in 1893 numbered 500, with 33,000 members. In 1893 the members in England and Wales were 33,563 ; in Scotland, 25,500 ; in Germany, 64,362.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS were first organized in London in 1855, an International Association was formed in 1886, and The World's Y. W. C. A. in 1893. In America, 19 States have organized State associations. Each State holds an annual convention. The international convention occurs biennially. Each year four summer schools are held for the training of young women in secretarial and Bible work. *The Evangel*, the official organ of the associations, is published monthly at Chicago, Ill. The second Thursday of October is observed as a day of prayer for young women. A special department is maintained for young women of colleges, and through this department the student volunteer movement is connected with the association work.

General statistics : Number of associations in Great Britain, 1340 ; on the Continent of Europe, 20 ; India, 20 ; Australia, 25 ; America, 345 ; other places, including China and Japan, 175 ; total world, 1570. Membership of American associations, 35,000.

Z.

ZOAR.—The communistic settlement of Zoar was founded in 1817 by a sect from Würtemberg, in Germany, called Separatists. The communistic element, however, was an afterthought, only dating from 1819. Objection to war and to the formalities of the established religion, coupled with a warm welcome from the Quakers of Philadelphia, seem to have drawn them from Germany. Joseph Bäumeler was their main leader till his death in 1853. They allow marriage, maintain family life, and seem broader in their religious views than most of the German communistic sects of America. According to Professor Ely's *The Labor Movement in America* (1886), they then owned several thousand acres of land, had several manufacturing establishments, and property valued at \$1,500,000, with a membership of 390 souls. At present they are said to be prosperous, but smaller in number, and more like a rich corporation than a community.

ZOLLVEREIN (tax union) is the name given to a union of the German States, proposed first by Prussia, and in 1834 entered into by 18 States, according to which all duties were abolished on the frontiers between the States of the union, and the duties on the frontier of the union were divided between the States in proportion to their population. By 1854 all the

principal German States had entered the union. It ended with the formation of the German Empire in 1871.

ZONE-TARIFF SYSTEM.—August, 1889, a new system of railroad fares was introduced in Hungary, called zone-tariff system, in which the rates are fixed, not according to the number of miles traveled by the passenger, but according to the number of zones traversed or entered upon during the journey. Starting from a given center, the railroads are divided into 14 zones or stretches. The first zone includes all stations with 25 kilometers of the center ; the second all more than 25 and less than 40 ; the third, all between 40 and 55 kilometers, etc., each zone after the first up to the twelfth being 15 kilometers long, or, as we should perhaps better say, wide. The twelfth and thirteenth zones are 25 kilometers wide, and the fourteenth includes all stations more than 225 kilometers from the capital. Tickets are sold by zones, being good for all stations within the zone.

Two grades of local tickets were adopted, the first being to the first station and the second to the second. The third station comes within the zone ticket.

A normal fare was adopted per zone (taking 40 cents as the gulden) of 20, 16, and 10 cents per zone, according to the class one uses—first,

second or third. The fare for any zone up to the twelfth is found by simply multiplying the number of zone into this normal rate. The fare for stations in the thirteenth zone is fourteen times the normal rate, except for the second class, in which case it is a trifle less. The fare for stations in the fourteenth zone, which includes all stations more than 225 kilometers, is sixteen times the normal rate, with the exception of second-class fare again, which is a trifle less. The rates between any two adjacent stations, regardless of differences of distance, were 12 cents first class, 6 cents second class, and 4 cents third class, and from any one station to the second station, 16, 9 and 6 cents. For all distances between 140 and 457 miles the stations were grouped with a uniform rate, by ordinary trains, \$3.20, \$2.32 and \$1.60 for the respective classes. By express trains the rates were about 20 per cent. higher. This system, as will be shown in a moment, introduced a great reduction in the average fare and an enormous reduction in the long-distance fare.

Says Professor E. J. James, describing the system in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (July, 1890):

"The reduction, as compared with the old rates, is enormous. The old rates from Budapest to Kronstadt were 44, 31 and 22 gulden; the new are 8, 5.8 and 4, a reduction of 82 per cent. This represents the extreme reduction, the per cent. of reduction growing smaller as you go nearer to the starting-point. At Klausenburg the old rates were 24, 17 and 12, as compared with the rates just given, the distance being 400 kilometers, a reduction of 66.6 per cent. At Medzo Telegd, a distance of 271 kilometers, the reduction is still more than 50 per cent., and at 100 kilometers the reduction is still nearly 50 per cent., while local reductions have also been very considerable.

"The simplification of the tariff is very great. Under the old system, the number of distinct tickets which had to be kept in every large office was nearly 700. It is now only 92.

"The railroad tickets are now placed on sale like postage stamps at the post-offices, hotels, cigar shops and other convenient places. The public is greatly pleased at the discarding of the complicated machinery of ticket-selling as practised under the old system.

"The most interesting thing, however, in this experiment, is the way in which the passenger traffic has increased under the stimulus of the new rates. The time is too short to enable us to draw definite conclusions, but the facts are striking and significant. The number of passengers during the last five months of

1887 was 2,389,400; during the same period of 1888, was 2,381,200; while for the same period of 1889—the first period under the new system—it was 5,584,600, an increase of over 133 per cent.

The receipts from the traffic under the new system were over 18 per cent. greater than under the old.* In other words, passenger traffic will respond to lower rates, a thing which some railroad managers have denied.

Results.

"Hungary was in some respects the most unfavorable country in Western Europe for such an experiment. It has relatively a small population, scattered over a large territory, poor, ignorant, conservative, the kind of a population not likely to respond quickly to such a thing as a reduction in long-distance railroad fares. The success of the experiment has fixed the attention of railroad managers on the Continent. Austria is about to adopt a somewhat similar system. French, Belgian and German engineers are going to Hungary to study the system on the spot."

Mr. James L. Cowles, writing later in his *A General Freight and Passenger Post* (1896), says:

"The result was that the neighborhood passenger traffic of Hungary increased in the interval, 1889 to 1892, from 2,912,400 to 29,412,100, over 600 per cent., and the long-distance travel increased from 246,200 to 970,600, or 294 per cent.

"One of the results of the reform of the railway system of Hungary has been to throw the burden of railroad expenses on the shoulders of those able to bear it, viz., on the long-distance travelers using express trains, the class corresponding to our Pullman-car travelers. This class, numbering in 1892 about a million, paid over 20 per cent. of the entire passenger taxes. In the United States this class does not pay one half the cost of their own transportation." (See RAILROADS.)

* Since the above paper was read, later figures have been published, showing that up to March 31—i.e., for the first eight months of the experiment—the increase in passenger traffic was 160 per cent. over the traffic in the corresponding eight months under the old system, having risen to 7,770,876 as compared with 2,891,332. The result is still more remarkable with regard to traffic between neighboring stations. Whereas, under the old tariff, only 255,000 persons used the railways for such purpose, their number during the above eight months rose to 4,367,586. It is reported in Budapest that the government is contemplating a still further reduction.

In the *Zeitschrift für Staats u. Volkswirtschaft* (Hertzka's paper) of February 16, 1890, it is stated (p. 10) that this enormous increase in traffic has been handled without any increase in operating expenses. This could be done because the cars under the old system were scarcely ever more than one third full.

APPENDIX

I.

PLATFORMS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES FOR 1896 NOT PRINTED IN THE TEXT.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
ADOPTED AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SEPTEMBER 3, 1896.

This convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people, in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party.

Standard Democratic Principles.—The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the Federal Government in its constitutional vigor, and to the support of the States in all their just rights; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money; and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

The Chicago Convention Arraigned.—The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the Government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention nor be bound by its acts. The Democratic party has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy it proclaimed in its name at Chicago.

The Republican Party Responsible.—The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of class legislation by the Republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law, and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

The Tariff Issue.—The National Democracy here convened, therefore, renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times. Taxation, tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the Treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the Treasury is determined by the appropriations made by Congress.

The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money,

and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government. We arraign and condemn the Populistic conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their cooperation with the Republican party in creating these conditions which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection.

The Tariff Issue.

Protection and Its Ally.—We therefore denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity, are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money; in fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only.

American Shipping.—We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which have been abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the Stars and Stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen.

We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

The Currency.—The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of their natural qualities, gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured on it by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure, and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law.

Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency, assuring the most stable standard, and especially the best and safest money for all who earn their livelihood by labor or the produce of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the money changer at their cost.

The Currency.

Realizing the truths demonstrated by long and public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party, in the interest of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement and likewise entirely divorced the Government from banking and currency issues,

Gold Must be the Standard.—To this long-established Democratic policy we adhere, and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the Government, and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coining of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion.

Government Must Cease the Banking Business.—But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril. We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the Government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe, and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

The Cleveland Democratic Administration.—The fidelity, patriotism, and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs, and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation, are fully recognized by the Democratic party, and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the republic.

Civil Service Reform.—We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we endorse its effort to extend the merit system still further. We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the un-Democratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

Economy in Public Expenditures.—We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the Government.

Arbitration of International Disputes.—We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

Pensions.—We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

Integrity of the Supreme Court.—The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three coordinate branches of the Government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land without fear or favor must be maintained.

We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

The Maintenance of Public Order.—The Democratic party ever has maintained, and ever will maintain, the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination, or attempt against the just rights of property, and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

Believing these principles to be essential to the well-being of the republic, we submit them to the consideration of the American people.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FREE SILVER). ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, JULY 9, 1896.

We, the Democrats of the United States in national convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty, upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interest to the centralization of governmental power and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to every citizen the rights of civil and religious liberty. The Democratic party has always been the exponent of political liberty and religious freedom, and it re-

news its obligations and reaffirms its devotion to these fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The Money Question.—Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the money unit of value and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit.

Demonetization Act of 1873 Condemned.—We declare that the Act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

Opposed to Gold Monometallism.—We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that indomitable spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

Free Silver Coinage.—We demand the free and unlimited coining of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

The Bond Issues.—We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

National Bank Currency Opposed.—Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by National banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for duties to the United States shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

The Tariff.—We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government, honestly and economically administered. We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has twice been condemned by the people in National elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets.

The Supreme Court Criticized.—Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to meet the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax. But for this decision by the Supreme Court, there would be no deficit in the revenue under the law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly 100 years, that court having in that decision sustained Constitutional objections to its enactment which had previously been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare

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The Supreme Court Criticized.

that it is the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the court as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

Regulation of Immigration.—We hold that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a vicious monetary system which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufactures; and as labor creates the wealth of the country, we demand the passage of such laws as may be necessary to protect it in all its rights.

Arbitration in Railway Labor Disputes.—We are in favor of the arbitration of differences between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employees, and recommend such legislation as is necessary to carry out this principle.

Trusts and Pools.—The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such restrictions and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

Economy in Public Expenditures.—We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befit a democratic Government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

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

The Pacific Railroad.—No discrimination should be indulged by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding Bill, and denounce the efforts of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

Soldiers' Pensions.—Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we heartily indorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll; and the fact of enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

Admission of Territories.—We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Arizona into the Union as States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories having the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories, we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be *bona fide* residents of the Territory or District in which the duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend that the Territory of Alaska be granted a delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

The Monroe Doctrine.—The Monroe Doctrine, as originally declared and as interpreted by succeeding Presidents, is a permanent part of the foreign policy of the United States, and must at all times be maintained.

Sympathy for Cuba.—We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

Rotation in Office.—We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merit, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

Presidential Third Term.—We declare it to be the unwritten law of this republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

Improvement of Waterways.—The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water. When any waterway of the republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declarations of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 18, 1896.

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidentially address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

The Democratic Administration.—For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequalled success and prosperity. And in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism, and the success of the administration of President Harrison.

The Tariff.—We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American working man; it puts the factory by the side of the farm and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination, and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition

with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

Reciprocity and Protection.—We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of our farms, forests, and factories.

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy, and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be reestablished. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocal agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open market to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

Protection for Sugar Growers.—We condemn the present administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favor such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$300,000,000 annually.

Wool and Woolens.—To all our products—to those of the mine and the field as well as those of the shop and the factory—to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woolsens of the mills, we promise the most ample protection.

The Merchant Marine.—We favor restoring the early American policy of discriminating duties for the rebuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

The Currency Question.—The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to

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debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

Liberal Pensions for Soldiers.—The veterans of the Union armies deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls, as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

Foreign Relations.—Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States, and by the purchase of the Danish

Islands we would secure a proper and much-needed naval station in the West Indies.

The Armenian Massacres.—The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

The Monroe Doctrine.—We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American States for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered, and shall not interfere, with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must not, on any pretext, be extended. We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all of the English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

Sympathy for Cuba.—From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American peoples to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

Sympathy for Cuba.

The Government of Spain, having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actively use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

Enlargement of the Navy.—The peace and security of the republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the navy and a complete system of harbor and sea-coast defenses.

Foreign Immigration.—For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship, and of the wages of our working men against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced, and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

Civil Service Reform.—The civil service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

Free and Unrestricted Ballot.—We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

Lynchings.—We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

Labor Arbitration.—We favor the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employed engaged in interstate commerce.

Free Homesteads.—We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

Admission of Territories.—We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from *bona fide* residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

Alaska in Congress.—We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

The Liquor Traffic.—We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

Woman's Rights.—The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their cooperation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populistic mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide, and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justness of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican Party and prosperity to the people of the United States.

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY, ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, MO., JULY 24, 1896.

The People's Party, assembled in national convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892.

We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding administrations, the country has reached a crisis in its national life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour.

We realize that, while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the Constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money-changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has thereby been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy. To restore the Government intended by the fathers, and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control, by the adoption of the following declaration of principles:

The Finances.—1. We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution, direct to the people, and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

2. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

3. We demand that the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business and population, and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

4. We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing debt made by the present administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and demand that no more bonds be issued, except by specific act of Congress.

5. We demand such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

6. We demand that the Government, in payment of its obligations, shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

7. We demand a graduated income tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation, and we regard the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

8. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Railroads and Telegraphs.—1. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in

the interest of the people and on a non-partizan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys, and the proceeds of grants of land to the Pacific railroads, should never be alienated, mortgaged or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare, as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of existing **Railroads and Telegraphs.** liens of the United States on these roads should at once follow default in the

payment thereof by the debtor companies; and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same, if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole people, and not in the interest of the few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freights.

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding these debts, and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their intent and spirit.

4. The telegraph, like the Post Office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

The Public Lands.—1. True policy demands that the National and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes. All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only, and private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited.

2. We condemn the land grant frauds by which the Pacific Railroad companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of *bona fide* settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exception of mineral land from such grants after as well as before the patent.

3. We demand that *bona fide* settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the National Homestead Law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

The Referendum.—We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, under proper Constitutional safeguards.

Direct Election of President and Senators by the People.—We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Sympathy for Cuba.—We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is, and of right ought to be, a free and independent State.

The Territories.—We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia, and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Public Salaries.—All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

Employment to be Furnished by Government.—In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

Arbitrary Judicial Action.—The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

Pensions.—We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

A Fair Ballot.—Believing that the elective franchise and untrammelled ballot are essential to a government of, for, and by the people, the People's party condemn the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some States as unrepugnant and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several

State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free, and fair ballot and an honest count.

The Financial Question "the Pressing Issue."—While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and cooperation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

PLATFORM OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY, ADOPTED AT PITTSBURGH, PA., MAY 23, 1896.

We the members of the Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, renewing our acknowledgment of allegiance to Almighty God as the rightful Ruler of the Universe, lay down the following as our declaration of political purpose:

PLATFORM.

The Prohibition party, in national convention assembled, declares its conviction that the manufacture, exportation, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages has produced such social, commercial, industrial, and political wrongs, and is now so threatening the perpetuity of all our social and political institutions that the suppression of the same by a national party, organized therefor, is the greatest object to be accomplished by the voters of our country, and is of such importance as that it, of right, ought to control the political action of all our patriotic citizens until such suppression is accomplished.

The urgency of this cause demands the union without further delay of all citizens who desire the prohibition of the liquor traffic; therefore,

Resolved, That we favor the legal prohibition by State and national legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, and interstate transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages; that we declare our purpose to organize and unite all the friends of prohibition into one party, and in order to accomplish this end we deem it but right to leave every prohibitionist the freedom of his own convictions upon all other political questions, and trust our representatives to take such action upon other political questions as the change occasioned by prohibition and the welfare of the whole people shall demand.

PLATFORM OF THE SILVER PARTY, ADOPTED AT ST. LOUIS, MO., JULY 23, 1896.

First, the paramount issue at this time in the United States is indisputably the money question. It is between the British gold standard, gold bonds, and bank currency, on the one side, and the bimetallic standard, no bonds, government currency (and an American policy), on the other.

Reinstatement of Silver.—On this issue we declare ourselves to be in favor of a distinctively American financial system. We are unalterably opposed to the single gold standard, and demand the immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver, by the restoration by this Government, independently of any foreign power, of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the ratio of 16 to 1 and upon terms of exact equality, as they existed prior to 1873; the silver coin to be of full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts and dues, public and private, and we demand such legislation as will prevent for the future the destruction of the legal tender quality of any kind of money by private contract.

We hold that the power to control and regulate a paper currency is inseparable from the power to coin money, and hence that all currency intended to circulate as money should be issued and its volume controlled by the General Government only, and should be a legal tender.

Opposed to Bond Issues.—We are unalterably opposed to the issue by the United States of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace, and we denounce as a blunder, worse than a crime, the present Treasury policy, concurred in by a Republican House, of plunging the country into debt by hundreds of millions in the vain attempt to maintain the gold standard by borrowing gold; and we demand the payment of all coin obligations of the United States, as provided by existing laws, in either gold or silver coin, at the option of the Government and not at the option of the creditor.

No Over-Production.—The advocates of the gold standard persistently claim that the real cause of our

distress is over-production—that we have produced so much that it made us poor—which implies that the true remedy is to close the factory, abandon the farm, and throw a multitude of people out of employment; a doctrine that leaves us unnerved and disheartened and absolutely without hope for the future. We affirm to be unquestioned that there can be no such economic paradox as over-production and at the same time tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens remaining half clothed and half fed and who are piteously clamoring for the common necessities of life.

Bimetallism.—Over and above all other questions of policy we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the Constitution—gold and silver, not one, but both—the money of Washington and Hamilton, and Jefferson and Monroe, and Jackson and Lincoln, to the end that the American people may receive honest pay for an honest product; that the American debtor may pay his just obligations in an honest standard, and not in a dishonest and unsound standard, appreciated 100 per cent. in purchasing power and no appreciation in debt-paying power, and to the end, further, that silver standard countries may be deprived of the unjust advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which tariff legislation cannot overcome.

Bryan and Sewall.—Inasmuch as the patriotic majority of the Chicago Convention embodied in the financial plank of its platform the principles enunciated in the platform of the American bimetallic party, promulgated at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1896, and herein reiterated, which is not only the paramount but the only real issue in the pending campaign, therefore, recognizing that their nominees embody these patriotic principles, we recommend that this convention nominate William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President.

PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL PARTY, ADOPTED AT PITTSBURGH, PA., MAY 29, 1896.*

The National party, recognizing God as the author of all just power in government, presents the following declaration of principles, which it pledges itself to enact into effective legislation when given the power to do so.

1. *Prohibition.*—The suppression of the manufacture and sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We utterly reject all plans for regulating or compromising with this traffic, whether such plans be called local option, taxation, license, or public control. The sale of liquors for medicinal and other legitimate uses should be conducted by the State, without profit, and with such regulations as will prevent fraud or evasion.

2. *Woman Suffrage.*—No citizen should be denied the right to vote on account of sex.

3. *Free Silver Coinage.*—All money should be issued by the General Government only, and without the intervention of any private citizen, corporation, or banking institution. It should be based upon the wealth, stability, and integrity of the nation. It should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and should be of full volume to meet the demands of the legitimate business interests of the country. For the purpose of honestly liquidating our outstanding coin obligations, we favor the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold, at a ratio of 16 to 1, without consulting any other nation.

4. *The Public Lands.*—Land is the common heritage of the people, and should be preserved from monopoly and speculation. All unearned grants of land, subject to forfeiture, should be reclaimed by the Government, and no portion of the public domain should hereafter be granted except to actual settlers, continuous use being essential to tenure.

5. *Government Control of Railroads.*—Railroads, telegraphs, and other natural monopolies should be owned and operated by the Government, giving to the people the benefit of the service at actual cost.

6. *Income Tax.*—The national constitution should be so amended as to allow the national revenues to be raised by equitable adjustment of taxation on the properties and incomes of the people, and import duties

* By delegates to the National Prohibition Convention at Pittsburgh, who withdrew because the majority voted to confine the party issues to prohibition. The seceders organized the National party.

Woman Suffrage; Free Silver Coinage.

should be levied as a means of securing equitable commercial relations with other nations.

7. *Convict Labor.*—The contract convict labor system, through which speculators are enriched at the expense of the State, should be abolished.

8. *Sunday.*—All citizens should be protected by law in their right to one day of rest in seven, without oppressing any who conscientiously observe any other than the first day of the week.

9. *The Public Schools.*—The American public schools, taught in the English language, should be maintained, and no public funds should be appropriated for sectarian institutions.

10. *Election of President and Senators by the People.*—The President, Vice-President, and United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

11. *Liberal Pensions.*—Ex-soldiers and sailors of the

United States army and navy, their widows and minor children, should receive liberal pensions, graded on disability and term of service, not merely as a debt of gratitude, but for service rendered in the preservation of the Union.

12. *Restriction of Immigration and Alien Suffrage.*—Our immigration laws should be so revised as to exclude paupers and criminals. None but citizens of the United States should be allowed to vote in any State, and naturalized citizens should not vote until one year after naturalization papers have been issued.

13. *The Referendum.*—The initiative and referendum, and proportional representation, should be adopted.

14. Having herein presented our principles and purposes, we invite the cooperation and support of all citizens who are with us substantially agreed.

II.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES IN SOCIAL REFORM.

(a) GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

THE READER'S GUIDE IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. Prepared by R. R. Bowker and George Iles. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1891.

This is still, perhaps, the best general bibliography of the social sciences; but the literature of these sciences has been increasing so fast that this book is already in many ways out of date.

WHAT TO READ. A List of Books for Social Reformers. Published by the (English) Fabian Society. Third edition, revised, London, 1896.

This bibliography, tho small, and tho better for England than the United States, is, on general works and blue books pertaining to economic theory, history, and conditions on socialism and the labor movement generally, undoubtedly the best short bibliography.

THE BEST BOOKS: A Reader's Guide to the Choice of the Best Available Books in all Departments of Literature down to 1890, with the Dates of the First and Last Editions (1891), and First Supplement being the Work down to Midsummer, 1894. London: Sonnenschein, 1894.

This bibliography is good for the best general standard works, but not for detailed reform literature.

DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Edited by R. H. I. Palgrave. London: Macmillan, 1893, in progress.

This work is best on strict economic science.

CYCLOPEDIA OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND UNITED STATES HISTORY. Edited by John J. Lalor. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1882.

This work is good upon United States history.

DICTIONNAIRE D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE. Edited by L. Say and J. Chailley. Paris, 1891-92.

HANDWÖRTERBUCH DER STAATS-WISSENSCHAFTEN. Edited by J. Conrad and others. Jena: Fischer, 1890, in progress.

(b) PARTICULAR SUBJECTS.

ANARCHISM. For bibliographies of the literature of anarchism, see Appendix XI., section "Anarchism," of Ely's *Socialism and Social*

Reform (Boston: Crowell, 1894). See also B. R. Tucker's paper *Liberty*, New York.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM. Appendix XI., section "Christian Socialism" of Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (Boston: Crowell, 1894). See also Appendix B., section "Christian Socialism," of Bliss's *A Handbook of Socialism*. (London: Sonnenschein, 1895)

COOPERATION. See *What to Read* (Part III.). (Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London, W. C., revised edition, 1896.)

CRIMINOLOGY. Dr. Arthur MacDonald's *Criminology*. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1893).

MONEY AND BANKING. See a bibliography in Horace White's *Money and Banking* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1896). See articles PAPER MONEY; SILVER, for books favorable to more radical views, and see *The Coming Nation*, published at Ruskin, Tenn., for Populist literature.

MUNICIPALISM AND MUNICIPAL REFORM. The report of the proceedings of the National Conference for Good City Government, held in Philadelphia, 1894, contains a valuable bibliography of municipal government and reform.

NATIONALISM. See a list published by B. F. Hunter, 39 Preston Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

SOCIALISM. *Bibliographie des Socialismus und Communismus*. By James Stamhammer (Jena: Fischer, 1893). A most complete European bibliography, giving some 10,000 titles.

Handbuch des Socialismus. By C. Stegmann and C. Hugo (Zurich: Schabelitz, 1894); Appendix to R. T. Ely's *Socialism and Social Reform* (Boston: Crowell, 1894); Appendix to Bliss's *A Handbook of Socialism* (London: Sonnenschein, 1895); *What to Read*, published by the (London) Fabian Society (3d ed., revised, London, 1896).

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS. See a bibliography compiled by M. Katharine Jones, and published by the College Settlements Association. Address, M. K. Jones, Englewood, N. J.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION. See bibliography in Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor of the United States, 1893.

TEMPERANCE. See bibliography in Appendix of *The Foundation of Death: A Study of the Drink Question*, by Axel Gustafson (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1887); also a brief but up-to-date bibliography in *The Prohibition Handbook*, by G. B. Waldron (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1896).

TRADE-UNIONS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT. For America, see Appendix to Bliss's *A Handbook of Socialism* (London: Sonnenschein,

1895); for Great Britain, Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *History of Trade-Unionism* (London: Longmans, 1894).

WOMAN'S RIGHTS, ETC. For America, see Appendix to *Woman's Work in America*, edited by Annie Nathan Meyer (1891); for Great Britain, see a bibliography published by the Women's Progressive Society, 30 Theobald's Road, London, W. C., 1892.

III.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PUBLICATIONS.

(a) United States.

Federal Census Reports.—These decennial reports are of the utmost value. They are also condensed into compendiums, giving the more important statistics.

Statistics of Commerce.—A Bureau of Statistics connected with the Federal Treasury Department issues a series of *Statistics of Commerce and Navigation*, also of *Internal Commerce*. A similar bureau of statistics connected with the State Department issues a series of monthly *Consular Reports*.

Statistics of Education.—The Federal Bureau of Education, under the Interior Department, issues valuable annual reports.

Statistics of Finance.—The Secretary of the Treasury publishes an annual report, giving statistics on a wide range of financial subjects.

Statistics of Labor.—The Department of Labor, with Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, at its head, publishes annual and special reports on industrial subjects. The annual reports thus far published have related Industrial Depressions (1886); Convict Labor (1887); Strikes and Lockouts 1881-86 (1888); Working Women in Large Cities (1890); Railroad Labor (1890); Cost of Production, Iron, Steel, Coal, etc. (1891); Cost of Production, Textiles and Glass, two vols. (1892); Industrial Education (1893); Building and Loan Associations (1894); Strikes and Lockouts, 1887-94, two vols. (1895); Work and Wages of Men, Women and Children (1896). Special reports have related to Marriage and Divorce (1889); Labor Laws of the United States (1892, revised edition, 1896); Analysis and Index of all Reports Issued by Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the United States Prior to November 1, 1892 (1893); Compulsory Insurance in Germany, etc. (1893); The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic (1893); The Phosphate Industry of the United States (1893); The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia (1894); The Housing of the Working People (1895).

The department also, since 1896, has issued a monthly bulletin of the Department of Labor, giving résumés of all labor statistical reports by Government bureaus.

Statistics of Production.—The Department of Agriculture publishes monthly and annual reports on agricultural products. The United States Geological Survey issues annual reports on *The Mineral Resources of the United States*. The United States Fish Commission publishes less complete statistics.

Statistics of Railroads.—The Interstate Commerce Commission publishes annual statistics of railroads in the United States.

Statistical Abstracts.—The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department publishes a most valuable yearly *Statistical Abstract*, condensing all the statistical information of Government publications.

State Reports.—All the States publish reports of various departments and commissions, some of them of little and some of very great value. This applies to the reports of the various State labor bureaus. An analysis of these down to 1892 forms the Third Special Report of the United States Department of Labor. See above Statistics of Labor.

All Federal and State publications in the United States can be had gratuitously till the editions are exhausted by applying to the departments which issue them.

(b) Great Britain.

Among the more important of the Parliamentary papers of Great Britain are the following, which can be obtained, at prices running usually from 1d. to 1s.,

of the official agents Eyre & Spottiswoode, Fleet Street, London, E. C., who publish a good catalogue. *Annual Reports:* Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom Commercial Labor and Statistical Department of Board of Trade since 1853. *Agriculture:* Returns for Great Britain, with abstract returns for foreign countries. *Birth, Death, and Marriages:* Report of the Registrar-General for England. *Education:* Report of Committee of Council. *Factories and Workshops:* Report of the Chief Inspector. *Finance:* Accounts of the United Kingdom, account of the public income, and expenditure. *Labor:* Report of the Labor Department, also a labor gazette (monthly), *Post-Office and Telegraph.*

Report of Postmaster-General. *Prisons:* Report of Commissioners of. *Railways:* Report of the capital, traffic, expenditure of the railways of the United Kingdom; returns for United Kingdom, with summary tables for the last 15 years. *Savings Banks:* Returns. *Strikes:* Report on strikes and lockouts of the year by the labor correspondent to the Board of Trade. *Trade-Unions:* Report of the labor correspondent to the Board of Trade. *Tramways* (street cars): Return of tramways authorized by Parliament.

Occasional Papers.—*Town Improvements* (betterment) Committee: Report 1894. *Employees' Liability:* Committee 1886. *Hours of Labor, 1850-90. Hours of Labor and Wages in Colonies, 1892. Labor Commission.* Many volumes, including valuable reports on foreign countries; fifth final report; minority report of trade-unionists (Manchester Labor Press). *Report on Employment of Women. Sweating System:* Lords Committee, 1888-89. *Unemployed:* Report on agencies and methods for dealing with unemployed. *Housing of the Working Classes:* Commission 1885.

(c) Other Countries.

The following are the chief general statistical government publications of different countries:

Austria: *Oesterreichisches statistisches Handbuch für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* [k. k. statistische Central Commission]. Published since 1882.

Belgium: *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique* [Ministère de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction Publique].

Denmark: *Danmarks Statistik; Statistisk Aarbog* [Udgivet af Statens Statistiske Bureau]; *Statistique du Danemark; Annuaire Statistique* [Publié par le Bureau de Statistique de l'Etat.] Publication commenced in 1866.

France: *Annuaire Statistique de la France* [Office du Travail, Ministère du Commerce de l'Industrie, des Postes et des Télégraphes]. Published since 1878.

Germany: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* [Kaiserliches statistisches Amt]. Published since 1880.

Italy: *Annuario Statistico Italiano* [Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Direzione Generale Della Statistica]. Published since 1878.

New Zealand: *The Journal of the Department of Labor* [Wellington N. Z.]. Published since 1893.

Russia: *Annuaire Statistique de la Russie* [Publication du Comité Central de Statistique, Ministère de l'Intérieur]. Published since 1882.

Sweden: *Sveriges Officiella Statistik i Sammandrag* [Statistisk Tidskrift utgifven af Kungl. Statistiska Centralbyrån]. Published since 1860.

Switzerland: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz* [Statistisches Bureau des eidg. Departements des Innern]; *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse* [Bureau de Statistique du Département Fédéral de l'Intérieur]. Published since 1891.

RISE AND FALL OF WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

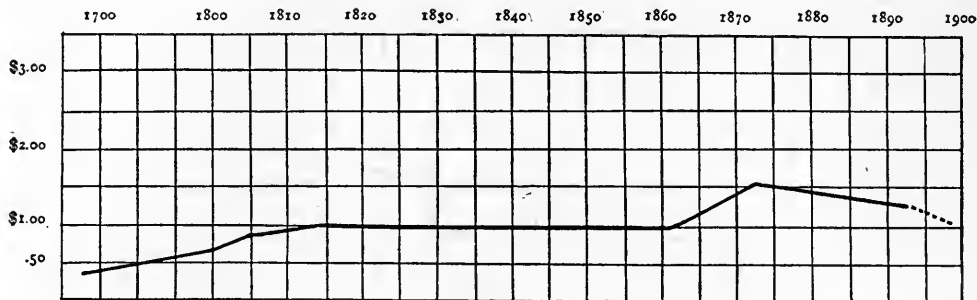


CHART I.—DAY'S WAGES OF UNSKILLED LABOR.

For the period from 1700-1873 this table is based on figures given in Carroll D. Wright's book, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*. For the period from 1873-93 the figures given are from Charles B. Spahr's *Present Distribution of Wealth in the United States*. For a discussion of the facts and for contrary views see article WAGES.

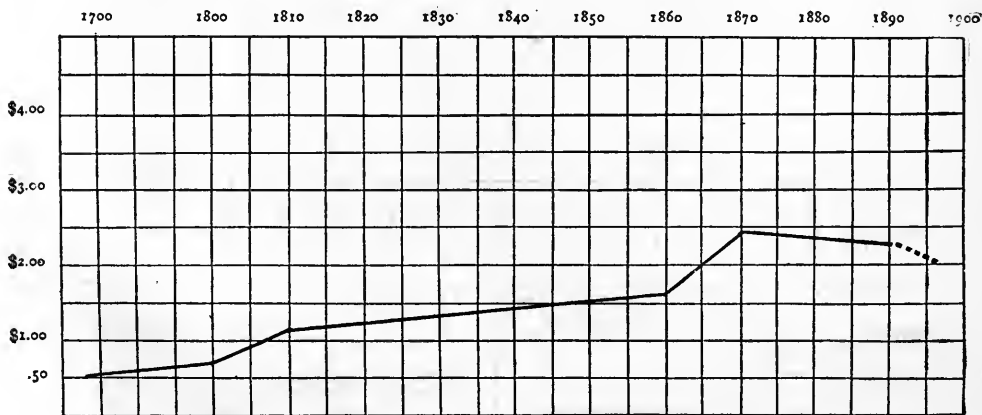
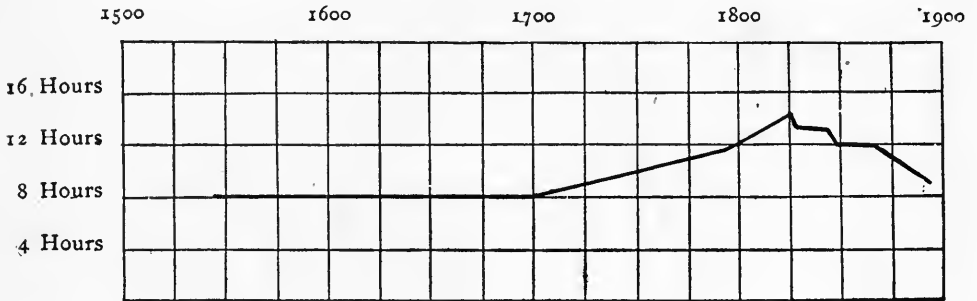


CHART II.—CARPENTER'S DAY'S WAGES IN THE NORTH.

The figures given in this chart are based on the same authorities as those used in constructing Chart I.

The chart gives too favorable a view of the carpenter's present economic position, because it does not make any allowance for unemployment. (See articles WAGES and UNEMPLOYMENT in body of the work.)

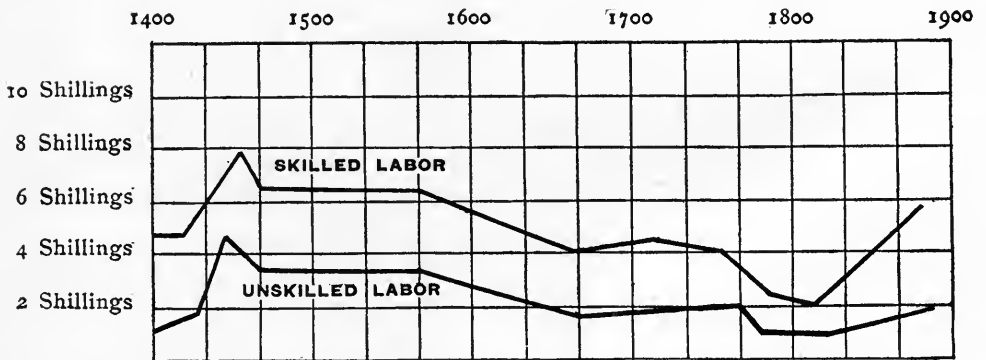
WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOR IN GREAT BRITAIN.



LENGTH OF THE WORKING DAY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

This chart is based upon facts and figures given in J. E. Thorold Rogers's *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*.

For contrary views, see article **SHORT HOUR MOVEMENT**.

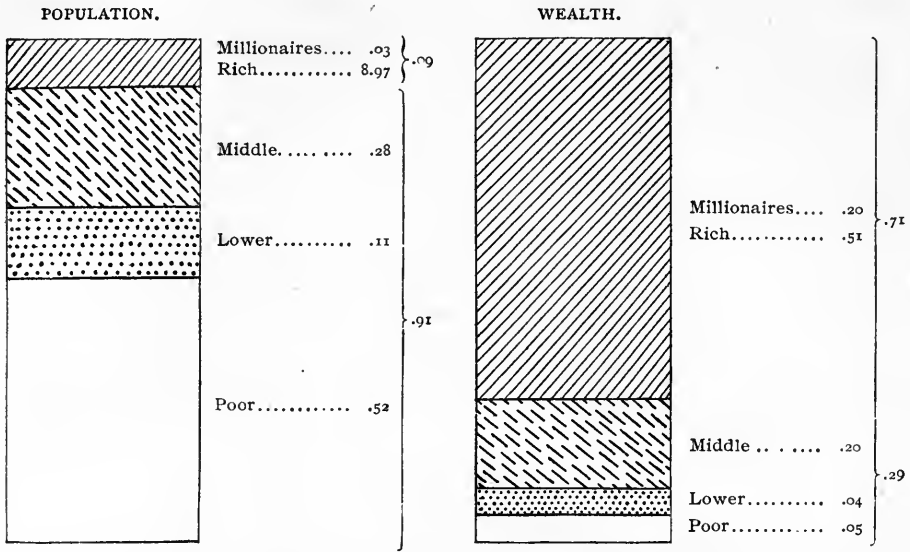


RISE AND FALL OF REAL WAGES (MEASURED BY WHAT THEY WILL BUY) IN ENGLAND.

This chart is based upon Rogers's work, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*.

For contrary views, see article **WEALTH**.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES.



Diagrams showing by percentages the population and wealth distribution in the United States, according to tables compiled by George K. Holmes, United States Census Expert on Mortgage Statistics.

For a full discussion of this subject, see article WEALTH.

PLATFORM OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

An industrial commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital.

METHODS.

The education of the community in the principles of socialism.

The industrial and political organization of the workers.

The independent representation of socialist principles on all elective bodies.

PROGRAM.

The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility should rest with the community collectively; therefore.

The land, being the storehouse of all the necessities of life, should be declared and treated as public property.

The capital necessary for industrial operations should be owned and used collectively.

Work and wealth resulting therefrom should be equitably distributed over the population.

As a means to this end, we demand the enactment of the following measures:

1. A maximum eight-hour working-day, a six days' working-week, with the retention of all existing holidays, and labor day, May 1, secured by law.

2. The provision of work to all capable adult applicants at recognized trade-union rates, with a statutory minimum of sixpence per hour.

In order to remuneratively employ the applicants, parish, district, borough, and county councils to be invested with powers to:

(a) Organize and undertake such industries as they may consider desirable.

(b) Compulsorily acquire land; purchase, erect, or manufacture buildings, machinery, stock, or other articles for carrying on such industries.

(c) Levy rates on the rental values of the district, and borrow money on the security of such rates for any of the above purposes.

3. State pensions for every person over 50 years of age, and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick and disabled workers.

4. Free, secular, primary, secondary and university education, with free maintenance while at school or university.

5. The raising of the age of child-labor, with a view to its ultimate extinction.

6. Municipalization and public control of the drink traffic.

7. Abolition of indirect taxation, and the gradual transference of all public burdens on to unearned incomes with a view to their ultimate extinction.

The I. L. P. is in favor of every proposal for extending electoral rights to both men and women and democratizing the system of government.

A CHRONOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORMS BY SUBJECTS AND COUNTRIES.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE.

1790. _____
1792. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.
Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others agitate against the slave trade.
1794. France abolishes slave trade.
1800. _____
1807. Abolition of slave trade, Great Britain.
1808. Abolition of slave trade, United States.
1810. _____
1820. _____
Missouri Compromise, United States.
1830. _____
1831. Garrison publishes *Liberator*, United States.
1832. New England Anti-Slavery Society.
Reform Bill, England.
1833. Slavery abolished in English colonies.
1839. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
American Anti-Slavery Society, United States.
1840. _____
Liberty Party, United States.
World's Anti-Slavery Convention, London.
1848. Free Soil Party, United States.
First Woman's Rights Convention, United States.
1850. _____
California admitted a Free State—Fugitive Slave Law, United States.
Mazzini's *Young Italy*.
1852. Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, United States.
1856. Republican Party, United States.
1857. Dred Scott Decision, United States.
1859. John Brown hanged, United States.
1860. _____
Lincoln elected, United States.
1861-65. War of the Rebellion, United States.
1863. Emancipation of slaves, United States.
1867. American, also National, Woman Suffrage associations, United States.
Woman suffrage in Wyoming, United States.
1870. _____
15th Amendment to the Constitution, United States.
American Anti-Slavery Society disbands.
1870-87. Woman suffrage in Utah (Mormon).
1879. Mill's *Subjection of Women*, England.
1880. _____
1888. United action against African slave trade.
County councils, England.
Australian ballot, Massachusetts, United States.
1889. National American Woman Suffrage Association.
1890. _____
1893. Woman suffrage, Colorado.
1896. Woman suffrage, Utah and Idaho.

ANARCHISM AND RADICAL INDIVIDUALISM.

1790. _____
1792. Godwin's *Inquiry Concerning Political Justice*, England.
1800. _____
1810. _____
1820. _____
1830. _____
1840. _____
1845. Proudhon's *What is Property?* France.
1846. Stirner's *The Individual, etc.*, Germany.
Warren's *True Civilization*, United States.
1850. _____
Spooner's *Science of Society*, United States.
1860. _____
1868. Bakounin's Social-Democratic Alliance, Switzerland.
1870. _____
1871. Paris Commune, France.
1872. Anarchists and Socialists split at the International Conference at the Hague, Holland.
1878. *Avant Garde*, first Anarchist paper.
1880. _____
Name Anarchist-Communist used.
1882. Liberty and Property Defense League, England.
1883. International Working People's Association, United States.
1886. Chicago Anarchists tried, United States.
1887. Chicago Anarchists hanged, United States.
1890. _____
First International Labor Day.
1891. Herbert Spencer's *Justice*, England.
1892. A Plea for Liberty, England.
1894. Extensive Anarchist riots and arrests, France.

CHRONOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORMS BY SUBJECTS AND COUNTRIES. 1437

COOPERATION AND COOPERATIVE COMMUNITIES.

1790. _____
Stokers organize, 1788, England.

1800. _____
1803. Harmonists come to United States.
1806. First Conseil des Prudhommes, France.

1810. _____

1820. _____
1825. Owen's New Harmony Community, Indiana, United States.
Owen's cooperative experiments, England.

1830. _____

1840. _____
1842. Le Claire's *Profit Sharing*, France.
1841-56. Hopedale Community, United States.
1842-45. Brook Farm Community, United States.
1843. True Inspirationists (Amana Community) come to United States.
1844. Rochdale pioneers.
1849. Colony of Icaria, United States.

1850. _____
Cooperative land banks, Germany.
1850. Familisties at Guise, France.

1860. _____
1863. Mundella's Board of Conciliation, England.
1863. North of England Cooperative, Wholesale.
1867. Patrons of Husbandry, United States.
1869. Cooperative Congresses, England.

1870. _____
1876. Boucicaut's *Profit Sharing*, France.
1877-97. Sovereigns of Industry, United States.
1879. "Vooruit" at Ghent, Belgium.

1880. _____
1885-95. Kaweah colony.
1886-96. Topolobampo colony.
1886. "Leclair," Illinois, United States.
Massachusetts Board of Arbitration.
1887. Gilman's *Profit Sharing*, United States.

1890. _____
Labor Exchange, United States.

CURRENCY.

1790. _____
1791-1811. First bank of United States.

1800. _____

1810. _____
France monetizes silver and gold at 15½ to 1.
1816. England demonetizes silver.
1817-41. Second bank of United States.

1820. _____
1825. Money crisis, Europe and United States.

1830. _____
Jackson's war on the banks, United States.
1837. Panic, United States.

1840. _____
1847. Money crisis, United States.
1849. Gold discoveries, United States.

1850. _____
1857. Panic, United States.

1860. _____
1861. Panic, England.
1862. First issue of greenbacks, United States.
Bond issues, United States.
1867. National banking system, United States.
1869. "Credit Strengthening Act," United States.

1870. _____
1872. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium demonetize silver.
1873. United States legally demonetizes silver.
Germany demonetizes silver.
Severe panic and crisis.
Greenback Party, United States.
Latin Union demonetizes silver.
1875. Holland demonetizes silver.
1876. Russia demonetizes silver.
1877. France and Switzerland demonetize silver.
1878. Bland Silver Bill, United States.
1880. _____
1881. International Monetary Conference.

1890. _____
Sherman Act, United States.
1893. India closes mints to silver.
Severe panic and crisis, United States.
"Sherman Law" repealed, United States.
1894. Syndicate bond contracts, United States.

1438 CHRONOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORMS BY SUBJECTS AND COUNTRIES.

SOCIALISM AND LAND REFORM.

1790. _____
 1797. Fauchet's *Bouch de Fer*, France.
 Babeuf's conspiracy, France.
1800. _____
 1808. Owen at New Lanark, Scotland.
 Fourier's *Theory of the Four Movements*, France.
1810. _____
 1817. Owen's Socialists' proposals to Parliament, England.
1820. _____
 1821. Fichte on the State, Germany.
 1821. Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, Germany.
 1825. *Workman's Advocate*, United States.
 1828. Gall's *Humanitarian Leaflets*, Germany.
1830. _____
 Lamennais's *L'Avenir*, France.
 1838. Weitling's agitation, Germany.
 1838-42. Chartism in England.
 1839. Carlyle's *Chartism*. England.
 Lamennais's *Words of a Believer*, France.
1840. _____
 Cabot's *Voyage to Icaria*, France.
 Fourierism in United States.
 1845. Albrecht the Prophet, Germany.
 1848. Marx's Engel's Communistic Manifesto.
 Revolution in France and all Europe.
 National workshop for the unemployed, France.
 1849. Christian Socialism in England.
1850. _____
 Spencer's *Social Statics*.
 Huet's *The Social Reign of Christianity*, Belgium.
1860. _____
 1863. Lassalle's German Working Men's Association.
 1864. The International formed, London, England.
 1867. Marx's *Capital*, England.
 1869. Social-Democratic Working Men's Party, Germany.
1870. _____
 1872. Socialists of The Chair, Germany.
 Socialists and Anarchists split at the Hague Conference of the International.
 1878. Anti-Socialist-Law, Germany.
 1879. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, United States.
1880. _____
 1881. Social-Democratic Federation, England.
 1883. Fabian Society, London, England.
 1884. Gronlund's *Cooperative Commonwealth*, United States.
 1886. Trafalgar Square "Riots," England.
 Henry George nominated for Mayor, New York, United States.
 1888. Nationalist movement, United States.
1890. _____
 1891. Labor Church, England.
 1893. Independent Labor Party, England.
 "Coxeyism," United States.
 1894. Debs's Cooperative Commonwealth, United States.
 1897. _____

TEMPERANCE.

1790. _____
 1800. _____
 Total abstinence literature circulated in Virginia, United States.
1810. _____
 1813. Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, United States.
 1818. Secretary Calhoun prohibits drinking in the army, United States.
1820. _____
 1826. American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, United States.
1830. _____
 1831. British and Foreign Temperance Society.
 1838. Father Mathew's Movement, Ireland, etc.
1840. _____
 Washingtonian Movement, United States.
 1843. National Temperance Society, England.
 1847. Band of Hope, Leeds, England.
1850. _____
 1851. Maine Law, Maine, United States.
 Good Templars, New York, United States.
1860. _____
 1869. Prohibition Party formed, United States.
1870. _____
 1871. Church of England Temperance Society.
 1871. Women's Temperance Crusade, United States.
 1873. Women's Christian Temperance Union formed, United States.
 1876. British Women's Temperance Association.
 1878. Frances Willard, President of Women's Christian Temperance Union, United States.
 Blue Ribbon Movement, England.
1880. _____
 1881. Kansas adopts a prohibitory amendment to State Constitution.
 1881. Church Temperance Society, United States.
 1882. Iowa adopts prohibitory constitutional amendment.
 1883. World's Women's Christian Temperance Union.
 1889. North and South Dakota adopt prohibitory constitutional amendments.
1890. _____
 1892. Prohibition Party vote, United States, 270,710.

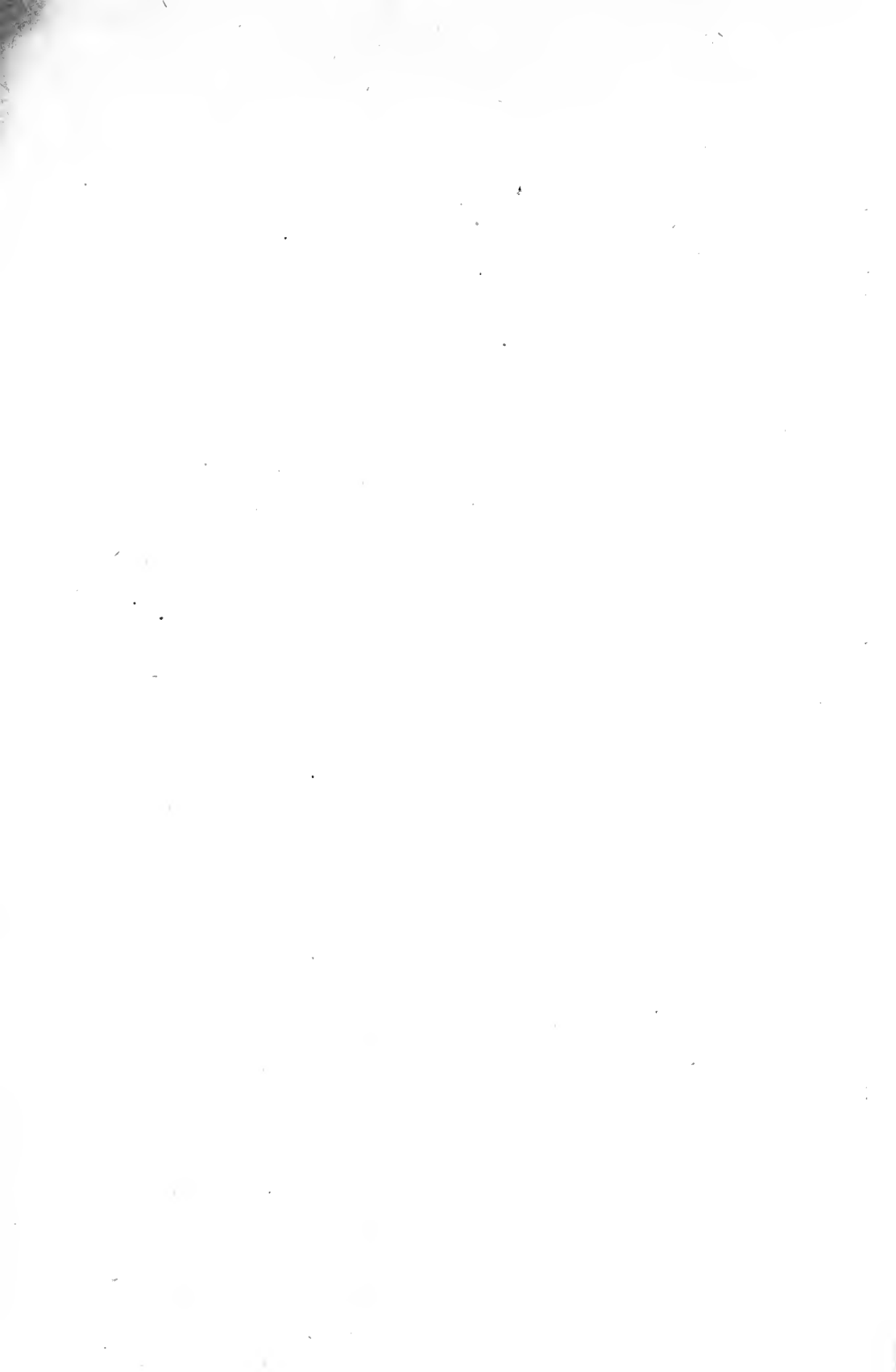
CHRONOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORMS BY SUBJECTS AND COUNTRIES. 1439

TRADE-UNIONS AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

1790. _____
1800. _____
1802. First Factory Act, England.
1810. _____
1814. Apprentices Law repealed, England.
1820. _____
1824. Trade-unions party legalized, England.
1830. _____
1834. Grand National Consolidated Trade-Union, England.
1840. _____
1840. President Van Buren's Ten-Hour Proclamation, United States.
1844. Factory Act, England.
1847. Ten-Hour Bill, England.
1850. _____
1856. Eight-Hour Day, Victoria, April 22.
1858. Trade councils, England.
1860. _____
1860. National Labor Union, United States.
1864-78. Knights of St. Crispin, United States.
1869. Knights of Labor secretly formed, United States.
1870. _____
1872. National Agricultural Labor Union, England.
1874. Industrial Congress, Rochester, United States.
1875. Trade-Union Congresses begun, England.
Trade-unions fully recognized, England.
1877. Railroad strikes, United States.
1878. Labor representatives in Parliament, England.
Knights of Labor first and general assembly, United States.
1880. _____
1881. American Federation of Labor.
Growth of Knights of Labor, United States.
1885-86. Railroad strikes, United States.
1887. Labor Exchange, Paris, France.
1888. Dock strike, London, England.
1889. Carpenters' strike, United States.
1890. _____
1891-92. Strikes in Australia.
1892. Strike at Homestead, Pa., United States.
1893. American Railway Union formed.
Coal strike, England.
1896. Pullman strike, United States.

OTHER REFORMS.

1790. _____
1795. Courts of conciliation, Denmark.
1798. Malthus's *Essay on Population*.
1800. _____
1806. First evening school, Bristol, England.
1810. _____
1819. Chalmers's *Experiments in Self-Help*, Glasgow, Scotland.
1820. _____
1826. Froebel's *Education of Man*, Germany.
1830. _____
1830. First Building Association, Philadelphia, United States.
1839. Anti-Corn Law League, England.
1840. _____
1840. Hill's cheap postage, England.
First Normal School.
Kindergarten School, Germany.
1844. Young Men's Christian Association, England.
1846. Repeal of Corn Laws, England.
1850. _____
1851. Public baths, Birmingham, England.
1855. Young Women's Christian Association, England.
1860. _____
1863. Cooking School, London, England.
1869. London Charity Organization Society.
1870. _____
1873. Elementary Education Bill, England.
Mayor Chamberlain inaugurates municipalism at Birmingham, England.
1874. Chautauqua Assembly, United States.
National Conference of Charities, United States.
1877. "Indeterminate" sentence at Elmira Reformatory, United States.
1880. _____
1883. Civil Service Act, United States.
1884. New England Divorce Reform League.
1885. Toynbee Hall, London.
1887. Interstate Commerce Act, United States.
Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, New York, United States.
1889. Hull House, Chicago, United States.
Christian Social Union, England.
1890. _____
Booth's *In Darkest England*.
College Settlements Association, United States.
1891. Church Social Union, United States.
1893. American Proportional Representative League, United States.
1894. National Municipal League, United States.
1896. National Divorce Legislation League, United States.







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